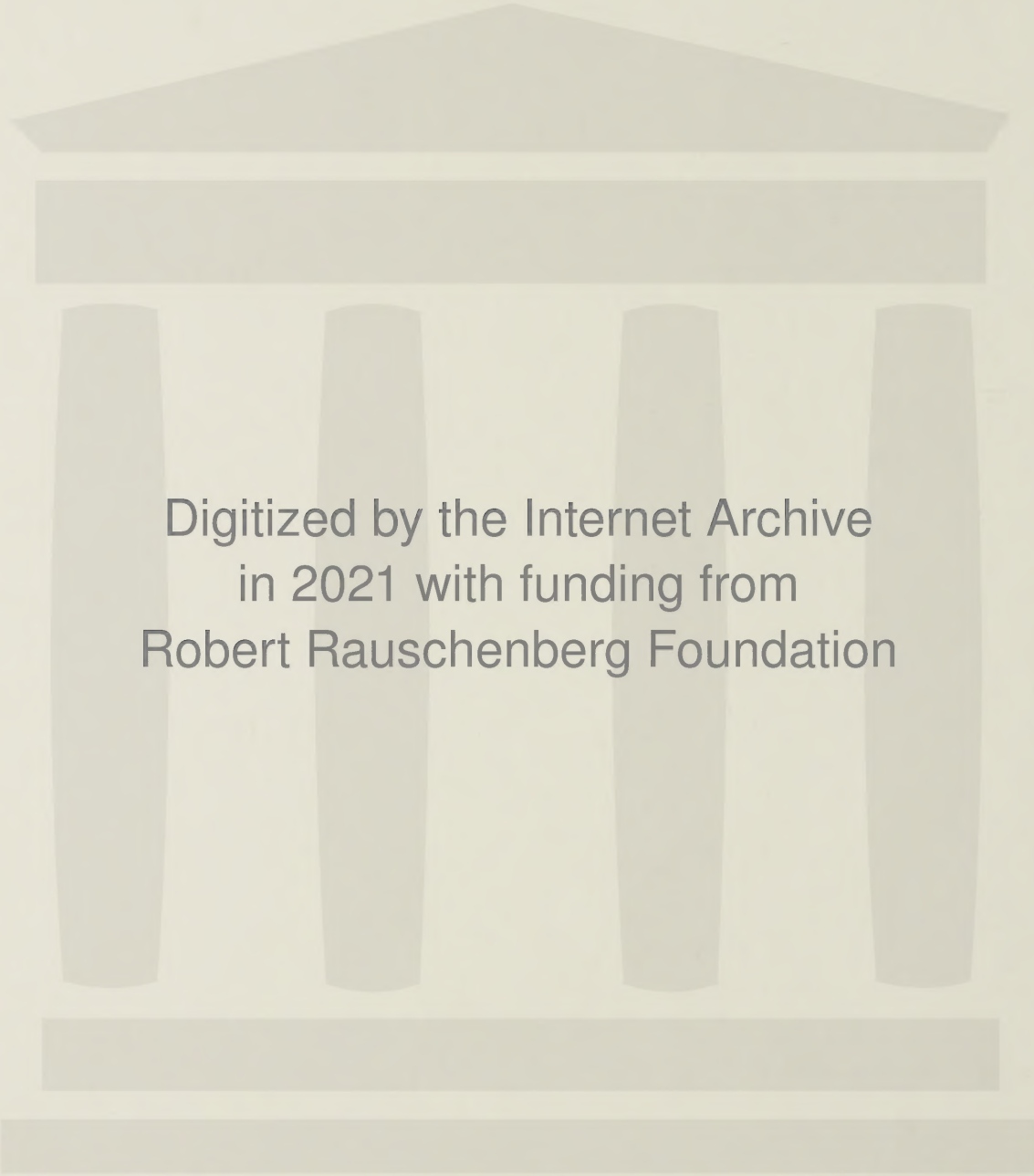






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RAUS CHEN BERG

robert

combines

"Robert Rauschenberg: Combines" is organized by Paul Schimmel for The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, and made possible by the generous support of Jane and Marc Nathanson; Herta and Paul Amir; Mr. and Mrs. T. Willem Mesdag; The Brotman Foundation of California; Audrey M. Irmes; Carla and Fred Sands; The Jamie and Steve Tisch Foundation; Lenore S. and Bernard A. Greenberg; Brenda Potter and Michael Sandler; Janet and Tom Unterman; Betye Monell Burton; East West Bank; and anonymous donors. Major promotional support is provided by KJAZZ 88.1 FM.

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EXHIBITION TOUR

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
20 December 2005–2 April 2006

This exhibition is organized by The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, in association with The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles
21 May–11 September 2006

Musée national d'art moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris
25 October 2006–21 January 2007

Moderna Museet, Stockholm
17 February–6 May 2007

Works in the exhibition are indicated by an asterisk.

The Rauschenberg archives were the primary source consulted in preparing this publication. Every effort has been made to confirm each Combine and its history. However, in some instances, original documentation was unavailable for verification. This publication includes all works identified as Combines by the Rauschenberg Studio.

Cover: Richard Avedon, *Robert Rauschenberg, artist*,
New York, 2 May 1960, 1960
Courtesy The Richard Avedon Foundation

Opposite and pages 12–13: Rauschenberg in his
Front Street studio, New York, 1958

Page 4: *Coca-Cola Plan*, 1958

Page 6: *Interview*, 1955, detail

Page 314: Rauschenberg in his Broadway studio, New York, 1961

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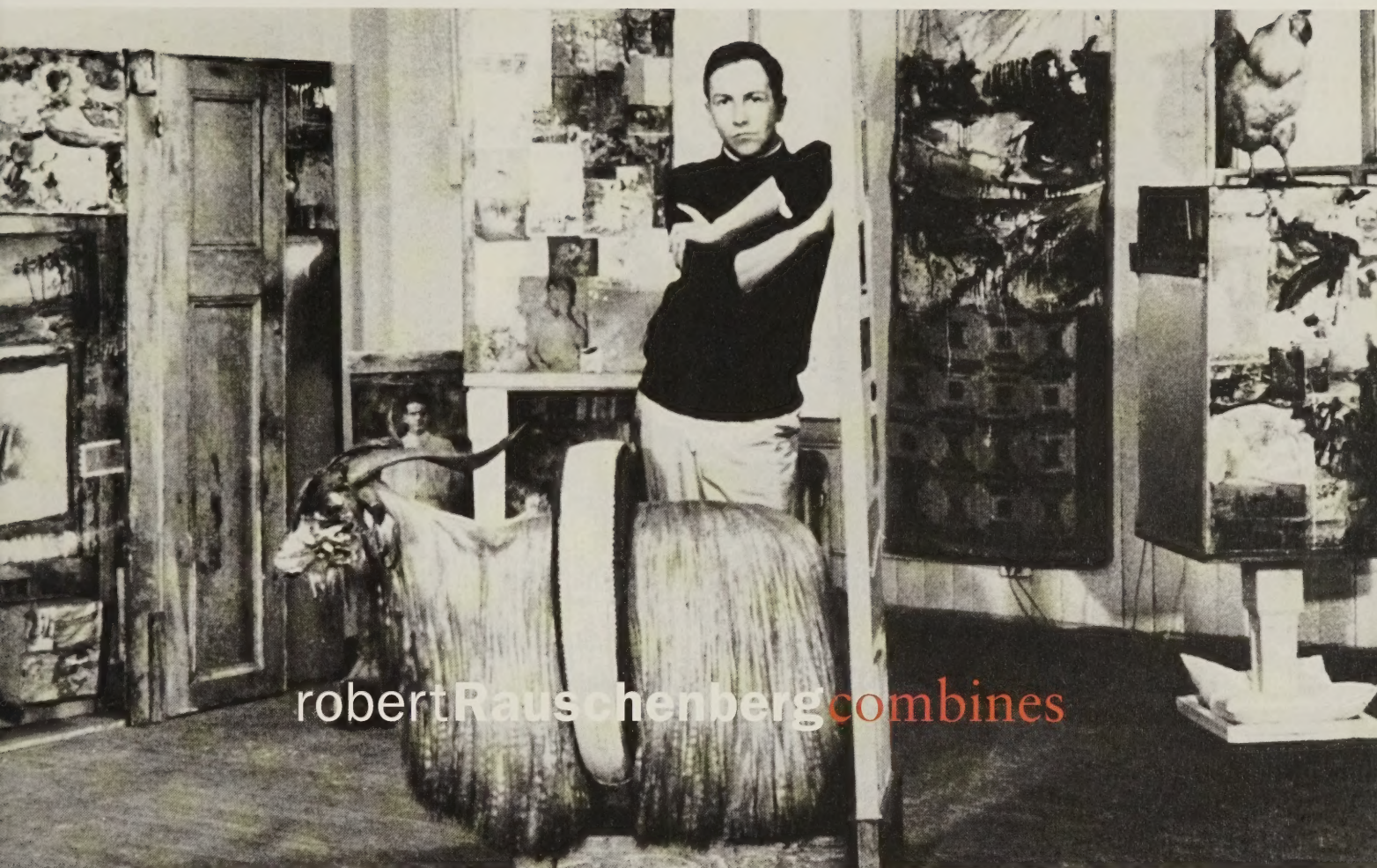
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robert Rauschenberg combines

Organized by Paul Schimmel

Essays by Thomas Crow, Branden W. Joseph, Paul Schimmel, and Charles Stuckey

Afterword by Pontus Hultén

The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles

Steidl



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Director's Foreword JEREMY STRICK

Much late-twentieth-century contemporary art is unthinkable without Robert Rauschenberg. At a time when Abstract Expressionism seemed firmly established as the reigning style of American art, Rauschenberg paved the way for new possibilities, creating a space between painting and sculpture and between performance and the object. His work opened the door to the practice of drawing the artist's own life—even time itself—into art. In the wake of his artistic breakthrough, Pop art, Happenings, Fluxus, Arte Povera, performance art, and installation art emerged. As a contemporary art institution, The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, offers the work of the present moment as well as the work of the immediate past that continues to resonate today. In an age defined by sampling and appropriation, Rauschenberg's art continues to be germane, and it is our hope that this exhibition will attest to his relevance for an entirely new generation of artists and viewers.

Within Rauschenberg's impressive oeuvre, the Combines (1953–64) stand out as the epitome of his visionary approach. MOCA's collection is blessed with eleven Combines—including *Untitled* (c. 1954, also known as *Man with White Shoes* or *Plymouth Rock*), *Interview* (1955), *Factum I* (1957), and *Coca-Cola Plan* (1958)—which were part of MOCA's first great acquisition, the collection of Count Giuseppe Panza di Biumo. Rauschenberg's iconic works, along with the other masterworks in the Panza Collection, have inspired a number of important exhibitions over the years.

It has been more than fifty years since the first Combine was made, and, incredibly, no complete survey of these works has been attempted until now. I wholeheartedly commend MOCA Chief Curator Paul Schimmel for his extraordinary dedication to this body of work. Paul's commitment to Rauschenberg reaches back to his 1992 exhibition "Hand-Painted Pop: American Art in Transition, 1955–62." He also has a distinguished history of organizing outstanding monographic exhibitions inspired by his work with MOCA's permanent collection, including "Gorky's Betrothals" (1994) and "Willem de Kooning: Tracing the Figure" (2002). Ably assisted by Mary Beth Carosello, Paul exhaustively researched the Combines and assembled an impressive selection for exhibition. In addition, the catalogue represents the most comprehensive publication dedicated to this body of work. The research and development of both benefited immeasurably from the advice and guidance of the Rauschenberg Studio, especially Curator David White, who has lent this exhibition his steadfast support.

I extend my enduring gratitude to MOCA's extraordinary Board of Trustees, in particular Jane and Marc Nathanson, whose exceptional support of this exhibition deserves special mention; Mr. and Mrs. T. Willem Mesdag; Audrey M. Irmas; Carla and Fred Sands; Lenore S. and Bernard A. Greenberg; Brenda Potter and Michael Sandler; Janet and Tom Unterman; and Betye Monell Burton. "Robert Rauschenberg: Combines" is also possible thanks to the generosity of Herta and Paul Amir, The Brotman Foundation of California, The Jamie and Steve Tisch Foundation, East West Bank, and anonymous donors. MOCA is deeply grateful to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, for its commitment to the exhibition, and my thanks go to Philippe de Montebello, director; Gary Tinterow, Engelhard Curator in Charge of the Department of Nineteenth-Century, Modern, and Contemporary Art; and Nan Rosenthal, senior consultant in the Department of Nineteenth-Century, Modern, and Contemporary Art. Nan, in particular, worked closely with Paul to realize the presentation at the Metropolitan Museum. We also extend sincere appreciation to our colleagues in Europe for crucial support of the exhibition tour: Alfred Pacquement, director, and Jean-Paul Ameline, chief curator, at the Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris; and Lars Nittve, director, and Anna Tellgren, curator, at the Moderna Museet, Stockholm.

I reserve my most profound thanks for Robert Rauschenberg, not only for his support and cooperation in the organization of this exhibition, but for the indelible mark he has left on the art of our time.

Preface and Acknowledgments PAUL SCHIMMEL

In 1990, I joined the staff of The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles (MOCA), as chief curator. Less than a decade old, MOCA had already achieved international recognition for its extraordinary acquisition of Abstract Expressionist and early Pop masterpieces from the Panza Collection, including works by Jean Fautrier, Franz Kline, Roy Lichtenstein, Claes Oldenburg, James Rosenquist, and Mark Rothko, as well as the most formidable collection of Robert Rauschenberg's Combine works held by any institution. Since the Panza purchase, exceptionally rich and in-depth holdings by individual artists have been the hallmark of MOCA's collection, and the Combines have remained the museum's single most significant monographic body of work.

As chief curator, one of my commitments has been to focus on the permanent collection in a way that both explores and contextualizes its strengths. Among the first exhibitions I organized for MOCA was "Hand-Painted Pop: American Art in Transition, 1955–62" in 1992. Co-organized by then-Ahmanson Curatorial Fellow Donna De Salvo, "Hand-Painted Pop" focused on pre-mechanical hand-painted works from the uniquely early Pop-art holdings of the Panza Collection. The exhibition featured a generation of artists who were transitioning during the mid-1950s from the painterly (ancestral) tradition of the New York School toward the emerging Pop movement. With paintings such as Jasper Johns's *Map* (1962) and Andy Warhol's *Telephone* (1961) already part of its collection, MOCA had an exceptional base from which to explore this protean period in the history of American art, at the heart of which were the museum's eleven extraordinary works from Rauschenberg's Combine period.

As extensive as Rauschenberg's contribution to postwar art has been, the seminal period when he was making the Combines was also the moment when he began to have an impact on the visual arts internationally. There have been hundreds of Rauschenberg exhibitions, dozens of which have included significant selections of Combines, but there has been no exhibition that has exclusively and exhaustively examined the period of Rauschenberg's oeuvre from 1954 through the early 60s. In fact, the exhibition that came closest to surveying the Combine period was Rauschenberg's first solo museum show, organized in 1963 by Alan Solomon for the Jewish Museum in New York as the first in a new series on contemporary art. Solomon noted in the exhibition catalogue for the landmark show that it was "particularly appropriate that Robert Rauschenberg should be chosen as the subject of the first exhibition, since he must be counted among the important precursors of the newest tendencies in modern art. Despite his importance, his work has never been shown on this scale, and he has never been given a one-man show in a museum, even though he is always included in every important exhibition of contemporary painting, and examples of his painting appear in major collections in this country and abroad."

"Robert Rauschenberg: Combines" follows two significant and thorough exhibitions that examine the periods that bracket the production of the Combines. "Robert Rauschenberg: The Early 1950s," organized by Walter Hopps in 1991, focused on work made between 1949 and 1954, including the Red Paintings, a transitional series that included some of the three-dimensional elements and collage effects characteristic of the Combines. In fact, many elements featured in the Combine works—doilies, photographs, paper clippings, and cartoons—make up a sort of undercarriage for the more homogenous and monochromatic Red Paintings. On the other end, "Robert Rauschenberg: The Silkscreen Paintings, 1962–64," organized by Roni Feinstein for the Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, in 1990, traced Rauschenberg's move from hand-painted to silkscreen works. Although some of his silkscreen paintings, especially earlier pieces, include three-dimensional elements, the move away from hand-painting marks a clear distinction between these two bodies of work.

So, here we are, over fifty years after the creation of some of the most influential, poetic, and revolutionary works in the history of American art, seeing them for the first time in a focused and comprehensive manner. That it has taken this long to organize an exhibition devoted exclusively to these iconic masterpieces of mid-century American art is difficult to fathom. But it is quite possible that, after the 1963 Jewish Museum exhibition and his participation in the 1964 Venice Biennale (where he became the first American winner of the Golden Lion award for painting), Rauschenberg felt a return to this moment in his extraordinary career

unnecessary. An artist of new ideas and energy who is always moving forward, he perhaps believed this particular practice had already exhausted itself, in that it had produced works that had become acknowledged masterpieces.

Within the ten-year span covered by this exhibition, the Combines developed through at least five stages, beginning with the transitional Red Paintings of 1953–54. The collage pieces dating from 1954–55 anticipate later works in their incorporation of found materials, three-dimensional objects, and, above all, painterly application of color. The rich and textured surfaces of these early works have remained characteristic of the artist's oeuvre throughout his career. Though he continued to produce works with three-dimensional qualities and hand-painted surfaces until 1964, it was between 1955 and 1961 that the majority of the Combines were made. During this time the artist was able to draw upon the lessons he had learned from his previous experiments with form, in some cases incorporating earlier works or fragments into larger and more complex compositions. The mature Combines of 1955–57 are truly three-dimensional; the period of often-autobiographical pieces began with *Untitled* (c. 1954, plate 28) or, as Rauschenberg has consistently referred to it, *Plymouth Rock*. The works of 1958–61 are increasingly gestural; set apart from previous Combines by the conspicuous incorporation of text, they move towards dramatic larger-scale works, sometimes made within the context of performance. The late Combines of 1962–64, though they continue to incorporate three-dimensional elements, signal a transition to silkscreen painting. In the broadest sense, what began as highly personal, poetic, and private autobiographical works increasingly became performance-oriented—more theatrical, interdisciplinary, environmental, and with a broader sweep.

Looking at Rauschenberg's work from the vantage point of 2005 is not unlike viewing the legacy of Cubism in modern American art. When Willem de Kooning painted his *Woman* series in the early 1950s, he was wrestling with Pablo Picasso's influence. When contemporary artists engage with issues of painting, performance, installation, or conceptualism, or of the postmodern sampling and remixing of art and life, they in part are engaging with Rauschenberg's legacy. As Leo Steinberg remarked in "Reflections on the State of Criticism" (1972): "I once heard Jasper Johns say that Rauschenberg was the man who in this century had invented the most since Picasso. What he invented above all was, I think, a pictorial surface that let the world in again." As one of America's greatest artists of the twentieth century—not painter, not sculptor, not performance artist, but *artist*—his importance has been widely acknowledged and felt and his legacy continues to reverberate.

In organizing "Robert Rauschenberg: Combines," I have had the enthusiastic support of the artist, who, over the past several years, has met significant physical challenges, none of which has dampened his spirit, interest, or commitment to showing these works. From our first meeting at MOCA fifteen years ago, all the way through recent interviews in preparation for this exhibition, Bob has been absolutely in command of the sources and fragments that make up the Combines and has discussed them in extraordinary and specific detail. I once asked him how his memory could be so clear and focused after so many years. Bob, in a typically generous and cavalier way, said, "I remember these works as if I had made them yesterday, and I don't remember what I made yesterday." For him, as well as for the art world, the Combines are as vivid, powerful, and influential now as they were when they were first made. I am incredibly grateful for the opportunities I have had to consult with the artist; my conversations with Bob and his thoughtful counsel at each stage of this exhibition's development have played a significant role in shaping and directing its content.

The realization of "Robert Rauschenberg: Combines" began with the museum's commitment to acquire the Panza Collection in 1984—prior to even having a facility. And so it is fitting that I recognize the significant roles of Pontus Hultén, Richard Koshalek, and Eli Broad in bringing this remarkable collection to the museum. It was through the gift of an anonymous donor that MOCA was able to firmly secure this extraordinary body of work. The Panza Collection has provided a foundation both for the growth of the museum's internationally recognized collection and the basis for this exhibition.

The assembly of such highly prized and delicate works is only possible with the assistance and commitment of a great many people. Organizing the exhibition would have been unachievable without the enthusiasm, knowledge, and expertise of Rauschenberg's

Studio, whose assistance and advice has been invaluable from the onset. In addition to functioning as the key link between MOCA staff and the studio, Curator David White has been a partner and collaborator on this project. Project Curator Thomas Buehler worked closely with our editorial staff and devoted much time to procuring, organizing, and digitizing the bulk of images of Rauschenberg's oeuvre, providing an invaluable source for this catalogue's illustrations. I am also grateful to Registrar Gina Guy, as well as Matt Magee and Debbie Taylor, who gathered critical information regarding the provenance of many works, as well as their current locations. Susan Davidson was also instrumental in gathering information about the Combines. It is my sincere hope that our combined efforts will make the documentation of Rauschenberg's Combines both as up to date and as comprehensive as possible. Thanks also go to Bradley Jeffries, office manager and assistant to Rauschenberg in Captiva, Florida, who lent critical support on behalf of the artist.

Building on the legacy of the museum's first two directors, MOCA Director Jeremy Strick has been a source of support and encouragement, contributing significantly by assisting with loans to the exhibition, developing a base of support for its financial and administrative challenges, and negotiating, especially with the Metropolitan Museum of Art, for the tour. Assistant Director for Board Affairs Ari Wiseman also provided invaluable aid to arranging the exhibition tour. Manager of Exhibition Programs and Curatorial Affairs Susan Jenkins was instrumental in negotiations with our colleagues at each tour venue. I also extend special thanks to Stacia Payne, former manager of exhibition programs, who provided early critical support.

Our wonderful and diligent Director of Publications Lisa Mark worked with co-publisher Steidl Verlag to create the most comprehensive record of the Combines ever produced, gracing this catalogue with her abundant creativity and thoughtfulness. Senior Editor Jane Hyun, Editor Elizabeth Hamilton, and Administrative Assistant Theeng Kok offered invaluable assistance at every stage of the book's development and worked closely with Rauschenberg's studio. Tracey Shiffman, with assistance from Ari Young, has presented a fresh look at the Combines with her thoughtful catalogue design and her inspired arrangement of the plate section.

Assistant to the Chief Curator Emily Sudd provided exceptional support to this project while attending to the myriad other responsibilities that she so capably handles. Research Assistant Mary Beth Carosello worked diligently on the organization and scholarship of the exhibition and publication. Director of Collections and Registration Robert Hollister and Assistant Registrar Melissa Altman were instrumental in securing loans and making shipping arrangements to ensure the safe handling of these precious works. Director of Development Thom Rhue was an enthusiastic supporter of the exhibition and, with the assistance of his staff, secured critical support for it. I would also like to thank Director of Exhibition Production Brian Gray and his staff for smoothly organizing an impressive and commanding installation of the works.

