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AESTHETIC ANTHROPOLOGY: THEORY AND  
ANALYSIS OF POP AND CONCEPTUAL ART IN  
AMERICA.

University of California, Los Angeles,  
Ph.D., 1974  
Anthropology

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1974

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Aesthetic Anthropology:  
Theory and Analysis of Pop and Conceptual Art  
in America

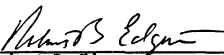
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in Anthropology

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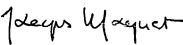
Marilyn Ekdahl Ravicz

1974

The dissertation of Marilyn Ekdahl Ravicz is approved, and it is acceptable in quality for publication on microfilm.

  
Robert B. Edgerton

  
G. Edward Evans

  
Jacques Maquet

  
Richard T. Morris

  
David Epstein, Committee Chairman

University of California, Los Angeles

1974

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- Figure 5      Table 11 from the 1971 Art News Subscriber Study illustrating subscriber expenditures for art and art supplies during the previous six months.
- Figure 6      Correspondence between the artist Don Celender and Sherman E. Lee, Director of the Cleveland Museum of Art.

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The author wishes to extend both appreciation and acknowledgement to the following for their permission to reproduce various previously published materials within the body of this study. This list includes: Aldine Publishers (for Figure 1) from, Laughlin, William S., "Hunting, an Integrating Biobehavior System and its Evolutionary Importance", Man the Hunter, Lee and DeVore, Eds., Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company 1968; to Desmond Morris (for Figure 2), Rhoda Kellogg (for Figure 3), and Methuen publishers for these figures which were previously published in, Morris, Desmond, The Biology of Art, London: Methuen 1962; to Prentice-Hall, Inc. (for Figure 4) which appeared previously in, Berlyne, Daniel, Aesthetics and Psychobiology, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1971; to Art News magazine for their generous extension of information from their 1971 Subscriber Study, and in particular for Figure 5 (their Table 11) from that report; to Don Celender for his permission to reproduce correspondence (Figure 6) from his 'Cultural Art Movement' which was previously printed in, Lippard, Lucy, Six Years: The Dematerialization of the Art Object from 1966 to 1972, New York: Praeger 1973; to Allan Kaprow for permission to



reproduce the texts of 'Raining' and 'Birds' previously published in, Kaprow, Allan, Some Recent Happenings, A Great Bear Pamphlet, New York: Something Else Press, 1966; to Jerome Rothenberg for permission to reproduce the text of 'Gift Event II' previously published in, Rothenberg, Jerome, Ritual: A Book of Primitive Rites and Events, New York: Something Else Press, 1966; to Maurice Tuchman and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art for permission to use extensive information and quotations from, A Report on the Art and Technology Program of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1971.

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## Vita

- June 4, 1929 -- Born, Marcus, Iowa
- 1951 -- A.B., Augustana College
- 1953-1954 -- Personnel work and travel, Western Europe and North Africa
- 1955 -- M.A.,- Radcliffe College and Harvard University interdepartmental degree, History and Philosophy of Religions.
- 1956-1957 -- Teaching Assistant, Department of Philosophy, Harvard University
- 1957-1958 -- Research Assistant to the Department of Psychiatry, Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston, Massachusetts.
- 1958-1963 -- Intermittent periods of fieldwork in Mexico primarily pursuant to an interest in indigenous peoples.
- 1965-1968 -- M.A. University of California, Los Angeles in Anthropology.
- 1971-1972 -- Field work in Timbuctoo, Mali, and six months in the foothills of the Himalayas interviewing Tibetan refugees.

## Publications

- Ravicz, Marilyn Ekdahl  
1959 St. Augustine: Time and Eternity, The Thomist  
22 (4): 542-554.
- Talland, G. A. and Marilyn Ekdahl  
1959 Psychological Studies of Korsakoff's Psychosis:  
IV. The Rate and Mode of Forgetting Narrative  
Material. Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease  
129(4):391-404.

Ravicz, Marilyn Ekdahl

1970 Early Colonial Religious Drama in Mexico: From  
Tzompantli to Golgotha. Washington, D.C.: The  
Catholic University Press, Inc.

1972 review of Two Spanish-Quiche Dance-Dramas, Mace,  
C.E. American Anthropologist 74(4):868-869.

Abstract of the Dissertation  
Aesthetic Anthropology:  
Theory and Analysis of Pop and Conceptual Art  
in America

by

Marilyn Ekdahl Ravicz

Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology

University of California, Los Angeles, 1974

Professor David E. Epstein, Chairman

Aesthetic Anthropology: Theory and Analysis of Pop and Conceptual Art in America has as its basic purpose the utilization of a specific research design in order to acknowledge that Aesthetic Anthropology is an organized discipline, the sub-categories and methodologies of which appertain not only to Anthropology but also to the general field of Aesthetics. To accomplish this end, the study employs essentially two basic conceptual approaches. The first is the elaboration of what is essentially a point of view about visual aesthetic phenomena, projected as potentially useful for an anthropological investigation of the relationship of aesthetic experience and phenomena to the non-aesthetic aspects of perception and culture. Secondly, a theoretical point of view is forged - by

relating data of an interdisciplinary nature - and subsequently used as a framework for the analysis of two specific art movements which flourished in the United States starting in the decade of the sixties.

The overall theoretical goal of this study, therefore, is (1) to analyze the psychobiological aspects of the aesthetic experience, approached from a standpoint which includes the importance of the evolutionary process to the formation of the human sensing system; and (2) to employ the more traditional anthropological techniques, including the analysis of the social networks which interrelate the artist, collector, critic, educator, museum personnel and the media in American society, in order to understand the specific art movements (Pop and Conceptual) selected for attention.

This theoretical framework is not propounded as a total alternative to more traditional studies of visual aesthetic phenomena and behavior; rather, it is intended to offer an additional standpoint which may facilitate the understanding and identification of the range of psychobiological as well as the sociocultural functions to which aesthetic phenomena are related.

The subject matter of this study is organized into

three sections. Chapters I through VIII comprise the introductory statements as well as the development and elaboration of the interdisciplinary theoretical framework specifically adopted in this research. The second section, chapters IX through XIV, represents the utilization of the viewpoint and theoretical stance applied in section I to the specific case histories of Pop and Conceptual art. The organizational plan of section II is calculated to fulfill two functions: (1) to reveal the systematic and structural interrelatedness of sociocultural networks and institutions with visual aesthetic phenomena; and (2) to apply the more traditional techniques of Anthropology to a specific problem in order to analyze the ways in which aesthetic phenomena and non-aesthetic cultural elements and behavior are connected.

The point of view which regards aesthetic visual phenomena in their psychobiological as well as their social context is one by which artistic phenomena or activities encountered in one's own or in any other culture can essentially be approached.

In the third and final section of the study, including chapters XV through XVII, a series of interpretive and analytic statements about Pop and Conceptual art are

developed, based on the data and patterns documented in previous chapters. These statements appertain to the interdisciplinary theoretical framework formulated, and are calculated to raise the explanatory level of the social scientific approach to visual art phenomena beyond what might be attained in the more traditional investigation of the same phenomena.

The presence of visual art phenomena appears to be a cultural universal, inasmuch as it is ubiquitous transculturally and has great historical depth. Looking at visual aesthetic phenomena and behavior from the interdisciplinary and heuristic point of view, which is uniquely consistent with anthropological tenets at any rate, reveals the essential qualities of the making and experiencing of aesthetic phenomena to be functionally involved both with the heightening of awareness and with man's interpretation of his perceived relationship to the physical and socio-cultural environments. As such, the actual and potential importance of art in the fields of ritual, learning, exploratory behavior, and the general enhancement of well-being should be clarified through future basic research.



## I. Introduction:

### Orientation and Methodology

There is a greater distance between Gainsborough's Blue Boy and Duchamp's readymade urinal than is accounted for in years; or between Cezanne's Apples and Michael Heizer's gigantic trenches reshaping the surface of the earth. Yet each of these represents an accepted work of art in fairly recent Western traditional Fine Arts. The reasons for this seeming paradox light the unfamiliar corners of our own cultural heritage, and show it to be as complex and alien at times as any exotic preliterate society of fishermen. How is it then that anthropologists have tried to study instances of visual art extending through such a wide range of time and space that the possibility of reasonable 'success' in this enterprise seems remote?

"The new painter creates a world, the elements of which are also its implements...The new artist protests: he no longer paints (symbolic and illusionist reproduction) but creates - directly in stone, wood, iron, tin, boulders - locomotive organisms capable of being turned in all directions by the limpid wind of momentary sensation. All pictorial or plastic work is useless: let it then be a monstrosity that frightens servile minds, and not sweetening to decorate the refectories...I love an ancient work for its novelty. It is only contrast that connects us with the past" (Tristan Tzara (1918) in Lippard 1971b:16).

This quotation characterizes the energetic shifting about in styles and fashion, purpose and media, which has marked the history of modern Western visual Fine Arts. This

tradition, then, furnishes an excellent opportunity for anthropological research. In fact this study will propose to address itself to this problem, but not without first assuring the reader that this task is cast in the shape and formalities of 'social science'. Whatever is meant by "the spirit of art", the "presence" of a great painting and so forth are not touched upon. These categories are too noumenal for this research; the phenomenal represents a formidable enough task for Aesthetic Anthropology.

One of the purposes of this study will be to acknowledge, through the utilization of a specific research design, that Aesthetic Anthropology is an organized discipline, the sub-categories of which appertain both to the general field of 'Aesthetics', as well as to that of 'Anthropology'. To accomplish this particular end, and because it seemed more generally productive to do so, an interdisciplinary approach to the subject matter has been adopted and developed.

The thrust of the study is twofold: the elaboration of what is essentially a point of view about aesthetic visual phenomena projected as potentially fruitful for the anthropological consideration of the relationship of aesthetic experience and phenomena to the non-aesthetic aspects of society. Secondly, the point of view adopted and defined by relating the implications and data of an interdisciplinary nature, is utilized as a background or basis for the analysis of two specific art styles selected from among the

several which flourished in the United States during the decade of the sixties; these are Pop and Conceptual art.

The general approach of this study, therefore, is to utilize both the psychobiological and the social approach combined into a heuristic and programmatic framework within which to consider aesthetic visual phenomena. This standpoint is offered as a more productive methodology to structure anthropological studies of aesthetic phenomena and activities than are more limited theoretical positions.

The subject matter of this study is divided into three sections. Chapters I through VIII comprise the introductory statement, plus the development and elaboration of the theoretical framework specifically adopted in this study for Aesthetic Anthropology. This view is developed through the interrelating of research data and guidelines from such diverse disciplines as: experimental psychology, traditional aesthetics, philosophy, art history, art criticism, biology, animal and human ecology, and anthropology, including specific aspects of human evolution.

The second section, including chapters IX through XIV, represents the utilization of the viewpoint and theoretical stance applied in section I to the specific case histories of Pop and Conceptual art.

The organizational plan for section II is calculated to fulfill two functions: (1) to reveal the systematic and structural interrelatedness of sociocultural networks and

institutions with aesthetic visual phenomena; and (2), to apply the more traditional techniques of anthropology to a specific problem such as that designated by the phrase "aesthetic segment", in order to analyze relevant data in such a way that the "intricate relationships which connect aesthetic phenomena to other cultural phenomena" is revealed (Maquet 1971:19). The detailing of the relationships of aesthetic to general sociocultural patterns follows an analytic scheme discussing the aesthetic phenomena with respect to: (a), the technological or productive characteristics of the society (eg., American society of the sixties) and (b), the social organizational level in which the different networks and communication patterns within the culture operate as channels for the exchange of ideas, goods, services, and other interactive patterns characteristic of the art establishment. Lastly (c), some attention is extended to the ideological implications of the visual phenomena of the aesthetic locus as they represent expressive behavior of a specific kind.

The point of view which regards aesthetic visual phenomena in their psychobiological and social context is essentially one with which artistic phenomena or activities encountered in one's own or in any other culture could be approached, and which would facilitate an understanding and identification of the psychobiological as well as the socio-cultural functions to which such phenomena might be related.

That there are many other profitable ways in which to approach the study and analysis of visual arts is incontrovertible. Nor is it denied that great art from any period or culture has an aesthetic 'presence', or what has often been referred to as a 'noumenal' meaning and power within it. Yet, to reveal or explicate these factors is not the province of this study. This paper is not an exercise in Aesthetics as such, with an orientation to the evaluation, or critical assessment of the quality of visual aesthetic phenomena. On the contrary, the most phenomenal, empirical, morphological, and stylistic characteristics comprise the focus of this approach, inclusive of such factors as media, techniques, subject matter, content, as well as the exchange patterns of artistic phenomena. When value judgments are mentioned in this study with respect to aesthetic phenomena, they are specifically linked to statements by informants, garnered from the works of critics and labelled as such, or quoted from some other similar and designated source.

The thrust of the proposed method of this study is also calculated to raise the explanatory level of the social scientist's approach to visual art phenomena beyond what might be attained in the more traditional analyses of the same phenomena. The utilization of the particular view of aesthetic behavior, experiences, situations, and phenomena adopted in this study is considered as 'explanatory' in the sense that it establishes a certain set of conclusions which

are at least more probable than is the case of their negation. This viewpoint, shaped from the juxtapositioning of data from several relevant disciplines, rests on nomological generalizations from what is assumed to be the intelligible patterning of empirically derived patterns.

As such, this explanatory framework is further judged to be heuristic and instrumental. That is, the actual function of espousing the systematic view proposed here is that those students of Aesthetic Anthropology, to whom such a view appears plausible, might be moved to initiate somewhat different attitudes and research goals than they might have otherwise undertaken. In short, the plausibility of this explanatory framework is not one of logical necessity, but one which hopefully will encourage efforts to improve techniques and methodological tools for subsequent research. As heuristic, this explanatory scheme is loosely paradigmatic; and, since it is generalized, will hopefully operate to stimulate further inquiry, and shed light on new materials, situations, and definitions of relationships for Aesthetic Anthropology.

In the third and final Section, including chapters XV through XVIII, a series of interpretive and analytic statements are developed, based on the data and patterns documented in previous chapters of the study. These interpretive statements appertain to the ideological as well as to the social aspects of the aesthetic phenomena selected

for investigation and inquiry. These comments are related to both the psychobiological approach developed in Section I, and to the sociocultural paradigm of Section II.

The burden of the interdisciplinary approach developed in this study is to broaden the theoretical basis and orientation upon which the discipline of Aesthetic Anthropology is based. Many of the earliest works in Anthropology dealt frequently with aesthetic phenomena, their manufacture and meaning; then, for some period of time, and until very recently, a noticeable dearth in the systematic research and elaboration of these earlier views has been apparent. Visual Aesthetics became almost entirely the province of the art and culture historians, critics, philosophers, and a few sociologists of art. This study represents an argument that inasmuch as Anthropology is a complex discipline whose unique province it is to study a whole range of human behavior from the biological and evolutionary to the symbolic level, it is especially suited as a methodological and conceptual framework for the study of aesthetic experience and phenomena.

The tools utilized to gather information and document the conclusions and interaction networks isolated for this study are essentially twofold in nature. The first technique consisted of library research in periodicals, books, singular articles, gallery notices, plus the auditing of lectures and so forth to gather whatever information was

judged relevant to structure the theoretical background of this study. The scope of information sought included the perusal of journals and books ranging in focus from experimental psychology and philosophy, to the works of art historians, critics, and culture historians. A considerable amount of notes and information written by the relevant artists has been published by lesser known or 'avant garde' presses, and is found only in such places as the Special Collections section of the Graduate Research library at University of California at Los Angeles, or at the California Institute of the Arts in Valencia, California, by correspondence with the artists, or by order and purchase from such specialized presses as the Something Else Press of Vermont. Detailed study of a series of comprehensive contemporary art periodicals published in the United States made it possible to monitor and document museum and gallery exhibitions which were not possible to visit due to their geographical spread. Newspapers from large urban areas, as well as museum bulletins and publications proved to be another source of valuable data. The international catalogues from the major auction houses of the world (i.e., primarily Sotheby Parke Bernet, Inc., Christies, and in Paris, the Hôtel Drouot) afforded information about the art works sold during the period of interest and provided price lists both of the estimated and actual sales prices of these items.



The second type of data gathering technique utilized is consistent with the more traditional anthropological field procedures, or with those of social science in general. That is, participant-observation was employed in the situations and activities deemed relevant to the research, and informants were sought and interviewed in order to elicit specific information on selected topics. More particularly, many interviews were conducted with artists, advanced art students, gallery owners and operators, private art dealers, museum personnel, and with two professors of art history. No live interview of critics was attempted inasmuch as their opinions are published consistently and abundantly enough to offer all the data necessary.

Other primary sources of data were tapped through participant-observation such as: numerous trips to art galleries, in order to monitor exhibitions, to see the particular works selected and to note the orientation and tone of the presentation, as well as to observe the responses of visitors and the numbers and prices of works sold. Secondly, numerous trips were made to art museums (locally) in order to monitor the patterns and content of exhibitions, to note the patterning of their presentation (e.g., whether didactic, objective, grouped by style, media, trend, contemporaneity and so forth), as well as to gather some indication of audience response to specific works.

Local auctions, especially of the Los Angeles branch of Sotheby Parke Bernet, Inc., were attended to study the number and prices of sales, and to ascertain the items of apparently high desirability for a specific clientele.

Focused interviews of individuals were arranged and conducted in a variety of situations, and specific information was elicited with respect to the personal goals, orientations, interests, as well as opinions concerning whatever projected problems or potentialities are considered as relevant to the category of persons or institutions whom each individual represented.

In addition to these, and when it was impossible to conduct interviews in person, a number of questionnaires were sent to selected persons in urban centers representing a cross section of the United States, eliciting information on the same questions used in live interviews. Such questionnaires were sent to the following personnel: advanced art students (350 were sent with a total reply of 62); art museum directors or curators (80 were sent, and 22 usable responses were received, plus three apologies for lack of response due to pressing work loads); 72 gallery owners or dealers were contacted by mail, and 15 responded with completed forms. The editors of four art journals with wide readership were contacted to solicit information detailing a profile of their readers. Two responded, one stating that they had no such information, and the other

(Art News) happily included a copy of an extensive readership profile study. To gather more data about the cross-cultural appearance of ephemeral art in order better to understand the peculiarities and contexts of such phenomena, a questionnaire was sent to 378 anthropologists in the United States, who had indicated field work or interest in geographic areas with which the author is unfamiliar. This mailing was organized from information in the International Directory of Anthropologists from the Current Anthropology. Fifty-nine anthropologists responded with examples; they often included ethnographic details, and a few offered photographs and copies of relevant articles.

In the conclusions of this study (Chapter XVIII), some summary statements are made relating the points of view and theoretical schema developed in Section I as related to the information gained and propounded in Section II. A few generalizations are derived about the importance of style, and the direction of developments in contemporary art, as well as some sociocultural implications of these trends with respect to the art world.

Finally, a few predictive statements are appended to this chapter. These are projections summarily stated, but are intended to be concise enough to operate, when re-phrased, as potential hypotheses from which limiting propositions could be derived with the possibility for validation by existing operational techniques and measures.

The stylistic directions and events predicted could be validated by future field work, and the monitoring of periodicals, records, and the events and activities of the institutions of the art world.

The names and personal identifications of students, artists, and museum or gallery personnel have been deliberately omitted and not recorded along with their opinions, unless these were previously published, or express permission was given to do so. Frank opinions or bitter criticism by one faction of the art world against another are important to note, inasmuch as they supply information to the interested student regarding the motivations and ethos of the aesthetic and social complex of our subject; it is neither necessary nor advisable to link specific personalities to these shared opinions.

## II. Aesthetic Theory:

### Highlights and Influences on Anthropology

A rapid perusal of some of the most important theories in aesthetics of the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries is useful, inasmuch as they contributed in a general way to the attitudes which influenced the anthropological approach to aesthetic phenomena. These theories can be reviewed and considered predominantly from the standpoints of: Psychology, Social theory, and Philosophy.

#### A. Psychology

In spite of the complexity of aesthetic phenomena, they were among the first to be researched by the new science of experimental psychology. Fechner's name is tied to the foundation of experimental psychology, and the first studies of what can properly be termed "experimental aesthetics" were his work. In 1876, Fechner published Vorschule der Asthetik (Elementary Aesthetics), which included both experimental and theoretical data. He called his work "aesthetics from below" in order to contrast it with the philosophic approach of "aesthetics from above". Fechner, in fact, developed the three basic techniques still used in experimental aesthetics: the method of choice (in which the subject is presented with a number of objects and asked to compare and evaluate them); the method of production (the subject is asked to produce an object or drawing to conform as far as possible to his taste); and

the method of use (the examination of selected works of art the presupposition being that their most commonly shared characteristics are also those which have most widespread cultural approval) (Fechner 1876; Berlyne 1971:10-11). Fechner's influence can be detected later in the work of Thorndike and his students.

The aim of the experimental studies in aesthetics was, and still is, to relate preferences to the properties of the objects or stimuli presented, in an attempt to isolate empirically observable patterns. These studies have varied as the techniques for scaling have improved, and have now arrived at the point of incorporating sophisticated methods of multidimensional scaling (Coombs 1964; Osgood 1960).

Some of the early works in anthropology dealing with perception, objects, and aesthetic interest were clearly imbued with some of the same scientific attitudes and attention characterizing the essentially experimental and comparative attitude toward perception and enculturation (Rivers 1901, 1905; Boas 1955; Malinowski 1927). A quotation from Hallowell will serve to encapsulate this scientific attitude to cultural modification of perceptive processes:

What becomes perceptually significant to the eingestellt human organism cannot be considered apart from a continuum that views the human individual as an adjusting organism...the psychological field in which human behavior takes place is always culturally constituted in part, and man's responses are never reducible in their entirety to stimuli derived from an 'objective'

or surrounding world, in the physical or geographic sense....so that in any given perceptual situation such factors take on a differential direction importance (Hallowell 1951:167).

From another standpoint, psychoanalytic theory has often been brought to bear on art. Freud had important things to say about art as well as about most aspects of psychodynamics. In the main, psychoanalytic theory extrapolated from its experimentation and observation of other psychodynamic patterns to the subject and context of art. Usually, psychoanalytic studies took the form of analyses of individual artists or works (eg., Freud on Michelangelo and Leonardo DaVinci). According to Freudian theorists, the explanation of artistic behavior is linked with other creative processes (such as imagination) and is interpreted as a disguised vehicle for suppressed and unfulfilled desires. This explanation seems to be composed of a kind of hydraulic theory of the submerged energy supplied by the libidinous id which emerges in other more socially acceptable expressions through the work of the ego and the superego (Berlyne 1971:13-14). The unconscious content of a work of art, therefore, has universal implications, and through it the artist "finds a way back to reality....(through)....truths of a different kind, which are valued by man as precious reflections of reality"(Freud 1958:224).

Inasmuch as psychoanalytic theory provided an excellent

framework for understanding universal drives and culturally conditioned responses and patterns, it was readily adopted by many psychologically oriented anthropologists, and played a prominent part in the development of the whole Culture and Personality school (Honigmann 1967: 278-295). Nevertheless, anthropologists were also among the first to criticize the generalization of psychoanalytic theory from the context of its discovery to all cultures (Malinowski 1927; Mead 1935).

In spite of this, psychoanalytic theory has provided an implicit or explicit theoretical framework for much of what anthropologists have said about aesthetic behavior. The range in methodological approach and sophistication of this theory as applied by anthropologists is wide, and varies from the more orthodox (DuBois 1944; Linton 1949; Roheim 1950) to the more sophisticated reformulations of Freudian theory made more compatible with data from related fields (Wallace 1950; Sears 1961; Devereux and LaBarre 1961).

The modal or basic personality approach to shared values, inasmuch as it depends upon personality theory which explains adult patterns as resulting from culturally sanctioned dynamics of childrearing is Freudian in attitude. Similar concepts have shaped what some anthropologists have maintained about the patterned expression of values in general and of art in particular (Child et al 1969b;



Ehrenzweig 1962, 1967; Kris 1952; Child and Iwao 1968; Waelder 1965; Devereux 1961).

The view of another school of thought relevant to aesthetics is that formulated by the Gestalt psychologists, whose first expressions are found in a paper by Koffka (1940), and in the more recent work of Arnheim (1954, 1969).

The Gestalt school offered two unique and important ideas to aesthetics. The first is "Physiognomics", or the concept that certain human actions and postures, natural as well as fabricated, are inherently expressive of certain emotional states, inasmuch as they essentially possess the same structure as do those states (Berlyne 1971:15-17). Many conceptual elements associated with this idea of Physiognomics have been utilized in theoretical approaches analyzing symbolic systems and behavior.

The second and most important contribution of Gestalt theory deals with the properties of wholes which are not simply the sums of their parts. This concept concerns the idea of "goodness of configuration"; that is, we do not see or perceive isolated visual or aural elements, but rather "configurations" or "Gestalten", which in fact depend upon the processes of perceptual organization which occur in the nervous system. Some configurations, it is concluded, are "better" than others, and the brain's perceptual and organizational activities gravitate toward them according to the law of "Pragnanz". The elements

defining a gestalt as "better" are those which tend to balance and symmetry, as well as to organized simplicity and regularity (Werner 1956). The increase in experimental information, which has been amassed during the last ten to twenty years, lends credence to those concepts of Gestalt psychology which are compatible with recent data on brain physiology. In the main, however, any theory which depends overmuch on symmetry and equilibrium is inadequate, and inconsistent with contemporary research on the reticular brain-stem formation (Berlyne 1971:17-18; Peckham 1965:301 ff.). The gestalt work which influenced the anthropological approach can be detected in the use of such phraseology as "stresses", "forces", "stability" and "equilibrium", applied both in the analysis of creative behavior and as descriptive of aesthetic objects and phenomena.

With the advent of information theory, an entirely new methodological framework was extended to biology, physiology, and psychology. Much of this work grew out of Wiener's delineation of cybernetic theory (1948), conjoined with the mathematical analysis of communication processes (Shannon and Weaver 1949). The basic concepts isolated in these fields were adopted with some modification, and were found to be particularly useful for analyzing interactions between parts of the same human organism, and between the whole organism and the external environment. Information theory is seen as an aid to exact quantitative measuring, and as

such was applied to the concept of "goodness of configuration" (Hochberg and McAllister 1953; Attneave 1954, 1959). Although these thinkers were basically interested in perception, their work became involved with defining "structure" and the formal aspects on which aesthetic reactions are said to depend. Consequently, their work is important to aesthetic theory (Berlyne 1971:38-39).

The increased use of computers to analyze and correlate the statistical properties of artistic material has been especially elaborated by the Franco-German school of "information theory aesthetics" (Moles 1958; Bense 1965).

Although information theory has furnished only a very general background influence for anthropologists, some of the concepts from information theory have been conjoined with linguistic theory and methodology, and then utilized as theoretical structure in areas relevant to aesthetics (Levi-Strauss 1963, 1964; Bateson 1955, 1972).

#### B. Social Theory

Distinct from but related to philosophy and psychology are the more sociological theories of aesthetics some of which have been important to anthropologists, especially inasmuch as they combine theories of societal dynamics with valuational aspects relevant to art activities.

The sociological study of visual aesthetics has traditionally taken two directions: the first, primarily forwarded by art theorists and historians, who are interested

to see how changing socioeconomic systems are related to and reflected in art styles; and secondly, interpretations by those social theorists who seek to determine the ways in which the individuals or institutions in a culture influence or are in turn influenced by the arts (Osborne 1968:272).

Aside from the Spencerian initiated evolutionary theory of art as it relates to society, the predominant socioeconomic interpretation of art was led by Marx and Engels. Marxist theory is important to art history inasmuch as it dominates the aesthetic expressions of the communist world today. In this way it both represents an important theoretical framework, and an example of the same theory applied to historical circumstances. The Marxian approach to aesthetics maintains that socioeconomic factors predominantly shape the attitudes toward art, artists, and the production and consumption of art objects and phenomena. Since factors of production are systemically related to ideology and expressive forms, the phenomenon of taste and preference are also explained by these social variables. By the same token, expressive and aesthetic phenomena are subject to the same criticism and evaluation supported by the Marxian approach to purpose and history (Marcuse 1970).

Hippolyte Taine (1875) likewise stressed the sociological approach to art history and aesthetic phenomena, but emphasized the role of the psychological "climate" in

which these things are created. He emphasized such factors as social and physical environment, heredity, the timeliness of patterned expressions, and he proposed an objective and empirical approach to the study of aesthetics.

Another tradition of social theory which did not search for diachronic or evolutionary patterns, but which dealt mainly with the systemic qualities of social solidarity stemmed from the work of Comte, through Durkheim to the school of structural-functionalism (Sorokin 1937:254). Durkheim's approach to cultural phenomena regarding the structural conditions of social cohesiveness and social solidarity are especially relevant, inasmuch as they were further developed by Radcliffe-Brown. According to this approach, aesthetic phenomena, their appreciation and creation, express shared values and in turn excite sentiments of a sociotropic nature which contribute to social solidarity in the minds and actions of observers. (Durkheim 1933; Radcliffe-Brown 1922). Most of the work (aside from the evolutionists ) which deals with aesthetics in anthropology was influenced by some combination of the aforementioned views in social theory and psychology. Aside from these two general categories, some consideration must be accorded to the discipline of Philosophy, inasmuch as "aesthetics" as a discipline has traditionally been subsumed under this discipline. For this reason, and because until recently a university education invariably included

some training in philosophy, one can trace the influences of a few dominant philosophical ideas in the work of some of the social scientists interested in the problems of aesthetic behavior and evaluations.

### C. Philosophy

Post-Kantian aesthetics theory broke into various camps, some philosophers primarily investigating the status of judgments of taste (British and American analytic traditions), while others combined one or another form of philosophic idealism with intuitionistic ideologies (Croce 1922; Collingwood 1938). Santayana developed a "naturalistic aesthetics" denying that beauty is an objective property of things, and instead granting considerable importance to the physiological and psychological factors involved in aesthetic experience (Santayana 1955).

Psychology and philosophy are conjoined in the work of John Dewey, who is the American progenitor of much of modern aesthetics. Dewey's unceasing attack on dualisms (1934), and his instrumental epistemology which views knowledge and objects of perception as instruments in the life and experience of any organism interacting with the environment furnishes an excellent background for contemporary interpretation. The evolutionists who preceded Dewey had pointed out the mutability of art forms, and this helped to give impetus to the more naturalistic interpretations of artistic behavior, one trend of which was carried on by

Dewey. Instrumentalism emphasized the biological functions and origins of intelligence, adaptation to environment, and above all, the continuity of aesthetic experience with ordinary life and perceptions (Dewey 1934). Dewey's pragmatism, when fused with the thinking and experimentation done by Ames, Ittleson, and Kilpatrick, gave rise to the psychological epistemology of "transactionalism" (Allport 1955:438ff.). According to this view, perception itself is but an abstraction from a total process including space, time, environment and organism in an indissoluble transactional system.

From Husserl, Heidegger, through Sartre and Merleau-Ponty, there has developed a kind of philosophical psychology based on phenomenology. While this complex and fruitful tradition has been extremely influential on the Continent, it has influenced English speaking social scientists to a much lesser extent. Phenomenological methodology is (like Transactionalism) based on an eradication of the "subject" and "object" dualism. A careful analysis of what is present to consciousness itself while the perceptual apparatus is "focused" on stimuli-to-which it has a dialectical relationship-will reveal the essential qualities of sets of experiences which actually define the objective world (Merleau-Ponty 1945). Phenomenology has influenced the work of Levi-Strauss to some extent (1962), and to a high degree characterizes the recent study by Armstrong (1971).

The collective work of the analytic philosopher seems to afford consistent and concerted data indicating that theory - at least in the formal sense - is not forthcoming in aesthetics. The Western philosophy of art has been concerned since Classical Greek times to isolate the necessary and sufficient conditions or properties which define the nature of aesthetic phenomena, primarily in order that a better understanding or validation of the ground of artistic judgments be established.

However, it seems evident from the plethora of theories elaborated to date, most of which conflict as to the necessary and sufficient properties of art, that the basic misconception of this approach lies in the concept of art as it is entertained. It seems that art as such is not amenable to any real or "true" limiting definition. A battery of criticisms can be levelled against these philosophic theories such as: they are insufficient, circular, incomplete, untestable, and so forth. The concept of art embraces so many complex attributes and situations, that to define its necessary and sufficient properties is an endless therefore useless enterprise. It appears, therefore, that art is an 'open concept' (Wittgenstein 1953:30e-38e; Weitz 1956:89-91).

In aesthetics, the initial problem for modern philosophy is to elucidate the actual employment of the concept of art to generate an analytic description of the actual



functioning of the concept. Wittgensteins' work is characteristic of this trend, inasmuch as he maintained that such general terms as "art" and "beauty" must be clarified by the disclosure of "family resemblances" among their established uses; furthermore, the work of aesthetics should consist of pinpointing the overlapping and interacting criteria actually applied in the criticism and assessment of the various arts, rather than trying to isolate a mythical "essence of artistic excellence" (Osborne 1968:252-253; Wittgenstein 1953:31e-36e).

In this way, these philosophers set about to illustrate the logical structure of classification in order to reveal the impossibility of applying culturally conditioned value terminology and categories derived from one culture to the aesthetic phenomena of other cultures, as if this application connoted and denoted the same sphere of meaning.

This approach from Philosophy does much to prevent studies from aesthetics and related disciplines from repeating old errors. More precisely, Wittgenstein's discussion of "what is a game?" is especially relevant. A traditional philosophic answer would be to work up an exhaustive set of traits common to all games (i.e., familiar technique in anthropological taxonomies). But after such exhaustive work, one finds that there are no necessary and sufficient properties forthcoming, but only "a complicated

network of similarities overlapping and criss-crossing"; so that one can only say that games form a conceptual unit with "family resemblances". In answer, then, to "what is a game?", one can logically only pick out examples, describe them, and add the caveat "that these and similar things are games". This approach is adequate, however, because knowing what a game is, is not knowing some "real" definition or abstract theory; but it is rather the ability to see and in practice recognize or explain games as opposed to non-game phenomena.

So it is with art. If we really look and see what is called "art", we also find no logically common properties, but rather strands of functional if not phenomenal similarities. Knowing what art is then, is to look at the context of the usage of the term, and then to be able to explain these phenomena by virtue of their family resemblances or similarities. Such concepts as "games" or "art" are open, for which paradigms but not logical sets of necessary and sufficient conditions can be given (Weitz 1956:88-89; Wittgenstein 1953, 30e ff.).

A concept is "open" if the conditions of its application are emendable, or if a situation can be found or imagined in which some sort of decision to extend the concept to cover it or not is implied. Such is the case with empirically descriptive and normative concepts (as opposed to mathematics and logic), if we are not arbitrarily to

close these concepts as is often done.

The history of aesthetic theory and criticism is the best witness to the verity of Wittgenstein's stand; each theory in its own way points out the inadequacies and is critical of the previous one(s). Aside from the inadequacy of each theory to totally "account" for art, these conceptual sets usually rest on predominantly unverifiable hypotheses.

Within the general "open" concept art, it is possible to subsume genuinely closed concepts, but only those whose conditional boundaries have been defined as such for a special purpose. For example, the difference between "European Dada of the early twentieth century", and "Dadaism" comes to mind. The first is closed inasmuch as the phenomena and conditions to which the term can be correctly applied are conceivably "all in", and so a boundary can be in principle drawn on the properties contained therein. But the second concept, "Dadaism", is open, inasmuch as the possibilities of new conditions and on-going Dadaist phenomena similar to previous ones but somehow unique are very real.

The usual procedure among aestheticians and anthropologists has been to choose a class of samples for which they give a phenomenologically true or verifiable account of common properties; then they construe this account of the closed (e.g., culturally defined) class as a projected

definition of the whole (e.g., open) class of such phenomena. It has been observed that to do this amounts to a transformation of correct criteria for recognizing members of any legitimately closed class of works of art into recommended criteria for evaluating any putative member of that class through extrapolation (Weitz 1956:91).

Usually "definitions" in art are in fact classificatory categories based on the rejection or acceptance of a set number of preconceived characteristics as to what comprises the class "art objects". The extension of any term comprises the class of objects to which that term is applicable. That is, the collection of attitudes or characteristics determine whether or not an object belongs to a given class (Koller 1967:59). But psychologists and social scientists in reality deal only with intension as connotation (subjective intension), which may differ in patterned ways across any population of subjects or peoples. The set of necessary and sufficient properties for a term is another way of looking at class intension (this is what the philosopher calls "connotation"); and we have already shown what difficulties we encounter here with respect to the theory of art.

In addition to this philosophic clarification of classificatory limitation, anthropologists may encounter additional problems. Inasmuch as they often work in exotic cultures where familiarity with language and general

cultural configurations is the goal not the possession of the anthropologist, the primary recognition of any phenomenon as "art" or "non-art" is anything but automatic or straightforward. In English, the ambiguity of the application of the term "art" is a purely descriptive sense to all "painting" is clear; not all paintings are included in the value-defined class "art". The descriptive and the evaluative sense of "that painting is a work of art" can be confounded; such linguistic ambiguity complicates even our own cultural sense of thinking about the aesthetic. Both of these statements are in fact open to question, due to historical and preferential circumstances.

In summary it appears that all the debates about the supremacy of many theories or preferential criteria for art are essentially summaries made as "recommendation to attend in certain ways to certain features of art" (Weitz 1956:94).

In addition to these philosophic strictures, all the evidence from anthropological research illustrates exactly the same point in issue; that is, the extreme variability of both artistic creations and the form, content, media, social context, and so forth of their production and appreciation mitigates against a total theory or logically definable concept of art, because the properties of such a concept are not all "in". The elaboration and on-going creation of varying artistic phenomena is ever in process

transculturally. Such a study as the cross-cultural comparison of Bakwele and American aesthetic evaluations regarding specific sculptures (Child and Siroto 1965) does not invalidate this statement; for this study was not conceived to accomplish anything more general than the empirical investigation of the latitude and coincidence of aesthetic preference across two cultures with respect to specific art works. No generalization from the specific cases could be drawn or was intended.

All of this philosophic niggling naturally arouses a question as to what (if any) approach anthropologists might adopt for a more productive investigation of aesthetic visual phenomena, while avoiding the pitfalls of covert cultural biases, or confounding descriptive with normative categorizations? How can art or the aesthetic be separated from other categories or experiences? It seems likely that we "know" what art is just as we "know" what science and history are in our culture. Indeed, art is usually conceived to be open to people in a way that "science", for example, is not. But "art" like "science" and "history" are all "open", inasmuch as a radical redefinition of each of these fields may be periodically forthcoming. Art, thus, cannot be distinguished logically from many other classificatory concepts, although their contents are clearly distinct, since art works always exist in sociocultural contexts.

Many researchers judge that an appeal to the aesthetic experience itself can be utilized to distinguish art from non-art objects, because the former are consciously created for the purpose of being experienced aesthetically. It has further been argued that aesthetic perception is "intrinsic perception" (Racy 1969:346) for all of the senses; so that from the nature of this experience, one can isolate the center if not the boundaries of the concept of art. Yet it seems doubtful on the basis of empirical observations that we are able to perceive some objects in a manner distinct from all other objects; and it is not clear to what extent aesthetic perceptions are intentional or not (Clammer 1970:149-150). Some natural objects or phenomena may "force" an aesthetic perception on us (i.e., the ocean), while in another mood one looks for-or is open to - an appreciation of aesthetic properties in objects or phenomena perhaps not created originally with purely artistic purpose in mind (i.e., Duchamp's readymades, or some machines).

This "open" or "looking for" mood is important as we shall see in the second portion of this study. This cognitive quality illustrates the complex nature of the aesthetic experience. The commingling of various attributes and felt perceptions at one time may be quite unique from those experienced at another; further, the complex nature of "aesthetic experience" arouses a question as to whether even it can be circumscribed and defined in a general way.

One cannot argue on purely perceptual grounds whether these perceptions focus on an awareness of the sensory qualities in one's own body, or whether they are attributed to the objective realm. (Clammer 1970:150). Obviously the appreciation of an artistic phenomenon commences with perception; but in this it is not unlike our appreciation of anything else. It seems likely, therefore, that like the attempt logically to define the concept of art, defining art by an appeal to aesthetic experience is impossible due to operational difficulties in comparing interior states of consciousness for validation. The subject eludes us inasmuch as there is no specifically generalizable "aesthetic experience". Indeed, the term "aesthetics" is used to designate such a wide range of objective phenomena as well as psychological states, that one paradigm cannot be judged to fit them all. It is especially difficult to investigate the occurrence of synaesthesia. It seems rather that the "aesthetic experience" must be viewed as structurally comprised of a variable number of complex motivational, cognitive, and perceptual aspects neither logically nor in any way definable in a non-dynamic way, but invariably structured by cultural and situational specifics.

This apparent digression is not meant to mystify so much as to serve as a framework for the realization of the complexity of aesthetic phenomena, as well as to arouse an awareness of the conceptual orientation which anthropologists



might finally entertain, should they wish to distinguish between the aesthetic and the non-aesthetic when confronted in the field by a complex of phenomena.

The temptation is great, when one is in new socio-cultural circumstances, to apply previously learned criteria and attitudes to the recognition and description of these new phenomena without appreciating their dynamic qualities in their own psychocultural context. What should remain in our awareness, then, is an appreciation of the conceptual limitations in approaching the field of the visually aesthetic from the classical or from the subjective point of view. Nevertheless, visual art is universally present across cultures (Maquet 1971:9-10), and aesthetic phenomena are everywhere appreciated or preferred for culturally defined and variable reasons. It would seem possible, then, to discover the phenomenal and definable aspects related to visual art. Such properties must appertain to the production, perception, and appreciation of aesthetic phenomena, and be discernible for consideration.

To achieve this end, perhaps we can approach our apparently universal subject from the standpoint of that which man derives through his common evolutionary heritage, and which structures all human response capabilities; that is, the perceptual apparatus seen from the standpoint of psychobiology. With that as a basic assumption, the anthropologist can approach the study of art more concretely in its specific sociocultural contexts.

### III. Aesthetics and Anthropology

Throughout the developing history of the discipline, anthropologists have evinced an interest in art, and have studied the relationship between "visual aesthetic phenomena" and other cultural aspects in a variety of ways. There are perhaps five general analytic categories into which anthropological works in aesthetics can be classified. For the purpose of this study, the related fields of dance, drama, and film will be ignored except as they impinge on the subject matter under consideration. The five following categories are to be understood as only heuristic and suggestive classifications, and not as conclusive or fixed taxonomies.<sup>1</sup>

A. The majority of anthropologists have focused on aesthetic visual phenomena as if they comprised the expressive statements or objectified projections of the ethos, values, or cognitive orientations of the culture which produced them. Within this general field, two characteristic sub-categories are discernible:

(1) Some anthropologists, most often archaeologists, focus upon the physical, stylistic, formal, and/or technical aspects of the more aesthetic artifacts which are perceived as a kind of code or as symbolic metaphors, characteristic of the values of the culture in which they were manufactured. Archaeologists define and catalogue the stylistic and technical aspects of the objects in order

to define a cultural focus, horizon, or a seriation pattern. With these style-derived taxonomies, they reconstruct sociocultural patterns or the development and change pertaining to the society whose material remains they have studied and analyzed (Willey and Phillips 1958; Gayton and Kroeber 1927; Rouse 1967; Willey 1962; Spinden 1913; Fagg 1945, 1959; Movius 1961; Ehrich 1965; Proskouriakoff 1958).

In the case of primitive art, the historical and evolutionary diffusionists also focused on the physical aspects of material and art objects as diagnostic clues symptomatic of development in simple or preliterate societies (Balfour 1890, 1899; Ucko and Rosenfeld 1967; Pitt-Rivers 1874a, 1874b). Some of these anthropologists sought to establish the geographic patterns by which the diffusion of objects spread, and they used stylistic earmarks as the boundary and trade route markers of the diffusion of whole cultural complexes as well. The diffusionists traced the transmission of culture traits and associated patterns from one culture area to another, based upon the presence of objects sharing physical similarities (Heine-Geldern 1937, 1959, 1960, 1966; Ekholm 1953; Estrada and Meggers 1961; Buck 1935; Speiser 1966).

(2) Another group of anthropologists studied the physical object and analyzed its stylistic and decorative elements, but applied different methodologies suited to their theoretical presuppositions relating to the expressive

qualities of art objects. Some used a system functionally analogous to the Psychoanalytic or Gestalt methodologies. Through a consideration of the visual arts, which they tended to view much as projective test protocols, they attempted to arrive at a deeper understanding of the axiological orientations, the "personality" or the ethos of the members of the culture of which these objects were the physical expressions. Oftentimes only a few cases were used in their type sample. It was judged unnecessary to use large samples, inasmuch as a small number of such artifacts is equally representative of general ideological patterns. According to this approach, art style is viewed as a projection of community ideology and structure (Fraser 1955, 1966; Devereux and LaBarre 1961; Kardiner 1949; Redfield 1971; Geertz 1957; Linton, 1949; DuBois 1944; Hsu 1953).<sup>2</sup>

In such cases, the final analytic description comprises a kind of "diagnosis" arrived at by cracking the visual code in order to interpret the connotative themes expressed by the artist. The presence of similar stylistic elements synergistically across a range of arts was considered by some anthropologists to indicate a high degree of social and cultural integration (Schapiro 1953; Bunzel 1938).

These studies range in scope from what is now considered to be methodologically naive and overly facile

(Benedict 1934), to those which are more sophisticated methodologically. These latter studies approach visual aesthetic phenomena as if they were a non-linguistic communication system which represents a culturally defined categorization of experience (Wallace 1950; Munn 1962, 1966, 1973; Fischer 1961; Dark 1954; Rundstrom et al 1973).<sup>3</sup>

Approaches such as these imply the presence in a culture of a basic personality structure which is shared by the bulk of its members as a result of early adaptive techniques and experiences common to them. This view implies that they share the circumstances and patterns of creativity, as well as the impulse to express their shared value orientations in similar physical embodiments (Kavolis 1965c, 1966). The intervening variables which structure modal or basic personality types are linked or related to child rearing patterns, subsistence patterns, and generally to the ways in which the adaptive mechanisms of a culture are institutionalized (Hsu 1953; Wallace 1950; Barry 1957; Kavolis 1964, 1965b).

For other anthropologists, the form and often the content itself of visual aesthetic phenomena are viewed as analogous to such systematic expressions as language, which reflect culturally conditioned but universally relevant modes of conceptualization (Fernandez 1966; Schneider 1971).

Lévi-Strauss and those anthropologists who propose the structuralist approach to the analysis of sociocultural

phenomena, represent a separate but related sub-group with their own unique theoretical and methodological procedures. The concept of structural analysis is based on the functional systemic view of society, along methodological lines influenced by the modern structural linguistics of Troubetzkoy (1949) and Roman Jakobson (1952). In his analysis of aesthetic phenomena, Lévi-Strauss works out his explanation by operating between the structures of the social institution or organization, and those incorporated in the works of plastic art. Actually, Lévi-Strauss deals with works of plastic arts primarily as instruments operating within the whole social process. The structure of this process, rather than the intrinsic characteristics of the works of art are what he and other structuralists seek to elucidate (Nodelmann 1970:79-84).

"To derive from language a logical model which, being more accurate and better known, may aid us in understanding the structure of the other forms of communications, is in no sense equivalent to treating the former as the origin of the latter" (Lévi-Strauss 1963:83).

"Anthropology should become than, a science of relationships. It seems to be a semiological science and takes as its guiding principle that of meaning" (*Ibid.* 364).

Since art is communication, according to the structuralists, the analysis of aesthetic products follows the paradigm which Lévi-Strauss proposed for analyzing mythology and other symbolic systems. Lévi-Strauss sees art as half-way between science and magic. It is thus characterized

by 'miniaturization', or a simplification by reduction in scale of its properties, through the creative transformation of an event into a structure. The "reality" of a work of art consists in the full texture of all its relations with its environment. These relationships are modes of action, the understanding of which depends upon utilization of some of the insights gained from contemporary studies both in linguistics and semiotics. The work of art is thus recognized as essentially referential in nature. In a manner which is similar to that propounded in Husserlian phenomenology (exclusive of the concept of epoché), the strategies of structural analysis impose a series of interrogations upon the phenomena to reveal one after another their modes of relationship or action.

The value of such hermeneutics for comparative analyses is apparent; the investigator is directed seriatim to the various relationships of the art object or phenomenon with the whole culture, focusing on its content, its formal principles, the occasion and manner of its execution, and the context of its function until the homology or consistency relationships obtaining between the structure in the social system and the form and content of the plastic work of art is revealed (Lévi-Strauss 1961, 1962, 1963).

Within this general category, which focuses variously on the emotive, symbolic, semiotic, or cathartic aspects of the aesthetic phenomenon, there are a few studies which

consider the actual function or purpose of art works within the society which produced them from one or another of the above viewpoints (Linton 1954; Fernandez 1970; Firth 1961); or as related to their presence in rituals (Geertz 1957; Valentine 1961; Forge 1970); or as concerning the enforcement or criticism of social controls (Seiber 1962a, 1962b) and of modal values (Chipp 1971, Harley 1950; Tumin 1971).

It is usually conceded that art objects enforce group solidarity through the associationist emotions of empathy (Vastokas 1967; Himmelheber 1963; Ray D. 1967; Rattray 1927), or can promote the sublimation of hostile impulses into productive and socially acceptable emotions (Radcliffe-Brown 1922; Turney-High 1968).

B. As a second general category, some few anthropologists have investigated the roles, statuses, or personalities of artists qua artists, both within their societies and with respect to their work patterns. These studies range from those which view the artist first as a member of society, and secondly as a creative artist (Bunzel 1929; Goodale and Koss 1971; Diaz 1966; O'Neall 1932; Forge 1966, 1967, Bascom 1969; Biebuyck 1969), to those studies which focus primarily on the role content of the artist as artist, including references to their personalities (Mead 1963; Benedict 1928), or to their creative development and aesthetic judgments (Gerbrands 1971; Armstrong 1971; Fernandez 1966; Bohannon 1961).



In addition to positioning the artist within the social system, some of these studies also discuss more general problems: such as the artist's view of aesthetic categories (Armstrong 1971; Schneider 1966; Bunzel 1929), or the special domain and "use" of the artist in ritual or secular circumstances (Lommel 1967; Lewis 1961; Sieber 1959; Mountford 1961).

C. A third type of study seeks to correlate the stylistic or formal characteristics of the art object and its technical production with specific organizational characteristics of the society, and/or the natural or constructed physical environment within which it was produced. This approach typically links the social and the aesthetic orders (Firth 1936; Mills 1959; Schneider 1966), or explains the presence of differential modes of formal or stylistic changes on sociocultural organizational grounds (Sieber 1959; Graburn 1967; Kubler 1946, 1948; Haddon 1895; Robbins 1966; Firth 1925, 1961:155 ff.; Bird 1963; Lommel 1970).

As the result of early field work and the energetic collecting of artifacts, the nineteenth century anthropological passion for classification was linked with an attempt to trace the development of ornamentation from realistic figures to geometrical designs, analogous to an evolutionary social process (Pitt-Rivers 1874a, 1874b; Balfour 1890, 1899; Haddon 1895).

Some of these scholars modelled their research on the methodological pattern of the biological sciences, rather than the aesthetic theories which were dominated by the philosophic doctrines prevalent the last quarter of the nineteenth century. They separated form from function, but emphasized the level of technology achieved in a society as correlated with representational styles.

Boas, who stood in opposition to the late nineteenth century evolutionists, argued that artifacts should be studied on their own grounds, and with an aesthetic appreciation which is at the same time highly aware of the implications and influence of materials and technology upon the formal aspects of art objects. Boas maintained that the technical excellence of some primitive art is as sophisticated and "rational" as that styled and created in Western Europe. Boas stressed the close relationship existent between the formal aspects of the artifact and the environment of the society producing it. This relationship bonds the art style, the medium, and the technical aspects of creativity with the natural world of its locale. (Boas 1955, 1966). Several of Boas's students worked to elaborate upon these ideas by documenting the relationship among the materials used, the techniques adapted, the economic or subsistence pattern, and the collective effect of these upon the form and structure of art objects (Gunther 1962; Holmes 1886, 1906; Lowie 1956; Bunzel 1938; Holm 1965;

Kroeber 1951).

Some anthropologists have investigated the art-environment relationship from a slightly different standpoint. Their work may show an influence from communication theory (Hall 1966:71ff., 1970; Bateson 1972:128-152; 177-193), or from studies in ecological psychology and perception (Segall et al 1966:10-48). A careful analysis of the art works of a culture should be accompanied by an astute evaluation of the ecological environment of the artist if the goal is to discover how the artists use their senses, organize their sensory world, and how they shape their perceptions into concrete forms for perceivers (Carpenter 1959, 1961).

D. A fourth category of studies is also oriented toward the structural-functional relationship of the aesthetic with non-aesthetic social phenomena, but more particularly from a cross-cultural comparative standpoint. A few studies were done to analyze artistic response to acculturative pressures (Graburn 1967; Beier 1960), while others focused more directly upon the influences of culture on perception (Robbins 1966) and organized expression in the material world (Fraser 1968). Most of the studies of a principally cross-culture comparative nature fall into two general categories:

(1) The attempt to discover or isolate significant correlations between patterned sociocultural phenomena,

such as role differentiation or child rearing, and specific art styles or forms (Wolfe 1969; Fischer 1961; Barry 1957; Kroeber 1957; Mead 1945, 1950, 1959).

(2) Studies to determine the presence or absence of valid cross-cultural criteria of aesthetic excellence, or similar trans-cultural interpretations of artistic forms (Bohman 1961; Redfield et al 1959; Child and Siroto 1965; McElroy 1952; Ford, Terry et. al 1966; Sumiko and Child 1966; Sierksma 1960; Leach 1961; Stout 1971).

Although the relationship between the visual arts and perception is complex and has remained relatively undefined for anthropology, it will be seen from the references and collations included in this study that a substantial body of work has been done in the general area of the relationship between culture and learning, and visual preference and perception. These studies have important implications for aesthetic anthropology (see also: Hallowell 1951; Segall et al 1966; Roubertoux 1970; Knapp 1959, 1963; Kaplan and Lawless 1965; Ford 1966; Lowenthal 1967).

(E) Finally, a small number of articles and books have been published in which anthropologists have adopted a more pointedly theoretical stance toward the field of aesthetics and anthropology. Some of these studies comprise an attempt to furnish corrective definitions and re-orientations for the general focus in research of aesthetic

phenomena (Armstrong 1971; d'Azevedo 1958; Mills 1957; Merriam 1964; Haselberger 1961; Marshack 1972). Other studies have presented a more succinct conceptual apparatus and methodological considerations in order to stimulate more and better structured studies in the area of aesthetics and anthropology (Maquet 1971; Kroeber et al 1962; Gjessing 1962; Linton 1954).

It should be reiterated that this list and classification is not conclusive. Many of the studies cited could be included under several of the categories mentioned inasmuch as they include multi-methodological approaches and discussions. Nor was this taxonomy meant to be exhaustive, for it is obviously selective and many sources (especially a large corpus in other languages) were omitted for our purposes. The previous analysis into the categories selected stands only as heuristic, and as introductory to the body of this study. In addition to these sources, a large body of literature exists attesting to research done in psychology, philosophy, sociology and history, some of which is also relevant to work in Aesthetic Anthropology. The display of studies which could be listed attests to the complexity of the problems under the aegis of anthropology and aesthetics, and indicates that perhaps to employ careful interdisciplinary methodologies and research might be the most fruitful approach at this point in time.

One of the basic orientations of this study will be to

redefine the conceptual approach with which anthropologists typically investigate aesthetic phenomena, contexts, and experiences. Another orientation will be to extend the focus of Aesthetic Anthropology to include a study whose subject matter is contemporary and representative of a complex social system.

#### IV. Human Evolution:

##### Background for the Aesthetic Experience

It is a commonplace observation that "art" is found in all known human societies; therefore, it can rather safely be considered as a "cultural universal". Although this fact would seem to indicate something about the degree of the importance of the aesthetic experience as it is linked to the perception of certain phenomena, one can in no way argue - except in an ad hominum fashion - for the original "cause" of the aesthetic experience, or even about its functional efficacy in the past.

However, the aesthetic experience is judged in this study to be a most important phenomenon with adaptive aspects. When placed in the context of what we know about the ecological circumstances of human evolution on the one hand, and of the structure of perception and cognition on the other, a more total understanding of the essential nature and dynamic structure of aesthetic experience can be gained.

In a sense, the case of contextual explanation which will be developed in this study can be designated as a "functional explanation". However, in this particular approach it should be clarified that no holistic theory of functionalism as such is espoused (in which logic necessitates that everything in the system be purposive), but rather that functional explanation is considered to be

acceptable. Furthermore, explanation here is regarded as an open program of inquiry (Kaplan 1964:365-367).

In order to find explanations for given patterns of behavior, one can attempt to delineate the purpose or purposes they might be serving. When certain experiences are understood to be "aesthetic experiences", then an investigation of the context of their occurrence might well serve to occasion the discovery of the stimuli which evoked these responses, as well as the relevant results of their occurrence.

There are minimally two characteristics of scientific or "causal" explanations: that they enable us to appreciate connections, and that they help us to predict the future. For the purpose of this study, the attempt to "appreciate connections will provide an organizing principle for general procedure. Since aesthetic experience and phenomena appear to occur in all known human cultures, one is led inevitably to consider that they must have been rudimentarily coeval with the first occurrences of the adaptive patterns to which we apply the term "culture". Aesthetic experience should therefore be approached with the same set of pre-suppositions by which we understand the existence of culture itself. In this way, one is inevitably led to consider the context and process of human evolution itself for an understanding of the perceptual processes necessary to the appearance of aesthetic phenomena.



The only way in which we can approach the understanding of human evolution with respect to our specific subject matter, the aesthetic experience and art, is by referring to the functional relationships obtaining in selective adaptation. This consideration places the ecological approach to human behavior foremost. Simply put, we need to develop an understanding which may "account" for the presence and continuation of art-centered behavior patterns. In the final section of this study we shall again return to this original orientation, and evaluate how it might help us to fulfill the second scientific characteristic, and aid us in predicting the future with respect to aesthetic experience.

Since it is agreed that art and the aesthetic experience appear essentially coevally with human culture, and are present in all of the cultures of which we have knowledge, what does our evidence of the general history of human evolution permit us to understand about the context or "connections" of the development of aesthetic experience?

The bulk of anthropological work in aesthetics approaches both artistic behavior and artistic productions from a social and/or psychological standpoint. But the work of physical anthropologists, researching and interpreting human development through the history of evolution, directs us to realize that all human behavior is also ultimately dependent upon biological processes. Secondly, behavior

is structured by two mechanisms which define it as adaptive: (1) the procedural principle which structures bodily and psychobiological patterns throughout organism-environment interactions; and (2), learning, or any form of behavior resulting from an organism's specific reaction to its environment (Berlyne 1971:6-8).

The majority of anthropological studies in art place the "explanation" for the phenomenon itself, or for the existence of specific styles, within the culture of which the art is the expression. This approach comprises an undoubtedly valid method, but only insofar as one is seeking the "explanation" or elucidation of specific pattern of artistic activities or phenomena, and not of artistic behavior in general. Universal behavior complexes must ultimately be placed in a biological perspective, if one wishes to establish a platform for understanding the presence itself of any class of behavior (i.e., such as aesthetic). The implication of this viewpoint is that the presence of aesthetic experience itself is to be related to the context of natural selection and biology as well as to that of learning and culture.

Human behavior patterns depend heavily on biology or anatomical structures, including those characteristics of the human nervous system which were selected for and evolved inasmuch as they aided human survival. We assume (incontrovertibly as contrary evidence is lacking) that species-

wide behavior patterns depend upon both inherited characteristics as well as those preserved through learning as successful adaptive patterns. This summation is as true for aesthetic acts and productions as for all other widespread patterned human activities. For this reason, investigation of the aesthetic behavior complex should in general include, or at least be aware of and consistent with, the biological presuppositions appertaining to the origins of art.

