Douglas Fogle

The Last Picture Show

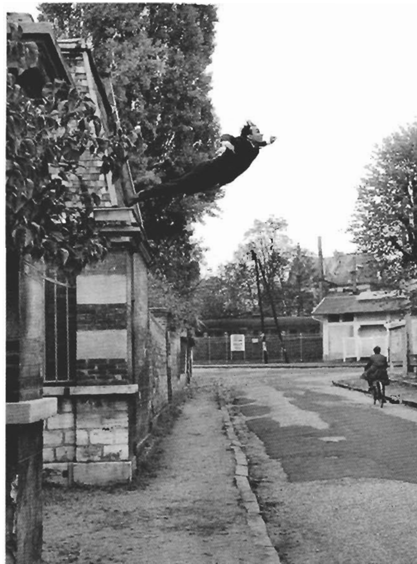
Douglas Fogle is associate curator of visual arts at the Walker Art Center and organizer of the exhibition *The Last Picture Show: Artists Using Photography, 1960–1982.* During his tenure at the Walker he has initiated a number of other exhibitions, including *Stills: Emerging Photography in the 1990s* (1997), *Painting at the Edge of the World* (2001), *Catherine Opie: Skyways and Icehouses* (2002), and *Julie Mehretu: Drawing into Painting* (2003).

> **There is something abominable about cameras, because they possess the power to invent many worlds. As an artist who has been lost in this wilderness of mechanical reproduction for many years, I do not know which world to start with. I have seen fellow artists driven to the point of frenzy by photography.**
>
> **Robert Smithson, "Art through the Camera's Eye"**

In 1960 Yves Klein stood on the edge of a precipice. More specifically, he stood on the roof ledge of a building in the suburbs of Paris waiting to perform a miraculous feat. On the street below were the photographers Harry Shunk and John Kender, who had been employed by Klein to document this event. Shunk and his friend Kender collaborated with Klein in order to create what might arguably and paradoxically be considered to be one of the painter's most important works. With the photograph *Leap into the Void* (1960), they produced a fictionalized photographic document that showed Klein making a superhuman leap onto the street below. In a starkly existential act that spoke at once to the mystical powers of the artist as well as to his hyperbolic attitude toward his own artistic production, this "painter of space," who was best known for his blue monochromes and for using the body as a paintbrush, was able to construct a dramatic visual metaphor for his work. The end product of this "documentary" photo shoot was Klein's self-published newspaper edition *Dimanche*, which illustrated the artist's writings on his Theater of the Void with this now-legendary photograph. Disseminated in Parisian newsstands next to copies of the real *Dimanche*, this image would come to play an important role in the creation of the mythic aspects of Klein's career and would be a crucial intellectual reference for the Viennese Actionists in the late 1960s and other performance-based artists of the 1970s. Of course, what was not visible in this photograph were the dozen or so students from the nearby judo academy who held an outstretched tarpaulin to break the artist's fall. Removing these individuals from the image through the technique of photomontage, Klein and his colleagues employed the evidentiary power of photography to abet a hoax. At the same time, however, they launched a powerful iconic marker into the network of artistic images circulating at the time. The impact of this particular image rested in its photographic nature and the way in which it played with the assumed verisimilitude of the medium.

If the status of this object was questionable, however, it was only partly due to the fact that the image was doctored in the service of producing a dramatic effect. Its problematic character grew out of its ambiguous status as an object of art or, more precisely, as a piece of photographic art. What exactly was this photographic entity? A documentation of a performance? A work of art in its own right? How could this object possibly be read within the context of the history of art and, more to the point, the history of art photography as it existed in 1960?

Leap into the Void (1960): A conceptual event principally embodied in a photograph by Harry Shunk of Yves Klein leaping from a roof ledge in the Paris suburb of Fontenay-aux-Roses



Klein's "leap" might be seen in contrast to another well-known photographic leap, captured by the lens of Henri Cartier-Bresson in 1932. In his now-classic image of a man jumping across a puddle behind the Gare Saint-Lazare in Paris, Cartier-Bresson provided us with a clear example of what he called photography's "decisive moment." As he explained:

> **To me, photography is the simultaneous recognition, in a fraction of a second, of the significance of an event as well as of a precise organization of forms which give that event its proper expression. I believe that, through the act of living, the discovery of oneself is made concurrently with the discovery of the world around us which can mold us, but which can also be affected by us. A balance must be established between these two worlds—the one inside us and the one outside us. As the result of a constant reciprocal process, both these worlds come to form a single one. And it is this world that we must communicate.[1]**

Cartier-Bresson's statement appeared in the 1952 edition of his large-format publication *The Decisive Moment*, which collected his best-known pictures.

In many ways, the concept of the "decisive moment" would come to stand in for a wide array of photographic practices that were

Henri Cartier-Bresson; *Behind the Gare Saint-Lazare, Paris*, 1932; gelatin silver print; 22 11/16 x 15 3/8 in. (57.6 x 39.1 cm); The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, The Alfred and Ingrid Lenz Harrison Fund

championed by those who took a modernist view of the medium's aesthetic autonomy, including John Szarkowski, curator of photography at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. In fact, Cartier-Bresson's photographs would be prominently featured in Szarkowski's exhibition *The Photographer's Eye*, held at MoMA in 1964, which posed the possibility of writing a "history of the medium in terms of photographers' progressive awareness of characteristics and problems inherent in the medium"[2] by juxtaposing works by well-known artist-photographers with so-called functional works by anonymous photographers culled from archives around the world. This vision was, however, predicated on constructing a history of photography that established both its consciously artistic and naive manifestations as aspects of an autonomous and coherent art form.

Here we are confronted by two very different leaps, resulting in two extremely divergent photographic worlds with equally disparate histories. On the one hand, we have the aesthetic mediation of the split between subject and object in an elaboration of the artist's channeling of photography's "decisive moment." On the other, we have a hybrid, collaborative photographic "event," staged by an artist hoping to create an altogether different kind of moment, one that perhaps signaled the emergence of a very different kind of artistic world that was beginning to take form at that time. It is the gap between these two photographic worlds—the modernist aesthetic transmission of an authentic immediacy through the capturing of a photographic essence and the conceptual construction of a staged event that took up photography as a means to an end—that interests us here. It is in the context of this gap that Klein's questionable "leap" and Shunk and Kender's equally problematic "documentation" of that event in 1960 might be seen as a useful starting point for a discussion of the proliferation of the uses of photography outside the then-dominant configurations of art photography in a decade that saw the slow erosion of the boundaries between artistic media.