In preparing for the tour, it has been a pleasure to work with our colleagues at each of the venues. At the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Director Philippe de Montebello provided generous support in helping us to procure some critical loans to the exhibition. Gary Tinterow, Engelhard Curator in Charge of the Department of Nineteenth-Century, Modern, and Contemporary Art, has been supportive of the Metropolitan Museum's involvement with this project from the beginning. Nan Rosenthal, senior consultant in the Department of Nineteenth-Century, Modern, and Contemporary Art, warrants special thanks for her unparalleled commitment to the Combines; she has consistently exceeded my every expectation. Nora Burnett, exhibitions assistant, worked assiduously with us; I am grateful for all of her efforts throughout the process. At the Centre Georges Pompidou, Director Alfred Pacquement provided a tremendous amount of support to ensure a stunning presentation of these works in Paris. Chief Curator Jean-Paul Ameline and Exhibitions Manager Martine Silie have also been incredibly supportive of this exhibition; I am so pleased that "Robert Rauschenberg: Combines" will be presented at this prestigious institution. Finally, at the Moderna Museet, I extend my most sincere gratitude to Director Lars Nittve, who has, from the earliest conception of this project, provided assistance and generous collegiality. I also thank Curator Anna Tellgren for all of her kind assistance with the exhibition's installation in

Stockholm. It is fitting that, with their early support of Rauschenberg, the Moderna Museet would be included in this presentation of the Combines.

The exhibition would not be possible without the generous support of its funders. I am profoundly grateful to Jane and Marc Nathanson for their long-standing support of MOCA, as well as for their exceptional generosity in providing major assistance for the exhibition. I would also like to recognize Herta and Paul Amir; Mr. and Mrs. T. Willem Mesdag; The Brotman Foundation of California; Audrey M. Irmas; Carla and Fred Sands; The Jamie and Steve Tisch Foundation; Lenore S. and Bernard A. Greenberg; Brenda Potter and Michael Sandler; Janet and Tom Unterman; Betye Monell Burton; East West Bank; and anonymous donors. As well, the benevolence of lenders, as well as those who facilitated loans, shaped this exhibition in a profound way. In particular, I would like to acknowledge Mr. and Mrs. Harry W. Anderson; Armand Bartos; Norman and Irma Braman; Edythe and Eli Broad; Robert Mnuchin of L & M Arts; Michael Crichton; Laura Paulson and Amy Cappellazzo of Christie's; Stefan T. Edlis; Bob Monk, Robin Vousden, and Larry Gagosian of Gagosian Gallery; Kate Ganz and Dan Belin; David Geffen; Jeffrey Gundlach; Helman Collection; Jasper Johns and his curator Sarah Taggart; the late David Whitney and the Estate of Philip Johnson; Thomas H. Lee and Ann Tenenbaum; Eugenio López; Martin Z. Margulies; Michael and Judy Ovitz; Putter Pence; Sir Evelyn and Lady de Rothschild; David Ross; Sandra Rotman; Phillipe Segalot; Ileana Sonnabend and Antonio Homem of Sonnabend Gallery; Abby Strahl; Calvin Tomkins and Dodie Kazanjian; Kathrin and Siegfried Weishaupt; Billie Milam Weisman; Iwan Wirth of Galerie Hauser & Wirth; Bagley and Virginia Wright; and eight lenders who wish to remain anonymous.

Finally, I am grateful to the numerous friends and colleagues at institutions that have provided information, support, and loans without which this exhibition would not have been possible: Louis Grachos, director, and Laura Fleischmann, senior registrar, Albright-Knox Art Gallery; Matthew Teitelbaum, director, Art Gallery of Ontario; James Cuno, president, Eloise W. Martin, director, and Frances and Thomas Dittmer Curator of Contemporary Art James Rondeau, The Art Institute of Chicago; Susan Lubowsky Talbott, director, and Jeff Fleming, deputy director and senior curator, Des Moines Art Center; Lynn Gumpert, director, Grey Art Gallery; Uwe M. Schneede, director, and Christoph Heinrich, chief curator of contemporary art, Hamburger Kunsthalle; Ned Rifkin, director, Kerry Brouher, director of art and programs and chief curator, Kristen Hileman, assistant curator, and Keri Towler, registrar, Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution; Franklin W. Robinson Director Richard J. Schwartz and Matthew Conway, registrar, Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art; Friedemann Malsch, director, Kunstmuseum Liechtenstein; Dr. Armin Zweite, director, Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen; Harald Kunde, director, Annette Lagler, and Corinna Schröder, Ludwig Forum für Internationale Kunst; Erich Marx, Heiner Bastian, director, and Joachim Jäger, curator, Marx Collection, and Peter-Klaus Schuster, director, Nationalgalerie; Udo Kittelmann, director, and Mario Kramer, curator, Museum für Moderne Kunst; Kasper König, director, Stephan Dietrich, curator, and Christine Frohnert, conservator, Museum Ludwig; Wolfgang Drechsler, head of collections, Museum Moderner Kunst Stiftung Ludwig; Glenn Lowry, director, John Elderfield, chief curator, and Cora Rosevear, associate curator, The Museum of Modern Art, New York; Raphaela Platow, acting director, and Ben Thompson, chief registrar, The Rose Art Museum; Neal Benezra, director, and Elise S. Haas Senior Curator of Painting and Sculpture Madeleine Grynsztejn, San Francisco Museum of Modern Art; The Margaret and Terry Stent Director Elizabeth Broun and Eleanor J. Harvey, chief curator, Smithsonian American Art Museum; Gijs van Tuyl, director, Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; Donna De Salvo, curator, Tate Modern; Adam Weinberg, director, Carol Mancusi-Ungaro, director of conservation, Dana Miller, associate curator, and Barbi Spieler, senior registrar, Whitney Museum of American Art; and Jock Reynolds, director, and Seymour H. Knox Jr. Curator of Modern and Contemporary Art Jennifer Gross, Yale University Art Gallery.





PLATES



•
PLATE 1: Untitled, 1954
 Oil, mature paint, fabric, newspaper, pencil,
 printed reproductions, paper, hair, gelatin-silver
 photographs, glass, nails, and glass on canvas
 66 1/2 x 18 inches
 Donator: Jasper Johns

•
PLATE 2: Untitled, 1954
 Oil, fabric, and newspaper on canvas
 70 1/2 x 47 1/2 inches
 Eli and Edythe L. Broad Collection, Los Angeles



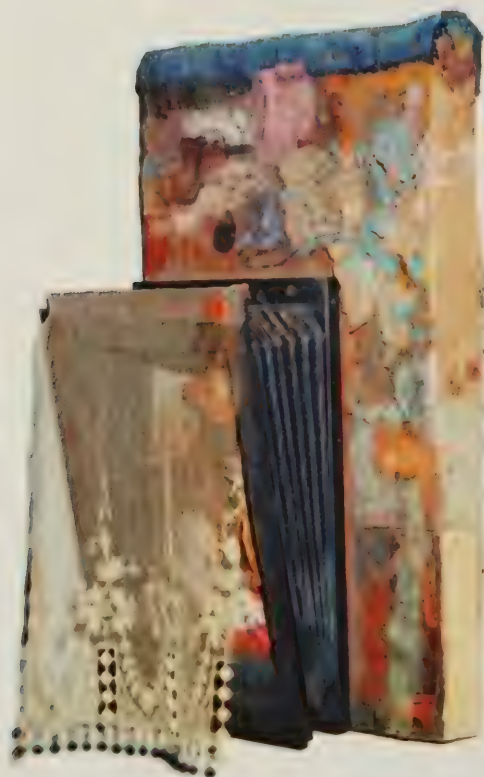


PLATE 3 **Untitled**, c.1953

Oil, fabric, newspaper, and camera bellows
on canvas

11½ x 8 x 3 inches

Private collection, Rome

PLATE 4 **Willi**, c.1954

Oil, enamel, newspaper, and fabric on canvas

8⅝ x 11⅜ inches

Collection Amy Sullivan, New York

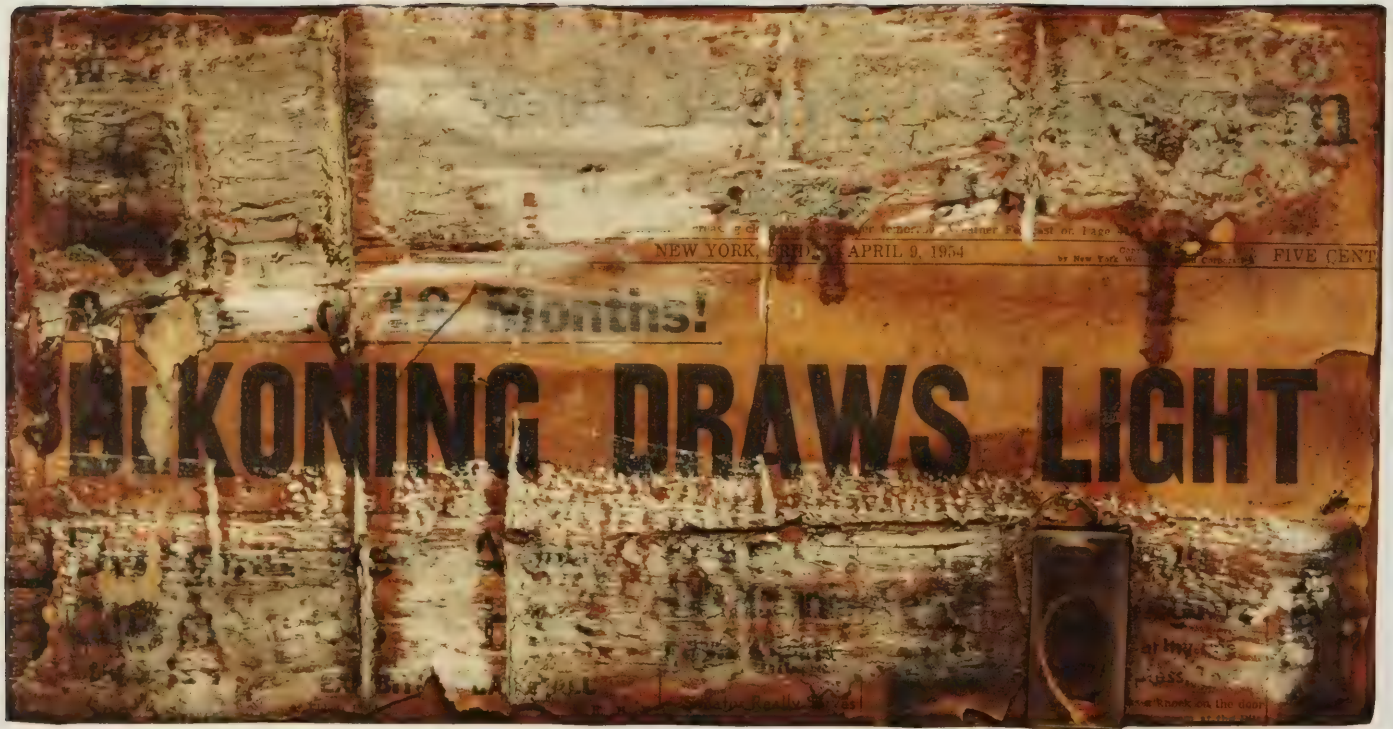


PLATE 5 **Elaine's Party**, 1954
 Oil, newspaper, rubber balloon, and string
 in plastic box on wood
 7 x 13½ inches
 Collection Jasper Johns

PLATE 6 **Untitled**, c.1953
 Oil, printed reproductions, paper, wood,
 fabric, and vinyl on linen
 14 x 14 inches
 Private collection











*

PLATE 8 **Untitled**, 1954

Oil, paper, fabric, and dried grass on wood box
15 x 15 x 2 1/8 inches
Private collection

PLATE 9 **Untitled**, 1954

Oil, paper, fabric, newspaper, and printed
reproduction with novelty light bulb on fabric
27 1/2 x 21 x 4 3/4 inches
Private collection



PLATE 10 **Bantam**, 1954

Oil, paper, printed reproductions, cardboard,
fabric, and pencil on canvas

11 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches

Location: unknown

PLATE 11 **Red Interior**, 1954

Oil, fabric, and newspaper on canvas with plastic,
wood, metal, porcelain pulley, pebbles, and string

56 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 61 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 2 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches

Collection of David Geffen, Los Angeles





PLATE 12 **Paint Cans**, 1954
Oil, paper, and fabric on metal and wood
19 1/2 x 16 1/2 x 4 inches
Collection: Jasper Johns



PLATE 13 **Untitled**, 1954
Oil, newspaper, and printed reproductions
on canvas
11 1/2 x 13 1/4 inches
Collection of Susan Weil

PLATE 14 **Pink Door**, 1954
Oil, paper, and cloth on wood panel with gauze
90 1/2 x 47 3/4 inches; depth variable
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin,
Nationalgalerie, Stiftung Sammlung Marx



PLATE 16. **Minutiae**, 1994

oil, paper, latex, newspaper, wood, metal, and
plastic with metal on braided wire on wood Structure

Size: 48 1/4 x 30 inches

Projetionstation, Switzerland





PLATE 17 **Untitled** (1954)
oil, fabric, newspaper, printed reproduction,
and stained glass on canvas with wood, stained
glass, and electric lights
Approximately 75 x 56 inches
No longer extant

PLATE 17 **Untitled**, 1954
Oil, paper, fabric, newspaper, and printed
reproductions on canvas with wood, stained
glass, and electric lights
75 x 56 x 18 inches
Private collection, Paris





PLATE 18 **Untitled**, c.1954
Oil, paper, fabric, newspaper, cardboard,
wood, paint tube, and glass on wood
70 1/2 x 50 1/2 inches
Collection of J. Paul Getty

PLATE 19 **Untitled**, c.1955
Oil, paper, fabric, and newspaper on canvas
with wood, string, nails, and metal funnel
31 1/2 x 29 1/2 x 9 inches
San Francisco Museum of Modern Art
Purchased through a gift of Phyllis Wattis





PLATE 20 **Charlene**, 1954, and details

O: charcoal, paper, fabric, newspaper, wood,
plastic, mirror, and metal on four homasote
panels mounted on wood with electric light
89 x 112 x 3 inches

Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam

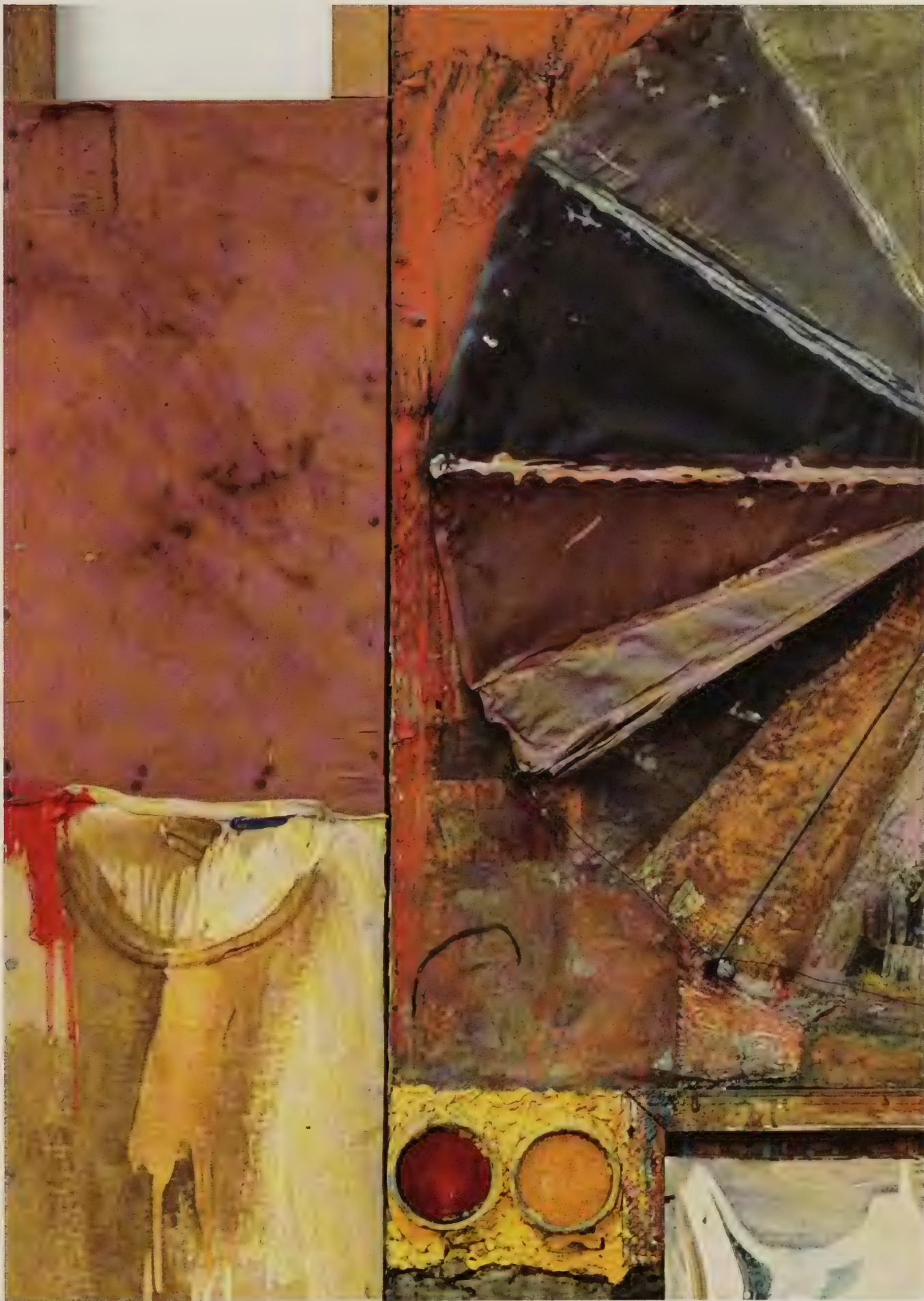
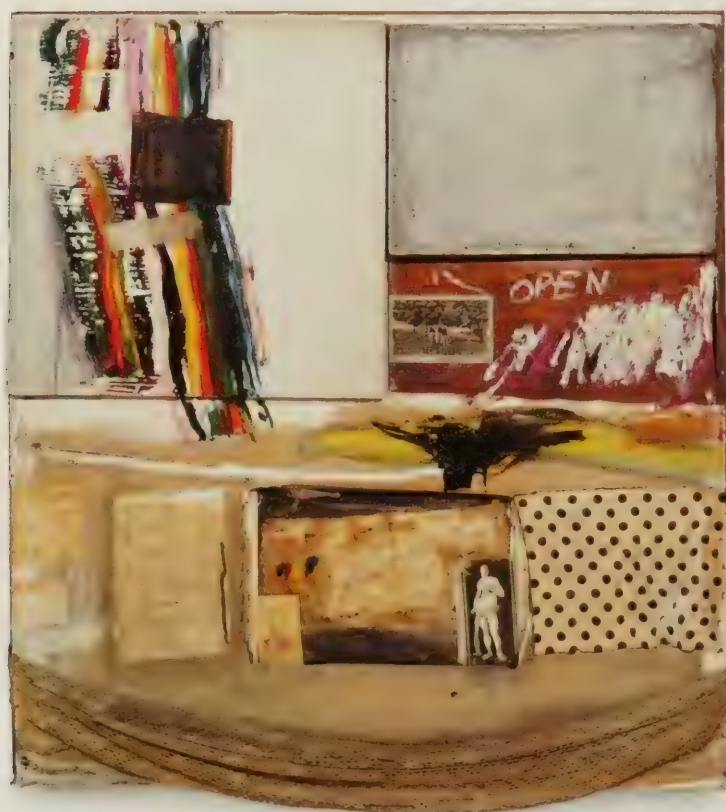






PLATE 21 **Interview**, 1955, and detail
 Oil, found painting, found drawing, lace, wood,
 envelope, found letter, fabric, photographs,
 printed reproductions, toweling, and newspaper on
 wood structure with brick, string, fork, softball,
 nail, metal hinges, and wood door.
 72 1/2 x 49 1/2 x 25 inches
 The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles
 The Panza Collection





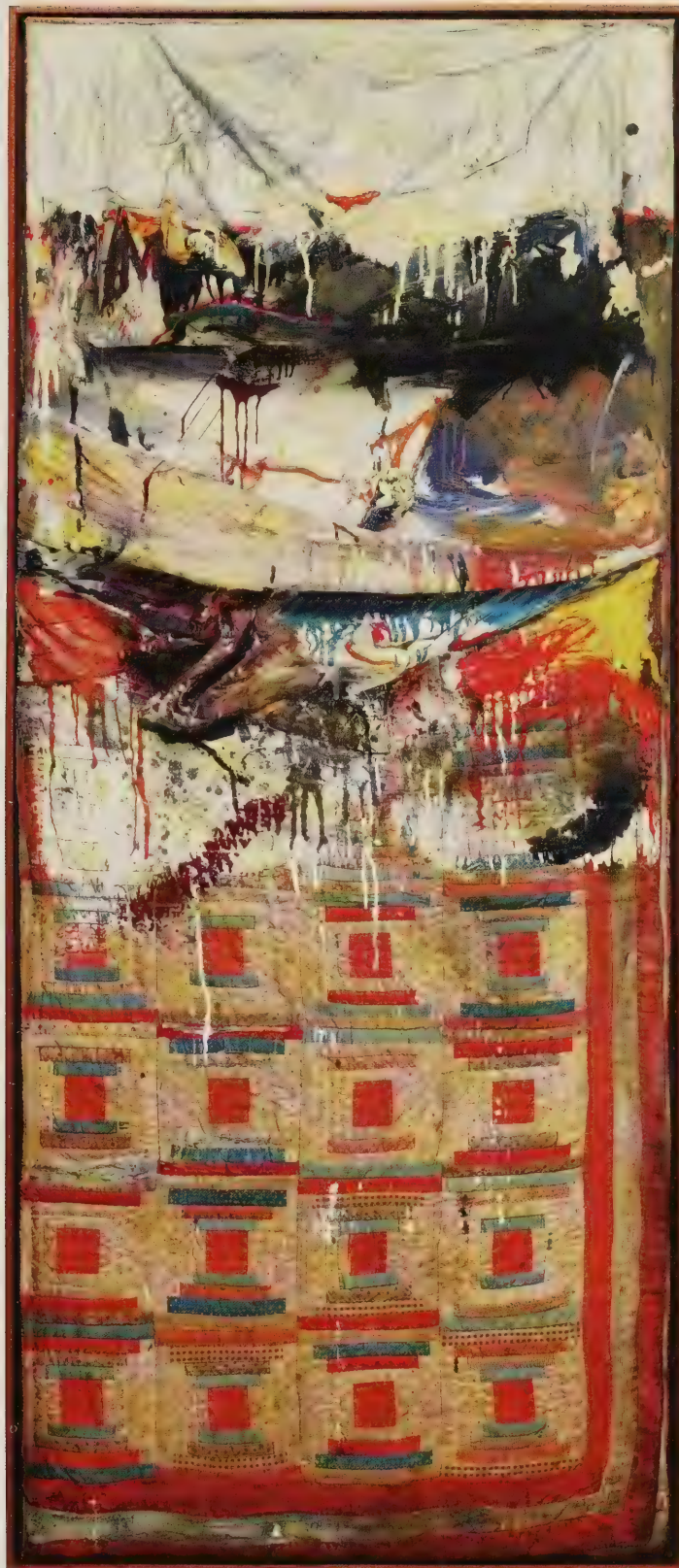


PLATE 22 **Short Circuit**, 1955, with doors
opened and closed
Oil, fabric, and paper on wood supports and cabinet
with two hinged doors containing a painting by
Susan Weil and a reproduction of a Jasper Johns
Flag painting by Elaine Sturtevant
41½ x 38¾ x 4½ inches
Collection of the artist

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PLATE 23 **Bed**, 1955
Oil and pencil on pillow, quilt,
and sheet on wood supports
75¼ x 31½ x 8 inches
The Museum of Modern Art, New York
Gift of Leo Castelli in honor of Alfred H. Barr, Jr.