We must assume, therefore, that the bioneurological structures and behavior patterns developed and retained through natural selection during evolution were advantageous to successful competition for the life necessities of sustenance and safety (Bartholomew and Birdsell 1953).

During the last decade, much attention has been focused on the investigation and elucidation of the interaction of biological responses with psychological and chemicoglandular processes which aid the organism to maintain maximal adjustment to his environment. Information garnered from various fields as initially disparate as cybernetics and information theory, to fossil evidence and primate ethology, population genetics, and neurological research have combined to enrich the complex study of human ecology. The results of this new interdisciplinary research have been incorporated into a substantially improved systematic and theoretical approach to the history

of human evolution. It is to this corpus of work that we can turn first in our search to understand the biological origins and support mechanisms for cognitive behavior in general, and for aesthetic activities in particular.

It has been stated that "in a very real sense our (human) intellect, interest, emotions, and basic social life - all are evolutionary products of the success of the hunting adaptation" (Washburn and Lancaster 1968:293). The selection pressures upon any hunting-gathering subsistence pattern are so parallel in basic respects, that populations of homo sapiens are still members of the same species everywhere, in spite of the high phenotypic variability present in a wide adaptive radiation. The crucial formative evolution of man took place during the time he was a hunter. The presence of agriculture is limited roughly to the last seven or eight thousand years, and archeological research defines this period as apparently unaccompanied by further basic biological changes (Ibid., 200-300).

Perhaps it might be productive to make an analytic distinction between the biological aspects of man's evolution as a hunter and the concomitant sociopsychological aspects, and consider these latter foci as a background for our study of the more biological aspects of man today. In reality it must be acknowledged that the biological and the sociocultural are as systematically related in ecological adaptation now as they were in earlier hominid evolution

(Alland 1973:190-273), and that to discuss them separately is only valid as an analytic device (Washburn and Howell 1960:33-56; Dubos, 1965, 1967).

Hunting is a complex sequence-behavior pattern usually commencing in childhood (Laughlin 1968:318). The process of hunting has been analyzed according to the following diagram, which both clarifies the complexity in the sequencing involved, and emphasizes the point that hunting is a way of life involving patterned variations in different ecological niches.

### PROCESS OF HUNTING

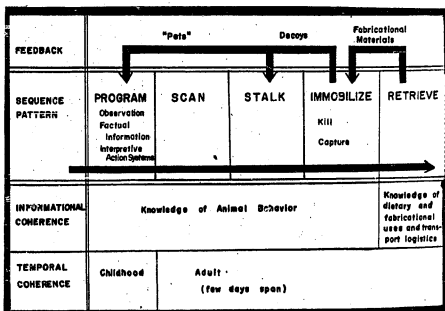


Figure 1. The Process of Hunting. (Laughlin 1968:310).

The amount of planning, skill, cooperation, and communication involved in hunting is related to the very great and complex neurological development evinced by man the hunter. The size of the brain doubled during the rise of hunting, concomitant with the intensive selective forces at work. Hunting, and its attendant sequence of actions, reshaped the brain by placing a selective premium on the capacity for remembering, planning, and comparing; in short, for learning in general (Pfeiffer 1969:133-134; Washburn 1968; Laughlin 1968:309). Even more specifically, hunting affected certain portions of the brain more than others, especially those dealing with a development in the complexity of the neural integrating circuits, and of the centers which help to receive and analyze the flow of messages coming in from the sense organs, and which then trigger the appropriate actions on the basis of analyses and comparisons. An expansion of the frontal areas of the cerebral cortex is differentially concomitant with the increased planning of activities (Pfeiffer 1969:137). It is now established that people with damaged cortex may not be able to carry out an ordered sequence of activities. Rosenzweig et al (1972) through their experimentation have recently illustrated that cortical changes occur in a direct ratio correlated with a controlled degree of enrichment of the environment.

The neocortex (the nature of which is admittedly poorly understood) is extremely complex, and aside from

what is known about its motor and sensory areas seems to have been shaped by pressures favoring the generalized function of association (Birdsell 1972:132-134).

Hunting is an active way of life, which places physical motion and acute sensory directedness into the evolutionary heritage of man. The awareness of ecological relationships is evinced in human morphology, technology, and social organization. Hunting involves goals and motivations, a perception-cognition system for which an inbuilt neurologically based inhibition system has been developed (Laughlin 1968:304-306). Since hunting involves such a positive reward for proper remembering and problem-solving, and such strong penalties as hunger and death for failure, it contributed much to the advance of the human species, and to holding it together within a single species (Ibid.:305 Washburn 1968:293-294; Pfeiffer 1969:151-170).

To understand how hunting affected human evolution, perhaps we should consider it as a sequence pattern of behavioral complexes which actually comprise a complex way of life, defined by a close interdependence with the environment. These behavior complexes consist of the following: (1) programming the child; (2) scanning or the collection of information; (3) stalking or the pursuit of game; (4) immobilization and/or killing or capture of game; and (5) the retrieval of the game (Laughlin 1968:305).

As such, this behavior system has functioned as a

catalyst or an integrating function for the nervous system, as well as for the chemico-organic and musculovascular structures which support the human anatomy. Hunting sequences structured the motivations and affective behavior linked with the cognitive aspects of enacting plans for living.

Behavior complex (1), programming the child, can be seen as composite and as involving: observation; knowledge of animal behavior; and the ability to make predictions about appropriate actions for living with and utilizing animals.

Man's slow maturation rate permits complete programming of plans and information, as well as adequate opportunities for developing physical exercise of a relevant nature through play, games, and perhaps ceremonies sanctioned by the group of adults in charge.

(2) Scanning or searching out the animals and areas for hunting involves an application of knowledge gleaned from previous experience and learning, and thus acts as an impetus to effective memory. This process also entails the exercise of the perceptual apparatus to a high degree, inasmuch as a detailed focus on the environment is necessary.

(3) With the sight of game, stalking commences; and we know from contemporary hunting societies that this sequence can involve up to several days and considerable travelling. The hunter wants to glean all the information



available about the potential prey: its age, numbers present, condition, sex, general rate of travel, the presence of aggressive signs, etc., in order to get as close as possible to the animal and use his technology effectively. So the hunter depends upon a correct application of the knowledge he has gained, and also upon a high degree of awareness of even the most subtle shift in the environment.

(4) It should also be clarified that the killing or capture of the game is not as simple as one might imagine, but depends upon plans and decisions (often of a corporate nature), defining the best place which would be advantageous for subsequent butchering, portage of meat, and so forth. At this point, the situational factors of the environment, terrain, presence or distance of home base and the group, are all relevant to decision-making. Corporate decisions, again, are important here.

(5) The retrieval of game represents the end point in the sequence and the second point at which the technological aspect and manipulation of tools according to plans for the distribution of the quarry are involved (Laughlin 1968:309-311; Pfeiffer 1968:127-150).

The hunting paradigm, therefore, involves numerous already complex sequence behavior patterns, which comprise the adaptive mechanisms in relation to which the pressures of selection operate on human evolution. For this reason, their detailing is significant.

All of this physiological brain development was accompanied by and systematically related to both sensory and locomotor proliferations. Observation and scanning, careful attention to the subtleties of color, form, and motion present in the environment are imperative for successful hunters. During evolution, the development of accommodative vision in man made great mobility and interaction with the environment possible, establishing the eyes as the leading sense. The pattern of visual development made the supervision of any manipulation by the hands possible, which in turn when linked with man's locomotor capabilities, structures his ability to modify the environment (Washburn 1963, 1968; Spuhler 1959).

Bipedal posture freed man's hands, enabling him to manipulate objects and bring them up closer to the eyes and the organs of touch, vision, and smell. This aspect of adaptation delegated these organs, along with the use of the arms and hands, to the position of the principal nexus of interaction with the environment (Spuhler 1959). In turn, the rich output of sensory data to the brain fostered the development of associative areas for the storage of experience, forming the neurological patterning for comparisons and making of new plans.

The use of objects or tools interposed between the environmental stimuli and general organismic response, contributed to the development of a pattern of neural delay,

which is necessary to the cessation of all purely instinctual behavioral responses; and the implications of this process to the conscious awareness of alternatives are clear (Spuhler 1959).

Touch and the visual experience of space are inter-related as channels of information in which the individual scans with both senses. The sense of touch is extremely important in relating man to the environment in which he lives. During the early evolutionary period of hunting, as well as today, the visual, tactile, and kinesthetic systems are interrelated. The appreciation of movement, color, form, texture, and the kinesthetic sense of moving about in given environments, structure the possibility for a cross-modality of appreciation and sensitivity (Spuhler 1959).

Again, consider the nature of the hunter's way of life. Conclusions formulated from the overwhelming evidence of archeology, coupled with ethnographic data gathered from contemporary hunting societies imply that moving about is characteristic of a hunter's range of experience and seasonal pattern. Movement means exposure to a high degree of variability, which it is to the hunter's advantage to observe and retain in his memory. The strictures of food attainment provide a most potent incentive for dealing with variability in ecological situations and various seasons. Patterned variations in animal behavior with

respect to adaptation to environment are also characteristic (Dubos 1965:1-34). It seems clear that a premium was placed on larger brains to accommodate more complex memory and related associative processes (Pfeiffer 1969:135; Dobzhansky 1966:201ff.).

The best way to understand the development of man's remarkable ability to order the chaotic stimuli received from the "external" world into meaningful patterns, is to consider that the conscious ability to perceive and evaluate environmental cues representing potential food, danger, or socialization possibilities, when coupled with the cognitive ability to consider alternatives, is of primary evolutionary importance, because it enhances adaptation in all environmental situations.

The complexities of brain physiology should be considered to thoroughly understand the possible explanations for whichever neurological structures actually support consciousness and "conceptualization"; but this study is not the occasion for such an enterprise, as this would not contribute directly enough to our understanding of the evolutionary background for the aesthetic experience (D'Aquili 1972).

It was also in the context of hunting life that homo sapiens developed into an adjustor of twigs and pebbles, a manipulator, a homo fabricans. Due to the nature of hunting as a way of life, many elements converge to structure a

collective life as the most effective living unit. Already in primate evolution, as a spate of recent ethological studies has illustrated, selective pressures had operated to favor social as opposed to solitary patterns of living ( DeVore 1963; Lawick-Goodall 1971; Itani and Suzuki 1967:355-381; Imanishi 1960).

Among protohominids, those individuals characterized by having the strongest attachments to others in the group would have been the most likely to remain with them, and thus to survive predators' attacks and pass on their genes to the next generation. It seems clear that the evolution of man includes the evolution of his nervous system which is structured by a subjective feeling of pleasure, or some such positive motivation, when stimulated by the physical proximity of members of the same species.

A long and interesting list of additional factors supporting the positive evolutionary potential of primate groups over individuals could be drawn and elaborated; suffice it to mention a few to fill out the "way of life" syndrome we are elucidating for man the evolving hunter. The carnivorous-omnivorous diet has implications for social organization inasmuch as successfully cooperating hunters were able to gain a large quantity of protein food at one time, some of which could be carried a short distance to a home base for consumption. This "home base" pattern, when coupled with man's highly developed biochemical and

glandular timing mechanism of circadian rhythm patterns, gave impetus to the use of shelters of increasing structural complexity (Chapple 1970:58-71; Ravicz 1972).

Another crucial behavioral aspect of high adaptive significance would be the cortical control of sexual impulses. This control pattern is tied to neural relays and glandular interrelationships that are systematically related to the motivational system as well as to slow maturation; this sub-system permits expanded learning through long-term child rearing and a close mother-child dyad. At any rate, this factor acted as a tremendous boost toward the establishment of the biological family as a functional social unit characterized by long-term relationships, division of labor, the use of successive occupation sites and so forth in an orderly and predictable manner (Spuhler 1959; Roe 1963:320-323; Dobzhansky 1966:194ff.).

It is precisely in the areas of communication and cognition that homo sapiens shows his unique qualities and capabilities most clearly; for these processes designate the most important psychobiological presuppositions and determinants of culture (D'Aquili 1972; Roe 1963:320-323, 326).

The ability to use symbols and signs, and to attribute to them fixed, learned denotations and connotations, and thus to relate individual entities and experiences seems to be a function found only in man. This set of attributes

appears to be somehow related to the development of the dominant inferior parietal lobule. Some researchers have decided that the associative areas operate like intrinsic systems in which items are stored much as are their counterparts in computer memory banks. They view many of man's cognitive processes as analogous to the operations of a computer; whose behaviors are organized as plans. A plan is "any hierarchical process in the organism that can control the order in which a sequence of operations is performed" (Pribram 1969:60; Roe 1963:325ff.)

The motor cortex area of the human brain shows large areas devoted to the mouth, and another area devoted to the hand. Just how speech, language and thought are linked is complex; but the certainty of their interrelationship is established. The exact manner and time during evolution in which this pattern developed is open to speculation since fossil and artifactual remains furnish only clues to this problem.

When we recall our structured consideration of how man the hunter adapted to his environment, we can see that one could posit any number of additional factors most likely involved: the need for protection and security; the perpetuation of socialization patterns; the sharing of information about objects to search for and others to avoid and so forth (Roe 1963:323-4).

This preliminary descriptive model of the evolution of

man as hunter is delineated in order to frame or set the stage for our succeeding discussion of the psychobiological aspects of the aesthetic experience. It will be useful to keep this orientation in mind as the theoretical portion of this paper is developed, especially inasmuch as the sensory and perceptual apparatus of man is the crucial focal point between the discussion of human evolution and the aesthetic experience.



## V. Background to Aesthetic Experience:

### Perception

As we have noted, anthropologists attest to the universal occurrence of aesthetic phenomena, or at least to those experiences which we assume to fulfill specific criteria so as to be categorized as "aesthetic". These experiences and phenomena appeared very early in pre-historic sites and are evidenced in all investigated cultures (Maquet 1971:9). We might now pose the question as to why this universality occurs? This question is usually sidestepped or disregarded, as art and aesthetic phenomena are usually relegated to the position of accompaniments to other cultural institutions, and as existing by virtue of the universality of the latter. Maquet has sought to shed light on this problem, inasmuch as he wishes to develop the grounds for a programmatic approach to and development of an area of study such as "Aesthetic Anthropology". In doing so, he has cited or postulated a "universal aesthetic sensibility" to account for the universality of aesthetic phenomena. This sensibility is defined as "the capacity to be aesthetically aware but not necessarily to respond the same way to the same stimuli" (Maquet 1971:9).

This definition is acceptable as far as it goes; for logically speaking, one cannot attend to a phenomenon such as aesthetic appreciation which occurs universally, without

positing the existence of such a category as "universal aesthetic sensibility". So far as this stands, it does so largely as a tautological postulate, rephrasing the fact of the aesthetic experience into an hypostatized conscious sensibility to the collective qualities comprising the experience. It is conceivable that anthropology can go beyond this stance, and marshal some of the psychobiological aspects of human evolution and behavior as an explanatory framework which will break the circularity of the original definition. To accomplish this, we shall attempt to analyze what Maquet has articulated as the "universal aesthetic sensibility" into its component parts. In proceeding in this way, it is hoped that the abstracted concept of "universal aesthetic sensibility" will gain explanatory power as a more scientific statement for the future orientation of Aesthetic Anthropology.

One must first account for the fact that perception is the sine qua non involved in the awareness of an aesthetic object or phenomenon. It has also been observed that while the sense organs are exposed to and receiving stimulation from an 'aesthetic' stimulus field, that bodily activity is often minimal. The internal psychological activity involved with the "perception" in point is oftentimes qualitatively described as "pleasure" or simply as "emotion".

Perception includes more than the immediate processes by which information originating in external events, or

such internal activities as interoception or proprioception, is received, analyzed, and synthesized within the nervous system. It is now understood that perception and cognition are simply two ends of a continuum; and that perception is complex and involves such things as selective rejection of information, and a merging with information from within the organism already patterned by learning and past experiences (Bruner 1957; Kilpatrick 1961:2-6).

The complexity and flexibility of the nervous system developed through evolution is evidenced in at least two ways during perception. First is the aspect that the information in any present stimulus situation is unlikely to be sufficient; so that the decisions and consequences of the actions possible may depend on past, future, or distant events, not reflected in the stimuli of which the sense organs are aware at any one moment. For this reason, it is necessary to combine the information received at any given present time with that stored in the organism through previous learning. Secondly, much of the information coming from the internal and external environments must be discarded as irrelevant to the most efficient adaptive behavior. Only a minute proportion of the information coming in from the environment can be 'selected' for processing through the limited channel capabilities of the nervous system, and then reflected in subsequent action. Perceptual processes thus serve to reject information which

is useless for adaptive behavior and which would perhaps be detrimental to organismic efficiency (Berlyne 1971:96-98). This interpretation of perception as "directive-state" (so named by Allport), which posits a mediation model of the processing of stimuli in advance of conscious response levels, has gained increasing support with subsequent work in brain physiology (Berlyne 1968).

The higher mammals, and especially the primates, spend much of their time performing actions that have no other function than to bring the sense organs into contact with stimuli of particular kinds; so that they essentially perceive-create their own on-going environments by structuring their reception of preferred stimuli. Much of what animals and humans do constantly changes their external and internal stimulus situations. Some of these changes are sought and actualized as they deal with the potential satiation of hunger, fatigue, and other biological drives. Other forms of behavior expose the organism to stimuli which have no direct or observable biologically important effect on the whole organism, other than the sense organs and the nervous system. These forms of behavior belong to a class Berlyne has designated as "exploratory behavior" (1960, 1963, 1966b, 1971:99ff.).

We shall further investigate the category of 'exploratory behavior', because as we shall see from the development of our argument, it is likely that such behavior is directly

relevant to aesthetic experience.

The behavior of an organism looking for a mate, for food, or for some specific information which will directly influence subsequent acts which have biologically valuable goal-aspects of their own, can be called "extrinsic exploratory behavior". In other instances, exploratory activities are accomplished to secure access to stimuli which do not directly influence subsequent goal-directed activity of the organism; such actions can be designated as "intrinsic exploratory activity" (Berlyne 1971:99).

In this study, a case will be made on the basis of the theoretical background proposed, that much of what we ordinarily designate as aesthetic behavior consists of intrinsic exploratory activity. We shall ultimately have to deal with the problem of why and how it is that stimuli which are apparently biologically neutral (i.e., neither beneficial nor noxious in themselves, nor associated with positive or negative events) are sought after; and further, how it is that their experience is accompanied by a heightened awareness sometimes concomitant with pleasure-associated aspects. It is likely that this apparently biologically and functionally neutral aspect of aesthetic experience, when previously recognized, has incited many thinkers to define art or the aesthetic as that which is essentially characterized as non-utilitarian. Yet, when art is characterized as non-utilitarian, or as an experience

or series of activities in which practical interests are suspended, this description accounts for only one aspect of aesthetic phenomena. This does not comprise an exhaustive definition, nor does it effectively set art apart from non-art (Berlyne 1971:100).

It is important at this point to make a further distinction dealing with function. Some exploratory behavior occurs when someone is left in a state of uncertainty and conflict because of insufficient information due to novelty, unfavorable conditions for perception, or - on the cognitive level - because one has received conflicting information in a symbolic form (i.e., written, depicted, spoken, or in one's own thought processes). Uncertainty of this nature can generate the motivational condition which can be termed "curiosity". Curiosity related to this kind of exploratory circumstance can be called "perceptual curiosity" if it relates to non-symbolic perceptual processes (as in optical ambiguities), and "epistemic curiosity" if it deals with symbolic structures (Berlyne 1960, 1971:90ff.).

Exploratory activities which eventuate in curiosity can result in two kinds of response patterns. If curiosity excites further action to obtain additional stimulation and information from or about the object of curiosity, we can speak of specific exploration. On the other hand, one can seek out stimuli which have been initially shown to have

appealing stimulatory properties, regardless of their source or content. Such activity has nothing to do with specific exploration, and may even be activated by a state of boredom or inactivity. This latter type of search behavior can be designated as diversive exploration (Berlyne 1971:100-101).

Specific exploration is very likely connected with rewards, inasmuch as it leads to arousal reduction when and if the adverse conditions of curiosity, ambiguity, or uncertainty are satisfied. Diverisive exploration seems to be related more often to feelings of positive affect which are concomitant with moderate arousal increment. It is probable that both kinds of exploratory behavior are constituents of aesthetic experience, inasmuch as they are both influenced by specific collective stimulus properties (Berlyne 1971:100).

Exploratory responses in part determine what kinds of stimuli will reach the sense organs, probably before the sense organs are actually stimulated. Once the stimulation of the sense organs takes place, further selective processes are enacted, since one can only respond at one time to a small portion of the vast number of stimuli bombarding the sense organs. The processes of selective attention (influenced by experience), place behavior under the control of particular receptor cells, so that information from one sense modality is admitted, while information coming from

others is blocked.

A second element, abstraction, deserves some explanation in our discussion of perception. Abstraction denotes selection according to property rather than according to location. In many animals, this can occur by innate responses to specific properties (i.e., color patterns in mating periods); but for the human species, as well as for some other higher mammals, discrimination learning experiences direct one to approach a stimulus pattern characterized by specific properties, and to ignore those not linked with a learned reward (Berlyne 1971:101).

It is apparent, therefore, that learning structures modification of attention inasmuch as abstraction takes place at the level of perception. For an anthropologist, this implies that cultural conditioning according to patterned responses such as learning or adaptation to specific environments takes place at the most basic levels of stimuli reception. It is at this level, therefore, where the relative acceptance or rejection of stimulus properties as more or less pleasing commences, and aesthetic preferences patterns are initially differentiated across cultures.

There are some aspects of Gestalt psychology which have proven fruitful and have been validated to some degree through experimentation. The human organism does not react to a stimulus, (i.e. stimulus of a single receptor cell).



Behavior is related to patterns or configurations of stimuli received, each consisting of a collection of elements arranged in certain ways. The manipulation of behavior responses through controlled stimulus configurations or patterns has been widely demonstrated in conditioning experiments and situations.

Again we see that an important part of any perceptual activity consists of determining which stimulus properties to group together in order to evoke a response. There are invariably different ways in which groupings can be accomplished. Those elements controlling which factors will predominate include: similarity, spatial and temporal proximity and so forth. It seems likely (contrary to most Gestalt theorists) that learning probably plays a bigger role in the structuring of these factors than do the innate properties of the nervous system (See: Parts three, four, and five passim of Price-Williams 1969:95-200).

A substantial amount of research in psychology, has been conducted during the post World World II period: principally to define the roles of inference and categorization in perception and cognition (Bruner et al 1956, Bruner et al 1966). Several experiments and subsequent theoretical inferences have extended the analysis of perceptual processes to include the texture and patterning of expectations which individuals hold about the regularity and predictability of events in their physical and social environments

(Ittelson and Cantril 1954; Tagiuri 1968; Kilpatrick 1961).

Many psychological and a few anthropological studies of the influence of the sociocultural factors on perception and categorization, are based on the idea of functional salience which structures both the perception of and response to the environment (Tafjel 1968; Campbell 1961, 1964; Maccoby and Modiano 1966). At this point it seems legitimate to maintain that in the articulation of the individual with the environment, percept and concept are joined (Greenfield 1969; Price-Williams 1969). The spatial field is differentially endowed with diverse meanings by different individuals who, because of their past experience, apprehend in environmental cues "schemata of variable significance". This view of perception seems eminently reasonable and consistent with the evolutionary context of selective pressures which operated on the sensory systems of protohominids and on Early Man as hunter.

There seems to be common agreement that the process of perception in its entirety is a highly adaptive one, albeit the actual mechanisms by which it proceeds are exceedingly complex and not completely understood, or agreed upon (Gibson 1970:105-106; Piaget 1961; Helson 1959).

Behavior also seems to be affected by the relations among stimuli; therefore, the comparison of stimulus elements among themselves is also an activity or set of operations implicit to the process of perception. Some of

the main aspects of perceptual comparison, whether or not of stimuli co-present have been delineated as:

(1) Exploratory and emotional responses (eg., increases and decreases in arousal) dependent upon whether or not stimuli are novel or familiar, or according to the degree of deviation from the expected stimulus, along a surprising-expected dimension (Berlyne 1971:106).

(2) The direction of the particular stimulus variation, or whether a stimulus has more or less of a specific property which can affect the organism's action.

(3) Oftentimes, the response depends both upon the extent and the direction of the differences between present and earlier stimuli. Helson has repeatedly illustrated in experimentation that a subject has at any time an adaptation level (depending upon the kind of stimuli he experienced in the relatively recent past). For this reason, how complex a pattern is judged to be, depends upon the existence, extent, and direction of differences among its simultaneously present elements as their perception is structured by past experience (Berlyne 1971:107 ff.).

(4) Perception (especially if visual) is subject to possible illusion, so that the information gathered in a quick single glance may be an unreliable basis for action. A number of glances from slightly different points of view (decentering) may mitigate distortions so that a more objective view of the object or phenomenon can be obtained (Piaget 1961).<sup>4</sup>

The result of all these and other sub-processes, which comprise the complex of intimately related elements in perception, are activated when object(s) or events are perceived. The outcome of all these processes which make perceptual "sense" is information, which is needed for the selection of any course of action. But stimuli are often examined without leading to any specific overt course of action, which as many have observed, is exactly the case in most instances of what is called "aesthetic appreciation". The context or circumstances of aesthetic experience do not, however, change the processes of perception per se, inasmuch as the original biologically grounded structure and functions of the latter remain. It must be concluded that the perceptual apparatus and the perceptual processes used in aesthetic and non-aesthetic activities are the same. The differences between 'art' and 'non-art' lie elsewhere than in the most immediate perceptual responses to a field of stimuli.

Perception has been observed to entail emotional or motivational factors ranging from a minimal to a high degree; so the import of this vector must be considered, since affect is inevitably tied up with aesthetic behavior (Berlyne 1971:113 ff.).

Perception is not instantaneous even if it seems to be so. It takes time to derive information from the raw perceptual patterns. Early tachistoscopic experiments

verified this conclusion (Freeman 1929), and subsequent experimentation, inclusive of data from information theory, reaffirms the results of these earlier experiments (Miller, G., et. al. 1954).

Perception also seems to admit of various degrees of difficulty and effort, especially at the earlier stages, or in the event of uncertainty or conflicting cues. Difficulty and effort will be greater when patterns are more complex, novel, or surprising. By "difficult" is meant that competing response tendencies which are linked to interfering processes occur at the same time in the brain, so that only some responses will reach completion. There are certain emotional or affective characteristics related to "effort" and exertion. These entail a high level of energy arousal which continues until exhaustion or resolution are achieved. This high arousal is an uncomfortable condition whose removal through the overcoming of the difficulty will be felt as pleasurable or rewarding in some way (Berlyne 1960, 1971:112-113).

This arousal vector of perception leads us to the conclusion that it very often entails emotional or motivational accompaniments. Only stimuli evoking unlearned reflex reactions, or those which have been practiced so often as to become automatic would seem to be totally devoid of affective components. Examples of non-affective stimuli would include stimuli which have been repeated often in a

short period without biologically relevant accompaniments, or from which attention has been effectively deflected. With these exceptions, stimuli usually evoke the "orientation reactions", or a "defensive reaction" (Berlyne 1971: 113).

Perception, therefore, can have positive hedonic concomitants apart from any help which these components would supply in the actual selection of actions. Perception difficulties may drive arousal up to the aversive level thereby creating the subsequent possibility of relief through cessation. Or perception may entail a moderate arousal increment, which gives rise to reward and pleasure through the arousal increase mechanism, dependent on the primary reward system.

The new conceptions of behavior and its relation to the central nervous system emphasize both the elements of inhibition and selection. Neurophysiological discoveries have changed the old image of the organism as a rather passive recipient of stimuli to that of a dynamic center or actor. In order, therefore, to understand better why some responses are selected for expression and others not, the problem of inhibition has become a focus for research and study.

Developmental studies of infants recently illustrated not only that the inhibitory and selective processes commence very early in development, but that ultimately

inhibition is based on multiple sources including both the biological constitution as shared by all human nervous systems, but also the psychodynamic elements linked to the behavioral response distinctions which ultimately structure any human personality (Kagan 1970:200-208; 1966:490 ff.).

Reference to all of these sub-processes which structure the whole complex which perception is, help clarify the general basis of how social patterning can and necessarily does occur. It is likely that even the topographical and climatic features of the physical environment also help to structure taste and preference (Lowenthal (ed.) 1967, passim; Sonnenfeld 1969; Shafer 1969)<sup>5</sup>

Beyond merely acknowledging these processual relationships, we should proceed to examine some of the grounds of aesthetic preference and evaluation at this point, placing them also in the psychobiological framework of perception which we are elaborating.

## VI. Perception and the Characteristics of Aesthetic Phenomena

By now it should be apparent that the perceptual process is complex and itself structured by multiple socio-cultural and environmental factors. We shall now proceed to examine more specifically the case of aesthetic experience, and particularly the perceptual-cognitive-motivational triad which comprises the aesthetic experience. This discussion will be divided into two sections: the first dealing primarily with an analytic description of the observed components typical of artistic phenomena, and some theoretical attitudes toward them; the second detailing some of the experimental evidence for the structural components isolated in the first portion of this chapter.

I. The history of aesthetic theory, which has often been concerned with the definition of the characteristics of art or the aesthetically pleasing, is full of contradictions. Differences of opinion witness to the fact that most theoretical explanations of aesthetic phenomena by and large represent the distillations of specific tastes and preferences. Such limited canons are themselves notoriously subject to the dynamics of cultural conditions and to social change.

In spite of this, the repetition of certain recurring themes should direct our attention first to their consideration, with the added caveat that repetition is not



tantamount to verification.

The problem of "beauty" has repeatedly been judged to be the central problem of aesthetics. It is often concluded, therefore, that when this problem is "solved", so too will the problems of art be understood. This limited approach is subject to the same conceptual flaws as are similar explanations; for the components offered as specific criteria defining beauty show themselves to be as variable as are those regarding other aspects of taste or preference characterized by periodicity and change.

Many definitions of visual art have commenced with the observation that the phenomena which are characterized as aesthetically pleasing or interesting very often have no purpose outside themselves, and that they therefore comprise ends-in-themselves (Newton 1950; Morris, D. 1962; Maquet 1971).

Some corollaries of this view comprised a portion of the last wave of Romanticism apparent in the United States as late as the forties, and which is epitomized in the motto "ars gratia artis". The reasons supporting this approach to aesthetic phenomena are relatively easy to isolate. They are best understood in their context of the history of European and American traditions. In this shared general ideological tradition, it is maintained that art is disassociated from the practical concerns of daily life, and that art objects usually exert very little effect

on the non-art aspects of life and society. Accordingly, art objects are placed in isolated environments (museums) or used as decorative elements on walls. It has been repeatedly observed that well-designed and beautiful tools remain so even during disuse. Perceiving patterns which elicit the kind of pleasure associated with aesthetic reactions do not, it has been observed, lead to any overt adjustment of behaviors in many or most cases.

In accordance with the theoretical posture adopted in this study, it is held that the basic factors involved in all processes of perception are the same. Furthermore, it is agreed that the designation "aesthetic" does not depend on a disassociation of the non-utilitarian from the utilitarian. The psychological components of aesthetic perception are not different in and of themselves from the basic sub-processes of perception itself. Some of the same elements of perception are included in both the appreciation of a fine and well-designed tool, and in the appreciation of great painting. Indeed, the aesthetic aspect of much of the modern design and functional relevance of architecture, familiar to us as inspired from the Bauhaus, are exemplary of this maxim.

It is conceivable, however, that additional sources of pleasure are tapped in the cognitive and perceptual experience of potentially aesthetic phenomena than are involved in non-potentially aesthetic stimuli. There are

several complexes of behavior such as games, play, and other exploratory activities which may also be pleasurable in themselves irrespective of such extrinsic rewards as fame and fortune which may be attendant upon their skillful manipulation in specific socioeconomic contexts. The factors which excite intrinsic motivations and positive emotional reward with respect to all these complexes of behaviors, can and often are also associated with extrinsic sources of reinforcement and motivation (Berlyne 1971:117).

One result of maintaining the position that art and the aesthetic is characterized principally by being non-utilitarian, is that the inclusion of specific instances in this category is subject to constant revision, inasmuch as evidence is consistently forthcoming from cross-cultural and cross-temporal comparisons which may alter the classification (Smith (ed.) 1961 passim). The position that any activity is totally self-rewarding cannot be literally "true", inasmuch as rewards do not come from the particular performances per se of isolated specific actions, but rather from the internally felt consequences of these actions (i.e., from a complex of results from both external and/or proprioceptive stimulation). The exact relationship of these processes to basic overall biological goals, such as exercise, hunger, sex and so forth is unknown. Or perhaps they relate simply to the functional efficacy of the sensory organs or nervous system. Since research on sensory

deprivation has made a substantial contribution to our knowledge of the importance of such factors as variation and sensory stimulation this definitional question (eg., of the aesthetic as essentially non-utilitarian) will consistently arise as a problem in concept inclusion (Morris, C. 1956).

A further distinction should be made to illustrate that some rewards which are connected with biologically important effects are not solely confined to the organism and its nervous system; rather, these effects also act upon or structure other kinds of behavior related to sociocultural activities such as: building, rituals, games, and the creation and use of objects which are culturally defined as "useful" (in the case of ritual or religion), or adornments as status markers. The ambiguity of such a position is shown inasmuch as useful or symbolic objects or phenomena from one culture may, if regarded in a certain light, be accepted as purely aesthetic (i.e., comprise of non-utilitarian characteristics) to members of another culture. When the rewards attendant upon the perception of anything depend solely upon the kinds of stimulation that reach the sense organs, and on the relations between the neurological processes they catalize within the brain, they can be designated as "intrinsic values", or, as intrinsically rewarding. This is not to gainsay that fact that these consequences ultimately depend mainly upon the formal or

interrelated structural elements of the stimulus field of the external phenomena themselves. These formal or structural characteristics are comprised of the collative stimulus properties that seem to have a directly pleasurable effect on the nervous system. The term "collative", first coined by Daniel Berlyne, refers to the fact that in order to 'decide' how novel, surprising, complex, and so on a pattern is, one must first collate or compare information from two or more sources (Berlyne 1971:69-70).

The fact is that the precise manner in which most of these stimuli are experienced as pleasurable or exciting is not totally related to the shaping of the perceptual processes within a given sociocultural and environmental condition; and a realization of this fact will curtail any attempt to define art with any single paradigm, or any specific constellation of collative stimulus properties.

The artist and observer both find stimuli patterns in art works or events which evoke pleasurable or rewarding effects in their nervous systems, whether or not they relate to previous or subsequently parallel or analogous cathected values or satisfactions. In this sense, collative stimulus properties are worthy of attention in themselves. Whether or not they expediate appreciation among all spectators comprises another problem to be considered later. The complexities of this problem relate to what is actually the "ontology" of aesthetics, and cannot be directly

analyzed in this study. Nevertheless, the question of the relationship of collative stimulus properties to sociocultural conditioning deserves additional investigation by researchers who might be trained both in anthropology and philosophy (eg., Cavell 1972).

Another facet of this problem is that attention, especially aesthetic attention, has been observed to produce less bodily activity than that ordinarily displayed, even if the content of that which is being perceived is highly emotive in character. There are evidently differences between emotions stimulated by events generated in the non-aesthetic and those in the aesthetic realms. Whether the emotions aroused through aesthetic stimulation are genuine (Dewey 1934), merely symbolic for emotions linked to contemplation (Langer 1953; Pratt 1931), or only spurious emotion is a matter for definition not amenable to solution at this time.

Nevertheless, it seems clear that during aesthetic experience emotions may be evoked, but that these "organized perceptions....do not condition any objective reaction;.... aesthetic information does not have the goal of preparing for decisions" (Moles 1968:15, 135).

The reasons evoked to explain this quiescent state of aesthetically evoked emotion or arousal are various. Most of these theories depend upon a hydraulic-like interpretation of energy or neural discharges occurring at central or

peripheral poles and so forth (Vygotski 1971). Or, it is said that these absorbed and quiescent states are due to conflicting arousals, which by definition lead to suppression of overt action.

Berlyne and the corpus of recent studies in experimental aesthetics direct us to what appears to be a more likely explanation, in the light of the lack of verification of earlier views. This recent view explains that since works of art are in fact somewhat like systems of symbols, it is the case that symbols can and do evoke some but not all of the components of the behavior patterns associated with their significates. Most symbolic processes contribute to central neural processes and ideation more directly than to immediate action; and the selective discriminations or inhibitions of responses are the result of learning. The appropriate overt response (or lack thereof) is partly, therefore, the result of learned expectancies tied to circumstances which are culturally defined.

These inhibition patterns which accompany aesthetic perception and contemplation, depend on the learning of cues that "X" is not to be taken as "real", and thus overt reactions which would be either unnecessary or negatively sanctioned are obviated. These important cues, as we have stated, are culturally defined and as such are generally recognized by members of the culture. Examples of these "cues" in our own culture consist largely of situational

and architectural features such as: certain phenomena and events are circumscribed to concert halls, theaters, museums, art galleries, to the walls and plinths of private residences or public buildings, and so forth. A purposeful 'playing' with and alteration of these cues is one of the hallmarks of avant garde art in our contemporary culture, and will be a subject for discussion later in this study.

Ever since the theories of Plato and Aristotle were widely accepted, the avoidance of extremes has been conceived by many to characterize the essence of the beautiful and the aesthetically pleasing. In his "Principle of the Aesthetic Mean", Fechner approximated this view, as did Wundt with his idea of "Wundt's Curve". The latter propounds that perceptible objects and phenomena which deviate too much from the mean values preferred for their aesthetic quality, will appear less pleasing and even as displeasing.

Even Dewey speaks of "two limits" between which the aesthetic lies (Dewey 1934:40-41). Moles applied information theory hypotheses to this problem and states that the aesthetic lies between "perfect originality" (the totally unpredictable), and "total redundancy", that which would entail endless repetition (Moles 1968).

Despite the differences among these concepts and among other variations deriving from the same themes, an area of common agreement is evident. It is generally accepted that in aesthetic experience there are always present one or more



stimuli factors such as complexity, multiplicity, variety, and so forth, which are able to incite arousal; and there are always present another complex of factors, such as unity, order, lawfulness, and repetition, which are expected to control or lower the arousal level (Berlyne 1971:128-30). Each theorist usually elects to accent one pole or the other of these configurational complexes; but it is clear that both sets of factors are necessary to achieve stimulation within controllable bounds. In this way, the organism can consistently reorient itself to the environment through psychophysiological changes. The amount of arousal increment is important; yet, the interplay of factors that can lower arousal is also critical, inasmuch as extreme arousal will be experienced as painful, and the lack of enough arousal value will be inadequate for the maintenance of focussed perception and interest.

Empirical evidence seems to confirm that for vision, at least, neither a steady flow nor an unpatterned random flux of stimuli can be perceived and organized into experience. The central role of stimulus field patterns and the change of pattern seem to indicate to us that our response system both demands new information or novelty, and at the same time, needs pattern and regularity (Platt 1961:403-405; Riggs *et. al.* 1954). Experimentation has demonstrated that when a "stabilized image" is mechanically produced on the retina, vision ceases within a fragment of a second.

Due to the dependence of vision on movement, it appears that the human optical system is not equipped to detect really steady inputs (Held 1961).

It would seem that the central nervous system demands information to process. Consistent with its evolutionary circumstances and the functions it was selected to perform, the sensing system oscillates searching for information; that is, for those ecological variables which are different, novel, or contrasting. If these variables are scarce or absent, the central nervous system invents them (Riesen 1961). This complex interrelationship of stimulus field phenomena with the human sensory and nervous system may comprise the biological basis of a range of psychological characteristics which essentially define a number of experiences ranging from curiosity, attention, and boredom, to the hallucinations and aberrations induced experimentally under conditions of sensory deprivation (Platt 1961:409; Solomon, P. et. al. 1961).

What are these variables, then, which research indicates can and do raise arousal, and in what circumstances do they operate? Evidence seems to indicate that the possibility for aesthetic response depends basically upon the degree and nature of the similarity or difference between stimulus elements which are co-present, or comparison between or among separate but remembered instances (Berlyne 1971:141). Responses to stimuli are never isolated,

but they are attuned to the experiential context or precedents of the perceptual field. To construct a stimulus field whose perception entails discernment among unique co-appearing qualities is one of the most simple and basic ways to achieve arousal increment. It is a common observation, moreover, that changes of pace in form, color, and rhythm which increase then decrease in variability, are standard stylistic devices by which to change mood, pace, and to enhance aesthetic excitation and interest.

The problem of novelty in stimuli components is important to any consideration of the nature of the aesthetic experience. "Novel " as a complex term may refer to several phenomenal states ranging from those characterized by absolute novelty (probably only true in the earliest days of infant learning), to those of relative novelty. Relative novelty may consist of previously encountered phenomena in unprecedented combinations or contexts; or it may admit of subtle variations of previously known stimuli in ordinary situations. The nervous system appears to react differently; it adjusts to novel stimuli which are repeated at intervals of a few seconds or minutes, and then a rapid lowering in arousal occurs which can only be regained after a period of absence of these stimuli. When we compare this pattern with a situation in which novel stimuli are repeated many times but at long intervals, the effect-curve of this pattern shows a

slow or negligible decline in arousal reaction (Berlyne 1971:142-3). The functional efficacy of this kind of propensity in perceptual adjustment for man evolving as a hunter is apparent.

The kind of intermittent attention which is usually directed to aesthetic objects or events, even when they occur in the environment or in daily life, shares the quality and structure of the process of long-term novelty. Consistent with many similar observations, Peckman has pointed out that: "the artist's role....requires him to innovate new devices....a discontinuous relation between a work of art and its predecessors in the same category" (Peckham 1965). The degree or latitude of aesthetic innovation permissible in order to win approval, depends upon the values and historical circumstances of the cultural context in which the style change or "discontinuity" occurs.

Another factor of visual importance is that of complexity. Complexity is associated with the number of independently discernible elements a pattern contains; or, if the number of elements in any two patterns is equal, the pattern with less redundancy or less similarity among elements is the more complex one (Berlyne 1971:149). Visual artists have consciously manipulated this continuum stylistically to include either more embellishment or fewer heterogeneous details, textures, dissimilar colors and so forth, depending on the degree of doubt, uncertainty, or

temporary inhibition of arousal judged necessary for dramatic purposes.

Stimuli received by human organisms evoke anticipatory mobilizations of a psychological nature which are usually inclusive of muscular or concomitant glandular mobilizations. When succeeding stimuli occur, perception will be facilitated when they are as expected, and misperception may take place if discrepancies occur. If the latter are severe, they usually lead to further exploratory behavior.

Expectations are felt as subjective probabilities which admit of degrees of certainty; therefore, they co-exist with alternative hypotheses. Expectations originate through past experience and learning, due to a kind of conditioning process activated by previously experienced combinations or sequences of stimuli or events. Expectancy may be structured by information reported from others, or deduced through reasoning based on information gained from past learning.

Sets of expectations derived from generalized daily experience as well as those sets directly incurred with respect to aesthetic phenomena are both interrelated in artistic processes. In fact, the deliberate manipulation of changing and alternating expectations, is a technique often consciously employed by artists in order to heighten interest (Kreitler and Kreitler 1972:258ff.). Some artists' work and stylistic trends gain wide recognition

because of the patterned way in which they structure their own transitional patterns related to culturally defined expectations.

Surprise and incongruity are also important collative variables. In the case that a stimulus pattern does not agree with a felt expectation, or when there occurs a simultaneous combination of unexpected elements, the spectator experiences surprise and/or an awareness of incongruity. The surprising can also be novel and vice versa; but logically they are not isomorphic.

Again, surprise can come from the overall structure of a work of art, or from the internal structure or semantic content it contains. These collative elements are consciously employed by artists, but it should be clear upon consideration, that they are not all requisite to the aesthetic experience. Much of the content in any dramatic literary tradition, or in the linking of aesthetic aspects with religious rituals or implements is not surprising or incongruous to the celebrant, since it often reoccurs or is based on well-known thematic elements. This curious fact brings us to a subject which will be designated in this study as "ephemeral art", and about which more will be written later. Surprise and incongruity remain among the principal means of eliciting arousal. This is clearly exemplified by the extensive use of metaphor both in literature and in the visual arts. Surrealist themes and

such items as the objet trouvé<sup>1</sup> of Duchamp provide examples from the history of Western art.

Let us return again to a consideration of the structural reasons for the psychological fact that complexity, novelty, surprise and incongruity operate as elements which incite arousal and interest through perceptive processes. Any one or a combination of these elements is apt to induce a kind of neurologically based conflict in the brain, since they are occurring simultaneously but do not fit well together. As such, their thrust is to drive the organism toward differing adjustments or adaptations.

What, then, are the circumstances by and under which this arousal is either mitigated or resolved, so that what we have termed "conflict" is not experienced as stressful or painful?

Much of what could be aversive in arousal, due to the collative stimuli in an aesthetic situation is in fact mitigated by the insulated circumstances or context in which the spectator receives the stimuli involved. Previously, we referred to the fact that learned cultural expectations involving familiar complexes of ecological variables create "as if" situations in which overt decisions or actions are neither called for nor felt as immediate in their urgency. The analogy of art and play is apt in this respect. In any game which is comprised of a known set of values and rules, appropriate behaviors are elicited such

that, whether it be as Cowboys and Indians or in Monopoly, aggressive behaviors utilized in strategies are expected to be confined to the game period, and not to require actual vendetta-like actions, arrests, or declarations of bankruptcy afterwards. The generation of inequality is recognized as generally "unreal" and situation-specific in games.

Aside from "context" clues. (such as the aesthetic experience taking place in a museum or art gallery), the artist or creator may also utilize stimulus devices or means which characteristically control arousal levels within his work of art. A few examples of these controls are: the production of miniatures, the use of subdued colors or of vivid hues but in a highly controlled and patterned distribution, the use of repetition within the work of art, or of leading the spectator to a resolution within the art creation by a kind of conditioning process of style. The latter technique is more frequent in drama or literature than in painting or sculpture.

So we see that the work of art has its own ecological variables, comprised of the manner, location, and timing of its appearance. A substantial part (yet undertermined) of this aspect of the aesthetic experience is subject to cultural conditioning: first with respect to the meaning of the physical and cultural context in which the art work appears, and then with respect to the meaning of its



semantic content, or the arrangements of the component elements intrinsic to the work (Peckham 1965:49ff.).

A beautifully carved African mask, calculated to inspire fear and reverence when used in the context of a ritual dance in Africa, will evoke admiration or disinterest in the non-African spectator who sees it in another cultural and ecological context. The content of the beautiful high-relief sculptures on the temples of Kathmandu, Nepal, may be experienced as non-aesthetic and even as sexually vulgar to the more fastidious foreign visitor, whereas they evoke associations of love, beauty, and cosmic regeneration to the acculturated spectator. A plethora of examples could be elaborated at great length to verify this point.

All of these considerations bring us to pose the question of whether or not there is such a thing as the "aesthetic attitude". How is it then that the actual content, as well as the way in which it is depicted, can arouse the spectator in a moderate way? The relationship of sign to significate or of symbol to symbolized is so complex that it can only be skirted in this study. Philosophers of many persuasions ranging from idealism to phenomenology or linguistic analysis, have argued about what is essentially the ontological status or the subjective-objective relationship of the designates of these terms. I shall avoid these analyses, not because they are not interesting or crucial, but because specifications or

decisions as to the ontological nature of these variables are not necessary for our focus.

It is more relevant to explore what psychology has been able to ascertain about the cognitive relationships of symbol to symbolized, since in the case of visual art it seems clear that the portrayal of something is very seldom confused with that which is portrayed. It is at this juncture that the existence of what has been variously called aesthetic "contemplation" or the "disinterested quality of aesthetic experience" is involved. It has been observed that the visual content of works of art ordinarily linked to strong emotional reactions may be transmuted to the pleasurable through the disinterested or contemplative mode of experience (Maquet 1971:34-35).

At the most general level, one can say that when the depicted content of a work of art acts as a symbol or sign of something else in the 'real world', it does so by association. Through felt association (whether by similarity or because the original content was derived from past situations, ideals, events, persons, and other experiences), various subsequent stimuli can evoke associations similar to the emotional aura generated by previous experience. In normal states, this aura is immediately recognized as specifically emanating from the aesthetic stimulus situation, and not from the world which requires overt adaptive responses.

Forms of behavior which constitute substitutes for normal and/or overt expression of any directive motivational state into actions, have been the focus of some interesting research among ethologists. These studies also seem to be consistent with the biophysiological approach utilized by some experimental psychologists (Berlyne 1971: 164).

"Displacement" is the term often used to indicate such behavior; and the circumstances under which displacement occurs have been observed to be conditional to the absence or inaccessibility of the stimulus, or to the blocking of direct expression through the presence of conflicting drives (Lewin 1935; Miller N. 1944). The displacement action in which the organism reacts inwardly to the aesthetic content, somewhat as it would to the normal stimulus or goal, is presumably due to the stimulus generalization from original learning situations, and also to learned controls related to the concomitant recognition that the stimuli in question are in fact also dissimilar from the original experiences. It seems also that the range of similarity permissible in stimuli which evoke positive or approach responses is wider than is the range of those which evoke negative responses. This relatively greater strength in the range of positive as opposed to negative response tendencies admits of a degree of verification from learning theory experiments.

So art objects, due to built-in contrasts between art as sign and that which it represents, can be seen and understood as furnishing opportunities for substitute satisfactions, even when the original objects experienced in the real world incite strong motivations or involve strong deterrents or frustrations. The degree to which approach or avoidance behavior has been thoroughly learned or insisted upon is probably associated with the degree to which a representational work must agree or contrast with its significate for any possible aesthetic enjoyment to occur (Berlyne 1971:166-172; Miller, N. 1958).

The question as to why some cultures or individuals demand realistic and detailed depictions of subject matter, while others prefer distortions or adherence to abstract or formalistic rules of portrayal is an open one for future research.

The quality of perception and motivation attendant upon the presentation of aesthetic stimuli which evoke arousal, therefore, is controlled in successful works of art to the extent that it remains positively pleasurable or rewarding; this is accomplished either through the visual employment of design or controlled structural qualities, or because the emotions occasioned by the content stimuli are mitigated by displacement, due to the ecological context structuring realization that the stimulus situation is not "reality" in the usual sense. This effect

is more easily controlled, of course, with respect to two-dimensional paintings and three-dimensional sculptures which are confined to museums and galleries.

Through the repetition of theme, imagery, or of multiple occurrences of the familiar either within a work or through time, familiarity can curb the force of novelty or the surprising in art. Similarly, the presentation of elements which are alike in some respects but different in others comprises a variation on the expected. This practice is an aesthetic device of obvious arousal value (Berlyne 1971:168-169).

Peckham (1965) speaks of the "insulation" which surrounds an aesthetic situation and marks it off from the non-aesthetic. "Insulation" is a good descriptive term for the case made in this study to pin the aesthetic attitude (as disinterested and contemplative) to a specific locus of stimuli, namely the ecological conditions and contexts defined by cultural patterns as appropriate for the occurrence of aesthetic phenomena. The theoretical acceptance of some slice of experience described as an "aesthetic attitude" or "aesthetic contemplation" is far from automatic in modern terms. Many aestheticians describe components of this mental experience, but do not ground this description in any theory or framework which would make it either rational or scientific; that is, amenable to experimental manipulation ultimately. Although the

essential elements or aspects of this aesthetic attitude need research and definition, what is stated in this study is a preliminary attempt to describe an experiential complex, which while minimally recognized, is not in opposition to the presuppositions of psychobiology, and which might furnish a framework for social science research.

It should be clear at this point in time that no such thing as a full-fledged "aesthetic theory" accounting for the production, observation, and appreciation of aesthetic phenomena exists. Indeed, not a single portion of this triad is clearly understood. Yet, with the conjunction of the results of relevant experimentation garnered from the work in psychology, anthropology, neurophysiology, and other relevant disciplines, one can begin to determine the existence of patterns and configurations in the structural elements and properties of aesthetic works, when and where they are experienced. It must be remembered, nevertheless, that much of the experimentation to date is based on the presentation in laboratory conditions of more simple and artificial stimuli than are representative of much of aesthetic experience. In this way, however, researchers can begin to approach the perceptual and motivational bases of aesthetic behavior.<sup>6</sup>

In addition and as auxiliary to this experimental approach, there should be studies which deal with genuine specimens of artistic creation, or full-scale in situ cases

of aesthetic appreciation. An understanding of these more realistic situations would help with the analysis of socio-psychological and anthropological factors in aesthetic behavior. The actual appreciation of any art work is extremely complex psychologically, and is subject to influences from learning, semantic content, and social customs, all superimposed on the basic psychobiological properties of the nervous system.

## VII. Experimentation:

### Background and Context of Aesthetic Experience

The stimulus properties that govern or evoke aesthetic appreciation in the spectator consist of those which have "arousal potential". "Arousal" in the most general sense, is comprised of attention of the sort that is characteristic of an orientation reaction. Such psychophysical variables as intensity, color, pitch, size extremes, and so forth effect arousal. These elements are associated with ecological variables; that is, those phenomenal aspects which have biological significance as they require careful discrimination for a variety of reasons modifying overt reactions. Most importantly, the collative variables are influential for arousal of an aesthetic potential. Elements such as long or short term novelty, surprise, complexity, and the power to produce uncertainty or conflict are all potentially relevant (Berlyne 1971:176).

Many published articles are available which detail summaries of experimental work relating expressed aesthetic judgements to the psychophysical properties of controlled stimuli. In the following collations of these works, only a select number will be mentioned (Woodworth 1958; Valentine 1962; Child 1969a; Berlyne 1970).

While there has been some experimentation in the past on visual forms, color, pitch, size, volume, and so forth, little has been done on what Berlyne calls the "collative



variables", until recently. Experimentation or research on the motivational qualities invoked by specific occurrences of these collative variables is and will be of especial importance to aesthetics.

The theoretical position espoused in this study is that aesthetic experience and behavior can be better understood in the context and background of the evolutionary process as evinced in the human organism today, as well as in the context of the intricate learning and conditioning processes which shape each individual in his socio-cultural environment.

The discriminatory powers of the human organism as it is shaped through learning, and exercised by the intricate perceptual-conceptual apparatus of the human neurological system, are basic to aesthetic behavior, inasmuch as the ability to distinguish between the represented and the representation is so important in art.

Although there exists a long catalogue of what specific animals do or assemble which may appear to be "aesthetic" or "pleasing" to us, it is clear that these activities or colorful phenomena have for these animals nothing like the significance which aesthetic behavior or experience has for man.

The non-human activities and phenomena which are most interesting and directly relevant to a study of human art are those involved with the painting and scribbling

behavior of apes or other primates (Schiller 1951). Schiller studied over two hundred drawings from a chimpanzee (Alpha), who had been provided with pencils and sheets of paper on which some colored patches had been delineated; he found that Alpha's scribbles were neither random nor chaotic. Morris later compared Alphas's work with that of another chimp (Congo) with whom he experimented. He found that: (1) the chimpanzee's drawing developed and changed through time; (2) individual patterns could be found among chimpanzees, somewhat like burgeoning "style" potentials (Morris, D. 1962:22 ff., 102).

It is especially important to notice that the chimpanzee tends to mark within central solid or outline figures, to balance asymmetrical figures with scribbling, to balance off-set figures, and to ignore scattered random spots (Morris, D. 1962:102ff.) See Figure 2.

Additional research established that when given paints, other chimpanzees, an Orangutang, and even a gorilla seemed fond of finger or brush painting, and produced some fairly respectable tachiste type painting; some of these paintings have even been exhibited.

Morris has also observed that individual primates evince unique response styles. In general, one could say that given a paper with a figure on it, the object has "valence" for the primate, or minimally three properties according to the size of the figure when compared to the

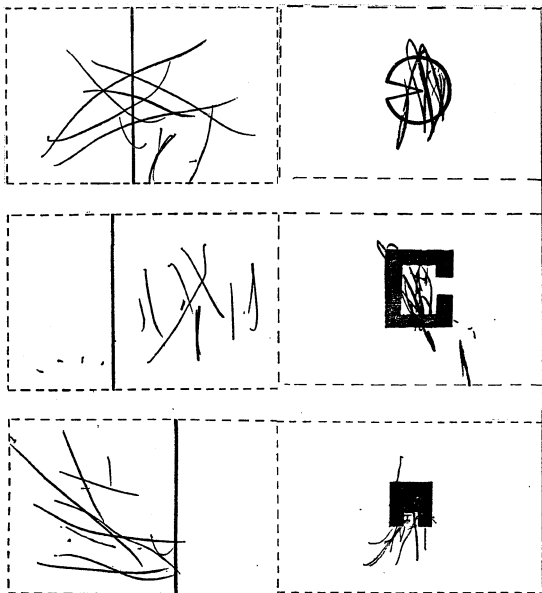


Figure 2. Typological responses by primates in drawing (Morris, D. 1962:88-89).

paper itself: a large figure is a space to be marked inside; a medium figure is perceived as an object to be marked over; a small figure is a spot and is to be ignored (Morris, D. 1964:76-77).

Morris also noted that there are numerically six principles of especial interest characteristic to picture-making, whether it derive from apes or human artists: (1) self-rewarding activation; (2) compositional control (steadiness, symmetry, repetition, rhythm); (3) calligraphic differentiation; (4) schematic variation; (5) optimum heterogeneity; (6) universal imagery. The last factor is conditioned by musculature, which modifies ease of arm and hand movement, plus the optical and other psychological factors.

To clarify factor three (calligraphic differentiation), the work of Rhoda Kellogg is important inasmuch as she has analyzed over 200,000 children's drawings from several cultures, and has proposed an ontogeny of drawing from the first marks or scribbles to pictorial representations. These are summarized in the following diagram. See Figure 3.

The phrase "self-rewarding stimuli" simply means that the sheer activity itself produces intrinsically interesting proprioceptive and phenomenal stimuli. Scribbling and painting were of interest to children and apes only insofar as these activities leave traces. The substitution of

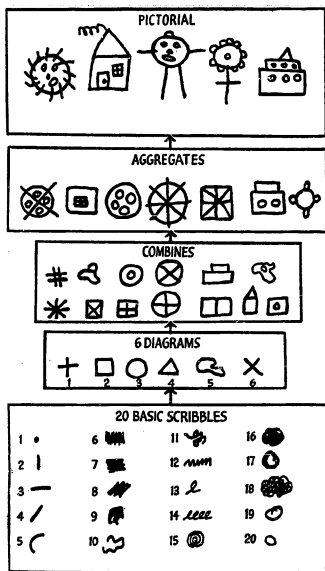


Figure 3. Diagram by Rhoda Kellogg showing the five basic stages of calligraphic development in the human infant (after Kellogg 1951, as pictured in Morris, D. 1962:116).

tools which eliminate visible traces seems to elicit adverse effects of disinterest.

Animals lower in the evolutionary scale than primates also seem to be attentive and responsive to variation in stimulation. The use of novel environments has afforded a laboratory technique to explore this behavior complex in mice (Berlne 1960, 1966b; Dember and Earl 1957; Dember et. al. 1957; Welker 1967). The presentation of stimuli of varying complexity to a crow, a jackdaw, and two monkeys surprisingly elicited a preference for patterns exhibiting bilateral or radial symmetry (Kellogg 1969; Kellogg and O'Dell 1967).