If Cartier-Bresson's image might be thought of as a traditional photographic "picture," then what exactly was Klein's? It could hardly be seen as a "decisive moment." It is, rather, a hybrid object that might be thought of in terms of what Lucy Lippard and John Chandler first identified in 1967 as the "dematerialization of the object of art," an approach they saw as crucial to a wide range of emerging art practices in the 1960s that rejected traditional forms of painting and sculpture in favor of an "ultraconceptual art that emphasizes the thinking process almost exclusively."[3] Encompassing a range of practices—from the elevation of the idea to the status of the object to performance-based work that addressed the phenomenology of the body—these alternative strategies would help to create what Rosalind Krauss called an "expanded field" in which the camera became another tool among many available for the execution of a project.[4] Klein's photographic leap embodied just such an approach. Neither simply performance nor document and far from an aesthetic embodiment of modernist photography's hermetic concern with its own limits and conditions of possibility, this work disrupted the standard circuits of the reception of both photography as art and the traditional object of sculpture by surreptitiously inserting itself into the flow of consumer print culture.

It is in this questionable photographic object—or rather this confluence of photographic and performative activity—that we begin to see something of what Robert Smithson described, in the quotation that serves as an epigraph to this essay, as the "abominable" power of the camera. In the last forty years, we have seen the emergence of a plethora of photographic worlds as the use value and the status of this medium has shifted many times over. Following Smithson, then, we could point to a moment in the 1960s when it became clear that there was a new kind of "frenzy" around the medium of photography within the art world and the culture at large. This was a historical moment that witnessed a global explosion of media and the ability to disseminate images. The proliferation of television broadcasting, satellite transmissions, and the exponential spread of photographic print culture gave a new intensity to the power of the photographic image and prompted its expanded use within artistic practices that sought to question the conventional status of the art object. The artists in this exhibition, including Smithson himself, were all, as he put it, "insane enough" to imagine that they could "tame this wilderness created by the camera." It is precisely the multiple photographic worlds created by artists in their attempts to conquer this "wilderness" that are the subject of *The Last Picture Show: Artists Using Photography, 1960–1982*.

Focusing on a roughly twenty-year period, *The Last Picture Show* brings together photographic works by fifty-seven artists who had little interest in finding photography's true essence as an art or in capturing decisive moments. The artists represented in the exhibition looked at photography instrumentally, as a means to an end, taking up the camera as a tool as they pursued a wide range of experimental agendas, be they sculptural, performative, or even painterly. The scope of the photographic practices and the subjects that they explore is diverse, moving from revisionist investigations of the legacy of the traditional artistic genre of the landscape to visual explorations of nonsequiturs and the absurd to equally challenging explorations of ethnic and gender identity through the use of the masquerade in self-portraiture. Whether or not these artists saw themselves primarily as photographers (some did, and many did not), their wide-ranging practices are linked by what at times might seem like an extraphotographic impulse to launch themselves into the world—or, more correctly, into a multiplicity of photographic worlds of their own making.

But how, precisely, do these photographic worlds come together to create the "last picture show"? The exhibition's title, of course, has been appropriated from the 1966 Larry McMurtry novel and its 1971 film adaptation by Peter Bogdanovich, which tells the coming-of-age story of a group of adolescents in a small Texas town that is dying a quiet death. This is a tale of lost innocence that is symbolized by the closing of the town's last movie house, which marks a turning point in the lives of the protagonists. Perhaps our last picture show is no different. Historically, we too might be seen as having suffered our own cultural loss of innocence. Was our last picture show the moment when we could no longer see photographic images as autonomous aesthetic objects? Following this line of thought, was Szarkowski's 1964 exhibition *The Photographer's Eye*—with its attempt to encompass the whole of photographic practice, both vernacular and artistic, within the purview of a categorical imperative of photography as an art form—the last picture show? Or was our last picture show the progressive loss of our visual

innocence as a result of the explosion and global dissemination of images in the print and electronic media in the 1960s, producing what the Situationist critic Guy Debord referred to in 1967 as the "society of the spectacle," a process that would be accelerated by the proliferation of images being transmitted from the war in Vietnam?

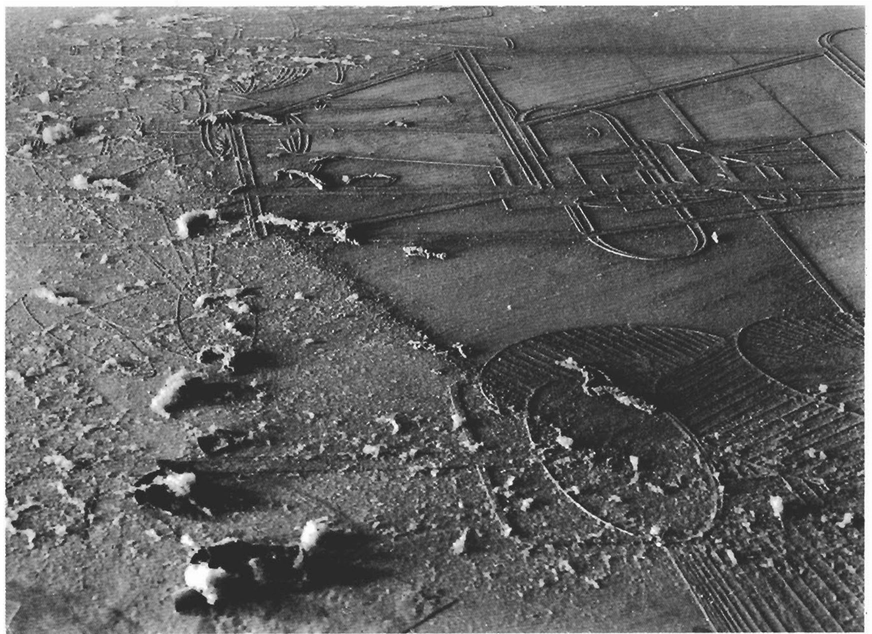
The notion of the "last picture" has been endlessly resurrected in art historical circles for the better part of the last century, from Aleksandr Rodchenko's 1921 completion of three monochromes that he declared the "last paintings" to Daniel Buren's "refusal" of painting in the late 1960s. The picture, or the "Western Concept of the Picture," as Jeff Wall points out in his 1995 essay reprinted in this volume, is "that *tableau*, that independently beautiful depiction and composition that derives from the institutionalization of perspective and dramatic figuration at the origins of modern Western art." This conceptualization of the picture was an organizing principle for painting for hundreds of years but was of course also highly influential as it was adopted by art photography in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries under the rubric of Pictorialism. A number of the contributors included in this volume in some way or other make reference to the transformation of this received definition of the picture through the practices of artists associated with Conceptual Art and its aftermath. Wall, for example, suggests that a new model of the picture emerged in the wake of Conceptual Art's incorporation of the techniques of photographic reportage into its artistic strategies. Stefan Gronert, by contrast, focusing on the history of photography in Europe, argues that the adoption of photoconceptualist practices by artists in the 1970s paradoxically resulted in the reemergence of the picture form in contemporary photography. Jean-François Chevrier, in a newly translated essay of 1989, traces the circuitous development of the picture form as employed by photographers over a century and a half, writing: "The picture's adventures in the history of photography and of its artistic uses, whatever the period, have now led us to the point where it has again, and more strongly so than ever, been embraced by the majority of contemporary photographers as a necessary, or at least sufficient, form of (or model for) artistic production and experience."