PLATE 24 **Rebus**, 1955, and details

Oil, synthetic polymer paint, pencil, crayon, pastel,
cut-and-pasted printed and painted papers, including
a drawing by Cy Twombly, and fabric on canvas
mounted and stapled to fabric

Three panels: 96 x 131¹/₂ x 1¹/₄ inches overall

The Museum of Modern Art, New York

Partial and promised gift of Jo Carole and

Ronald S. Lauder and purchase, 2005





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 PLATE 25 **Satellite**, 1955
 Oil, fabric, paper, and wood on canvas
 with stuffed pheasant
 79 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 43 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 5 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches
 Whitney Museum of American Art, New York
 Gift of Claire B. Zeisler and purchase with
 funds from the Mrs. Percy Uris Purchase Fund







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PLATE 26 **Hymnal**, 1955

Oil, paper, fabric, printed paper, printed reproductions, and wood on fabric with telephone directory, metal bolt, and string
64 x 49½ x 7¼ inches
Sonnabend Collection, New York

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PLATE 27 **Levee**, 1955

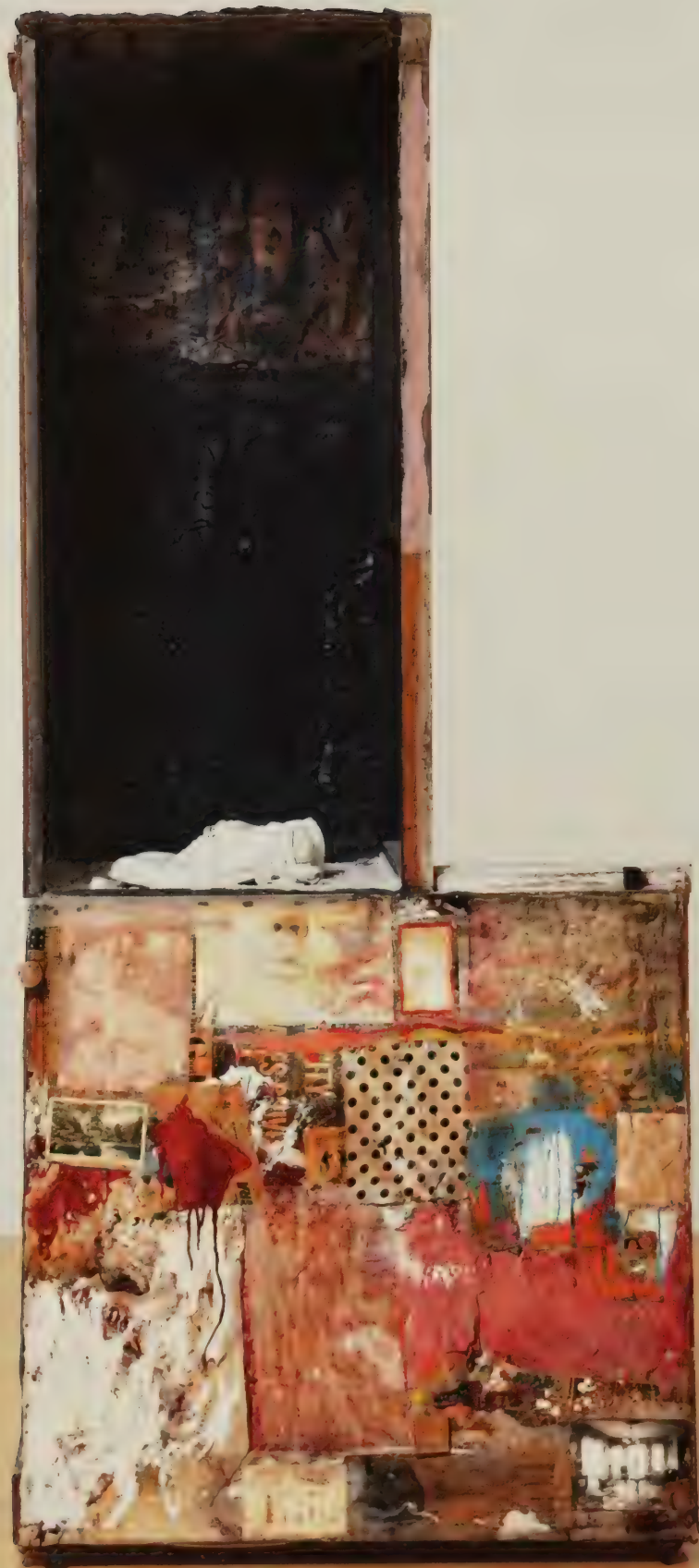
Oil, paper, printed paper, printed reproductions, fabric, and necktie on canvas
55 x 42¾ inches
Private collection

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overleaf:

PLATE 28 **Untitled**, c. 1954

Oil, pencil, crayon, paper, canvas, fabric, newspaper, photographs, wood, glass, mirror, tin, cork, and found painting with pair of painted leather shoes, dried grass, and Dominique hen on wood structure mounted on five casters
86½ x 37 x 26¼ inches
The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles
The Panza Collection









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PLATE 29 **Odalisk**, 1955/58

Oil, watercolor, pencil, crayon, paper, fabric,
 photographs, printed reproductions, miniature blueprint,
 newspaper, metal, glass, dried grass, and steel
 wool with pillow, wood post, electric lights, and rooster
 on wood structure mounted on four casters

83 x 25¼ x 25½ inches

Museum Ludwig, Cologne





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PLATE 30 **Monk**, 1955

Oil, newspaper, fabric, printed reproductions,
postage stamp, phonograph record fragment,
and wood on canvas
14 x 12 inches

Gundlach Collection, Los Angeles

*

PLATE 31 **Untitled**, 1955

Oil, pencil, crayon, paper, fabric, printed
reproductions, photographs, and cardboard on wood
15½ x 20¾ inches

Collection Jasper Johns

PLATE 32 **Untitled**, c. 1955

Oil, house paint, paper, fabric, and printed

reproduction with text and parafilm on canvas

68 x 58 inches

Stefan T. Edlis Collection, Chicago





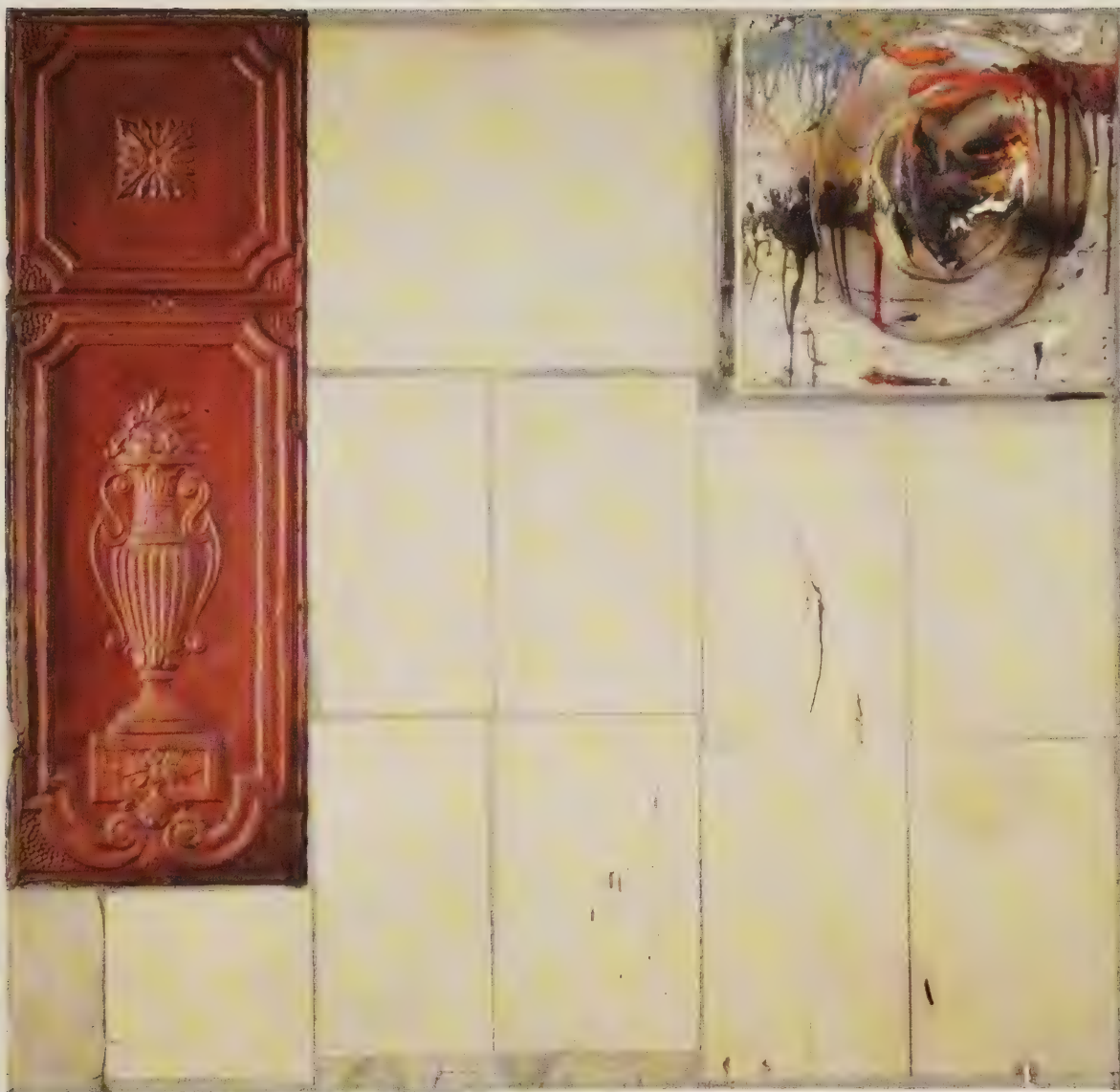


PLATE 33 **K24976S**, 1956

Oil, cloth, metal, paper, and wood on canvas

Four panels: 72 x 72 inches overall

Philadelphia Museum of Art

Gift of Mr. and Mrs. N. Richard Miller, 1967

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PLATE 34 **Interior**, 1956

Oil, pencil, paper, wood, hat, nails, and pressed
tin on canvas

48 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 46 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches

Sonnabend Collection, New York



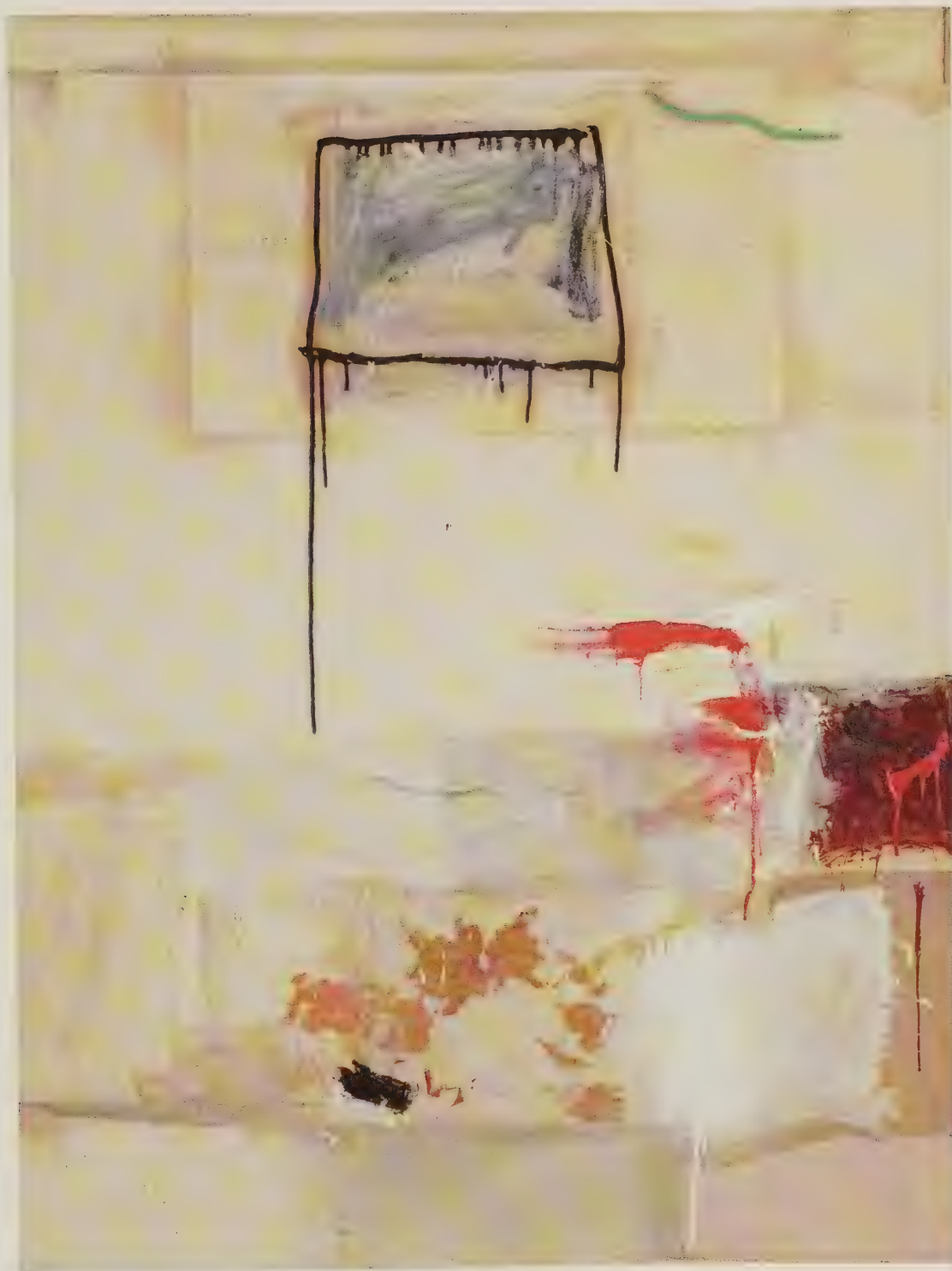


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PLATE 35 **Honeysuckle**, 1956
Oil, paper, newspaper, printed reproductions,
fabric, and ankle brace on canvas
48 x 48 inches
Collection Jasper Johns

PLATE 36 **Gloria**, 1956
Oil, paper, fabric, newspaper, printed paper,
and printed reproductions on canvas
66½ x 63¼ inches
Cleveland Museum of Art
Gift of The Cleveland Society for Contemporary Art





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PLATE 37 **Untitled**, 1956
Oil, pastel, paper, and fabric on matboard
10 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches
Private collection

PLATE 38 **Opportunity #7**, 1956
Oil, pencil, paper, fabric, and glue on newsprint
10 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 13 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches
Private collection

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PLATE 39 **Memorandum of Bids**, 1957
Oil, pencil, paper, printed paper, and fabric
on canvas
59 x 44 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches
Sonnabend Collection, New York



PLATE 40 **Rhyme**, 1956
 Oil, paper, enamel, pencil, and synthetic
 polymer paint on canvas with necktie
 48 x 41 inches
 The Museum of Modern Art, New York
 Fractional and promised gift of Agnes Gund in
 honor of Richard E. Oldenburg, 1994

PLATE 41 **Untitled**, 1956
 Oil, paper, newspaper, and printed reproductions
 on canvas with door knob
 45 x 58 inches
 Location unknown





PLATE 42 **Untitled**, c. 1956
Oil, fabric, newsprint, pillbox, and spoon
on wood panel
12 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches
Collection of Merce Cunningham

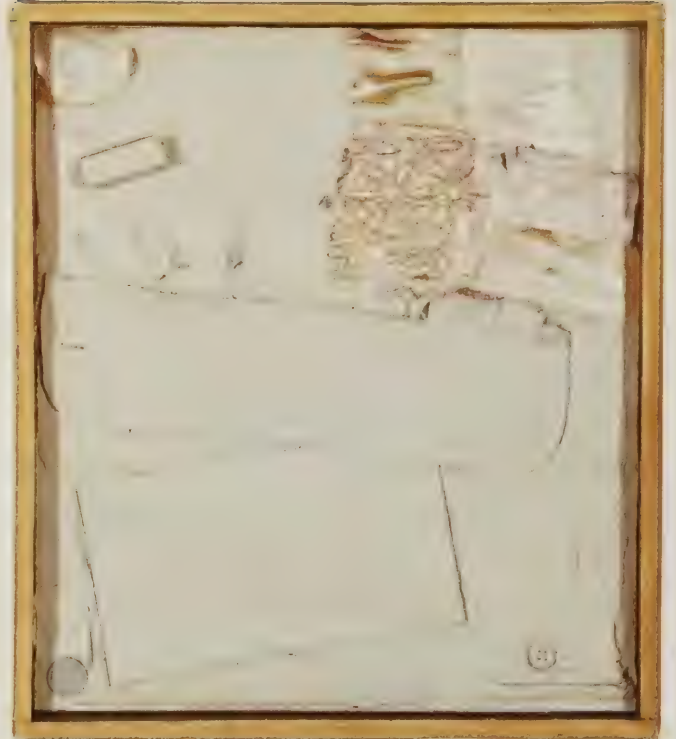
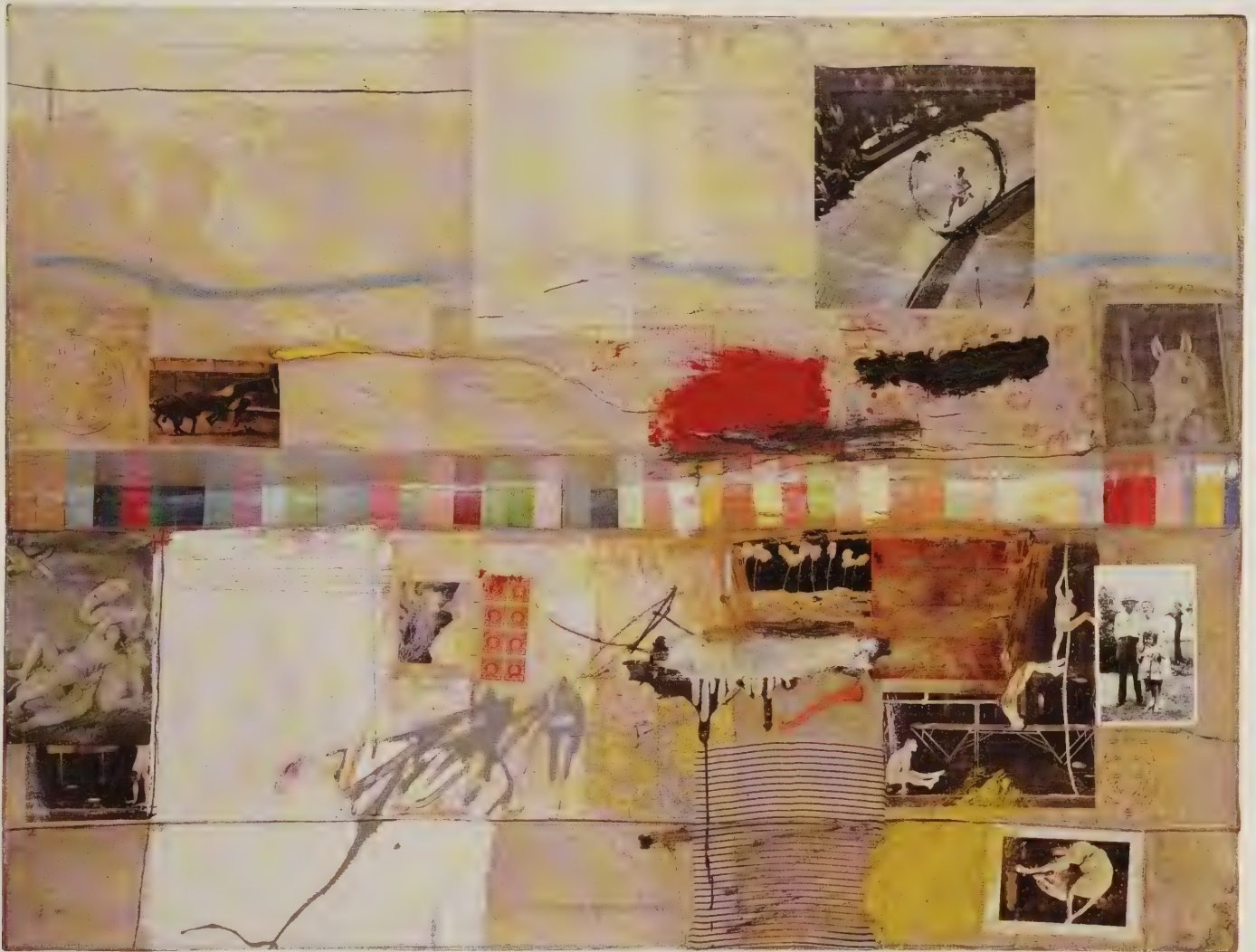


PLATE 43 **Untitled**, c. 1956
Paint, fabric, wood, shirt cuffs, paper envelope,
and dime on wood panel in wood and glass
frame with tape
13 x 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches
Collection of the artist

PLATE 44 **Untitled**, c. 1956
Oil, enamel, fabric, newspaper, printed
reproductions, cardboard, and tissue
paper on silk
17 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 18 $\frac{1}{16}$ inches
Private collection







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PLATE 45 **Small Rebus**, 1956, and details
 Oil, graphite, paint swatches, paper, newspaper,
 magazine clippings, black-and-white photograph,
 United States map fragment, fabric, and
 three-cent stamps on canvas
 35 x 46 x 1¾ inches
 The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles
 The Panza Collection



top left:
 PLATE 46 **Untitled**, 1957
 Oil, newspaper, and fabric collage
 9¼ x 7¼ inches
 Location unknown



opposite bottom:
 PLATE 47 **Untitled**, 1957
 Oil, ink, paper, and fabric collage
 10 x 8 inches
 Ulmer Museum

opposite right:
 PLATE 48 **Untitled**, 1957
 Oil, envelope with stamp, and fabric on canvas
 9¾ x 8 inches
 Collection Marina Schinz Rubin

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 PLATE 49 **Untitled**, 1956
 Oil, graphite, letter, and fabric collage
 12 x 15 inches
 Collection Martin Z. Margulies