Exploratory behavior is involved with the deliberate and gradual exposure of the sensory receptors to the perceptible field of the environment. The link between exploratory behavior in general and aesthetic behavior in particular, is that with exploration there occurs a maximization of the amount of stimulus variability or complexity available to the organism (Dember 1967). For this reason it is of importance to this study. Experimental psychology reveals that for the human and the non-human organism, this interest in the environment seems to be manifest as paying attention to one portion of the environment as opposed to the surrounding area. Such motivation and interest occurs predominantly in the absence of strong specific needs, and often where it seems to be an end in

itself (Maddi 1967:254-255; Welker 1967).

It seems reasonable, on experimental evidence, that one kind of complex exploratory behavior is what we also call "play". As investigatory behavior, however, play seems to be different from sheer exploration by virtue of its being: (1) longer in duration; (2) it must also involve a more vigorous interaction with the environment than does generalized exploratory behavior (Maddi 1967:255; Welker 1967:175ff.; Berlyne 1963: 284-364).

Loizos (1967) makes the point that "play" is often used to denote activity without obvious survival value, or as an activity opposed to work activities. However she maintains that play actually has survival value, inasmuch as it uses the same strategies and patterns as do activities in ordinary contexts; and further, that play differs inasmuch as its motions are exaggerated and often occur in a different chronological order from ordinary behavior patterns.

The exaggerated uneconomical movements of play, plus the reordering of behavior sequences makes play behavior similar in some respects to ritual. Play also shares with ritual a lowered perceptual threshold and heightened focused awareness, an increase or decrease in speed of performance, and the tendency toward or repetition of performed patterns (Loizos 1967:176-180).

The conditions which research indicates permit or

encourage play to occur include an environment without obvious danger, a freedom from acute physiological pressures and the presence of a moderate increase of arousal related to motivation (Millar 1973). Perhaps the most obvious motivation accompanying play is simply due to the level of arousal which characterizes it (Bindra 1959; Duffy 1957; Hebb 1955). Whether one feels that play is a rehearsal for real life activities (Dobzhansky 1966:313-314), or to enhance fitness (Maddi 1967:264), it seems clear that it does resemble aesthetic behavior at least in its general relationship to arousal, its involvement with motivation, its focus on the skillful domination of medium in non-utilitarian situations, and in the large sense as exploratory behavior (Loizos 1967:179ff.)

One level of research links play as exploratory behavior with preferences organized by neurons in the brain itself, supporting "preferences" or judgements of "interestingness". Proprioceptive input as well as distance receptors (eyes, nose, ears) are important in this area. Instances of adaptation and learning pattern proprioception into structures fed into neurological enforcement centers, thus insuring repetition of this particular perception, and of acts searching it out and/or producing it. Play, therefore, may be a tentative exploration activity "testing" different proprioceptive patterns for goodness of fit. If this is true, play deprivation would also entail sensory



deprivation. This approach, too, can link aesthetic behavior with pleasure received through biologically appropriate activities similar to exploratory behavior (Klopfer 1970:399-402).

The recovery of responsiveness to stimuli after periods without stimulation counters the habituation of interest often encountered with consistent exposure (Welker 1961:176). It would seem that in many respects sometimes more and sometimes lesser complex stimulus patterns are attractive to individuals; that is, it seems as if an optimal level of functioning or activation predominates for the human organism. Again, this level is related to the presence or absence of exploratory behavior.

Certainly novelty, complexity, surprise, and/or incongruous stimuli may evoke exploratory behavior and heightened attention to a selected portion of the environment (or sequentially to several portions). Inasmuch as these collative variables can arouse simultaneous but incompatible responses in the organism, it seems that (in the Hullian sense) they are sometimes experienced as curiosity and sometimes as conflict. Experimentation indicates that these collative stimuli contribute to activation by involving the brain stem reticular formation of the neurological system, which in turn is linked to exploratory behavior responses. This theory assumes that there exists a latitude or optimal range of neurological activation, so

that exploratory behavior is understood as an attempt to reduce arousal to this optimal level, by reducing the curiosity or conflict activated by ambiguous stimuli, through the gaining of additional information (Maddi 1967: 269-271; Berlyne 1960, 1970).

"Conflict" as the term is used here, should be understood to indicate a state of tension induced by perceptual ambiguities or novelties, and is meant to account for the fact that certain classes of perceived stimuli often eventuate in exploration. Exploratory behavior occurs with ramifications in both neurophysiological and kinesthetic patterns and bases (Dember and Earl 1957a).

Variation in stimulation is responsible for maintaining the normal level of neurophysiological and psychological awareness. In the absence of strong specific motivation, and when the intensity and meaningfulness of stimuli is limited or low in quantity or quality, the activation level falls below the optimum. This deviation from the norm is experienced usually with negative affect. In order to increase the impact of incoming stimulation, exploratory responses attempt increasingly to expose the sensory receptors to the environment, consistent with the organism's need to maintain an adequate variation in incoming stimuli.

It appears that exploratory behavior is complex itself, and associated with more than one motivated state.

The need for variation may or may not differ with personality types; some research indicates that within general limits patterned differences appear to occur with respect to the relative need for variation or alternation behavior (Dember 1967).

When we think of exploratory behavior in the explanatory frame of biological evolution, it appears that man has consistently developed high levels of competence in interacting with his environment. Man has few innately patterned response mechanisms, and consequently must learn much. Selection favors those organisms with motivation to develop higher levels of competence in interaction with both their physical and social environments. Inasmuch as exploratory behavior is characteristic of motivated learning in general, its development in human infants has become the subject of extensive research during this past two decades (Piaget 1952; Berlyne 1958a, 1958b; Fantz 1964; Kagan 1966, 1968, 1970; Kagan et. al. 1966).

Much of this experimental research is provocative and warrants elaboration. The theoretical implications of the view of behavior which links perception, cognition and affect to the central nervous system also emphasizes the concepts of inhibition and selection. Motivational patterns are also seen as linked to the structuring of perception from the early days of infancy (Kagan 1970:200). Related research also reveals that collative stimuli, especially

when linked to cathected values (i.e., due to mother/or caretakers, or specific aspects of the physical and social environment), attain directive aspects which are imbued with motivational properties. Infantile curiosity and exploration is attracted in particular by novel, irregular, or surprising stimuli (Berlyne 1971:186-188; Saayman et. al. 1964; Charlesworth 1966; Kagan 1970).

Research also confirmed that after a succession of appearances, novel stimuli lose their motivating effect as different, and in a short time become less and less able to revive flagging orientation reactions (Day 1966; Leckart 1967). Inasmuch as research also resulted in some conflicting data, it should be understood that the relationship between complexity and novelty is still not well understood. The use of different stimuli or of varying techniques in their presentation, coupled with the diversification of responses elicited, render the exact implications of these experiments inconclusive and subject to manifold interpretations. Nevertheless, the thrust of these results is generally consistent with the explanatory principle isolated by past research: "positive affect is the result of smaller discrepancies of a sensory or perceptual event from the adaptation level of the organism; negative affect is the result of larger discrepancies" (Berlyne 1971:192). These findings also seem generally amenable to interpretation in terms of Wundt's curve. See

Figure 4.

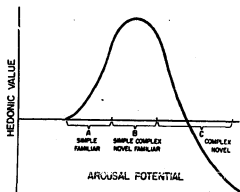


Figure 4. Diagram showing the effects of novelty and complexity on hedonic value (Berlyne 1971: 193).

This chart, read from right to left, indicates that a stimulus will have maximum novelty and arousal potential when it first appears, and that this arousal potential lessens as repetition diminishes its novel aspect. Repetition makes the experience of a novel stimulus change from unpleasant or ambiguous to a high peak of pleasantness, and then move to indifference after repetition increases. Analogous to this psychological movement are many socio-

psychological parallels such as fluctuation in styles, fashions, and trends in art and other phenomena which will be discussed later in the study.

It appears that the Wundt curve offers a gross indication of how to conceive of such phenomena as aesthetic stimuli and their concomitant reward systems. Deliberate manipulation of novel and complex visual stimuli within the repetition of a familiar theme or image, or the manipulation of time lapses between stimulation and so forth, all affect arousal potential as it is linked to aversiveness or pleasantness in ways which only approximate their depiction in the Wundt curve which deals primarily with moderate arousal increments. The many secondary reward systems which are brought into operation through learning and experience certainly enforce and to some extent alter the simple paradigm to which we have referred as useful in a general way.

The potentially wide range of research results which can be brought to bear upon the psychobiological approach to aesthetics has been indicated in this introduction. Using this approach as a heuristic framework, we shall proceed to link this theoretical position to other psychocultural data. After a brief consideration of the relationship of personality factors to aesthetics, the succeeding chapters of this study will focus on specific art movements.

## VIII. Aesthetics: Style, Culture and Personality

The general background of our discussion has been to focus on the explication of the essential qualities of perception and cognition which afford a basis for those aspects of human behavior in which stimulation and contact with the environment are sought, and when mild arousal and excitement are pleasurable. During such contact, novelty and variety are apparently sought for their own sake. Interaction with the environment has largely replaced primary drive theory as the most fundamental element structuring motivation (Woodworth 1958). Recent experimentation indicates that there is no necessity to identify pleasure or reinforcement with drive reduction. Nor is it necessary to conceive of motivation as requiring energy sources external to the nervous system (White 1967:279). It appears increasingly reasonable that the "reticular activation system" in the brain stem itself supports a kind of general neurological state of readiness, which in turn is responsive to change in sensory stimulation (Hebb 1955; Miller, N. 1958; Dell 1963).

Many kinds of behavior such as visual exploration, grasping, crawling, walking, attention and perception, language and cognitive functions, exploring novel objects tactually, and manipulating the environment to promote effective changes, all have a common biological significance.

These behaviors comprise the general processes whereby the organism learns to interact effectively with his environment. These activities seem somehow to be intrinsically motivating in the healthy organism, and direct its transactional relationship to the environment (White 1967: 324; Piaget 1952).

These links of behavior typically involve a circular chain of events: stimulation, cognition, action, effected environment, new stimulation from altered environment and so forth. They proceed with selective emphasis on the environment, according to the learned competence of the organism to seek interesting feedback. This kind of motivated affectance behavior obviously had and has high adaptive value for man (Fiske and Maddi 1967:54ff.).

Consistent with this psychobiological adaptive approach, we have sought to link aesthetic creation and appreciation with specific trends in research and thinking about human responses and motivational behavior, rather than to account for them solely on grounds of personality psychodynamics or enculturation. Beyond the minimal fact of the existence of aesthetic phenomena, our attention is often focussed on the myriad of styles, trends, and interpretations which works of art and their equally varied contexts manifest. How can these possibly be "explained" by such elementary examinations of the implications of psychobiology and evolution, even if fortified by the



reasonably sophisticated experimental research results and data assembled here? The "answer" offered again calls our attention to the distinction between the very fact of the existence of the aesthetic experience, which must logically be accounted for by variables outside of the complex category of phenomena which occasion it (eg., art objects and their appreciation), and the content or occasion of any specific aesthetic experience of art objects; the latter category relates to another and difference complex of variables for its "explanation". The first category includes simply a range of perceptual experience per se, and the second refers to any specific display of objects, events, and stimuli related to concrete situations designated as aesthetic.

Such aspects or elements of visual art as style, formal or structural trends, content, context of creation and use, exchange, appreciation of visual aesthetic phenomena and so forth, pluse all of the devices utilized to exploit aesthetic awareness, provide intellectual problems for: the history of art, cultural anthropology, the critic's role, and for specific aspects of personality and culture dynamics. The latter foci are equally legitimate areas for research and concern. Indeed, these two foci for attention, one dealing with the psychobiological requisites and variables which structure aesthetic experience, and the other, focussing on the taxonomic aspects of styles, criteria of

excellence, context, and the critical language dealing with art, should together enrich the formal focus of the study of visual aesthetics. In fact, each approach should act as a corrective to the potential errors or oversights of the other.

Clearly, aesthetic reactions reflect differences among individuals within one society or culture, as well as variations characteristic of specific historical periods. The dynamics and pressures associated with social change have oftentimes been evoked to explain stylistic changes (Kavolis 1968:175ff.). Art historians have equally often maintained, without reference to social context, that artistic creation contains certain intrinsic "forces" which themselves entail a pattern of continuous change and variation in style and technique. Some theorists maintain that art styles evolve in the direction of complexity either within the collective corpus of an individual, or in the historic evolution of various arts in their contexts (Munro 1963). These theories fail to relate or test their hypotheses against the psychobiologically based model of aesthetic creation and appreciation evidenced by most research data; they therefore fail to ground their speculations in potentially operational propositions.

The question as to whether or not one can place art objects into any developmental scheme of historical evolution is complex and problematic. Some critics and

historians are content to develop stylistic taxonomies on the basis of inductively derived patterns of the formal, semantic, or expressive aspects of art objects. The more basic question of whether or not a specific object or event is to be included within the general class of objects or phenomena designated as "art" is equally problematic. To solve the question as to which formal elements all art objects and phenomena have in common - even if they differ in other respects - is an impossible task; the list of attributes would be seemingly endless if one were to admit all the cross-cultural examples of the potential class "art". Definition by ostension is not a true case of definition at any rate. One cannot reason or infer much about the defining attributes of a category from one member of the class "art" in comparison to another member from simple knowledge of its class membership, although this is often attempted. Every taxonomy is a provisional and implicit theory (Kaplan 1964:53), and our ability to formulate concepts sufficient to generate adequate theory to explain aesthetics at this point in time is lacking.

The idea of a "disjunctive category" might be more fruitful for this study. The membership of such a category is fixed by social convention (Peckham 1965:49), and this type of classification places verification in the realm of empirical observation and correlation. Taking our cue from the apparent lessons of cross-cultural research into the

varieties of art, one can better define "art" in an operational way. That is, one can say that a work of art is that object or event in the presence of which one plays an aesthetically oriented role (defined by social convention), which is a learned and socially transmitted combination of behavior patterns (Peckham 1965:48-49).

Art trends and styles do change; but the changes in the objects and events are the result of changes in the behavior of artists. It is in this sphere where empirically observable and accessible data "explaining" stylistic patterning and changes should be sought. Since style change implicates something new in activity patterns, art trends can be viewed as innovative behavior on the part of the artist. Cultural patterns in behavior are structured by the demands made upon individuals through their relationships to the physical and social environments in which they live and learn. There are always some differences among individuals, with respect to value orientations, and innovative persons initiate novel responses to environmental demands as the felt need arises (Barnett 1953). A highly flexible interaction with the environment shaped through learning and cognitive orientation, results in the higher possibility of innovation. To identify a style is to point out a set of features either in the behavior patterns of the artist, or in the artifacts which this individual produces. Stylistic features are considered excellent

predictive signs of innovation, but this is only "true" insofar as one already knows the phenomenal system. One cannot assert a causal operation between attitude or cognitive orientation and stylistic feature, without first gaining empirical knowledge about the statistical probability of the co-occurrence of any set of features in a style.

Stylistic drift occurs even in fairly rigid social systems where aesthetic canons are grounded in a religious or cosmological orientation. This drift is in turn noticed and rewarded or disapproved according to the social context and attitudes regarding the acceptance of innovations. Taxonomic procedures in art history operate in a way similar to classical archeological taxonomic systems; that is, phenomenal marker traits are selected from a sample of artifacts or phenomena; these are hypostasized into a descriptive category. This conjunction of marker traits, then, becomes the criterion for subsequent classification. Hypostatization in fact overlooks the fact that the phenomenal aspects of aesthetic objects and events invariably exist as a continuum or construct. The cognitive category that gives or produces order in the experience of variable examples is an assumption; and usually any individual art work has features which are in reality inconsistent with the ideal type or style marker (Peckham 1965:25-32). Such classifications should always remain in

the language of hypotheses, for this is in fact what they represent.

This caveat is only included as a methodological warning, since it is obvious that the social sciences in general must operate by using some assumptive categories of this nature.

Within contemporary cultures, the observer might better study the role of both the artist's and the non-artist's attitudes toward whatever comprises the aesthetic locus of the society. It might even be necessary for the anthropologist to discover who in fact the artist is in any specific culture; or to ascertain which objects, phenomena, and experiences are aesthetic.

Since aesthetic-centered attitudes and roles are to some extent products of social conventions, it should be understood that the observer is only trying to share in the observed culture to the extent that he too can approximate or make statistically valid probability predictions about sequences or ranges of bits of behavior in the observed culture. The word "range" is important here. The individual in any culture typically learns a range of behavioral possibilities and values appertaining to specific situations, the general consensus of which he shares with some (or the) dominant sample of population in his environment (Wallace 1961). Individuals remain individuals and entertain unique patterns of activities and

values because structured ranges of possible reaction patterns are learned.

To elucidate similar ideas, Peckham (1965) adopted Goffman's extensive use of the role and dramatic metaphor as a methodological tool, while adding to it some elements of game theory. Peckham applied this framework to selected aspects of artistic behavior, and summarized that "artist" simply designates the role which subsumes the activities by which perceptual fields are constructed which occasion the role of aesthetic perceiver (Peckham 1965:60-61). To accomplish this role "successfully", an artist must be able to predict or also play the role of aesthetic observer. In the development of any new form of art media, a kind of game theory comes into play, with predictions, calculated risks, and other variables which modify the role and status of "artist". The more the perceiver's role is structured or institutionalized, the more predictable is the role of the artist in constructing a perceptual field for aesthetic experience. The element of ecological setting is often-times crucial here, and must be understood as itself defined by the culture (i.e., as in the case of museums, galleries, and other settings). The implications of this dynamic theory are important, and should be recalled in the second section of this study. Ecological setting is relevant to some contemporary artists' assertions about the ambiguities implicit in role playing both as artist and observer.

The facts of stylistic continua are most easily explained by enculturation and by the pressure to communicate successfully to receivers who share the same semiotic system of a given culture. The successful enactment of the roles of both artist and perceiver are to be understood in this kind of framework. The basis of stylistic discontinua and innovation is more difficult to explain. Like innovative behavior in general, stylistic discontinua appear in all cultures and in different temporal periods. The ubiquity of their presence implies that variables basic to the biological disposition of man are involved.

Stylistic traits appear to be non-functional on the face of it. They comprise neither the necessary nor sufficient conditions for the successful operation or service of whatever object or event they adorn. Their explanation must lie in referring their presence to the structure and characteristics of perceptual and cognitive experience itself.

We shall again turn our attention to the previous discussion of perception, and to a consideration of the nature of the evolutionary implications of the selective processes structuring the human nervous system. If one accepts the view essentially espoused and elaborated by the transactional psychologists, and most particularly the set-expectancy view of perception, we understand that stylistic criteria comprise exactly the set of expectancies



entertained by any perceiver of aesthetic phenomena. With any notable change in style, the set of expectancies is violated, and the perceiver (in his role as aesthetic witness) is conscious of disorientation, discontinuity, surprise, or incongruity with past experience. The result of this felt disorientation is that the perceiver initiates some other behavior, generally in the form of a search procedure, to "account for" the discrepancy in his experience. The particular form of this search behavior will be structured by personality factors as well as by culturally conditioned options.

Depending upon these factors of personality and cultural conditioning, the search behavior of the art perceiver will culminate in: withdrawal from the phenomena characterized by discontinuity of stylistic criteria; a series of tentative re-exposures and considerations; and/or the acceptance of the disparity in stylistic criteria with some appreciation of the stimulation the change excited or afforded. Because of the biological importance of search behavior and the arousal state it implies, as structured through human evolution, it is usually accompanied by some degree of affect activated by the sympathetic nervous system.

A corollary of the view of perception propounded here is that search behavior, excited by such elements as surprise, incongruity and so forth in stylistic innovations,

is analogous in some respects to problem-solving. One of the differences between this kind of problem-solving with its affect, and problem-solving as initiated in and motivated by the daily world, lies in the recognition that the aesthetic situation is relatively insulated from the non-aesthetic, and thus a more contemplative state of mind is involved. Consideration of aesthetic stimuli may involve a high degree of affect, but does not indicate overt actions.

When the artist is rewarded with praise and whatever status the culture typically extends to this role, it is through a recognized appreciation of his performance of the artist's role in such a way that the general culturally defined level of awareness and contemplation is raised by his creations. Clearly, stylistic change is one of the most innovative techniques by which to accomplish this aesthetic appreciation. Differential exposure to changing or discontinuous stylistic criteria is linked to differential patterns of perceptual and cognitive adaptation. For this reason, various groups of people who have been differentially exposed to style dynamisms, because of sex, status, ethnic, or age considerations, often perform their perceivers' roles differently; they usually make their aesthetic preference judgements from varying standpoints.

Although the problem of the relationship of personality types to aesthetic preference patterns is not directly

relevant to this study, the subject remains of interest and deserves more careful attention and research. The preliminary work in this area could serve to generate enough hypotheses to structure productive research for some time to come (Barron and Welsh 1952; Barron 1953; Child 1962; Child and Siroto 1965; Child and Sumiko 1968; Eisenman et al 1969; Eisenman and Coffee 1964; Eysenck 1941, 1947, 1967; Knapp 1964; Knapp and Ehlinger 1962; Knapp et al 1962; DeGrazia 1964; Roubertoux 1970).

In the first section of this study, based on a consideration of the structure and complexity of the aesthetic experience, we have made the observation that anthropologists should be aware of both the psychobiological aspects of aesthetic perception and experience, and of the artist's interrelationship with his sociocultural system. The latter includes the artist, his work, and its disposition in the society.

Retaining the psychobiological approach to aesthetic phenomena and experience as a significant part of our conceptual framework, we now turn to an investigation of two specific art styles from the standpoint of the anthropological systemic approach to social data.

Not every investigation of any facet of these topics must necessarily deal with visual aesthetics from the standpoint of both of these interrelated points of view. Yet, discussions of style, the relationship of art to ideological

and social conditions, or merely discussive description of aesthetic phenomena are usually undertaken as if totally independent of such processes as perception, cognition and motivation, or without an awareness of how these are conditioned by biological aspects. The desire to review the complexities of both the psychobiological and the sociocultural approaches to aesthetic phenomena in the light of interdisciplinary research has provided the motivation for the preceding section.

## IX. Art of the Sixties:

### Background and Context

With the strictures implicit in the background which has been developed in the first section of this study, we shall turn to the second portion for a perusal of the development of two selected art movements or trends which developed in the decade of the nineteen sixties in urban United States, and which are characterized by a high degree of stylistic discontinua. This period was replete with such a richesse and variety of art trends as to stagger the art historian as well as the untutored observer. A rapid turnover of styles, often accusingly designated as mere trends by the general public and even by some of the more traditional critics, was concomitant with the general climate of change and reevaluation which seemed to permeate the uneasy sixties. While this brief description is a gross generalization, similar interpretations have been documented in greater detail by social historians of Americana (Brown 1968; Schlesinger 1968).

Out of the maze or morass (depending upon one's point of view) of scintillating visual art changes, two stylistic trends were selected to be the foci of this study; one art movement is usually designated as "Pop Art"; and the second has been roughly referred to as "Concept Art". It should first be clarified that some art historians and critics (as well as artists) object to the terms by which these

stylistic patterns have been designated. Nevertheless, because this is an anthropological study and not a paper in art criticism, these terms will be used, inasmuch as they designate most succinctly the body of data with which this research is concerned. The various artists whose works will be discussed here are each quite unique, and their inclusion in a "style" designated as "Pop", for example, is made because they share some general phenomenal characteristics, an era, and certain media and patterns of communication. That Pop art actually comprises an art "movement" has been frequently attested in recent publications and exhibitions.<sup>7</sup>

The term "Concept art" designates a category which embraces such broad and varied phenomena that one is hard pressed to initiate even minimal order in the data. Yet, the shared orientations and points of view of the Concept artists comprise a discernible pattern which overrides the semiotic and media differences among their individual works. For ease in communication and mobilization of references, therefore, we shall employ the terms "Pop" and "Concept" art as taxonomic indicators as they have been frequently used in recent publications.

In large part, the development and dissemination of Pop art emanated from New York, just as did Abstract Expressionism during the late forties and the fifties. New York continues to be the art center of the United States,

in spite of notable activity in other urban centers on the East and West coasts. We shall discuss Pop art in its historical context, as well as describe some of its essential features. Among the artists to be most notably included in the general paradigm delineated for our purposes are: Andy Warhol, Roy Lichtenstein, Claes Oldenburg, Tom Wesselman, Jasper Johns, Robert Rauschenberg, Jim Dine, Allan d'Archangelo, James Rosenquist, George Segal, Robert Indiana, Larry Rivers, Red Grooms and Billy Al Bengston.

The general characteristics of the Pop works are defined by such unique stylistic discontinua that art critics and historian have been particularly acute in searching for and referring to possible stylistic precedents for this trend within the history of American art.

Immediately preceding the sixties, a powerful art style known as Abstract Expressionism presented to the world the first visual Fine Art style which could be designated as almost exclusively American in its inception, and whose most important innovators were centered in New York. With its eventual success after World War II, Abstract Expressionism effectively transferred the art capitol from Paris to New York for the first time. Largely a phenomenon of painting rather than sculpture, Abstract Expressionism strikingly represented the expressive aspects of the inner self-searching and existential confrontation with the world which was characteristic of the avant garde

of the late forties and fifties. Powerful brushstrokes, the emotive use of color or black and white, and rich non-objective imagery all characterize this style as it was epitomized in the works of Kline, Rothko, Pollock, much of Gorky, Motherwell, and some of DeKooning. These painters were masterful portrayers of the deeply personal expressed on canvas. These same deeply personal and obscure statements of the Abstract Expressionists inspired a generation of learned critics whose function it was to interpret and explain this genuinely important but cryptic movement in painting. It seemed to many, however, that Abstract Expressionism had gone as far as it could in expressing the personal and subjective in two dimensions and visually. What appeared to be esoteric but creative could only become imitative and hieratic to a second generation of painters.

A second trend which in some ways preceded and then accompanied the Pop movement is that of Assemblage. "Assemblage" is a broad term for three-dimensional collage (or collage-sculptures), which use objects and/or pasted papers (Lippard 1966:72; Seitz 1961:6). Again, the work of the Assemblage artists invoke traces or memories of Dada and Cubism in the perceiver; for example, Duchamp's bicycle wheel mounted on a stool, John Cornell's subtle and delicate boxes, and the tasteful arrangements in some of Schwitters' works.



The Assemblage ranged in size from small boxes or pieces to entire environments, such as those created by Ed Kienholz. Assemblage made its official debut in 1960, in the Martha Jackson gallery of New York. Then, in 1961, it received the imprimatur of a Museum of Modern Art Exhibition (See: Seitz 1961 passim). This art form was comprised of a dizzying variety of objects; lights, signs, metal scraps, stuffed animals, bottles, toys, pipes, and a host of other detritus from our industrialized "collage environment". It is the province of the art historian to assess the meaning of the Assemblage movement within art history; but minimally one can point out that it represents an emphasis on the non-picturesque, and a movement away from the subjective sentiments and statements of the Abstract Expressionists, toward the portrayal of the objective aspects of the manufactured commercial environment of the contemporary world. The tradition and substance of Assemblage is urban in emphasis. Lawrence Alloway has described such phenomena as:

"Junk culture is city art. Its source is obsolescence, the throwaway material of cities, as it collects in drawers...waste lots, and city dumps. Objects have a history...Assemblages of such material come at the spectator as bits of life, bits of the environment. The urban environment is present, then, as the source of objects, whether transfigured or left alone" (Alloway in Seitz 1961:73).

Within the on-going tradition of American art, there has always been present a continual preoccupation with the

American environment. The American brand of Social Realism in painting focused on the common everyday world, and often-times on the shabby urban environment (as in the noted case of the Ash Can School). Stuart Davis, for example, has been cited as a more direct prototype of the Pop painters, inasmuch as he painted single commercial images such as the Lucky Strike package (1921), and the Odol disinfectant bottle (1924) (Lippard 1966:13; Russell in Russell and Gablik 1969:27).

Other more general art influences could be mentioned, such as some of the images of Matisse, Fernand Leger, Jean Dubuffet, Charles Demuth, and Edward Hopper, all of whom intermittently portrayed genre items.

Although Pop art was extremely innovative, it was not entirely without precedent. It is clear the Dada has several characteristics which were similar to those of the Pop movement, albeit the differences in the sociopolitical philosophies and orientations out of which these two movements emerged are great. The attitudes they often expressed with reference to their subject matter emerge as nearly in opposition. Nevertheless, the great expressive and conceptual qualities of Duchamp's enigmatic work received great appreciation in the United States commencing with the sixties. This appreciation has directed our attention to certain aspects of his work. For example, Duchamp was the 'inventor' of the readymade; the one who first took

common articles (such as urinals, bird cages, combs, doors, bottles, irons, etc) out of their ordinary utilitarian environment, and placed them in some special environment such as a gallery or museum. Thus, by fiat or choice, and a signature, he claimed them to be somehow like aesthetic objects or art. In doing this, Duchamp forced into public consciousness the question of what art is and does in Western society. By heightening the awareness of manufactured objects and therefore of modern environments, he revealed the potential power of patterned responses to the status of any physical object, simply by manipulating the culturally defined expectations regarding its occurrence or proper context (i.e., museums or galleries versus the real world). Duchamp's readymades, and the work of such artists as Kurt Schwitters or Joseph Cornell, who used elements of printed matter and common objects conjoined into 'sculptures' or boxes, furnish exemplary precedents to Pop art of the sixties.

Man Ray's early experimentations in mechanistic collage styles, the use of the "aerograph" or spray-gun technique in painting, but especially his photographic objects and collages (sometimes in collaboration with Duchamp) furnish additional precedents for later Pop imagery and techniques (Lippard 1971b:143, 155; Motherwell 1961 passim).

A phenomenon especially related to the sensibility of the sixties, and obliquely of interest to the development

of the visual art trend of Pop imagery is that of the "Camp" category. "Camp" is an adjective or classificatory term applied to a wide variety of phenomena, the core aspects of which are ambiguous but important to define for our subject. "Camp" is actually a mode of aestheticism. "It is one way of seeing the world as an aesthetic phenomenon...not in terms of beauty, but in terms of the degree of artifice, or stylization" (Sontag 1968:90).

Camp emphasized style and neutralized content, thus structuring an attitude disengaged from politics or ethical values. The camp category especially included clothes, furniture, and elements of visual decor. It can also include literature and musical or dramatic forms. Camp objects are high in artifice, with a love of the exaggerated, especially of the type which converts objects into something else as did Art Nouveau; lamps become lily plants, clock sinuous houris on couches, walls were painted into illusions, and entryways appeared to be grottos. The Camp attitude sees life as almost an aspect of theater, peopled by androgynous forms in a kind of elegant-decadent splendor.

Another hallmark of Camp is the spirit of extravagance and passion in which it is conceived and executed, but in which the spectator is in no way really involved. Camp taste does not function on the good-bad axis of traditional aesthetics, but offers some supplementary set of standards

for life and art. Camp seems to celebrate aesthetics over morality, and style over content; but only if the serious and involved are dethroned, and artifice and theatricality are the means of going beyond the pompousness of High Art and Life. Camp proposes a cool comic attitude toward the world, and in this aspect resembles Pop art.

As they "transcend" the serious and involved, Camp phenomena make no distinction between the unique or mass-produced, but Camp "transcends the nausea of the replica" (Sontag 1968:102). The Camp connoisseur is amused, delighted, and appreciative of vulgarity. Camp lives on playfulness as an attitude toward life itself, including its daily trappings. Camp maintains that there exists "a good taste of bad taste". One of the prerequisites of true Camp is that the object or phenomenon, whether it be a poster or a Bat-Man cartoon shirt, be created with real affection. The absence of this affection may result in simple Kitsch, which is not so enjoyable (because its pretensions are too serious), or because it approaches human realities with more contempt than endearment (Sontag 1968:101-105; Greenberg 1957).

Some of Pop art is also Camp. On the other hand, much of Pop art is even more detached and without the same affective aspects as the Camp sensibility. Absence of the affection for the awkwardness of "the little triumphs of mass production" renders most of Pop art more nihilistic,

and more cool and abstract than Camp. Nevertheless, Camp and Pop are alike in their attitude of acceptance for the mass-produced over the world of real nature, of the cool and amoral over the serious and the didactic, while Conceptual art reacts with greater intensity and purpose, even when it has humor.

During the sixties, many social institutions were held up for criticism throughout the country; Universities, government offices, social and political practices, a long and disgusting war, racism, sexism, violence in the streets, and the apparent unequal distribution of goods and services all became objects and subjects for active complaint. Like universities, art museums as institutions were highly visible; it became apparent to artists that the museums especially represented the Art Establishment. They served the Establishment in tangible ways, and so became the subject of artist's protests in increasing rumbles, until finally near the end of the decade - in 1968 - an incident of protest touched off the organization of activists called the Art Workers Coalition. Though it had been relatively quiet in the political arena for artists during most of the sixties, the increasing politicization of a number of them became apparent as they mobilized slowly through the decade.

Many artists were thus enlisted into the corps of political poster-makers and street mural-painters on behalf

of a more vocal and militant political group (Ashton 1969; Willard 1969), but the Pop contingent remained immersed in the world of art and withdrawn from social action to a high degree. It seemed as if their cool portrayal of everyday or even hot social subject matter resembled their objective disinterested attitude toward social involvement. In this both Camp and Pop are related.<sup>8</sup>

In order to understand better both the characteristics and the meaning of the Pop art movement, we shall proceed according to the outline previously detailed, and first consider this style with relationship to the technology and production-consumption patterns of the United States in the sixties.

## X. Pop Art:

### Relationship to Technology and Science

It is not important at this point to discuss the developmental history of the Pop movement in detail, as this has been well done in other studies (Lippard 1966; Finch 1968; Russell and Gablik 1969; Calas and Calas 1968; Amaya 1966). Suffice it to mention that the rise and popularity of the Pop movement was more rapid than any previous "Fine Art" movement of which we have modern records. In spite of acute stylistic discontinua with precedent art styles which were well accepted by the cognoscenti, from 1961 to 1963 interest grew so rapidly that "Pop" as a descriptive term had become a household word. Exhibitions with "Pop" printed in brochures and gallery notes appeared from New York to Buffalo, Kansas City, Washington, Houston, Oakland, and Los Angeles. By 1964, Pop works appeared in the Venice Biennale; and for the first time an American, Robert Rauschenberg, was awarded the first prize. By this same year, American Pop works had also been shown in London, Amsterdam, Stockholm, Copenhagen and Vienna. Pop immediately gained some support from the critics, and in spite of bitter protests by two important 'classicists' in particular (i.e., devotees of Abstract Expressionism: Clement Greenberg and Harold Rosenberg), its vivid imagery and imaginative techniques became widely publicized and appreciated rapidly.<sup>9</sup>



According to our proposed schema, therefore, we shall proceed to analyze and relate Pop art first to the level of the general productive patterns of the society, and to the characteristic technological means utilized. This level deals with the material basis or segment of the society (Maquet 1971:22).

It has been widely observed that, since visual art phenomena often represent and/or mirror the material objects or constructions of a society, they tend to use the same materials and technological developments generally available in the culture. In contemporary pre-literate societies and in archeological sites, oftentimes the aesthetic aspect of the artifact is taken as a precise witness to the level and technological development of a particular society. Aesthetic excellence of technique operates as an indicator of the upward potential in technique available to the culture from which the artifact came. Such material objects were, in other words, considered as evidence for the creative capabilities available in any culture.

There is no reason to believe that the basis of this relationship is any different in modern American culture than it has been before. Upon an examination of the art products of the Pop movement, it is clear that industrialized techniques of production and marketing have deeply affected this style of aesthetic phenomena. This

technological influence is clearly reflected in Pop art in two general aspects, and will be discussed in successive sections: firstly, with respect to the objects, iconography, and subject matter which the Pop artists utilized; and secondly, in the actual techniques and media employed. Both the semiotic and the material aspects of the art object are of interest to us.

A. The production and consumption of goods in the United States has assumed such enormous proportions that the isomorphic patterning of mass-produced objects is all-pervasive in daily life. Consumer goods figure prominently in the American normative ideology regarding what comprises "the good life". The New Art (i.e., Pop art) adopted the actual configurations and iconography of these manufactured material items. In some instances, it actually employs these objects with or without modification either as form or content, subject or object, in its art works.

The American techno-economic system, dependent as it is upon high level mass production, is interrelated with a high rate of mass consumption of these same manufactured items. Saturation usage, coupled with built-in factors of obsolescence and conspicuous waste patterns, as evinced by an abundance of throw-away items in slick packaging, all combined to create an object-glutted environment which seemed to act as a catalyst to the innovative imaginations of the Pop artists. The super-marketing, the buying and

selling of this mass of consumer-goods - including most of the processed foods and furnishing of daily life - far exceed the realization of the nineteenth century dream of the entrepreneurial mission of the United States.

This entire state of affairs has changed and restructured the essential quality of life; the daily environment of urban living is geographically and socially defined largely through this mass-produced syndrome. From one coast to the other, within the limitations imposed by different socioeconomic standards, the same food and manufactured items can be encountered in most kitchens, bedrooms, and bathrooms. The Pop artists portrayed this uniquely American environment of ad-man fame.

A list of some of the representative iconography of the Pop movement will be enlightening in order to understand the semiotic aspect of Pop art:

#### FOOD

<u>Item(s)</u>	<u>Artist(s)</u>
scrambled eggs	Oldenburg
hamburgers	©Oldenburg
hot dogs	Oldenburg, Watts
Coca Cola	Ramos, Berlant, Wesselman, Marisol, Warhol, Oldenburg
drugstore sandwich	Oldenburg, Lichtenstein, Watts
baked potatoes	Oldenburg
popsicles	Oldenburg, Thiebaud
roasts	Oldenburg
pies	Oldenburg, Thiebaud
jawbreakers (gumballs)	Thiebaud
cakes	Oldenburg, Thiebaud
Danish pastry	Oldenburg
spaghetti	Rosenquist
Jello	Warhol, Oldenburg

Food (cont.)

<u>Item(s)</u>	<u>Artist(s)</u>
fruit	Wesselman, Oldenburg, Rosenquist
soup	Warhol
drugstore soda	Rosenquist, Lichtenstein
candy canes	Thiebaud
Velveeta ("Val Veeta")	Ramos
cheese	Rosenquist
cigarettes	Oldenburg
Ale cans	Johns
7 Up	Wesselman
turkey	Lichtenstein
coffee	Lichtenstein
Ice cream sundaes	Oldenburg, Thiebaud
Spam	Ruscha
milk	J. Goode, Ruscha
tea bag	Oldenburg
Heinz catsup boxes	Warhol
peanuts	Rosenquist
vegetables	Ruscha
Kellogg's corn flakes	Warhol
french fries and catsup	Oldenburg
tinned t.nafish	Warhol

FOOD RELATED OBJECTS

toasters	Oldenburg, Dine, Hay
Mixmaster	Oldenburg
cups, plates, etc.,	Oldenburg, Lichtenstein, Rosenquist, Wesselman
brillo boxes	Warhol
soap box	Warhol
silverware	Rosenquist
electric juicer	Oldenburg
stove with food on it	Oldenburg

OBJECTS FOR USE

typewriter	Oldenburg
eraser	Oldenburg
giant billiard ball set	Oldenburg
hammers, drills, saws, sawhorses etc.,	Dine
lawnmower	Dine
rake	Dine
iron/iron with board and shirt	Oldenburg
fire plug	Oldenburg

OBJECTS FOR USE (cont.)

<u>Item(s)</u>	<u>Artist(s)</u>
paper bags	Hay
calendar	Oldenburg
clocks	Rauschenberg, Wesselman
watch	Lichtenstein
electric fan	Oldenburg
money	Warhol, Hefferton, Oldenburg, Lichtenstein, O'Dowd
flashlight	Johns
eyeglasses	Johns
ruler	Johns
lightbulb	Johns
golfball	Lichtenstein
electric chair	Warhol
piano/accordion/guitar	
clarinet	Lichtenstein
nails	Rosenquist

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

telephone	Wesselman, Oldenburg
radio	Wesselman
TV	Kienholz, Wesselman
cars and car parts	Oldenburg, Wesselman, Indiana, Rauschenberg, Rosenquist
airplanes/parts	Bengston, Rosenquist
Rockets/space craft	Rauschenberg
newspapers/sheets from papers	Warhol, Rauschenberg
cartoons, cartoon characters	Lichtenstein, Oldenburg, Warhol, Ramos
highways/road markers and signs	d'Archangelo, Indiana
airplane tickets	Warhol
stamps (letters)	Warhol
trading stamps	Warhol

SOCIAL ICONS AND THEMES

science and industry signs	Lichtenstein
Chemistry	Lichtenstein
space travel	Rauschenberg
flags	Johns, Oldenburg, Hefferton
chevrons badges	Bengston, Indiana

SOCIAL ICONS AND THEMES (cont.)

<u>Item (s)</u>	<u>Artist(s)</u>
letters and words, phrases	Oldenburg, Johns, Wesselman, Rosenquist, Warhol, Ruscha, Bengston, Dine, Rivers, Rauschenberg
great heroes of history	Rivers, Warhol
numbers	Johns, Indiana, Oldenburg
baseball/baseball manager/game	Warhol, Lichtenstein
Elsie Borden Cow	Warhol
sparkplugs	Ramos
Dutch Masters	Rivers
dance charts	Warhol
"Fifth" of July	Copley
No Nox gas attendant	Warhol
Before/After (nose job)	Warhol
Alka Seltzer	Lichtenstein
race riot, Saturday night disaster, Bellevue, electric chair, car crashes	Warhol
most wanted men	Warhol

MEDIA PERSONALITIES

newspaper famous people	Warhol, Rauschenberg
movie stars	Warhol, Rosenquist, Grooms
rock stars	Warhol, Grooms

HOUSES/ROOMS/FURNISHINGS

bedrooms	Oldenburg, Wesselman, Dine
bathrooms	Oldenburg, Dine, Wesselman, Segal
doors	Lichtenstein, Rauschenberg
lightswitches	Oldenburg, Lichtenstein
drain pipes	Oldenburg
sinks	Dine, Oldenburg, Wesselman
toilets	Oldenburg, Wesselman, Lichtenstein
bathtubs	Segal, Oldenburg, Wesselman, Lichtenstein, Thiebaud
showers	Dine
chairs, tables, divans, etc.,	Wesselman, Oldenburg, Dine, Rauschenberg, Rosenquist

HOUSES/ROOMS/FURNISHINGS (cont.)

<u>Item(s)</u>	<u>Artist(s)</u>
ping-pong table	Oldenburg
architectural ideas	Oldenburg

PEOPLE/BODY/BODY PARTS/BODY CARE

Great American Nudes	Wesselman
Lips	Wesselman
knees	Oldenburg
entire bodies in environments; sitting in: bath-rooms, theaters, bus/cafeterias, making love, cleaners, etc.	Segal
coats/pants/blouses	Oldenburg, Dine, Rosenquist
shoes/boots	Oldenburg, Dine, Warhol, Johns
tennis shoes	Oldenburg, Lichtenstein
hands	Lichtenstein
foot/foot medication	Lichtenstein
hair spray can	Lichtenstein
zipper	Lichtenstein
hats	Dine, Lichtenstein
sexy "girlies"	Ramos
torsos, body parts	Oldenburg, Wesselman, Ramos, Wesselman
neckties	Dine
vests	Dine
bathrobes	Dine
collars	Lichtenstein
combs	Rosenquist
eyeglasses	Rosenquist
hair dryer	Rosenquist
cuff-links	Oldenburg

THINGS DEALING WITH ART/ART HISTORY/PUNS ON ART

many approaches, especially 3D, incorporating objects as "combines", all black and all white paintings; erasing a de Kooning drawing, sending a telegram saying: "This is a portrait of Iris Clert if I say it is".	Rauschenberg
palettes as subjects of paintings	Dine, Arman

THINGS DEALING WITH ART/ART HISTORY/PUNS ON ART (cont.)

<u>Item(s)</u>	<u>Artist(s)</u>
paint brushes	Dine, Johns
rulers	Johns
do-it-yourself numbered painting kits	Warhol
puns on art history, mimicking previous styles on: Matisse, Mondrian, Picasso, Cezanne, Monet, Braque	Lichtenstein
pun on Duchamp's ball of twine as painting of brush-strokes, re: Abstract Expressionism	Warhol
pun on Mona Lis of Da Vinci	Warhol
parody of concept of seascapes, still life, and landscape	Lichtenstein, Wesselman, Oldenburg, Rosenquist
parody of classical architecture: pyramids, cathedrals, Greek temples	Lichtenstein
parody of monumentality in general: many projects: "books" of parking lots, Los Angeles apartments, Gasoline stations, empty lots, Sunset Strip and so forth	Oldenburg Ruscha
portraits of people in the American art scene: Rauschenberg Warhol Oldenburg Sidney Janis, Leo Castelli, Irving Blum Edith Scull Geldzahler	Warhol Warhol Oldenburg Warhol Warhol Marisol, Segal Oldenburg, Ruscha
parodies of art museums	

This listing is not complete, nor are the categories used exhaustive. The items listed are meant to be



representative of the general thrust of Pop iconography. In addition to this American listing of items, the Pop movement in England utilizes a similar list of images; and oftentimes the same objects and subjects are repeated exactly.

The omnipresence of automation, consumer products, images from communications and media, and the generally mechanical and technological is clearly reflected in the list of objects portrayed. The environment is seen and interpreted as full of household appliances and reminders of the importance of consumption, advertising and the media. Some of the words and phrases evocative of the omnipresence of slogans and the printed word in the United States, frequently comprise a physical part of either Pop paintings or objects. This tendency, conjoined with the dependence on transportation envisioned as related to cars, planes, buses, spaceships, and so forth, adds another basic focus of attention for the artists of the Pop art movement.

The visual patterns and role-content of American mass communications and media, such as the comic-strip character, the film star, television or Rock star, the magazines, slick billboard advertising, the daily newspaper and so forth are all utilized by the artists of the Pop persuasion. The "portraits" offered by the Pop artists are of the world famous (Jackie Kennedy, John Kennedy, Mao,

Nixon, Che Guevarø; or the "Stars" (Marilyn Monroe, John Wayne, Elvis Presley, Liz Taylor, Marlon Brando); or they portray some personality connected with the art establishment (Henry Geldzahler, Edith Scull, Leo Castelli, Irving Blum, Andy Warhol, and Robert Rauschenberg). In short, selected are all of "the famous" as Warhol says, whom we only know from the constant barrage of American periodicals. They "exist" for the public only in their media characteristics and profiles, and it is in this style the Pop artists depict them.

A number of the Pop "landscapes" depict some of the same kinds of "canned" violence or space-defying technological victories which are offered daily on television, in the newspapers, and in magazines. Usually these have a heavy photographic emphasis on assassinations, lynchings, grisly automobile accidents, electric chairs, or the "most wanted men" list. All these images are offered with a candor equalled in spaghetti ads, Campbell's soup cans, space shots or lunar landings, Brillo pads, and the Great American Nudes with red lips, bikinis, and no faces. The cool and impersonal way in which these icons are depicted presents them to the spectator, offers them usually without emotion or comment, and in a straightforward way.

Pop art is true to the mood and pictorial technique of mass communications and television. In these, one is daily barraged with the faces of scarred and starving

children, riots, rapes, and police brutality one moment, and at the next ad-break, soothed with the "pause that refreshes", the toothpaste "with sex appeal", or how to eliminate underarm stains. All of this proceeds without a change of pace or emphasis. It seems patent that the iconography of Pop art is totally interrelated with the production-consumption patterns of United States technology.

B. Secondly, it is interesting to note that the actual techniques and the media used by the artists in the Pop movement are often the same as, or use some of the same production processes, as the technology developed by industry, and/or the cinematic or advertising world which popularizes mass-production (Coplans 1970). As an example, consider that while the construction of multiples, found object assemblage, combines, vacuform painting, and the expanded use of new materials such as plastics and neon, the "oil" silk-screen and so forth, had a few analogous precursors in the Bauhaus and Dada movements, their concerted use in the Pop movement was specifically tailored by the influence of the general industrial technology and the production-consumption ethos of the whole urban scene.

Again, it might be interesting to review a listing of some of the newer techniques from industry or advertising employed by the artists designated:

1. A great increase in the use of improved acrylic paint which it is possible to mix and thin with water, or to thicken with a modelling compound. With this medium, one can produce any effect from that of a transparent watercolor, to a thick impasto. The colors produced are capable of great brilliance and depth. Durability is enhanced, and drying-time greatly diminished.
2. Industrial enamels were widely used by the Pop painters. Some of these colors are especially shiny and brilliant, particularly the "Da-Glo" variety.
3. A variety of new fabrics manufactured of plastic and synthetics, such as shiny, pliable, and tough vinyl textiles were often used by Oldenburg, and by Wesselman and Bengston in wall-hangings; and by Warhol for various effects.
4. Vacuform casting in plastic resin (transparent and opaque) was perfected, and was adopted by Oldenburg, Wesselman, and others. It has become almost a popular technique among post-Pop artists as well.
5. The technique of photomontage was developed and adopted as an art medium. It was popular especially to adapt diverse newspaper-like photos and notices, giving the art product an air of candid reportage with respect to the images portrayed.
6. The development of new media which are plastic during manipulation, and permit shaping; they dry to a hard durable state afterwards. For example, the use of "plastic wood", casting resin, and such things as Sculpsmetal (Johns) was notable.
7. Different silk-screen and printing techniques had been developed principally by advertisers. These were frequently used by the Pop artists. Warhol, for example, selected photographic images, which could then be mechanically transferred to a silkscreen. These images could be printed on paper or cloth mechanically, or - as the artists often chose - by hand. The surfaces selected for printing were various: plastic, paper, canvas, or metal sheeting.
8. The use of polyurethane sheeting and foam rubber permitted the construction of interesting forms and fluid shapes.

9. The use of neon and/or florescent lights alone or in combination with other media became adopted into "fine art".
10. Improved automatic paint spray guns were used to attain a variety of desired effects, especially by Rosenquist and Dine.
11. The use of sound equipment, such as tape systems, were used to add another dimension of interest to the visual imagery created; sound became a part of 3D creations.
12. The use of film to project images either along or to contrast with non-filmic images (Lichtenstein); the use of film by Andy Warhol as a unique aesthetic document requires treatment in a section apart, inasmuch as it was prototypical.

As Warhol developed his approach to aesthetic phenomena, he moved from the single stationary image quickly to serial imagery. From this point he moved into the use of film quite naturally.

Warhol has consistently displayed a rare talent for choosing or singling out the right image to stand for or communicate the essential qualities of a complex of connotations and contexts. Warhol's serial silkscreens, using the same image in a series but painted either with great variations or micro-variations in color and hand printing techniques, alert the perceiver to a genuinely studied consideration of the portrayed. This consideration usually is transmuted to a feeling of curiosity and cool appraisal. A lowering of emotive and overt response incentives seem to make the image itself remain longer and more graphically in the memory.

Warhol turned to film early, probably simply incited

by an interest in the photographic image and in serial variations. With film, Warhol's aesthetic sensibilities are clearly apparent in the way he subtly manipulated both time and the context of image; and by his not seeming to intrude in the film-making process and experience itself.

"With film you just turn on the camera and photograph something. You leave the camera running until it runs out of film because that way I can catch people being themselves. It's better to act naturally than to set up a scene and act like someone else. You get a better picture of people being themselves instead of trying to act like they're themselves". (Warhol, in Mekas in Coplans 1970:141).

Warhol selected a slice of life and filmed it, often without changing the natural time involved. That is, the time of the actual event or actions filmed is isomorphic with the complete length of the film (i.e., "Sleep", "Blowjob", "Chelsea Girls", "The Nude Restaurant", "Drunk", "Empire", "The Imitation of Christ").

Although Warhol may have roughly outlined the storyline to his "Superstars" (whom he selects and uses for films from among his daily contacts), essentially these Superstars add much of their own interpretation, dialogue, and so forth. Events proceed on film much as they would in ordinary life, although situationally they may be bizarre.

This focusing on the purely phenomenal aspect of reality, the playing out of little acts and small events (eg. eating, sleeping, sexual interludes) has the result of forcing the spectator to observe them more carefully.

Finally, one either refuses to attend to the film at all, or one shifts focus from the phenomenological inspection to a different and more contemplative attitude toward these activities. Seeing a Warhol film is much like learning directly from the actions or events of life, inasmuch as his films do not seem to stand for something else beyond themselves. Warhol says:

"All my films are artificial, but then everything is sort of artificial. I don't know where the artificial stops and the real begins....I'm trying to decide whether I should pretend to be real or fake it....to pretend something real, I'd have to fake it. Then people would think I'm doing it real". (Warhol; see Mekas in Coplans 1970:142).

Thus Warhol's films ask more of the spectator than do traditional films. They ask of the perceiver much of what any real situation asks of him: perusal, consideration, cognitive "figuring" out, empathy, rejection, acceptance, appreciation, and - in the case of often intentional boredom - the perceptive acuity or imagination to overcome the repetition and banality of the uneventful in the environment of life.

When one approaches such films as "Eat", "Sleep", "Haircut", or "Kiss" openly, "adjusting to the period of aesthetic weightlessness" (Mekas 1970:144), they reveal new proportions and meanings; the potentiality of a new scale and perceptual interest is added to everyday acts. The recording of life events and processes as they are, resembles the ciné vérité in many respects; but Warhol's

films are made without accent of pace, without stress, and are therefore almost without illusion in and of themselves.<sup>10</sup>

Warhol's films are not "removed" from reality in the usual cinematic sense. The rediscovery of daily reality and the common environment carries with it an intrinsic excitement, and its own brand of "humanism". In this aspect, Warhol's films appear to be true "Pop" phenomena. Warhol often focuses on a single act, face, shoulder, leg, buttocks, collar, and so forth, so that a kind of abstraction from emotive meaning takes place. This abstraction contributes to the "coolness" of these films, and adds a dimension of contemplation in their viewing. Many critics feel that Warhol's films in this latter sense are endowed with a kind of neo-modern dignity and humanism (Battcock 1966:240).

Warhol's films are differently projected in the spirit of experimentation: singly, as overprints, or with more than one projector. Much of this sort of "bricolage" with technology went on among Warhol and his assistants in his silver New York studio, aptly named the "Factory".

It has been marked that Warhol's selection of a portion of the whole (shoulder, lips, ear, or whatever) like that of other Pop artists, along with direct frontal portrayals without any real context, leave the spectator with a heightened awareness of the image without its usual context; this technique raises some epistemological questions in the perceiver, both as to the genuineness and the meaning



of media images. The slight uneasiness experienced in the face of the ultra-familiar is utilized to aesthetic advantage in film by Warhol (Antin 1966:58-59).

Warhol's interest in technology as entertainment, film, and the communications media excited him also to turn his attention to taped novels, and to open a discotheque (The Exploding Plastic Inevitable, with music by the "Velvet Underground"), in which he showed his films, produced light shows and so forth. He even tried his hand at soap operas, and is now (1973) publishing a newspaper-journal entitled "Andy Warhol's Interview".

Warhol's penchant for experimentation with popular imagery, using technological and/or industrial techniques, makes him the example par excellence of the Pop artist. His innovative stylistic devices are clearly representative of what happened repeatedly in the era of the sixties.

13. One of the media phenomena associated with the Pop movement in a significant way is the production of "multiples". The production and reproductive potentialities of industrial processes were exploited to manufacture art objects in multiples. That is, artist designed or made objects were manufactured in editions ranging from a few to several hundred, in the same way that graphics or prints were previously produced. Multiples range in media from felt or fabric hangings to metal sculptures, plexiglas, ceramic, wood, glass, ink or paint on paper, and many other materials.

The idea of the controlled reproduction of an art object which was designed or only selected by the artist, then machine-reproduced in editions for more widespread consumption, is modelled on the larger manufacturing system

prevalent in the United States consisting of designed objects which are produced in enormous quantities for mass consumption.

14. The use of fairly complex gear and hydraulic systems in order to make some objects move, and others actually change shape or metamorphize florescent in the sixties, especially through the work of Rauschenberg and Oldenburg. The development and use of electronic selector systems, the workings of which could control a series of pneumatic valves, which in turn activated a substance in a large container is an excellent example of the use of technical equipment for special effects (eg., Rauschenberg's Mud Muse).

More detailed examples of these technical media will be discussed in a succeeding section of this study, describing the case of a large cooperative effort between artists, scientists and industry, which lasted from 1966 until 1971, and culminated in several full-scale exhibits.

It should be clear by now, that several of the artists of the Pop movement utilized new techniques and media, many of which were either developed for and/or used by the American contemporary industrialized technology. When some of these artists were invited by the Los Angeles County Art Museum, which sponsored a program entitled "Art and Technology", to collaborate with selected voluntary industries who had agreed to offer some financial and technical support to chosen artists and projects, their opinions varied as to the desirability or potential success of the enterprise. Among the several positive responses to the County Museum's invitations, we can select for more detailed examination the projects of artists who are relevant to our immediate

focus of interest in Pop phenomena.

Sixty-four artists, principally from the United States, were approached for collaboration, and only three categorically refused any association with "Art and Technology" from the beginning.<sup>11</sup> Four case-studies will be selected for discussion, inasmuch as they carefully detail the inter-relationship of Pop Art with its contemporary technological environment.

A. Roy Lichtenstein worked with Universal Studios developing a project which combined graphics with film; these visual art works were combined to produce a series of seascapes, a portion of which were kinetic. In these graphics, for example, the water portrayed appeared to be rocking. For a final exhibition, several graphics were selected and shown combined with a complicated three-projector display of film loops also portraying natural seascapes. Lichtenstein, with the help of a technician, also selected and filmed the natural seascapes for the film loops.

When Lichtenstein was asked to give his opinion about his association with Universal Studios and its technologists with relation to art in general, he maintained a certain degree of skepticism:

"The thing that's advanced scientifically is the theory, and artists don't get anywhere near the theory;...Very few artists are using anything that can be considered advanced technology.... There's something disturbing connected with both the artist using technology and the scientist

wishing he were an artist...it's a longing for something, to be something you're not... To invent the theory is really being the inventor; to use a product is the same thing as using the paint brush" (in Tuchman 1971: 198-199).

In spite of this view, and inasmuch as Lichtenstein decidedly went much farther than using the technology as "a paint brush", the collaboration appeared to have been productive; and it was subsequently noted that Lichtenstein, "perhaps alone of all the artists who worked in this program ....completely altered the conventional nature of his medium" (Tuchman 1971:199).

B. When Claes Oldenburg was approached to collaborate with Art and Technology, he demurred at first saying that the "Yellow Pages" provided enough technology for him. However, after a second request, he agreed to reconsider; and it was finally arranged that he go with the Disney Studios to develop a project. He worked for a period of a few weeks at the studio and proposed several alternatives: an elaborate moving environment called "Oldenburg's Ride", which included a series of "magical mechanical sculptures" enclosed in a specially designed small amphitheater; a giant toothpaste tube which would rise and fall, and again be raised by its paste; a colossal rising and falling screw which released oil at its top; a large object such as a car or piano made of soft material mounted on a machine, which would then twist, compress, and change its shape (the machine was suggested to him by seeing Disney's materials-

testing device); a large undulating green jello mold with fruits suspended inside; a bowl of cornflakes with banana slices falling from an inverted disk; a cup would break and then reconstitute itself; a plate on which eggs are cracked, scrambled, thrown, and then reconstituted as whole eggs; a pie case in which pies would gradually disappear, as if being eaten, and then be reassembled; a "chocolate earthquake" made of giant chocolate bars, which would shift precariously, crack open, and settle back (suggested probably by the then current earthquake scare in California) and a giant mobile articulated icebag.

Studies and/or models were constructed for all these designs, each of which is an excellent example of what we have here called "Pop" imagery. A common denominator to all these proposals is the act of disintegration and/or metamorphosis and reconstitution. Principally due to financial limitations, it did not materialize that Oldenburg continued to work with the Disney Studios. A series of smaller companies were then engaged in the project, all of whom contributed according to their capabilities to the termination of a portion of the proposal of the Giant Icebag, which was the project selected for immediate enactment and completion. Companies such as Allied Research and Development, (which deals with inflatable structures), Gemini G.E.L. (a graphic and multiples manufacturing company), General Displays Company, Vickers (hydraulic

systems), Krofft, Conquip, and Featherlike Products Company, were all consulted and cooperated in some facet of solving the problems related to Oldenburg's design of a giant articulated icebag. The close and motivated interaction which developed between Oldenburg and the technical personnel during this extended period affords an intriguing side aspect to the collaboration itself.