The Last Picture Show is in a sense an attempt to write a provisional account of some of these "adventures" of the (photographic) picture form and, in so doing, construct what Michel Foucault called a "history of the present."[5] The artists represented in this exhibition challenge us to reassess our commonly held assumptions of what constitutes a picture and help us acquire a deeper understanding of the extraordinarily diverse and widespread uses of photography in the art world today. In light of this, we might take our lead from a question posed in a 1981 photograph by Louise Lawler and ask ourselves, "Why pictures now?" In some ways this is the underlying mantra of this exhibition. Of course, we might add an important corollary to that question and ask, "What kind of pictures?" In the end, these two questions are inseparable.

As even a cursory review of the diversity of practices reflected in this exhibition would suggest, the history of photography is itself, like any history, necessarily plural. As Geoffrey Batchen points out in his essay in this volume, "American art photography was in fact continually being ruptured from within [and] conceptual practices of various kinds have always been rife within the photography community." The same holds true for European art photography. Numerous radical photographic practices by artists involved in Surrealism, Dada, and the other avant-gardes pointed this medium outside the realm of its own disciplinary boundaries into a conceptual terra incognita that would not be easily recoupable into a strictly modernist narrative. One need only point to Brassaï's photograph *Involuntary Sculptures*, published in the Surrealist journal *Minotaure* in 1933, which documented Salvador Dali's "sculptures" found in everyday life (twisted bus tickets, strangely shaped loafs of bread, and so on) or Man Ray's *Dust Breeding* (1920), a photographic experiment conducted with Marcel Duchamp on the latter's *Large Glass* (1915–1923), to understand that neither the category of photographic Pictorialism nor that of straight photography could contain the radical aesthetic questioning to which photography was being put to use.

Dust Breeding in particular presents an interesting precursor of the use of photography by artists in the 1960s. Duchamp allowed the lower back panel of the *Large Glass* to accumulate a thick layer of dust over a period of three months. Man Ray then photographed this work, producing an image of an alien landscape that was neither a documentation of Duchamp's "sculpture" nor a formalist photographic exercise, but rather a hybrid object caught somewhere between the realms of photography and sculpture, dramatically embodying

Man Ray; *Dust Breeding*, 1920; gelatin silver print; 9 7/16 x 12 in. (24 x 30.5 cm); Musée Nationale d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris



Man Ray's contention that "photography is not art."[6] Already in 1920 then, Man Ray's work was prompting questions whose conceptual origins could be traced to the radical influence of Duchamp's Readymades and their destabilizing effects on the status of the art object.[7]

The work of Man Ray and his cohort would be the harbinger of a host of new photographic possibilities that began to emerge in the 1960s. The first of these new photographic worlds emerged from the shadow of the appropriation of media images in Pop Art and the focus on what Donald Judd termed the "specific objects" of Minimalism, as artists turned increasingly to the camera in order to investigate the realm of conceptual and process-based forms of practice. In 1976, in an article reprinted in this volume, Nancy Foote would give a name to this increasingly widespread impulse, using the term "anti-photographers" to describe the work of a number of artists (including many represented in this exhibition) who were dependent on a utilitarian attitude toward photography but displayed "little *photographic* self-consciousness." This new attitude toward photography's expanded field would come to be exemplified by artists such as Edward Ruscha, who just two years after Klein's leap would publish the first of his photographic books, *Twentysix Gasoline Stations* (1962), a work that would rigorously eschew the sanctified aesthetic nature of the modernist "decisive moment" in favor of the industrial, low-fi photographic aesthetic of magazine and book culture. Appropriately, Ruscha would comment on his instrumental use of the medium in a 1972 *New York Times* interview with A. D. Coleman (reprinted in this volume), suggesting that photography was for him "strictly a medium to use or not use, and I use it only when I have to. I use it to do a job, which is to make a book." Published in large, affordable editions, his books relied not on the modernist fetish of the master photographic print but on their functionality and conceptual strength, suggesting that what was important was not so much the artistic qualities of the picture but its content and the context in which it was viewed.

Other artists working at the same historical moment would bring the camera into their studios in order to explore the limits of contemporary sculptural practice. Ironically, it would be a 1966 visit to a retrospective of the work of Man Ray held at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art that would prompt Bruce Nauman to begin experimenting with the camera.[8] Drawn to Man Ray's conscious lack of a consistent style and his use of staged settings in his photographs, Nauman would turn to the camera to create a series of works at the end of 1966 and into 1967 that were as much performative sculptural acts as they were photographs.[9]

Bruce Nauman, *Self-Portrait as a Fountain*, 1966–1967/70 (under cat. no. 106)

Like much of Nauman's other work of that time in sculpture and film and video, these works were the products of a series of experiments that investigated the space of the artist's studio in relation to the conceptual and phenomenological limits that it imposed on sculptural practice. While in *Flour Arrangements* (1966) Nauman mapped the material limits of studio practice and the physical activity of the artist by continually shaping and reshaping a pile of flour on his studio floor and photographing it over the course of a month (one is reminded here of Man Ray's *Dust Breeding*), a work such as *Self-Portrait as a Fountain* from Eleven Color Photographs (1966–1967/1970) suggested a more performative bodily investigation. As in all of the works in this series, Nauman used theatrical lighting and employed a professional photographer to construct a set of situations that physically and linguistically turned "things inside out to see what they look like."[10] The camera would in essence help Nauman construct a photographic strategy that would enable him to turn the world inside out, whether he was looking at the plastic properties of his sculptural materials (including his own body) or the structure of language itself.