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 PLATE 50 **Untitled** 1957
 Oil, newspaper, and fabric on canvas
 16 x 20 inches
 Collection Eugenio López

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 PLATE 51 **Untitled** 1957
 Oil, paper, printed paper, printed reproductions,
 fabric, and wood on canvas
 30¾ x 36¾ inches
 Grey Art Gallery and Study Center, New York
 University Art Collection
 Gift of Philip Johnson, 1961





PLATE 52 **Untitled**, 1957
Oil, paper, newspaper, and fabric
on canvas
14 x 10¹³/₁₆ inches
Private collection

PLATE 53 **Untitled**, 1957
Oil and collage on paper
9¹/₄ x 7³/₈ inches
Private collection
Courtesy of the H. Marc Moyens Estate

PLATE 54 **Untitled**, 1957
Oil, fabric, corrugated cardboard,
and paper on wood panel
10 x 7¹/₂ inches
Location unknown







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PLATE 55 **Wanderlust**, 1957

Oil, fabric, paper, graphite, and crayon on canvas
30 x 25 inches

Collection of Sir Evelyn and Lady de Rothschild

PLATE 56 **Untitled**, 1957

Oil, paper, fabric, and printed
reproduction on canvas
15 x 24 inches

Kunsthaus Zürich



PLATE 87 **Untitled**, 1957

Oil, paper, fabric, and wood with broom, umbrella,
spherical objects, two fans, and electric lights

119 x 148 x 35 inches

Collection of Kate Ganz, New York

PLATE 88 **The Tower**, 1957

Oil, paper, fabric, and wood with broom, umbrella,
spherical objects, two fans, and electric lights
on wood structure

119 x 148 x 35 inches

Collection of Kate Ganz







PLATE 59 **Untitled**, c.1957
 Oil, paper, sandpaper, and metal chain
 on cardboard
 3¼ x 4¾ inches
 Collection Jasper Johns

PLATE 60 **Untitled**, 1957
 Oil and printed paper on canvas
 2⅞ x 7¾ inches
 Private collection, Paris



PLATE 61 **Untitled**, 1957
 Oil, pencil, fabric, and paper on canvas with letter
 in sealed envelope in wood and glass frame
 16 x 20 inches
 Collection of Nina and Michael Sundell

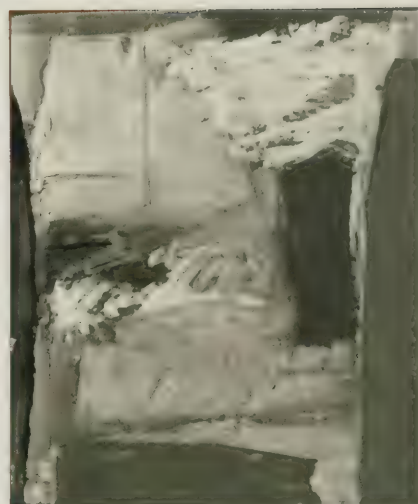


PLATE 62 **Untitled**, 1957
 Oil, paper, and fabric on canvas
 10 x 15 inches
 Location unknown



PLATE 63 **Untitled**, 1957
 Oil, fabric, paper, graphite, sponge, and found
 painting on canvas
 24 x 20 inches
 Emily and Jerry Spiegel Collection

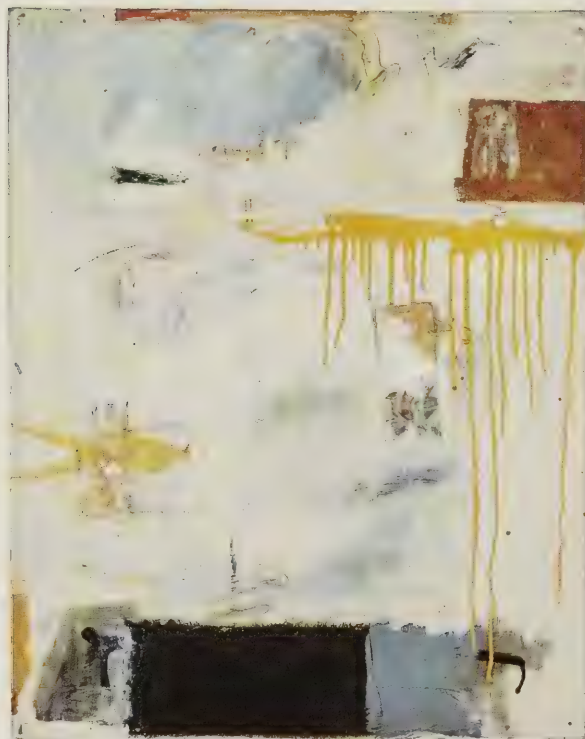


PLATE 64 **Warbler**, 1957
 Oil, graphite, paper, printed reproduction,
 and fabric on canvas
 20 x 16 inches
 Collection Jasper Johns



Cornell Eights Take DONOVAN 1-HITTER Three
Races With Penn HALTS INDIANS A.O. Note





PLATE 65 **Dear Janice**, 1957
Oil, found drawing, newspaper, and fabric
on canvas
9½ x 7½ inches
Collection of the artist

PLATE 66 **Untitled**, 1957
Oil, enamel, paper, and fabric on canvas
mounted on canvasboard
10⅞ x 14 inches
Courtesy Reinhold-Brown Gallery, New York

*
PLATE 67 **Painting with Red Letter S**, 1957
Oil, paper, printed paper, and fabric
on canvas
50½ x 52 inches
Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York
Gift of Seymour H. Knox, Jr., 1959

*

PLATE 68 **Hazard**, 1957

Oil, bird wing mounted on wood, graphite,
paper, newspaper, printed paper, and fabric
on canvas with bird wing

85 x 37 inches

Ludwig Forum für Internationale Kunst, Aachen

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VIEW





PLATE 69 **Factum I**, 1957

Oil, ink, pencil, crayon, paper, fabric, newspaper,
printed reproductions, and printed paper on canvas
61½ x 35¾ inches

The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles
The Panza Collection

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PLATE 70 **Factum II**, 1957

Oil, ink, pencil, crayon, paper, fabric, newspaper,
printed reproductions, and printed paper on canvas
61½ x 35½ inches

The Museum of Modern Art, New York
Purchase and an anonymous gift and Louise Reinhardt
Smith Bequest (both by exchange), 1999



JAN. 1958							FEB. 1958						
6	7	8	9	10	11	12	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
20	21	22	23	24	25	26	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
27	28	29	30	31			24	25	26	27	28		

MAR. 1958							APRIL 1958						
3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
24	25	26	27	28	29	30	21	22	23	24	25	26	27

MAY 1958							JUNE 1958						
5	6	7	8	9	10	11	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
12	13	14	15	16	17	18	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
19	20	21	22	23	24	25	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
26	27	28	29	30	31		23	24	25	26	27	28	29

JULY 1958							AUG. 1958						
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
28	29	30	31				25	26	27	28	29	30	31

OCT. 1958

SEPT. 1958

DEC. 1958





PLATE 71 **State**, 1958
 Oil, newspaper, and fabric on canvas
 24 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 20 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches
 Ginny Williams Family Foundation
 Collection of Ginny Williams

*

PLATE 72 **SAF**, 1958
 Oil, newspaper, printed paper, printed
 reproduction, masonite, and fabric on canvas
 20 x 24 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches
 The Helman Collection



PLATE 73 **Lincoln**, 1958
 Oil, pencil, paper, printed reproductions, fabric,
 and metal on canvas
 17 x 20 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches
 The Art Institute of Chicago
 Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Edwin E. Hokin, 1965.1174

*
 PLATE 74 **Docket of Violation**, 1958
 Oil, pencil, paper, fabric, printed paper, and printed
 reproduction on canvas
 20 x 28 inches
 Private collection
 Courtesy Armand Bartos Jr. Fine Art





PLATE 75 **Bird**, 1958

Oil, printed paper, printed reproduction,
and wood on canvas

20 x 24 inches

Private collection, Sweden

PLATE 76 **307**, 1958

Oil, printed paper, and fabric on canvas

23 x 19 inches

Location unknown

PLATE 77 **1A**, 1958

Oil, paper, printed reproductions,
and fabric on canvas

14 x 19 inches

Private collection, France

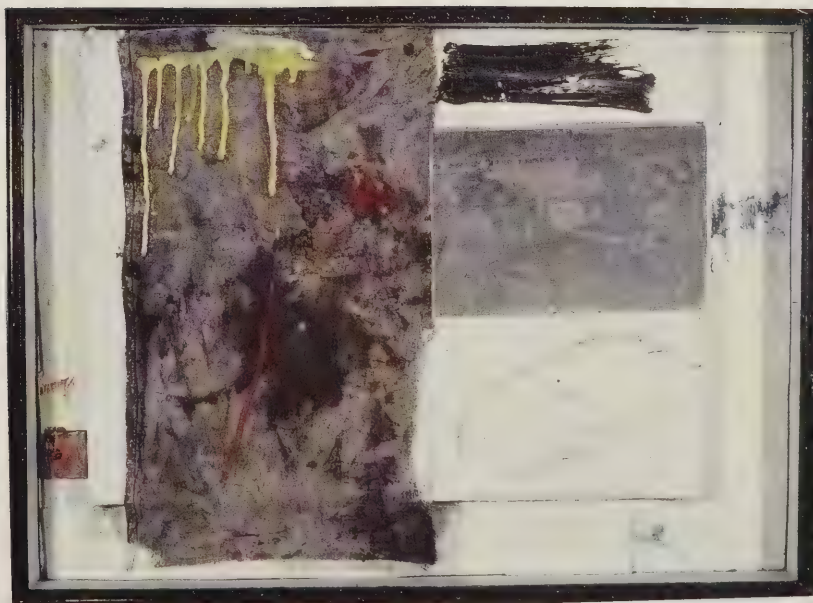




PLATE 78 **Thaw**, 1958

Oil, printed paper, printed reproductions,
map, and fabric on canvas

50 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 40 inches

Private collection

*

PLATE 79 **Curfew**, 1958

Oil, paper, fabric, wood, engraving, printed
reproductions, and printed paper on canvas and
wood with four Coca-Cola bottles, bottle cap,
and unidentified debris

56 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 39 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 2 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches

Collection of David Geffen, Los Angeles





PLATE 80 **Talisman**, 1958

Oil, paper, printed paper, printed reproductions,
wood, glass jar on metal chain, and fabric on canvas
42 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 28 x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches

Purchased with funds from the Coffin
Fine Arts Trust

Nathan Emory Coffin Collection of the
Des Moines Art Center

PLATE 81 **Coca-Cola Plan**, 1958

Pencil on paper, oil on three Coca-Cola bottles, wood
newel cap, and cast metal wings on wood structure
26 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 25 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches

The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles
The Panza Collection







PLATE 82 **Black Mail**, 1958
 Oil, paper, printed reproduction, and fabric
 on canvas with mirror
 16½ x 24¼ inches
 Location unknown

PLATE 83 **Untitled**, 1958
 Solvent transfer, watercolor, gesso, ink, fabric,
 printed reproductions, nails, and carpenter's tack
 on wood construction
 13 x 15 x 9¾ inches
 Private collection, London



PLATE 84 **Interior 2**, 1958

Oil, pencil, paper, fabric, necktie, metal,
and printed reproductions on canvas
40 x 24 inches

Yale University Art Gallery

Gift of Richard Brown Baker, B.A. 1935

PLATE 85 **Untitled**, 1958

Handkerchief, safety pins, chain necklaces,
and paint on pants

27½ x 19¾ x 3½ inches

Collection Hisachika Takahashi

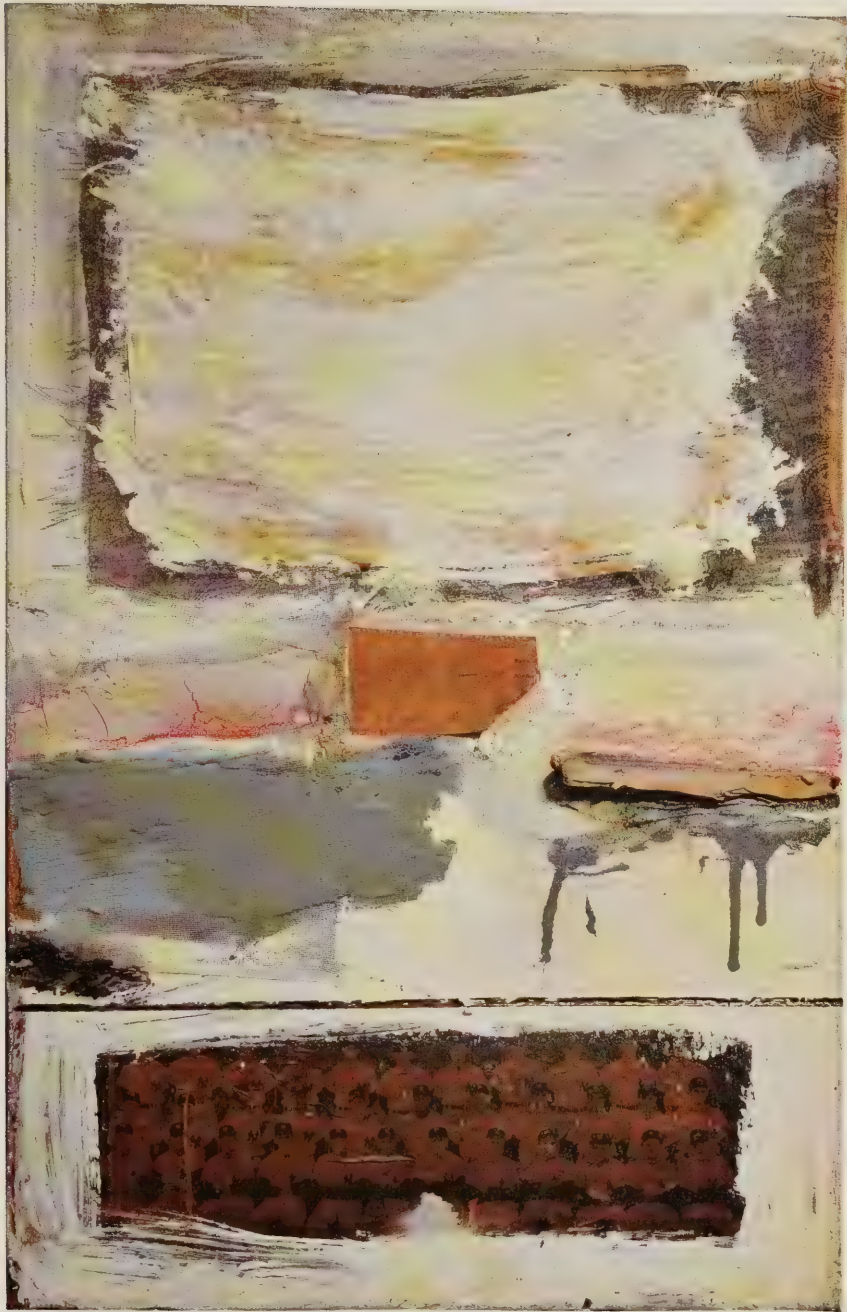


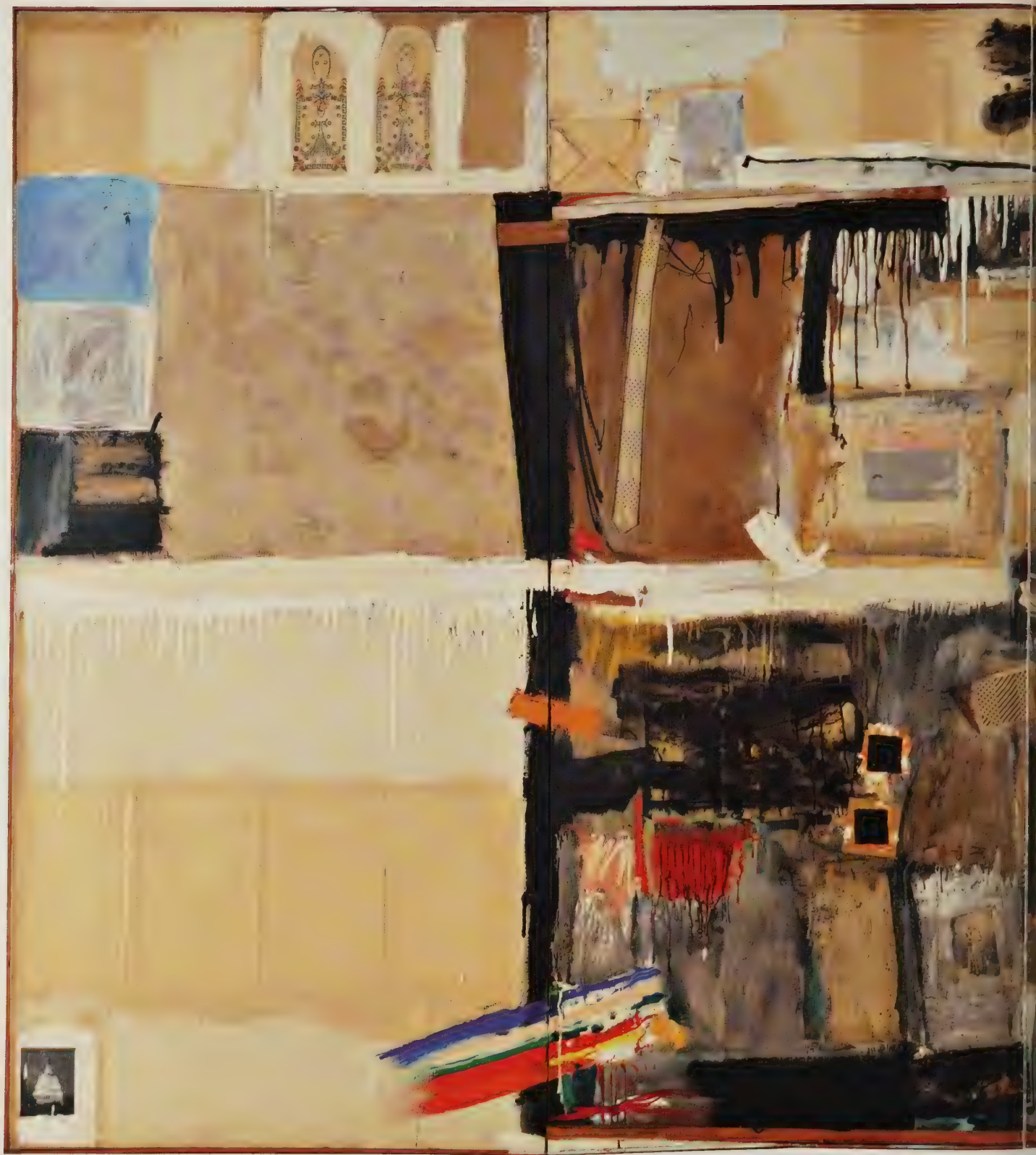


PLATE 86 **Untitled**, 1958
Oil, paper stencil, newspaper, printed reproductions, and fabric collage
16 x 20 inches
Private collection
Courtesy Christie's

*

PLATE 87 **Untitled**, 1958
Oil, graphite, paper, map, fabric, and newspaper on canvas with wood wedge and silkscreen
24 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 16 x 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches
Private collection







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PLATE 88 **Wager**, 1957-59
Oil, pencil, paper, fabric, newspaper, printed
reproductions, photographs, wood, and pencil
body tracings on four canvases
81 x 148 x 2¼ inches
Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf

CALCIUM CARBIDE
DANGEROUS
IF NOT KEPT DRY





PLATE 89 **Forge**, 1959

Oil, metal, paper, printed paper, fabric, sock,
necktie, and paper plate on canvas

71 x 31 inches

Private collection

Courtesy Van de Weghe Fine Art

*

PLATE 90 **Kickback**, 1959

Oil, enamel, wood, fabric, pant leg, necktie,
mattress pad fragment, envelope, newspaper,
cardboard, postcard, magazine photographs,
matchbook cover, and found wood sign on canvas

76½ x 33¼ x 2¾ inches

The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles

The Panza Collection





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PLATE 91 **Migration**, 1959

Oil, paper, printed paper, printed reproductions,
photographs, fabric, and wood on canvas

50 x 40 inches

Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, Cornell University

Anonymous gift

*

PLATE 92 **Painting with Grey Wing**, 1959

Oil, printed reproductions, unpainted paint-by-number
board, typed print on paper, photographs, fabric,
stuffed bird wing, and dime on canvas

31 x 21 x 2½ inches

The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles

The Panza Collection



PLATE 93 **Trophy I**

(for Merce Cunningham), 1959

Oil, pencil, metallic paint, paper, fabric, wood,
metal, newspaper, printed reproductions,
and photograph on canvas

66 x 41 x 2 inches

Kunsthaus Zürich

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PLATE 94 **Summerstorm**, 1959

Oil, pencil, paper, printed reproductions, wood,
fabric, necktie, and metal zipper on canvas

79 x 63 x 2½ inches

Michael and Judy Ovitiz Collection, Los Angeles





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PLATE 95 **Photograph**, 1959

Oil, paper, photographs, metal, fabric, necktie,
and wood on canvas

46 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 54 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches

The Art Institute of Chicago

(Partial) gift of the Stenn Family in memory
of Marcia Stenn, 1999.944

PLATE 96 **Backwash**, 1959

Oil, printed paper, printed reproductions
and fabric on canvas

61 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 48 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches

Barbara and Richard S. Lane





PLATE 97 **Bypass**, 1959

Oil, printed paper, printed reproductions, metal,
and fabric on canvas

59 1/2 x 53 1/4 inches

Collection of the Meyerhoff Family

*

PLATE 98 **Dam**, 1959

Oil, printed paper, printed reproductions, fabric,
and metal object on canvas

75 1/2 x 61 3/8 x 2 inches

Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden,
Smithsonian Institution