After the successful completion of "Giant Icebag", Oldenburg was interviewed about his involvement with Art and Technology. Because Oldenburg is especially facile verbally, his comments are most descriptive and deserve special attention for our study.

"...there was an advance (in my work) on the front of mechanics - that is, a structure was built with a gear system and a hydraulic system, which all cost quite a bit of money and took a lot of expert help, and this motor enabled the sculpture to move ...The whole problem with technology is that you can't achieve the directness that your fingers can make when you alter something the way you want it in the studio...Technology is an available material, which is very different from certain conventional ideas of artistic activity in that it involves a lot of other people...and skills which the artist doesn't necessarily possess...it would be very difficult to feel like a modern artist if you weren't in some way coping with the presence of things that you do not understand...the artist is supposed to be the person who can unify or make a whole out of diverse things...if he doesn't ....(deal with technology) he limits himself.

I think perhaps my approach to technology is to remove the difficulty of technology, and make it do some very foolish thing...I would take all this complexity which technology can provide and direct it towards a simple solution that equates it more with nature." (in Tuchman 1971:264-265, parentheses supplied).

Oldenburg judged that it is important for art and man-

kind today to "achieve harmony between the two natures - that of the machine and true organic nature". He drew up the following chart to indicate the transformations an artist should undergo in order to work successfully in the corporation-technology arena:

Artist in Studio

intolerant  
 impatient  
 rigid  
 uncooperative  
 violent  
 proud  
 magic applied without  
 reservations  
 image of self  
 alienation  
 obsessive (primitive mind)

Artist in Collaborative  
 Situation

tolerant  
 patient  
 flexible  
 cooperative  
 restrained  
 self-effacing  
 magic applied  
 circumspectly  
 image of more than self  
 participation  
 scientific

(abbreviated from Oldenburg in Tuchman  
 1971:269).

C. The collaboration between Robert Rauschenberg and Teledyne was a long and successful one. It lasted over two years during which time the artist worked intermittently with Teledyne personnel. Rauschenberg had first envisioned as his project building a large tank, and filling it with viscous fluid (later drilling mud was selected) through which a less viscous liquid or gas would be released. This release was to be mechanically controlled and governed by the sensing and processing of selected noises in the environment. These noises were to be tape recordings of natural and man-made sounds which Rauschenberg selected and recorded over a two year period.

When completed, the Mud Muse (as it was entitled) comprised a nine by twelve foot tank full of drilling mud. The tank had disguised compressed air inlets both in the sides and bottom, which were in turn connected to three manifolds by low pressure tubing. Sounds activated the continuous boiling or eruption of the mud at different levels of intensity. These were controlled by special sound tracks tied in with a selector system controlling pneumatic valves. The valves were activated by taped sounds selected by the artist.

Rauschenberg developed interest enough through collaboration with the Art and Technology project that he became one of the founders of E.A.T. (Experiments in Art and Technology), a group which has been consistently active in a large and even international scale. Rauschenberg's comments about collaboration are notable inasmuch as he speaks from a general and humanistic standpoint. In spite of his ability at this time to elaborate a fairly objective approach, when queried as to his relationship to technology, he stated the following:

"My piece "Mud Muse" only exists in sensation and is exactly what I thought was missing from the phenomenon of art and technology, because usually whatever the artist does in relationship to technology tends most often to look like exploitation of technology...or is so primitive and simple in depth (compared) to the profound qualities of technology....But one of the big problems (re. collaboration)...is the...sociological problem - the wooing of industry to even care" (Rauschenberg in Tuchman 1971:284, parentheses supplied).



"The thrill of making another dollar has carried us so far out of our lives and any real sense of what technology is about and what it does mean to us....(we have) lost any realistic sense or even need for it".

"You were talking about the fact that industry needs a conscience, and it seems to me that the artist is the only person to hire because nearly every other phase of the professional world is already caught up in it, and the artist is the last freelance professional person. The reason he is not involved...is because of the sense of dealing with the totality instead of a specialization."

"(As an artist, Rauschenberg explains his project Mud Muse in part as)...It was to exhibit the fact that technology is not for learning lessons but is to be experienced....Pure waste sensualism, utilizing a pretty sophisticated technology.... (Rauschenberg in Tuchman 1971:282-287, parentheses supplied).

Rauschenberg feels that if problems occur in collaboration between the artist and the technician, they do so either because of misconceptions on the part of some people in industry, usually the middle-man and not the researcher or management; or on the part of the artist, with respect to the goals and meaning of technology or art. Yet, collaboration with technology apparently is important to him inasmuch as he has elected to work with scientists several times. He does so with the hope of in a sense vivifying the spectator into an experiencing of technology on a sensual level. He says:

"('Mud Muse') is primitive, but I hope in being primitive that it can be simple and the intent be legible. It is an existing fact that the world is interdependent; the ideal of art very often tends to illustrate some solitary independent content....and it's unrealistic (Rauschenberg in Tuchman 1971:287, parentheses supplied).

D. Andy Warhol was originally enlisted for the "Art and Technology" project to work with a company (Ampex) on a project utilizing lasers and the creation of holographic images. He proceeded to create three project ideas involving some sort of 3D image and a wind machine. By the time Warhol had selected his choice, it was apparent that a hologram large enough to accommodate his imagery technically could not be produced at that time. He turned to a consideration of 3D printing on a large scale, and he was assigned to work with the Cowles Communication Company where technicians utilize "Visual Panographics", a process of 3D printing.

Andy then developed a project using the rain machine, against a background of 3D images of colored plastic flowers in front of a bed of artificial grass and plastic foliage. Problems arose repeatedly, but they were solved during the development and construction of Warhol's project. Some problems arose due to the size of the image, and the fact that Warhol finally decided to let tubings of the rain mechanism be exposed forthrightly, and even rather crudely. At this point he said, "you know this 3D process isn't all that glamorous, new, or exciting". He opted, therefore to present the flower image with a naked and unembellished structure, so that they would "reveal themselves" in their somewhat vulgar and certainly imperfect quality (Tuchman 1971:334-335).

An interesting aspect of this collaboration was how Andy Warhol consistently readjusted his aesthetic sense to the real situation; each time the technological aspects could not be accomplished as planned, Warhol reassessed his design until the final project was displayed. The finished product was compelling inasmuch as "its strangely tough and eccentric quality" projected a genuine Warhol Pop image.

Other examples could be cited, but these are adequate and exemplary of the focus of this study dealing with the interrelationship of the artist with production and the technological base of society.

It is interesting to note that all four of the "Art and Technology" projects mentioned (Icebag, Mud Muse, Kinetic Seascapes with film, and the Rain Machine with Flowers) were selected to represent United States contemporary art in the Expo at Osaka, Japan, in 1970.

All of the artists cited (each of them quite successful in his career endeavors) noted some malaise at working with the machinery, personnel, and/or environment of industry and technology; yet, each of them is notable for his successful and unique elaboration in this collaborative situation. Each of these artists has also continued to develop technologically-grounded media and machinery in his work.

The history of the ideological and the actual inter-

relationship between art and technology is generally analogous to that of art and science. Through the history of the Western world at least, a certain ambivalence in this respect has been evinced by a periodic humanistic insistence on absolute independence from the world of science and technology. This attitude alternated with periods of distinct experimentation in the possible relatedness of art and science or industry, most notably in architecture, or in design principles such as those of the Bauhaus or Futurist movements. These variable interactions often bore with them an implicit general philosophic orientation usually of the "for" or "against" variety.

Apparently not even during the sixth decade of the twentieth century has an easy relationship been established between art and the technological and productive mechanisms of the society. Yet, it is also apparent, at least in the work of the Pop movement, that a working relationship is being established, incited and catalyzed by an urban environment replete with industrial products, housed in machine-made modules and synthetic architectural structures and furnishings. The "systems" attitude, as it is embodied in our contemporary communication, transportation, and production-consumption cycle, has permeated the thinking of artists and non-artists alike.

Within the general class of "visual artists", some individuals have opted to utilize technology-based media

and/or even to collaborate with technicians and industry; other artists have avoided this relationship with science. Both in its imagery and media, the Pop movement represents the first concerted modern movement in the direction of adaptation to a realistic portrayal of and working with the products which dominate the physical environment of the technological society in which we live.

In the second portion of this study, it will be of importance to note the similarities and differences between the profile drawn of the Pop movement, as it meshes with the technological level of the society in which it flourished, and that of the Conceptual movement from the same period.

## XI. Art and Social Networks

In their societal aspect, visual aesthetic phenomena are involved in some of the same networks through which the activities and goals of the members of the society are generally organized (Maquet 1971:22).

Considerations of the level of social organization, of the manner in which the art objects or phenomena are produced, their selection, the social status and role content of the artist's life, as well as the socioeconomic networks through and by which these phenomena travel and are seen or shared in any society, all comprise a complex problem. Anthropologists have to some extent begun to document the status, role, and function of the artist and artistic phenomena in non-literate and simple societies. In such a highly inflected and industrialized society as that of the contemporary United States, the enormities of this sort of investigation are only now being realized. This is a fertile field for future full-scale research. In this study, which is both heuristic and general in scope, we can only begin to approach the complexity of such a problem.

For the sake of simplicity in organization, the general subject of aesthetics and social organization will be again sub-divided into general categories. We shall first turn our attention to the artist himself in this chapter, including some considerations with respect to his

manner of selection, training, social status, ideological influences and so forth, plus some information on the intra-art world: social influences and networks.

In the succeeding chapter, we shall turn to an examination of Pop art as it articulated with what is generally referred to as the "art world" or "Art Establishment". This aspect of the aesthetic locus will include some considerations pertinent to galleries, museums, critics and art periodicals, collectors, and the financial implications of collecting; finally, in a subsequent chapter, the consideration of Pop art will be concluded with a section on the Pop phenomena considered as aesthetic or as an artistic level itself.

The form, content, and subject matter of art phenomena are influenced by other cultural patterns, and understanding something of the communications network of the socioeconomic world of the artist and his work should help the spectator to understand these objects on both the aesthetic and non-aesthetic levels.

Any diagrammatic representation of the social networks surrounding the artist and his works would reveal the almost inevitable two-way relationship between and among the nodes or foci of the art establishment. Such a diagram would include as its basic repertory of personnel: the artist, art dealer and gallery or auction representatives, museums and museum personnel, collectors, the publications

echelon, critics, and art school or university departments and teachers.

The analysis contained in this and the succeeding chapter will be done in greater detail for Pop Art, inasmuch as the social network and Art Establishment setting is much the same for these artists as for the Concept artists, whose work will be discussed in a succeeding section.

Artists have, it seems, long consorted primarily with artists in Western culture. In the Medieval and Renaissance periods, artists lived and were trained together; they passed much of their lives from apprenticeship to old age actually living and working with other artists who labored in the same media or related techniques. When art was freed from its previous ties with religion and politics, it slowly became imbued with the Romantic aura of the creative genius as a creature born to work out his destiny in part isolated from the general mass of population. To survive in this heady but impecunious environment, artists still tended to remain together and apart from other professions, artisans or craftsmen. With the advent of industrialization, photography and a host of other changes in society, art was pushed to the economic periphery of the culture, along with the artist. Financial problems and precarious living accompanied the creative attempts of most of the innovators of Western modern art; and again, the



artist remained apart from the populace, by this time often characterized as a questionable and Bohemian character.

During the sixties of the twentieth century, with the rather spectacular rise of the Pop artists both in financial and social success, it became clear that they no longer stood at the edge of society, or beyond its dominant socio-cultural network. Rather, the successful artist became at times almost indistinguishable from other upper middle-class people. The comings and goings of the Pop 'Superstars' were reported on the society pages of metropolitan newspapers; they were invited to attend hosts of dinner parties of the sort which the hard-core Abstract Expressionists would not have recognized.

The Pop artists were much better educated as a group than were their predecessors. Many of them came from solidly middle-class families. Most had shared the common environment of the urban or suburban American life, with its paraphernalia of packaged cereals, tinned food, and tied to a communication circuit which permeated daily life with newspapers, Life and Time magazines, and a dependence on cars and highways. These artists represent the first generation who were influenced to any extent by the media and television. While they originated in many states across the country, they all gravitated to New York either to study or work in the electric atmosphere generated by that city.

Since only minimal research has been accomplished to date on the recruitment and socialization of artists in modern industrial society, only vague generalizations about trends can be noted with respect to defining the social forces which encourage or discourage an individual from entering the visual arts as a profession.

The very definition of who is or is not to be included within the category of "artist" is increasingly vague in contemporary America. This ambiguous state of affairs is complicated by the movement in the sixties to erase the old division between what could be referred to as "Fine Arts" as opposed to "Commercial" or "Applied" arts. The inclusion of Pop art with its commercial images and techniques was instrumental in this change.

There are few regulations and rules with respect to the recruitment and training of artists since the days of the guilds have passed. The persons or variables controlling the selection and entrance requirements for potential artists comprise an open category. Since we live in a society which harbors an expanding need for visual aesthetic phenomena, one can assume that recruitment is accomplished on a fairly open basis. This assumption is by and large true, although it appears that almost all of the visual artists have had some formal training in academic circumstances. The Pop artists are unusual with respect to the extent of their all-around training.

Of fifteen notable artists most involved in the Pop movement, only one did not attend a college or university as well as having had formal training in art. Most of these artists graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree from a variety of colleges and universities, and two (Segal and Lichtenstein) received their Masters of Arts degree as well.

During the late forties and the early fifties, the status of the artist was still relegated to a kind of fringe position. Much of the Romantic nineteenth century idea of the artist as bizarre, Bohemian, of dubious moral dedication, and in general as something we now call "fringy" was still prevalent. In earlier periods of history, the relationship of the artist to the consumer was a closer and more personal one. Consumers (whether they represented political, economic, or religious institutions) dealt often on a face to face basis with the artist. This relationship was ordinarily enforced by a highly common aesthetic taste and interest. The patronage-client relationship or system in art endured through much of European and likewise early American history; the big shift in market relations in the plastic arts had come with the break from the religious and secular patronage system (Bensman and Gerver 1970:662-663).

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with the growth of a significant secular-based middle-class, a mass

market for art objects developed which expedited a subsequent change in the style and content characterizing portraiture, still-life, and the landscape. The production of easel painting, of small decorative bronzes and so forth increased as the consumption of these art objects grew. At the same time, the growth and spread of the book as a commodity available to an increasingly general public was an incentive to the development of graphics and illustrations. The root of modern commercial art and imagery styled to sell was increasingly developed.

As technological and industrial development increased, especially through the impetus of two World Wars, the artist found himself increasingly personally removed from the consumer public, and from his audience in general.

The growth of photographic and printed reproductions, and the spread of these in myriad forms from postcards to art books - an enormous segment of the fine books market today - further depersonalized the relationship between artist and audience.

This new impersonality characteristic of the market place which has developed in art oftentimes makes it difficult for the artist to share the client's world of values and images. The appreciation of art is highly associated in the social sphere with the price tag or high prices contrived to restrict original art phenomena to a smaller circle of communication and exchange; therefore,

the quantity and especially the quality of the aesthetic stimuli in the visual art realm actually available to the general population had been limited. The great majority of the population, unable to purchase original artworks, was limited to viewing them either in museums (and few actually attended exhibits), or as reproductions in books and periodicals.

Today, the newer art consumers with more differentiated backgrounds, interests, and tastes have replaced the small patron groups of earlier eras, and the canons of art concomitantly have become less stable and predictable (Bensman and Gerver 1970:663).

The artist of the twentieth century has therefore to choose between satisfying a plurality of consumers in a routine way; that is, to choose between the role of "commerical" artist with commerical ends, or that of "Fine Arts" with its implicit goals. When an artist selects a mass audience, the style, form and content of his work must conform to the economic middleman, and to the market place which handles and disseminates his work. If he fails in this respect, he is doomed to failure as a commerical artist. Since art is a kind of communication, it could be said that such an artist simply was not able to communicate if his style and technique was too alien from the modal tastes and preferences of his general audience.

Serious artists have dealt with multiple audiences in

two general divergent ways: by rejecting them and creating their own aesthetic forms and theories of expression (avant-gardism), or by an intense interest in the maintenance of past Fine Art standards through imitation (Academicism) (Bensman and Gerver 1970:663; MacDonald 1957:62-63; Greenberg 1957: 99-100).

By the late forties and during the fifties, a whole group of New York based artists had indeed moved away from mass tastes and the market place. They created an art form and techniques which developed ultimately into Abstract Expressionism. The reams of information written about this movement, and of the genuinely elegant and powerful statements these artists made, shows them in the main hostile or indifferent to industrialism and the middle-class way of life and attitudes.

Since the Abstract Expressionists did effectively disassociate themselves from the entrepreneurs and solidly bourgeois tastemakers of their time, they created from and returned to those standards more structurally internal to the visual arts enterprise, and which have often nurtured artists' interest in their own work, as well as to the interpretation of internal psychological states. A resurgence of technically exploratory painting emerged, based on but greatly developed beyond the early non-objective work of artists on the Continent in Cubism and Expressionism. Abstract Expressionism became known as "painterly";

the constraints of form, composition, and of virtuosity in technique and power through brushstrokes were all important. The personal lives of the artists of the New York School became even further separated from those of the general middle class public. Their life patterns and value orientations either disregarded or were acutely critical of those of the bourgeoisie.

The artistic attitude of the Abstract Expressionists conjoined with their manner of aesthetic expression; they pondered and tried to paint their interpretation of freedom, their rather awesome existentialistic ethos with a heavy dose or awareness of solitariness, independence, and of the import of the moment captured in paint. They externalized in pigment the psychologically introverted, and made it "public" for the select few who managed to care for and appreciate these statements.

In the late forties and the fifties, the New York artist's community was close knit (Rosenberg, B. and Fliegel 1965, 1970b: 501 ff.) Painters' lofts and a few select taverns such as the Cedar Street Tavern were scenes of constant visits and much camaraderie. Group-organized lectures and socializing bouts of heraldic proportions were punctuated with pronouncements of their herculean attitudes toward middle class attitudes, politics, morals, and so forth. Initiation by social repudiation conjoined these artists with similar reactions against the slick

glossiness of what had developed into a mass culture, and spawned a rarified creative atmosphere. These artists first comprised their own audience. To this end they organized their own meeting places outside of their private residences in, for example, The Club, Studio 35, The School, and so forth (Sandler 1965:27-31; Burnham, S. 1973:4-12).

Avant garde art, as a minority culture, attacked and denied the mass culture. To the artist, the mass culture was a pseudo-culture, materialistically based, and the inauthentic product of a communication-dominated society. Stylistic subjectivity, personal, social, and oftentimes economic isolation characterized the lives of the artists of the dominant art movement of the fifties. By the time some of the Abstract Expressionist painters had "made it" in a substantial financial way, as a few of them ultimately did, the movement was almost a thing of the past. Indeed, some of the artists were already middle-aged or deceased (i.e., Pollock). This general subject has been treated in much greater detail and in a more analytic way elsewhere (Poggioli 1970; Greenberg 1961; Rosenberg, B. and Fliegl 1965; Rosenberg, H. 1962, 1964).

The art of the sixties built upon the aesthetic patterns of the fifties; it reacted to the Abstract Expressionist trend and developed into a New Realism or Pop, as we have called it, with a return to the imagery of the real. The plastic arts also proliferated into a variety



of other stylistic movements: Minimal art, Op, Color Field painting, Post-painterly abstraction, Kinetic art, and so forth. Artists by choice denied themselves the traditional rules guiding aesthetic creations, and so were forced to continue their aesthetic explorations more openly.

Some of the young artists who were gravitating to New York commenced to express their interpretations of art and the environment with stylistic discontinua of an initially startling nature. New York was rapidly replacing Paris as a world center in the visual arts (Hess 1966).

This new wave of artists, each unusually well-trained albeit quite young, also gained much in psychological support and interaction from one another. However, their activities were not directed predominantly for themselves alone, and indeed often took the form of an interesting new expressive form related to dramatic performance, namely, that of the 'Happening'.

In addition to their aesthetic-centered activities of the moment, these artists were fully aware of the commercial world and of its implications. Indeed, most of them had worked as commercial sign or advertising painters to support themselves at various times (eg., Rosenquist, Warhol, Rauschenberg, Thiebaud, Johns). Some of them were extremely literate and intellectual in their verbal talents. Oldenburg was a Yale Graduate and had worked as a reporter. Johns has a very literary approach to his verbalizations.

Their intellectuality was a comparatively prominent feature in their approach to life. Their collective attitude toward science and industry, technology, philosophy, and economics (in spite of the intense Americanism of their imagery) was less naive and more cosmopolitan than that of the generation of painters preceeding them. Although some of these artists lived in close proximity (eg., Johns and Rauschenberg, Oldenburg and Dine), each had already embarked on individualistic styles and careers before they knew one another.

"Happenings" were peculiarly expressive of the ideas and attitudes of this new group of artists. Happenings, especially as championed by Allan Kaprow, who was most instrumental in their articulation, were quasidramatic interludes which took place either informally or on a planned ticket-sell basis in old churches, meeting halls, backyards, or galleries. Happenings were characterized by being informal or formally skeletal, and with minimal planning or structuring. They ranged in mood from the hilarious to the serious and profound. Kaprow, in the interests of defining this form of quasi-dramatic art, drew up some "rules of the game", inasmuch as Happenings represent an enterprise analogous to visual art.

Happenings are of especial interest for our study, because such key Pop artists as Dine, Rauschenberg, and Oldenburg were personally and early involved in this move-

ment in New York. The rules of the "Happenings Games" briefly are: (1) the line between Happenings and daily life should be kept as fluid and perhaps indistinct as possible (in order that the reciprocation between the ready-made and the man-made will be powerful); (2) themes, materials, actions, and the associations they evoke, are to be taken from anywhere except the arts, their derivatives or milieu; (3) Happenings should if possible be dispersed over several widely-spaced sometimes moving locales (even global in scope); (4) time, closely bound up with things and spaces, should be variable and independent of the dramatic convention of continuity (that is, things should happen in their natural time); (5) the composition of all materials, actions, images, and their times and spaces, should be undertaken in as artless and practical a way as possible (with the avoidance of formal theories, and within an unencumbered aesthetic, like children's play, and perhaps as cooperative among several individuals; (6) Happenings should be unrehearsed, and performed by non-professionals, preferably once only (nothing requires professionalism, only interest and unfixed realms of action); (7) it usually follows that there should not be (and usually cannot be) a genuine audience to watch a Happening (the participant knows only the general scenario, and contrary to what Fine Arts usually require from their audience which is an attentive passive observer, Happenings

require an active attitude, so that creation and realization, artwork and appreciator, art work and life itself be inseparable) (Kaprow 1966:36-39, 1968; Hansen 1965).

These attitudes about spontaneous activity, the inter-relationship of life and art, the incorporation of elements of chance, the erasing of the division between artistic and dramatic time, between formal, aesthetically motivated plot-lines and life as it is lived, were all elements which were at the same time isomorphic with the motivational elements structuring the work of the Pop artists.

Typical of some of the early Happenings held in the early sixties are the following selections:

RAINING (to be performed at the discretion of the participants during rain).

Black highway painted black  
Rain washes away

Paper men made in bare orchard branches  
Rain washes away

Sheets of writing spread over a field  
Rain washes away

Little gray boats painted along a gutter  
Rain washes away

Bare trees painted red  
Rain washes away.

(Kaprow 1966:12)

BIRDS (Sponsored by the University of Illinois, Carbondale, February 1964).

Setting:

A patch of woods near a lake on the campus. A road leading to a small wooden bridge over a dry brook filled with rocks. On the bridge, a patio table loaded with packages of cheap white bread

and strawberry jam, a bright beach umbrella opened over this. Women in trees are widely separated and some can only hear each other. Below each woman is a mass of old furniture hung on ropes.

Events:

-1-

Tree women swing hanging furniture,  
and bang trees with sticks.

Wall men build wall of rocks on edge of bridge.

Bread man hawks bread and jam,  
"Bread! Bread! Bread!", etc.  
blows toy pipe whistle.

-2-

Bread man silent.

Wall workers go to tree women, taunt them,  
band with sticks and rocks on trees.

Tree women drop furniture.

-3-

Wall workers carry furniture to pile  
under edge of bridge.

Tree women blow police whistles.

Wall workers bomb furniture with rocks from wall.

Bread man resumes hawking.

-4-

Wall workers leave quietly one by one when finished.

Bread man continues hawking.

Tree women silent after first wall worker leaves.

-5-

Bread man slowly bombs rubble with bits of bread,  
leaves when finished.

Tree women rhythmically yell in unison "Yah! Yah! Yah!", like crows, as Bread man does this, and when he leaves they are silent.

(Kaprow 1966:14-15).

### GIFT EVENT II

Start by giving away different colored glass bowls.

Have everyone give everyone else a glass bowl.

Give away handkerchiefs and soap and things like that.

Give away a sack of clams and a roll of toilet paper.

Give away teddiebear candies, apples, suckers, and oranges.

Give away pigs and geese and chickens, or pretend to do so.

Pretend to be different things.

Have the women pretend to be crows, have the men pretend to be something else.

Talk Chinese or something.

Make a narrow place at the entrance of a house and put a line at the end of it that you have to stoop under to get in.

Hang the line with all sorts of pots and pans to make a big noise.

Give away frying pans while saying things like "Here is this frying pan worth \$100 and this one worth \$200.

Give everyone a new name.

Give a name to a grandchild or think of something and go and get everything.

(a Happening adapted by Rothenberg (1966:6) from an article by Helen Codere, "The Amiable Side of Kwakiutl Life: The Potlatch and the Play Potlatch", American Anthropologist, Vol. 56, 1951, pp. No. 2, April 1956).

A myriad of these happening scenarios exists, but these three examples are sufficient to afford a flavor of

their essential qualities. Dine, Rauschenberg, and Oldenburg created, enacted, and made "sets" for many of these events. In an interview, Lichtenstein has characterized the influential aspect of the happenings in the following way:

"Although I recognize their great influence now (eg., Johns, Rauschenberg) I wasn't that aware at that time. I was more aware of the Happenings of Oldenburg, Dine, Whitman, and Kaprow. I knew Kaprow well; we were colleagues at Rutgers. I didn't see many Happenings, but they seemed concerned with the American industrial scene. They also brought up in my mind the whole question of the object and merchandising" (Lichtenstein in Coplans 1963:31).

The work of John Cage embodies an attitude toward creativity and the arts which was very influential among the personnel of the Pop movement. As teacher, friend, and artist Cage was a member of the social network of the community of artists on the East coast during the late fifties and sixties.

Cage himself, whose lifework is a monument to serious and exciting experimentation in aesthetics, has been more than superficially influenced by Oriental ideologies, especially as they are embodied in Zen Buddhism. It is relevant to note some of his ideas which have been influential in the mood of the visual arts of the sixties. Cage seriously questions that art is meant to communicate ideas and emotions which organize life into meaningful patterns, or to realize universal truths. Instead, consistent with the Buddhist metaphysical doctrine of the

actual relatedness of all things (be they events, actions, or emotions), Cage proposes an art born of apparent chance and indeterminacy. Such art is related to life in an ambiguous way, depending upon the attitudes, perceptive and cognitive patterning of the participant or observer. Cage seeks to distinguish the artist's own personality by urging a process of artistic discovery as occurring in daily life (Tomkins 1968:72-73).

The "purpose" of engaging in aesthetic activity is "purposeless play...this play is an affirmation of life - not an attempt to bring order out of chaos nor to suggest improvements in creation, but simply to wake up to the very life we're living which is so excellent once one gets one's mind and desires out of its way" (Cage 1961, 1963).

Cage is convinced that the quality of life is and will be changing rapidly and drastically, rendering our traditional attitudes of thought obsolete; the true function of art in our time is to open up the minds and hearts of contemporary people to the immensity of these changes, "to lift the human awareness of this relationship to his environment, his world" (Tomkins 1968:100ff.; Cage 1967). Research indicates that this remark by Cage succinctly describes much of what has emerged to be the essential quality of the art movements selected for attention in this study.

Cage's relationship to Rauschenberg and Johns has



been one of personal friendship and occasional aesthetic collaboration. Each has been influenced by and influential on the others in this triad, without diminishing the genuine originality of any one of them. Rauschenberg has been perhaps the greatest experimenter with objects from both the world of nature and of man, including: texture experimentation, collage, combine--paintings, silkscreens, sculptural work, lighting works, costumes, using art and technology, founding organizations to investigate the possible interrelationship of experimentation in art and technology, and creating ideas for and performing with Merce Cunningham and other dance companies, and in general searching for new expressive forms.

Johns was influenced throughout this period by an ongoing exchange of ideas with John Cage. In A Year From Monday (1963), Cage published a chapter of comments about Jasper Johns, and included some of John's own ideas, stories and interpretations of some of his paintings (cf. Battcock 1966:210 ff.; Tomkins 1968:126ff.).

Johns and Rauschenberg had studios in the same building on Pearl Street, and daily consulted and discussed with one another the goals, ideas, and the work they were doing. John's careful and more cerebral approach to painting includes the belief that since the canvas is flat, the illusion of depth would be untrue; so nothing but flat objects and icons should be painted on it, such as flags,

numbers, letters, and targets. Depth relatedness could be expressed along with these elements by simply adding things to the canvas by mechanically affixing real objects to the painting (Tomkins 1968:213ff.). Johns also worked with Merce Cunningham as well as with John Cage. These men all shared some aspects of a basic ideology in their approach to life and art.

Johns' work has also been influenced by Wittgenstein's idea that language is a game, and that painting is a language game. This game approach is clear in the visual puns in some of his painting where words and objects also appear on the surface.

As previously mentioned with reference to Dadaism, the life and works of Marcel Duchamp present an enigmatic backdrop against which the painters of the sixties received either new ideas and interpretations, or conviction and re-confirmation of those they had already discovered for themselves. Duchamp more than any other figure in art (admittedly he was both in and out of art for years) offered a posture of aesthetic experimentation which was world and reality directed.

Although Duchamp has enjoyed a certain world-wide reputation since 1912 when he painted his celebrated "Nude Descending a Staircase", it was not until 1954 that this painting, along with most of his other major works, were placed on permanent exhibit as the Arensberg Collection

in the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Duchamp became an American citizen in that same year, and he has since exerted an enigmatic pressure and presence in the art world of New York, appearing now and then at gallery or museum openings and talking with young artists. Finally, in 1963, a huge Duchamp retrospective appeared at the Pasadena Art Museum. This summed up and reaffirmed the awareness of the aesthetic debt contemporary art owed to Marcel Duchamp, and again turned the attention of the world to him (Tomkins 1968:11). Indeed, it often seems as if a whole generation of painters, starting with the late fifties, were engaged in enacting and working out some of Duchamp's suppositions and aesthetic problems. When the mass media began bombarding him with publicity, Duchamp accepted this cheerfully saying with characteristic humor that he had now entered his "sex maniac phase" and was ready "to rape and to be raped by everyone" (Tomkins 1968: 11).

In his use of the readymade, which Bréton had defined as "manufactured objects promoted to the dignity of objects of art through the choice of the artist", Duchamp's comment on art was derisive. Duchamp maintained (in opposition to the Surrealists) that he did not select "readymades" on the basis of their aesthetic beauty, and that their notable lack in this respect functioned as a comment on art tradition and dogma. In this spirit he selected bicycle wheels,

bottle racks, chairs, doors, windows, urinals, and so forth and displayed them not at all or minimally altered (Tomkins 1968:25). Duchamp added that the readymades, which he limited to a fixed number per year, were one way to get "out of the exchangeability, the monetarization of the work of art, which was just beginning about then" (Tomkins 1968).

Similarly, Duchamp always insisted that the spectator's role comprised part and parcel of the creative act. He defined the artist as a "mediumistic being, who does not really know what he is doing, or why he is doing it. It is the spectator who...deciphers and interprets the work's inner qualifications, relates them to the external world, and thus completes the creative (Duchamp in Tomkins 1968:9).

In accordance with this insight, art moved away from offering a perceptual field for passive viewing only to structuring a set of stimuli to arouse a more dramatic interactional process in the spectator. Purely retinal art was deposed in favor of the more conceptual approach to appreciation. With the notable exception of Op art, this latter approach is characteristic of much of the visual art of the nineteen sixties. Duchamp's penchant for irony, punning, undermining the history of traditional Fine Arts, his "going underground" as artist, and his Dadaist selection of everyday items for exhibition and as art objects all contrive to make him a kind of ideological father to many of the Pop and Conceptual artists of recent times

(Gray 1969:20-44).<sup>12</sup>

These were the kinds of individuals and some of the ideological influences which were prevalent among the artist groups during the late fifties and the early sixties. The general cultural atmosphere of social change, of rejection of past values and techniques, coupled with a critical attitude toward the purpose and meaning of art in society, all combined to structure the network of communications and interactions which touched the lives of those who worked on the frontiers of the plastic arts during this period.

## XII. Art and Social Networks:

### The Art Establishment

Aside from intra-artist social networks, artists by profession are related to the 'Art Establishment' by ties of an economic and social nature. The ideological atmosphere of the large urban population conglomerates in the United States during the sixties were shaped by a growing awareness of social change and its implications. This included: economic change, changing roles and statuses, changes in race and sex relations, technological triumphs, plus the demoralization accompanying a long and, to many, ill-justified war, waged by the consensus of the military-industrial complex. Polarization and experimentation characterized many social processes: "Establishment" versus "anti-Establishment", the generation gap, feverish experimentation with mind expansion sometimes drug-induced, a penchant for strobe-lighted acid-rock filled environments, the Demonstration, underground presses and electronic media, outlandish androgynous fashions, and the New Left; all were invented and/or resuscitated during the sixties. In short, non-conformity became both more frequent and more patterned. The "avant garde", contrary to its original meaning, no longer stood ahead or truly outside of the sociocultural mainstream (Alloway 1971a; Ashberry 1968; Egbert 1967).

Many aspects of the increased sociocultural integration of the artist depend upon the interrelated networks of two

sectors of the larger society, as it is pre-figured in the 'Art World'. These networks comprise the economic aspects of the visual arts, which relate the artist to the gallery-collector-critic-museum complex, and the communications network which included an enormous expansion in coverage and variety of publications and programming. This last complex includes the much expanded role of critic as intermediary among the various other sectors of the Art Establishment.

The economic rise of the preceding generation of Abstract Expressionist painters and sculptors was slow and modest most of them did not realize a substantial gain from their aesthetic endeavors until the late fifties, if they were still living (Elkhoff 1970:314-315). Henry Geldzahler, the then Associate Curator of American Painting and Sculpture at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, once held a party at which some of the older Abstract Expressionist painters met with some of the younger painters of the sixties. Afterwards, Robert Motherwell, as a representative of the old school, commented that the younger ones were "more polite and sweet, so much less angry and brawly" than his generation had been at their age (Elkhoff 1970:315).

The meteoric speed at which the prices of Pop art pieces (as well as those of a few of the Post-Painterly Abstractionists and so forth) rose, both galvanized and frightened the gallery world; no-one really knew in whom

to invest next. The Pop revolution was a prime example of the often voiced suspicion that the small compact world of modern painting, through a closely knit social network system, could be mobilized and influenced more quickly than any of the other cultural worlds.

The fact that three of four well-known American collectors in particular shifted their collecting habits from Abstract Expressionism to Pop art helped to frame establishment anticipations of rapid success for both the artists and their gallery dealers. Among these collectors were: Mr. and Mrs. Robert Scull; Mr. and Mrs. Burton G. Tremaine Jr.; Mr. and Mrs. Albert A. List, and Mr. Philip Johnson, the famous architect. They were all early admirers and purchasers of Pop art items, soon followed by other collectors such as Mr. and Mrs. Harry Abrams, Leon Mnuchin, Richard Brown Baker and several others (Zinsser 1963).

The shift of the visual art world center from Paris to New York was witnessed also by the opening of branches in the United States by such prestigious galleries as the Marlborough-Gerson, as well as by the famous and powerful auction houses of Sotheby and Parke-Bernet (now conjoined).

Shortly after 1960, it became apparent that art auctions were to play an increasingly important role in the arena of the price-setting network not only for museums and art dealers, but for private collectors as well. A



youthful Larry Rivers happily sold his painting of "Washington Crossing the Delaware" for \$2,500.00. By 1966, he sold a smaller painting for \$15,000.00, and immediately wondered if he should have asked \$20,000.00. Rivers, like Johns, Oldenburg, Rosenquist, and Rauschenberg all moved in the social and society networks which included a range from movie stars and producers, to politicians and scions of old New England families (Zinsser 1963). The great and the elegant, as well as the hyped and the wits of subterranean decadence" congregated at Warhol's gleaming silver Factory where their interactions actualized in almost ritualistic repetition the preoccupations of the sixties (Koch 1973).

Johns, like Rivers and Rauschenberg, began to live well from his paintings when he was only twenty-nine. His paintings now sell for a range from perhaps \$30,000 to - in one case - \$225,000. John's mural-sized Dymaxion Map was sold to a German collector for the largest price ever paid for an American living painter.<sup>13</sup>

Jim Dine moved from Ohio to New York when he was twenty-three. By the time he was twenty-six, he had had over twenty-three European shows, and was living well from his paintings and other work. Other examples could be listed, but these suffice to communicate the pattern. Each of these successful artists has at times expressed a malaise with the suddenness of their fame and high prices.

Some fear that it won't last long because the public - including collectors - seem to be more fashion conscious today than ever before. Their tastes, it is feared by many artists, are too-shaped by trends and for the need to purchase and own "le dernier cri" (Elkhoff 1970:318-321).

The more the art world acts as a "Bourse", the more the artists feel like commodities. The more the artists feel a pressure to justify their high salaries, the more some artists complain that they experience a lack of freedom caught in the network of such expectations. Henry Geldzahler, who knows most of the Pop artists well has stated:

"The American artist has an audience, and there exists a machinery - dealers, critics, museums, collectors to keep things moving....Yet there persists a nostalgia for the good old days, when the artist was alienated, misunderstood, and unpatronized" (Geldzahler as quoted in Selz 1963:138).

A brief description of the operation of one important pace-setting gallery, the Leo Castelli gallery, might be interesting to detail, since the manner in which this dealer utilizes his own techniques and networks has virtually become an institutionalized model of what the new gallery promoter-cum-public-relations-man dealer is like. Castelli is said to watch the market like a research analyst; he is known to have urged - for example - while he sponsored a Lichtenstein show that another New York gallery stage a Rosenquist show, thereby creating a sense

of "movement" which would be reported by the press to collectors and museums (Elkhoff 1970:321-322).

In conversation with almost any artist of nearly any stylistic persuasion, the name of "Leo Castelli" and what he represents in gallery and dealer activities, is almost invariably mentioned at some time. The tone of the artist's conversation is clearly ambivalent. They recognize with respect his proficiency in promotion and selling, but they also fear the degree of control which he represents from both the selling and collecting standpoints.

Some artists fear that if fame moves fast, it can fade as quickly. It was felt expedient by some artists, therefore, to rationalize and stabilize their production in a way analogous to that used by the small businessman. Linked with this supply-demand interpretation, there emerged a new kind of professionalism, such as that represented by the Leo Castelli, Pace, Sidney Janis, or a few other galleries. This new type of gallery was marked by proficiency, good public-relations, characterized by operating as an efficient information source and a center of business-like operations.

Today the artist, who is middle-class himself, can be nearly an instant success with a unique style or invention. There is a vast audience for the products of the artist, but it is the kind of audience whose main characteristic is to consume manufactured articles. The production-

advertising link comprises the key to the typical success pattern in America. In the sixties, the arts became less differentiated from industry in this respect. Artists too seem to be more aware that their audience is value-conscious, because the basis of the value usually has to do with investment measures (Pellegrini 1969; 300; Rosenberg, H. 1972:229-235).

The meteoric rise to fame of the Pop artists and of their style was in large part made possible by the communication network which linked the New York and the Los Angeles galleries and museums; the news and information regarding shows and exhibits in major cities filtered back to New York via Chicago, Dallas, and Minneapolis, and were fed back into the point of view from which the New York artists continued to develop.

Coincident with the popularity of this movement, and clearly systemically linked to it, were the social conditions which in general gave rise to the pattern which Toffler has called the "Culture Consumers". For example, the large and growing power of a middle class which has been university or college trained was implicated. Most of this formal education or training included a vague reference to the History of Art, or some such general education culture-hatcher course. The enormously increased florescence of activities in museums and galleries, plus the increased coverage by periodicals greatly raised the

general public consciousness of contemporary visual aesthetic phenomena. This new interest can be documented in many ways.

A perusal of the contents of the art periodicals reflects the heavy interest in and commentary generated by the Pop art phenomenon. Recent improvements in color printing techniques which enabled better printing and reproductions for mass produced periodicals, plus the increase of interest in contemporary trends contributed to the greatly increased circulation these specialty magazines enjoyed during the sixties.

The fact that Pop art became a "movement" quickly, enabled critics and museum personnel to grasp its historical proportions and relationships rapidly. A plethora of interpretative and documentary articles peppered the pages of both art journals and urban newspapers. Such titles as the following were included in art periodicals or exhibition catalogues: "Pop and Mod"; "Pop goes the Easel"; "Has Pop reached Bottom?"; "Who's Nutty Now - Pop Artists Getting Rich Quick!"; "Snap, Crackle, Pop"; "Pop Gun Weddings"; "Art in a Coke Climate"; "The Slice of Cake School"; "Superman Comes to the Art Gallery"; "Look! It's Esthetic, It's Business, It's Supersuccess!". (Gathered at random from bibliographies).

Many of these articles seemed preoccupied with the content or subject matter of Pop's startling imagery, often

eliminating or minimizing any focus on the formal or technical aspects of the art works. Actually, much of the Pop work, although couched in various forms, retained much from previous painterly aspects; this is especially notable in the work of Larry Rivers, Jasper Johns, and Robert Rauschenberg.

A quick perusal of some excerpts from the critical commentaries placed in chronological order can serve to document what is a much larger but analogous corpus of writings referring to the growth and spread of the Pop Movement.

1958: Lawrence Alloway (in Architectural Design)

"...the elite, accustomed to set aesthetic standards, has found that it no longer possess the power to dominate all aspects of art. It is in this situation that we need to consider the arts of the mass media... because mass art is urban and democratic... In fact, stylistically, technically, and iconographically, the mass arts are anti-academic... Sensitiveness to the variables of our life and economy enable the mass arts to accompany the changes in our life far more closely than the fine arts... with technical change as dramatized novelty (and)... is characteristic not only of the cinema, but of all the mass arts... An important factor in communication in the mass arts is high redundancy".

1961: Paul Berg (in St. Louis Post Dispatch)

(Berg simply notes the new trend and continues to describe it as): "stark, blatant, literal, representation of everyday objects. (re. Lichtenstein and Rosenquist)... the importance of their work, and the aspect arousing such interest in art circles, is that there are several others artists - in New York, the Middle West, and on the West Coast - who unknown to each other, also have started to paint, in realistic and surrealist styles, the mass-produced, neon-plastic-pushbutton objects of modern American life....

suggests a new art movement may be gestating".

1961: Robert Indiana (in interview)

"I am American. Only that I am of my generation, too young for regional surrealism, magic realism, and Abstract Expressionism, and too old to return to the figure....I have lived and worked...where signs are much more profuse than trees - farewell nature - and much more colorful than the people- farewell humanity and the scene much too busy for calm plastic relationships - farewell, Pure Intellect) - .....I propose to be an American painter....possibly I intend to be a Yankee".

1962: Hilton Kramer (in The Nation)

"(Pop's) artistic failure is thus twofold: It neither revivifies the moribund abstract language which determines all its internal decisions nor does it succeed in conferring new meaning on the objects and motifs of popular culture it seeks to utilize".

1962: Irving Sandler (in New York Post)

"The combination of abstraction and illustration accounts for the astonishing popular success of New Realism. It is 'way-out' while twanging America's heartstrings, playing on its yearning for childhood goodies - funnies, pies, candies, etc. its sentimental nostalgia for a 1930s-type homespun content, and an easily read trompe l'oeil naturalism that is as old as Plato's 'Art is imitation' dictum".

1962: John Coplans (in Art Forum)

"Man having engineered a society to an undreamed of state of mass production, now labors solely in order to consume with the same ferocity as he produces. He is constantly and with enormous pressure, subjected to visual affects conditioning him to selling and consumption, that is message carrying to inform and induce him to act. This new art of Common Objects springs from the lashback of these visual effects and has nothing to do with any form of descriptive realism.

1963: Henry Geldzahler (in a panel discussing Pop)

"We live in an urban society...ceaselessly exposed to mass media. Our primary visual data are for the most part secondhand. Is it not logical that art be made out of what we see?....Why are we mistrustful of an

art because it is readily acceptable?...For the first time in this century there is a class of American collectors that patronizes its advanced artists. The American artist has an audience, and there exists the machinery...to keep things moving".

1963: Ivan C. Karp (dealer, in conversation at an interview)

"The American urban landscape is fantastically ugly.... The Common Image Artist observes the landscape....his philosophy is that all things are beautiful....By rendering visible the despicable without sensibility, Common Image Art (eg., Pop), sets aside the percept that the means may justify the subject....(The Images) do not invite contemplation. The style is happily retrograde and thrillingly insensitive....Common Image Painting...is perfectly revealed in a strangely timeless mode of encompassing the conventions of commercial and cartoon imagery".

1963: Jim Dine (in interview with Gene Swenson, Art News)

"I don't deal exclusively with the popular image. I'm more concerned with it as a part of my landscape".

1963: Roy Lichtenstein (in interview with Gene Swenson, Art News).

"...the use of commercial art as subject matter in painting....It was hard to get a painting despicable enough so that no one would hang it....the one thing everybody hated was commercial art; apparently they didn't hate that enough either....it is an involvement with what I think to be the most brazen and threatening characteristics of our culture, things we hate but which are also so powerful in their impingement on us....Outside is the world; it's there....Pop art looks out onto the world; it appears to accept its environment".

1964: David Sylvester (Art in a Coke Climate)

"Coca-Cola is....a set of tribal tastes and customs which implies certain values and attitudes and a set of conceptions of what life could ideally be....Pop Art's preoccupation is not so much with cult-heroes and cult objects as with the means of communication by which they are popularized....modern artists have a strong tendency to use art as a form of meditation about art and about its relations to reality....Pop art can use motorcars and cigarette packs as



Renaissance art used antique sculptures of Venus and Apollo because its models too are part of mythology. The design of objects in common use is more symbolic in our Coke culture than in any previous phase of Western civilization. To find such a wealth of symbolism in everyday equipment you must turn to primitive societies".

1964: John Canaday (in New York Times)

"...Why were any critics interested in Pop in the first place, and what induced dealers to take it on and where did the dealers find the first purchasers to crack a market that seemed cornered by exactly the opposite type of commodity - abstract art? In all three categories....a large element of opportunism is mixed with more admirable stimuli....Aside from critical opportunism, there is the more creditable.... that any hint of a new movement....explains the extreme receptivity of critics to anything that takes a new turn".

1964: Max Kozloff: (in The Nation).

"In fact because their first line of defense (of Pop artists) commercial imagery - is becoming more penetrable...various artists are falling back on schemata whose implications are essentially abstract... ..If you cannot distinguish between the conventional and the explorative in such artifacts, it is because the process of displacement keeps them both open-ended Under such conditions in which the identities of the work are refashioned before one's eyes,....commentary becomes by comparison a trivial by-product....(Pop art) takes on the accouterments of an environment.... modes of visual statement...have much to do with the way we interpret and accomodate works of art to our experience".

1964: James Rosenquist (in interview with Swenson, Gene, Art News).

"When I was a student I explored paint quality. Then I started working doing commercial painting....I'm amazed and excited and fascinated about the way things are thrust at us....our minds and our senses (are) attacked by radio and television and visual communications, through things larger than life....So I geared myself like an advertiser...to this visual inflation in commercial advertising which is one of the foundations of our society....Painting is probably more exciting than advertising - so why shouldn't it be

1964: James Rosenquist (cont.)

done with that power and gusto....My metaphor - is my relations to the power of commercial advertising which is in turn related to our free society".

1965: Tom Wesselman (in Rublowsky, 1965).

"In my painting I use the most traditional kind of situation - portraits, still-lives, nudes, and more recently, landscapes. Billboards, bathrooms, and kitchens did not excite me until I realized that they have a kind of superreality that could be exploited in painting....Commerical displays provide materials of extravagent quality and size, and I try to capitalize on this aspect in a particular painting".

1966: Roy Lichtenstein (in Art Forum)

"When we consider what is called Pop art....we assume these artists are trying to get outside the work....I wanted to look programmed or impersonal, but I don't really believe I'm being impersonal when I do it.... I don't really believe you can do a work of art and not really be involved in it".

1966: Claes Oldenburg ( in Art Forum)

"My work makes a great demand on a collector....anyone who comes into contact with it is inconvenienced.... made aware of its existence, and of my principles.... The cloth work is decidedly 'sculptural' ...by which I mean that it emphasizes masses, the dynamic element here is flaccidity....graivity is my favorite form creator".

1967: Claes Oldenburg (On Happenings, in Store Days)

"Nothing is communicated or represented except through its attachment to an object (even though the object will mean different things at the same moment to different people)...It is the play of consciousness in reaction to certain objects....This differs from conventional theater in that the communication is less fixed....this theater aims to make man compose experience as it changes, a constant pleasure and an instrument of survival (Parenthesis by Oldenburg).

The fact that the store represents American popular art is only an accident, an accident of my surroundings my landscape, of the objects which in my daily coming and going my consciousness attaches itself to ....in

1967: Claes Oldenburg (cont.)

my art I am concerned with perception of reality and composition...by setting an example of how to use the senses...I imitate these (objects) because I want people to get accustomed to recognize the power of objects, a didactic aim...This elevation of sensibility above bourgeois values...will destroy the notion of art and give the object back its power. Then the magic inherent in the universe will be restored, and people will live in sympathetic religious exchange with the materials and objects surrounding them...my desire to imitate extends to the event or activity or making the thing I imitate... that is, to be for a moment a sign painter, in another for a moment a baker of cakes....".

1968: Andy Warhol (in his catalogue for the Stockholm exhibition)

"The reason I'm painting this way is because I want to be a machine. Whatever I do and do machine-like, is because it is what I want to do. I think it would be terrific if everybody was alike...I love Los Angeles, I love Hollywood. They're beautiful. Everybody's plastic - but I love plastic. I want to be plastic. In the future everybody will be famous for fifteen minutes.

I still care about people but it would be so much easier not to care...I don't want to get too close... I don't want to touch things...that's why my work is so distant from myself". (Information in parentheses supplied, except where noted).

These statements by artists and critics alike should give a fair indication of the sentiments and sensibilities which both generated the Pop work and the reception, critical and positive, afforded it.

The great rise in the publication and circulation of art magazines, plus an increase in the reporting of art world events, to keep pace with their increased occurrence, all contributed to the continued economic and cultural

interest in the visual arts of the sixties.

The characteristics of the audience which was especially open to the acceptance of Pop art deserves some attention inasmuch as its characteristics help to explain the nature of the rapid growth of this style phenomenon. Before World War II, "culture" was monopolized by a small segment of the American population composed principally of a few social components: the Europe-oriented rich; the alienated intellectuals, critical of the materialistic aspects of society; and artists and world-be artists. The culture-audience was solidly adult, and largely female. It lacked much representation from either the characteristically middle-class, or from the urban working class people or farmers (Toffler 1964:25-27).

After World War II, the spread of technology and of communications and the media, as well as a rising income and the growth of a university educated middle-class have contrived to change the profile of the culture-consumers. Those interested in the visual arts are prominent among these culture-consumers. By 1962, American museums totalled an annual attendance figure of between two hundred and two hundred and fifty million, which when reduced by revisit counts, probably still represents visits by approximately fifty million individuals annually. This figure is still on the slow rise.

Individual polls of museum, theaters, and concert

halls, show that male participation as audience in the arts has increased significantly to equal that of females. An Art News poll indicated that by 1972, a break-down in their subscriber list showed the reader sex percentage as: 42.7% males; and 57.3% females.<sup>14</sup>

Along with this shift in sex ratios represented, the age level of those interested specifically in cultural fields and activities as consumer or audience member has lowered significantly. This fact, if current research on the attitudes of youth means anything, forces the conclusion that the general arts audience has a more open mind toward the advance of styles or innovative trends (Toffler 1964:27-28). The Art News magazine, which represents a fairly middle-of-the-road reportage, represents the age break-down in their readership in 1971 as the following (Table 15, 1971):

18 to 24 years of age:	14.7%
25 to 34 years of age:	20.3%
35 to 54 years of age:	40.1%

Harry Abrams, America's largest publisher of art books, has established that his audience is heavily between 25 - 45 age bracket. These art books represent an expenditure of a substantially higher price per book than does the ordinary book. All of these statistics must be seen in their proper perspective, since the median age in the United States population had decreased until in 1966-67,

fully 50% of the population was under 25 years of age. The implications for the visual arts of this demographic situation has yet to be carefully studied.

The net result of this brief profile does show that despite the general democratization of the arts, the culture consuming public still represents a special sub-group of the entire American population. Couple this conclusion with the fact that in this segment there is an undoubtedly uneven representation across ethnic and economic sub-groups. In spite of the increasing general geographical and economic mobility of some segments of the lower through middle-class population, a general picture of the Post World War II art-aware public commences to come into focus.

A special characteristic of this culture-consuming sub-group is that it has experienced a vast exposure to communications. The average culture consumer spends an hour a day reading a major newspaper and a slightly longer time with a periodical. He still listens to the radio; and the use of FM tuners makes radio listening time rise sharply to an average of two to three hours daily (Toffler reporting on the Opinion research group in Princeton on America's Tastemakers, in 1964:36-37). This higher degree of saturation in communications, coupled with the higher median incomes and the level of education represented by a more youthful audience, provide a background for under-

standing the possibility of the rapid rise and success of radical stylistic discontinua and innovative patterns in the visual arts.

In March of 1971, Art News magazine conducted a subscriber survey (tabulated by Data Computing Corporation), which received the following answers to the question about the length of time in total the reader spends reading an average issue of Art News (Table 3 1971):

1/2 hour to one hour:	27.5%
1 hour to 2 hours	: 39.2%
over 2 hours	: 26.9%

The total subscription membership of Art News was 37,065 at the time of the survey, although it undoubtedly has a substantially higher readership. Art News subscribers also reported (Table 5) that in their households 49% had one reader of the magazine; and 39.2% had two readers. 89.1% reported that they read the advertisements as well as the articles (Table 7). 22.9% of the Art News subscribers also subscribe to Art in America; 12.8% to American Artist, and 11.1% to Art Forum (Table 8).

Art News subscribers indicated the focus of their interest in art activities (Table 9) roughly as:

30.7 collectors
33.9 professional painters
31.6 amateur artists.

79.7% indicated that they had formally studied art history

or painting in school.

With respect to income, the subscribers of Art News magazine are represented with the above average income per household of \$25,376.00 (with a median of \$18,249.00). 19.8% earned from \$25,000 - \$49,999; and fully 11.5% earned over \$50,000.00 annually (Table 17). This population further reports that it is widely travelled internationally, and spends substantial funds on the visual arts in collecting and so forth (Figure 5).

In a rapidly increasing rate, therefore, communications have carried reporting, critical analysis, and advertising copy about the availability of art products. Among the various publics to which the artist of the sixties had to relate in an important way, was that of the art critic.

A perusal of the mood of the articles and language used in reference to the Pop art movement of the sixties, reveals some of the characteristics of the changing roles of the critic as it related to and was expedited by the sudden growth of Pop art. These characteristics will be summarized into five main points.

(1) It is clear from reading the critical articles in art periodicals from the end of the fifties and the beginning of the sixties, that the particular qualities of the then most important art movement (Abstract Expressionism) gave impetus to the importance of the role of the critic. In



Question: "Could you please give us a rough estimate of the amount of money you have spent on the following items in the past 6 months?"

<u>Items For Which Money Was Spent</u>	<u>Number of Subscribers</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>Total Amount Spent</u>	<u>Average Amount Spent</u>
Modern Painting & Sculpture	- 9,007	24.3	\$21,409,639	\$2,377
Old Master Paint- ings & Sculpture	- 927	2.5	491,310	530
Primitive Arts	- 2,261	6.1	1,951,243	863
Oriental Arts	- 2,446	6.6	1,254,798	513
Original Prints, Multiples	- 8,562	23.1	3,912,834	457
Antique Furniture, Porcelain, Silver, etc.	- 5,486	14.8	3,637,218	663
Art Books	- 31,060	83.8	3,074,940	99
Artists' Colors	- 24,129	65.1	1,471,869	61
Artists' Brushes	- 20,979	56.6	650,349	31
Artists' Canvas	- 17,569	47.4	1,036,571	59
Artists' Paper	- 19,014	51.3	779,574	41
Miscellaneous	- 704	1.9	547,008	777
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>*142,144</b>	<b>383.5</b>	<b>\$40,217,353</b>	<b>\$1,083</b>

FIGURE 5 - Table (11) from the Art News 1971 Subscriber Study illustrating expenditures for Art and art supplies during the previous six months.

spite of the fact that non-objective painting and sculpture was meant to speak directly to the perception and mind of the spectator, the abstruse and complex characteristics of this art style needed to be explained. A few critics became spokesmen for this movement and developed the complex vocabulary in which the aesthetic and formalistic interpretation of the non-objective imagery was framed (see the critical writings of Harold Rosenberg, Greenberg, Fried, and Kozloff for examples). In this way, a critical machinery was first evolved which then supplied specific formal principles of art criticism and aesthetic evaluation to other contemporaneous movements in painting and sculpture (Pellegrini 1969;307-308; Geldzahler 1966:96-97).

(2) With the sixties came the sudden and sweeping growth not only of Pop art, but also the emergence in art of a complex and varied array of movements such as: Op art, Minimal art; Hard Edge painting; Post Painterly Abstraction; Tek art; Kinetic art; Photo-realism; Concept art, and so forth. This amazing versatility and embarrassment of riches itself needed ordering, explanation, and guidelines for understanding. The Pop movement especially briefly signalled the return and mobilization of an avant garde; this network created a genuine exchange of ideas among critics and audiences after what the critic Sidney Tillim called "two generations of apocalyptic utterances" (Tillim 1965).

In addition to this, the nature of the subject matter of Pop art signalled a return from subjectivity and personal imagery to a shared social world of common imagery. These new yet familiar icons brought forth a different kind of interest on the part of the critics, an interest in relating images to social reality. Harold Rosenberg remarked that in the sixties the eye alone could not always distinguish art from non-art; and that the conceptual aspects of perception were brought to the fore through the verbalizations of critical annotations and explanations (Rosenberg, H. 1972:56-57). The younger, better educated, more middle-class artist spoke to this larger, more sophisticated audience in a new kind of dialogue.

(3) As the economic aspects of the art system assumed a pattern more analogous to that of the industrial-advertising pattern prevalent in other institutions of the American society, a new need grew from generating and educating the potential clientele to assume the critical-explanatory function. The amount of verbal data involved with the Pop art movement greatly increased: television and radio produced programs explaining the new art form and introducing the artists themselves to their audience through interviews; museums assumed a larger dedication to teaching, and the printed museum catalogue accompanying exhibitions became a repository of critical information; gallery dealers and personnel wrote (or hired critics to

write) blurbs for their exhibition announcements which could educate, inform, and incite interest in the minds of the prospective spectators and clients. Although the line between art and daily life was being eroded, aesthetic phenomena were not about to be reduced to their physical data. Words and cultural explanations helped to maintain the distinctive insulation between the art object with its setting, and all other objects. Rosenberg, H. 1972:57-58).