At the same time that Nauman was moving a radicalized notion of sculpture into the realm of photography, thereby blurring the established boundaries of these media, Giulio Paolini was experimenting in Italy with photosensitive emulsions on stretched canvas. As early as 1965 Paolini produced a series of works that both physically and intellectually took on the legacy of the traditional history of painting in terms of both its physical materiality and its organization of perspectival space. Rather than simply being a commentary on this structural history of painting, the picture plane would, in Paolini's work, itself become a photograph. In works such as *Delfo* (Delphi, 1965), for example, he used an alternative photographic process to transfer to a rectangular canvas an image of himself hidden behind the wooden stretcher bars of a painting. Calling into question both the material

support of painting and the status of the painter, *Delfo* puts Walter Benjamin's discussion of "the work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction" into a different light.[11] In this case photography calls into question the nearly five-hundred-year legacy of European easel painting not by reproducing and disseminating images of great works and thereby destroying their "aura," as suggested by Benjamin, but by transforming the surface of a canvas itself into a photosensitive emulsion that foregrounded the material support of painting. The veritable "body" of painting was replaced by the new flesh of photography.

If Paolini would begin to use photography in the mid-1960s to call into question the legacy of easel painting, at the same time in Germany the painter Sigmar Polke would begin what would become a lifelong obsession with the camera that would lead to photographic experiments with sculptural forms and the alchemy of the developing and printing processes. In fact, Polke would turn to photography almost exclusively as a medium of choice for a good part of the 1970s. One of his earliest endeavors with the camera resulted in a hilarious self-portrait photograph cum sculptural object that goes by the title *Polkes Peitsche* (Polke's whip, 1968). Composed of five small photographic images of the artist contorting his face, attached with string to a wooden whip handle, this self-flagellating photographic object replaces the self-abuse of medieval penitents with satirical, self-deprecating commentary on the role of the artist. In *Bamboostange liebt Zollstockstern* (Bamboo pole loves folding ruler star, 1968–1969), Polke presents the viewer with a series of sixteen black-and-white prints depicting a set of inexplicable and unexpected scenarios constructed from everyday household objects that seem to invoke the strange, illogically elaborate contraptions of Rube Goldberg. The playfulness, humor, and experimental freedom demonstrated by works such as these would become a crucial reference point for artists such as Peter Fischli and David Weiss later in the 1970s.

From the very beginning Polke often incorporated photographic elements into his painting as a result of his fascination with the dots that compose the screens used to reproduce images in commercial printing processes. More importantly, he became interested in the powerful effect of the printing error, that elusive blot disrupting the uniformity of industrial printing procedures. Polke was able to transfer his interest in the mistake into his photographic practice by playing with the technical "disasters" of the developing and printing process. In 1995 he would elaborate on the liberating effect of photography's malleability: "A negative is never finished. You can handle a negative. You can do what you want. I can play with it. I can make with it. I can mix with it. I can choose with it."[12] Later works pushed the boundaries of photographic clarity and cleanliness to the edge of visual intelligibility by asserting the privileged position of the unstable and the incorrect. Experimenting with the alchemy of the developing process (as well as with his own personal alchemy, by developing and printing work while under the effects of hallucinogens), Polke treated photography as a transformative medium that was almost mystical in its ability to channel the cosmos.

By the end of the 1960s it was becoming clear that these numerous experimental and conceptual uses of photography were gaining both momentum and credence within the international art world. A critical historical marker of the proliferation of photographic practices among artists can be found in an exhibition and editioned multiple entitled *Artists and Photographs*, organized by Multiples Gallery in New York in 1970. This boxed publication included work by nineteen artists, among them Mel Bochner, Jan Dibbets, Dan Graham, Douglas Huebler, Sol LeWitt, Richard Long, Bruce Nauman, Dennis Oppenheim, Edward Ruscha, Robert Smithson, and Andy Warhol. As Lawrence Alloway suggested in his introductory essay for this project (reprinted in this volume), while photography had been in the hands of artists since the nineteenth century, the exhibition and publication were trying to clarify "with a new intensity the uses of photography," which were becoming more and more diverse and ubiquitous at that time.

While Alloway would struggle to deal with the implications of the opposition that he was describing between an instrumental use of photography as documentation and a kind of photography that was to be considered an object of art in and of itself, he would never quite escape it. This problem would be dramatized by a number of works included in the *Artists and Photographs* multiple, such as Mel Bochner's aptly named photographic text piece *Misunderstandings: A Theory of Photography* (1967–1970), reproduced in this volume. Bochner, who, like Nauman, began experimenting with photography in 1966, had originally compiled a list of quotations about photography as part of an article that he submitted to *Artforum* in 1969 under the title "Dead Ends and Vicious Circles." When the article was rejected for publication, Bochner brought together a number of these quotations to form his "theory of photography." Presented on note cards in a manila envelope, the nine photographs of handwritten quotes that constitute this work were derived from purported sources as wide-ranging as Marcel Duchamp, Mao Tse-tung, and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. The problem was, however, that three of these citations were fabrications by the artist (it is still unclear which ones) slipped like a virus into the discussion of the truth function of photographic representation. Was one of these false "misunderstandings" the assertion that "photography cannot record abstract ideas," which Bochner credited to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*? Or perhaps the statement, attributed to Marcel

Giulio Paolini; *Delfo* (Delphi), 1965; photographic screenprint on canvas; 70⅞ x 35¹³⁄₁₆ in. (180 x 91 cm); collection Rosangela Cochran, Antigua, Guatemala

Proust, that "photography is the product of complete alienation"? One would like to think that the declaration ascribed to Marcel Duchamp might be true—"I would like to see photography make people despise painting until something else will make photography unbearable"— as that would make a fine contribution to our discussion of the last picture, but Bochner casts doubt on this statement just as he casts doubt on the medium of photography itself by presenting these photographs of possibly spurious statements as his theory of the medium.

Of course Bochner, Klein, Ruscha, Nauman, Paolini, and Polke were far from the only ones who picked up a camera at this point in time. The other artists included in *The Last Picture Show* continued to "misunderstand" this medium across a number of different categories of artistic endeavor, ranging from genres traditionally found in painting and photography, such as landscape and self-portraiture, to extremely contemporary investigations of the body and the world of media images.