Gift of Joseph H. Hirshhorn, 1966



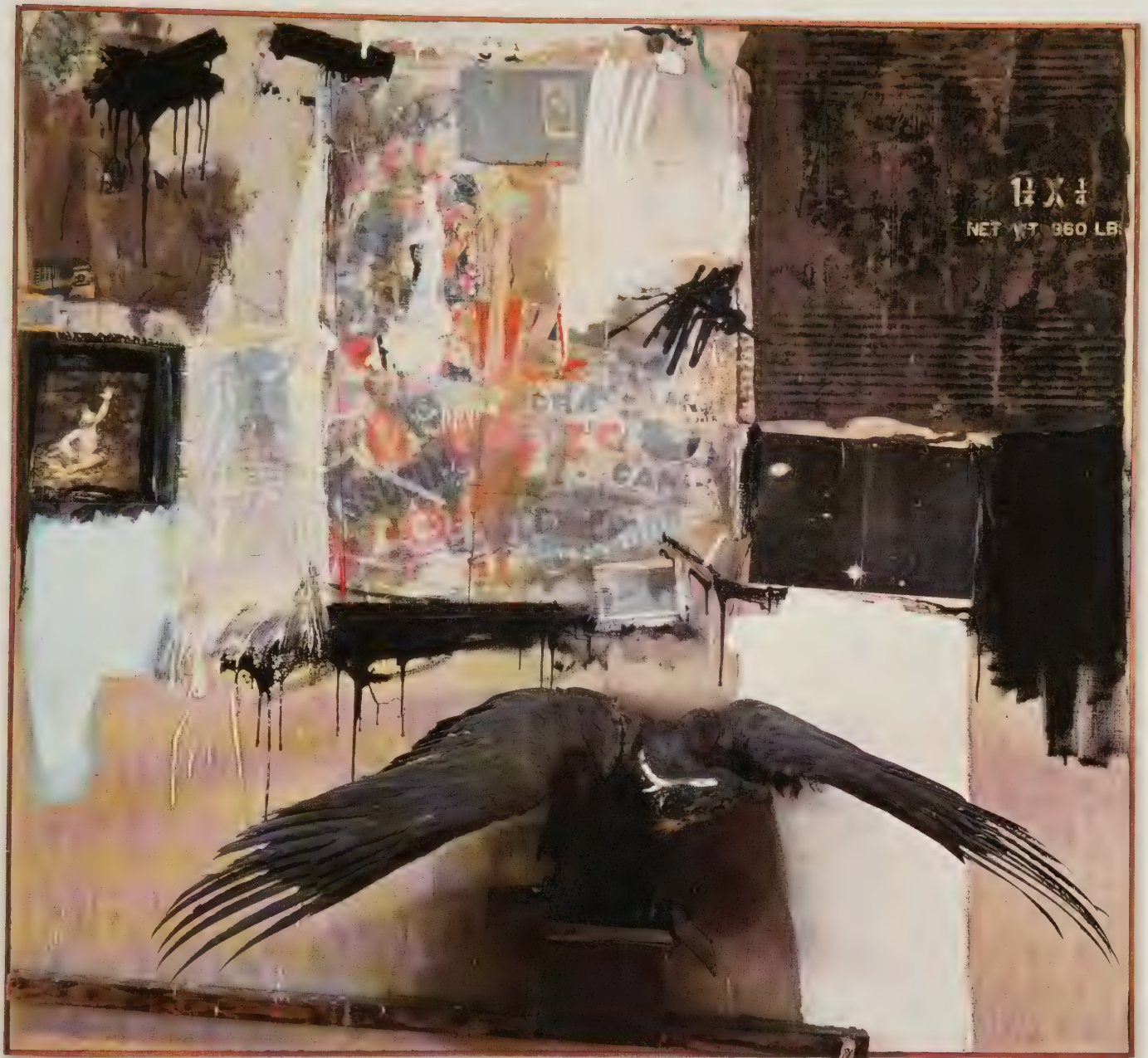
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PLATE 99 **Canyon**, 1959

Oil, pencil, paper, fabric, metal, cardboard box,
printed paper, printed reproductions, photograph,
wood, paint tube, and mirror on canvas with oil
on bald eagle, string, and pillow

81 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 70 x 24 inches

Sonnabend Collection, New York





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PLATE 100 **Inlet**, 1959, and detail

Oil, newspaper, postcard, paper, wood, metal, fabric,
pant leg, zipper, wire hanger, paperclip, can lids,
stuffed bird, toy pistol, light socket, conduit, compass,
furniture wheel, and corkscrew on canvas

84½ x 48 x 5 inches

The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles

The Panza Collection







PLATE 101 **Broadcast**, 1959

Oil, pencil, paper, fabric, newspaper, printed paper, printed reproductions, and plastic comb on canvas with three concealed radios
61 x 75 x 5 inches

Kimiko Powers Collection, Colorado

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PLATE 102 **Forecast**, 1959

Oil, paper, printed reproductions, and fabric on canvas
38 x 43½ inches

Sandra Rotman Collection, Toronto



PLATE 103 **Magician**, 1959

Oil, fabric, wood, printed paper, printed reproductions, and metal on canvas with fabric pouch and string

65 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 38 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 16 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches

Sonnabend Collection, New York

PLATE 104 **Double Feature**, 1959

Oil, paper, printed paper, printed reproductions, and fabric on canvas

90 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 52 inches

Peter and Irene Ludwig Collection

Permanent loan to Kunstmuseum Basel





PLATE 105 **Three Traps for Medea**, 1959
Oil, paper, fabric, metal, and glass bottle on wood
with fabric, metal, string, hair, and plumb bob
on wire
24 x 26 x 15 inches
Collection of the artist



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opposite:
PLATE 106 **Pail for Ganymede**, 1959
Sheet metal and enamel over wood with crank,
gear, sealing wax, and tin can
19 x 5 x 5¾ inches
Collection of the artist



*

PLATE 107 **Gift for Apollo**, 1959

Oil, pant fragments, necktie, wood, fabric, newspaper, printed paper, and printed reproductions on wood with metal bucket, metal chain, doorknob, L-brackets, metal washer, nail, and rubber wheels with metal spokes

43¾ x 29½ inches; depth variable

The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles

The Panza Collection





PLATE 108 **Well Nell**, 1959

Oil, printed paper, printed reproductions, fabric,
and paint can lid on canvas

15 x 20 inches

Yale University Art Gallery

Promised gift of Richard Brown Baker, B.A. 1935

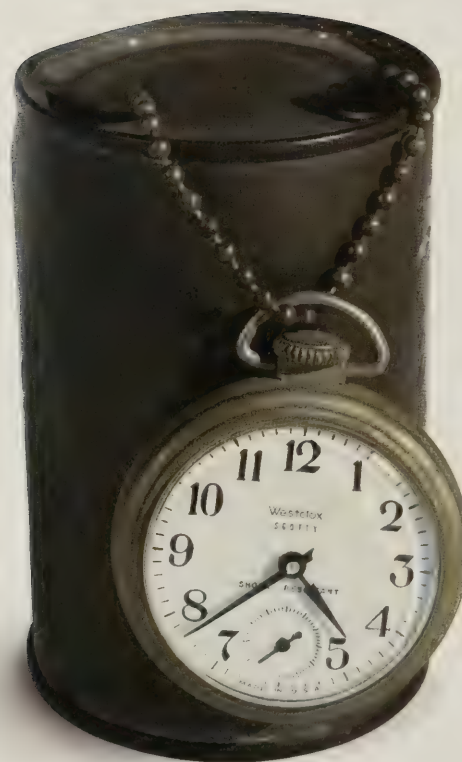
PLATE 109 **Bride's Folly**, 1959

Oil, paper, printed paper, printed
reproduction, fabric, and fork on canvas

57 3/4 x 39 inches

Private collection





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PLATE 110 **Untitled**, 1959
Tin can, pocket watch, and chain
3 1/4 x 2 1/2 x 3 inches
Collection of Thomas H. Lee and Ann Tenenbaum

*
PLATE 111 **Winter Pool**, 1959
Oil, paper, fabric, wood, metal, sandpaper,
tape, printed paper, printed reproductions,
handheld bellows, and found painting on
two canvases with ladder
90 x 58 1/2 x 4 inches
Collection of David Geffen, Los Angeles

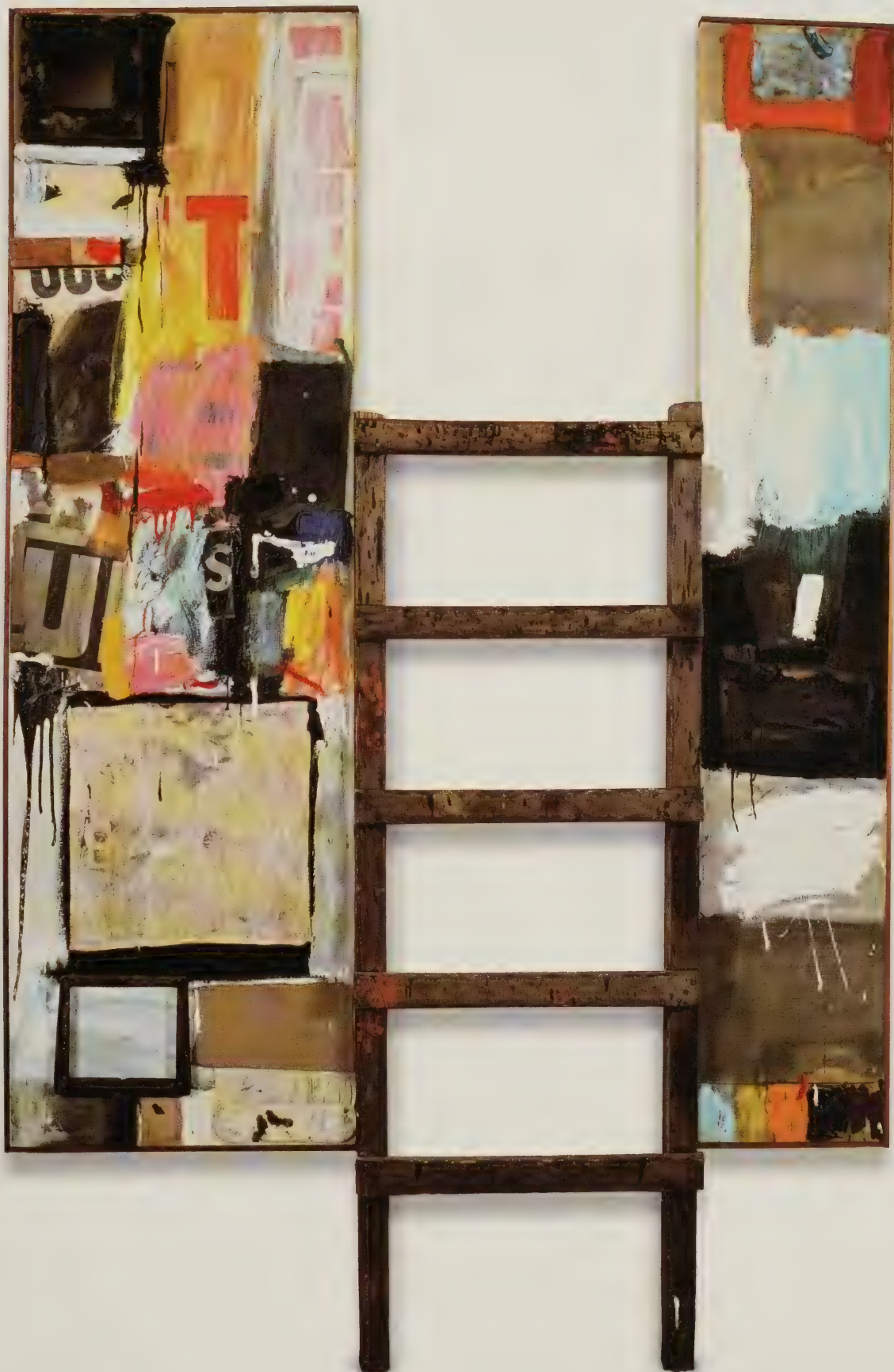




PLATE 112 **Gift for Ileana**, 1959

Oil, printed paper, graphite, tape, and fabric collage

9 1/8 x 11 1/2 inches

Sonnabend Collection, New York

PLATE 113 **Orville Wright in S.C.**, 1959

Oil, paper, and printed paper on wood panel

10 x 7 1/8 inches

Private collection, London





Monogram. first state, c.1955

Oil, paper, fabric, and wood on canvas with stuffed Angora goat and three electric light fixtures
Approximately 75 x 46½ x 12 inches
No longer extant



Monogram. second state, c.1956

Oil, paper, fabric, and wood on canvas with stuffed Angora goat and rubber tire
Approximately 115 x 32 x 44 inches
No longer extant

*

opposite and overleaf:

PLATE 114 **Monogram.** 1955–59, and detail
Oil, paper, fabric, printed paper, printed reproductions, metal, wood, rubber shoe heel, and tennis ball on canvas with oil on Angora goat and rubber tire on wood platform mounted on four casters
42 x 63¼ x 64½ inches
Moderna Museet, Stockholm









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 PLATE 115 **Diplomat**, 1960
 Oil, paper, fabric, metal, and wood on canvas
 49 1/4 x 26 1/2 x 4 3/8 inches
 Museum Moderner Kunst Stiftung Ludwig, Vienna

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 PLATE 116 **Octave**, 1960
 Oil, printed paper, and fabric on canvas
 with necktie and wood chair back
 77 1/2 x 43 x 3 1/2 inches
 Bagley and Virginia Wright

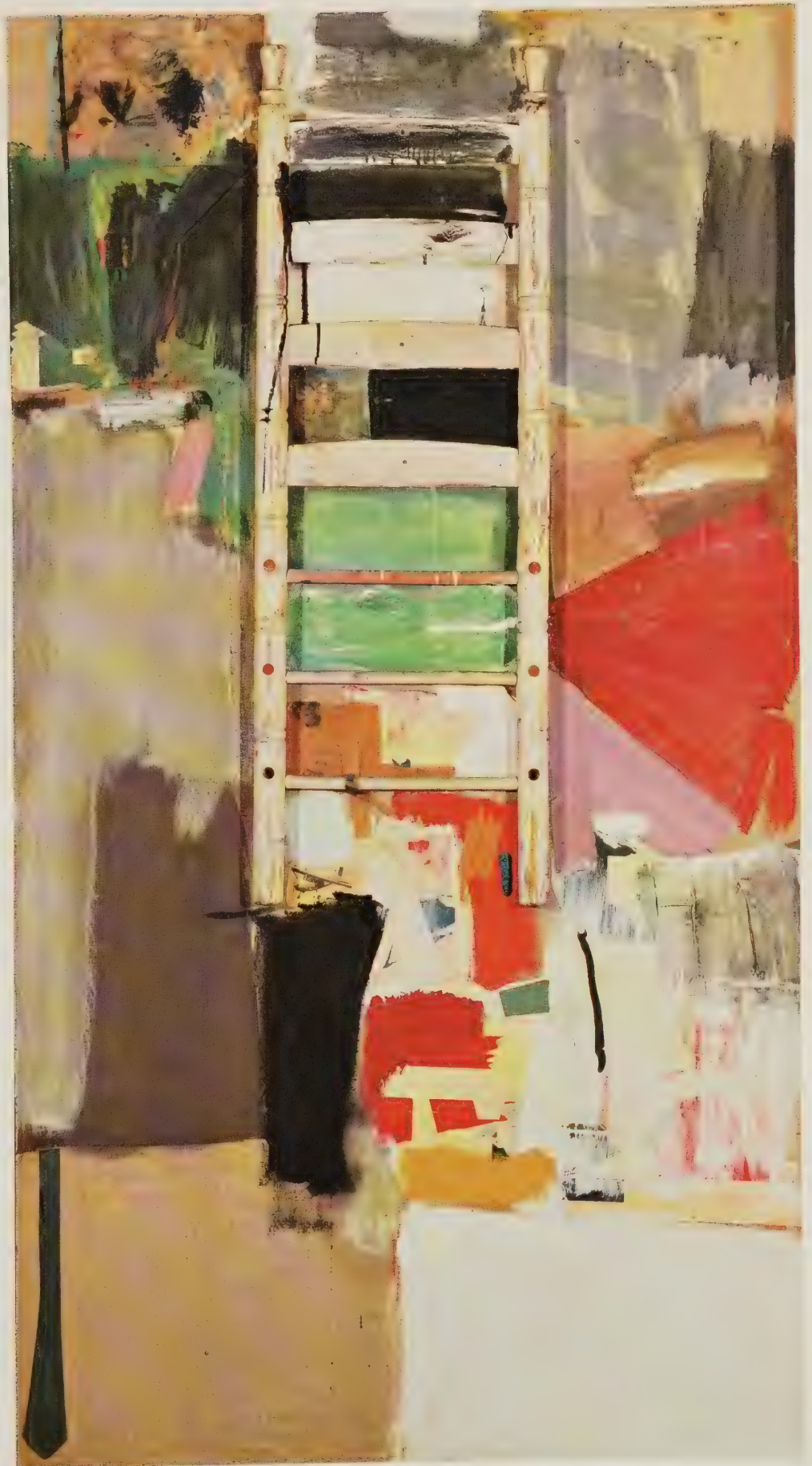




PLATE 117 **Vitamin**, 1960/68

Oil, printed paper, cardboard, rubber ring,
plastic, nails, and hooks on canvas
60 x 54 x 7 inches
Emily Fisher Landau, New York
(Amart Investments LLC)

PLATE 118 **Pilgrim**, 1960

Oil, pencil, paper, printed paper,
and fabric on canvas with painted wood chair
79 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 53 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 18 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches
Hamburger Kunsthalle
Sammlung Onnasch

overleaf:

PLATE 119 **Allegory**, 1959–60

Oil, paper, fabric, printed paper, wood,
and umbrella on canvas and metal, sand,
and glue on mirrored panel
72 x 120 x 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches
Museum Ludwig, Cologne









PLATE 120 **Hawk**, 1960
Oil, paper, printed paper, and fabric on canvas
50 x 50 inches
Private collection

PLATE 121 **Nettle**, 1960
Oil, printed paper, and ink on canvas with chain
and metal
84½ x 39 inches
Private collection







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 PLATE 122 **Summer Rental**, 1960
 Oil and printed paper on canvas
 70 x 54 inches
 Sammlung Siegfried Weishaupt

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 PLATE 123 **Summer Rental + 1**, 1960
 Oil and printed paper on canvas
 70 x 54 inches
 Private collection



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PLATE 124 **Summer Rental + 2**, 1960

Oil, crayon, charcoal, printed paper, paper,
and fabric on canvas

70 x 54 inches

Whitney Museum of American Art, New York

Purchase, with funds from the Friends of the
Whitney Museum of American Art

*

PLATE 125 **Summer Rental + 3**, 1960

Oil and printed paper on canvas

70 x 54 inches

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie,
Stiftung Sammlung Marx





PLATE 126 **Untitled**, 1960
 Oil, paper, and metal on canvas
 8½ x 8½ inches
 Courtesy Agnes Gund Collection, New York

PLATE 127 **Untitled**, 1960
 Oil on mirror and wooden frame
 29 x 19 inches
 Collection Maxine Groffsky Knowlton





PLATE 128 **Trophy II (for Teeny and Marcel Duchamp)**, 1960

Oil, charcoal, paper, fabric, printed paper, printed reproductions, necktie, sheet metal, and metal spring on seven canvases with chain, spoon, and water-filled plastic drinking glass on wood
90 x 108 x 5 inches

Walker Art Center, Minneapolis
Gift of the T. B. Walker Foundation, 1970

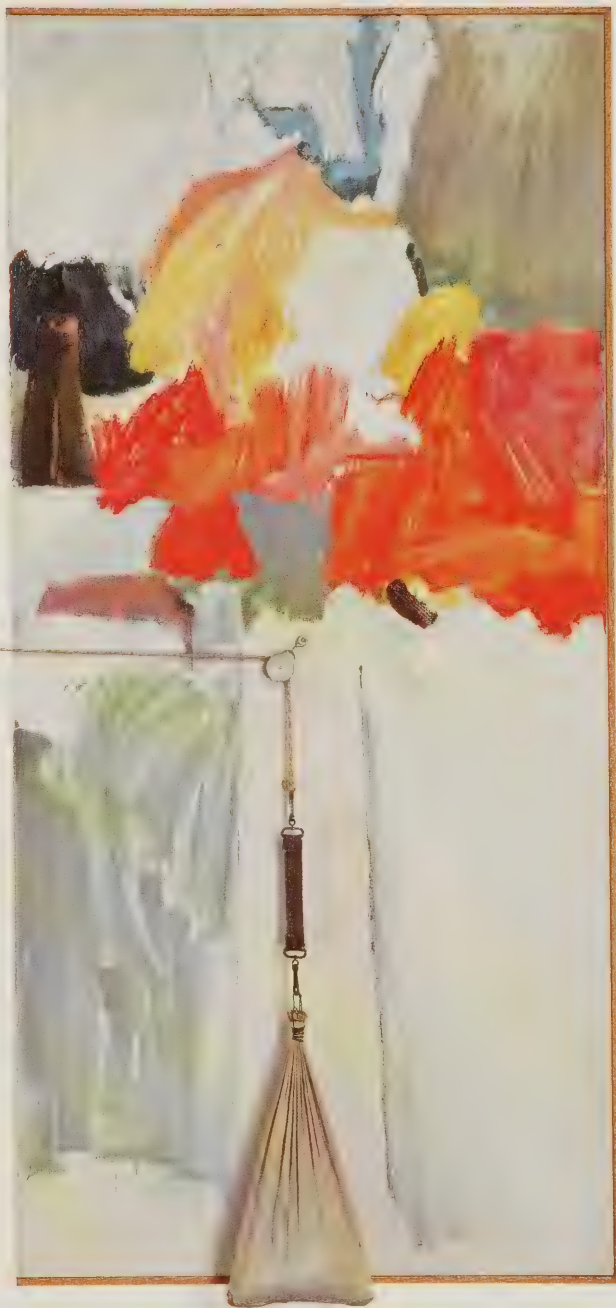
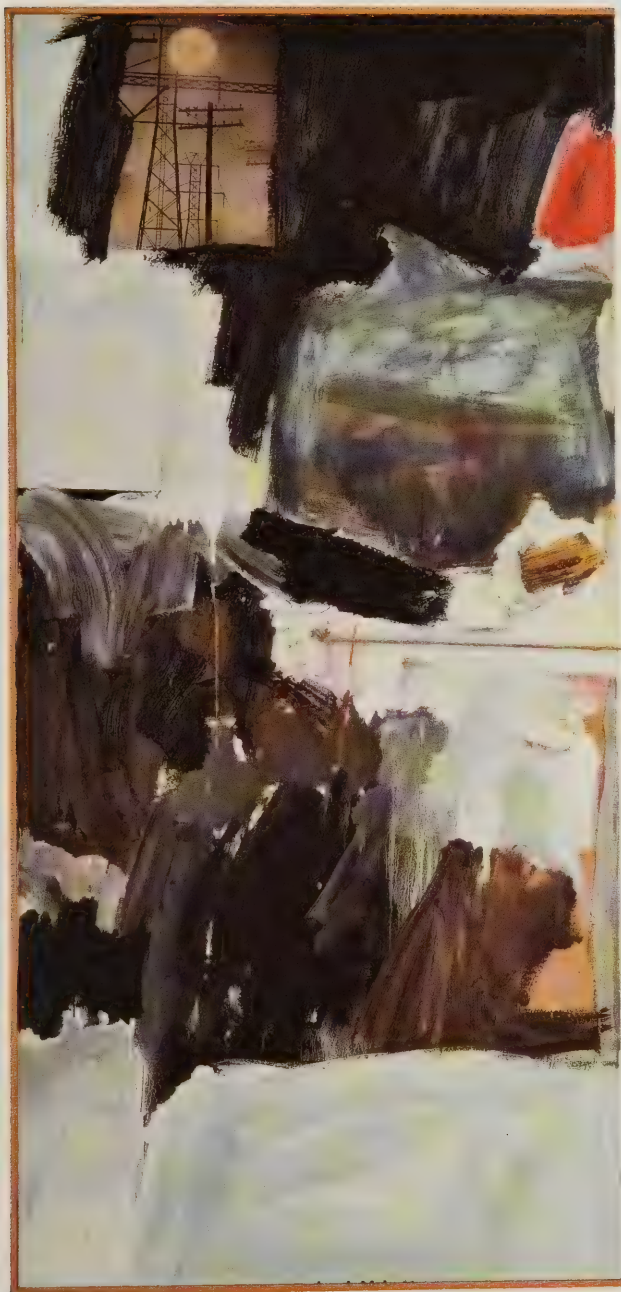
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PLATE 129 **Studio Painting**, 1960–61