The growth in the publication and consumption of the art book with its contents of reproductions and historical and critical explanations, deserves special notice in our analysis of the communications network. While the spectator-audience of actual paintings, sculpture and other visual art phenomena has been growing, it has not kept pace with the vast new audience of the less expensive art publication (i.e., Malraux's 'Pocket Museum').

Although any reproduction in an art book lacks the scale, materiality, texture, and quality of the original, art-book art has the great advantage to the public that it appears in the context of explanation and knowledge (Rosenberg, H. 1966:198). The appetite for knowledge about contemporary art (and much of past art for that matter), has emerged concomitant with the idea of art as a legitimate branch of learning and knowledge. So integral has art become to the world of language communication, that there is difficulty in detaching the success of an art style from

its literary and critical context. In the context of language, critics, museum directors, and artists alike have turned actual works of art into art history at once with their appearance. Since the new stylistic trends (i.e., Pop art) have often assumed a visual function analogous to questions posed to the history of art by artists and spectators alike, they have automatically assumed a more self-conscious elaboration of, or reaction to, the context of history. An art audience which is aware of the history of art makes these contextual relationships and judgements more readily. This aspect of the communication network helps to explain why the existence of the avant garde - if it can be said to exist at all anymore - is extremely brief. Information saturation occurs rapidly, and transforms the new into the familiar and predictable in record time.

Through the art book and other similar publications, therefore, the material environment of art has far exceeded its traditional museum - gallery setting, and has attained the value of experience for a much larger audience than those who actually possess art works (Rosenberg, H. 1966: 100).

(4) Another interesting aspect of the new criticism is that it includes an enlarged use of the artist himself as critic, not only in conversations with artist friends as before, but rather in print and with a reading audience

of thousands. Ad Reinhardt, who preceded the Pop movement, pioneered this new role. With his all-black canvases, Ad Reinhardt struck his own version of the death knell for the monolithic dominance of the Abstract Expressionist school. His published criticisms, manifestos, commentaries, and formalistic "rules" proposed for the new approach to art prefigure much of the post Abstract Expressionist criticism on the part of the artists themselves (Reinhardt in Battcock 1966:200-209).

With the refocus in imagery on the objects and environment of American life, the artists, too, took over some of the functions of the critic; several artists assumed the critical function of verbalizing aesthetic judgements, while at the same time creating stylistic discontinua in their art works. The reader of recent art periodicals finds an increase in the number of artists who write critical analyses of their own or other artists' productions. This trend was encouraged by a few younger critics as well, who felt that to implicate the artist in the critical role was more consistent with the newer forms of art phenomena (Lippard 1971a:13ff., 23ff.; Russell and Gablik 1969). Some of the most literate and enlightening critical explications and commentaries on Pop art can be found in the notes and statements composed by the artists themselves, in periodicals, interviews, and in museum and gallery catalogs (Morris, R. 1969, 1973).

The commentaries and the actual works of art by the Pop artists show them to be highly aware of the history of the art within which they were working. This knowledge has led to a closer interactional relationship between art and criticism, and has permitted the artist to talk more articulately about his work (Battcock 1968: 25-26). Many contemporary paintings and sculptures relate as puns or as parody upon the work of previous artists, or upon the romantic myth surrounding the art world, along with its self-conscious self-critical approach.

(5) Lastly, the content of the newer criticism as compared to that of the pre-Pop era bears witness to the fact that the roles and functions of the critic are changed. The concepts furnishing the background for the critical apparatus and enterprise, as well as the language in which criticism is now couched, illustrate divergent goals between previous critical functions and those of growing importance in the sixties (Battcock 1968). As critics began to reappraise their roles, several articles were published which were written by critics about criticism (Steinberg 1970; Kozloff 1966; Fried 1968; Rosenberg, H. 1961, 1966, Rose 1969; Lucie-Smith 1968, 1971).

This growing awareness of the necessity to reevaluate the critic's role and function came about in large part (as can be noted in the content of these articles) due to a malaise aroused by the Pop phenomenon among the established

critics. It became apparent that the critical apparatus and language previously used to analyze Abstract Expressionism was both irrelevant and inadequate for these new stylistic phenomena (Kozloff 1966:126; Lippard 1971).

The complexity of the art scene during the sixties, including as it did so many trends, promoted a further differentiation among the artists themselves, and this incited a need to avoid a simplistic critical apparatus to accommodate such a variety of art forms. The criticism of the fifties was largely structured by the formal criteria dealing with the painterly qualities of form, color, and the subtleties of composition or aesthetic relationships among elements or forms on the surface of the work of art. The newer critics eschewed much of this critical apparatus for an interest in art as a complex event which exists in direct interrelationship to the spectator.

Harold Rosenberg has made the remark that contemporary art during the sixties was half art material and half words (Rosenberg 1972:55). Rosenberg has tried to bridge the gap between Greenbergian formalist criticism, and the work of the newer critics who claim not to operate under any critical "systems" at all (Lippard 1971:12).

The newer critic deals not so much in critical judgments and evaluations as in placing the art work in the perspective of its time and environment. These critics interpret only in T. S. Eliot's sense of explicating "less



accessible facts", and not in the older sense of presenting the spectator with canonical analyses, explaining the mysteries of the work, and/or 'canning' or reducing the work to formalistic criteria for the literate spectator. To record rather than reform; to discuss rather than dispose; and to have only perceptions in place of pre-conceptions is a kind of goal for the recent critics (Lippard 1971:25; Battcock 1968:19-36; Kozloff 1966: 141). The new critics try to discuss the content of what the artist does within the context of how he does it, in order to clarify why and what the artist is saying about his times and environment (Leepa 1966:145-152).

The newer criticism brings with it increasing information from psychology, as well as from history, sociology, and contemporary politics, when compared with the previous formalistic criticism which relied more on categories directly relevant and descriptive of only the canvas or sculptural piece itself.

Some critics are critical of one another, as well as of the artists whose products they cannot subsume under what they can accept as "art" (Canaday 1962; Sontag 1966: 152-160).<sup>15</sup>

There exists a tension, however, which remains between the artist and the critic, since each prefers to be the ultimate arbiter of what is good art or not. Artists are aware that a power hierarchy exists among critics, and

that often the more innovative elements of their work are in opposition to the most established critics who represent the most widely respected institutions of the art world. Since these institutions are often allied with the moneyed elements of the art establishment, and have wealthy collectors on their boards and as clients, a double-bind is often experienced by artists and critics (Rosenberg, B. and Fliegel 1970b:513-515).

The power of critics as tastemakers is feared by some artists and resented by others; this fact probably explains why some of the Pop artists were willing and eager to undertake some of the work of the critics on their own behalf. In-built ambiguities characterize the network linking the critic with other members of the art world: with respect to artists, whether or not the critic accepts the work of artists as gifts, and therefore might experience a conflict of interests; with respect to museums and dealers, as to whether or not he becomes a pseudo-dealer in his critical role, advancing artists of his own interest and possession to the detriment of a general educatory function; and in general with respect to the political and social ideologies which invariably color his attitudes and critical faculties with respect to controversial art works. The basic source of these problems is directly linked to the rising economic gain and importance of art as a commodity during the sixties (Burnham, S., 1973:107-108; 121-137; 132-

135; 123-128; 135-158).

This analysis of the importance of communication for the rapid popularity and dissemination of the works of the Pop artists is meant to illustrate how the information network ties together factions of what has become known as the "Art Establishment".

Within this art-world system, the key nodes are: the artist, the critic, museums and their personnel, galleries and dealers, auction houses, critics, collectors, and the body of advertising and commentary published in books, magazines, and newspapers which ties all of these nodal elements together. There exists a common area of interest and orientation among these interacting personnel; but there also exists a high degree of tension, generated by the conflicting ends or divergent means by which they operate, even when they share goals. The artist-artist relationship is usually the closest, as has been mentioned before; and artists maintain social ties and interaction patterns most often with other artists. These artists usually share the same aesthetic area of focus, or perhaps are in related fields such as music, theater, or poetry. At the outer rim of this circle are friendships generated often by a basically common interest in art, such as those with critics, museum personnel, or perhaps with business men and women who are also collectors.

It is commonly agreed by most members of the art

world, that it is riddled and rife with gossip, jealousies, self-aggrandizing motives, self-serving activities, and that it functions on the flotsam and jetsam of rumors, misinformation, secrecy, and the desire for economic gain (Rosenberg, H. 1966; Burnham, S. 1973). Sophy Burnham's book The Art Crowd (1973) as well as Taylor and Brooke's The Art Dealers (1969), or Wraight's The Art Game (1966) contain enough documentation of this condition to suffice and support this conclusion. Personal interviews with many West Coast artists and interested persons reveal the same preoccupation, intensified by the frustration of operating on the West Coast when it is generally conceded that the financial center of the art world is New York. It is in New York where all the art Journals are published (Art Forum failed to survive on the West Coast), where all the largest and most affluent galleries are operating, and out of which the principal critics operate (Levine, E. 1972).<sup>16</sup>

An artist's relationship to his dealer and gallery is important inasmuch as by and large it represents his economic life-line to the public. In spite of the fact that issues of Art Gallery Magazine (centered and published in New York) lists 800 to nearly a thousand art galleries actually operating in a handful of metropolitan American cities, it is clear to anyone who "knows" that no more than a dozen of the twenty to thirty principal large and powerful dealers handle really important Contemporary art originals

(as opposed to graphics and multiples).<sup>17</sup>

In 1961, there were about 450 dealers concentrating in various styles of art in New York; by 1970, there were about 1,000 operating. The Wall Street Journal estimated that the potential United States market for the Fine Arts could climb as high as five billion a year (Burnham, S. 1973:32).

Most dealers of contemporary art handle and sell art works on a commission basis, and take from one-third to nearly one-half of the selling price for their commission. A few dealers occasionally buy art works outright (as from auctions), such as is the practice in Europe, and then try to sell them at higher prices. A few sell on consignment from owners.

For his obligation, the dealer agrees to publicize the artist, to include him in one-man shows or with a small and select group; and to act as a center of information about him to critics, museums, the media, and the general collecting public.

Some of the most successful galleries in New York have pioneered in the commercial treatment of art objects with a slick and efficient trade emphasis much like that of the industrial organization. One can speculate in art as one does in the market. The gallery becomes the promoter, and uses publicity and expensive caviar and champagne openings to manipulate trends. It assumes an air of gala opulence as an occasional center of social

entertainment with what has become institutionalized as the pre-show "Opening" (Rosenberg, B. and Fliegl 1970a; Burnham. S., 1973).

The successful gallery selects and binds to its "stable" the artists it wishes to represent, oftentimes by a formal contract. These contracts usually insure the dealer of exclusive gallery rights for the sale of the artist's works, in turn for operating as the middleman for the artist and the collecting public. Dealers help control the law of supply and demand, and operate in both managerial and promotor capacities. For these obligations, the dealer usually gains from thirty to forty percent of the gross sales of his inventory. Seitz has referred to the young artists and their critic-gallery galaxy of interaction as the "Pepsi Generation" of artists and critics (Seitz 1967).

Another arrangement between artists and dealers is the comparatively new practice which some of the more solvent dealers have adopted of supporting the artist on a stipend. The artist is sent a monthly check to support him and buy his supplies, while the gallery keeps a running account of his stipend. When the gallery sells the artist's productions, the appropriate bookkeeping entries are made and the artist is paid any overage. The necessity for formal contracts is apparent, due to some of the problems contingent upon word of mouth arrangements which have not worked out well usually for the artist. Some dealers

complain that in fact their expenses are so high and their duties so diverse that their profit margin is small and renders the maintenance of an art gallery an insecure and unrewarding task (Burnham, S. 1973:47ff.).

Interviews with artists reveal the five most frequent complaints registered by them about dealers in general:

- (1) a feeling of insecurity and suspicion between artist and dealer due to the fact that the artist really knows very little about what the dealer is actually doing to sell their work. The dealer fails to keep in touch with the artist, or forgets to send him or her a check promptly, or deliberately throws up a smoke-screen to hide any lack of success.
- (2) the complaint that the dealer in fact is not pushing for, or working hard enough for the artist, but is rather concerned with some other artist, or other affairs.
- (3) various complaints about the secrecy of pricing practices, relationships with collectors, undeclared intentions to change support either in style or to change his "stable" of artists, leaving the artist without support.
- (4) accusations of actually cheating the artist by failing to return works to him (given on verbal contract only), or by not declaring actual sale price, or by taking too high a commission, and so forth.
- (5) complaints of dealing with the artist as if he or she and his or her works were only commodities to be hawked in

the marketplace, and of totally turning art into a commodity; or further of not offering the necessary psychological and social support on the individual-to-individual basis. This complaint includes a sub-category indicting the dealer with general disinterest in younger lesser known artists to the detriment of their potentialities, and of favoritism for those who simply "sell".

Two related phenomena of the sixties have influenced the world of the dealer, and in part they have changed both his status and the general behavior patterns relating to collectors and especially museums. Again, these two phenomena are clearly tied to the great rise in the economic importance of art in the sixties. The first of these is the great increase of actual fakes and forgeries which have appeared both in collections and museums, often through the auspices of legitimate and innocent dealers (Irving 1969). An increasing uneasiness or actual suspicion about the reputation of dealers in general has naturally accompanied this phenomenon (Burnham, S. 1973:67-68; 78-87; Bower 1968).

The second phenomenon of interest is the rise of the auction house as an important manipulator and dealer in the art marketplace of the United States and in the world. Before World War II, ninety percent of the art business in New York was conducted through dealers; but by 1971, dealers account roughly for about fifty percent of the



world art market. Because auction houses make their record of sales public, they have become the important central reference for pricing used by dealers, museums, and collectors alike. By the end of the sixties, Parke-Bernet, a subsidiary of Sotheby's, announced an annual American sales turnover of \$38,524,966.00. Verification of this claim is available in their annual collection of catalogues and price lists which are available in most libraries, and they serve as a barometer of prices on individual art styles or artists as well.

In August of 1964, Sotheby acquired Parke Bernet, and instituted the system of reserve which it had practiced before in London. Although difficult to prove, it is attested that the use of the secret reserve system was one of the reasons that art in general reached such spectacular proportions during the sixties (Burnham, S. 1973:55-57).

An undisclosed reserve is the lowest price a seller will accept, and which he may put on his own entry. If the bidding during the auction does not reach the reserve level, the art work is automatically "bought-in" (a "buy-in" or "B-I"); in that case the original owner pays the auction gallery 5% instead of the 12.5 to 20% that a regular buyer would have paid, and he retains possession of the object. During the sixties, Buy-Ins were simply listed as sales; thus the opportunity for manipulating the market price was often abused by dealers and collectors, who by

paying 5% per item, were able to raise the recorded selling price of any work they entered with an appropriately high reserve bid.

Because of the problem of encountering fakes, and of the unscrupulous few among dealers who knowingly or naively dealt in these, plus the economic complications sometimes contingent upon the increased power of auctions with the abuses linked to the practice of the undisclosed reserve and Buy-In, and numerous other friction-producing situations, the Art Dealers Association was established. This association was (and is) comprised of prominent dealers who were concerned to establish and promote ethical practices for the trade. The Art Dealers Association has been at least partially successful in raising the level of awareness of these problems, and has on occasion successfully closed galleries discovered dealing in fakes or refusing to comply with their ethical codes (Schumach 1972:33-37).<sup>18</sup>

Largely through the pressure of the Art Dealers Association, in 1971 Sotheby Parke Bernet was forbidden to list reserves under the "Sales Prices" column, but rather enjoined to include reserve bids under a separate "Final Bids Received" column (Burnham, S. 1973:57). Several lawsuits were tendered during the sixties in the art world, which attested to the problems present between and among artists, dealers, and collectors. These cases have been

detailed in periodicals and newspapers (Burnham, S. 1973:88-92; Colin 1966).

But what of museums which had for so long held the reputation of being the most important public repositories of artistic efforts? Changes also occurred within museums during the sixties, contingent upon a greater elaboration and awareness of art, so that few museums escaped without a substantial change of goals, methodologies of operation, internal reorganization, or without seeking to change their "image" in the minds of the public.

After World War II, when the members of the art world became conscious that their holdings involved large sums of money, the question of the directorship and staffing of museums no longer dealt simply with the selection of individuals trained and experienced in "curatorial" functions, but also with seeking established men of business and professional background. Museums experienced a kind of identity crisis as institutions during the sixties. This process seemed to approach a climax near the end of the decade. A nation-wide rash of directorship hiring and firing was activated, and disgruntled artists in New York organized attacks on established museum practices through the Art Workers Coalition. They selected to strike the most prominent of museums, the Museum of Modern Art.<sup>19</sup>

Before the middle of the fifties, American art museums had always conceived of themselves as serving a

small but interested community comprised of the culturally dedicated and elite, who collected, donated, and came to see and appreciate the masterpieces produced predominantly by European artists. With the shift in international recognition to include modern American painters and sculptors as established "greats", more museums were forced to reevaluate their collecting habits in this respect. Secondly, during the late fifties and during the sixties, art commenced to involve much larger sums of money; this fact redefined collecting habits, the appointment procedures of boards of trustees, complicated by an awareness that a burgeoning interest in things cultural made a difference in the composition of the growing audience to be served by these institutions. Thirdly, the sixties, in general, had championed the question of relevance as a central issue for all service institutions. Museums were clearly caught in the felt-necessity to redefine their over-all goals and philosophies, as well as their physical plants and exhibition techniques.

To document these areas of institutional change more succinctly, the case study method will be used here to characterize the changes in five of the most important museums in the United States. Several smaller museums experienced similar problems, and their resolutions (or lack thereof) also seem analogous in efficacy, direction, and orientation.

## THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

James Rorimer was Director of the Metropolitan from 1955-1966; he was thoroughly trained as a Medievalist, and had worked at the museum in various capacities since 1927, when he had graduated from Harvard. His dedication to the Metropolitan was so complete as to be the focus of his entire life and devotion. During his directorship, the organization and quality of exhibitions as well as the physical organization of the plant were greatly improved (Tomkins 1970:327ff.). Rorimer's relationships with rich collectors were friendly and filled with trust (eg., John D. Rockefeller and the Fould's estate), and so the level of acquisitions did not suffer. On the question of how to expand or reorganize the educational functions of the museum, he remained a conservative, asserting that schools-not museums - should shoulder this burden. Artists complained that the Metropolitan did not pay enough attention to American artists, and that the Metropolitan missed some excellent international loan shows by not being prepared spatially, or for other reasons (Tomkins 1970:343-344). These complaints gathered momentum during the sixties as the art world embarked on more rapid change and increased exposure to general societal shifts.

Upon Rorimer's death, Thomas Hoving was appointed as the new and youngest director (age 36) of the Metropolitan in 1967. Hoving, too, had been trained as a Medievalist

at Princeton. He had served a brief period at the Cloisters under Rorimer, and then at Mayor John Lindsay's request had become the New York Commissioner of Parks. While at this post, Hoving received much favor, and seemed dedicated to serving the public by rendering Central Park safe for enjoyment. He further established a park-centered air of vitality, replete with Happenings, kite-flying, cycling paths, public paint-ins, and so forth.

Hoving, in a desire to answer the mood which charged all institutions with the need for relevance, doubled the education staff at the museum and established a Department of Contemporary Art, with a controversial avant garde critic, Henry Geldzahler, as Curator. These actions automatically embroiled the museum in conflict with the remaining traditionalists on the Board of Directors.

Hoving's philosophy stated that a museum must be more than a cultural generator, where people recharge their aesthetic batteries, but rather "...a crusading force to see that quality and excellence is known more broadly... and(bring about)...a true and active enhancement of the quality of life in New York City" (Hoving as quoted in Tomkins 1970:352, parentheses supplied).

When Hoving assumed the Directorship, he stated:

"These are revolutionary times...The social order is in flux and we must be relevant to it. The question is not whether but exactly how we're going to get into the swim. The alternative is the possibility of being pushed in" (Hoving in Burnham, S. 1973:168).

The basic problem, clarified as internal protest and siege of the museum increased, was that of redefining basic goals. Should a museum be devoted to the preservation of past excellence in the material culture, for and by primarily elitest audiences; or should its exhibits use mass technology and be democratized for a mass audience? Hoving took the position that since the Metropolitan is publically as well as privately funded, it must answer to wider needs than it had in the past.

In spite of this, in 1969 when the Metropolitan presented the first show in any museum of black culture entitled "Harlem on My Mind", designed to be "relevant" to a large segment of the population, it was attacked as racist by blacks, as anti-semitic by Jews, and as superficial by the art world (Burnham, S. 1973:130; Tomkins 1970:353).

By 1969, the Metropolitan was embattled on many fronts; by suburban whites who wanted it to decentralize instead of expanding on the grass of Central Park, and thus destroying trees in its advance; secondly, by a few vocal blacks and Puerto Ricans who demanded that there be more representation of their work in the central museum, and not in branches in Harlem or Queens; thirdly, by the pressures of the concerted Centennial Birthday Celebrations, which included plans for an over fifty million dollar expansion program. In January of 1971, Art News devoted an entire

issue to museums; the tone of the articles was relatively uniformly negative, and they were written by some of the most distinguished names in the art world.

Hoving garnered the assistance of a black leader, Tom Lloyd, an artist and activist in the Art Workers Coalition, to administer a grant from the Rockefeller Brothers and the New York Council on Human Arts to send workers into the ghettos to study attitudes toward the decentralization of the museum and exhibitions. The affair ended badly, with a split involving violence and mistrust between Lloyd and his ghetto workers and artists.

By the end of the decade, Hoving felt that failure characterized all his attempts at relevance. His enthusiasm remained high, however, with respect to acquisitions. It remains to be seen how his enthusiasm for working with the Art Workers Coalition, the people of New York, and his own trustees can mesh in a productive program for the seventies. His policies with respect to exhibitions and administrative procedures are often criticized; and his occasional efforts to "deaccessionize" and sell pieces of art have also aroused ire (Rewald 1973:25-30).

#### THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

A similar loss of orientation and purpose experienced by the Metropolitan Museum was reflected in the Smithsonian Institution, an entirely publically supported system of multiple semi-autonomous bureaus (fourteen in all),



operating in various places of the world. In general, the museum was shaken into wakefulness in the late sixties, when S. Dillon Ripley II arrived, eager to make the museum more relevant.

The National Collection of Fine Arts, has always been noted principally for neglect and poor collections. In spite of its expressed founding directive in 1937 to "...foster....a growing appreciation of art....(and) encourage the development of contemporary art", the Smithsonian's general attitude toward the first directive had been to forget it, and toward the second, to ignore it. The Smithsonian had harbored a distaste for the modern and for anything remotely avant garde under its long-time Director Thomas Beggs (1948-1963).

David Winfield Scott joined the staff in 1963 as Assistant Director, and he decided to build the National Gallery into an important collection. This plan proved difficult, as he discovered that - except for two water-colors - the collection had only two paintings done after World War II (Burnham, S. 1973:200ff.). Scott was fired by Ripley over a disagreement fomented by alledged rowdy and destructive actions by anthropologists during a dinner for an anthropological symposium ("Man and Beast; Comparative Social Behavior" (sic)) held in the Lincoln Gallery against Scott's wishes (Burnham, S. 1973:208). A terrible scandal erupted over charges and counter-charges

with respect to the selling of government property without express permission, the frivolous use of public funds by the Director, and so forth; this was all duly reported by columnist Jack Anderson. The Art Gallery was blamed for "unnecessary expenditure", and a Congressional Inquiry in the summer of 1970 established that the Smithsonian was indeed out of funds. No genuine resolution in this quarter seems forthcoming.

#### MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

The Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) is a privately supported museum, and the Mecca of New York's lovers of modern art. MOMA too did not escape the ideological shuffle of the sixties. The Museum of Modern Art, founded in 1929, had a great deal of collecting to do in order to catch up with the plethora of great art produced between 1880 and 1929. When it caught up in its purchases, it had to make a basic decision in the early sixties: whether to become a more scholarly center for the study of modern art, by sponsoring exhibitions delineating the historical contexts of this art; or to forge ahead, selecting and buying avant garde work while it is still less expensive. The directorship of the Museum of Modern Art chose the latter course as more relevant. Consistent with the end selected, MOMA did secure - for example - three Jasper Johns paintings from his first one-man show. Then, as the prices of the Pop artists mushroomed, the Museum of Modern Art was hard-

pressed to secure more of what it wanted. MOMA had acted as a pace-setter to its own financial detriment.

In choosing the path of relevance in a time of artistic change and social struggle, the museum seems to have incurred problems on several fronts. On the art front, the museum had acted as a tastemaker in aligning itself with the avant garde, and was forced to continue choosing from the vanguard what it considered worthy of exhibition. Many of the museum's decisions and shows heightened tension among its adversaries. Critics, who felt their functions usurped, attacked MOMA for using crowd acceptance and public interest as the basis for important decisions. In accepting the vanguard position, the museum alienated many artists (whether or not they were selected for exhibition), and also the trustees who could not accept such an avant garde policy. All of these elements seemd to obfuscate the issue of objective exhibition and measured scholarly presentation (Burnham, S. 1972:227-228).

Although the Museum of Modern Art seemed to be open to new ideas and concepts of relevance, it was clearly helpless to answer all the pleas of the various activist groups which formed during the late sixties, even when their cause was just. Charges against the museum for anti-feminist policies, for example, are patently true and verifiable. Many artists selected to state demonstrations

against MOMA for various reasons, and some tendered refusals to display their artworks there.

Bates Lowry was fired from the Museum of Modern Art after scarcely serving nine months in the directorship in 1968. Confusion over goals and methodologies which had engendered personal personality conflicts erupted, and were inflamed by the financial problems omnipresent at the museum. In the midst of reevaluation and planning of new goals, Lowry was asked to resign or be fired (Burnham, S. 1973:266-279; Shirey 1972).

#### MUSEUM OF CONTEMPORARY ART, CHICAGO

The establishment of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Chicago at first showed a similar profile of confusion and internal division. After the museum finally opened in 1967, Jan Van der Marck was appointed as Director. He lasted during three difficult years, trying to institute a philosophy which included the exhibition and sponsorship of more avant garde artists (i.e., Flavin's neon tubs, Christo's project to wrap the museum in 8,000 square yards of tarpaulin, and art-by-telephone projects), against the more conservative philosophy and ideas of Joseph Schapiro, the President of the Museum's Board of Directors. Agitated by the rumors and internal policies, Van der Marck resigned in 1970. Mario Amaya agreed to take the post, then at the last moment turned it down, leaving the museum without a course or directorship all during 1971 (Schulze

1972:96-99).

#### PASADENA ART MUSEUM

The Pasadena museum had a succession of four directors in seven years, with many members of the board periodically disagreeing and losing interest. The museum constructed a new four and a half million dollar building to house a basic collection (the Scheyer) which it had acquired fifteen years before. This bequest included primarily works by Jawlensky, Klee, Feininger, and Kandinsky. John Coplans managed to update the collection by acquiring over half a million dollars worth of art, mostly as gifts from artists. Then, in a blistering letter of resignation, Coplans attacked the trustees for excessive self-interest with respect to their own acquisitions, and of using the museum to their own ends, of bad management, ignorance, abuse, and of inadequately funding their small staff (Burnham, S. 1973:247-248).<sup>20</sup>

This case history section regarding art museums could be enlarged, but the examples cited are adequate to document their changing role, image, policies, and public as experienced commencing with the sixties.

The artist's relationship to museums during the early sixties had assumed the rather ambivalent pattern of complaining about their exhibition policies, often because they felt them socially or artistically unrepresentative. Yet, the artists were aware of the problems

entailed as a double-bind in the position of the museums on the one hand as a bastion of objectivity and as repositories of artistic works open to any public, and on the other hand with the function of the museum as pace-setter and tastemaker.

To conclude this section, therefore, we shall briefly summarize the thrust of the bulk of data relating to the technological and socioeconomic network, as it permeated and expressed the dominant messages of the sixties.

The overriding factor which operated to activate change in the sociocultural aspects of the art world was that of a changed and expanded economic base. In a period of five years, American contemporary art became a more desirable and extremely high-priced commodity, of interest to the collectors and museums not only in the United States, but also in other highly industrialized countries such as: Germany, Japan, England, Holland and Sweden.

This expanded economic base, explained in part by the presence of more available money in an enlarged middle-class supported by a growing and stable economy, affected every aspect of the art establishment. The artists were suddenly more solvent during their youth, and drawn into the society at large by a network of entrepreneurial and social ties, rather than remaining at its edge and alienated as so many of their predecessors. These new artists, being relatively well-educated, fit into the modern

American social patterns in predictable ways. They were courted as personalities in their own right. Their opinions were sought, and some even became de facto members of the Jet Set. Art was fashionable, "in" and chic. The ownership and cultivation of art and artists was a sign of high social status and financial success, inasmuch as such an avocation represented an expensive commodity.

Art represented a highly visible consumption of wealth, and supported in a more lucrative manner than before, such ancillary businesses as: book and periodical publishers, and the manufacturing and marketing of arts and crafts material. One began to talk of art primarily as an investment. Early in 1955, Fortune magazine had already published a lengthy two-part article entitled "The Great International Art Market" (Hodkins and Parker 1955). Sears and Roebuck merchandized graphics and originals under the title and aegis of the "Vincent Price Collection" in its major stores throughout the United States. Banks and Investment Companies were speculating in the art market; and art historians and critics advised these art-investment companies and combines.

Art collectors in the United States found it suddenly both socially and economically profitable to buy art. They used art as a hedge against inflation and taxes. Oftentimes, a collector who donated a work of art to a non-profit organization or charitable institution (such as museums,

colleges, or some universities), could deduct up to 30 per cent of his adjusted gross income for such gifts. For many years, the donor could still keep the art work in his home or on his walls while claiming a tax deduction. According to a new law, a donor or any art work must now turn it over to the institution, unless he donates it by a series of fixed annual percentages, deducting percentage from his taxes and keeping the work of art until it is entirely a gift. This practice, on more than a few occasions, has led to collusion between museums who desired bequests and collectors who desired better tax breaks in the form of high appraisals for their gifts by museum personnel or dealer-appraisers.

A second social factor affecting the art establishment was a change in the composition of the potential and actual audience for art. The culture boom in general was linked with such factors as the relative youth of a larger and more solvent segment of the population who were highly aware of fashion, enjoyed visual imagery, and who had expanded purchasing power. Museums felt pressed to expand their resources and services greatly. This situation led to a confusion of roles and goals, as well as much hasty expansion and poorly planned acquisitions. The status of a museum trustee or member of the board of directors is quite high in American culture. Consequently, the trustees of large museums were without exception wealthy and in



positions of power. These trustees were oftentimes collectors as well (thus following the advice of dealers, critics, and museum curators), and yet it was their business to formulate museum policy. A trustee's favor and agreement was sought inasmuch as it was hoped that at some point the trustee's collection would be bequeathed to the museum. Then his estate would receive a needed tax break and deduction in return. Such a situation in which trustees and directors held power largely by virtue of wealth, led to tension between the predominantly conservative and elitest values of such governing boards of institutions, and the new mandates by which museums and educational institutions were urged to serve a more democratic purpose and audience.

The expanded art public could not always afford an original art work, but it could and did invest in graphics and multiples. Concomitant with the technological advances in printing (especially lithography) and reproduction facilities, artists and public alike became more interested in lithographs, silk-screens, serigraphs, and in the production of artist-designed objects called "multiples". This trend greatly helped the smaller galleries to expand their business; thus, an entire segment of the dealer's world dealt principally with graphic and multiples.

A third factor, which combined with the first two mentioned to introduce change within the art establishment,

was comprised of the combination of characteristics defining the art being produced during the sixties. To an elitist audience only recently and partially converted to the acceptance of the Abstract Expressionist style, the startling return to the figurative in the form of a style which, while it was clearly meant to be a Fine Art form, was comprised of imagery from the popular material culture, proved unnerving.

The first "relevant" move toward acceptance on the part of the establishment was to exhibit this avant garde art in the Jewish Museum in Brooklyn which was usually reserved for the historic tradition Hebraica. Alan Solomon, the Director, elected to display the works of Rauschenberg, Johns, Larry Rivers, Ad Reinhardt, as well as those of Tinguely and other avant garde artists. With the conversion to Pop of the important Janis gallery, along with Leo Castelli, the Green gallery, and a few others, the "Movement" was on (Rosenberg, H. 1964; Burnham, S. 1973:164-165).

While major museums in cities all over the industrialized world sought to own some examples of the new art, the same mass industrial-advertising complex, which had first given impetus to the iconic soup cans, Brillo boxes, Dormeyer mixers, slick cars, and media heroes, was busily turning these items back into consumer items, brightened by the new twist of the chic consciousness of the Pop image.

The general public was more willing to accept these stylistic innovations on the level of decorative items than as "Fine Art". "Pop" as a general descriptive term came through popular usage to denote any visual image using bright often primary colors (even Da-Glo), trade marks labels, or anything using shiny, bright, or obviously synthetic materials (Melly 1971:146-148).

The bright, colorful, and fascinating iconography of Pop as Fine Art (as well as Op, but to a lesser extent) became associated with a popularized version of the revolution of life style in general. This trend profoundly influenced a wide range of phenomena in the material culture including: clothing fashions, home decorations, book covers, record jackets, the interior design of automobiles, airplanes, and leisure vehicles; advertising layout, the packaging of mass-produced manufactured items; toys, cartoons, films, and so forth. There were Pop fashions, incorporated with the "Mod" look from England; Pop pillows, Op wallpaper, Pop wastebaskets, flower pots, towels, fabrics, breakfast cereals, chairs, and so forth endlessly; these objects and styles all took their design inspiration from the revolution in the Fine Arts to include popular imagery.

This *mélange* of Pop characteristics became linked with "camp" or "kitsch" styles, both of which designated the elevation of working class styles and material culture to the level of the chic and the "in" world of fashion

(Dorfles 1969). Vogue, Harpers Bazaar, and all the popular women's magazines contained articles and fashion based on references to these items.

The concept of "Pop" had grown to include the reality or at least connotations of a designated way of life. "Pop" came to refer to a self-conscious way of being (contrary to the unconscious attitude of the working class from which its characteristics are largely derived), including a youth-oriented sophisticated reaction against Establishment values. It was dedicated to living in the present a life of pleasurable experiential interludes in discotheque-like environments. Multi-media psychodelic stimuli, replete with plain or acid rock, and the use of all the new cosmetic and fashion accoutrements attested to the new values of studied spontaneity and what came to be called a "swinging" way of life (Melley 1971). The Pop way of living vectorized the generation and value-gap.

World marketing was affected by this stylistic revolution, and trade-ties between England and the United States received an upward trend. The Japanese were quick to adapt Pop styles to a vast range of their export items, inclusive of a range from transistor packaging to the ubiquitous decorated T-shirt; meanwhile, Japanese periodicals were replete with negative articles about how their youth were being "infected" with some of the characteristics and consumption patterns of the "Pop" way of life.

The role confusion which is often concomitant with the process of social change was doubly apparent in the art establishment of the sixties in America. Artists became middle-class, respectable, and if successful, quite rich. More importantly, critics sometimes acted as dealers; and dealers and artists acted like critics. Museum personnel acted like critics at times, and thus became inadvertently linked to the activities of the art dealer. Collectors themselves were setting policies in museums, and acting like critics and dealers in many instances. Sophy Burnham, at the conclusion of her study The Art Crowd (1973), saw fit to include four pages of proposed changes to be adopted by segments of the art establishment, in order to delimit confusion and to relieve the obvious tension being generated by rapid change (Ibid.: 306-310).

This section, which has briefly analyzed the socio-cultural network which structured the intergration of the Pop movement with that of the art establishment, as well as with the general culture of the sixties, has been delineated in some detail inasmuch as it will also serve to define the general framework for our discussion of a second art style which developed in the sixties: that is "Conceptual" or "Concept" art.

### XIII. Concept Art:

#### Technology and Social Networks

On the sociological level, we shall see that Concept art in part represents a move on the part of the artists to side-step the entire art establishment wherever possible. Awareness of the self-interest, collusion, and conflicts characteristic of the art world during the sixties furnished the grounds and impetus for a reaction against some practices. This is not to say that Concept art represents only a sociocultural reaction to the art establishment. On the aesthetic level, Concept art represents many creative and insightful incorporations of unique stylistic elements and ideas. The expressive forms of social tensions can be shaped in many ways. The Concept artists are artists precisely because they selected to express themselves in innovative ways. Their expressions are characteristic of an aesthetic orientation, although it will be clear that their 'solutions' were not consistent with the circle of criteria or canons traditionally evolved to analyze more culturally predictable visual phenomena such as paintings, sculpture, and graphics.

The art world of the sixties continued to develop. It fragmented into sub-groups whose styles largely represent continued work in the resolution of the visual problems posed by earlier artists. Post-painterly Abstraction built upon the work of previous Abstract Expressionists. Op art

utilized modern technology, plus recent data both on perception and the laws of optics. Op artists applied this information to a stunning art form calculated to work directly on the optic nervous system, without a need for extraneous conceptualization or interpretation. During this period, sculpture was in part paralleling the movement toward Minimalist art and a new Formalism. This process is too complex to document in the narrow reference frame of this study, and it is well-detailed in other studies (Burnham, J. 1968; Battcock 1968).

Among the various styles in progression, especially from the middle to the end of the sixties, one can discern a pattern of parallel attempts to problem-solving within the Concept art movement. Under this designation, which can only operate as an umbrella term, is included a startling variety of styles and techniques. The principle shared by these various approaches is characterized by one or two important mobilizing attitudes and variables which, as this study will describe them, can be seen to hold the classification together.

Again, this conceptual approach came about partially as an exploration into problem solving, and in part as a reaction against practices both in the art world and in the larger social and physical environment. Concept artists seemed to react not so much to Abstract Expressionism and the fifties, as they did to the immediate social situation,

and to their perception of the on-going art establishment of the sixties (Lippard 1973:5ff.; Shirey 1969:32 ff.; Meyer 1972).

Indeed, the spectrum of projects to be considered as Concept art is so broad that to categorize these works, is automatically to do some violence to the essential thrust of their meaning, by selecting out some elements to hypostatize into analytic criteria. With this caveat in mind, we can proceed to speak of 'Concept art' as a general classification, inasmuch as this study is meant to be informational and descriptive rather than to comprise an exercise in art history or aesthetic criticism.

We shall employ the same framework used in the previous discussion of the Pop movement, and first focus on the relationship of Concept art to the technology of contemporary American culture. What in the technological level conditioned the artist's response, and what did he select to use as his media? It will become increasingly clear that to use our previous analytic scheme is more difficult when dealing with Concept art; the three analytic levels of technology, social networks, and ideology merge in an unusual way in this style. We shall formulate a list of some of the equipment or media used by Concept artists, in spite of the fact that oftentimes no object perdures after the Conceptual project is finished. The following list is partial, and focuses on American artists.



<u>Medium or Media</u>	<u>Artist(s)</u>
television and/or video cameras	(Flanagan, Dan Graham, Nam June Paik, Keith Sonnier, Moroni, Nauman).
film	(Vito Acconci, Tom Moroni, Smithson, Oppenheim, Ruscha).
tape recorders	(Acconci, Kozlov, Nauman, Venet, Sonnier).
still photography	(Art and Language group; Barry, Dibbets, Oppenheim, Ruscha, Huebler, Graham, Burden, Smithson, Eleanor Antin, and many others).
xerox sheets/dissemination of information	(Ian Burn, Friedman, Kosuth, (Fluxus group).
United States Postal Service	(On Kawara, Friedman, Ray Johnson, Eleanor Antin, Celender, and others).
Setting up and using a press, specifically for the publishing of Concept art projects.	(Something Else Press, N. E. Thing Co. (in Canada)).
lasers	(Nauman, Krebs).
computer technology	(Jackson MacLow, Haacke).
strobe and lighting systems of a complex nature	(Pulsa group at Yale, Mefferd, Irwin, Krebs).
scientific charts	(Venet, Artschwager, Smithson, Huebler, Brecht, Oppenheim, the Harrisons).
telephone	(Brecht, Byars).
short wave receivers and speakers	(Sonnier).
scientific experimentation; eg., Anechoic chamber and perception experimentation	(Irwin and Turnbull)
experimentation in animal behavior	(The Harrisons, Dibbets).

experimentation in pseudo- (Whitman, Nauman)  
scopic imagery and  
optics.

neon tubing and lights (Nauman, Krebs)

In spite of the fact that it is possible to lengthen this list considerably, it should be apparent that the Concept artists as a group do not show the same kind of broad interest in the utilization of technology as did the Pop artists. Their interest in using technology or the media is restricted to one or two sub-groups or specific artists within the general category of Concept or project art, and is primarily focused on the technology of communication.

Documentation of various kinds is an important aspect of much Concept art, inasmuch as these projects often consist of merely noting an event or occasion in some way. If memory, subsequent references, or the dissemination of information about these projects is to be facilitated, they must be documented with the use of cameras, videotapes, tape recorders, and so forth. Oftentimes maps or documents of planned phenomena and special occasions are first hand-made; and the substance of the art project lies actually only in the occasion, or even in the idea for a potential occasion. The document is only actually considered to be a post-aesthetic reminder of the art piece.

The Concept artist's relationships to other artists of similar conviction and stylistic persuasion is a very close

one. Many of their projects are visited, shared, supported by, experienced, and/or collaborated on with other interested artists. Although some of their projects are often presented openly and for any interested public, few of the passersby or spectators become actively involved in a serious way. There are many and obvious exceptions to this generalization (eg., Friedman's Omaha Flow Systems Piece, or Hans Haacke's computer works). Those who do share in one or two Conceptual projects often become devotees of the Concept art approach to art and related activities.

When discussing Concept art, it is most important consciously to set aside the usual categories of aesthetic appreciation relevant to visual arts with respect to form, color, composition, style, and so forth. It must be emphasized that a new aesthetic - "new" in the sense of non-traditional to Western criteria - must be employed with respect to thinking about Conceptual art phenomena. Concept art consciously abrogates traditional canons and media.<sup>21</sup>

One can think of several precedents or specific influences shaping this recent development. Some of those same influences which operated for Pop artists were present and important in the environment of the Concept artists as well. The work of John Cage, Marcel Duchamp, and of the Happenings movement, or of Dada could again be mentioned. Each of these precedent styles employed the use of chance

and/or kinetic elements. Each of them sometimes used the everyday and/or the ephemeral as a part and substance of the content or form of their art works. Each of them consciously interrupts the flow of the expected and the ordinary, either of everyday life or in the realm of Fine Arts.

In some respects it appears that Concept art also claims Dadaism and to a lesser extent Futurism in its intellectual background and orientation. Both Dada and Concept art share an emphasis on spontaneity, chance, a moral commitment to remake the world through an analogic process, that is by bringing together elements from distinct spheres, and of trying to radicalize response patterns through heightening awareness (Caws 1970:6ff.). Both movements are critical of bourgeois values, depend upon the use of experimentation and the investigation of the boundaries of experience and language, and often deliberately confuse such categories as games and art works. They share an overwhelming interest in producing phenomena which, while they may not resemble what has traditionally been accepted as visual or linguistic "art", are meant to create a universe of cognitive and emotive relationships through contrasts and the deliberate confusion of familiar symbols and expectations (Caws 1970). Beyond these general resemblances, it is not implied that Concept art is simply a development from or a type of Dadaism, however.

The Conceptual art movement stands in an especially close relationship to some of the experimental attitudes toward life and communication which mushroomed in the late fifties and during the sixties: the underground press movement, the establishment of living groups sharing in novel ethical and demographic bases (such as the Diggers and the Transcendentalists), inasmuch as they represent parallel attempts at experimentation in the relational aspects of social and economic ties (Fairfield 1972). Kozloff has stated the following with reference to the "new American arts":

"In one sense, this whole phase of sensory exploration is an outgrowth of Abstract-Expressionism, especially in its cult of immediacy and improvisation, but now pushed out into the realm of the social, the animal, and the ephemeral...It is like the Wagnerian dream of synthesis of the arts upon which has been superimposed junk culture. There have been Futurist and Dada antecedents for this too, but none with such a curious dualism of optimism and anarchy that seems to embrace real life most literally, but also so restlessly...." (Kozloff 1965:111-112).

Concept art represents a much more radical departure from and revolutionary attitude toward two spheres in particular than did the work of the Pop movement: (1) a rejection of the entire art establishment definition of what is acceptable as "art" to such a degree that this impetus as such comprises much of the structural foundation of the Concept movement; (2) an implicit (oftentimes explicit) departure from some of the basic sociopolitical values of the dominant culture in the United States, accompanied by a

didactic purposeful attitude toward changing them in a constructive way; namely, through a cognitive perceptually-induced reorganization of awareness. When no value change is intended, at least a heightened level of awareness is sought.

As we proceed to discuss this movement, it should be also understood that Concept art involves a world-wide network to a much greater degree than did Pop Art. Although well-developed and similar Pop movements occurred and still are in process in England, Sweden, Canada, Germany, Japan and to a much lesser degree in Italy and France, these schools are easily distinguishable; and the predominant American school standardized both style and content (Alloway 1969, Finch 1969, Melley 1971). In the case of Concept art, the communication network is such that although some of the important artists are not permanently resident in the United States, much of their work has been communicated to, or exhibited in American institutions or cities. Many American Concept artists reside, work, or perform intermittently in Europe or Japan; and foreign artists work or reside in the United States for extended periods of time. This geographical complexity is such that it will not always be entirely clear from the contexts of the exemplary listings which will be discussed where they occurred, although an attempt has been made, within the exigencies of length and the focus of the study, to give

American artists the predominant representation in discussion.

The relationship of Concept art to the larger socio-cultural system can be delineated by detailing the reference to the two ideas capsulated before.

I. Rejection of the Art Establishment and accepted aesthetic standards.

A. Relationship to Dealers and Galleries:

Most conceptual artists are deeply disturbed by and react to the handling of art as a commodity through the gallery-dealer system, and they hope for a more fluid and personal relationship with the perceiver of a piece of art or project (Friedman 1972b:57). Actually, their refusal on some occasions to produce or to share art objects as such is said to have been generated in part by the desire to foil the commodity art system entirely. To make art not something one can purchase and possess but something which is necessarily to be experienced, learned, and emotionally cathected is a dominating motivation for them (Lippard 1973:8-9; Meyer 1972:xvii; Les Levine in Battcock 1968:26-27). "The object - by virtue of being a unique commodity - becomes something that might make it impossible for people to see the art for the forest" (Weiner in Meyer 1972:217).

"There are no collectors, for there is nothing to collect....My exhibition at the Art and Project Gallery in

Amsterdam in December, 1969, will last two weeks. I asked them to lock the door and nail my announcement on it, reading: 'For the exhibition the gallery will be closed.'" (Barry in Meyer 1972:40-41).

"One of the main reasons that such art (i.e., dealing with objects of any kind) seeks connections on some level to the traditional morphology of art is the art market. Cash support demands goods. This always ends in a neutralization of the art proposition's independence from tradition" (Kosuth in Lippard 1973:148).

Those individuals doing Conceptual art, therefore, have often sought to establish a new kind of relationship with the interested "buyer"; this relationship is something essentially closed to that linked to the system of patronage or sponsorship. For example, Ken Friedman set up a procedure whereby he sells his services as a "professional"; he has further carefully designated that one facet of the role of the artist today should be that of "public servant". In this latter capacity, Ken Friedman offers to match one art work for sale to benefit another person or group, for every art work or project which he sells for this own subsistence. In addition to this, Friedman does not advocate fixed prices; rather the buyer or sponsor of the project establishes his own price, with the aid of guidelines established by the artist. These guidelines (printed out and given to prospective



buyers) call attention to any particular current financial needs or pressing needs of the artist with respect to subsistence, charities, and so forth. The artist then lists the factors he wishes the buyer to account for, such as the artist's income, the meaning of the work, and/or the use of the proceeds as Friedman wishes to disperse them. The purchaser then establishes the price, after this careful consideration, and Friedman abides by this decision (Friedman 1972:52, 57-58).

Of the thirty-one galleries who answered queries either by mail or in personal interviews (during 1973), only five said that they planned ever to "sponsor" or act as intermediary in the sale or exhibition of Project or Conceptual art projects or pieces. These galleries were selected for polling inasmuch as they advertised themselves as dealing in "contemporary" American or European artists and styles. Some very prestigious galleries are to be accounted among those who said they would show and have shown Conceptual pieces.<sup>22</sup>

Lucy Lippard, an interested and most perceptive critic, feels that the desire to remain free of the dealer-gallery spoke of the art establishment wheel is impossible to realize. In the Postface of her work of "The Dematerialization of the Art Object" she states:

"Hopes that 'conceptual art' would be able to avoid the general commercialization, the destructively 'progressive' approach of modernism were for the most part unfounded....Three years later, the major

conceptualists are selling work for substantial sums here and in Europe; they are represented (and still more unexpected - showing in) the world's most prestigious galleries (Lippard 1973: 263).

One can mention here some of the exchange networks which the Concept artists have set up to accomplish their ends. Inasmuch as a substantial portion of the projects in Concept art lends itself to or is comprised of verbalization, documentation, photographs, charts and/or diagrams, or linguistic studies, this work can be included in printed books and periodicals, or disseminated inexpensively through the mails. In this way, Concept artists and interested individuals are able to communicate with one another as well as to make their works available to an interested audience through exchange organizations established to handle such exchanges. For example, the N. E. Thing Co., under the aegis of Ian Baxter, President, operates out of Canada, and specializes in conjoining new modes of perception and publication as "Visual Sensibility Information" (V.S.I.). The company's ACT and ART departments issue certificates with photos and documentation of "Aesthetically Claimed Things" and "Aesthetically Rejected Things", ranging in subject matter from icy landscapes to well-stocked supermarkets (Meyer 1972;xiii; Lippard 1973: 99). The humor and irony of this approach should be apparent to those who are objective and aware of the contemporary physical and social environment.

Art and Project bulletins appear with photos and documentation of exhibited pieces, or including original pieces of concept or project art associated with the Art and Project Gallery in Amsterdam. Books and pamphlets, often published by small and experimental presses, have become an increasingly important medium for the dissemination of Conceptual art. The Art-Language group (based in England) publishes the work of specific artists who deal with language as art in the form of regularly appearing bulletins.

The Something Else Press in the United States, actually a related off-spring of the Fluxus movement engendered during the last decade, publishes the work of Conceptual and related artists. In this way, books, periodicals, pamphlets, bulletins, videotapes, and exchange correspondence partially - at least - take the place of the traditional exhibit. These communications tie together with one another an international community of conceptual artists and interested parties, by disseminating information and ideas for what seems to be a slowly growing and substantial number of participants. Fluxus itself has international centers of an informal nature, but which act as communication links; they operate through casual affiliations with such sympathetic groups as: Aktual, Zaj, and the Total Art Groups in Europe, and with the Japanese Gutai group, and the Rosario Group in Argentina (Friedman 1972:43). The

Dwan Gallery has sponsored annual Art-Language shows also.

Concept art represents not so much an art movement in the traditional sense (there are many who do not use the work "art" at all with reference to these created phenomena), as it represents a position or conceptual orientation for creative visual or multi-sensory activity. The first major group of individuals associated by similar interests in these undertakings was the Fluxus group established in 1963 by Harry Flynt, who actually named Concept art, and defined it as "first of all an art of which the material is 'concepts', as for example the material of music is sound" (Friedman, lecture May 2, 1973; Friedman 1972:39).

In the late fifties and early sixties, Flynt's exploratory work in Concept art and culture, politics, mathematics, and linguistic philosophy culminated in a 1961 publication on Concept art.<sup>23</sup> From 1958 to 1961, the Fluxus group and the Happenings movement were comprised of some of the same personnel and basic orientations. Under George Maciunas, they sponsored, enacted, and even published some of their experimental projects or "gushings forth" (the meaning of "Fluxus") Hansen 1965:68-70). The truly international aspect of this movement is now borne out by its many international communications, and through an awareness of germinal similarities independently conceived in the urban centers of Japan, Europe, and especially the

United States (Friedman lecture May 2, 1973; Hansen 1965: 22ff.).

Some of the artists of the Pop movement (eg., especially Rauschenberg, Segal, Dine, Red Grooms, Oldenburg) were also associated with the performance aspects of the same group of artists at this time. It is apparent that a shared awareness of early directions permeated the avant garde members of what ultimately became two divergent stylistic movements (Swenson 1966:31ff). Of the Pop artists, Oldenburg more than any of the others retained a conceptual element even though his work is primarily sculptural and graphic; the others went on to a more concerted concentration on popular imagery objectified and materialized.

By 1966, Fluxus members had increased in number, and by the end of the decade there were centers of operation in: New York, Southern California; in San Francisco; in Exeter, England; and in Scandinavia, Holland, Germany, and France. This international group sends communications among its members, and occasionally interested individuals meet for "flux-fests" or intermedial happenings-exhibitions when this is possible (Friedman, Lecture May 2, 1973).

Consistent with the broad ranges of activity included under the anti-art movement, is the realization that many of the new "artists" are not artists in the traditional sense of the term. How then should they be characterized?

That is, what roles and statuses do these individuals occupy as members of society, other than as creators of process or concept art projects?

Some of these concept artists were and are solely involved with producing artworks, but the majority are also involved with teaching, or function as lecturers on a permanent or a part-time basis. They represent minimally - on a partial survey - the following professions and roles: chemist, book-keeper, photographer, restaurant manager, publisher, lawyer, pressmen, journalists, zookeeper, encyclopedia salesman, recording engineer, musician, minister, cooks, students and many more positions (Friedman 1972:4)<sup>24</sup>

These artists strive to turn their sense of vision and an impetus to experimental exploration toward all human concerns and conditions of contemporary existence, each selecting as a matter of interest and/or expertise an area or areas within which to work.

B. The relationship of the Concept Artist with museums has received little attention to date in the articles in art journals. When there is no physical or enduring object, quite often there is very little to exhibit or to evaluate. Nevertheless, some museums have exhibited a willingness to display documentation, maps, photos, videotapes, pertinent memorabilia and so forth, relating to different aspects of Concept art or as actual concept works themselves. As

noted examples: the Jewish Museum in Brooklyn had a "Software" Show in 1970; the Museum of Modern Art in New York sponsored the "Information" exhibit in 1970; Finch College Museum had a show of what was essentially Concept art as early as 1960, using as thematic some of Rauschenberg's post-Duchampian ideas about measurement; the New York Cultural Center in 1969, 1970, and 1974 had Concept pieces on exhibit; the National Gallery of Canada in 1969 had a show of interest to Americans also. More recently, the Pasadena Museum of Contemporary Art sponsored the "Southern California: Attitudes 1972", and in 1973, hosted the Guggenheim "Amsterdam - Paris - Duesseldorf" show. The Chicago Museum of Contemporary Art sponsored a project of Christo's and the "Art by Telephone" show in 1969. The Whitney Museum in New York has housed and shown various pieces of conceptual art, as have most of the major world museums by now. San Francisco boasts the only American museum devoted exclusively to concept art projects, entitled fittingly the "Museum of Conceptual Art". This museum, established and directed by Tom Moroni (also an artist), is a place where art processes and pieces can be experienced or housed, and it operates really as a center of Concept art activity.

University and College museums as well as Art Departments have also sponsored or furnished gallery space for shows of a conceptual nature. In fact, it is at such

academic environments as the following that one notes most of the exhibition accreditations: Finch College Museum; Claremont Colleges (which sponsored a three day symposium on Concept Art in May, 1973); the Allen Memorial Art Museum (Oberlin); Moore College of Art (Philadelphia); Reed College Art Museum; Art Gallery, University of California, Irvine; Eastern New Mexico University (Portales); Cal Arts in Valencia, and many others.

C. The relationship of Conceptual art and artists to critics provides us with another example of change in function and role expectations. The two basic functions of the critic and the artist were traditionally divided, the artist's work being confined to the creation of the art work, and that of the critic to its interpretation and evaluation. It was noted in the discussion of Pop art how the names of the artists commenced appearing more frequently in connection with the interpretation and criticism of their own work, as well as of the work of peers. With the Conceptual movement, the division between critic and artist has been totally eroded. Conceptual artists often take over the function of critic, inasmuch as they frame their own propositions, ideas, and concepts. Kosuth (an information artist) notes:

"Because of the implied duality of perception and conception in earlier art, a middleman (critic) appeared useful. This art (Conceptual) both annexes the functions of the critic and makes the middleman unnecessary" (Kosuth in Meyer 1972:viii).



An important aspect of Conceptual art is that the artists define their intentions as materially and ideologically identical with their work. It is appropriate, therefore, that Conceptual art be explained and understood through an examination of its own representations, i.e., through the actual experiencing of Concept art pieces.

Critical interpretation has rested on two elements which are inimical or at least irrelevant to Conceptual art: the fact that critical interpretation frames and uses propositions not eidetic with those of the artist, and which might lessen or confuse the aura and meaning of the work; secondly, the critical apparatus has formally been comprised of such concerns as evaluations of visual forms, internal composition of mass and line, color, and texture, all of which are patently irrelevant to this art form (LeWitt 1967:79-83; Kosuth 1969:160-161; Siegelau 1969:202-203; Morris 1969:50-55).

The concept artist, Joseph Kostelanetz, has stated the following with reference to critics:

"Why do you waste your time and mine by trying to get value judgements? Don't you see that when you get a value judgement, that's all you have? Value judgements are destructive to our proper business, which is curiosity and awareness" (Kostelanetz 1968, emphasis supplied).

Conceptual art makes its ideational premise known usually through statements or documentation offered by the artists; this enterprise is in contrast to other art, which leave its intention unknown and focuses on the phenomenal

appearance of the work. A few of the younger critics have moved ideologically to accept this new definition of the role of the critic; they attend to Conceptual art phenomena principally by documenting its occurrence, and seek to transmit accurate descriptive information about it rather than to evaluate it. They have proceeded to write accordingly in their published works and lectures (Lippard 1971a, 1973; Meyer 1972; Battcock 1968:26-28).

On several occasions, these critics, who earlier had functioned in the more traditional role as "evaluator", themselves produced or enacted with artists specific art projects, and thus actually became conceptual artists on these occasions (Lippard 1971a:299-320; Battcock in Meyer 1972:44-45).

D. Several examples symptomatic of the breakdown and merging of roles and attendant functions among the positions of artist, critic, and dealer have already been listed. It might be helpful to mention two individual artists, Seth Siegelaub and Ken Friedman, who interact with different social networks and perform specific and diverse functions exemplary or characteristic of this 'new' way of being an artist. Seth Siegelaub has been involved with the Concept art movement in diverse roles previously assigned to dealers, publishers, and as curator-at-large. The last phrase "curator-at-large" refers to his numerous international activities in organizing projects, travelling

exhibits, publications, and of creating specific Concept pieces as well.

The organization and logistics of an exhibit of Conceptual art involve certain problems intrinsic to its physical characteristics, which are irrelevant to an exhibit of more typical objects of art. The importance of setting, catalogue information - often part and parcel both as content and subject of the exhibition - the documentation and related aspects all increase, when the "art" and the "presentation of art" are no longer coincident (Siegelaub 1969:202). The core of Siegelaub's function he delineates as "distributing art and art information". He says:

"I am concerned with getting art out into the world and plan to continue publishing in multi-lingual editions...it is more important to send artists to exhibitions than to send art...Artists go (to art centers) because of (1) geographic and climatic factors (2) access to other artists (3) access to information and power channels and (4) money. These factors are now becoming balanced throughout the world. To be part of this changing situation interests me very much" (Siegelaub 1969: 203; Lippard 1973:127-33, 40-44, 71, 79-80, 124-126).