A number of artists in the 1960s and 1970s, for example, employed photography in projects that sought to radically rework our understanding of the landscape. Jan Dibbets, Richard Long, and Giovanni Anselmo explored the cultural legacy of the landscape but adopted approaches that were far different from those found in the landscape photography of Ansel Adams or Edward Weston, with their invocation of a photographic sublime. Dibbets' understanding of the landscape, for example, was heavily informed by the history of Dutch painting, and all of his photographic works in one way or another explore the conventions of that genre. In *Horizon 1°–10° Land* (1973), he presented ten thin, vertical photographs of an abstracted horizon line of the notoriously flat Dutch landscape. Progressively tilting the image to an eventual pitch of ten degrees, Dibbets confounds our visual expectations and, in so doing, destabilizes our vision and undermines the fabricated and historically loaded conventions of our cultural depictions of the landscape. Richard Long, by contrast, produced photographic documents of ephemeral sculptural and performative acts that the artist enacted in and on the landscape. His impermanent interventions—which included cutting an X-shaped swath through a field of daisies and walking back and forth across a field in a straight line until a visible path was worn in works such as *A Line Made By Walking, England* (1967)—gave a new meaning to William Henry Fox Talbot's description of photography as the "pencil of nature," as these actions themselves could be seen to be "writing" on the surface of the English countryside. Working concurrently in Italy, Anselmo would produce *Entrare nell'opera* (Entering the work, 1971), a photographic emulsion on canvas that depicts the artist taking another kind of walk through the landscape. In this case we are presented with a long-range view of the artist himself walking down the slopes of a volcanic mountainside in rural Italy. Anselmo's photograph is at once an existentialist statement about the isolation of the individual and an invocation of the geological forces of gravity and volcanism, as well as the physical energy that is continuously present in the natural world. As he suggested, "energy exists beneath the most varied of appearances and situations."[13]

Photography also became a tool in the 1960s and 1970s for a number of artists who began to make investigations and interventions into the built environment. If Anselmo was concerned with the natural forces of gravity, Robert Smithson would attempt in his sculptures and photographic works to capture the movement of another kind of energy—the transformative geological decay associated with "what the physicist calls 'entropy' or 'energy drain.'"[14] Whether turning his camera on the crumbling "monumental" industrial structures of suburban New Jersey in *Monuments of Passaic* (1967) or on the ongoing simultaneous disintegration and reconstruction of a small Mexican hotel in his slide lecture presentation *Hotel Palenque* (1969), Smithson would record the "ghostly photographic remains" of the slow movement of entropy in the man-made environment.[15] His friend and contemporary Gordon Matta-Clark would also engage the camera as an aesthetic accomplice in looking at another kind of ghostly remains. In his case, he would use photography to at once document and complete his "cutting" interventions into abandoned vernacular architectural forms in the urban environment. Described by Dan Graham as a "form of urban ecology," Matta-Clark's projects, such as *Splitting* (1974), provided a sculptural attempt at a critical social analysis of vernacular architectural forms as kinds of "anti-monuments." His photographs of these ephemeral works were later recomposed into collages that took on a sculptural presence in and of themselves.

Architecture was an important critical concern at this time, as can be seen in Pamela Lee's essay in this volume, which addresses the dialectical relationship between the camera and architecture since the invention of photography. It was taken up in the 1960s as a subject by Bernd and Hilla Becher and Dan Graham, each of whom undertook photographic analyses of ubiquitous and banal architectural forms. While the Bechers focused on the disappearing vernacular architecture of the industrial landscape, photographing structures such as water towers, gas holders, grain elevators, and cooling towers, which they referred to as "anonymous sculptures," Dan Graham would point a somewhat more critical eye at the serial repetition of forms in American postwar suburban tract housing in *Homes for America* (1966–1967). Employing an amateur snapshot aesthetic, as opposed to the Bechers' more professional approach, Graham used his camera to call into question the repetitive nature of the architectural forms of American suburban housing, critically likening them to the serial nature of the "primary structures" of Minimalist sculpture. For Graham, both the New Jersey tract homes that he documented and Minimalist sculpture were products of a standardization that generated a particular kind of alienating effect in its disconnection from a grounding in the social. His photographic intervention tries to make these connections explicit.

While the Bechers and Graham focused on the formal and social analysis of the built environment, another group of artists working concurrently took another approach to the Minimalist aesthetics of the period by either constructing or documenting abstracted photographic geometries. In 1966 Mel Bochner took up photography to begin a series of Post-Minimalist investigations into the formal nature of the system of perspective. His abstracted photographic distortions of the grid—the central tool of Renaissance perspective—would refocus our attention on the system of perspective itself rather than employing perspective as a tool to represent the world. Sol LeWitt would similarly take on the legacy of the grid in his photo books, such as the aptly

named *Photogrids* (1978), in which he brought together hundreds of snapshots of readymade grids and gridlike structures in the everyday environment. The serial nature of these works belies their ability to tell a story through the narrative juxtaposition of abstracted forms taken from a variety of sources, including window screens, air vents, manhole covers, and mosaic treatments in Islamic architecture. A similar but more phenomenological analysis of Minimalist geometries in the built environment can be seen in the work of the Indian artist Nasreen Mohamedi, whose mid-1970s photographs of abstracted architectural forms around New Delhi trace the index of a peripatetic subject attempting to comprehend the formal complexity of urban space. As Geeta Kapur has suggested, Mohamedi's photographs instantiate a vision in which "the mobile body seeks to comprehend the urban environment."[16]

A number of artists in the 1960s and 1970s became increasingly interested in the profusion and growing power of photographic images in both our personal lives and the mass media. The influence of our cultural photographic archive can be seen in the work of Christian Boltanski and Hans-Peter Feldmann. In works such as *Les 62 membres du Club Mickey en 1955* (The 62 members of the Mickey Mouse Club in 1955) of 1972, which consists of arrangements of found snapshots of anonymous people, Boltanski took a less analytical approach to the archive by attributing a poetic melancholy of lost memory to the forgotten faces in family portraits and snapshots. Feldmann, by contrast—in his series of modest book editions begun in 1968, simply titled *Bild* or *Bilder* (Picture or Pictures) or in his collection of 1970s commercial posters *Sonntagsbilder* (Sunday pictures; 1976–1977)—brought together banal images found in the media—airplanes, shoes, chairs, women's knees, clothing, soccer players, landscapes—organizing them without commentary in a systematic format. His idiosyncratic archive drew on the wealth of everyday images that surround us. By culling photographs from the media environment and reorganizing them according to the logic of his own taxonomy, Feldmann reinvested them with a new kind of visual narrativity that allows viewers to read them in light of their personal histories.

Among the primary forces behind the profusion of multiple uses for photography in this period were the strategies of conceptually inspired artists such as Victor Burgin, Douglas Huebler, Martha Rosler, and Allen Ruppersberg. In works such as Huebler's Variable Pieces, Burgin's *Performative/Narrative* (1971), Ruppersberg's *Seeing and Believing* (1972), and Rosler's *The Bowery in Two Inadequate Descriptive Systems* (1974), the artists explore the gap between the intelligibility of language and the certainty of visual perception. Ruppersberg's *Seeing and Believing*, for example, presents us with a paradox. Six snapshots of the exteriors of houses are mounted under a text that reads "seeing," while another six snapshots of the artist in a series of living rooms that may or may not be from those homes sit beneath a text that reads "believing." Are we to believe what we see? How adequate (or inadequate, as Rosler's title suggests) is the system of linguistic and visual representation? Each of these works, in its own way, casts doubt on the transparency of this confluence of language and images.