Oil, charcoal, fabric, printed paper, and printed reproduction on two canvases with rope, metal pulley, eye bolts, clasps, woven strap, and stuffed canvas bag

72 x 72 x 2¼ inches overall

Michael Crichton Collection, Los Angeles



✱

PLATE 130 **Black Market**, 1961

Oil, watercolor, pencil, paper, fabric, newspaper, printed paper, printed reproductions, wood, metal, tin, and four metal clipboards on canvas with rope, rubber stamp, ink pad, and various objects in wood valise randomly given and taken by viewers

Canvas: 50 x 59 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 4 inches;

valise: 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 24 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 16 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches

Museum Ludwig, Cologne





PLATE 131 **First Time Painting**, 1961

Oil, paper, fabric, sailcloth, plastic exhaust cap,
alarm clock, sheet metal, adhesive tape, metal
springs, wire, and string on canvas

76 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 51 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie,
Stiftung Sammlung Marx

PLATE 132 **Second Time Painting**, 1961

Oil, fabric, and metal on canvas with alarm clock
and string

65 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 42 x 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches

The Rose Art Museum, Brandeis University,
Waltham, Massachusetts
Gevirtz-Mnuchin Purchase Fund





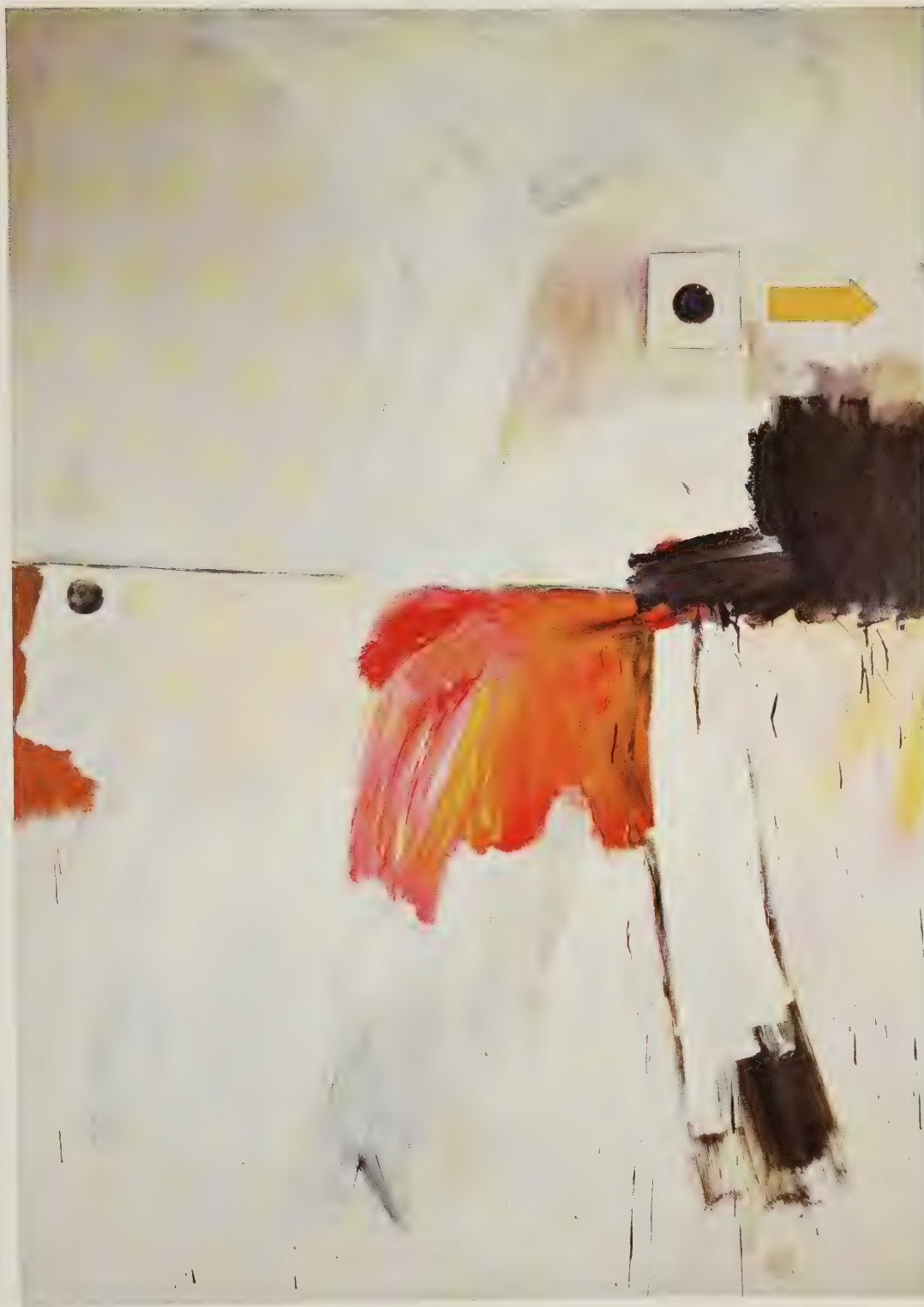


PLATE 133 **Third Time Painting**, 1961

Oil, fabric, wood, metal chain, string, glass bottle
fragment with cap, and electric clock on canvas
84 x 60 x 6 inches

Collection of Thomas H. Lee and Ann Tenenbaum

PLATE 134 **Blue Exit**, 1961

Oil and graphite on canvas
84 x 60 inches

Location unknown

*
 PLATE 135 **Trophy III (for Jean Tinguely)**, 1961
 Oil and printed paper on carved wood structure
 with metal bedsprings, metal ladder, cloth, fuse box
 with fuses, metal dish, eyehook, and nails
 96 x 65¾ x 10½ inches
 The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles
 The Panza Collection





PLATE 136 **Wall Street**, 1961

Oil, paper, zinc sheet metal, fabric, and string
on canvas with wood plank, rubber, and fire hose
62 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 72 x 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches
Museum Ludwig, Cologne

*

PLATE 137 **First Landing Jump**, 1961

Oil, cloth, metal, leather, electric fixture, and cable
on composition board with automobile tire and
wood plank
89 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 72 x 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches
The Museum of Modern Art, New York
Gift of Philip Johnson, 1972







*

PLATE 138 **Magician II**, 1961

Oil, charcoal, and metal on canvas with fabric banner, metal objects, wire, springs, fabric, string, wood, and brick

79 x 72 inches; depth variable

Collection of Norman and Irma Braman

*

PLATE 139 **Pantomime**, 1961

Oil, enamel, paper, fabric, wood, metal, and rubber wheel on canvas with electric fans

84 x 60 x 20 inches

Private collection

Courtesy Kunstmuseum Liechtenstein



*
PLATE 140 **Blue Eagle**, 1961

Oil, graphite, printed paper, cotton T-shirt, tin cans,
and wire on canvas with electric cord and light bulb
84 x 60 x 5 inches

Whitney Museum of American Art, New York
Gift of The American Contemporary Art
Foundation Inc., Leonard A. Lauder, President

PLATE 141 **Slug**, 1961

Oil, cotton sleeves on canvas, electric cord
with light bulb, wood, and tin with enameled pot
and metal chain

67 x 48 inches; depth variable
Kaiser Wilhelm Museum, Krefeld
Helga and Walther Lauffs Collection





PLATE 142 **Coexistence**, 1961

Oil on canvas with fabric, wood, metal, and wire
 66 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 49 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 14 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches
 Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond
 Gift of The Sydney and Frances Lewis Foundation

*

PLATE 143 **Aen Floga**, 1961

Oil on canvas with wire, metal, and wood
 73 x 50 x 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches
 Collection of the artist





PLATE 144 **193466**, 1961
Wire mesh, wood, and metal license plates
on wood with cement-filled bucket
19¼ x 15 x 15 inches
Collection of Kate Ganz

PLATE 145 **Red Rock**, 1961
Painted wood box, steel cable, metal clevis hook,
wire, rope, wood, and carpet on wood mounted
on metal wheels
23 x 25 x 76½ inches
Collection of the artist

PLATE 146 **Trophy IV (for John Cage)**, 1961
Metal, fabric, leather boot, wood, and tire tread
on wood with chain and flashlight
33 x 82 x 21 inches
San Francisco Museum of Modern Art
Purchased through a gift of Phyllis Wattis





PLATE 147 **Untitled**, 1961

Paint, metal, electrical junction box, fabric,
screws, nails, and leather upholstered wood
chair-arm on wood
7¼ x 16 x 17½ inches
Collection of the artist

PLATE 148 **The Bell**, 1961

Wood, metal, rock, and string
43 x 20½ x 14 inches
Collection of the artist





PLATE 149 **Untitled**, 1961
Metal, wire, tin can, electric cord,
and light with stool
27 x 34 x 15 inches
Private collection, Rome

PLATE 150 **Slow Fall**, 1961
Oil, metal, fabric, newspaper, and nineteenth-century
nail on board with crusted can, string, cola can,
lead weight, nail, and milk carton
56½ x 21 x 12 inches
The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles
The Panza Collection







PLATE 151 **Empire I**, 1961
 Wood and bicycle wheel with chain, bricks,
 wood plank, and metal
 33 x 28 inches; depth variable
 Donald Hess Collection, Napa

*

PLATE 152 **Empire II**, 1961
 Ventilation duct, roller skate, paper, wire, and electric
 light on wood mounted on three metal wheels
 60½ x 57⅞ x 28¾ inches
 Estate of Philip Johnson, New Canaan
 Courtesy of The National Trust for Historic Preservation





PLATE 153 **Door**, 1961

Oil, fabric, wood, painted sign, stenciled letters, paper, undershirt, paint can lids, string, and rock with bottle caps, and miscellaneous objects under chicken wire on plywood door with frame
88½ x 37 x 7½ inches

Philippe Durand-Ruel Collection, Paris

*

PLATE 154 **Reservoir**, 1961

Oil, pencil, fabric, wood, and metal on canvas with two electric clocks, rubber tread wheel, and spoked wheel rim

85½ x 62½ x 14¾ inches

Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C.

Gift of S.C. Johnson & Son, Inc.



*
PLATE 155 Johanson's Painting, 1961
 Oil, metal, fabric, wood, paper, twine, picture
 frame, shaving brush, and tin can with metal
 frame on masonite
 56 x 48¹/₄ x 6⁷/₈ inches
 Sonnabend Collection, New York

PLATE 156 Rigger, 1961
 Oil, metal, rope, wood, fabric, plastic buttons,
 paper, graphite, and sand on canvas
 102 x 60 x 11¹/₂ inches
 Private collection





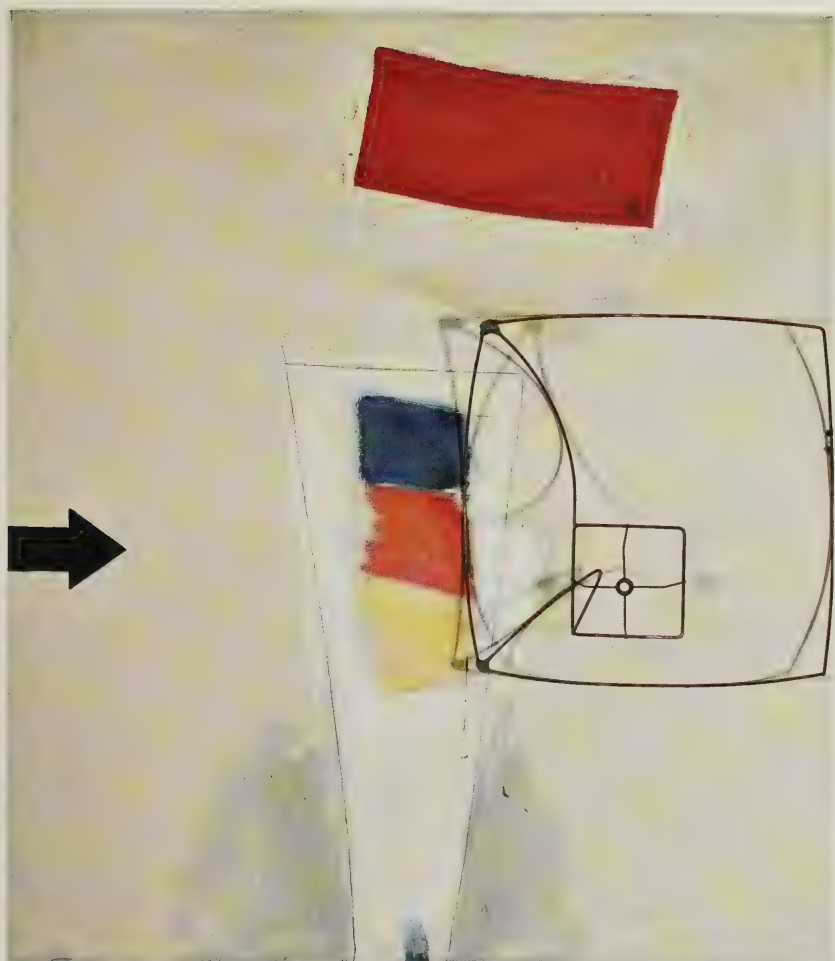


PLATE 157 **Stripper**, 1962

Oil, paper, fabric, wood, sheet metal, and wire
on canvas

Left panel: 96 x 42 x 5½ inches

Right panel: 48 x 42 x 8¼ inches

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie,
Stiftung Sammlung Marx

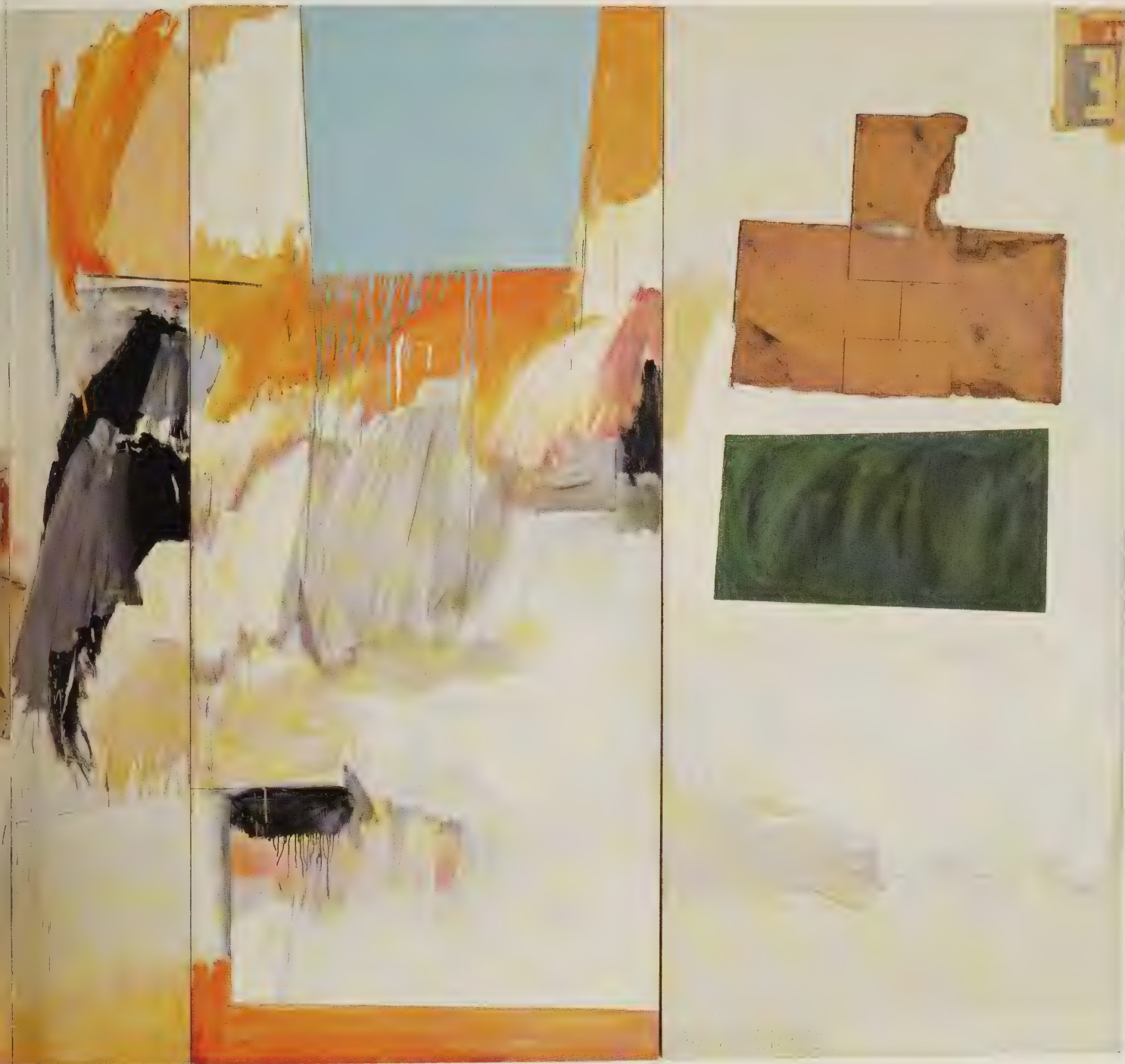




PLATE 158 **Cartoon**, 1962
Oil, wood, and metal on canvas
72 x 36 x 5½ inches
Daros Collection, Switzerland

PLATE 159 **Trophy V (for Jasper Johns)**, 1962
Oil, fabric, cardboard box, printed paper, plastic ruler, and metal window frame on canvas
78 x 72 inches
Honolulu Academy of Arts
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Frederick R. Weisman in honor of James W. Foster, 1971





*
 PLATE 160 **Ace**, 1962
 Oil, paper, cardboard, fabric, wood,
 and metal on canvas
 Five panels: 108 x 240 x 7½ inches overall
 Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York
 Gift of Seymour H. Knox, Jr., 1963

*

PLATE 161 **Navigator**, 1962

Oil, wood, and metal on canvas with light bulb
and electric cord

84 x 60 x 8 inches

Museum für Moderne Kunst, Frankfurt am Main

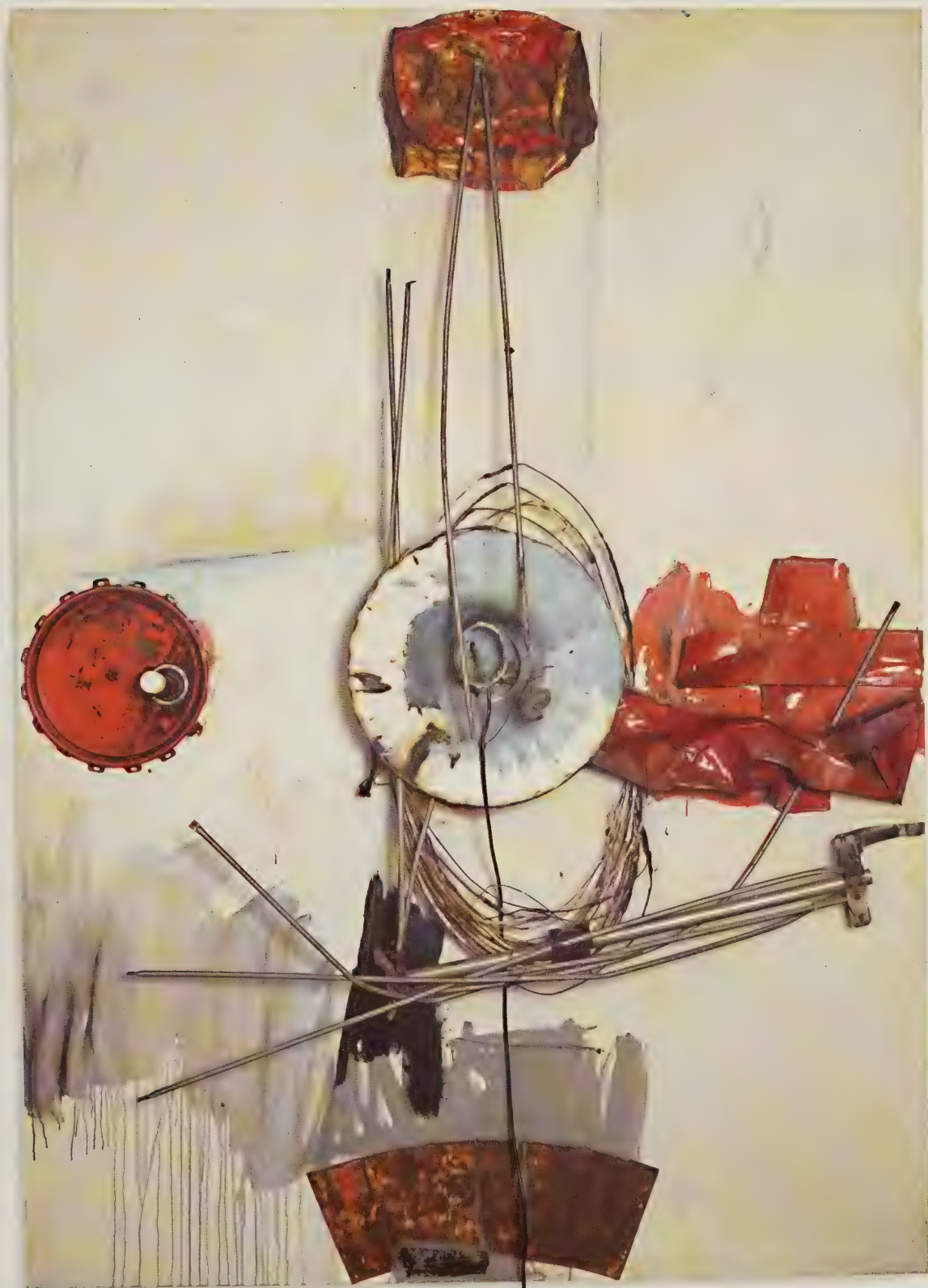






PLATE 162 **Wooden Gallop**, 1962
 Oil, wood, paper, metal, fragment of yellow rubber
 life raft, and cola can on plywood
 48 x 49½ x 10¾ inches
 Chrysler Museum of Art, Norfolk, Virginia
 Gift of Walter P. Chrysler, Jr.

PLATE 163 **Untitled**, 1962
 Oil, printed paper, fabric, and metal on canvas
 37½ x 50 x 8¼ inches
 Colby College Museum of Art, Waterville, Maine
 Museum Purchase from the Jere Abbott
 Acquisitions Fund



PLATE 164 **Dylaby**, 1962
Oil on rubber tire and packing crate panel
24 1/2 x 22 x 13 inches
John Kaldor Collection, Sydney, Australia

PLATE 165 **Dylaby**, 1962
Oil, metal objects, metal spring, metal Coca-Cola
sign, ironing board, and twine on unstretched
canvas tarp on wood support
109 1/2 x 87 x 15 inches
Sonnabend Collection, New York





PLATE 166 **Inside-Out**, 1962

Oil, paper, fabric, wood, embossed tin, metal,
wire, mirror, glass, alarm bell, and tricycle wheel
on wood structure mounted on four casters
40 x 50 x 16 inches
Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf

PLATE 167 **Art Box**, 1963

Oil on wood crate and paper with enameled
telephone sign, Plexiglas, and wingnuts
31 x 16½ x 12¾ inches
Collection of the artist





PLATE 168 **Bath**, 1964, recto and verso
Oil and solvent transfer on Plexiglas with wire,
string, and metal clothes hanger
18 3/4 x 15 inches
Collection Rosa and Aaron H. Esman, M.D.