Through his many activities, Ken Friedman assumes an even greater number of roles: artist, teacher, writer, lecturer, dealer, and critic, as well as doing much of the administrative work as the head of Fluxus West. Friedman's writings include a range from aesthetic theory to poetry and chants. His work as artist includes projects as diverse as sculpture, poetry, correspondence school art, essays

on creativity and education, and such long-range and complex projects as the Omaha Flow Systems.

Friedman has delineated his own credo as to the various roles now appropriate to the persona as "artist"; he published it, and offers it to other individuals of like-interest. He describes the artist as "essentially a communicator", concluding that therefore his work as aesthetician, as teacher of experiences, as expeditor of a communication system, as a resource bank, and as a "living statement of the possibility of vision" are all implicit in the role of Concept artist. Thus the term "artist" embraces several roles, each with its own rights and obligations. The artist as "worker" must be able to conduct his earning of a living in a dignified way; to this end, Friedman defines his fees for lectures and consultations on an hourly basis, and the sponsorship or sale of works along a sliding scale accomodating the purchaser's income.

Secondly, the artist as "public servant" has a right to renew or change the public and the culture, thus incurring a responsibility to the society which he can fulfill by offering every second art work as a gift or for the benefit of another person or group; and the artist can make himself available for non-profit or service causes on an expense only basis.

Thirdly, the artist as "prophet" assumes a role

automatically incurred inasmuch as art is a visionary, prophetic, and a culture-changing activity since it raises consciousness and awareness. As such, honesty and availability of adequate information (about society) are necessary concomitants of this prophetic role.

Next, the artist is to be considered as a kind of "natural resource" belonging to a society; while he is enjoined by the previously mentioned responsibilities, he should also share in some of the privileges and protections. Among these rights are honesty among dealers, critics, fellow artists, and an openness and sharing of information. From the government, the artist as 'resource center' should command financial and material aid to benefit his work, and thereby also assist the public (Friedman 1972: 50-53).

Or again, the role of artist also implies that of "teacher". As such, the artist should encourage and assist the student or interested perceiver to surpass his or her own teachings, and to move into a more individualistic flowering and greater awareness of self and environment.<sup>25</sup>

Finally, since art is at its roots the deepest form of therapy, in the sense of inner exploration, the artist must be aware of his implicit role as "therapist", and hope to cooperate with other disciplines until, through research and thought, a science such as the anthropology

or psychology of the arts will develop. This envisioned science would have utilitarian and therapeutic aspects, and would offer guidelines which would replace the usual critical apparatus which attends upon the visual arts in a superficial and self-avowed non-utilitarian way.

This last complex of suggestions are largely posed by one artist; but since this artist to some extent represents the Fluxus group, and inasmuch as most of his statements (at least of purpose) seem consistent with the activities and statements made by others in the conceptual movement, Friedman has been selected for discussion as a type case. Something of the nature of Conceptual art should by now be emerging through this recitation of the roles and functions of artists. The importance of relating art to the broad spectrum of life, the didactic and thaumaturgical aspects of the Conceptual art enterprise should become more understandable.

Conceptual art, therefore, generally takes a more critical and militant attitude toward the dominant culture of the society which it represents than did Pop art. Concept artists mesh with the total social and environmental system more completely than did the Pop artists, inasmuch as the studio is not more their workshop than are the city streets, the United States Postal system, classrooms and parks. Furthermore, usually the Conceptual artist occupies more than one professional or work role with one activity

complex; he or she may even have another profession through which he serves and gains from the community. Yet, their ideas and the methodology which these artists select to enact or concretize them, are often counter-cultural. It is clear that this art is conceived to be didactic or functional in the sense of heightening awareness, or, of bringing into focus the critical faculties of the populace, rather than to act as an objective cool reflection or parody of the environment and world. In this way Conceptual projects act as catalytic agents to bring about the psychologically aware state which is the sine qua non of creative and rewarding adaptations to changing physical and social environments.

#### XIV. The Aesthetic Locus and Concept Art:

##### General Framework

The best way in which to understand Concept art is to experience it; second best is through a perusal of published examples. When we proceed to the level of the aesthetic, and to a consideration of the art object - or in this case - the phenomena qua aesthetic, we find that a different set of criteria than those previously accepted in Western history are appropriate for a discussion of the stylistic discontinua of Concept art. On the other hand, it is also clear that the critical apparatus for poetry or drama is no better suited to this art form, although many of the examples of Concept art are reminiscent of concrete poetry and drama. Nor can we use the criteria by which a cartographer or scientist would appraise a chart or map, although many examples of Concept art have the form of the latter. Yet the meaning and substance of Concept art pieces are neither isomorphic with those of traditional art nor of science. One cannot separate the media from the form and style of a Concept art piece for analytic purposes, because the critical tools and canons have not yet been formulated to do so. Intermedia is an important hallmark of the major body of work of the Conceptual or process artists.

Placed in the context of the history of art, Concept art represents a more radical departure from tradition than



perhaps any previous movement except Dadaism. The abolition of the supreme importance of the visual object - whether as a painting or a sculpture - eliminates the whole paradigm of critical concern for style, quality, permanence, and personal handwork. Neither the criterion of excellence in execution, nor of permanence and uniqueness are pertinent to Concept art.

Concept art completed a schism with traditional aesthetics initiated by the Dadaists and developed by Duchamp. Duchamp rejected the myth of the precious and the stylish art object as a commodity for the benefit of museums and status seekers. He turned his interest from tradition of painting and conventional sculpture to the challenge of psychological exploration and the more cerebral invention of phenomena often complicated by complex symbolic connotations (Burnham, J. 1972; Meyer 1972:ix; Roth, Moira and William 1973:72ff.). Duchamp said:

"'Stupid like a painter'. The painter was considered stupid, but the poet and the actor were intelligent. I wanted to be intelligent. ...All of my work in the period before the Nude (Descending the Staircase) (1912) was visual painting. Then I came to the idea. I thought the ideatic formulation a way to get away from influences." (Duchamp in Roberts 1968: 46-47).

"All art after Duchamp is conceptual in nature because art only exists conceptually" (Kosuth 1969).

Art has often been considered as a source of social information; the scope, content, and the patterns in which

it is formulated are seen as expressively related to the particular adaptive patterns of each particular socio-cultural period. The type of appreciation proffered to art objects in the traditional way actually cultivates taste instead of heightening sensibility. The artist's choice, and the subsequent manipulations of the institutionalized art world through its dualistic evaluations of "art-as-experience" and "art-as-investment", keep art in a closed system, issuing from the dichotomization between the critical and creative functions (Meyer 1972:xvii). Thus, the conscious movement by creative artists away from the marketplace of objects and sales is accounted for on motivational grounds structured by the novel goals and media of concept artists.

In order to avoid the double bind obtaining between creating for purely aesthetic or creative impulses, and creating to satisfy commissions or critical audiences, the "objective" link between these conflicting impulses is purged of its traditional decorative purpose and meaning.

A case could be made for saying that much of the history of modern art relates to a process of increasingly substituting a new perceptually structured cognition of complex situations and experiences in place of the traditional visual formal values. Typically it could be said that Conceptual or "anti-art", as it has also been called, was reacting to the compartmentalization and

commercialization occurring in the recent history of art, and ipso facto to the organizational premises of the society which structures the art establishment against which it moved.

Anti-art also represents a reaction against the startling and, to many young artists, controlled ease with which the Pop movement was exploded into acceptance by the Jet Set and the art establishment. It also harbors a resentment against the manufacture-to-sell economy, which immediately grasped the cool colorful depiction of everyday objects which Pop had selected as its language of imagery, and turned it into a million dollar business boost consisting of still more slick objects for consumption. Anti-art also reacted against some of the stylistic directions of recent art, such as the increasingly large physical size of some of the painting and sculpture which had developed especially within the Minimal and the Post-painterly abstraction movements with their "art for art's sake" emphasis.

Thomas Messer, Director of the Solomon Guggenheim Museum of New York, and David Shirey, Art Editor of Newsweek have designated the general collection of conceptual art activities and phenomena as "impossible art" for several reasons. These are: the unwieldy quality of some of the Conceptual art, which is problematic to accomodate; the fragility or ephemeral quality of much conceptual work; the

frequent use of subject matter which touches the taboos of American society and forces comparisons which assume a threatening posture toward the dominant sociocultural system; and lastly, because conceptual art insists on reworking the whole art world as we know it (Messer 1969: 31; Shirey 1969:32).

The best way to understand the critical and didactic stance of the bulk of conceptually oriented art 'second hand' is to proceed to consider some selections from the actual corpus of these works. The scope and complexity of these projects and phenomena is immense; suffice it to say that for simplification, they will be considered under an incomplete but heuristic classification based on apparent similarity of formal purpose or media selected.

#### I. Documentation

The use of documentation in Conceptual and process pieces is varied and frequent. Documentation may consist of: videotapes, maps, charts, X-rays, photographs, medical records, commercial or newspaper announcements, post-cards and letters, telegrams, xeroxed items, movie film, sound tape, and any kind of recording in written words or sound of schedules for projects. The function or importance of the documentation for any specific project varies: (1) the documentation may be the sole overt attribute of the art works; (2) it may precede or accompany some other phenomena to which it calls a focus of attention, or adds additional

complexity; (3) it may succeed some other phenomenon, acting as a visual reminder, collectible, or communications medium informing others who were absent of the precedent occasion or project.

Documentation itself, in one or another of the ways listed, accompanies much of the activity of conceptual artists, and so it enters into the other categories of Concept art which will be mentioned. An explicit example or two for each of these categories will be offered in order to clarify the meaning intended.

(1) The work of the Art-Language group of England and the United States use verbal documentation as art. For example, they may postulate sets of criteria derived from an examination of art situations couched in the form of a series of theoretical constructs as a treatise, as they did in the "Lecher System". This critical documentaion stands qua itself as the art piece as well as commentary on aesthetic phenomena in general (in Meyer 1972: 22-25).<sup>26</sup>

In The Grammarian, Ian Burn and Mel Ramsden investigate the ways language can be used as the actual material of art. The Grammarian does not function simply as a proposition of intentions, but as an investigation of art-language itself; it thus functions with an evolving language about language, or a meta-language meant to be aesthetic in some sense.

"The redefinition of artwork as syntactical indicates that there may be no limit to that abstractness, and that art's manner of operation can move from the myriad permutations of iconic hardware into a study and application of the category itself, where category is interpreted as being a context of rule and conditions" (Ian Burn and Mel Ramsden in Meyer 1972:xix).

This is the most "archetypal" form of Conceptual art inasmuch as the existing object upon which the "content" is organized (i.e., paper with print upon it) is not the art object; the art object is not any object. This overt visual component merely specified the art phenomenon, which is in fact entirely conceptual (Atkinson in Meyer 1972:9ff.). These Art-Language artists have usually been influenced by the Analytic school of philosophy prevalent during the last two decades. They assert that essentially art is a form of communication, often assuming the structure of a question. Works of art are (in the sense which Ayer designated, one concludes) analytic propositions, which if viewed within their context - as art - provided no information whatever about any matter of fact. Art has, in common with logic and mathematics, the fact that it is a tautology; that is, that the "art idea" and the art work or art are the same, and can be appreciated as art without going outside the context of art for verification (Kosuth 1969).<sup>27</sup>

The position of concrete poetry, and poetry conceived and executed through the use of computers, stands in an ambivalent position in this category. In much of concrete

poetry, the words are made to look like something, either a pattern or image of some kind (Williams 1967b, passim). Poetry or literary forms generated through the use of computers represent a thought-provoking manipulation of technology, the conceptual content of which structured the selection of a machine on the basis of known possibilities of its technology, the selection of a program or code, and the subsequent appraisal and appreciation of the print-out (i.e., work of Jackson MacLow for the Art and Technology Project in Tuchman 1971:202-223; Young and MacLow 1963).

(2) Any selection of photographs accompanying some earthwork; for example, the 1100' x 42' x 30' trench with 40,000 tons of displaced earth excavated in Nevada by Michael Heizer known to most people through photographs. Or Douglas Huebler's sculpture-project of fixing on a map fourteen locations along the 42<sup>o</sup> parallel stretching across the United States. This project is made up of three parts: the graphic representation of the trip on a map; the actual trip experience made by Huebler; and the communications and pictures about the trip subsequently imparted by Huebler.

(3) Any series of photographs which is intended to document the artist's selection or claim as "aesthetic" any specific phenomenon of the visually accessible 'real' world. The work of Jan Dibbets with serial photographs of landscapes, or of Ed Ruscha, with his straight-forward

photographs of gasoline stations, Los Angeles apartments, and "various small fires and milk" are characteristic of this approach (Bourdon 1972). Ruscha comments on his photographic work:

"My pictures are not that interesting, not the subject matter. They are simply a collection of "facts"; my book is more like a collection of Ready-mades" (Ruscha in Meyer 1972:206ff.).

From these examples, it should be clear that documentation can stand as an art-phenomenon itself, or as the only overt perceptually retrievable referent to the art-phenomenon, which is in fact only conceptual. Or, documentation will appear with other types of art projects as one of several overt manifestations of a complex of activities or phenomena (as Acconci's use of photography along with specific 'body' projects).

## II. Use or Manipulation of Natural Phenomena or Ecological Systems

(1) Earthworks: Many of the artworks which deal with selection or manipulation of natural phenomena are conceptual by virtue of the fact that they are visually ephemeral, and their more enduring aspects consist in the planning and imagining they involve, and in the memory of their execution and morphology.

With earthworks, artists accomplish a variety of things in their manipulation of rocks, earth, and sand, as well as through trenching, heaping, mixing, transporting,



and exchanging these solids into other environments and/or configurations.

The reasons for the selection of this kind of art work range from an intellectual and perceptual interest in volume, form, and negative spaces on a large scale, to a more tactile interest in earth, rocks, and sand, as an antidote to the manufactured and non-natural aspect of our usual urban environment. The latter represents a desire to achieve some kind of escape from, or a heightened interest in, some basic substance of nature (Shirey 1969: 33ff.).

Some examples of these artworks are the following:

Robert Smithson piled rocks into sleek metal bins, to be placed anywhere in a non-rural environment (i.e., as non-sites in a gallery or museum).

Robert Morris heaped into a mound a mixture of earth, tar, felt, and some gelatinous sticky substance (in the Dwan Gallery).

Walter de Maria placed ten tons of earth into a gallery for perusal, smelling, touching, and so forth by potential perceivers.

Michael Heizer dug a 120' long trench (commissioned by Robert Scull) in Massacre Dry Lake in Nevada. The trench was then left to change and disappear as nature eroded it season by season.

Robert Smithson's "Spiral Jetty" is an especially

notable project. In April of 1970, with the aid of dump trucks and other machinery, Smithson laid out and had built a spiral jetty of black basalt rocks as a gigantic coil approximately 15' wide and 1500' long. It reached from the salt crusted shore out into Great Salt Lake, Utah; the whole project was comprised of black basalt, salt crystals, earth, and the vividly red water (algae induced) of the lake. The Ace Gallery of Los Angeles (which along with the Dwan Gallery sponsored this project) photographed this work, and Smithson himself with the aid of a helicopter filmed the process for a subsequent cinematic project. Smithson's comments on the Spiral Jetty succinctly state some of the motivating interests of the "Earthworks" concept artists:

"The scale of the Spiral Jetty tends to fluctuate depending on where the viewer happens to be. Size determines an object, but scale determines art. A room could be made to take on the immensity of the solar system...depends on one's capacity to be conscious of the actualities of perception... For me scale operates by uncertainty. To be in the scale of the Spiral Jetty is to be out of it.. ..The Spiral Jetty could be considered one layer within the spiraling crystal lattice, magnified trillions of times...it suggests both a visual and an aural scale, in other words it indicates a sense of scale that resonates in the eye and the ear at the same time...So it is that one ceases to consider art in terms of an 'object'. The fluctuating resonances reject 'objective criticism', because that would stifle the generative power of both visual and auditory scale.. ..One seizes the spiral, and the spiral becomes a seizure" (Smithson 1970:225-226)<sup>28</sup>

(2) Air: Through the use of air, artists make a commentary on technology as well as call attention to the

world and the natural environment of the sky, the atmosphere, clouds, and so forth.

Forest Myers, by shooting four brilliant arc lights, made a glowing display of light paths which permeated a calculated volume of twenty billion cubic feet in the night sky.

James Lee Byars made a presentation of a "rocket piece", consisting of a "pretend plane" constructed with a fuselage of hundreds of yards of shimmering pink satin surrounding the artist's seat in the middle, and with room all around for the guests to come "aboard".

Byars also "gave" to space a helium-filled ballon, to which was attached a mile long gold shimmering thread.

Peter Hutchinson photographed moving and dispersing clouds in a timed serial sequence of six shots. While doing this, he used a Hatha Yoga technique involving the intense concentration of pranic energy which claims power over natural phenomena as an experiment.

Douglas Huebler did a "Location Piece #1" in which the airspace over thirteen states between New York and Los Angeles was intermittently documented by making photographs as the camera was pointed straight out of the airplane window. The photographs were subsequently joined together, thereby "joining" the east and the west coasts, as each one marks one of the thirteen states traversed in the trans-continental flight.

Some artists have tried to become specialists in the manipulation of the perceiver's consciousness of space and spacing, by using a series of spatial markings or by measuring these spaces in some fashion oftentimes defined by the quality of their perception.

For example, Michael Asher did an environmental space project for Pomona College. For this, two large rooms were simply left open for observation through both day and night. This situation permitted the perceiver to gain the experience of these walled environments as shaped by the circadian rhythms of lights and sounds which entered the empty architected spaces.

Some of Sol LeWitt's sculptures which define space and locations by outline-structures or repetitions of hollow wire box-like constructions perform much the same subtle perceptual structuring.

Some artists have interested themselves in movement, and in the dispersement of different types of air. In Robert Barry's "Inert Gas Series", argon and other gases were released and their displacement into surrounding air was filmed and noted.

Robert Morris constructed a steam-producing mechanism which made clouds of steam arise all around the Corcoran Museum in Washington, D.C.

Robert Smithson combined an interest in earth and the air for his design of the development of an air terminal

between Dallas and Fort Worth, Texas. He designed a series of wandering earth mounds and gravel pits to flank the freeways; these mounds would present a formalized intermingling of earth and air on an interesting and changing pattern for the arriving and departing passengers.

(3) Fire: Since fire is another naturally occurring phenomenon which is active, and changes the form and substance of all that it touches, it became a matter of interest to a few process-oriented artists.

Ed Ruscha published a small picture book, each plate of which had a photograph of a different small fire. The last plate pictured a glass of milk, thus completing the study which was entitled, "Various Small Fires and Milk".

John Baldessari used fire both to change the form of something, and as the embodiment of a kind of ritual of purification. The text for this project, which also describes it is the following:

"Cremation Piece: One of several proposals to rid my life of accumulated art. With this project I will have all of my accumulated paintings cremated by a mortuary. The container of ashes will be interred inside a wall of the Jewish Museum. For the length of the show, there will be a commemorative plaque on the wall behind which the ashes are located. It is a reductive and recycling piece" (Baldessari in Meyer 1972: 32).

(4) Water: Water, as one of the natural elements which is most meaningful to man, has often been the focus of interest for several concept artists. Examples of their work can be cited:

Ian Baxter, in his snow-work which became a water-work, designed a project for which he plunged chrome poles in a row into the Columbia Glacier. The poles worked their way down to the river as the snow melted, and were borne by the force of the water to new areas and to new perceivers' eyes.

The Pulsa Group, a Yale based six-man crew of technicians, produce art on a large scale, and often use water as the focal point of their environments. Recently, they placed fifty-five xenon strobe lights underwater in a four acre pond in the Boston Gardens. Around the pond and above water, they situated fifty-three poly-planar speakers programmed by elements of analogue and digital computers. Since neither sets of equipment were visible, when activated they produced an effect which was perceived as sounds coordinated with light flashes, in a shimmering interaction of light, sound and water. The Plusa group's statement about this project frames their focus well:

"Television and films and the complex interplay of urban sounds and lights, and experiences such as driving on highways at night through darting streams of automobile headlights have involved our culture in areas of new perception....We try to make meaningful and pleasurable these experiences which are constantly present in our daily lives" (Pulsa statement in Kepes 1970:208ff.).

Dennis Oppenheim, interested in the plastic qualities of water and ice, travelled to upper New York State where, with the use of a big-toothed saw, he cut huge pieces from the ice on a lake; then he proceeded to Maine, and worked

natural snowscapes into new shapes.

Ian Baxter has set up his own "organization" called ACT, an acronym for "Aesthetically Claimed Things". He goes around to specific sites - for example to a lake in the Arctic - where he claims and photographs phenomena as "Aesthetically claimed". By doing this, he forces the perceiver who knows about this new claimed status, to be aware of the object or phenomenon and to endow it with special consideration; in this way heightened awareness and contemplative consideration of an otherwise ordinary site is accomplished. Through these works, one also perhaps becomes aware of the process itself of aestheticization, and the role of conscious awareness in this respect.

### III. Archiworks

Inasmuch as "Archiworks" usually entail overt structures, some would not consider them to be within the category of conceptual art. They are included here, because the most important aspect of their creation is the role that "conceptual aspects" play in their appreciation (Shirey 1969:45). That is, the most important characteristic of archiworks is the conceptual approach which structures their imaginative manipulation or proposed alteration of existent architecture.

The size and complexity of the typical megalopolis, with its shafts of high-rise buildings, and its endless

acres of row houses each one isomorphic with the other, with differences consisting mainly of size, embodies for many the urban environment, which is felt to press so monotonously on human perception. Some artists have posed an alternative, a substitute world of architecture, large in scale and rich in parody. Most of these projects have remained in the conceptual realm, or have ended merely as drawings and small models; but one or two have actually been constructed.

Christo designed and had erected a twenty-nine story inflatable air structure. This was a 180 ton air-pressured cylinder as tall as the Seagram Building, and in the form of a polyethylene "Bratwurst" presented at the Documenta exhibition in Kassel, Germany. The pun on word and representation or iconic symbolism should be clear.

Other projects designed by Christo include the "packaging" of entire buildings with sheets of polyethylene and ropes. His proposal to package the Museum of Modern Art in New York was turned down because of fire safety laws, but he has already succeeded in wrapping museums in Bern, Switzerland, and the Museum of Contemporary Art in Chicago.

Other artists have designed an "Archigram", an immense city that walks; others have settled for inflatable communities which rise (literally) as used, then deflate after use. With an obvious satirical twist, they claim



that the city may someday be measured in terms of 8001 x 2,0008 x five months (Shirey 1969:46).

Claes Oldenburg has proposed several monumental structures for the great cities of the world. These often take the shape of the favorite foods in specific areas. In this spirit, he has designed a colossal frankfurter to approximate the "Ship of State" for Staten Island, New York. He suggests that the Pan American building of New York be rebuilt as a gigantic Good Human Bar. Or again, he designed a colossal underground building in the shape of an inverted drain-pipe, which can be observed by "looking down into the earth". Oldenburg would like to see the Los Angeles County Art Museum rebuilt as a prone package of cigarettes (an obvious parody of its actual slick design). Oldenburg goes on to landscape the environment surrounding buildings; for example, he suggests that the Thames in England be decorated with a gigantic toilet-ball float, obviously with the unstated premise that only such a gigantic flushing mechanism could clear it of the pollution it contains. While Oldenburg's buildings have remained "conceptual" as yet, a few of his gigantic sculptures have been actualized to decorate the areas around existing structures: a huge lipstick monument erected on a tank (for the Yale Campus); a gigantic three-way plug; and a giant geometric Mickey Mouse.

A final example of a satirical turn is the proposal

designed by Ed Kienholz for a "cement store" to service a town with a population of 50,000. This proposal, in the form of a contract drawn up and signed (by his thumbprint), is to construct a store, stock it with its complete complement of consumer goods, fill it with cement, the artist then leaves town. This represents, to say the least, a bitter conceptual comment on the monumental petrification involved in the daily use of and relationship to the trivia of consumer goods.

Finally, one could mention John Grady's sign proposal for the highway landscape outside of our largest American megalopolis which simply states: "New York will return April - June".

#### IV. Constructed Ecological Works and Systems

Related to this interest in the environment and in natural systems and elements, some of the conceptual and process artists have conceived and executed projects which either imitate or call our attention to the ecological systems which sustain life as we know it. Examples of this category are various:

In 1969, Jan Dibbets constructed what he called a "sculpture" entitled "Robin Redbreast's Territory Sculpture" In this project, Dibbet's had decided to altar a robin's territory by placing small poles spatially interspersed in it. To prepare for this, he read a number of books including Ardrey's The Territorial Imperative, and Lack's The Life of

the Robin. With the aid of photography, he planned where to place the poles in a form through space which would be pleasing. The final sculpture was actually comprised by the movements of the robin among the erected poles of its altered environment. This work was one of a series by Dibbets which involved the visualization of ecological systems (See Lippard 1973:138-9).

Peter Hutchinson did a project called "Paricutin volcano". For this "Ecologic Work", he placed 450 pounds of bread in a 250' long path along the lip of the volcano; he dampened and covered this path with plastic in order to create an ideal mold-producing ecology. This in fact made a greenhouse environment in a heretofore sterile one. The mold grew then until it was made visible, and color changes were made perceptible and photographable. By doing this, Hutchinson was juxtaposing a microcosmic as against a macrocosmic landscape in such a way that the former was made visible. At the same time, he was re-duplicating the earliest Precambrian geological periods, as well as recent past history, when molds and algae first appeared on new volcanoes which were pushed up from the sea. (See Lippard 1973:88).

A special contingent of artists is beginning to evince interest in the growth and harvest cycles of nature. In 1971, Newton Harrison set up a fish farm at an American Exhibition in London. Here, fish were grown in special

tanks during several weeks in preparation for a ritual meal. The fish were than "harvested" and prepared for frying and stews at and during the opening of the art exhibition. For Harrison, this display of "survival ecosystems" far from being sadistic as several observers claimed, was simply calling attention to the way that human life necessarily feeds on less-developed life forms; and that rather than suppressing this relationship as modern processed life permits us to do, the artist should reveal such critical facets of the life-chain

Harrison and his wife also prepare "pastures" or soil for planting in special ways, timing their working of the soil with shovels and hoes, and coordinating their hand manipulation of the soil and water with controlled breathing and posture patterns. Harrison's wife tends the plants, talking to them and promising them warmth, attention, food, water, and companionship (Burnham, J. 1973a:41ff.).

A third of Harrison's projects, called "Lagoon", consists of an outdoor microsystem of an 8' x 10' tank containing 1,500 gallons of water. Ocean water is used in the tank, and lamps assembled to maintain it as an equatorial temperature estuary. In this controlled environment, the human element completes the ecosystem as Harrison furnishes food to the crab population in the 'Lagoon'. He further interacts with this natural system

by transacting with the crabs; he assumes their postures and scuttling movements, and learns their territorial and other habits, thus further substituting for nature. The ritual aspects of these works are notable, and will be considered later in this study.

Mel Bochner simply grows a plant in the same way anyone of a million individuals care for a houseplant; but he also charts its development on the wall behind it with carefully measured lines (painted) which define its growth patterns. He further documents the growth of the plant with photographs taken at fixed intervals.

Hans Haacke photographed snowy landscapes, then coordinated his awareness of changes in the landscape with successive documents, such as xeroxed copies of the local climatological charts.

At the simplest level of explanation and without adding interpretation, it is clear that these artists are calling attention to the natural rhythms and ecological systems which are basic to the maintenance of global and human life systems. They do this, they maintain, because the awareness of these systems and relationships often escapes our daily consciousness.

#### V. Destructive Works

Some artists who do not entirely agree with the idea that art should be totally reduced to ideas and concepts, go on to produce temporary works which are subsequently

destroyed either by the artist, by inbuilt mechanisms of the project, or through a natural inability to perdure due to the medium used in its execution. Many of these projects take a very active antagonistic stance against the objects and symbols of the world, and more occasionally against the human body itself. The desire to triumph over both physical permanence and the unquestioned maintenance of bourgeois values in day to day life patterns, permeates these nihilistic gestures with critical meaning. Even during the early days in New York, as the Happening movement was gathering momentum, some of the informal events depicted had elements of nihilism in them; sometimes these were symbolized by such things as the use of animal carcasses, rotting meat, of stylized fights and battles between individuals or groups, or of public urination and defecation (cf. with Earlier Dada-fests; see Melzer 1973:74-78).

The Pop movement was relatively free of such emotively nihilistic aspects, since even the erotic themes in Pop art were notably vacuous and cool both in intent and fabrication. The nihilistic tendency returned in the Conceptual and process art movement, and developed into a higher degree and exploration of criticism. Some of the nihilistic gestures are simply statements against American object-fetishism or against the desire for enduring phenomena. Examples of these projects are:

Ian Baxter buried a steel water pipe, which when it was activated simply eroded away the little dirt mound constructed around it, until nothing was left but the destroyed wreck of a miniature hillock.

Bici Hendricks makes ice sculptures in which she embeds such things as flags, stones, and other odds and ends in a block or cake form. The ice is festooned with burning candles and then the artist proceeds to hack away at this with an ice pick until the ice melts, and it all settles down into a soggy heap.

Claes Oldenburg hired union gravediggers to dig a trench in back of the Metropolitan Museum of Art under his careful supervision, and then had it immediately filled up again.

Yoko Ono's project in which she sat on a stage quietly remaining there until her blouse was ripped into shreds from her torso by the passing audience, who were instructed to act in this manner.

Mike Heizer created a "symbolic" destruction of the Whitney Museum in New York by ferreting under its foundation in various places. According to the artist's statement, this meant that "those depressions....(were assertions) that the museum is now impossible in our society. It can exist only as a source of information".

Harold Paris made a series of hard, soft, smooth, and rough forms for the Whitney Museum in New York, which were

then put into a room which the artist sealed off; and the public was left only to contemplate or imagine the contents from a bench positioned in front of the 'hermetic' room.

Bruce Nauman polished one side of a metal slab to perfection, and then buried this most interesting part in the ground leaving the dull surface exposed. "Art should raise questions", asserts Nauman.

Several additional projects could be cited, but these suffice to describe one aspect of nihilism. Several nihilistic artists have grouped themselves into an organization called the "Destruction in Art Symposium" (DIAS), which has bi-annual meetings. One of these symposia was held in London in 1966, and another in New York in 1968. Some of the things they do - reminiscent in spirit of the work of the deceased French artist Yves Klein to whom they feel a stated bond of fellowship - are: the burning or slashing of canvases; the construction of machines which destroy themselves; the building of light sculptures which could blind the eyes if actually observed. Ralph Ortiz, who sees his work as a kind of dramaturgical therapy, kills chickens on stage to give expression freely to his "killer instincts", but on less important creatures than man.

A very few of the nihilists have turned their destructive projects toward the human body itself. These works carry with them not only the exploration of the most



extreme situations possible in life, but many are bitter parodies of the accepted patterns of social life, which if objectively seen in a compressed time period, could be revealed as destructive. For example:

Chris Burden bolted himself to a wall, and then experienced and revealed at first hand to others the possibility of execution, as he had someone shoot him in the arm with a 22 caliber rifle.

This same artist (who survived his arm wound), also styles himself as "The People's Prick"; in this role, he wears a special costume and ambles about performing ritualistic actions on behalf of those individuals or groups whom he encounters. Burden had himself handcuffed to the floor of an open garage between live wires and buckets of water, so that anyone who wanted to might kick over the pails and electrocute the artist. No one did, even though he insists that American are killers (at that time) daily and freely in Viet Nam.

Barbara Smith created a "sensorium" at the Museum of Conceptual Art in a private, deeply cushioned room, where under low lights a tape loop softly played repeatedly "feed me"; there she offered her body for sexual intercourse with any one who was willing "to take advantage of her". According to the artist's commentary, this project was meant to be a negative commentary on empty egocentric sexual acts, which are essentially secretive, since they

are without the context of life.

Bonnie Sherk in an "All Night Sculpture Exhibition" in San Francisco, invaded a rooftop sanctuary for pigeons with loud music; she displaced and disturbed the birds through a series of aggressive acts and gestures which culminated in the scrambling and eating of eggs in front of the nesting pigeons.<sup>29</sup>

Undoubtedly the most nihilistic performance of all was accomplished in New York by a visiting Austrian artist the late Rudolph Schwarzkogler, who, early in 1973, amputated his penis bit by bit until he bled to death, thus preempting the position of extremity in this area for some time to come.

#### VI. Technical and Communication Systems

We recall that one of the motivational elements in the Conceptual movement was the desire to rescue art from the stultification and commercialization of an art establishment system, and from a commodity-dealing environment which artists feel is inimical to the production of true and free art. As a by-product of this motivation, but shaped also by other considerations, some of the Concept and Anti-art artists have concluded that art is a kind of communication; as such, it can aptly utilize communication technologies to its own ends. For example, some artists have used the United States Postal system. Since this is an open and public system, inexpensive to use, and capable

of establishing contact and communication among a great number of people, it is especially suitable for the dissemination of information.

On Kawara uses the mails frequently as he constantly travels around the world putting himself in contact with a great number of people. For example, he has sent telegrams to the same person (see Lippard 1973:162), stating:

December 5, 1969: "I am not going to commit suicide - don't worry."

On Kawara

December 8, 1969: "I am not going to commit suicide - Worry"

On Kawara

December 11, 1969: "I am going to sleep - Forget it".

On Kawara

In January of 1970, Kawara sent one postcard every day for a month from Tokyo to Ursula Meyer in New York; each was hand-printed with rubber stamp letters, and stated the time he got up every morning.

In order "to explore the realm of the impossible, in order to stimulate innovative and creative approaches to bringing art to the masses", Don Celender brainstormed by himself until he formulated several proposals of how this work might occur. He then sent to each chief executive of twenty-five major organization a copy of his proposals, plus copies of those proposals sent to the other principals involved, so that every recipient would know the

scope of the project. Celender also solicited their opinions and answers to the proposals. He sent these principally to corporations whose practical orientations were challenged by aesthetics and the artful; he proposed impractical extensions or uses for their products. He also sent proposals to Art Museums, in order to incite them to innovation and a wider dissemination of art information. Celender also sent proposals to mass media companies, in order that the media might be incited to develop public art awareness. He also sent proposals to divergent organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan and the Black Panthers. Copies of one of his museum correspondences is included. (Figure 6).

James Lee Byars used the telephone to investigate the nature of questions. He set up "The World Question Center" replete with telephones, a copy of Who's Who, and enough time to phone over 2,500 people. On the telephone he introduced himself as James Byars at the Hudson Institute, where he was running the World Question Center; then he solicited some questions from them. Hostility, incredulity, bad manners, and even a few good questions were the result of this project. Byars concluded that the nature of questions is profound and should be investigated seriously; and further that maybe all speech and communication is basically interrogative.

Joseph Kosuth did a "show" which took place

Mr. Sherman E. Lee, Director      January 12, 1970  
Cleveland Museum of Art  
1150 East Boulevard  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Mr. Lee:

Your museum has been selected for inclusion in my Cultural Art Movement. I would like you to execute, to the best of your ability, the following proposal:

Assemble 1,000 of the best Far Eastern artifacts from your permanent collection and place them into a weather balloon.

Fly the balloon across the state of Alabama releasing a work of art (attached to a parachute) every thirty seconds until the supply has been exhausted.

Please reply at your earliest convenience and describe the method you intend to use to expedite my proposal.

Thank you.

Enclosures.

Sincerely,  
Don Celender  
Cultural Art Movement  
Saint Paul, Minnesota 55110

Mr. Don Celender  
15 Duck Pass Road  
St. Paul, Minn. 55110

Dear Mr. Celender:

I have your letter of January 12 with its enclosures relating to the Cultural Art Movement and the Corporate Art Movement.

May I first congratulate you on the amount of time, research, imagination, and wit which has been so tellingly combined to produce the letters included in the Cultural Art Movement portfolio.

Since all art is in the mind of the beholder, I am told, then this obviously is the means I propose to use in expediting your proposal. I have mentally performed the proposal for Cleveland and despite the exhaustion attendant upon unaccustomed rigorous use of my imagination I can report that the mission has been accomplished. How fortunate for Alabama!

Sincerely yours,  
Sherman E. Lee  
Director, The Cleveland Museum of Art

FIGURE 6. Correspondence between Don Celender and Sherman E. Lee, Director of the Cleveland Museum of Art (from Lippard 1973:160-161).

internationally by means of the publication of several categories verbatim from the Thesaurus; these were placed in advertising boxes of local newspapers and magazines all over the world.

Instances of the use of the video camera, film, and closed circuit television by information artists have been so varied and numerous that it is unnecessary to offer further examples.

For more than a decade Ray Johnson has used the United States Postal system, as he is one of the originators of the "Mail Art" movement, which by now includes a vast but indeterminate number of people. For the price of a post-card or paper, inks, and postage stamp, letters and cards, each containing their own remarks, pictures, personal doodles, and so forth, have been circulating among a large network of people, often who are personally strangers (Zack 1973:46-53).

#### VII. Social System Works

Finally, it is apparent that criticism aimed at the history of art, especially as it is embodied in the art establishment of the contemporary world, as well as against the prevailing sociocultural patterns and values, motivates and permeates many of the categories of conceptual art to which references have been made. Some artists have conceived of projects which are specifically oriented toward creating a conscious awareness of overly familiar social

relationships and systems. Since much of concept art is didactic in nature, social criticism is implicit or explicit in many of these projects. Some projects are "instructive pieces", consisting of instructions to perform certain acts. These are usually meant to raise the level of awareness and arouse questions about the nature of activities in general.

For example, note Donald Burgy's piece, "Inside-Outside Exchange # 1" (July, 1969):

"Put some of you inside outside.  
Take that outside back inside.  
Put some inside far outside.  
Take that outside back inside.  
Increase the distance of exchange  
each time until finished."  
(Text in Lippard 1973:136).

Daniel Buren's project: "The thing to see is alternate grey and white vertical stripes of 8.7 cm. each whatsoever may be their place, number, author...". (Photo with appended notice, Lippard 1973:192).

Joseph Beuys' project entitled "How to Explain Pictures to a Dead Hare" is of interest here. For this work, Beuys covered his head with honey and gold leaf, transforming himself into a sculpture (see Beuys, 1970:19-21). He cradled the dead hare in his arms. He explains that he took the dead hare to the pictures and that:

...."and I explained to him everything that was to be seen. I let him touch the pictures with his paws and meanwhile I talked to him about them...I explained to him because I do not really like explaining them to people....A hare comprehends more than many humans beings with

their stubborn rationalism...I told him that he needed only to scan the picture to understand what is really important...You know the hare can turn on a dime."(Beuys in Meyer 1970: 54-57,71).

Another example would be Donald Burgy's piece entitled "Checkup". For this project, Burgy spent several days in the hospital and underwent all the detailed tests usually performed for a physical check-up. The composite of pictures, X-rays, charts, EEGs, diagrams, graphs, and so forth is what defines and communicates his state of health, a very important personal factor. This he shares with any interested participant.

David Askevold has done an interesting work for an art exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art, consisting of posting the following four cell square (Lippard 1973:178):

	SHOOT	DON'T SHOOT
SHOOT	Death for both	Death for one
DON'T SHOOT	Death for one	Life for both

Both Tom Moroni and Vito Acconci created dramatic body-art projects which are calculated to raise the perceiver's awareness and consideration of sheer activity, and of bodily movements, changes, and their physical and social meanings. They both use video-tape at times to record "performances", and let themselves be observed



while, for example: getting slowly drunk, stepping up and down from a stool as long as possible during specific hours and months; pushing one's hand into one's mouth until choking commences, releasing it, and then repeating this (for Acconci see: Avalanche, No. 6, Fall 1972).

James Collins' "Introduction Piece" is relevant to our study. For this, Collins takes one stranger with him to effect an introduction between this stranger and another one. Photographs are taken of the introduction, and an affidavit to "verify" it is secured from both parties. (Lippard 1973:177).

One of Kaprow's Happenings in 1967 was performed for the Pasadena Art Museum with the aid of volunteer crews and anyone interested. For this project, the building of ice-houses, during three days blocks of ice were delivered to fourteen specific sites varied in their ecology. In each of these sites, work crews labored hard to construct ice houses under the hot sun, and endured both aching arms and cold hands. Upon its completion, each house was left to melt. The "construction workers" emulated real laborers, taking coffee breaks, asking for double-time, or "kidding" and acting out friendships and hostile impulses generated by the work. The commentary on labor, the building of isomorphic homes like boxes without functional windows and doors, and which are destroyed rapidly (ie., are obsolete) since they are poorly conceived for the life and climate

they are meant to sustain, is clear. The people (i.e., the workers) had to move on, always building and then watching their work diminish into nothing (eg., Lecture by Allan Kaprow at UCLA, July, 1973).

Darryl Sapien and Michael Hinton performed a ritual battle for the San Francisco Art Institute. An empty room, the end walls of which were painted orange and blue respectively, with a ten foot mylar-covered reflecting disc with bright lights hanging above, comprised the environment. There were as props: one jar of vaseline, one can each of orange and blue paint, one black blindfold, and 20' length of rope bolted to each end wall. In the center was a 10' diameter circle of steer manure. The combatants (Sapien and Hinton) enter naked except for dyed skull-caps; one man was painted orange, and the other blue. They outlined one another in the same color chalk as each had on his end wall, anointed themselves with vaseline jelly, tied the ropes each around his own waist; then each blindfolded himself, each stepped into his own tray of paint, then approached the center as a celebrant, leaving a trail of 'magically' appearing footsteps. The battle ensued; slow wrestling, straining, rolling about in the manure until each was exhausted. They then untied themselves and left the room. Left behind them was the homogenized mixture of paint, manure, the energy and heat generated by the combat, memories, tangled ropes,

footprints, and outlines on the wall. Those who entered the room afterwards could reconstruct the combat through the then "mythological" battle tracings left (Burnham, J. 1973a:38-39).

Although this list could be expanded, enough exemplary projects have been listed that the nature and variation of this generalized body of art projects can be gained.

It is clear that, in spite of some protests, these projections even when called "anti-art" are meant and conceived to function as "art". What is clearly not meant, is that the same historically defined formalistic aesthetic systems be applied to their projects or permutations, to guide the perceiver's experience, evaluation, or interpretation.

At the Joslyn Art Museum an interesting project was done by artist Ken Friedman which combines many diverse elements of social and communications systems in an interrelated way. Five thousand artists all over the world received special announcements inviting them to participate in the project by sending a work to the museum. These works could consist of drawings, video-tapes, ideas for projects, photographs, documents, songs, films, philosophical statements and so forth. The public experienced these as exhibits first at the museum, but also at department stores, shopping malls, and at several 'Orbital Flow Systems sites' operating at adjacent universities and

colleges. Visitors to the museum or orbital sites could select and take a work with them, but only after replacing it with one of their own. The exchanges were documented, and the visitors were asked to write to the artist and give their opinions of their chosen work. In addition, children from statewide schools and in twenty-three nations were contacted to have their ideas and art represented. Response to this project ranged locally from condemnation to praise and sympathy. Friedman maintained that the common-sease humanistic enjoyment possible in this project was possible "even before they can get into all the aesthetic implications".

To record some of the artists' statements descriptive of their orientations and interests might help to clarify some of the characteristic attitudes and orientations of this varied group. The following quotations are selected from various publications, interviews, and exhibition catalogues.

Dennis Oppenheim: "In ecological terms, what has transpired in recent art is a shift from the "primary" homesite to the alternate of "secondary" homesite. With the fall of galleries, artists have sensed a similar sensation as the organism when curtailed by disturbances of environmental conditions. This results in abandoning of homesite. The loft organism (i.e., artists) stifled by the rigidity of his habitat just works on, not recognizing his output ~~waning~~..." (from the catalogue of the "Square pegs in Round Holes" exhibit, at the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 1969).

- Douglas Huebler: "The essential quality of existence concerns where one is at any instant in time; that locates everything else. Location, as a phenomenon of space and time, has been transported by most art forms into a manifestation of visual equivalences.. ..I am interested in transposing location directly in to "present" time by eliminating things, the appearance of things, and appearance itself. The documents carry out that role, using language, photographs, and systems in time and location". (Phrases included in various passages of Lippard, 1973, passim).
- Hans Haacke: "The working premise is to think in terms of systems; the production of systems, the interference with, and the exposure of existing systems. Such an approach is concerned with the operational structure of organizations, in which transfer of information, energy, and/or material occurs. Systems can be physical, biological, or social, they can be man-made, naturally existing or a combination of any of the above. In all cases verifiable processes are referred to". (from the catalogue "Systems Statements", of an exhibition in the Howard Wise Gallery in New York, 1969).
- Bernard Venet: "My work is a manifesto against sensibility, against the expression of the personality of the individual. In my work, the final manifestation of my personality, my last choice, will have been to opt for objectivity".
- Ian Wilson: "I present oral communication as an object....all art is information and communication. I've chosen to speak rather than sculpt. I've freed art from a specific place. It's now possible for everyone. I'm diametrically opposed to the precious object. My art is not visual, but visualized". (in conversation with Meyer, and included in Meyer 1972:220).
- Ian Baxter: "Canvas, which should be left for the tent and awning makers, is returning in my work in the form of tents and awnings".
- Daniel Buren: "Every act is political and whether one is conscious of it or not, the presentation of one's work is no exception. Any production, any work of art is social, has a political significance (Quote included in Lippard 1973:51ff.).

Robert Smithson: "For too long the artist has been estranged from his own "time". Critics, by focusing on the 'art object', deprive the artist of any existence in the world of both mind and matter. The mental processes of the artist which take place in time is discovered, so that a commodity value can be maintained by a system independent of the artist... ..this becomes a convenient way to exploit the artist out of his rightful claim to his temporal processes... ..criticism, dependent on rational-illusions, appeals to a society that values only commodity type art separated from the artist's mind" (in Lippard 1973: 87ff.).

Although it is not the focus of this study to evaluate any of these projects with respect to their aesthetic worth or success or failure, one might ask if such evaluation is possible. At a conference at Claremont Colleges in March of 1973, the author heard a panel of active concept artists discuss precisely this problem. The range of the several answers offered and the argumentation generated, indicated that these projects could or would be evaluated; but that agreement as to which canons and measures to use was not forthcoming, and that perhaps this was ultimately not as important as the fact of their being debated. It was agreed that good projects are "interesting"; they arouse awareness or curiosity about some facet of experience, and a playful mental attitude. The precise guidelines for generating aesthetic criteria, these artists conclude, relate to the context of each situation in which an 'art project' occurs, and do not represent the guidebook approach to critical canons.

The successful Concept artist must have the insight

to produce and select what is interesting or arresting in specific situations, and not in the traditional sense of producing an object with balance, symmetry, color, or good composition. The dramatical elements in much of the conceptual work have innate power to attract interest, and they necessitate some participation. The one criterion of success which was universally agreed upon was if a work succeeded in generally raising the level of consciousness in a constructive way, inclusive of both cognitive and motivational aspects on the part of the observer or participant.

In some instances, Conceptual art uses the same systems which American urban industrial society has evolved in order to spread information and interest among a mass audience. To send a personalized instruction or message, one can freely use the postal system, the telephone, newspaper advertising, Western Union, or even videotape and cameras. Playing with words and ideas, one can initiate ideas and questions in the minds of all perceivers and participants. Through exaggeration and selection, the curious and ineffectual premises of much of urban architecture and housing can be pointed up, as in the case of "Funk Architecture".

If necessary, the concept artists mock the fact that the society and its individual constituents seem to tend to a protective entropy which engulfs many of the daily

activities with a shield of unthinking automatism. They do this by forcing the observer to consider some of the dangerous and extreme moments of life and death; or by pointing up the logical end of some destructive practices. Concept artists are teachers, didactic by word or example, acting in order to raise both art and the awareness of experience from the "I-it relationship" as Ken Friedman phrases it, to the "Thou-thou dialogue".

Although the concept and process artists are not adverse to using modern technology, and do so freely when the interaction with a computer or a laser beam can create the desired end, it is clear that they have not adapted as many of the available new technological improvements as they could. Their printing of books is often purposely primitive stylistically, using xerox-like techniques, mimeographing or photo off-set of typed pages and with simple bindings if any. This gives a special non-slick 'everyday' quality to their work, and makes it cheaper for those who wish to purchase or disseminate publications at their own expense. (Bourdon 1972)

In the third or concluding part of this section, an expanded interpretation of the works of both Pop and Concept art will be delineated, in which the frameworks not only of sociocultural systems will be used to enhance the understanding of the meaning of such an art movement, but the phenomena resulting from Pop and conceptual



projects will be considered in the light of the psychobiological approach to aesthetic phenomena which was proposed in the opening sections of the study.

## XV. Concluding Section:

### I. Breakdown of the Dichotomy Between Art and Life

In the concluding section of this study, the two movements which have been selected for attention and investigation will be discussed within the frameworks judged most productive as potentially explanatory for the Aesthetic Anthropologist. The first of these is the socio-cultural framework, more familiar to the traditional work of anthropology, and which was used in part as the guideline for the preceeding descriptive portion of this study as well. The second framework is the psychobiological approach to aesthetic phenomena and experience which was briefly delineated in the opening chapters of this study. The reasons for assuming that the psychobiological approach to the aesthetic experience is both relevant and heuristically productive for Anthropology have already been defined. The justification for this approach is further related to the opening discussion of the conditions of human evolution because the sensory and cognitive characteristics of man, as well as his creative and inventive role as fabricator, were defined by his ties to his environment. It is evident that a study in Aesthetic Anthropology could proceed without directly using either of these frameworks, as in the case when linguistic, ethnoscientific, or multidimensional scaling techniques are used to investigate the axiological or connotative aspects of taste, preference,

and so forth. Nevertheless, it is also the case that Aesthetic Anthropology remains in the formative stage of its development, and that because of the unique and complex nature of its subject matter, it might be better to coordinate interpretive frameworks of an interdisciplinary nature at this time. Hopefully in future investigations, problem-oriented research dealing with more specific aspects of Aesthetic Anthropology will be able to isolate and define units for comparison in order to confirm or deny correlative variables, and thus define patterns along a more operational basis. For the present, it is only possible to delineate more general patterns which might direct attention to potential foci of research interest.

It is usually not the focal enterprise for an Aesthetic Anthropologist to make judgments as to whether or not any given phenomenon is to be classified as true "art" or "non-art"; when evaluative criteria enter into such a categorization, except as expressly stated by members of the society with which one is dealing, problems of objectivity are implicit. The criteria of such axiological classifications should be immediately understood by anthropologists to be invariably culture-bound, inasmuch as they represent the distillation into formalistic canons of phenomenologically derived and culturally conditioned stylistic elements. The broad range of styles, media, and content exhibited by a cross-section of the world's prized material or aesthetic

artifacts should have disabused anthropologists of any favored or monolithic stylistic predispositions long ago. While many anthropologists have sensed, and in many cases openly stated an awareness of such complexities and hazards, they have responded by being hypercritical of their own capabilities as untutored "humanists". More often, they have simply avoided even reporting what comprises the "aesthetic segment" of the societies where they do their field investigations. The tradition and influence of British Social Anthropology upon American sociocultural anthropology has further complicated this tendency by emphasizing the structural-functional interrelationship of social units, rather than that linking the social with the material culture or with concomitant ideological sets.

As previously stated, the theoretical stance of this study is that it might be more profitable to commence looking at both the sociocultural conditioning factors as well as the psychobiological bases of the aesthetic experience, in order to approach the field of visual art with an open awareness to the recognition of phenomena which might possess certain perceptible characteristics not otherwise readily recognized or selected for attention as aesthetic by the anthropologists.

It is the burden, therefore, of the last portion of this study to approach selected phenomena in the American environment which occurred or commenced during the sixties,

and to use these as case types or examples of such an approach.

The two described movements were selected because one was marginal but still recognizably within the tradition of the visual arts in the history of Western art (Pop art); and the other (Concept Art), because it includes a broad spectrum of phenomena usually excluded from American art history, but which seem prototypical of what one might find cross-culturally in a wide range of societies. For example, the informally organized extemporaneous dramatic enactments of New Guinea natives, incited by events in their immediate social and physical environments, can be compared with the informal Happenings played out by the 'natives' of the lofts of New York; or, the ritualistic approach to human and man-nature relationships epitomized in some conceptual pieces, and are like replications or ritualistic enactments of interaction patterns throughout the world. In both cases, many "qualified" judges in American culture (qualified first by their sharing in or being members of the same society who presumably share in the perceptual and social values defining "art" phenomena; and secondly "qualified" as members of the accredited group who through their training and interest occupy positions as critics in the American art establishment) openly deny ready admittance of some contemporary art movements to the category of "Fine Arts" (Greenberg 1961, 1968; Canaday 1962,

1964).

Stylistic changes in art simply reflect or result from changes in the behavior of artists. While we have previously described some of these stylistic changes, especially as they relate to technological and social networks, one should inquire as to what elements characterized the social and physical climate of the sixties which incited artists to innovate new devices, and to produce the particular patterns of stylistic continua which they did from their interpretation of the environment. Educated artists, and the particular sample for this study included predominantly this type of artist, react in part to the history of art, as it is filtered or interpreted by them, and consistent with their general acceptance or rejection of the immediate cultural circumstances.

No one seems to debate the assessment of the sixties in the United States as characterized by a high degree of social change. Accompanying the social change, was a heightened awareness of the actual social patterns and practices which originally activated ideological shifts and the reevaluation of accepted values and patterns.

In this last section of our study, our interpretation and understanding of the two art movements selected for investigation will be framed and guided by reference to: (1) the general sociocultural framework in which they did and are occurring, already largely described in the previous

sections of this study; and (2), the structural elements of psychobiological aesthetics as they were defined in the first section of this study. Our discussion will be divided into three topics, each of which has been selected as a basic characteristic defining the dominant attributes which characterize both Pop and Conceptual art. These are: (1) the breakdown of the traditional dichotomy between art and everyday life; (2), the impetus toward ephemeralization and/or dematerialization of art objects and phenomena; and (3), an elaboration of the interrelationship between art and language.

#### I. The Breakdown of the Traditional Dichotomy between Life and Art.

Since a complex network of interrelated social and ideological changes was occurring in the sixties, one could perhaps have expected that artists would respond by developing several stylistic trends. This is, in fact, what did happen in the sixties; and many of the trends built upon or developed from the dominant art styles of the forties and fifties (Rosenberg, H. 1969a:73). Most of these trends, as mentioned before, continued to elaborate or develop the characteristics of previous painting and sculpture, and remained within the museum-gallery-collector system developed to handle such works. Both the Pop and the Conceptual movements, however, developed a concerted attempt to break down the traditional dichotomy separating

the artist and art from interrelating with the world of everyday life and objects.

In the section on Pop art, several statements of intent, phrased by the artists themselves, commented on this aspect of their work. In the content or subject matter of their productions, they selected to portray the actual mass produced commodities and images which have become the daily business of Americans of all social classes to consume. They portrayed famous people or (in the case of Segal and Wesselman) typological social or sexual types, inasmuch as these, too, are commodities for consumption through the media of television, movies, newspapers, and a full collection of slick periodicals. Warhol's characterizations of the famous Superstars in the American repertoire, and Wesselman's Great American Nudes, defined only by red lips, plastic-like breasts, perhaps a cigarette and bikini bottoms, are notable examples of this attitude. Most of the Pop artists (notably excepting Warhol) in differing degrees actually incorporated objects from the real world into their productions. Oldenburg created a counter-every-day world, not of people, but of gigantic or diminutive objects food items; an Alice-in-Wonderland environment in which things are iconically familiar, yet perceptually very different because of a process of conceptual and design reversals he went through. Small things become gigantic: cigarette butts, vacuum cleaners, baked



potatoes, billiard balls, or typewriter erasers dwarf the spectator. Soft things become hard and vice versa: enormous electric fans of slick black vinyl hang droopily suspended from the ceiling, their gigantic blades sagging. Sinks, tubs, and toilets of white canvas droop as "ghost versions" of their omnipresent originals; while familiar small animated figures like Mickey Mouse become large hard-edged geometric mouse sculptures. The familiar and the useful ice-bag grows to sixteen feet and gyrates with a dance of its own. Up becomes down, and down up; buildings are designed as drainpipes to be buried in the earth, and popsicles are proposed as colorful skyscrapers. Oldenburg felt that reconstructing the physical environment "would show (and also stimulate) a high degree of consciousness" (Oldenburg 1971:37). To this end, he proposed a design for the New York Stock Exchange as a girdled torso, between the legs of which is the entry door framed in marble slabs. He added, "the walls should be soft - people could lean into them at lunch time" (Oldenburg 1971: 30-31).

Oldenburg recognized the overwhelming importance of advertising and commercial products, and consciously constructed his art to usurp and transfer the attention usually directed to this visual complex. For example, he designed a twelve foot high monumental sculpture of a toothbrush (without a handle) covered with toothpaste; he added, "The

paste form would apotheosize the passionate representation of cream of all kinds in American ads....Advertisements are calculatedly body-referential, and I collect the most obvious or appealing examples of 'object pornography'.... This viewpoint in advertisements makes a building or a landscape out of any small objects....'Colossal monuments' create themselves, and I just have to complete them, site them" (Oldenburg 1969: notes to drawing # 7).

Rauschenberg, Larry Rivers, and Jasper Johns present us with images and objects of daily life, but in curiously original techniques, or in ways which move back and forth between reality (Objective, non-illusion) and painting (illusion). John's imagery borrows freely from the school room icons of measurement and learning: maps, rulers, alphabets, numbers, and pencils, along with familiar images which in the sixties evoked ambivalent questions and connotations, such as targets and American flags. Dine paints the image, then hangs the real object near it, often titling it with a stencilled name as well; thus he deals with a three-way pun on the literal, uselessness and illusion. Segal's life-size casts of plaster figures stolidly inhabit their familiar American ecological niches fabricated of real objects and furniture. They appear to the spectator to comprise scenarios such as one would see from the window of a speeding elevated train or car, familiar yet impersonal, inasmuch as all interaction is

negated by the typical circumstances in which they are viewed. These examples could be greatly multiplied, but this is unnecessary as previous description should recall additional items.

The Pop artists became less like traditional painters and sculptors, and more like designers, workmen, co-workers in the industrial technological world of the manufacturer; one who designs to order, and then sends his creation on to the appropriate shop where it is actually manufactured. Art objects were no longer simply one of a kind productions, but were often replicated by the hundreds to be made available to a wider segment of the population. Since the personal mark or hand of the artist-creator was no longer a prerequisite, multiples were accepted on a large scale as fine art objects.

Thus in content, media, and method of production, the work of the Pop artists helped to erase the dichotomy between art and life which had dominated the American tradition of visual art. The line or construct of illusion, which operated in previous genre paintings of still lifes and so forth to separate the objects depicted from those in the "real" world, was often totally obliterated, as in the case of Warhol's Brillo Boxes, which - until they are touched or lifted - appear to the perceiver as if they were "real" Brillo cartons from the supermarket storeroom. When the illusion which usually characterized the work of

the visual artist is not maintained in some form or another, the lack of emotive material in the straightforward depictions of the images or icons usually mark them as 'cool' and uninvolved.

The content and methods adopted by the Pop artists represent a reaction to their sociocultural and physical environment. Why, one could ask, did they seem to want to erase the line between art and daily life, or the objects and images characteristic of daily life? That their work represents a reaction to the extreme subjectivism and emotionality of the Abstract Expressionists is a partial explanation. The particular configuration or characteristics of their innovative trends are not in any way explained by this reference, however. Further reference to the ways in which attention of an aesthetic nature can be visually engaged, according to information suggested by psychobiological aesthetics, may help further to explain the peculiar physical characteristics of some of the stylistic discontinua selected to set work off from previous and co-existent visual art works.