Staged photography—what the critic A. D. Coleman referred to in 1976 as photography's "directorial mode"—became an important tool for a number of artists who sought to compose their very own theaters of the absurd.[17] In the photographic work of Bas Jan Ader, Peter Fischli and David Weiss, Ger Van Elk, and William Wegman, photography was used to construct humor-laden scenarios that are at once fantastic and illogical. Ader's comedic attempt to use his prone body to compose a Mondrian painting in his work *On the Road to Neo Plasticism, Westkapelle, Holland* (1971) and Van Elk's equally strange "documentation" of the emergence of a school of sardines from the cracks in the pavement of a highway in *The Discovery of the Sardines, Placerita Canyon, Newhall, California* (1971) both point to an increasingly common use of set-up or staged photography for theatrical ends. Wegman's early photographic scenarios included similar investigations of perceptual nonsequiturs that were often as intellectually challenging as they were humorous. In *Crow* (1970), a taxidermic parrot casts a strangely inappropriate shadow, while another photograph depicts a piece of heavy steel leaning against the wall with the appended caption "to hide his deformity he wore special clothing." Later in the decade, this technique would find its way into the work of the Swiss duo Fischli and Weiss, whose first collaborative work, Wurstserie (Sausage series, 1979), would present ten "dramatic" tableaux enacted by sausages and lunchmeats. Engaging a childlike sense of play and wonder, these scenarios often turn dark, as in the depiction of the collision of two "sausagemobiles" in *Der Unfall* (The accident). As in Nauman's Eleven Color Photographs, the humor that suffuses these works, while undermining the self-importance of much contemporary art of the time, belies a critical engagement with issues of language and visual perception.

The body has been a primary subject for photography since its invention in the early nineteenth century. As we have already seen in the work of Klein and Nauman, the 1960s and 1970s saw the emergence of a wide variety of artistic practices that reasserted the primacy of embodiment in performative works that were often done solely in front of the camera. Vito Acconci, one of the primary innovators in this field, completed an important series of photographic works between 1969 and 1970 that explored a series of perceptual and phenomenological tasks that the artist assigned himself as a way of physically embodying vision and exploring the world around him. Setting himself tasks such as "jumping, holding camera: 5 broad jumps along country path—at the end of each jump, snap shutter as I hit ground," Acconci would literally throw himself into his environment and record the physical perception of that movement with a photograph. As he suggested, "They were photos not of an activity but through an activity; the activity . . . could produce a picture."[18]

Other artists working at the time—such as Charles Ray, Valie Export, and Bruce Conner—also used their own bodies to undertake photographic experiments in their studios or the environment. In Ray's *Plank Piece I–II* (1973), Export's Körperkonfiguration (Body configuration) series, or Conner's ANGEL (1975), the artist's body takes center stage in an arena normally reserved for more traditional materials. This expanded sense of sculptural practice, with the body at its center, is also articulated in the earliest photographic works of Gilbert & George. In the series Any Port in a Storm, for example, the artists turned the camera on themselves to construct sculptural photographic documents of distorted states of being, as in their works *Staggering*, *Smashed*, or *Falling*, all of 1972,

each of which was related to an altered perceptual or physical state.

At the same time that Gilbert & George declared all of their work to be sculpture—including their performances, which they called "living sculptures"—the physical substance of the body, as a subject and an artistic material, would also become a favored topic of a wide range of artists who interrogated both aesthetic and social issues regarding the status of gender. Eleanor Antin's *Carving: A Traditional Sculpture* (1972), for example, can be read as an early entry into this discussion. The 148 black-and-white photographs that make up this work document the artist's weight loss over a thirty-six-day period. Installed in a grid format with multiple views of the artist's naked body from the front, back, and sides, Antin's work questions not only the objectified status of women in a patriarchal culture but also the conventional notion of sculpture itself.

The use of the artist's body in the photographic practice of the time was closely related to another use of self-portraiture in the service of the interrogation of identity. Works such as Hannah Wilke's *S.O.S.—Starification Object Series* (1974–1982), Ana Mendieta's *Untitled (Facial Cosmetic Variations)* (1972), and Adrian Piper's *Mythic Being: I/You (Her)* (1974) would also use the camera to explore issues of gender and racial identity. In Piper's case, for example, the artist hand-altered a series of black-and-white photographic self-portraits of herself with a white woman, transforming her image through drawing into that of an African American man with exaggerated features. Piper would also add a continuous written monologue onto the surface of the photographic image that details the deterioration of the relationship between these two figures, raising questions about our perceptions of the politics of ethnic difference.

Piper's "mythic being" was one among many personas that artists at this moment would adopt in order to pose a wide-ranging set of questions about identity. This strategy of self-portraiture was referred to by many critics as masquerade. David Lamelas' *Rock Star (Character Appropriation)* (1974) presented an early example of this approach. In this series of ten photographs Lamelas transformed himself into a cultural icon in a kind of photographic elaboration of boyhood air guitar fantasies. Cindy Sherman is perhaps the best known of the artists who have turned to this device in their work. She would follow Lamelas and Piper with her Untitled Film Stills (1977–1980), which ambivalently depicted the artist in a series of stereotypical female roles, ranging from the femme fatale to the ingenue, derived from the history of Hollywood cinema. The act of personal transformation, as the artist moves from one fragmented narrative scenario to the next, can also be seen at work in the Polaroid self-portraits of Andy Warhol dressed in drag, from around 1981. These images descend in a direct line from the early Man Ray portrait of Marcel Duchamp dressed as his alter ego Rrose Sélavy. In each of these cases, the camera becomes a transformational apparatus that allows the artist to respond to the various mediated images of identity that bombard us in contemporary consumer culture.