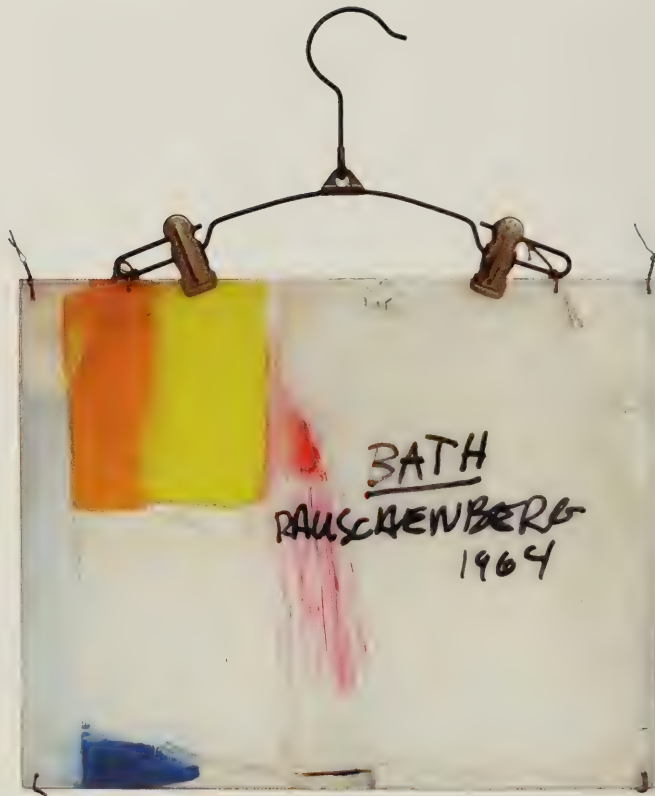


PLATE 169 **Story**, 1964
Oil, pencil, paper, fabric, printed paper, printed
reproductions, wood, metal, and string on two
wood panels
106 x 97 x 5 1/8 inches
Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto
Purchased with assistance from the Women's
Committee Fund, 1970

*

overleaf:

PLATE 170 **Gold Standard**, 1964
Oil, paper, printed reproductions, clock, cardboard
box, metal, fabric, wood, string, shoe, and Coca-Cola
bottles on gold folding Japanese screen with electric
light, rope, and ceramic dog on bicycle seat and
wire mesh base
84 1/4 x 142 1/8 x 51 1/4 inches
Private collection



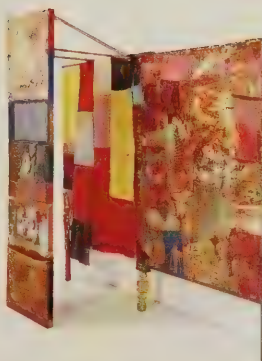






Minutiae and Rauschenberg's Combine Mode

CHARLES STUCKEY



opposite:

Rauschenberg working on **First Time Painting** onstage during "Homage to David Tudor," Théâtre de l'Ambassade des États-Unis, Paris, 20 June 1961

above:

Minutiae, 1954, and detail

1 Robert Rosenblum, "Picasso and the Typography of Cubism," in *Picasso 1881/1973*, eds. Sir Roland Penrose and Dr. John Golding (London: Paul Elek, 1973), 49–76. See also Joan Carpenter, "The Iconography of Jasper Johns," *Art Journal* 36, no. 3 (spring 1977): 221–27. My own review of the 1976 exhibition appeared as "Reading Rauschenberg," *Art in America* 65, no. 2 (March–April 1977): 74–84.

2 Calvin Tomkins, "Everything in Sight: Robert Rauschenberg's New Life," *The New Yorker* (23 May 2005): 76. In 1968, Rauschenberg explained: "I call those things 'combines,' because it was before the [Museum of Modern Art's] show of assemblages [in 1961]. Earlier I had this problem with the paintings that would be free-standing—not against the wall.... I thought of them as paintings, but what to call them—painting or sculpture—got

for some people to be a very interesting point, which I did not find interesting at all." See Richard Kostelanetz, "A Conversation with Robert Rauschenberg," *Partisan Review* 35, no. 1 (winter 1968): 96.

3 According to Tomkins, Rauschenberg encouraged his dealer to think of his *Growing Painting* (1953) as a sculpture: *Off the Wall: Robert Rauschenberg and the Art World of Our Time* (New York: Doubleday, 1980), 95; also see Walter Hopps, *Robert Rauschenberg: The Early 1950s*, exh. cat. (Houston: The Menil Collection and Houston Fine Art Press, 1991), 162 and 213.

I first met the late great Walter Hopps in early November 1976. Assigned by *Art in America* to cover his retrospective exhibition of Robert Rauschenberg's work at the National Collection of Fine Arts in Washington, D.C., on the occasion of the nation's bicentennial, I had requested access to the exhibition during non-public hours in order to look close-up at small details embedded in the collage surfaces of several works on display. Thanks to Robert Rosenblum's groundbreaking study, published in 1973, of the words and phrases included in the newspaper clippings incorporated into Cubist collages, I felt obliged to consider seriously the "texts" printed on the scrap materials Rauschenberg chose to use as collage and assemblage components in his so-called Combines.¹ (Would Rauschenberg use any old newspaper scraps as generic images of mass media and modern throwaway culture? Or, like Pablo Picasso, did Rauschenberg prefer newspaper items about issues connected to his art and life?) Walter appeared with a roll of brown paper to protect the exhibition platforms from our footprints, and we started with *Minutiae* (1954, PLATE 15).

Bingo! Pasted on the surface along the lower edge to the far right of *Minutiae* we found an episode of O. Soglow's *The Little King* from some newspaper's funny pages showing his majesty attending an exhibition of modern sculpture. By the end of 1954, Rauschenberg had devoted himself as much to making sculpture as he had to making photographs, prints, collages, and paintings. Conceived this same year, the term "Combine" meant "painting playing the game of sculpture," according to Jasper Johns, who recalled that he may have invented the term.² But with the exception of *Minutiae* (and perhaps *Untitled*, c. 1954, PLATE 28), most of the earliest Combines are wall pieces. With its "legs," its various "openings," and its three-dimensional homemade armature, the freestanding *Minutiae* is especially "sculptural" and thus especially assertive of the all-inclusive Combine spirit, with its hybridization of different art genres. By its inclusion, *The Little King* episode in *Minutiae* attests that sculpture is somehow at issue and thus raises questions of historical context not only for *Minutiae*, but for all of Rauschenberg's Combines considered in terms of modern three-dimensional art.

In early 1954, Rauschenberg had suggested (to the dismay of his then-dealer Eleanor Ward) that she consider a (now-long-lost) painting-shaped box of dirt with growing grass in terms of sculpture.³ But Rauschenberg's mini-landscape aside, by the mid-1950s modern sculpture was most typically what Clement Greenberg had referred to as "sculpture-construction" in a brilliant essay that appeared in *Partisan Review* in June 1949. A month or so later, Rauschenberg arrived in New York City to enroll at the Art Students League, having spent the previous school year in Asheville, North Carolina, at Black Mountain College. Crediting Picasso with transforming collage into bas-relief and then into construction, Greenberg explained:

This new, pictorial, draughtsman's sculpture has more or less abandoned the traditional materials of stone and bronze in favor of ones more flexible under such modern tools as the oxyacetylene torch: steel, iron, alloys, glass, plastics. It has no regard for the unity of its physical medium and will use any number of different materials in the same work and any variety of applied colors—as befits an art that sees in its products almost as much that is pictorial as is sculptural. The sculptor-constructor is, if anything, more drawn to ideas conceived by analogy with landscape than to those derived from single objects.⁴



Oddly, Greenberg ignored the extent to which Giorgio de Chirico anticipated this sort of sculpture—whether in *The Great Metaphysician* (1917), parodying an imaginary assemblage public monument, or in 1920s work with mismatched objects presented in a stage-like setting.

In any case, *Minutiae* surely conforms to Greenberg's description, formulated in response to mid-to-late 1940s works by, among others, Louise Bourgeois, Alexander Calder, Herbert Ferber, Peter Grippe, David Hare, Ibram Lassaw, Richard Lippold, Seymour Lipton, Isamu Noguchi, and David Smith.⁵ Rauschenberg's earliest sculpture known to survive, *The Man with Two Souls* (1950), was "constructed" of everyday vertical elements (a glass rod and two wine bottles) inserted into a crude plaster base. Included in Rauschenberg's first solo exhibition at Betty Parsons Gallery on 15 East 57th Street in May 1951, this work was seemingly prompted by his friend Barnett Newman's first sculpture *Here I* (1950), exhibited at the same gallery the month before.⁶ *Here I* is a crudely rendered totem ensemble fashioned from two pieces of milled lumber inserted into an overturned milk crate, its elements then covered with plaster and white paint.

As far removed from Newman's art as might be imagined, *Minutiae*, however, has more in common with Frederick Kiesler's *Galaxy*, created as a décor element for the New York premiere of Darius Milhaud's *Le Pauvre Matelot* (December 1948). In essence a modern sculptural construction, *Galaxy* was later featured in the Museum of Modern Art's "15 Americans" survey exhibition of contemporary art, which opened on 3 April 1952. Indeed, the historical context for Rauschenberg's *Minutiae* extends well beyond art-gallery sculpture to include modern set furnishings for ballets, plays, and films, as well as retail window displays of the period. Illustrated surveys of such works, often ephemeral and too seldom considered as art, are badly needed. Like Kiesler's *Galaxy*, Noguchi's freestanding fabric-covered "constructions" for Martha Graham's *Judith* (1950) prefigure the fundamental structure of *Minutiae*, with its separated vertical planes



GIORGIO DE CHIRICO
Mobili nella valle, 1928
Oil on canvas
32 1/8 x 39 3/8 inches
Private collection

BARNETT NEWMAN

Here I, 1950

Reinforced plaster, wood, and a wood-and-wire crate
96 x 28 1/4 x 26 1/2 inches (excluding wood base)
The Menil Collection, Houston, Texas
Gift of Annalee Newman
Installation at Betty Parsons Gallery, New York, 1951

4 Clement Greenberg,
"The New Sculpture,"

Partisan Review 16, no. 6 (June 1949): 640. For the historical antecedents of construction-sculpture, see Margit Rowell, *The Planar Dimension: Europe, 1912–1932*, exh. cat. (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, 1979). Of course, in Europe various CoBrA artists were making construction sculptures as early as the late 1940s. See Donald Kuspit, *Karel Appel Sculpture: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994). Unfortunately Kuspit provides no exhibition histories.

5 The best survey of this material remains Lisa Phillips, *The Third Dimension: Sculpture of the New York School*, exh. cat. (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1984). Hopps's *Robert Rauschenberg: The Early 1950s* (pages 108–10) mentions several other artists in this mode who are unrelated to the New York School. For invaluable pictorial surveys of sculpture during these years, see C. Ludwig Brummé, *Contemporary American Sculpture* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1948); and Carola Giedion-Welcker, *Contemporary Sculpture: An Evolution in Volume and Space* (New York: George Wittenborn, 1955). Rauschenberg's decision to develop his Combines as a hybrid mode presumably resulted in his exclusion from the revised edition of the latter survey in 1960, as well as more recently from *In Tandem: The Painter-Sculptor in the Twentieth Century*, exh. cat. (London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 1986).

6 For an in-depth account of the exhibition, see Hopps, *Robert Rauschenberg: The Early 1950s*, 27–32, 44–56, and 229–30.

7 For a description of the sculpture, see Brad Gooch, *City Poet: The Life and Times of Frank O'Hara* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), 232. See pages 180–81 for a description of the original production of the play, with John Cage music and a minimal set by Edward Gorey. According to Rauschenberg, Larry Rivers and other artists associated with Tibor de Nagy Gallery tended to be hostile to him and his work; see *Rauschenberg: An Interview with Robert Rauschenberg by Barbara Rose* (New York: Vintage Books, 1987), 39 and 41. Nevertheless, such figures as Rivers, Frank O'Hara, and Clement Greenberg are hard to ignore when establishing the context for Rauschenberg's Combines.

8 Incorporating real cans and thus more "sculpture" than "painting," Rauschenberg's *Paint Cans* (1954, plate 12), exhibited in a group show at New York's Tanager Gallery that opened on 20 December 1954, also exemplified the new hybrid mode.

9 According to Tomkins (*Off the Wall*, 65), Cage and Rauschenberg met at his 1951 Betty Parsons Gallery exhibition. But Rauschenberg told Rose that he met the musician at Black Mountain College around 1950; see *Rauschenberg: An Interview*, 34.



connected by overhead horizontal elements. Presumably the weird coatrack sculpture of metal pipes that Larry Rivers made for a February 1953 New York production of Frank O'Hara's *Try! Try!* took license from the same precedents.⁷ As it happened, O'Hara would write an enthusiastic review of Rauschenberg's December 1954 exhibition at Charles Egan Gallery. Made specifically for a new dance titled *Minutiae* by Merce Cunningham, which premiered at the Brooklyn Academy of Music on 8 December 1954, Rauschenberg's "construction" was unavailable for the Egan exhibition of predominantly red collage paintings, several of them generally considered to be his first Combines.⁸

Exactly when Rauschenberg met Cunningham and his roommate, the composer John Cage, is open to debate: it was probably around 1950 through the Black Mountain College network to which they all belonged.⁹ The rich interdisciplinary community at Black Mountain College had since 1948 provided Rauschenberg opportunities to experiment with theater, dance, costume, and display. For example, Rauschenberg recalled producing a Noh play, and a snapshot shows him fitting a fellow student with an elaborate 1949 Mardi Gras unicorn outfit (anticipating his famous goat Combine *Monogram*, 1955–59, PLATE 114) he was making for his sister. In the fall of 1949, Black Mountain College faculty member Anni Albers presented an exhibition of her textiles at the Museum

The Man with Two Souls, 1950

47¼ x 7⅞ x 5½ inches

Private collection

Photograph by Rauschenberg

of Modern Art, with furnishings and textile samples juxtaposed in ways that prefigured the compositions of some of Rauschenberg's other later Combines, including *Minutiae*. In 1951, Rauschenberg illustrated a poem by Joel Oppenheimer about a Black Mountain performance with arrow-pointed lines like those often used for dance diagrams.¹⁰ Indeed, several of the works included in Rauschenberg's 1951 Parsons exhibition include details such as arrows, footprints, and dance diagrams that indicate an ongoing interest in sequential imagery.¹¹

It was seemingly in the spring of 1952, when Cage and Cunningham returned to Black Mountain College, that Rauschenberg first realized how he could make construction-sculpture out of paintings. Unfortunately, no photographs document the installation of four of Rauschenberg's White Paintings suspended from the ceiling during Cage's *Theater Piece #1*, spontaneously organized at the college one day that summer.¹² But photographs taken by Rauschenberg of his so-called Black Paintings (made by texturing canvases with wrinkled newspapers and painting them over completely with glossy black paint) show the works installed idiosyncratically, away from the wall, the bottom edges on the floor or their top edges hanging from a wood platform that extended over a doorway.¹³ Whether these photographs record Rauschenberg's otherwise undocumented August 1952 exhibition at Black Mountain College is not known. Whatever the case may be, experienced as they would have been when photographed, the paintings anticipate the possibility of a viewer walking behind and around them, the way dancers would be free to circulate through the elements of *Minutiae* at the end of 1954.

A similar unorthodox attitude towards art display is evident in photographs of the installation of the September 1953 exhibition at Stable Gallery in New York of works by Rauschenberg and Cy Twombly, who had worked together closely at Black Mountain College and then during a seven-month sojourn in North Africa and Italy. One of these photographs shows a Black Painting (then owned by musician Morton Feldman) installed not on the wall, but instead on a floor-to-ceiling post set roughly a foot away from the wall (which was otherwise unusable for display because of essential pipes, cables, and utility boxes in that section of the basement).¹⁴ Faced with such imperfect exhibition options, Rauschenberg sensibly resorted to the same sort of floating, away-from-the-wall installation technique that had served him at Black Mountain College. Although freshly painted white, the post is notably similar to the lumber used by Rauschenberg for several so-called Elemental Sculptures included in this same Stable Gallery exhibition. In retrospect, therefore, the post could be viewed as an optional element in an unintentional "Combine" featuring this particular Black Painting.

Before continuing with commentary about paintings presented as freestanding planar constructions, it is important to mention the bicycle wheel component of a lost

¹⁰ See Mary Emma Harris, *The Arts at Black Mountain College* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1987), 126, 133, and 199; and Rauschenberg: *An Interview*, 23–24. On Rauschenberg's Black Mountain costumes, see Roni Feinstein, "Random Order: The First Fifteen Years of Robert Rauschenberg's Art, 1949–1964," Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1990, 53. The connection between Rauschenberg's Combines and Anni Albers's display mode was pointed out by James Leggio, "Robert Rauschenberg's *Bed* and the Symbolism of the Body," in *Essays on Assemblage*, Studies in Modern Art 2 (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1992), 98. For such arrows, see, for example, Alexander Calder's 1942 engraving *Score for Ballet 0–100*.

¹¹ In 1942, Betty Parsons organized a show devoted to the exploration of ballet in art for the Wakefield Bookshop on East 55th Street; see Deborah Solomon, *Utopia Parkway: The Life and Work of Joseph Cornell* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1997), 127. See also Rauschenberg: *An Interview*, 44, for his emphasis on sequence; and Robert Creeley, "On the Road: Notes on Artists and Poets 1950–1965," in *Poets of the Cities: New York and San Francisco 1950–1965* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1974), 63, for a 1949 Rauschenberg project with footprints.

¹² Martin Duberman, *Black Mountain: An Exploration in Community* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1972), 350–58; Tomkins, *Off the Wall*, 74–75; Rauschenberg: *An Interview*, 344; Harris, *The Arts at Black Mountain College*, 226–28; see also Nancy Spector, "Rauschenberg and Performance, 1963–67: A 'Poetry of Infinite Possibilities,'" in Hopps and Susan Davidson, eds., *Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective*, exh. cat. (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, 1997), 229–30. Also see Branden W. Joseph, *Random Order: Robert Rauschenberg and the Neo-Avant-Garde* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2003), 258 and 369 n. 107. It is worth mentioning that in 1952 Calder placed plywood panels, or "acoustic clouds," on the ceiling of Aula Magna at the Universidad Central de Venezuela in Caracas.

¹³ See Hopps, *Robert Rauschenberg: The Early 1950s*, 66–69 and 98–100.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 189. An installation photograph of an exhibition of sculptures by Rivers in the same basement space at the Stable Gallery in January 1954 gives a better look at the obstacles in the corner; see Helen A. Harrison, *Larry Rivers* (New York: Harper & Row, 1984), 23.



16 Sidney Geist, "Stankiewicz: Miracle in the Scrapheap," *Art Digest* 28 (1 December 1953): 10. See also the catalogue to the exhibition, *Miracle in the Scrap Heap: The Sculpture of Richard Stankiewicz* (Andover, Massachusetts: Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy, 2003). According to Joan Marter, "The Forgotten Legacy: Happenings, Pop Art, and Fluxus at Rutgers University," in *Off Limits: Rutgers University and the Avant-Garde, 1957–1963* (Newark, New Jersey: The Newark Museum, 1999), 4, the 1953 solo exhibition of Allan Kaprow at the same Hansa Gallery cooperative where Stankiewicz showed included works arranged by the artist at oblique angles to one another, thus "presaging his later environmental structures." For Rauschenberg's 1952 photographs of de Kooning at work on the *Woman* series, see Hopps, *Robert Rauschenberg: The Early 1950s*, 71.

Elemental Sculpture visible in this same photograph. While earlier works by Rauschenberg include circular forms—images of round clock faces, a small tricycle wheel—the larger wheel component here marks the public debut of an image that has reappeared obsessively in his works ever since. It seems essential to note how Rauschenberg neatly cut away all the wheel's spokes, since in his subsequent Combine works he opted not to modify the manufactured items that he used as materials. Of course, in the early-1950s New York art world, a wheel might call to mind the Buddhist Wheel of Dharma or Beat texts about the open road, but the fact that a bicycle wheel is at issue suggests that here Rauschenberg is addressing Marcel Duchamp's famous readymade.¹⁵ Duchamp provided an image of the shadow of his *Bicycle Wheel* (1913) in the painting-assemblage *Tu m'* (1918), its projecting bottle brush anticipating the objects incorporated into Rauschenberg's Combines. *Tu m'* was one of the highlights of an extraordinary exhibition of 209 Dada works (including masterpieces of collage, assemblage, and photomontage by Max Ernst, Hannah Höch, Man Ray, and Kurt Schwitters, among many others) presented at Sidney Janis Gallery beginning 15 April 1953.



When Rauschenberg and Twombly returned from Europe in April of 1953, they encountered a widespread Dada-related emphasis on collage and assemblage. Neither of them escaped this Dada fever, especially Rauschenberg, whose spare aesthetic became ever more materialistic and colorful. To mention just a few of the events with immediate echoes in Rauschenberg's art: the 1952 publication by the Museum of Modern Art of William Lieberman's book *The Sculptor's Studio: Etchings by Picasso*, with its illustrations of the artist's imaginary furniture constructions; the 1952 exhibition of Picasso's new three-dimensional works at Curt Valentin Gallery; the infamous April 1953 exhibition of Willem de Kooning's paintings on the theme of *Woman* at Sidney Janis Gallery, with details based on magazine advertisements; and the 1953 assemblage exhibition at Hansa Gallery of new works by Richard Stankiewicz that prompted Sidney Geist's enthusiastic review "Miracle in the Scrapheap."¹⁶ Of special significance was the introduction to a New York audience of the burlap collage-paintings of Alberto Burri, whom Rauschenberg had met during his Roman sojourn. Works by Burri were exhibited in December 1953 at Stable Gallery, as well as in the 1953 Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum survey exhibition "Younger European Painters."