The human response system, as it is stimulated through sensory mechanisms, needs both new information and novelty (Platt 1961:403ff). The Pop artists managed to manipulate these two elements of novelty with pattern or familiarity on several levels. Their selection of subject matter or content was guided almost entirely by the most familiar

items - usually commodity items - which are characteristic of American life. A lengthy search for unusual subject matter among the works of the Pop artists did not reveal one extraordinary, original, or exotic icon or image. The linguistic designation selected to refer to this art movement or style, 'Pop' - whatever it may have designated in the beginning - refers to 'popular' in the minds of those who think about this style.

The selection and depiction of such familiar items and icons becomes arresting by virtue of the size, manner, or media of their manufacture; or, they are interesting, due to the situation or circumstances in which they occurred. The straightforward rendition of a Campbell's Tomato Soup can is one thing; but a three foot high painting of it is another, especially when it is found hanging on the walls of a famous art gallery or museum. A brashly colored silk screen of Marilyn Monroe is not unusual, but especially characteristic of any theater marquee all over the United States; but a series of oil painted silkscreen Marilyns of subtly manipulated variations lining an entire wall of an art gallery or museum is both surprising and a novelty. The same criteria apply to ale cans (be they of bronze or aluminum), fabric baked potatoes six feet long, whole paintings depicting multiple two dollar bills or postage stamps, Elvis Presley, or the Saturday Night Disaster. Ordinary and familiar icons and images become

arresting, interesting, and vie for attention when they appear either in extraordinary environments, forms, or sizes.

To place or interrelate phenomena or materials in unprecedented combinations or contexts is an innovative device adopted by all the Pop artists. Responses to stimuli are never isolated from a context or from preceding perceptual fields. To construct a perceptual field whose experience automatically entails a comparison between unique co-appearing qualities, and previously known similar stimuli which evoke known connotations irrelevant or inappropriate to the present occasion, is deliberately to introduce novelty or surprise.

Although the simple depiction of a Pop image may be straightforward and not complex, the situation in which it is found, and perhaps the gigantic size in which it occurs, introduce elements of complexity and ambiguity into its consideration. The perusal of a Pop image is very quickly preempted from sheer perceptual reception to the level of the cognitive awareness of signs and significates because of the ambiguities it entails. Most symbolic processes contribute to central neural processes and to ideation more directly than they do to action. Since the context in which the Pop image occurs negates the necessity for action (such as eating, viewing, driving, listening, bathing, or whatever is usually done with commodity objects when they

are encountered in the everyday environment), ideation is deliberately stimulated.

The colors selected by the Pop artists are oftentimes bright, saturated, and included large topographical expanses. The linear qualities of Pop paintings are usually simple and direct, and the composition uncomplicated. Their phenomenal attraction lies partly in their cool depiction of familiar consumer items offered for contemplation rather than consumption.

Except in the work of Jasper Johns, Rauschenberg, and to some extent Larry Rivers, the actual 'virtuoso' quality of the painting or hand work on a painting or collage is secondary to some other elements which arouse aesthetic interest. For example, the number '5' is not unusual, nor are letters of the alphabet, or simple words like 'eat', 'die', 'Hollywood', and so forth. Yet, when Johns paints '5', or letters of the alphabet, the combination of the painterly qualities of his work, plus the surprise and novelty of seeing all this talent lavished on such a simple, familiar, and direct sign arouses the perceiver's interest. When Robert Indiana paints a '5', he does so in a straightforward emblematic manner and technique, not unlike that confronting us daily from sign boards, highway markers, and so forth. The curiosity and interest aroused by this work is more related to the curious and ambiguous nature of its presence as a sign without the

usual world of concrete referents, than it is to the painting as painting. The latter is also true for the chevrons of Billy Al Bengston, as it is for the highway lines and signs of d'Arcangelo.

This points to the fact that the ideational element is stimulated and becomes of greater importance for Pop art than it was for many previous styles in painting. Warhol's work is extremely arresting, but hardly because his tour de force is as a masterful painter. This fact curiously in no way detracts from his position as an original and creative artist.

In general one could say with respect to the Pop movement, that its aesthetic component depends more heavily upon the realization of such qualities as surprise, incongruity, and novelty, and thus upon the ideational patterns excited by the perception of the collative variables in Pop works, than upon such characteristics as the painterly or profoundly personal touch of individual artists. The same generalization is true for the work of Oldenburg, who oftentimes did not actually make his own soft sculptures. This is not to say that these artists were incapable of drawing or painting in the traditional sense of excellence; any perusal of the sketches or plans of, for example, Oldenburg or Rauschenberg, Johns or Rivers, should disabuse one of that prejudice. Part of their innovative technique primarily was not to exploit the



traditional aspect of artistic creation in the same degree as had been previously done, and to offer a new field of stimuli characterized by deliberate stylistic discontinua.

In spite of the fact that Pop artists began to break down the dichotomy between art and life in their previous portrayals of commodity items, American superstars, symbols and emblems with which almost every member of the population was equally familiar, as artists they remained more firmly ensconced in the social status of the middle class, and were associated almost entirely with the very bourgeois values which they parodied with cool detachment. They did succeed in destroying some of the romantic myths about the Bohemian excesses of the artist's life, and in some instances acted politically to expedite the formation of the Art Workers Coalition; or perhaps they donated a few of their works to sponsor demonstrations to gain money and interest for the Peace movement.

By calling concerted attention to the dominant aspects of some elements of the environment, they had begun to break down the idea that art objects and aesthetic phenomena only portrayed or dealt with the extraordinary, unique, romantic, exotic, hermetic or existential aspects of life.

The Concept artists, although of a profoundly eclectic turn, chose methods and characteristics even more completely

allied with daily life; they dealt less with the commodities, but more with the living patterns of every day actions and relationships. Some of the artists in this tradition have even rejected the name 'art' as a designation for their endeavors, saying that their work is, if anything, an 'anti-art' form.

Again, they tried to call attention to daily life and ordinary activities instead of to unrelated art, art objects, or the art establishment. One of the techniques they use to accomplish this end, is to turn the spectator into a participant as often as possible. The observer could no longer merely look, buy, or consider an object in the light of the formalistic aesthetic criteria learned in the past from critics, museums, or textbooks on the visual arts. One had rather to smell, hear, move about, learn, write, read, move one's body, touch, manipulate, recreate, empathize with the stimuli and so forth, according to the express design of the artist, or through his structuring of a situation instead of an object.

As we continue to review the relationship of conceptual art both to the sociocultural environment which helped to engender it, and to the actual techniques artists used to accomplish their ends, it will become more clear that the critical stance these artists adopted toward their tradition is much stronger as a motivation, than it was among the Pop artists.

'Art' was suddenly no longer objectified as a painting or a sculpture, or even as a collage or combine-painting, using real objects along with traditional techniques. Concept artists often adopt a didactic approach; they instruct, and their messages are intended to heighten awareness of one's place in the environment, the quality itself of the environment, one's position in the social system, or to the actual quality and implications of the dominant cultural patterns in the social system. Oftentimes, concept art becomes virtually indistinguishable from the natural or social environment, and becomes 'art' only through an act of ideation. The choice or selection of content and technique directed or manipulated by the artist in his project, places the spectator or participant in the position of considering that situation as somehow different, or as worthy of special recognition for the moment. Clearly, if one were to approach the concept art projects which have been previously described as if they were art productions subject to aesthetic judgements based on previously adopted aesthetic criteria or canons, this would present an impossible mental gymnastic. The conclusion one must draw, therefore, is that aesthetic values on the stylistic level, are as relative as are most of the values which define life-styles and human relationships across groups and cultures.

The myth of Fine Art is closely linked to the dominant

values and techniques of the culture. In a period during which most of the cherished and carefully guarded myths of our industrial culture are being questioned, it is inconceivable that the myth of the Fine Arts and the Establishment supporting their existence should also escape detection. Whatever the myths of our society may be, they center in many respects around the belief in progress, the inevitable betterment of man through science and technology, and in certain premises about the superiority of the American political and economic system. As the illusions surrounding these basic myths (in the sense in which Lévi-Strauss might use this word as descriptive of the dynamic, central, and basic themes of a culture) are under attack and destroyed, so will their presence in the sub-systems of aesthetics and art become changed.

Concept artists have assumed an essentially revolutionary attitude toward recent developments in art and to the sociocultural system in general. In doing so, they have rejected the bulwarks of the entire system, inclusive of the presence of the art object whenever necessary. Avant-gardism may be the most difficult stance to maintain in the contemporary media permeated urban world; for avant garde phenomena can be transmuted almost immediately into widely communicated phenomena, which, failing acceptance, are rendered ineffectual as avant garde by their very notoriety. Acceptance is equally dangerous;

inasmuch as this implies immediate perversion and subsumption into the very system against which it wished to move. Many Concept artists, therefore, have left the role of full-time artist, and function as politicians, teachers, scientists, and so forth. Their relationship to everyday life, as well as to their projects which they continue to plan are often reduced to one plane, one system of communication, where the symbols manipulated may be identical with those used by everyone else; in this case, only the conceptual awareness engendered by their selection and context sets them apart. The evaluative principle of thinking is more important; therefore, the desired approach is not merely the acceptance of previous attributes and canons. The logical conclusion is that the locus of art then has also changed; it has become in fact situational, and its core is ideational.

In his rejection of the role of artist as maker-of-artifacts characterized by being the almost uniquely non-utilitarian objects among a plethora of objects, the Concept artist has rejected the position and the role assigned to him by his cultural tradition. He seeks instead to interpret to the interested party through his work, the position of large numbers of individuals in contemporary society vis à vis the natural and cultural environments. He assumes the position of interpreter, of mediator; and thus, a kind of primitivization has taken

place both in the roles of the Concept artist, as well as in the characteristic content and form of his work.

In almost every conceivable way, some aspects of the role of artist have changed. The Concept artist doesn't necessarily have a studio. His work may take place in a class-room, on a bit of farmland, in a snowy woods, or in a room full of computers, at a desk, on the telephone, in a publications office, hospital, restaurant, or on a street corner. Over a decade ago, Marcel Duchamp suggested that the artist might have to "go underground" to accomplish his real ends. The role of artist, then, is essentially that of doing something, of creatively mediating somehow between nature and culture; of supplying the "missing" in technological systems, and revealing to the society its own boundaries, as these artists see them. It is clearly irrelevant, then, whether or not one is trained in the traditional techniques of 'artistic' fabrication; nor is it necessary that recruitment take place in the art schools or art departments of universities.

This view of art and of the role of the artist is in part reminiscent of Lévi-Strauss's concept of the artist as "bricoleur". The bricoleur is a kind of handyman who "makes do" with the materials available; he is inventive, imaginative, responds to the needs of the situation and environment. The form his art takes changes as relational characteristics and needs change (Lévi-Strauss 1966:16-36).

This new kind of artist may therefore be a 'part-time' artist; he may receive remuneration or subsistence in part for his work as artist, and in part (or even wholly) from some other profession or series of duties he performs for his community. In this way, the role of the concept artist probably more closely resembles the role of artist during much of human history, and until the complexity and/or technological advance of social systems functioned to separate the role, status, and work of the artist from religion, teaching, curing, divining, or from that of a mystical interpreter of basic values. Early art was probably essentially a social act with broad community implications.

The work of anthropologists has frequently illustrated that the roles of artists in most societies which are pre-literate or of emerging complexity, even today, is not that of the fulltime fabricator of non-utilitarian objects which are destined to be admired in and of themselves for their purely decorative characteristics. The artist may also be a farmer, a shaman, a wife and mother, a fisherman, and/or may occupy any one of a number of other roles and statuses which he or she may enact along with the occasional one of "artist". This role of visual "artist" may be activated not only through the fabrication of physical objects, but through being an actor, dancer, curer or in enacting some other performance role, with or without

props which he or she may fabricate.

These roles of the artist as shaman, as teacher, as healer, as interpreter of ecological boundaries and basic values, suit the goals and predispositions of many of the Concept artists better than those more recently assumed in the traditional Fine Arts. Concept artists often admire, learn from, and even emulate the works or "projects" of artists in primitive societies. In interview situations the investigator was asked several times to furnish a bibliography or suggestions about information relating to ritual situations, chants, the paraphernalia of priests and shamans, and other similar things.

The didactic or therapeutic role adopted by some of the Concept artists is manifest in many of their statements and actual works (Burnham, J. 1973b:64-65, 1973c; 28-32; Albright 1972:14; Friedman 1972:17ff.; Levine, L. 1973:201).

"Animals, vegetables, and minerals take part in the world of art. The artist feels attracted by their physical, chemical and biological possibilities, and he begins again to feel the need to make things of the world, not only as animated beings, but as a producer of magic and marvelous deeds. The artist-chemist organizes living and vegetable matter into magic things, working to discover the root of things, in order to re-find them and extol them...What interests him...is the discovery, the exposition, the insurrection of the magic and marvelous value of natural elements...the artist mixes himself with the environment, camouflages himself....He has chosen to live within direct experience, no longer the representative - the source of pop artists - he aspires to live, not to see" (Celant 1969:225).



Since the words 'ritualistic' or 'shaman' have been used in this study to describe some of the characteristic tendencies of some Concept artists and their work, a more detailed investigation of this aspect of the art of the sixties should be undertaken. This is especially true, inasmuch as this aspect of contemporary art, while aligning art to important areas of everyday life and living, is totally outside of the tradition of the visual artist for American culture.

The history of Anthropology and of Art contain many references to phenomena exemplifying the idea that the role and work of the artist emerged out of some aspect of religion (eg., the Vienna School of Ethnology, Weltfish 1953; Lommel 1970; Levine, M. 1957). It is not the concern of this study to study the validity of this assertion, but many contemporary artists are mindful of the ideological and psychological aspects of art which they speak of as "therapeutic" or "teaching". Some artists conclude that the function of putting individuals in touch with the elements of nature and the fundamental aspects of life itself is a part of the task of artists. A significant amount of the visual arts of the sixties was moved from the arena of the production of artifacts to the dramaturgical, and lately even to situations involving the roles of artist and celebrant, rather than spectator only. In some respect, therefore, some art has taken on many of the elements of

ritual.

A comparison of most of the examples we have of rituals shows that one general characteristic they share is that they are repetitive. They occur again and again, perhaps daily or perhaps only once in widely separated periods of time. Rites of passage, funerary rituals, and similar ceremonies by definition occur only once for each individual. But individuals may participate in the repeated performances of some of these rituals as they occur as social activities for other celebrants. The framework of these rituals usually remains the same through many repetitions, and innovation usually only occurs if expedited by severe alterations in the total adaptive responses of the system.

It is commonly thought that all or most of the individuals participating in a ritual activity hold a common interpretation of its basic meaning, as well as of the meanings of the implements and objects used. It is becoming increasingly clear through ethnoscientific field techniques as well as from other reports, that the differences in interpretation as well as the levels of knowledge individuals hold with respect to ritual activities are varied albeit patterned, and complex oftentimes. Similarity in cognitive constructs and patterned interpretations of symbolic systems is probably a function of the organizational properties intrinsic to isolating

perceptual patterns and coding these into patterned expectations based on the probabilities derived from functions that they have assumed in previous contexts. So each reappearance of such ephemeral phenomena in any extraordinary circumstances contains an element of novelty.

A significant aspect of ritual, however, seems to be that in fact individuals who hold somewhat unique connotations with respect to signs and symbols, respond to them in significantly patterned ways.

Since this is not a study on the function and structure of rituals, suffice it to say that ritual behavior is basically comprised of the same elements as non-ritual behavior. That is, rituals represent complexes of behaviors involving at the same time cognitive, motivational or emotional aspects, and involving the brain and neurological systems, as well as the hypothalamic-limbic-reticular systems. The order or duration of behavior units in ritual may be reversed, exaggerated, lengthened, or otherwise manipulated. The fact that rituals themselves are often repeated or involve internal repetition, and are usually accomplished with skeletal-muscular involvement, helps one to see why ritual serves to reduce variability, and at the same time increases the probability that particular reactions will be followed; it involves a kind of holistic programming, including both the muscular and sensory systems (Fernandez 1965; Chapple 1970:316).

Whether a ritual is a rite of passage, of intensification, or oriented towards purification or therapy, all rituals seem to share the reinstatement of an equilibrium which structures subsequent interaction patterns as a goal.

It also appears that the emotional component in much of ritual behavior is higher than normal. In many cultures, a variety of techniques are used to intensify interaction forms of rituals: for example, the taking of drugs, fasting, the use of repetitive behaviors such as chanting, dancing, or other physical rhythmically involving actions.

Participants in ritual situations experience a lowering of sensory thresholds with respect to perception, and also to stress. This is expedited precisely by an awareness that the situation is extraordinary. The staging or context of rituals entails a manipulation of stimuli involving the use of symbols which produce a heightened awareness, and a focus toward the interactional process as indicated. One could, therefore, assume that during the time when there are co-present a lowered threshold toward interactional cues, along with some stress toward possible asynchronic or deviate behavior, that learning will be facilitated. Even if the ritual as such is not repeated, the subsequent unconscious use of some of the ritualistic components and patterns previously experienced would accomplish some of the same ends.

Disparities between expected and actual behavior in specific situations, and/or between the ordinary and the extraordinary, contribute to a disturbance of patterning which itself may be salutary as a prelude to exploration and learning. The exercise of heightened awareness also recognizes whidever patterns do not deviate too much from the norm, nor are overly stressful; such alertness might have an over all functional survival value in terms of adaptation to environment.

In the case of Concept art, overt ritualization of apparently meaningless elements of the culture, as well as the unusual juxtaposition of familiar and unfamiliar cultural elements and symbols, can lead to a generally heightened awareness of meaningless, non-functional or atrophied interaction patterns. Such a procedure can call attention to the subtly changed aspect of daily relationships in an otherwise overly familiar pattern or environment.

During the sixties, some artists adopted some of the elements of ritual in order to enhance and make their projects more affective. Art and ritual have frequently been interrelated during much of human history. Why is it, therefore, that in a period during which modern art seems finally to have freed itself from conditioning political and religious relationships, that artists are turning back to a more primitive form of making art?

The artists reply that in a modern society such as ours, with its economic base almost entirely devoted to technology and industry, mass production and consumption patterns, that the old ritual interaction patterns, such as rites of passage and intensification, have lost their power as they were diversified and secularized. This situation has resulted in emotive loss. The quest for the replacement or restructuring of these atrophied interaction patterns has increased lately and can be discerned in a variety of activities oriented basically toward finding a local community and relationships which engender satisfying emotional experiences.

Concept artists complain that with increasing social complexity, interaction becomes too formalized; role specifications have become so monolithic that they engender a kind of role-oriented anxiety about sharing in the basic positions and statuses offered by the society. Seeking for a new symbolic universe with its own instrumental rituals in which anyone can participate, has expedited the awareness of new interaction forms and new situations or contexts in which to channel the emotional expressions which permit a new equilibrium.

The whole panorama of the sixties, involving as it did the questioning of standardized pervasively accepted patterns, and the experimentation of searching for new ways is directly related to the experimental attitude among

artists as well. The feeling of being "cut-off" from the natural environment and satisfying human relationships is repeatedly referred to by many artists.

What is being referred to in this study as the 'primitivization' of some art work is to be considered against the background information described.

'Primitivization' is meant simply to designate that both the doing and the product of the creative enterprise in some instances assumed patterns analogous to those of less complex societies. Primitization thus involves a deescalation of the separation of the artist, his professional roles, the media, form, and appreciation of the art product from the everyday world. That is, artist and art were again intermittently related to some special aspects of life, but other than the museum, walls, plinths, or more decorative spatially defined situations.

The concept of artist as teacher, as therapist, as seer or mediumistic purveyor of mystic insights, developed into one notable pattern among the several dominant trends. Bruce Nauman's famous neon tubing dictum stating. "The true artist helps the world by revealing mystic truths", is a peculiar witness to his works; many of these create a sense of mystery, sensory strain, and even force one to interact in a kinesthetic way. In this manner, a phenomenological investigation of felt-responses automatically entails learning conjoined with an awareness of

collative variables and of sensory relationships  
(Livingston and Tucker 1973:31).

If one accepts the minimal description of ritual as a series of behaviors so organized and styled that they become vehicles for the establishment of a kind of new equilibrium state, through the experience as participants or spectators in a dramatic learning situation which involves cognitive and motivational aspects symbolizing important components within the environment of any group, a better understanding of the purposeful activity of art in the sixties will be gained (Chapple 1970:317-319; Rappaport 1968:4, 90, 164, 263; Lévi-Strauss 1963:180-181; Wallace, 1966:103ff).

The fact that the primitivization of art, and attempts to make art more a part of daily life deal in part with an impetus to recreate an interface of art-ritual between the human-environment and human-human relationships, is attested to both in statements by many artists, and in the content and form of many artists' projects exemplary of this approach (Burnham, J. 1973c:28ff., 1973a: 38-41 and passim). Les Levine, an artist and writer-spokesman for the Concept movement has said:

"It is the artists job to mold the world into a sphere; to show us the shape of what we've got, and how it works" (Levine, L. 1973:199).

Joseph Kosuth, a Concept artist and the American Editor of Art-Language, a Concept art periodical, states:



"In this period of man, after philosophy and religion, art may possibly be one endeavor that fulfills what another age might have called 'man's spiritual needs'....it might be that art deals analogously with the state of things 'beyond physics'" (Kosuth 1973:91).

The movement of art away from the aesthetic object has often brought it into the realm of dramatic enactment; for example, the Happenings movement, the Guerilla Street theater (so named by Ken Friedman), and many projects both in the United States and abroad resemble dramatic interludes. By 1972, the important Thirty-sixth Biennale Internazionale d'Arte had as a theme "Opera o Comportamento" (Work or Behavior). In this thematically important exhibition, artists generally advocated behaviorist and ritualistic approaches to aesthetic phenomena.

The extended work of the international artist Joseph Beuys, who was also a university professor until he started his own political party and was forced to resign, exemplifies this elemental approach clearly (Lippard 1973: 17-18; lecture and panel discussions at Claremont in March 1973). The many works to which Allan Kaprow has referred or created call attention to the fact that many art projects are in fact models of social behavior (Kaprow lecture in Pomona and Claremont 5/3/73, and at UCLA in July 1973, 1966, 1968; Hansen 1965, Meyer 1973). They isolate and repeat interactions; but usually these actions are not in their traditional context, or appear with such physical props or situations that they appear as unexpected,

bizarre, extraordinary, and oftentimes have ritualistic overtones.

The most immediate all-around effect of the primitivization of modern art is to place its content and techniques more squarely into daily life.

"It is the duty of an artist to impose his sensibilities on interpreting existing social systems, which are changing and affecting our lives at a more rapid pace than we can finesse our culture to cope with them (Levine, L. 1973: 201).

This movement to focus on the ordinary also shares some of the motivation, impetus and stylistic elements of such predominantly Minimalist artists as Hesse, Judd, LeWitt, Sonnier and others. While these artists still use some visual phenomena which they construct or assemble, the selection of forms and materials are minimally different from those used in everyday life; this presentation of stimuli structured by minimal differences from almost all other stimuli, yet presented with the situational caveat that they are somehow "special", places all of this kind of work in great tension with most familiar criteria for saying that art is and what it is not.

The collative elements of surprise, incongruity, complexity, or novelty still operate on our perceptual apparatus in the experiencing of most instances of Conceptual art, but in most cases their operation entails a predominantly conceptual component. That is, it is both ambiguous and surprising to find these phenomena called

'art' and to be in "art situations" according to dominant cultural conditioning as to what comprises the acceptable aesthetic situation. The conceptual elements entailed in the perception of incongruous and ambiguous phenomena, as detailed before, are accentuated inasmuch as such complex collative variables stimulate curiosity and exploratory behavior. The psychobiological aspects usually entailed in ritual behavior have been partially cathected by these artists to their own realm of activities.

Some concept artists through actual verbal pronouncements "claim" some selected aspect of the ordinary world, as "aesthetic", as in the case of the N.E. Thing Co., and their "Aesthetically Claimed Things" (ACT) projects. Instead of presenting the extraordinary to the spectator, they try to frame the ordinary as intermittently extraordinary. In doing this, by example and as illustration they point the direction to the awareness of the possibility that each person is able to do the same thing. The implication is that by using one's perceptual and cognitive make-up as a "tool", anyone can "claim" selected elements of ordinary life and environment as "aesthetic".

The implicit hypothesis that all these artists make is that the aesthetic experience is a valued one which has positive therapeutic aspects. When questioned about this, the author found that without directly stating them, some artists have 'intuitively' discovered and were acting on

many of the premises of psychobiological aesthetics. That is, they were utilizing some of the collative stimuli not only in the visual sense, but in the juxtapositioning of signs and symbols which are normally incompatible or incongruous into new situations or contexts. Their adoption or creation of models of social systems and ritual techniques employ a larger cognitive component than does most previous art. The visual factor in thier work often furnishes merely the preliminary step in its ultimate experience.

The awareness of a need to reevaluate the precepts of art education, the kinds of institutions which house this enterprise, and the teachers who direct it, is increasing. The fact that the old role of the artist is being changed in many instances, means that the recruitment and training of artists must also change or atrophy. Training must accomodate not only those artists who remain in the tradition of producing formally aesthetic objects, but also those who move into more widely ranging activities and experimentation (Battcock 1973a; Rosenberg, H. 1969b; Griff 1968).

A subsidiary characteristic of the art of the sixties which we have investigated is that of experimentation. This attitude often focused on the premises of visual art itself, and on how to relate art to life. Both Pop and Concept artists share a general approach of experimentation

with respect to the content, form, and the stylistic elements of their productions. The experimental attitude permeates the reaction of the artist toward the history of art and the art establishment as he sees it, and it furnishes a reflection or a reappraisal of the social and physical environment. Art as a poser of questions characterized much of the "aesthetic ethos" of the sixties.

Art entered the systems and field of technology in a way which had not occurred in several hundred years of Western visual arts history. The Pop artists used the modern technology both as content and media for their work. Other artists, like Les Levine, consider the television to be an environmental tool, inasmuch as it is so integrated into our lives that it is virtually "invisible". Levine used television not to generate or replicate patterns, but to create a responsive environment by showing himself as a group of television images, clearly responsive to self-changes. Television like much of modern art, then, becomes environment with which we associate everyday reality (eg., the Loeb Student Center at the New York University exhibit, 1968).

As computers of various types have become more familiar to the educated layman during the late fifties and sixties, the whole concept of interrelated systems, cybernetically structured so that changes in one part of the system can initiate a programmed response and change

in another part, has inspired some artists to imitate computers, or actually use them in art projects. Some of the examples which come to mind have already been mentioned, but one or two more will suffice to concretize the point about general environments. Hans Haacke's "Photo-Electric Viewer-Programmed Coordinate System" consists of a grid of infrared light beams and photo-resistor switches which are nearly invisible to the spectator. The light switches control the lights about the spectator, so that the spectator defines his own presence by reading the light grid. A participant's relationship with the room, and his ensuing aesthetic experience are precipitated by his own bodily activities; and no contemplation of or empathizing with an object is necessary (Burnham, J. 1970:109). The basic element behind much of the new interest in cybernetic systems is the desire to understand communication itself better, and the potential aesthetics of its relationship to sensory and conceptual manipulation. Bruce Nauman's oeuvre to date comprises a concerted record of experimentation with a wide variety of bodily activities and actions in relation to manipulated variables in ordinary environments (See Livingston and Tucker 1973).

Nauman's work comprises a kind of ontological investigation systematically exploring human activity. It is arresting in the same sense that a phenomenological investigation of the commonplace can and does reveal such

perceptual and conceptual subtleties that the ordinary is elevated to the extraordinary. Once this cognitive journey is experienced, new dimensions and meanings in the commonplace are revealed, and compared; and arousal and awareness are stimulated. To the Concept artist, this enterprise comprises the core and locus of the artistic enterprise.

## XVI. Concluding Section:

### II. The Dematerialization and Ephemeralization of the Art Object

Another set of characteristics which is notable about the selected aesthetic phenomena of the sixties is the related process of dematerialization of the art product, and/or the ephemeralization of the art object, and therefore of the increased impossibility of the repeated experience of the same stimuli. Although the investigator arrived at these two generalizations through a field approach to the perusal of actual art phenomena, it was found that interested critics offered additional verification of this conclusion in some of their descriptions of art (Rosenberg, H. 1964, 1972; Lippard and Chandler 1968; Lippard 1973; Burnham, J. 1971). Dematerialization and ephemeralization can be considered or understood both in the manner in which they relate to the history of twentieth century art and sociocultural conditions, and also as they relate to the principles isolated by psychological aesthetics.

Duchamp, reacting to his view and observation of the history of Western European art, discussed the limitations of the stimulatory power of the enduring art work. Referring to the "short life of a work of art", he concluded that a painting possesses an aesthetic "smell or emanation" which persists from twenty to thirty years, after which it



dissolves and the work dies. He used his own celebrated painting "Nude Descending a Staircase" as a case in point. Now, he maintained, "the Nude is dead, completely dead". What Duchamp was really underlining was the roughly one generational period which the history of modern art at that time conferred as the reasonable life-span of stylistic fashion as discerned from the history of stylistic variations. By the time of the fifties and sixties, what happened in art showed that not only had this processual change of stylistic continua stepped-up pace considerably, but also that the amount of sheer variation in contemporaneous patterns or styles flourished and increased.

The essentially short-lived work of art, as for example Tinguely's intentionally self-annihilating machine assembled for the garden of the Museum of Modern Art (Tomkins 1968), the whole history of the Happenings movement, most process art, and even some of the objects produced by the Pop artists (such as felt hangings and cloth sculptures), characterize the art product as an event more than an object (Tomkins 1968; Rosenberg, H. 1964:90ff.).

Considered from the standpoint of the history of art, what has been referred to as the dematerialization of the art object in our Western tradition probably has its commencement in the work of the Cubists, who depicted the physical form of the object from several standpoints at

the same time. In the fifties, the portrayal of recognizable objects disappeared entirely from many major canvases. This process was carried further during the sixties, until the art object as such totally disappeared or existed only for a brief time.

The meaning of an artist's work rests in the totality of the experience it engenders while it endures, and insofar as perception is modified by it, and the memory retains traces of it. This idea is directly opposed to the traditional idea of the art object as worthy of consideration in itself; and that once-created it is independent of its human circumstances. Gilson, the philosopher and metaphysician, epitomizes this classical point of view when he writes of art as "in keeping with the physical mode of existence that belongs to painting...and the mode of spatiality (which) will uphold the values of stability and permanence" (Gibson 1966:1-38). The painting as object (culminating in Gilson's idea that the still life is the supreme object in painting, for in it nothing gesticulates but simply is) is opposed by artists who favor psychic interaction between the artist and the spectator (Rosenberg, H. 1966:92-94).

The artist as selector, as performer instead of creator of objects, is the prototype of this new trend. A movement to include the ephemeral in the category of 'visual Fine Art' during the sixties seems to reflect a

general change with respect to three main facets of man's relationship to his environment. Firstly, man's relationship to the environment of objects is clearly undergoing reevaluation. As a variation on the usual theme of modern man, which is to manufacture and surround himself with objects which are eidetic in form and function, and which after use are discarded and immediately replaced by others, the artist created or structured an environment, event, or an object calculated briefly to comprise a part of the environment and experience; it would then vanish, destruct, disappear without replacement, or remain recorded through documentation of some kind. It seems that one of the artful acts today is to occasion some phenomenon which does not leave garbage, pollution, or stultify the senses with its omnipresent twin. Secondly, the appearance of ephemeral art in a serious vein alters man's usual manner of perceiving or considering his aesthetic environment; in short, it intensifies one aspect of his world of perception. Cultural conditioning has influenced American observers to perceive and structure the potentially aesthetic environment in a certain way: in museums, in galleries, or on wall or plinths, and in non-utilitarian contexts with the hallowed aura partaking of enduring, formally derived aesthetic forms and colors. Ephemeral art often appears on streets, on the beaches, in the U.S. mails, by telephone, in anyone's home or apartment, and perhaps only

occasionally in galleries or museums.

This art is not made merely to be looked at. It may be something to listen to, interact with, smell, touch, roll around on, surround oneself with, write a letter to, read, and so on. The multi-media aspects of this way of doing art exercised all of the senses oftentimes, not exclusively that of vision.

Thirdly, the very nature of ephemeral art poses a question about the basic premise of a certain value; that is, of creating non-utilitarian objects of permanence, uniqueness, and as enduring artifacts embodying "universal aesthetic values". These latter ideas represent standards more appropriate to a world which created fewer objects, and which patronized a small taste-making elitist group which supported and consumed the total "art" market. With the world of mass production today, the artist finds some of these techniques inappropriate as the total definition and goal of art. Taking the high rate of cultural change and stylistic obsolescence into consideration, one recognizes that symbolic imagery is transient. The artist replaces the scramble to produce a series of expendable icons with a momentary balance of forms and perceptions, whose essence is to present themselves to experience only for a brief time.

In art, transience or the successive replacement of styles, concepts, systems, and finally of works themselves,

seems to be the order of the sixties. This pattern seems to be related to the more general cultural pattern of system change and replacement; this means that even in the Fine Arts, the old forms of elitism and permanence are dysfunctional in some important ways. (McHale 1959, 1969a, 1969b; Toffler 1970).

The aesthetics of impermanence stresses the approach that the work of art and its appraisal and appreciation represent an interval in the life of both the artist and the spectator. Art works which incorporated everyday objects from the material culture, as did Rauschenberg's combines and Jim Dine's 3D paintings of tools with their appendages of real tools, make these works subject to the laws of decomposition and ageing on the same time continuum as any object from our daily life.

Art objects which deteriorated more or less visibly represent one reaction on the part of the artist to the history of academic Western aesthetics, which has traditionally insisted on formalistic visual styles and highly valued aesthetic objects, which are individually created to endure and further perpetuate stylistic criteria. The art object was in part valued because it was considered as a non-utilitarian object, set aside, controlled, and exchanged or traded in and among a circle of interested elitist personnel.

The Pop artists began to make their art not only

stylistically characteristic of the material culture of our increasingly commodity oriented industrialized environment, but they imitated and took over some of the same mechanical technology in their production techniques as we have seen.

The two patterns of divergence from the permanent aesthetic art object take roughly the two paths of considering art as concept and art as action (Lippard and Chandler 1968:155-156). The art-as-concept direction has been adequately documented before with examples. The art-as-action pattern merges visual art with other traditional arts of drama, music, and dance; and it uses intermedia freely. From the "Happenings" movement, to many of the ecological and body art projects, as well as including other manifestations which have been described in Chapter XII of this study, the previous art of the studio became the art of the performance (i.e., Avalanche, Fall 1972 (No. 6). As artists sought not only to overcome the art-life dichotomy in the reflection of their selected subject matter, techniques, or content, they overcame the strong formal aesthetic criteria supporting permanence, and which structured the syntax of the visually static. Artists accomplished this by merging art forms which dealt specifically with actions, sounds, events, and life; that is with drama and modern dance. In many instances, the synaesthetic elements of the newer art forms merged with

the non-art surroundings in such a genuine way as to be purposely confusing to the spectator. Just as the artist had in part taken on the role of performer, the spectator could no longer remain aloof, but sometimes became an actual participant.

While interviewing artists, three of them remarked that it would be a great help to them to be like an anthropologist, inasmuch as they felt their attitude toward their own culture would then not be that of a blind participant or a vehicle for traditional goal-oriented reactions, but more like that of the participant-observer, who could, theoretically, isolate patterns of behavior and values objectively. Their implicit reason for this desired approach is that they wish to be didactic, though not so much by percept as by example. Learning, they concluded, is less efficient if it is not grounded in active and shared experience. To accomplish this objective the artists must be the markers of "anti-environments", (in McLuhan's terms 1968:126), which permit one to perceive the actual environment, and thus make transformation possible.

The Pop artist's frequent use of serial imagery as parody, not only made explicit the actual degree of serial repetition and sameness of the content and structure of our physical and Admass environment, but it represented a movement toward a new relationship to time. That is, the

time involved in the perception of images projected through time and space, were manipulated experimentally by extension, compression, or reversal. The perception of created images each slightly different, as in serial imagery, is a natural process concomitant with the technology of a media-permeated generation, to whom film and television have become a familiar mode of exercising perception and attention. Lippard and Chandler pointed out (1968) that a visual series is also an appropriate vehicle for an ultra-conceptual art, since thinking or ratiocination partakes of discovering the fixed relationships, ratios, and proportions between things in time as well as merely in space (ibid., 1968:257).

With the deliberate introduction of ephemerality into a culturally patterned situation previously defined by permanence, the senses are assailed by and attuned to the ambiguities implicit in socially defined patterns of expectations. The grammar and syntax of past experience are deliberately destroyed, so that predictions are partially obviated; curiosity and heightened awareness are greatly incited, structuring exploratory behavior again at the sensory, motivational, and cognitive levels.

To insure that the aesthetic experience is not a mere repetition of sensory stimuli embedded in the context of high or total predictability, requiring nothing but subsequent assent or affirmation upon recognition, temporal



relationships and stimulatory visual or sensory properties are altered. Changes into blatant ephemerality are often invoked to help accent this ambiguity.

In doing research for this study, it was noted that the creation and disposition of art objects as they are accomplished in the modern world, comprises an exception to many more traditional patterns of artists' roles and the dissemination of their works, either through history or in most of the non-industrial societies even today. It became apparent that during much of human history, the majority of art objects or phenomena were produced by part-time specialists, by curers or priests as a portion of their duties; or by anyone who was somehow involved in the specific occasion for which the object was to be created (i.e., through ties of kinship, politics, and so forth).

"The Balinese say: 'We have no art - we do everything as well as possible.' ...In a preliterate society art serves as a means of merging the individual and the environment, not as a means of training perception upon the environment. Archaic or primitive art looks to us like a magical control built into the environment. Thus to put the artifacts from such a culture into a museum or anti-environment is an act of nullification.... Today what is called 'Pop art' is the use of some object in our own daily environment as if it were anti-environment (McLuhan 1968:124).

Furthermore, a varying percentage or proportion of the traditional aesthetic production is accomplished through ephemeral forms which are created to last for brief periods

of time. In order to understand this phenomenon better, inasmuch as ephemerality suddenly appeared as a significant characteristic of American art in the sixties, questionnaires were sent to anthropologists who had field experience in various areas of the world unfamiliar to the author, eliciting additional information or data on ephemeral art and its context. Ethnographies and travel accounts were also consulted to garner additional examples. By "ephemeral art" the following is designated: by "ephemeral" is meant those visual objects or phenomena which are created or assembled with the conscious knowledge that they will be destroyed, dismantled, and/or permitted to decompose or perish within hours, days, or at the most within about a two month period of time. By "art", in this context, would be included visual arts or phenomena made or assembled in such a manner that they consciously incorporate non-utilitarian, decorative, and/or some other characteristic apparently considered to be aesthetically rewarding to the perception of the members of the culture in which these objects are made.<sup>30</sup>

Of the eighty examples of ephemeral art garnered from a wide variety of places and cultures (this is not a conclusive but a genuinely representative sample), all but a few were connected to the performance of some ritual. The majority of these rituals were religious or sacred in nature, even when much of the celebration or ancillary

events surrounding them admitted of some degree of secularization; as for example does Christmas in our culture. On occasions, ephemeral art phenomena are connected with purely secular celebrations such as fireworks displays on the Fourth of July, floats and decorated structures to celebrate Homecomings, such elaborate processions as the Rose Bowl Parade, and ice sculptures for winter carnivals or Escoffier dinner tables.

In a few instances, ephemeral art is utilized in order to enhance some object or complex of objects to render them more desirable to the spectator or buyer, and thus to insure greater profits for the seller. Examples of this type can be seen in the flower decorated boats of Xochimilco in Mexico whose owners vie to take tourists and Mexicans for outings; or the use of elaborate window and store decorations and displays; or the street drawings in colored chalk done by art students in London or Paris to elicit money from admiring passers-by.

The elaborate scarecrows constructed by farmers and gardeners, especially in the Northeastern part of the United States and of Europe, often warrant aesthetic appreciation due to the workmanship and imagination they embody; yet, they are meant to function primarily as scarecrows, and thus have a utilitarian and economic basic purpose.

Many cultures, most notably those in Asia, expend great effort to present their cuisine in an aesthetically

pleasing fashion, often involving the sculpting of fruit, vegetables, and the use of leaves, herbs, and flowers for garnishing. Cuisine is obviously ephemeral, and lasts only until the hungry patron demolishes it.

Play is another non-ritual category of activities (even though some play invokes ritualistic aspects), instances of which on occasion involve the creation of ephemeral art. A few examples which can be mentioned are: the making of special snowmen; kites, sand castles at the beach; and occasionally the creation of miniature buildings, alters, and so forth by both children and adults. These objects are only to be considered as "ephemeral art" when they surpass the ordinary, and represent a considerable expenditure of imagination and skill.

Aside from these examples, the remainder of the references to ephemeral art gathered in this cursory survey were all related to ritual occasions, and include the elaboration of the setting and/or the ritual implements themselves used for the special rite. In order better to understand the function or systemic correlates for the appearance of ephemeral art during the decade of the sixties, we shall first turn to a consideration of the contexts of visual aesthetic ephemera in general, and as we have ascertained they occur transculturally.<sup>31</sup>

In the structure of ritual, a notable characteristic is the occurrence of repetition and stereotype within the

ritual; this pattern is further repeated inasmuch as rituals usually reoccur so that their over-all structure is also characterized by repetition. It might be useful to consider the interrelationship of ephemeral art and the context of ritual as a background to a consideration of ephemeral art today in its social context, inasmuch as the latter art also sometimes assumes some of the characteristics of ritual.

Many elements in rites which have been called repetitious are in fact related to the circumstances of staging the ritual. The established place and time in which a ritual occurs are culturally fixed and highly predictable. The use of repetitious physical movement or well-known songs, dances, chants, themes, or other dramatic elements, help to restrict potential distractions from other perceptual fields, so that orientation and concentration on the ritual complex is more firmly established.

The social roles linked to the participation in rituals are usually defined into recognizable 'packages' of behaviors. The failure in the performance of significant portions of these behaviors, usually designates the failure of the ritual. The problem of unpredictability with respect to most aspects of rituals is usually remote, inasmuch as examples or role models of ritual behaviors are frequently conspicuous in societies; they are important

(i.e., positively valued) as they exemplify concretely the value of the culture.

The behavior involved in rituals has a functional or purposive characteristic. The presence of aesthetic ephemera during rituals, oftentimes marked by some degree of originality, attests to their creation with attention to some quality of interest, or pleasingness, or of the elaboration of non-functional stylistic elements. This 'aesthetic status' raises the question as to the overall purpose of their presence in the complex of any ritual.

There are many variables, both psychological and social in nature, which might be cited to explain the frequent presence of ephemeral art in rituals. It seems important to consider what reasons may structure specifically the ephemerality of such phenomena. Why is it that these items are not simply constructed to endure through several usages? It is true that ephemera may in some instances be directly related to the economic or technological characteristics of the culture. For example, nomadism, very severe climatic extremes, or primitivism may limit the great availability or variety of raw materials which endure, or render the presence of increased baggage an impediment. Yet these ecological strictures are infrequent; and due to the widespread presence of ephemeral art in societies of many levels of complexity and location, it seems justifiable to assume that these

ephemera also relate to psychobiological bases, and to the interrelationship of perception with cognition and motivation in the human organism.

Oftentimes when the implements or images used in rituals are not essentially ephemeral, they are relegated to a large category of permanent objects whose appearance or perceptual availability is ephemeral, or limited to special occasions. The masks and costumes of the lama dancers in sacred chams, the hiding of kachinas in kivas, the controlled appearances of the gods on the Northwest coast of America, the occasional parading of specially decorated images in Latin American processions are examples of such a category.

Many anthropologists have "explained" this pattern by saying that the holiness or sacred quality of these ritual objects required hiding. This idea does not, however, explain why sacred objects should remain hidden, or why some are never hidden; it only describes the phenomena involved. The reasons why sacred or important objects appear to gain more power by their intermittent presence and concealment are related also to general psychobiological principles, since this pattern occurs transculturally.

The psychological concomitants of important ephemeral appearances are related to perception, memory, and the collative principles of surprise, interest, complexity, and novelty. The effectiveness and the arousal level of

interest attained is directly related to the appearance of ephemera which are sufficiently interesting, or full enough of "information" to stimulate adequate response. The ephemeral nature of these objects helps proclaim the ritual situation to be something extraordinary. This special status is often enhanced by the non-utilitarian or symbolic conspicuous consumption of goods actually commonly used in the economy. Such substances are incorporated as media for the ephemeral art object, implements, or offerings. Examples of such goods are: butter, money, grain, precious metals, feathers, meat, paper, fruit, and so forth.

Inasmuch as this aspect of the ritual is frequently open to the general public of the community, the actual manufacture of the ephemeral art phenomena is a focus of planning, attention and shared interests and activities. Such related activities often comprise the principal contribution to the ritual for non-officiating personnel. The results of the survey indicate that in most cases the manufacture of the aesthetic ephemera is carried out by non-professional, or by part-time professionals. There are only occasional strictures, (eg., sexual or dietary) to suggest an attributed special status to the task, but only in a few cases is the manufacture of these items restricted to full-time specialists or artists.

The brief survey suggests that those who make the



aesthetic ephemera are more often representative of the community or group of celebrants served by the ritual, and are selected or designated on the basis of custom, personal or familial implication in the ritual, or simply by volunteering.

More often than not, the media and materials involved in the creation of these ephemeral art objects or phenomena are of no great or intrinsic value. They are often merely items selected from the natural environment, or from commonplace objects or resources, somehow elaborated or decorated with non-functional stylistic elements. Bread pulverized minerals, flowers, sand, mud, feathers, bits of plastic, plant fibers and plant stalks, wood, stones, flour, various pigments, bottle caps, and similar found trivia, colored string, straw, and a wide variety of fruit and vegetable parts, all of these and others not detailed comprise a large portion of the materials of all these ephemeral items. The use of naturally occurring or contrived ice, air, fire, or water is sometimes incorporated into the objects themselves, or into their manipulation or destruction.

Aside from the more obvious social aspects of the use of ephemeral art within ritual, the psychological importance of their presence is complex but basic. Ephemera offer a decided relief from or contrast to the stereotype and repetition of many elements of the ritual. Their

visual aesthetic qualities, consistent with the sensibilities and taste of the culture whose values they express, perform some of the same functions as do other less ephemeral aesthetic phenomena trans-culturally.

At the most general level, rituals can be seen to serve as organized communication devices or techniques, the performance of which is calculated to arouse in the participant a certain psychobiological receptiveness to engage in a specific complex of motivational or cognitive patterns and/or overt behaviors.

Anthropologists have consistently described ritual behavior as being stereotyped. Depending upon the nature of the individual rite, each ritual comprises a particular sequence of events, the signaling of which progresses in a specified order and without much deviation. By saying that rituals are stereotypic, one can differentiate them from other activities (such as play), in which repetition may also occur, but often without knowing the character of their outcome. On the other hand, rituals differ from stereotyped physical labor or work processes which are highly predictable, inasmuch as the primary function of the former is to communicate, and not to manipulate materials to some immediate utilitarian end (Wallace 1966:234). Rituals, as important communications, prepare the human organism to act by mobilizing resources and motivations through the reduction of anxiety and the

focussing of attention. These rites can be solitary or social in character and implication.

It is likely that the stereotype noted so often as characteristic of ritual functions is meant to lower anxiety. This is facilitated through an increase in predictability and familiarity, as well as through the complex interaction of the psychobiological patterns involved in habituation. A message can be meaningless either because its information value is too high (because its signals and components are too arbitrary), or because the receiver is unable to respond to it. At the level of ritual meaningfulness (i.e., its degree of effectiveness in eliciting the desired response), it is not necessary to maintain that the meaning is learned or conscious; or even that language is necessarily involved at all, although it usually is.

At the semantic level of meaning, the receiver of signals can or does translate them into a set of equivalent other signals; from this set of alternative signals one is able to infer back to the properties of the class of events referred to in the original signal. Those inferred relationships can be extended then to other classes of events by reasoning.

The signals or sequencing of a ritual may signal an extremely complex conjunction of conscious and unconscious symbols and meanings, therefore, which are multiple rather

than singular. The stereotype of the ritual reduces the level of complexity and disorder, and enlarges the degree of confidence felt by the participant. Since rituals are calculated to restructure experience, they involve some kind of learning or reaffirmation of previous learning. The kind and amount of learning depends on the characteristic purpose of the ritual. That is, whether it is a one time occurrence in the life of an individual, as in the case of certain rites of passage; or whether the learning is in fact a 'relearning', as it is in communal or calendrically repeated occasions.

The characteristics of ritual learning must be similar to those of any learning process, yet have their distinct aspects inasmuch as ritual is also disassociated from daily life and patterns. The cues which mark the rituals as non-ordinary are structured in such a way that the attention and perception of the celebrant is channeled away from irrelevant stimuli. The techniques ritually used to accomplish the structuring of perception in general are varied and include : sensory deprivation by physical isolation and/or distracting noises; the use of drugs which interfere with the reception of previously meaningful stimuli; the imposition of physical stress to restrict attention; the juxtapositioning of unusual physical or social contexts; the use of repetitive and/or monotonous stimuli; or a combination of these (Wallace 1966:240).

The purpose of this sensory limitation and channeling of attention and perception is to facilitate structured learning, at a time when a state of awareness combined with suggestibility is achieved. In this way, the cognitive material or message of the ritual is more easily received and synthesized by the participant or observer. The quality and structuring of the stimuli or cues is offered as part of the ritual package in order to maintain motivation at a high level. After the completion of the ritual, the celebrant is expected to act in accordance with the new cognitive orientation attained in the rite; or with a newly restructured affective structure reinforced through the ritual, as in the case of rites of intensification.

During the sixties in the United States, it has been observed a high degree of change marked the society, including geographical mobility and a proliferation of roles and status changes. Shifts in the roles and statuses of individuals involved in the art establishment occurred also, and this change occasioned an elaboration of new or revived ritualistic approaches to relationships and business practices. The relationship of the gallery and dealer to the public and private collector became institutionalized in a new way. The opening of new exhibits in galleries and museums, replete with the ubiquitous champagne punch and hors d'oeuvres, became one of the "in" category of

events to attend. The emphasis was on seeing and being seen in "the scene"; to be costumed in the latest of expressive garb, and to circulate among the invited guests, attending to the art in a secondary fashion if at all. Pre-opening cocktails were even more exclusive, and tokened the mark of the real initiate and of the inner circle of collectors or patrons. The structuring of the interaction rituals of openings and their related activities, were calculated to inform and motivate potential collectors and/or donors (in the case of museums) toward a specific way of relating both to aesthetic objects and to the art establishment world.

The society columns of metropolitan newspapers found these events newsworthy enough to announce the comings and goings of artists; they noted what they wore, and to whom they talked at social gatherings. Although this is impressionistic, it seems likely from observation that the vocabulary and topics open for discussion on these occasions were highly predictable and carefully patterned. In a similar way, museum shows were preceded sometimes by two sets of preopening events, serving specific groups according to their values as supporting members of the institution. Other examples of these rites of internification could be given.

Of greater interest for our study is the fact that especially during the last half of the sixties, the actual

form and content of art qua art, or of aesthetic phenomena selected or structured by the artist himself, often usurped some of the characteristics of true rituals.

There are minimally two types of mobility which are present in all cultures, and much of ritual is articulated toward facilitating their successful completion. These two types of mobility are: role changes and/or geographical movement (Wallace 1966:127). In both instances of change, those who are experiencing the mobility must adjust to the abandonment of attachments, habitual relationships, and familiar ways of doing things. That is, they must learn a new way, and become accustomed to a new set of predictive hypotheses to guide their decisions and behavior. The fifties and sixties in the United States abounded in a proliferation of both kinds of mobility; and both individuals and groups reacted by structuring new rites of passage to facilitate these role and geographical changes. Van Gennep long ago pointed out that rites of passage always minimally involved three states: the separation from the old group, area, and/or relationships; a transition state; and the incorporation into a new group and/or relationships (Van Gennep 1960).

While this is not a study on the elaboration of new rites to deal with the unique social transitions necessitated by an industrialized urbanized technocracy, the number and nature of previous rites of passage were

inadequate to facilitate a mobility-propelled society with its coterie of new roles and statuses, plus a new consciousness of age-grades, each with its sub-culture and so forth. The awareness of the need for change is relevant to our discussion of the fashioning of different criteria and new expressions.

To help restore a sense of community and affective relationships in the face of increasing mobility and general sociocultural change, new ways of relating were developed to enhance a positive awareness of the general values shared or structured across different communities. These new ways of structuring learning and of creating affect include a wide range of newly institutionalized programs ranging from the modernized neighborhood "Welcome Wagon", to computerized dating and social pairing techniques. The need for what has traditionally been called "rites of intensification" can be discerned in many of these newly founded procedures.

In the face of motivational frustration, when mobility could not be directed or controlled, whole segments of the population vented their collective frustration against the hypertrophied maintenance of dysfunctional systems and values. What we know of the psychological effect of too much redundancy, however, should focus our attention and curiosity on the problems attendant upon the too prevalent repetition of known symbolic elements. The inevitable



result of total predictability is a lowering of attention and motivation, of awareness and involvement. This lessening of information entails the general increase of disinterest in rituals which have become "empty" of affect in their inability to recreate arousal. For this reason, as well as for others which deal with complex involvements of endocrinal and muscular cybernetic systems, the introduction of new, changed, or surprising aspects into the structure of a ritual, help to incite interest, perceptual awareness, and keep the level of information (in the communication sense) high.<sup>32</sup>

In this study, since we are dealing primarily with the visual components of experience, we shall not pursue what these hypotheses might mean in terms of the accompaniments of ritual (such as chants or music), or proxemics, or kinesics. Instead, we might consider the visual aspects of some of the objects or paraphernalia which accompany ritual procedures, especially as these are of interest aesthetically.

When we translate our previous statements concerning the importance of maintaining a careful balance in ritual between elements of information with those of redundancy to the sphere of the purely visual components of the rite, we might be approaching yet another way of talking about the widespread phenomena previously designated as "ephemeral art".

Our attention is again focuses on a possible and partial explanation of the consistent presence of ephemeral art in ritual situations. If, as previously stated, rituals can be seen to serve as organized communication techniques or media, the performance of which are calculated to arouse in the participant a heightened state of psychobiological receptiveness to engage in a specified complex of motivational or cognitive patterns or behaviors, the question as to what function is fulfilled by the specific use of ephemeral art is more exactly framed.

When considered in the theoretical framework of the psychobiological arousal levels stimulated in the presence and manipulation of the collative variables, as previously defined, a more complete view of the significance of aesthetic ephemera is possible. Ephemeral art phenomena are in part responsible for activating and focusing attention on the circumscribed stimuli specifically relevant to the ritual situation. They help to maintain the psychic insulation against irrelevant stimuli which might detract from the accomplishment of the desired reduction of both variability in action and anxiety, and the concomitant arousal of motivated awareness which expedites learning. Such phenomenal variables as interest, surprise, complexity, and novelty in the perceptual field of stimuli presented by the ephemeral art objects, help exclude from conscious awareness the environmental cues associated with

miscellaneous previous learning. Their presence operates as organizing cues, immediately relevant to the elements to be cognitively-affectively organized in learning (Wallace 1966:240).

Apart from their collative characteristics, the sheer fact of ephemerality is important. Were these objects or phenomena continually present in their form as aesthetic configurations, much of the force of their stimulatory power (as evinced through the collative variables) would be vitiated. Oftentimes ritual objects which are not ephemeral in nature, but which are aesthetically masterful in their formation, are sequestered from public view between periods of use. Examples such as: the masks and costumes of Chams or lama dances, many African and some New Guinea materials, the whole coterie of economically valuable images, special paintings, icons, and trappings of many organized religions, can be mentioned.

The importance of novelty and the alternative loss in the stimulatory effectiveness of a perceptual field which is always or usually present, helps to explain why the use of ephemeral art objects and phenomena is especially affective.

Many of the aesthetic objects and phenomena produced or manufactured in diverse societies of various levels of sociocultural complexity are in fact ephemeral in nature. We have remarked before on the unusual aspect of our

cultural history, in which the category "art" has been reserved almost exclusively to designate objects which have been created by hand to endure, and to be unique in their morphology. Across both diverse cultures and levels of complexity in social organization, impulses to create aesthetic visual expressions have been carried out as a part-time occupation (in a yet undetermined percentage of societies and by non-specialists or semi-specialists). Their creation served such specific purposes as: the decoration of materials or furnishings for the residence; the aesthetic or additional decorative elements on tools, containers, or garments; and to elaborate such status markers as jewelry, or emblematic regalia. It is also clear from the previous preliminary cross-cultural analysis of the contexts in which ephemeral art most often occurs, that these aesthetic creations are meant to be used or associated with rituals which occasion the interactional link between the individual (who may or may not have created these objects) and the spectator-celebrant.

What has been learned or isolated for attention in this detour involving the survey of some of the conditioning variables and contexts of ephemeral art phenomena on a transcultural and general basis, is calculated to furnish some framework for understanding the effectiveness and purpose of their sudden presence in the category of "art" in the United States during the sixties. Due in part to

its psychobiological bases, dematerialized or ephemeral art objects and phenomena offered the opportunity for an aesthetic exercise of experience, as well as an antidote to both the increasingly effete stylistic obscurities of recent non-objective art, and further to the omnipresent sameness of an increasingly commodity-filled and repetitious physical environment. On the social level, such art appeared to offer the alternative of escaping the more oppressive aspects of the dealer-collector-critic art establishment which perpetuated the separation of aesthetic objects both from daily life and from general availability and appreciation.

The fact that a portion of the dematerialized or ephemeral art phenomena of the sixties - especially those within the Conceptual movement - also display some of the characteristics of rituals is therefore consistent with their didactic purposes. They are calculated to expedite a cognitive-affective learning process, catalyzed by a heightening in the general awareness of the physical and social environment. In their relationship to a media-jaundiced population is explained their frequent employment of dematerialized art projects or of 'aesthetic ephemera' in semi-ritual contexts.

## XVII. Final Section:

### III. Art and Language, or Linguistic Infrastructure

One of the dominant characteristics of the recent changes in the visual arts, is that art has been placed more substantially within a linguistic infrastructure, which was previously used by poets, art critics, and art historians. These linguistic elaborations surrounding much of recent art extend both to the documentation of the conditions under which objects are perceived (i.e., as in books and periodicals), and to some of the processes themselves by which aesthetic status is attributed to experience and objects. In this manner, aesthetic systems are being designed, which can - if desired - generate objects or external phenomena, rather than the previous condition in which the artist concentrated his creative energies upon the production of an art object itself.

During the entirety of the modern period in art, painters and sculptors have been engaged in the increasing elimination of the object or of subject matter from their works, in order that there might be a more direct relationship between the response of the eye and the optical data. Signs, symbols, and verbal correlatives were eliminated from much of visual art, culminating in the works of the Abstract Expressionists during the fifties and the early sixties. The explanatory and critical apparatus which accompanied the appearance of these stylistic developments

grew, and became more abstruse and complex as the art became more abstract and expressionistic. It became of primary importance that the conceptual or intellectual framework in which these art objects were presented be sustained, either in museums and galleries (through catalogues and the explanations of dealers), or in periodicals and books. As art objects came increasingly to resemble the materials or the images of everyday life, as in Minimal art, the verbal debate which placed these phenomena in the tradition of art history helped to sustain the taboo against totally assimilating these objects into the everyday world. If this had occurred, the art establishment would have suffered a severe blow and partial collapse, because of the elimination of the middle-man functions and economic exchange patterns.