Cindy Sherman, *Untitled Film Still #56*, 1980 (cat. no. 157)

In 1976, even as Nancy Foote's provocative elaboration of "anti-photography" was giving a name to fifteen years of wide-ranging alternative uses of photography, the argument had shifted once again as a new generation of artists began building on the ground cleared by the photographic practices of Nauman, Ruscha, and others.
In 1977 this shift would become visible in an exhibition entitled *Pictures*, which was organized by the art historian and critic Douglas Crimp for Artists Space in New York. Including the work of Troy Brauntauch, Jack Goldstein, Sherrie Levine, Robert Longo, and Phillip Smith, *Pictures* would signal the recognition of the influence of a virulent media culture not just on photographic practice but on painting and sculpture as well. Crimp's curatorial statement for this exhibition offered a telling assessment of the shifting cultural sands of the late 1970s:

> **To an ever greater extent our experience is governed by pictures, pictures in newspapers and magazines, on television and in the cinema. Next to these pictures firsthand experience begins to retreat, to seem more and more trivial. While it once seemed that pictures had the function of interpreting reality, it now seems that they have usurped it. It therefore becomes imperative to understand the picture itself, not in order to uncover a lost reality, but to determine how a picture becomes a signifying structure of its own accord.[19]**

The image world to which Crimp alluded was foreshadowed in the writings of Walter Benjamin and Siegfried Kracauer in the 1920s and 1930s and later those of Marshall McLuhan in the 1960s. It was at the very moment that Crimp was writing, however, that intellectuals such as Jean Baudrillard began theorizing in publications such as *Simulations* (1983) what he would term the

world of the "simulacrum," where the image no longer corresponds to reality but becomes a kind of reality in and of itself.[20] The generation of artists that Crimp was pointing to was interested in unpacking the structural mechanics of this world of simulation and of the picture itself. How was it possible to operate in a world where the image had lost its truth function and reality had morphed into illusion without the minimal courtesy of an acknowledgment? This question was hardly a new one, as even a cursory reading of Plato's *Republic*, with its skeptical attitude toward the shadows of representation, might suggest, but it nonetheless presented itself in a newly intensified manner in the late 1970s.

Crimp was one of a number of authors, including Abigail Solomon-Godeau and Hal Foster, who would become leading critical voices in the attempt to elaborate what would come to be called "postmodern culture." In his 1984 essay "The Photographic Activity of Postmodernism," (reprinted in this volume) Crimp would argue that our new relationship to pictures challenges "photography's claims to originality, showing those claims for the fiction that they are, showing photography to be always a representation, always-already-seen." He then went on to point out that the artists that he was discussing—Sherrie Levine, Cindy Sherman, and Richard Prince—practiced a kind of image theft in their work which would come to be known as appropriation. "Their images are purloined, *stolen*. In their work, the original cannot be located, it is always deferred; even the self which might have generated an original is shown to be itself a copy." While the debates around the question of postmodernism raged throughout the 1980s and into the early 1990s—raising doubts about its significance, desirability, and character—it became clear that a new cultural situation had emerged, to which artists were clearly responding with new aesthetic strategies.

Theoretical debates aside, this newly defined world of pictures would become the focal point for a wide range of artists, including Sarah Charlesworth, Barbara Kruger, Sherrie Levine, Richard Prince, Cindy Sherman, Laurie Simmons, and James Welling. What bound many of these artists together (albeit loosely) was the strategy of appropriation—the "purloined" or "stolen" images that Crimp identified as the defining characteristic of postmodern photographic activity. The choice of borrowing images from the media in the late 1970s was, however, hardly a revolutionary aesthetic technique, owing an enormous debt to avant-garde practitioners of the 1920s and 1930s, including John Heartfield and even Marcel Duchamp. It was also impossible to overlook the impact of the work of Robert Rauschenberg and particularly Andy Warhol or even the graphic provocateurs of the Situationist movement of the 1960s. These younger artists practicing what might be loosely called appropriation owed a more direct debt to the influential photographic work of John Baldessari, who even in the late 1960s began to presage the coming of the so-called Pictures artists in the mid-1970s. In works such as *A Movie: Directional Piece Where People Are Looking* (1972–1973), Baldessari borrowed images from the history of film, rearranging them and re-presenting them in order to disrupt and challenge our received notions of the syntax of narrative cinema.

Baldessari's use of appropriation would set the stage for a number of younger artists in the 1970s and 1980s who would come to develop these strategies for other ends. Sherrie Levine would make a head-on assault on the male-dominated canon of art history by provocatively rephotographing the works of famous male artists such as Edward Weston, Egon Schiele, and Aleksandr Rodchenko and presenting these images as her own. In the fall of 1981, for example, Levine would mount an exhibition at Metro Pictures in New York in which she would display After Walker Evans (1981), a suite of twenty-two rephotographed images of some of the most famous works of the

Man Ray; *Marcel Duchamp as Rrose Sélavy*, c. 1920–1921; gelatin silver print; 8½ x 6¹³⁄₁₆ in. (21.6 x 17.3 cm); Philadelphia Museum of Art: The Samuel S. White 3rd and Vera White Collection, 1957

Sherrie Levine; *After Walker Evans: 17*, 1981 (under cat. no. 85)

American photographer. Levine took this portfolio of photographs from Evans' contribution to his 1939 book with the writer James Agee, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*, a classic example of the social documentary journalism commissioned by the Farm Security Administration during the Great Depression. On one level, Levine's simple Duchampian gesture of appropriation presented an ardent attempt to disrupt the liturgical flow of the modernist story of art history, with its focus on the heroic achievements of male artists, by raising questions of authorship, originality, and attribution. On another level, her act of appropriation was not so much a negation as a strange kind of homage to her subjects. Her rephotographed works were, as she explained, "in some sense two photographs—a photograph on top of a photograph," which helped her "create a metaphor by layering two images, instead of putting them side by side."[21] It is the doubling effect produced in these works, their creation of doppelgangers of well-known images, that has given them the power to disturb our sense of order while also opening them up for another kind of interpretive cathexis.

Even before Sherrie Levine turned her attention to the world of art history for source material, Richard Prince had trained his camera on images from the realm of advertising. In 1977 he rephotographed a series of four commercial images of luxuriant living room ensembles that had originally been published in the *New York Times Magazine* and presented them as his own, without their accompanying texts. Other images would soon come into his field of vision, including highly polished commercial depictions of luxury products such as watches and pens or the consumerist fantasy scenarios inhabited by male and female models. In works such as *Untitled (three men looking in the same direction)* (1978), Prince's repeated acts of serial appropriation produced a destabilizing effect on the content of the images—what he referred to as a kind of "social science fiction"—and offered a somewhat ambivalent commentary on the circulatory system of the media, with its inundating flow of fictional images. Who were these people? What were these worlds that they inhabited? These are the questions that present themselves when looking at Prince's images.

Through its appropriative procedures, Prince's work, like that of Levine, would similarly produce a doubling of the representation and the real that was seen as a crucial aspect of so-called postmodern photographic practice. He would comment on this aspect of his work, suggesting that these photographs might be more real than real, a corollary to the slogan "more human than human," proffered by the "replicant" manufacturer Tyrrel Corporation in Ridley Scott's 1982 film *Blade Runner*:

> **By generating what appears to be a double, it might be possible to represent what the original photograph or picture *imagined*. . . . More technological than mechanical, more a simulation than an expression, the result is a photograph that's *the closest thing to the real thing*. And since I feel a bit more comfortable, perhaps more reassured around a picture that appears to be truer than it really is, I find the best way for me to make it real is to make it again, and making it again is enough for me and certainly, personally speaking, almost me.**[22]

Perhaps then we are the Marlboro men of Prince's untitled series of cowboys from the early 1980s, liberated from our captivity in the world of consumer images. The "almost me" of Prince's practice suggests a different kind of vision of America than that proffered by Walker Evans, as it is on one level resolutely in denial of the humanist intentions of that earlier body of documentary photography. Nonetheless, Prince's doubling of the real world evokes another vision of photography—that of Bochner's "misunderstandings," with their implicit distrust of the truth function of the medium. This was the landscape that photography inhabited in 1982.

We began this story in 1960 in France, the purported site of photography's invention, with a literally incredible leap into the void. We end it a continent away, in America, with the confluence of two pirated pictures of the American dream: Levine's vision of Walker Evans' America, on the one hand, and Prince's overwrought images of consumption brought to us by the likes of Philip Morris, on the other. One might think from looking at their works that these artists are the ultimate purveyors of the last picture, as they offer us the photographic spoils of a world saturated with images. Looking at Levine's version of Evans' photograph of Annie Mae Gudger or Prince's rephotographed "gang" of fashion models, it is not hard to imagine precisely why Smithson suggested that the power of the camera was "abominable" or even why he would go on to contend that a camera shop would make a good setting for a horror movie. Presumably, photography's boundless ability to replicate the world was at the center of his anxiety.

But perhaps Smithson's discomfort was misplaced. In the end, are Prince and Levine any more "guilty" of appropriation than, say, Walker Evans? Isn't appropriat-

Richard Prince; *Untitled (Cowboy)*, 1980–1984; Ektacolor print; 50 x 70 in. (127 x 177.8 cm); courtesy Barbara Gladstone Gallery

ing the world what the camera does best? In effect, each of these artists has presented a portrait of America—Evans, a group of sharecroppers; Levine, a series of "still-life" photographs of the book plate reproductions of Evans' images; Prince, a fictional landscape composed of our collective dreams of the consumer image world. The conceptual gap separating these snapshots of America seems much smaller today than it might have in 1960. Evans himself "rephotographed" commercial signage and roadside billboards throughout his career and is often credited with inspiring the development of Pop Art in the 1960s. This convergence makes one start to think that the last picture might not have come yet, let alone the last picture show, which today seems like a distant dream.

By the early 1980s this so-called abominable power of the camera had come full circle to critically engage in a provocative cultural image cannibalism that was far removed from the canonical "decisive moments" of twentieth-century art photography in its modernist incarnation. The irony, however, is that Levine and Prince might be seen to be practicing a straighter kind of photography than modernist "straight photography" itself. Of course, the subject of Levine's and Prince's straight photography is the world of pictures.

It is here then that the last picture comes back into the frame of the first picture and Nancy Foote's "anti-photographers" simply become artists using the camera. *The Last Picture Show* traces this movement through two decades of artistic practice that encouraged provocative experimentation with and through the medium of photography, providing something of an answer to Smithson's anxiety. Far from offering us a photographic apocalypse, the artists represented in this exhibition instead reinvigorated photography, clearing ground for subsequent artists who would explore the medium. In the twenty years that have passed since the last work in this exhibition was produced, two or three generations have profited from these conceptual engagements with the medium. Taking up the camera as one tool among others, these younger artists have attempted to respond to Louise Lawler's question "Why pictures now?" The legacy of the artists whose work appears in *The Last Picture Show* has enabled them to proffer a simple answer: "Why not?"

Notes

1. Henri Cartier-Bresson, *The Decisive Moment* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1952), unpaginated.
2. John Szarkowski, *The Photographer's Eye* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1966), 4.
3. Lucy Lippard and John Chandler, "The Dematerialization of Art," in *Conceptual Art: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Alexander Alberro and Blake Stimson (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999), 46. Originally published in *Art International* 12 (February 1968): 31–36.
4. Rosalind Krauss, "Sculpture in the Expanded Field," in *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, ed. Hal Foster (Seattle: Bay Press, 1983), 31–42.
5. See Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage, 1977).
6. In 1937 Man Ray published a portfolio of twelve of his photographs with an introduction by André Breton under the title *Photography Is Not Art*. See Arturo Schwarz, *Man Ray: The Rigour of Imagination* (New York: Rizzoli, 1977), 14.
7. Cited ibid., 12.
8. See Neal Benezra, "Surveying Nauman," in *Bruce Nauman* (Minneapolis: Walker Art Center, 1994), 24.
9. Coosje van Bruggen, *Bruce Nauman* (New York: Rizzoli, 1988), 14.
10. Willoughby Sharp, "Nauman Interview," *Arts Magazine* 44 (March 1970): 2.
11. Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken, 1968), 217–251.
12. Paul Schimmel, "Polkography," in *Sigmar Polke Photoworks: When Pictures Vanish*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: Museum of Contemporary Art, 1995), 61.
13. Giovanni Anselmo, "I, The World, Things, Life," in Germano Celant, *Art Povera* (New York: Praeger, 1969), 109.
14. Robert Smithson, "Entropy and the New Monuments," *Artforum* 4 (June 1966); reprinted in Jack Flam, ed., *Robert Smithson: The Collected Writings* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 10–11.
15. Robert Smithson, "Incidents of Mirror-Travel in the Yucatan," *Artforum* 8 (September 1969): 31.
16. Geeta Kapur, *When Was Modernism?* (New Delhi: Tulika Books, 2000), 78.
17. A. D. Coleman, "The Directorial Mode: Notes toward a Definition," *Artforum* 15 (September 1976): 55–61.
18. Vito Acconci, "Notes on My Photographs, 1969–1970," in *Vito Acconci: Photographic Works, 1969–1970*, exh. cat. (New York: Brooke Alexander, 1988), unpaginated.
19. Douglas Crimp, "Pictures," in *Pictures*, exh. cat. (New York: Artists Space, 1977), 3, as cited in Anne Rorimer, "Photography/Language/Context: Prelude to the 1980s," in *A Forest of Signs*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: Museum of Contemporary Art, 1989), 151.
20. See Jean Baudrillard, *Simulations* (New York: Semiotexte, 1983).
21. Sherrie Levine, in Jeanne Siegel, "The Anxiety of Influence—Head On: A Conversation between Sherrie Levine and Jeanne Siegel," in *Sherrie Levine*, exh. cat. (Zurich: Kunsthalle Zürich, 1991), 15.
22. Richard Prince, "The Closest Thing to the Real Thing" (1982), cited in Lisa Phillips, *Richard Prince*, exh. cat. (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1992), 28.

Louise Lawler, *Why Pictures Now*, 1981 (cat. no. 78)