As some of the artists worked to subvert aspects of the traditional pattern of art, and chose to do so by reacting against the production of art objects at all, they carried to the logical extreme one element of the tendency toward more linguistic elaboration as an aura around art, until the very material or media of their 'art' creations explicitly assumed the form of language (Rosenberg, H. 1973: 153-155). It appeared as if the artists assumed that much of the state of 'arthood' had been conferred on the Abstract Expressionists by the verbal magic of the critics and historians; therefore, they sought to short-circuit this

process, by conferring the status of 'arthood' directly on the linguistic enterprise itself, since the essential quality of both procedures is conceptualization. Much of what has happened in the history of recent art is better understood as a series of reactions to art and of artists questioning their own tradition; the rapidity and logically direct way in which much of this development occurred must be placed in the framework of sociocultural factors to be understood, inasmuch as our collative variables have less importance in this respect.

Duchamp mentioned, as did Ad Reinhardt later, that the spectator who reacts today to the "Nude Descending the Staircase" with great excitement, is in fact stimulated by the thing he has learned" (eg., the history of art), rather than by the object itself. There is clearly, then, a distinction between art history and the aesthetic experience.

The whole movement toward art as event diminishes the importance of inherent spatiality and morphological configuration, and emphasizes the aspect of arts function in a given human environment. In terms of what it does, "the chief attribute of a work of art in our century is not stillness, but circulation" (Rosenberg, H. 1966:93).

In its circulation and event-like structure, art becomes history rapidly; it is kept "alive" only through its influence in art books, journals, and periodicals,



exhibition catalogues, films, TV and university lectures, and the treatises of art critics and historians. The linguistic references place the visual art phenomena into more intellectual or conceptual linkages through language. Harold Rosenberg, a critic and art and culture historian has been concerned with this shift, and has commented:

"...art has become part of 'language', it is a writing of sorts; and there is a growing difficulty in detaching the work from meanings of a literary and theoretical order....art has become a question to itself. The interrogation of paintings by painters which has been the major force of creation in our epoch has brought forth a succession of enigmas - and this too has served to enlarge the roles of the art book....The liberation from 'literary subject matter' boasted of by modern painting and sculpture has been accomplished by their transformation into literature....As the painting is swallowed up in interpretations of it, the disparity between its physical reality and its published image vanishes, or as we have indicated, the advantage comes to lie with the latter....By extending its influences beyond the material environment of the work, that is by setting itself afloat as 'culture', art has succeeded in achieving value with a public unable to prize it as a possession" (Rosenberg, H. 1966: 199-201).

All of these aspects bear witness to the changed relationship between art and society; and this in turn structured the characteristics and stylistic discontinua of art itself. With the Pop artists, the visual components and the linguistic components are structurally interrelated through cross-sensory fields of stimulation characterized by parody, metaphor, and sometimes satire - themselves literary or language related devices. This semantico-visual component linked with recognizable objects or phenomena has

historical precedents in the Dada and Surrealist movements, when both poets and artists crossed the traditional creative boundaries of their 'fields', and used the technical tools and media of the other. A perusal of The Dada Painters and Poets (Motherwell 1951), which is comprised of texts and examples of Dada, documents concretely this merging of visual arts with literature and the other. Textual became 'textural', as in the case of concrete poetry, then, as well as in the sixties (Williams 1967a, 1967b).

The Pop artists deliberately manipulated the semiotic aspects of signs and symbols, achieving surprise and novelty through the complexity of physical stimuli excited by juxtaposing old meanings and associations within a new syntax of unprecedented size, situation, and meanings. The actual use of words or language especially by Dine, Oldenburg, Rivers, Johns, Indiana, and Rauschenberg added a conceptual element to the visual component. Ed Ruscha has most strongly developed the conceptual aspects of language and image, and has published a series of 'books' with a heavily conceptual component (Ruscha in Meyer 1972: 206-209). The ideational element compounded the impact of the collative variables, inasmuch as the implicit ambiguity and incongruity of juxtaposed icons and words excites exploratory aspects within the response pattern.

Within the Conceptual art movement, even more of conventional semiotics is discarded; and in such groups as

the 'Art-Language' artists, conceptual or linguistic relationships are explored. Kosuth, a spokesman-artist for the Art-Language group, has noted that "art-lives" not by existing as the physical residue of an artist's ideas, but through influencing other art and consciousness. Here again, the emphasis moves from having to knowing and experiencing.

With reference to modern artists, John Cage comments, "We are getting rid of ownership, substituting use". From interview information, it appears that artists' new attitudes toward the materials of art are shaped by the attitudes toward materiality in general in their culture. The interactability of materials generated by modern technocracies, and the high rate of turnover characteristic of ownership patterns, has begun to pose problems in the society, ranging from sociopolitical questions about the legitimacy of elitest consumption patterns, to problems in the logistics of disposal of the sheer waste of the relics of consumption. Why add another object to a world too full of objects? A quotation from Lawrence Weiner, a Concept artist, garnered from a conversation with critic Ursula Meyer serves to epitomize this viewpoint on behalf of the artists:

"Industrial and socioeconomic machinery pollutes the environment and the day the artist feels obligated to muck it up further art should cease being made. If you can't make art without making a permanent imprint on the physical aspects of the world, then maybe art is not worth making.

In this sense, any permanent damage to ecological factors...only necessary for the illustration of an art concept, is a crime against humanity....I personally am more interested in the idea of the material than in the material itself. Art that imposes conditions - human or otherwise - on the receiver for its appreciation in my eyes constitute aesthetic fascism" (Weiner in Meyer 1972:217-218).

Attitudes toward art are still shaped principally by and are consistent with the laws of conspicuous consumption and thus with the high evaluation of aesthetically accepted objects which perdure. The Pop artists offered a cool objective parody of the laws of conspicuous consumption, commenting on various aspects of the advertising mystique as a way of life; but their work was handled and achieved notoriety within and partly because of this same system.

The Conceptual artists are more rejective toward these patterns, or a least try to remain so. While remaining aloof from the art-object production line, they try to appeal to the cognitive-affective-motivational inter-relationship by structuring stimuli (often linguistic implicitly if not explicitly) which engage the spectator as participant in the art 'enterprise', not only as an observer. In this way, situations are generated which by their nature present to the observer structured perceptual fields which stimulate sensory experience which is situationally and phenomenologically complex. That is, the art object has been replaced by a "package", often posed as a problem or incongruity of some kind, so that

exploratory behavior is a requisite to 'having' or experiencing the art work. Oftentimes this is achieved entirely through documentation and linguistic elaboration, relating the act of imagining to the context of cognition and ideation. These artists seemed to have tapped the integral relationship between cognition and language. Some statements by the artists themselves might offer the best evidence through which to understand some of the more hermetic linguistic aspects of Conceptual art.

"...Then I made paintings which incorporated as part of their design the wall on which they hung. I finally gave up painting for the wire installations....Color became arbitrary.... Eventually the wire became so thin it was virtually invisible, or at least not perceivable in the traditional way. It was at this point that I discarded the idea that art is necessarily something to look at....I'm not only questioning the limits of our perception but the actual nature of perception....By just being in this show, I'm making known the existence of the work. I'm presenting these things in an artistic situation, using the space and the catalogue (Robert Barry in Rose, A. 1973:141-142).

Douglas Huebler answered the following to a question of how does his work "enter the mind":

"Through a system of documentation which includes the use of maps, drawings, photographs, and descriptive language....What I want is to use the documents to create a condition of absolute coexistence between 'image' and 'language'. For example, the 'image' of my New York Variable Piece # 1 is a description of space made from the location of 'points' that are either static or move vertically and horizontally in a random disposition. There is no possible way in which this piece can be experienced perceptually. It can be totally experienced through its documentation. (Huebler in Rose, A. Ibid.:143).

Joseph Kosuth, who now sub titles his works "Art as Idea as Idea" defines his approach as the following:

"I began to realize that the sensitive and intelligent people in my environment had experiences with nonart portions of their visual world that were of such quality and consistency that the demarcation of similar experiences as art would make no appreciable difference....It was the feeling I had about the gap between materials and ideas that let me to present a series of photostats of the dictionary definition of water. I was interested in just presenting the idea of water.... The words in the definition supplied the art information; just as the shape and color of a work could be considered its art information... Inherent in the artist's intentions are his ideas, and the new art is dependent upon language not much less than the philosophy of Science". (Kosuth in Rose, A. Ibid.:144-147).

Such mile-stone exhibits in New York as the "Software" and the "Information" shows, illustrate this movement of art as merging with aural and visual linguistic aspects. In a sense, modern art revolutionized itself out of the realm of objectivity. The highly developed dedication to the ideal of change and 'progress' characteristic of this culture at the social level, and the psychological patterns which structure perceptual and cognitive excitation and engage interest, both mitigate against the overall conservation of old forms and stylistic criteria. A quotation from Lévi-Strauss pertains to this aspect of our subject:

"...we have reached a sort of impasse and realize that we are tired of listening to the kind of music we have always listened to, looking at the kind of painting we are used to looking at every day and of reading books written according to the patterns we are familiar with....at the present time, when people are trying deliberately and

systematically to invent new forms, and that in my view is precisely the sign of a state of crisis" (Lévi-Strauss quoted in Charbonnier 1969:80-81).

Whether or not art is isomorphic or identical with communication, it is a form or communication to the extent that the degree of "shared-ness" or the ground for understanding received messages is basic to the perpetuation of the code or style. If fewer receivers are capable of participating in the semiotic aspects of art as visual phenomena, the code, content, and semiotic structure necessarily changes.

The "aesthetic bundle" comprised of stimuli received from a perceptual field, and their synthesis somewhere (in the case of the visual arts) between the retina and the visual cortex, where they have been modified to provide information that is already linked to a learned response, is always located partly in real space, and partly in psychological space. Evidently what reaches the cerebral cortex is simply evoked by the external world (no ontological judgement indicated here), but is hardly a replica of it (Pribam 1969). As far as we know, 'real' and 'conceptual' objects are therefore appreciated in analogous manners. The implications for the differences in the quality of these experiences lies in the realm of operationalism, whereby verification is linked to potential usage and actual usage; and everyday activities structure awareness toward the statistically weighted probabilities

that guide expectations and evaluations. Collative variables are extremely important to the exercise of these evaluations regarding any assessment of the physical environment, inasmuch as they indicate comparison by their very presence.

Without becoming overly philosophic or pedantic about it (except for the British Art-Language group which is partially modelled on Analytic or 'Everyday Language' philosophy), the artists have come to a realization that the ontology of art is directly involved in the epistemological questions generated by its experience. These are often questions generated by a desire to understand the aesthetic experience; and some of these problems are tantamount to posing questions about the nature of experience itself.

Some of the Concept artists are experimenting with the permutations of this problem. A high percentage of their experiments result in pure documentation or linguistic reporting of intent. Some projects result in a material manifestation or phenomenon. The future acceptance or rejection of what one assumes will be the continuing presence of not one, but of several contemporaneous art styles and interpretations, will very likely include some aspect or component of linguistic investigations on the nature of art and art as critical experience.

All these general statements comprise what is



essentially a problem for both epistemology and psychology. The latter discipline helps to understand not only the structure and implications of normal perception, but also the differences between the verification and motivation patterns which structure chronic misperception, or an inability to appreciate given aesthetic styles.

The former, epistemology, is concerned with veridical perception conclusively, and not to establish some set of empirical statements as true - as is commonly thought - but rather with questions of justification (Koller 1967: 98-99). Questions of justification in the Social Sciences reduce themselves primarily to issues in methodology, which are basically important to help the researcher to understand the implications and limitations of the process of scientific inquiry itself with respect to any specific discipline. At this point in time, this study is concerned to clarify that the problems of Aesthetic Anthropology are both epistemological and psychological, and that more confusion will obtain if the one approach is subverted into the other or vice versa.

Far from accepting that the field or locus of visual aesthetic phenomena appertains only to such aspects as decoration, design, and/or perceived excellence of workmanship or virtuosity in the traditional accepted areas of painting, sculpture, architecture, weaving, costume, ceramics, and so forth, it must be clarified that the arena

of the aesthetic must be discovered and understood in each specific culture; and within complex societies such as ours, perhaps aesthetic loci may be found to vary across cultural sub-groups.

Complex and ambiguous information from our own culture, coupled with a more rigorous examination of the aesthetic experience itself reveals that critical practices and definitions of our own tradition have deterred us from truly objective investigatory premises and procedures. The question of whether or not X object or phenomenon is "aesthetic" is an open one, and must remain so until empirical evidence brought to bear on this hypothesis (i.e., that X is aesthetic) enables the researcher to arrive at a satisfactory answer. This means that the criteria for verification or negation of the hypothesis will be placed more firmly on operational or empirical grounds involving the specific function and context of the phenomena in question, and not on the grounds of analogy wherein the phenomena are judged by their apparent similarity to previous objects or phenomena accepted as aesthetic in another more familiar culture.

The answers to these problems will not be immediately forthcoming, but the substantial importance of aesthetic phenomena in the history of man should act to establish a greater priority for these questions than has recently been accorded them. The psychobiological structure of man, as

an upright bi-pedal animal with adroit hands and a complex sensory system, works to establish minimal (and as yet undetermined) criteria for stimulus fields offering the opportunity for aesthetic experience. When visual aesthetic phenomena are seen, not from the standpoint of our comparatively recent Western tradition which views and often defines them as essentially non-utilitarian, in their wider context of rich historical and cross-cultural variability, a more realistic judgement of their importance can be attained. Those elements of the aesthetic experience which deal with heightened awareness and motivation are echoed sometimes in the paradigms of play and learning. The concerted manipulation and application of these elements to enrich the experience of the environment would seem to be a common goal.

During the last century, modern art has increasingly offered paintings and sculptures as complex fields of stimuli meant to question previous styles, and to restate the artist's interpretation of what the visual aesthetic experience implies. Implicit (and sometimes explicit) in these series of stylistic discontinua are changing reevaluations of the substance and meaning of the aesthetic experience itself, as it relates to the contemporary social and physical environments. Since much of the contemporary environment includes a questioning of substantive doctrines and theories, which daily produce a plethora of experiential concomitants, the

development of an 'art' which has as its content and substance the questioning of aesthetics and aesthetic experience itself is not surprising. That it takes as its form and content the discursive technique, juxtaposing the verbal with the portrayed or the 'real', represents a complex cultural summation of a series of precedent trends both in literature and the visual arts.

### XVIII. Summary Statements

To conclude this study, it might be profitable to make a few summary statements about several aspects of Psychobiological Aesthetics and Anthropology, and about Aesthetics and modern society, based on the previous sections of this paper.

As detailed in Chapter VI, the usual explanation for stylistic phenomena deals exclusively with sociocultural conditions, and with the culture changes which structure and are structured by them. It is correctly and generally accepted that the subject, content, and stylistic direction of change is related to many sociocultural factors, as we have documented in our study of the art of the sixties in the United States. We have seen that visual artists reflected and perhaps helped to formulate or enforce for an interested audience an awareness of the general condition of value change, role and status shifts, and a general climate of questioning and experimentation toward the axiological presuppositions of many social institutions. But the sociocultural factors implicated in any stylistic change are alone inadequate to explain this phenomenon, and their complexity is seldom appreciated by the social scientist.

Vytautas Kavolis has proposed several rather more specific hypotheses relating to stylistic changes and concomitant sociocultural conditions than is typical of

sociologists of art. It might be fruitful before moving to some final statements about stylistic change itself, to consider some of Kavolis's hypotheses since they are paradigmatic. The specific configuration of a style is affected by the interaction of a complex of sociocultural variables, and by accumulated artistic traditions and attitudes toward them. Because we lack both baseline studies and the sophisticated tools for operationally linking these phenomena in detailed patterns for meaningful conclusions, it is assumed that only probable ranges of stylistic diversity and their contexts can be identified and predicted. The actual degree of sociocultural reflection in art styles may also be minimized or exaggerated by such aspects as the concomitant allocation of resources, political conditions, the production and consumption patterns surrounding aesthetic phenomena, or the religious and ritual prerequisites of the society. The influence of artistic productions upon social awareness can also be modified by a number of variables such as the size of the population, the number of artists and supporting personnel involved in art production and marketing, as well as by the amount of attention which members of the various socioeconomic strata devote to art as compared to their other interests.

Kavolis has posited hypothetical linkages between social classes with reference to artistic appreciation.

Aside from the fact that the class alignments in taste orientation are now in flux in the United States, with the upper socioeconomic classes imitating working class behavior and tastes (eg., Camp and Folk styles), there is not enough evidence that the new middle-class, based in bureaucratic and technological ways of life rather than in entrepreneurial patterns as before, will share the same taste patterns as art and social historians have previously linked with American middle-class preferences (Kavolis 1968:81ff.). Even gross generalizations are problematic, especially since the range of their applicability is minimal inasmuch as the universe from which the paradigmatic cases were selected is often poorly defined, and the supporting data is limited in scope. Or, generalization from specific and even careful research projects is ambiguous due to the complexity of aesthetic stimuli. For example, Knapp, Brimmer, and White (1959) found that "lower class adolescents prefer open, simple designs embodying bright and saturated colors in bold contrast". It was further ascertained that blacks in Lexington, Kentucky, preferred paintings "in which unblended red, green, yellow, and blue covering broad areas" are found (Knapp et al 1959:277-284). It might be interesting to note that these descriptions also closely resemble some of the most elegant visual art produced by the Post Painterly Abstractionists, or by the Hard Edge

Colorists of the sixties, such as Noland, Stella, Kelly, Albers and others. These painters create works of calculated cerebral elegance highly appreciated by aesthetics of modern art. The findings of Knapp et al should now be formulated as hypotheses to be tested perhaps by presenting as stimuli some of the paintings mentioned, along with others of diverging style, to a different black adolescent population for eliciting judgements of relative preference on a broad scale. At least in this way, the legitimate range of generalization limited by negative findings could be ascertained. Much work remains to be done before one can maintain with any sense of certainty that specific socioeconomic patterns are correlated with specific stylistic preferences. It is equally conceivable (although equally little researched), that stylistic preference varies more consistently with personality factors cross-cutting class, than it does with simple class-defined populations.

Rather than refer to stylistic analysis invariably from the standpoint of phenomenal morphology and concomitant sociocultural factors, it might be interesting to turn to the fact of style qua style, and to inquire first as to its presence and function. Studies of stylistic dynamism, rates, and direction of change are not only legitimate subjects to pursue, but should be more carefully researched; but at this point, our question relates more directly to



the prior fact of the very existence of stylistic dynamism. In other words, why is it that when pleasing or somehow perceptually rewarding configurations are invented or created, these expressions do not remain adequate and therefore unchanged in morphology? Why does the behavior of artists invariably include the creation of stylistic discontinua; and why are these innovations appreciated and oftentimes institutionalized by aesthetes.

In a very real sense, the problem of stylistic dynamism deals with the very essence of the roles of both art creator and art perceiver. It is also one of the basic problems relating to the recognition of the very existence of aesthetic phenomena. When is an object or event aesthetic, and when is it not? the fact that style changes always do occur transculturally and through history is incontrovertible, as archaeological remains and anthropological fieldwork document clearly. The burden of this study has been to demonstrate that in order to understand such aesthetic problems, our attention must also be directed to what is basic in human experience and therefore basic as the presupposition or condition for cultural modification: that is, to the psychobiological aspects of perception as structured by human evolution.

It is again important to remind ourselves that the senses did not come about only as instruments of cognition, but as biologically based information channels involved

with both reasoning and affect, and involved in survival itself. During evolution, selection operated to enhance the possibilities for survival of those biological systems which best perceived those aspects of the physical environment relevant to adaptation. For this reason, perception is rightly understood to be purposive, linked to cognition and motivation, and essentially selective. Selectivity is such a basic component of vision, for example, that the total organism is geared to attend primarily to variations and changes in the environment. Change is absent in immobile things, but also in phenomena which repeat or persevere in the same patterns or variations (Arnheim 1969:20, Bruner 1957:123-152; Bruner and Minturn 1955:21ff.; Ditchburn and Fender 1955). Even rather primitive organisms stop reacting when saturation is accomplished, and when a given stimulus reaches them repeatedly. The sensory deprivation studies generally document the logical limits of what happens in extreme conditions of environmental monotony. On an elementary level, the studies of Lettvin et al (1959) remind us that it is likely that motion is distinguishable from immobility even at the retinal level. Previously-held distinctions between sensation, perception, and cognition are being modified as a better understanding of the whole perceptive-cognitive-affective process is being developed.

Habituation inevitably occurs in the repeated

perception of similar patterns or fields of stimuli, so that the contrast between stimulus patterns encountered in art (as well as those encountered in ordinary life, since all perception occurs with the same apparatus) serve to heighten the arousal value of the work. Much of this arousal value is dependent upon the "collative variables" to which we have previously referred in detail (Berlyne 1965, 1971:140ff.). The factors included as collative variables involve comparison and response to the nature of the similarity or difference between stimulus elements that may be co-present or held in the memory. Summarily returning in this fashion to the structure of perception, which the artist and the art perceiver both share, shapes our understanding of these roles, inasmuch as search or exploratory behavior and evaluation is characteristic of the way they are both played. This search behavior, as has been described, is stimulated by awareness of discontinuities and the comparison of differences. It belongs to the role of the artist, who is especially sensitive to visual habituation, to create deliberate discontinuities; to innovate, and to experiment with visual solutions which heighten interest and awareness, until a decision is made as to which discontinuities are interesting enough to incorporate in a patterned way. When several artists, for complex social and psychological reasons which are not well understood, decide to adopt similar discontinuities,

these similar patterns accumulate into stylistic continua (Peckham 1965:258-264). Since these changed patterns of stimuli may be or are non-functional with relation to the vehicle (object or phenomena) which supports or occasions them, the aesthetic itself has often been defined as non-utilitarian. Thus the non-functional nature of the connection between specific stylistic configurations and the medium which supports them is apparent (both Rauschenberg's and Van Gogh's paintings are equally paintings in spite of vast phenomenal differences). Nevertheless the fact of stylistic change and the creation of deliberate visual discontinuities by artists is functionally related to the successful arousal of awareness; it operates to negate the effects of habituation, inattention, and total predictability. The direction and rhythm of stylistic dynamism are related to sociocultural factors and must be understood from an examination of these factors inasmuch as they condition the artist's environment; this structures his creative output, as well as the art-perceiver's responses to it. Both psychological and sociocultural elements are involved in the evolution of aesthetic visual style.

Based on the background delineated in this study, and in order to draw together some of the disparate threads of events and ideas discussed, one could inquire if it is possible to make some predictions about the future stylistic

trends of such a complex and varied set of phenomena as the visual arts of the United States?

Based on an interdisciplinary approach, we could summate a kind of minimal descriptive designation of aesthetic visual art as comprised of perceptual sets of visual and/or mixed media phenomena, created or selected by the artist, and which arouse in the perceiver a positively rewarding perceptual, cognitive, and emotional awareness of his psychological, physical or sociocultural environment, inclusive perhaps of his position within it.

#### A. Art and Technology

With respect to the relationship of Art and the technological aspects of American society, it seems likely to predict that in the future an even more close interaction than previously noted will obtain. Such organized attempts at dealing specifically with the interrelationship of art and technology initiated in the sixties as the Experiments in Art and Technology organization, the Center for Advanced Visual Studies (founded in 1967 at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology), and the Aesthetic Research Center of Venice, California, are to be considered as prototypical; they are likely to be emulated and elaborated in the future.

One could further predict that major American universities will structure new departments specifically oriented to the training of those interested in cooperative

enterprises between artists and scientists, or to operate as centers to develop the machinery for visual and intermedial projects utilizing advanced technology. The effect of this trend on artists and scientists will be minimally to heighten and increase each disciplines awareness of the potentials, implications, and methodological patterns of the other discipline.

This predicted florescence should not be considered merely as the 'humanizing' of technology so devoutly desired by the more traditional interests in this area; rather it will probably represent - if the contemporary model is at all indicative - a kind of playful approach to the expansion of the possibilities of both art and science. To experiment with and to investigate the potentialities of constructing experiential fields for which the specific technological and scientific theory, method, or equipment was not originally intended, and to invent and innovate new expansions and applications of the methods and goals of each discipline for the other, with a kind of highly sophisticated bricolage, will be characteristic of this projected and expanded interrelationship.

This projection indicates, as far as art products or phenomena are concerned, that there will be a burgeoning of continuing aesthetic productions using technology in the general ways: (1) as the actual material of the art phenomena (eg., TV used as only art, or the use of

artificial lights as a medium of sculpture); (2) using the methodology and techniques of art as applied to activate and structure other phenomena (eg., computer-provided tables of random numbers to structure sound patterns, light systems, or graphic images); and (3) the use of new imagery as inspired or suggested by existing forms of technology (eg., laser holographic images).

It is predictable also that there will be an increase in occasions when the artist will actually work to apply a scientific inference or a technologically sophisticated machine in the creative process itself. The use of computers not only to create computer graphic fields, but also as extension tools enabling control and manipulation of more complex variables than previously possible will be applied toward the creation of unique perceptual aesthetic fields or total environments.

Some artists view the present limited interaction with science and technology as interesting because it permits an increase of control in creativity of a rather orthodox manner (eg., Donald Judd's use of metal fabricators to insure the controlled desired aspect of finish for his metal sculptures, or Larry Bell's use of the High Vacuum Optical Coating Machine to insure a controlled gradation of subtle delicate iridescence on his glass boxes). Other artists use the technological in order to decrease their control, and heighten the feeling of freedom and joy in

the disinterested use of automation to create a kind of mysterious, pleasurable, or previously unimaginable perceptual phenomenon (as when artists use randomness or chance operations in aleatory music).

Both of these trends represent more of a turning out toward the world around man as the focus and content of art than characterized much of the work of previous visual artists (notably the Expressionists), who selected to represent the psychological and ontological conditions of man through the creation of non-objective imagery. One could perhaps predict that this exploratory attitude toward the external phenomenal world re-activated in the sixties, will continue to grow in proportion to the various technological aspects of the industrial scientific apparatus which has become the basis especially of modern urban culture. Interaction with machines or with mass-produced items is much more 'the case' for modern man, than is a daily interactive relationship with the physical earth or organic items. This new screen of machine-structured networks with the mass-produced world will be reflected increasingly in the aesthetic realm of the visual arts.

The relationship of art with technology and science is not new; rather it represents a very old tradition of artists working as scientists (DaVinci), or as accomodating to scientific discoveries and principles (Bauhaus), or using technological means to increase a sense of awe or



wonder in specific situations (the fusion of artists and architects), or the use of science (deliberately) to manipulate the environment as shamans have often done with their control and application of special knowledge about astronomical occurrences, for example, to orchestrate dramatic scenarios for ritual enactments. It seems that contemporary artists increasingly understand that technology is no longer a servant to be mandated or ignored, but a total environment and arena for daily interaction. They react to this realization as artists always have, by objectifying their insights and responses (Davis 1973).

This new relationship will be described and depicted increasingly, and in more varied complexes. This is not to say that the painting of pictures or the creation of sculptural forms will totally disappear. One might suggest that such aesthetic preoccupations will continue to engage man's interest and appreciation in actually experiencing the manufacture and creation of an artifact, ingeniously conceived and well-executed. It might be that our Fine Arts of today will assume the position of a Folk Art tradition in the future.

Finally, the increasing size or scale of contemporary and probably future art is often linked to the use of technological methods and equipment. The wide use of complex light and sound systems, and the ultimate creation or structuring of entire environments with these elements will

be used more extensively. Communication systems will be elaborated, and with them will be the increased proliferation of more conceptual approaches to art to be disseminated along international networks.

#### B. Art and Social Networks

Many artists and critics alike have insisted that the new world-oriented aesthetic productions, especially created with a view to a potentially much larger and less elite audience, represent a democratization of the Fine Arts. We shall not deal here with the philosophic problems of judgements which equate a wider distribution of eidetic objects or phenomena with 'better' or a 'democratization'. Aside from value judgements, it is apparent that the social implications of creating, handling, and disseminating such art to a wider audience imply necessary changes in the social and economic networks of the art world.

The making of art objects or phenomena is never only 'aesthetic' behavior; it is also intimately related to the larger social system in many ways. If, as predicted, the art trends of the near future will continue to involve - aside from some on-going traditional trends - events, performances, technological projects, a conceptual emphasis, and occupy more space, time, and more public or collective awareness than ever before, certain shifts in the social system surrounding and comprising the basis of the art world will occur more radically than is now apparent.

In spite of a few politically based protests on the part of the artists toward the end of the sixties, such as the post-Democratic Convention Chicago boycott of the artists, with its spate of ensuing anti-Daley exhibitions, or the organization and growth of the Art Workers Coalition with its protests and demands submitted to the Museum of Modern Art, artists were not highly political or protest-oriented in their motivations. Yet based on a consideration of the broad aspects of the Conceptual movement, one could prognosticate that instead of becoming increasingly political or activist, artists will react to the traditional limitations present in a changing society by evolving alternatives in social interaction and networks, instead of merely protesting the old patterns.

As many cases of blatant discrimination against women artists on the part of museums, critics, and galleries were recognized and even openly acknowledged during the sixties, a slow but significant change is occurring in the art world. More women are now being considered for museum shows, whereas their entries were oftentimes previously not acknowledged or merely ignored. More representation and exposure to the art world public engenders further interest in women artists, and raises the probability that their work will sell. One could predict, therefore, that as a more open attitude toward women artists is established, the readiness of dealers to handle their works will

increase, and critics will place an appropriately greater emphasis on reviewing their shows, not because they are women, but because they are artists.

Such projects as the neighborhood-centered Studio Museum in Harlem (1968), and the Museum in New York, an art cooperative event and exhibition hall, run and governed by artists themselves to be "used and enjoyed by the whole art community" (Schwartz 1972:74), can be viewed as early forms of what is here suggested will become modal in the future.

It is suggested, therefore, that radical innovation will characterize art increasingly in the future. Some of the newer forms and patterns of aesthetic phenomena necessitate new channels between artists and viewer. It does not seem likely that the merchandising-purchasing pattern of traditional and even of modern art will be totally subsumed into very similar exchange patterns; therefore, some alteration in typical gallery-dealer activities is more likely to occur than a total obviation of old patterns. The entrepreneurial basis governing the dissemination of art productions will not be totally absent, but will change in structure and content. Already many dealers have abandoned the "gallery-exhibition" system to become what are essentially art brokers.<sup>33</sup> John Gibson, who operates out of a New York 'non-gallery' office in Manhattan, may be a precursor of one tradition. Economics

exercised great sociological and psychological control over the artist, his training and his career. This system, supported and interpreted by the critics to the art public, established behavioral standards and career-building patterns for the artist. It has defined the acceptable social and economic network for the artists to serve and be served by.

It is likely that industry and large corporations will show a sharply increased interest in visual arts in the future. This will be manifest in the form of sponsorship of art projects, some of which will be used to enhance the environments of their offices and plants. Large companies and groups of investors will be buying art both as expenditures which will offer profitable returns, and possibly as tax-deductible purchases of works which will be donated to museums or non-profit educational institutions.

With the increased realization that the visual arts perform useful and salutary functions to enrich and vary the sameness of our contemporary environments, it would be advisable for the government to enlarge the present miniscule program they entertain toward the advancement and support of the arts. It is not necessary to list the various countries throughout the world who, with less solvent and substantial economies than that of the United States, manage to support creative and vital art programs. Increased government support and subsidization of artists

and art projects seems imperative if America is to effect the difficult change from a heavy-industrialized labor intensive economy and way of life to the future which will entail the need for fewer laborers, less work-time, and increased regimentation of environment and spaces. Increased leisure time is nearly at hand, and it is unlikely that the palliative of contemporary television will accomplish anything but increase boredom if it continues in its present rigid and repetitive form. Artists as creative individuals represent a valuable and previous asset to any society and should receive security and rewards to practice their skills. In former times of need, the United States effected a small but viable art program in the W.P.A. which gave support and impetus to many young artists who went on to do important and creative work. In spite of the problems which seem to be an inevitable part of such programs, their merit far out-balances their faults.

The innovative tendencies recently initiated in the visual arts depend on a concerted offering to the spectator-audience of some degree of unfamiliar visual phenomena, or of familiar phenomena juxtaposed with unfamiliar locations, purposes, sizes, scale, or situations. Large exhibition spaces - if they are to be made readily available in urban areas - are found only in the largest buildings or outside spaces. This usually means that only public buildings, squares, and park areas will be able to accomodate such

scale or environmental manipulation. Yet, the avant garde artist of today is accustomed to and desirous of working freely and innovatively; he would perhaps encounter some opposition or general disapproval or misunderstanding were he to use public spaces and engage the interest of wide audiences. His art- unlike previous public art which embodied more commonly shared aesthetic, religious, and political ideals- strives for the unfamiliar, that which is contextually exotic to past experience.

With increased projected government and industrial sponsorship and support for the visual arts, it will be interesting to see what in fact develops to mitigate this in-built clash of values. Perhaps an alternative or specialized art form will develop to serve public needs and spaces, partaking of some of the characteristics of architecture, or diversely structured as ephemera, dedicated to change and the occasional enhancement of standardized environments.

Seth Siegalaub, who was previously mentioned, gains a living as a go-between, a middle-man operating between artist and any sponsor. He arranges for any number of gigantic art events ranging from wrapped skyscrapers (Christo) to ocean projects (Dennis Oppenheim). Such a role as art broker may be instituted as corporations are showing greatly increased interest in sponsorship (Jacobs 1970:64). Such art will undoubtedly entail a greater use of scale,

technology, and the procedures of heavy industry on the part of the artists.

Artists' working drawings, scale maps, written notes, photographic mock-ups, and projected ideas linguistically expressed will play an increased role as collectibles for the interested conventional collector. The growing impatience felt by artists against producing the singular object which stresses the significance of the unique personality, or the unique and insulated role of art, will continue. Coupled with this is the increased tendency for artists to view gallery-exhibition systems as artificial, expensive, and restrictive.

Fourteen out of twenty art dealers, representing major urban areas in different parts of the United States, when queried for this study acknowledged that contemporary anti-art or Conceptual art "represents a small trend which will remain as a limited but constant pattern in visual arts of the future". Four dealers judged these art forms as "a passing trend which will diminish in the next decade or so"; and only two of the twenty interviewed agreed that these new art forms were "substantial enough to necessitate the redefinition of the functions of galleries, dealers, and critics". Based on information gathered from artists themselves, it is predicted that more changes will be necessitated in the gallery-dealer system than is accepted or judged possible by most entrepreneurs of art.



The manufacture of Multiples will increase as a patterned way of creating the 'art object', and making it available to a broader audience than the cultural and financial elite. The large and important galleries have survived the changes already evident in art by increasing their exhibition and storage areas greatly, and by offering their artists alternative forms of agreements for sale, representation, percentage and credit arrangements, and by increasing their public relations functions. One could predict, therefore, that in the future 'art dealers' will operate increasingly as consultants, arrangers, information centers, agents, and as brokers between artists and sponsors or audiences.

If, as it is here judged likely, the evolution and development of Conceptual and related art forms continues to elaborate, either an alienation or shift from traditional gallery, museum, and career patterns seems inevitable. Both galleries and museums, plus the 'art object' have long been a problem for artists, and the future elaboration of public or community art will perhaps be in the nature of what we now designate as 'design', specifically oriented to fulfilling limited functions and goals. Out of seventy-two advanced art students who consented, in interview or by questionnaire, to select one favored position (among four divergent ones) defining how artists should approach their work, sixty-one embraced the

position that "artists should do whatever they feel like, it doesn't matter".<sup>34</sup> Only six out of twenty-six art museum personnel queried for this study would even consent to predict what general trends they thought would be operative in the visual arts during the next two decades in the United States. The six who gave predictions were not patterned except to include the mentioning of the increased use of photography and more technologically based media. More than any other institution of the art world, the art museum seems to be in a quandary as to direction, the necessity to serve multiple audiences and interest groups, and the lack of funding to move freely in diverse experimental directions, without incurring grave subsequent limitations in donations and support.

Whatever complex of directions the visual arts will assume, there seems to be little doubt that they are of increasing generalized importance. Furthermore, since the definition and the content of the role of the artist is changing, it is inevitable that the recruitment and training of artists will assume different aspects (Rosenberg, H. 1969b; Kaprow 1971, 1973; Griff 1968).

From interviews, and in data contained in questionnaires sent to advanced art students in all areas of the United States for this research project (seventy-six usable responses in total), an interesting disparity was noted. While the majority of students listed what can only be

termed as acknowledged traditional and modern masters as their 'favorites', they were extremely critical of the contemporary art establishment, including the entire dealer-gallery-museum-art school constellation, as being too ultra conservative. Their social and political philosophies are thus more avant garde and less traditional than is their collective taste in the visual arts!

If art and technology is to comprise one important direction of future artistic elaboration and cooperation, artists may indeed be scientists who have become interested in the expressive possibilities of their technological apparatus; or some artists will be trained in centers for visual arts appended to scientific or polytechnical institutions.<sup>35</sup> Since the parameters of art have been vastly widened, and some artists may never hold a paint brush or work with a chisel or clay, the imaginative expressions of individuals who otherwise function as teachers, housewives, gardeners, journalists, or whatever could be increasingly tapped and disseminated for experiencing by a para-gallery system.

It is difficult to see how a crisis in the orientation and curriculum of art schools or departments can be averted inasmuch as the direction of much art and the pedagogical techniques now used to train art students are increasingly divergent. As in any rapidly shifting discipline, alternatives in didactic goals will necessarily evolve.

Art students frequently complain that they feel their academic training to be inadequate or perhaps inappropriate to their future work. They are critical of the inability of most people in their society to accept and support with appreciation their chosen role as artists. Out of sixty-eight answers on a questionnaire posing alternative imagined impediments to eventual success as an artist, thirty-nine selected the lack of financial support and security as the greatest threat. Twenty-five of these students also noted that the social pressures in American culture are not supportive to artistic endeavors. Their fears of failure are more closely related to what they interpret as a hostile environment to creativity, than to fears about their own inabilities or limitations in artistic energy.<sup>36</sup> Aside from the commercial art field, the culture is seen as offering very few incentives to become an artist. For advanced art students, their reasons for wanting to become artists lie mainly within themselves; that is, they want or need to express themselves in the visual arts as they feel themselves to have a talent or special ability in this area, in spite of a fairly realistic appraisal of the economic limitations characteristic of most artist's lives.

A final statement, clearly indicative of a subjective and personal response to the data acquired while doing research, would be to assert that aesthetic experiences,

along with the phenomena eliciting or enabling them to occur, are not to be considered as optional or 'frosting' for man. It is hoped that their psychobiological nature, roots, and subsequent implications have been adequately clarified in this study, along with an example or two of their sociocultural patterning, so that a renewed consideration of their importance might be initiated.

The intimate relationship which obtains between the affective motivational aspects, the heightening of awareness, the predisposition to perceptual attention and cognitive focussing which have been described as intrinsic to the aesthetic experience, continue to make it an important concomitant to learning situations. Future education might profit in a profoundly important way if it were to incorporate more aesthetic stimuli and experiences into the pedagogical approach to subject matter. The 'aesthetic' is not to be confused with 'art', and most decidedly not with the Friday afternoon drawing class, in which an entire class makes dreary copies of even drearier originals displayed somewhere near the front blackboard.

The profound importance of the ability and impetus to construct an exciting perceptual field in such a way as to heighten the awareness and motivation of the percipient to explore some of the fundamental categories of human existence, while taking pleasure in the meaningful stimulation thus derived, appertains to the general evolutionary

heritage of exploratory behavior and play. The natural world in which man evolved offered the senses a constant and stimulating panorama of subtle change; and the goals and activities involved with survival tied him more closely to an appreciation of the environment through cognitive and emotive ties of the highest import.

The physical environment for most of man has changed radically; man's relationship to the world of artifacts is usually restricted to their manipulation, and not to their manufacture first hand. Leisure time increases for many, and as the powerful reinforcers of rudimentary needs are increasingly mechanically and routinely satisfied, the weaker or less conspicuous reinforcers emerge. Play, and a variety of physical and social games, gambling, or systems dependent upon the excitement of contingency, the use of synthetic reinforcers of a chemical and narcotic nature, or the spectatorship of technologically dispersed media-structured events, all take over a portion of the burden of excitation (Skinner 1970:65). The insulation from ordinary life, and the repetitive characteristics of many of these reinforcers render their on-going effectiveness limited. The art of structuring alternative environments and of bring about and increasing creative exploratory behavior of a rewarding nature, in an environment which presently discourages first-hand exploration and fails to stimulate satisfying awareness, will be the burden

of the aesthetic visual arts of the future.

Man's earliest art revealed his intimate ecological ties, his high affect and appreciation of the natural world, as well as his desire to manipulate it, utilize it, and honor the essential mystery and power revealed through it.

Man's earliest art called attention to the environment and his vital relationship to it. In their similar imagery, Picasso and Miro drawings and early Paleolithic cave painting reveal the important thread of conservation which has held into continuity thousands of years of artistic expression. Yet, it is not imperative that the visual arts go on accomplishing this same task in the same way. Anthropologists have demonstrated that the evolution or development of styles do not progress along a steady and constant continuum of correlation in time and degree of phenomenal shifts. What a perusal or comparison of the earliest and the latest artistic endeavors does reveal, however, is that they both represent objectified codifications as visual statements, exploring the relationship of man to his physical, social, and psychological environment. The ability of artistic visual stimuli to excite perceptual, conceptual, and affective focus still defines them as a generalized form of elemental human communication, beyond the separate codes of linguistics, proxemics, or kinesics, sound or rhythmic patterns, but perhaps sharing in the elegant aesthetic solutions which have been sometimes present in all of them.

## Notes

1. The decision to eliminate from consideration such important visual aesthetic phenomena as dance, drama and film was made not because the author considers them in any sense less important, but because they represent other complexes of data which would vastly complicate and extend the boundaries of the present project and research beyond the practicable.

2. The books and studies listed in this bibliography are not an exhaustive listing of works expounding the same point of view. There exists a sizable corpus of related studies illustrating the same ideological approach, but which are actually the work of psychologists, historians, critics and so forth. The studies noted here are simply those which are more traditionally within the boundaries of Anthropology.

3. A number of studies are conceived principally from the standpoint of psychoanalytic theory. These represent the work of psychoanalysts or psychoanalytically oriented researchers whose interest in art and ethnology is primarily aimed at 'explaining' the dynamics of observed patterns of expressive behavior according to psychoanalytic theory. Other studies depend more upon contemporary theories about semiotics, symbols, and signs. For example, Rundstrom *et al* 1973 use both film and ethnography in order to analyze a dramatic ritual situation which has a heavy aesthetic investiture in symbolic movements, objects, and kinaesthetic aspects.

4. While the interrelationship of cognitive, sensory and kinaesthetic systems has been well documented in the history of experimental psychology - especially through the work of the Transactionalists - it is useful to note that the best phenomenological documentation of the formative process and development of these interacting systems is in the work of Piaget. The relevance of this corpus of work to an understanding of how learning, cognition, motivation and expressive activities are linked is seldom realized as yet. Cross cultural research in precisely this area would provide the social sciences with needed raw data for better understanding the processes involved in both the creation and appreciation of aesthetic phenomena.

5. The whole problem centering on the ecological variables, or the way in which the physical and social environment relate to aesthetic phenomena or objects, needs more attention by anthropologists. In its own way, this problem of discovering or defining the sphere or domain of



the 'aesthetic' is analogous to that which expedited the innovative methodologies linked both with structuralism or with ethnoscience.

Ethnoscience employs specific eliciting procedures designed to discover emic categories or domains, and to avoid the imposition of etic classifications on raw data during field research. Structuralism views the contexts (cultural) of behaviors and symbols as holding the key to the analysis of the deeper structure or underlying meaning of social and expressive activities or communications.

Discovering the 'aesthetic locus', in Maquet's sense of the phrase (1971), in emic terms describes the problem succinctly. The 'aesthetic locus' entails physical, social and psychological variables; this means that it is comprised of a network of physical and cognitive inter-relationships and activities. The ecological variables defining the 'aesthetic locus' of one culture will not be eidetic with those of another; therefore, to carry an expectancy set of culturally conditioned attitudes or implicit judgments from one society to the investigation of another is misleading.

6. For a more complete review of research projects which offer relevant data from primarily biology and experimental psychology, consult Berlyne (1971:175-220). These pages include a review of both old and new experimental data relevant to aesthetics. Or see Kreidler and Kreidler (1972:394-453).

7. The number of titles, for either book length studies or articles, in which the terms "Pop Art" or "Concept" or "Conceptual Art" are used should dispell any serious trepidation about using these terms to designate the appropriate stylistic trends.

8. Although based largely on impressionistic data at this time, my opinion would be that almost all of the artists interviewed, or whose published views were consulted, would tend to be politically liberal. Although they are not as tuned - in to social protest as were some of their illustrious predecessors, their viewpoints (and sometimes their actions as in the case of making posters or art works whose sale proceeds go to McGovern or Peace Demonstrations) are not conservative.

9. The British had developed a similar and flourishing Pop style. Additional information relevant to a comparison of British and American Pop art, along with some documentation of chronology and development can be found in Pop Art Redefined, Russell and Gablik 1969:28-30; and in Pop Art Object and Image, Finch 1968, passim.

10. Additional listings of Andy Warhol's films, inclusive of dates, brief descriptions, length, plus minimal technical information is included in: the "filmography" by Jonas Mekas in Andy Warhol (Coplans ed. 1970:146-156); and in (Gidal, Peter 1971:80ff.).

11. Frank Stella apparently couldn't abide the idea of working in an industrial plant. Edward Kienholz stated that in theory he was not opposed to such collaboration, but that he didn't see what technology could do particularly for him which he couldn't do himself. Jasper Johns refused, explaining that his art is "about the move of a hand from one point in space to another nearby", and that to him the possibility of moving in a social situation to make art was "unthinkable" (Tuchman 1971:17).

12. Duchamp published the following (here abridged) notice about the celebrated entry of the urinal (signed 'Richard Mutt' in the Society of Independent Artists exhibition in New York in 1917. This was published anonymously in "The Blind Man" (1917), an occasional Dadaist periodical.

"They say that any artist paying six dollars may exhibit. Mr. Mutt sent in a fountain. Without discussion this article disappeared and never was exhibited....Now Mr. Mutt's fountain is not immoral, that is absurd, no more than a bathtub is immoral....Whether Mr. Mutt with his own hands made the fountain or not has no importance. He CHOSE it. He took an ordinary article of life, placed it so that its useful significance disappeared under the new title and point of view - created a new thought for that object....The only works of art America has given are her plumbing and her bridges" (abridged from Lippard ed., 1971: 143).

13. On Thursday, October 18, 1973, Robert Scull sold fifty selected works from his private collection in a widely publicized Sotheby Park Bernet auction in New York. A good measure of price rise can be drawn from this sale. The kind of Rosenquist painting which sold for about \$500.00 when he was unknown in 1961, sold for \$21,000.00 at this sale. A Larry Rivers painting worth about \$2,000.00 in 1962, sold for \$21,000.00 at this auction.

A few other prices can be quoted to document the international value of these Pop paintings by 1973, inasmuch as several were sold to collectors and museums outside of the United States:

Jasper Johns, encaustic and collage on canvas:  
Target, 1961 sold for \$125,000.00.

encaustic and collage on canvas: Double White Map, 1965, sold for \$240,000.00.  
 Robert Rauschenberg, combine painting on canvas: Double Feature, 1959, sold for \$90,000.00.  
 Claes Oldenburg, eight objects of various material fixed into a box (16½ x 13 ¾ x 4"): Street Ray Guns, 1959, sold for \$11,000.00.  
 Andy Warhol, large oil silk screen painting; Flowers, 1964, sold for \$135,000. (Prices and descriptions are from the Sotheby Parke Bernet catalog (New York, 1973)).

14. In answer to the question "Are you a man or a woman?" included in the 1971 Art News Subscriber Study, 42.7% were males, and 57.3% were females.

15. It can be noted that for the reader interested in the documented details of an interesting case of exemplary art establishment internecine warfare, it would be advisable to consult Sophy Burnham's reporting of the Canaday and Dore Ashton Affair in The Art Crowd (1973:109-119, 334ff.).

16. The number of art galleries in Los Angeles which have become defunct during the last six years is substantial. Some dealers have shifted from gallery operations primarily to art brokerage (eg., Frank Perls, Herbert Palmer). Others have closed in Los Angeles and moved to New York (eg., Dwan, Landau). Still other dealers (eg., Irving Blum) have closed their Los Angeles galleries and become attached to the staffs of large international gallery operations. The reasons for this situation are complex and involve many variables ranging from a lack of broad-based interest in avant garde or contemporary art in Los Angeles, to the fact that many substantial West Coast collectors are conditioned to buy from New York, or increasingly through private brokers or auctions. Also involved would be the particular kind of art phenomena being offered at this time. Artists, caught up in the New York first syndrome, often wind up leaving the West Coast in order to be in the heart of the action in New York, leaving additional voids in activity and interest in Los Angeles.

17. One or two examples should suffice: Leo Castelli, perhaps the most powerful gallery in New York for contemporary art, plus one or two others such as the Janis Gallery. Ivan Carp (who had worked for Castelli) opened his own gallery. Ileana Sonnabend (Castelli's ex-wife) owns and operates galleries in Paris and New York. These galleries all deal with roughly the same kind of art, and often exchange resources and contacts with one another. Although I am not privy to their relationships with galleries on the West Coast, it is my distinct impression that there exist

economic ties and agreements between these geographical points as well. All of this contrives to erect a powerful fairly closed circuit for certain stylistic patterns as well.

18. As an example, the author once witnessed an event in which Frank Perls (a prominent member of the Art Dealers Association) while attending an auction, loudly protested the in-process sale of a dubious Whistler drawing, rendering its purchase risky to say the least.

19.

**13 DEMANDS**

submitted to Mr. Bates Lowry, Director of the Museum of Modern Art, by a group of artists and critics on January 28, 1969.

1. The Museum should hold a public hearing during February on the topic "The Museum's Relationship to Artists and to Society," which should conform to the recognized rules of procedure for public hearings.
2. A section of the Museum, under the direction of black artists, should be devoted to showing the accomplishments of black artists.
3. The Museum's activities should be extended into the Black, Spanish and other communities. It should also encourage exhibits with which these groups can identify.
4. A committee of artists with curatorial responsibilities should be set up annually to arrange exhibits.
5. The Museum should be open on two evenings until midnight and admission should be free at all times.
6. Artists should be paid a rental fee for the exhibition of their works.
7. The Museum should recognize an artist's right to refuse showing a work owned by the Museum in any exhibition other than one of the Museum's permanent collection.
8. The Museum should declare its position on copyright legislation and the proposed arts proceeds act. It should also take active steps to inform artists of their legal rights.
9. A registry of artists should be instituted at the Museum. Artists who wish to be registered should supply the Museum with documentation of their work, in the form of photographs, news clippings, etc., and this material should be added to the existing artists' files.
10. The Museum should exhibit experimental works requiring unique environmental conditions at locations outside the Museum.
11. A section of the Museum should be permanently devoted to showing the works of artists without galleries.

19. (cont.)

12. The Museum should include among its staff persons qualified to handle the installation and maintenance of technological works.

13. The Museum should appoint a responsible person to handle any grievances arising from its dealings with artists.

—From *Documents I*,  
Art Workers Coalition, 1969

20. The present philosophy of the Pasadena Art Museum, under William Agee, the Director, acknowledges that museums must be generally more accountable to the public. Pasadena's policy now has a large investment in working with younger contemporary artists, without sacrificing excellence for relevance. In addition to this, they try to be open to the community through their lecture series, courses, and with a large educational program including both a regular school, plus week-end programs in art for children.

It was recently announced (February 1974) that William Agee will leave Pasadena for the Directorship of the relatively new Art Museum in Houston, Texas.

In May of 1974, it was announced that in turn for assuming many of the debts the Pasadena Museum has incurred, the Norton Simon Collection would be displayed in three quarters of the museum space; since Simon's collection is notably not modern, the vanguard position of the only notably West Coast contemporary Art Museum has been effectively deleted.

21. Characteristic influences of such ideologies as Zen Buddhism, or the work of the Dadaists especially through the unique impetus of Duchamp, can be best documented by consulting the artists' published comments from interviews or notes. A perusal and comparison of their actual works with those of the earlier Dadas, is also relevant. For example see: Friedman's comments in (Albright 1972:8-9); several editions of the periodical entitled Aspen; Oldenburg's notes; selections from Dadaist statements in (Lippard 1971, passim; or ideas embodied in (Motherwell 1951, passim). The influence of the Futurists is less important or negligible, except as they did define an attitude toward painting which incorporated both the objects and feeling appropriate to contemporary life and technology; for a comparison see (Apollonio 1973:13, 21-25, 149, and passim).

22. Most notably the Castelli, Dwan, Pace, Sonnabend, Weber, Ace, and Wilder galleries have been the most frequent hosts to Conceptual art and/or projects. The actual question posed to the gallery manager was: "Have you or do you plan to 'sponsor' or act as intermediary in the sale or exhibition of project pieces (eg., process art body art, earthworks, art-language, etc.), or any other phenomena in the list of "Conceptual" or "Anti-art". Robert Ravicz, after a visit to New York in which the gallery offerings were surveyed, noted that an increasing number of prestigious galleries are including work of this nature in their shows, and actively seeking to sponsor pieces.

By March, 1974, Channel 28 of the Los Angeles television network presented two evening programs on Concept art. These were hosted by Allan Kaprow, and featured the videoworks of William Wegman, one evening, and the Conceptual projects of John Baldesari the other night.

23. I was unable to find and actually consult this work by Flynt, but have discussed it with others who read it, and have found references from it included in other published materials.

24. No statistics exist as to who has been or is regularly employed as a lecturer or teacher. This information was gathered from personal interviews, published references, attending such lectures by artists, or from information shared by one artist about others.

25. The author has noticed an interesting and seemingly spontaneous convergence of interests between some of the Conceptual artists and a few individuals working in the field of education. It is as if the psychological and ideological premises from which this study was written have been taking concrete form in a few research and planning efforts. See: (Battcock 1973a, *passim*) and the recent work and some of the projects reported in the relatively new periodical entitled Journal of Aesthetic Education, published in Urbana, Illinois, at the University of Illinois Press.

26. Typically members of this group are: Terry Atkinson, David Bainbridge, Michael Baldwin, Harold Hurrell, Ian Burn, and Mel Ramsden and Joseph Kosuth. For exemplary excerpts of their linguistic productions see: (Meyer 1972: 93-103).

27. It should be noted that this particular chain of "reasoning" is subject to grave criticism from the same philosophic discipline from which it assumes an analogous "style". But to deal with the Art-Language group from the critical stance of a logical or ontological problem is not

the focus of this study. True to its premises, the ontological status of art is established cognitively, and verification of the aesthetic status (like a Cartesian proof) is finally tautological, according to the Conceptual artist. Thus language is an obvious candidate for great attention in this ideology. To deal with "verification" or "proofs" in this way, however, is another example of the subversion of the logical to the psychological orders; and of reducing epistemology to the question of how we know something (Koller 1967:148ff., and passim).

28. Michael Heizer is especially interesting in this respect. As his work continues to develop and proliferate, it deals with questions of mass, form, volume, and negative and positive aspects of these on a large scale. Some projects are created to endure (egs., contemporary earth works with structures in Nevada, and large glass windows on which elegant tracings and forms have been etched with silica "blasting"). Heizer thinks of himself in a sense as a "painter", whether the area of his aesthetic field of activity is a twenty acre tract of land, a zinc tablet, or a large pane of glass.

Robert Smithson died in an airplance crash while surveying a project of his in Texas, during the summer of 1973.

29. Some of these activities took place at the Museum of Conceptual Art in San Francisco, and were described by the museum Director, Tom Moroni, during a three day conference on Conceptual Art at the Claremont Colleges, in May of 1973.

30. Due to reasons already indicated in this dissertation, I am not satisfied with the definition of "aesthetic" which has been used in my questionnaire on "ephemeral art". Many phenomena probably are not attended to precisely because of this definition, and thus escape our list of examples by which we are trying to learn more about transitory fields of stimuli for aesthetic experiences. The definition used in the questionnaire is minimally adequate for this study however, inasmuch as it comprises a small portion of the focus of attention. I would hope in the future to address further research specifically to this problem, in order to indicate in a more operational way the characteristics of the domain of activities and/or phenomena which might be justifiably applicable trans-culturally to a definition of "ephemeral art", its context and meaning.

31. I should like to extend my gratitude to the following colleagues who were kind enough to send me information on "ephemeral art". There were others who returned questionnaires, but who did not indicate their names; while

I am unable to list them here, my appreciation for their assistance is indicated.

E. Pendelton Banks	David W. Plath
Harold K. Schneider	V. E. Garfield
James L. Peacock	P. K. Bock
Jack Conrad	Don Messerschmidt
Sigrid Töpfer	Henry G. Burger
Robert K. Dentan	Robert A. Ibarra
E. P. Conant	Beth Dillingham
Walter Clark	Robert A. Fernea
Simon D. Messing	Douglas Osborne
Ethel Nurge	Robert G. Euler
E. A. Kracke	Fred Adelman
Lilo Stern	Omer C. Stewart
Adrienne L. Kaeppler	James Faris
Nancy Munn	Wolfram Eberhard
Nancy Lurie	E. N. Anderson Jr.
Margaret L. Arnott	George E. Simpson
Charles K. Warriner	Anna P. McCormack
Rob Burling	David Ames
William Crocker	F. K. Lehman
Richard N. Henderson	James E. Fitting
Gina Holloman	Judith K. Brown
John C. Ewers	Ernestine Friedl
Shirely D. Stout	Gottfried Oosterwal
Edward M. Weyer	Ruth Boyer
Cara Richards	Walter P. Zenner
Leonard D. Borman	Jane R. Hanks
Eva Cockcroft	George Kubler
Louise S. Spindler	Victor W. Turner
Karl G. Heider	

32. Based on a cursory observation and consonant with our theory about cognition and rituals, one could hypothesize that rituals which deal predominantly with learning - such as rites of passage - would be comprised of fewer elements of 'noise' or genuine repetition, and a larger overall informational component than are rituals which deal primarily with reinforcement or motivational aspects, such as rites or intensification. Rites of intensification, therefore, should hypothetically contain a larger number of more frequent repetitions of predictable symbolic elements with generally predicatable motivational connotations.

33. I should like to extend my special thank you to Herbert Palmer who shared his wide knowledge of the art scene freely with me, both with respect to activities in New York and Los Angeles, and by offering interpretive ideas on many subjects of interest.

34. The actual problem posed to the artist was to make a choice among the following:



Please check the one you most agree with:

- (a) artists should be critical of and act as corrective teachers for social change.
- (b) artists should not become involved with social causes or with socially critical art.
- (c) artists should try to image or interpret not the social but rather the human condition.
- (d) artists should do whatever they feel like; it doesn't matter.

35. While someone like James Seawright offers an excellent example of the artist who developed both training and expertise in the sciences in order to be able to work in a chosen medium such as complex electronic sculptures, Billy Klüver is a prototype of a trained scientist who has made numerous important contributions to contemporary art. Klüver graduated from the Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm and received a Ph.D. in electrical engineering from the University of California, Berkeley. He holds an excellent position on the staff of the Bell Telephone Laboratories where he works on the physics of infrared lasers. He holds ten patents, has published widely both technical papers and writing on art. Klüver is influential in the E.A.T. (Experiments in Art and Technology, Inc.), and has collaborated with Rauschenberg, Cage, Tinguely, Johns and Warhol. Klüver has arranged no less than seven important art exhibitions, and coordinated the epic "Nine Evenings: Theater and Engineering" in New York in 1966. Such individuals can be considered as prototypes of future roles and interactions in the visual arts.

36. The actual phrasing of the problem is the following: Which of the following do you feel will offer the greatest impediment to your eventual success in your chosen artistic work?

- (a) lack of financial support and security while working to perfect your artistic expression.
- (b) The social pressures of American culture are not supportive to artistic endeavors.
- (c) Most urban life and environments are a

drag and bring creative impulses down.

- (d) You feel your energy might not last long enough for you to be able to make it on your own.
- (e) other; please specify.

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