MARCEL DUCHAMP

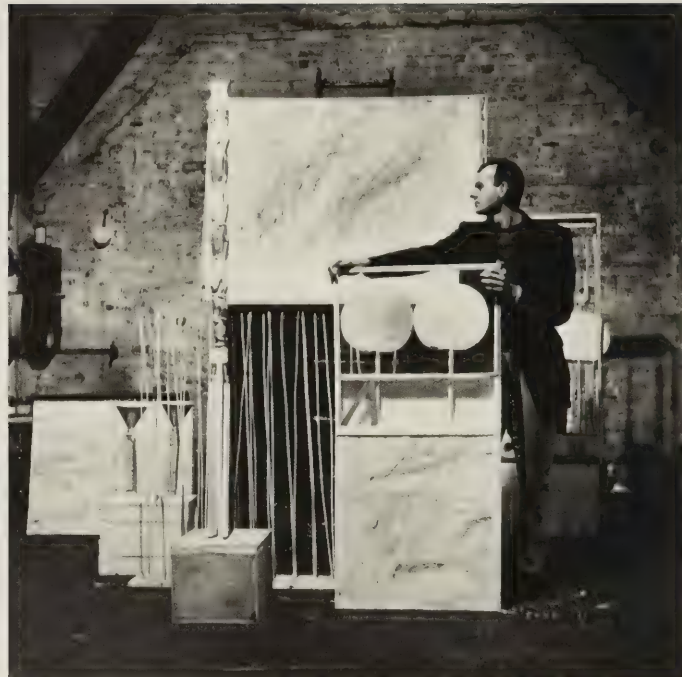
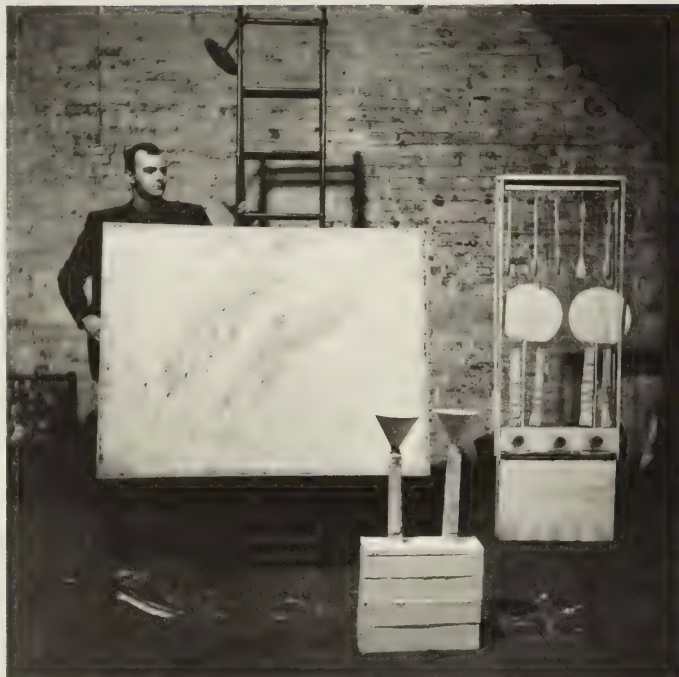
Tu m', 1918

Oil on canvas with bottle brush, three safety pins, and bolt
27½ x 119⅝ inches
Yale University Art Gallery

Gift from the Estate of Katherine S. Dreier

Rauschenberg at Stable Gallery,
New York, 1953

15 See Rauschenberg: *An Interview*, 57–58, for his awareness of a Stefan Wolpe bicycle prop for a Kurt Schwitters theater piece. Wolpe was director of music at Black Mountain College from 1952 to 1956.



In their 1953 works, Rauschenberg and Twombly emphasized the power of humble objects incorporated as materials with such elementary techniques as roping, wrapping, piling, and stacking. Photographs taken by Rauschenberg at his 61 Fulton Street studio recorded ensembles of Twombly's new works, including sculptures incorporating a variety of common household items—funnels, round mirrors, cooking spoons, and hand fans. Included is a now-lost Roberto Matta-like painting by Twombly attached to a ladder in front of a brick wall. With his Combine *Winter Pool* (1959, PLATE 111), Rauschenberg at some level recalled this early experimental display predicated on merging works of art with ordinary objects at hand. In accord with the simplicities of Newman's *Here I*, Twombly's sculptures in the ensemble are for the most part vertical, white, and elevated off the floor on wooden crates as pedestals. Of most immediate interest in connection with Rauschenberg's Combines is the way Twombly treated the base for the most totemic sculpture, placing the crate on one of its wooden sides to reveal the open side. As Rauschenberg would often do in his Combine phase, Twombly treated this open side as if it were a rectangular stretcher, covering it with a piece of paper and thus creating a sort of predella element while integrating two- and three-dimensional art genres in a single work. It is worth noting that the crates may well be the insect-infested "furnishings" salvaged by Rauschenberg from street refuse in his new neighborhood (he immediately needed to fumigate his loft).¹⁷ Disregard for any distinction between sculpture and furniture (evident from how Rauschenberg sits on one of his Elemental Sculptures in an installation photograph of the 1953 Stable Gallery exhibition), of course, suggests an interest in Noguchi's ongoing innovations in the realm of what should be called "furniture sculpture."¹⁸

The decision to create a freestanding construction with a furniture leg for the dance *Minutiae*, however, followed Cunningham's cautionary reaction to Rauschenberg's initial stage proposal of a loosely collaged fabric to be suspended from wires or cords attached to golden disc shapes. Although similar to a backdrop, the work would not restrict the dancers' freedom to move behind it (while also still featuring the movement of their legs and feet). Aware that the dance might well be performed in theaters without fly spaces, however, Cunningham explained later, "I knew it wouldn't work, because it needed a pipe to hang on."¹⁹ It is not known exactly when in early 1954 Cunningham first invited Rauschenberg to participate in the development of *Minutiae*.²⁰ Rauschenberg may or may not have already agreed to provide the costumes and props for the 30 May performance of a dance choreographed by Paul Taylor, who had just left Cunningham's company to form Dance Associates. Described by Taylor as including "a self-illuminating egg and a beanstalk that was merely a long string held up by gas-filled balloons," Rauschenberg's contributions to Taylor's *Jack and the Beanstalk* (1954) are among the

¹⁷ Hopps, *Robert Rauschenberg: The Early 1950s*, 153. See *Rauschenberg: An Interview*, 48, for an appreciation of the sparsely furnished décor at Cage's nearby apartment.

¹⁸ See Hopps, *Robert Rauschenberg: The Early 1950s*, 157, for this installation photograph with Rauschenberg seated on an Elemental Sculpture. Eleanor Ward had a black Noguchi table for visitors at the Stable Gallery, according to Solomon, *Utopia Parkway*, 236. Although in *Rauschenberg: An Interview*, 45, the artist explained that he had the silver edges of some de Kooning paintings on his mind when around 1950 he painted his house silver, it is worth noting that Buckminster Fuller had persuaded Noguchi to paint his studio silver; see Sam Hunter, *Isamu Noguchi* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1978), 39.

¹⁹ See David Vaughan, "Chronicle and Commentary," in Melissa Harris, ed., *Merce Cunningham: Fifty Years* (New York: Aperture, 1997), 81–84; and Tomkins, "An Object in Nature," in *Robert Rauschenberg: Minutiae*, auction catalogue for 13 May 2003 (New York: Sotheby's, 2003), 32–33.

²⁰ Rauschenberg told Tomkins that *Minutiae* was his first stage set; see Tomkins, "An Object in Nature," 35.



earliest Combines; but, as with so many of Rauschenberg's works from this period, these did not survive. After the work's single performance, Taylor and Rauschenberg "erased" the beanstalk by releasing it into the sky.²¹

Of course, the use of erasure was an extension of the conceit involved with Rauschenberg's infamous *Erased de Kooning Drawing*, dated 1953 but not exhibited at the time.²² If de Kooning's work all but vanished in the process, however, the resulting blanked sheet was something like a miniature version of Rauschenberg's *White Paintings*. With this in mind, *Erased de Kooning Drawing* ought to be considered in tandem with Rauschenberg's total obliteration/transformation of one of his own collages, acquired by Cage in 1951 and subsequently reworked into a *Black Painting*, much to the owner's surprise.²³ Although Cage was reserved about the *Black Paintings*, he nevertheless acquired the largest of them from the 1953 Stable Gallery exhibition in exchange for a drawing by Matta.²⁴ It looks as if this drawing by Matta served as the support for Rauschenberg's preliminary study for *Minutiae*. If so, yet another work was in effect "vandalized." In all these cases, the take-something-do-something-to-it transformations are subversive commentaries on the collage process which enlists anything at all as material to be used by the artist.

For the final freestanding *Minutiae* construction, Rauschenberg inserted a round, double-sided makeup mirror into the midsection of the front panel. As stage manager, he evidently gave the mirror a spin just before the dance was performed. Providing what Cunningham referred to as "visual action," the mirror moved as a sort of accompaniment when the dancers passed by it. Moreover, when dancers moved around this section, parts of their bodies were sometimes visible through the peephole cutout that housed the mirror, just as when they moved behind the construction's back elements fragments of their bodies were visible through the sections of transparent plastic at the left and right. Since the dancers were costumed in leotards "painted" in colors matched to those in the collaged materials, as they moved around the construction their bodies

Preliminary study for *Minutiae*, 1954

Collage

5¼ x 6¾ inches

Collection Merce Cunningham

21 Paul Taylor, *Private Domain: An Autobiography* (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1988), 54–55.

22 See Tomkins, *Off the Wall*, 96–97; Tomkins, “Everything in Sight,” 75–76; Rauschenberg: *An Interview*, 51; Hopps, *Robert Rauschenberg: The Early 1950s*, 161; and Leo Steinberg, *Encounters with Rauschenberg* (A Lavishly Illustrated Lecture) (Houston: The Menil Collection; and Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 15–23.

23 Tomkins, *Off the Wall*, 65, 99–100; and Feinstein, “Random Order,” 72–73. Another 1951 collage, *Should Love Come First?*, was also overpainted as a Black Painting; see Hopps, *Robert Rauschenberg: The Early 1950s*, 54–55, 153, 173.

24 For Cage’s reservations, see Tomkins, *Off the Wall*, 99 and 107; and Kostelanetz, *Conversing with Cage* (New York: Limelight Editions, 1988), 23.

25 See Merce Cunningham, 81–84; and Robert Rauschenberg’s “*Minutiae*”, *passim*.

26 There is a strong similarity between the Calder-like round elements in the preliminary study for *Minutiae* and those in Rauschenberg’s lost *Eden* (c. 1950, illustrated in Hopps, *Robert Rauschenberg: The Early 1950s*, 46). Despite the fact that it was lost, Rauschenberg discussed this particular work with more than usual emphasis; see Tomkins, *Off the Wall*, 53; and Feinstein, “Random Order,” 61. With the *Eden* theme in mind, it is perhaps worth noting that de Kooning’s 1946 backdrop for Marie Marchowsky’s dance *Labyrinth* was based on a drawing of four angels at the gates of Paradise. See Sally Yard, *Willem de Kooning* (New York: Rizzoli, 1997), 30. Moreover, while all the girlie magazine components of Rauschenberg’s Combines can be understood as gestures against his mother’s censorship of nudes in his work (*Rauschenberg: An Interview*, 22), they also allude to de Kooning’s controversial Woman paintings combining abstract and figurative elements.

27 Merce Cunningham, 84.
28 Many of Rauschenberg’s pre-1952 works were burned, both unintentionally and intentionally; see *Rauschenberg: An Interview*, 44–45. Johns himself destroyed his early works in the fall of 1954; see Michael Crichton, *Jasper Johns* (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art and Abrams, 1977), 26.
29 Solomon, *Utopia Parkway*, 184, provides a description of the Egan Gallery space.

blended into what could be described as a living collage.²⁵ Preferring to incorporate materials into his works without any modification, Rauschenberg has long been an advocate of collage done without scissors. If *The Little King* comic strip about a modern sculpture exhibition made a little art joke about his own construction for *Minutiae*, then the overall relationship between the construction and the dancers perhaps should be understood to address contemporary art in a similar spirit. For his part in the presentation of *Minutiae*, Rauschenberg managed to evoke something like one of de Kooning’s controversial new Woman paintings (in which only bits of figures are visible in the expressionistic matrices) literally as “action painting” come to life.²⁶

Cunningham explained the title for *Minutiae* this way: “The movements were small in scale, details only. They were found by watching people out the window of the studio in the street.”²⁷ Of course, collage as it had developed in the first half of the twentieth century could fairly be described as the choreography of small bits of the real life environment passing by. Generally speaking, however, Rauschenberg’s Combines—with their emphasis on larger and larger elements—initiated a sweeping and influential reconsideration of that miniature, technically refined mode of collage most brilliantly realized in the 1950s by Joseph Cornell and Ray Johnson. Part of the early 1950s Black Mountain College crowd, Johnson was the roommate of Lippold, residing in the same building as Cage and Cunningham. Like Rauschenberg, Johnson constantly recycled his own earlier works as materials for subsequent ones. The result is that few if any works survive as evidence of his role in the dialogue of American art during the early 1950s. Indeed it cannot be overly stressed how much an understanding of the development of Rauschenberg’s Combines is handicapped by the loss of an incalculable number of works, not only those by such colleagues as Johnson, Twombly, or Johns, but by Rauschenberg himself.²⁸ What happened, for example, to the red (or pink) works exhibited by Rauschenberg at the small Egan Gallery at the end of 1954 while *Minutiae* was performed in Brooklyn?²⁹ Only a handful of works are known to survive, among them *Collection* (1954, PLATE 7), *Pink Door* (1954, PLATE 14), *Yoicks* (1954), and an untitled work (1954, PLATE 2). Yet to judge from O’Hara’s review, far more works were included:

Some of [the works in the show] seem practically roomsize,

and have various illuminations within them apart from their technical luminosity: bulbs flicker on and off, lights cast

shadows, and lifting up a bit of pink gauze you stare out of

the picture into your own magnified eye. He provides a

means by which you, as well as he, can get “in” the painting.

Doors open to reveal clearer images, or you can turn a huge

wheel to change the effect at will. Many of the pieces are



30 O'Hara, "Reviews and Previews: Bob Rauschenberg," *Artnews* (January 1955): 47; as transcribed in Joe LeSueur, *Digressions on some poems by Frank O'Hara: A Memoir* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003), 46–48. An especially important discussion of Rauschenberg's 1954 Egan Gallery exhibition is provided by Feinstein, 149–81.

31 For Cornell's concept of art as gift, see Solomon, *Utopia Parkway*, 258–59 (see page 202 for Rauschenberg's awareness of Cornell's files of materials by theme).

32 For the fullest discussion of the work's details, see the catalogue to Christie's Post-War and Contemporary Art (Evening Sale), New York, Rockefeller Plaza, 11 May 2005, lot 39. The newspaper clipping about the British politician Sir Anthony Eden in this work may perhaps have a connection with the lost *Eden*. In any case, *Eden* is closely related in motif to the preliminary study for *Minutiae*. See above, note 26.

33 Solomon, *Utopia Parkway*, 227–29.

34 In 1966, the Phillips Collection in Washington, D.C., went so far as to organize a "Birds in Contemporary Art" exhibition. Given the growing emphasis on coded gay subject matter in Rauschenberg's works of the 1950s, it is worth noting that according to Gooch (*City Poet*, 194), as a group the Midtown Manhattan gay bars were known as "the Bird Circuit." Given the unavoidable context of careerism, it is fun to recall that Alfred Barr, the influential leader of the Museum of Modern Art, New York, was an avid bird watcher. Much more important, Rauschenberg and his father were severely at odds over bird hunting; see Lisa Wainwright, "Robert Rauschenberg's Fabrics: Reconstructing Domestic Space," in Christopher Reed, ed., *Not At Home: The Suppression of Domesticity in Modern Art and Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996), 200.

35 I do not know how Rauschenberg could have been aware of Salvador Dalí's large drawing on brown wrapping paper *Cannibalism of Objects with Simultaneous Destruction of a Cello* (1932), but it includes the rare detail of a table leg resting on a pillow, as in *Odalisk*.

36 Emile de Antonio and Mitch Tuchman, *Painters Paintings: A Candid History of the Modern Art Scene, 1940–1970* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984), 93; and Tomkins, "Everything in Sight," 70.

extrovert, reminiscent of his structure in the Merce

Cunningham ballet, *Minutiae*, but not all are so wildly ingen-

ious: other pieces, including two sex organs (male and

female) made from old red silk umbrellas, have a gentle and

just passion for moving people.³⁰

What have survived from this early moment are several small wall works, each enhanced with references to dancing and dancers. Presumably Rauschenberg made them as presents for his associates, much as Cornell was pleased to consider his own works ideally as gifts for young performers.³¹ For example, the miniature Combine painting *Untitled* (c. 1953, PLATE 6) contains a reproduction on fabric of a Degas ballet dancer curtsying while holding a bouquet thrown in applause from the audience.³² Another, now titled *Monk* (1955, PLATE 30), includes a reproduction of a filmstrip of Charlie Chaplin's celebrated Oceana Roll "dance" from his 1925 film *The Gold Rush*, performed assemblage-wise using fork "legs" inserted into bread roll "feet." And in yet another of these small works (*Untitled* [1954, PLATE 8]) made around the time of the *Minutiae* performance, Rauschenberg included a *Katzenjammer Kids* comic strip about cutting out footprints to leave as false evidence in order to get even with a tattletale. The frequency of such dance-related materials suggests that, like Cornell, Rauschenberg in his own way began to stock potential collage and assemblage elements by theme.

Surely, the most notable instance of a repeating theme in Rauschenberg's Combines are the taxidermied birds that begin to appear in works by 1955, life-sized counterparts to the many bird images in Cornell's so-called Aviary Boxes. It was in 1955 that Cornell realized the first of his film collaborations with Rudy Burckhardt; *Aviary* starred the

Monk, 1955, detail

Untitled, 1954, detail



pigeons of Union Square.³³ But the immediate context for the specimen birds included by Rauschenberg in his most ambitious Combines, culminating with *Canyon* (1959, PLATE 99), extends far beyond Cornell. From Duchamp's *Why Not Sneeze Rose Sélavy?* (1921) to Ernst's ongoing series of Loplop assemblages and collages begun in the late 1920s, bird paraphernalia and images of birds abound in twentieth-century sculpture: consider Smith's *The Royal Bird* (1947–48); Theodore Roszak's *Firebird* (1950–51); Calder's many tin-can birds of the early 1950s; or Stankiewicz's 1957 series of welded iron and steel bird sculptures.³⁴ Did Rauschenberg happen to see Joan Miró's 1936 Surrealist object surmounted by a stuffed parrot reproduced in the 1951 *Art News Annual*? Did Rauschenberg take special delight in the first-ever Constantin Brancusi retrospective staged at the Guggenheim Museum beginning in October 1955? Coincidentally or not, Rauschenberg's *Odalisk* (1955/58, PLATE 29) could be understood as a takeoff on Brancusi's sculpture-pedestal ensembles, which feature streamlined abstract birds elevated on specially constructed bases, presented as spiritual icons of freedom.³⁵

But where contemporary sculpture is concerned, Picasso was likely most on Rauschenberg's mind as he developed his Combines in the mid-1950s. Cranes, pigeons, and owls were favorite subjects for Picasso the sculptor in the early 1950s, and his bird sculptures were exhibited at Curt Valentin Gallery in early 1952 and late 1953. It seems impossible not to relate Rauschenberg's *Monogram*, with its taxidermied Angora goat, to what is perhaps the greatest of all Picasso's postwar assemblage sculptures, the *She-Goat* (1950), cast from a model fashioned out of found materials as diverse as a wicker basket and earthenware jugs and presented as a "floor" sculpture mounted on a low base of scrap lumber boards. While the Museum of Modern Art did not acquire one of the two bronze versions of *She-Goat* (cast 1952) for its garden until 1959, the sculpture was reproduced in the May 1953 issue of *Magazine of Art*. Coincidentally, it was in 1959 that Rauschenberg finalized *Monogram* as a freestanding construction, using one of his own Combine paintings as a platform base. The footprints at the "front" edge of this platform, located roughly beneath the goat's snout, seem to invite viewers to dance around the object as if it were a zany modern sculpture in the round or the set for some junkyard pastoral ballet.

Although Rauschenberg asserted to Emile de Antonio in 1970 that "Art doesn't come out of art," he also claimed to the critic Dore Ashton that he "tend[s] to see everything in sight," and presumably art was not excluded.³⁶ In terms of their ingredients, the Combines are something like a gumbo concocted from the artist's encyclopedic appetite for observing both life and art. Like *The Little King* of comic-strip fame, as incorporated in *Minutiae*, Rauschenberg throughout the 1950s saw every latest development in modern sculpture, big and small. And whatever he saw was just more food for thought.

JOAN MIRÓ

Object, 1936

Assemblage: stuffed parrot on wood perch, stuffed silk stocking with velvet garter and doll's paper shoe suspended in a hollow wood frame, derby hat, hanging cork ball, celluloid fish, and engraved map
31 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 11 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches
The Museum of Modern Art, New York
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Pierre Matisse

PABLO PICASSO

The Goat, 1950

Palm leaf, metal, and plaster
47 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 28 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 56 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches
Musée National Picasso, Paris



Autobiography and Self-Portraiture in Rauschenberg's Combines

PAUL SCHIMMEL

Robert Rauschenberg's Combines represent the invention of a hybrid form of art that draws from the vocabularies of both painting and sculpture and invests objects with a sense of drama and theatricality as they become part of a larger whole. Rauschenberg's pioneering approach allowed the complex iconographic content previously associated with painting to inform works that boldly assert themselves in three dimensions. At a time when the primacy of New York School painting remained relatively unchallenged, the Combines paved the way for a new direction in art, one that was subsequently explored by a wide range of artists—including those associated with Fluxus, Nouveau Réalisme, the Viennese Aktionists, and various forms of performance art in the 1960s and 70s.

Characterized by intimacy, vitality, and authenticity, the Combines are a direct result of their relationship to the life of the artist. In the early Combine paintings, this relationship manifested itself autobiographically, largely through the incorporation of specific elements that revealed fragments of Rauschenberg's own life story. However, beginning with the completion of *Wager* (1957–59), these elements served less to suggest aspects of the artist's personal history than to evoke the imprint of his body and the residue of a life lived. That same year, Rauschenberg wrote, "Painting relates to both art and life. Neither can be made. (I try to act in that gap between the two.)"¹

Beginning in 1955, Rauschenberg began to incorporate personal mementos, including family photographs, news clippings about his relatives and himself, and images and objects of importance to him in the Combines. These mementos—as well as pieces of windows, doors, wall coverings, and fabrics that evoke the concept of home—provide specific references to his life and art at the very moment that he was forming a public persona, having achieved critical acclaim with his earlier abstract Black Paintings (1951–53) and White Paintings (1951). As William Rubin, one of the first writers to focus on the autobiographical dimension of the Combines, wrote:

Rauschenberg has developed [the autobiographical] dimension through the application of figurative collage elements within the framework of an abstract style of painting, rendering it even more personal, more particular, and sometimes almost embarrassingly private. Everything the eye delights in is eligible to enter into the autobiographical poem. The iconography of the Rauschenberg pictures seems to reach back through time and consciousness, memory by memory.... they never relinquish their autobiographical intimacy.²

In this respect, the Combines may be viewed as veritable portraits of the artist as a young man searching for his identity.

The key concerns of the Combines first began to emerge in the Red Paintings (1953–54). According to Rauschenberg, after the Black Paintings he sought to focus on another color, choosing red because it was considered a difficult one with which to work. In actuality, the Red Paintings are consistent in neither palette, nor support, nor surface. For a six- to nine-month period, they maintained the essentially abstract composition of the previous monochromatic series, but by mid-1954 they had begun to include both found images and objects. Key works that have been classified as Red Paintings—including *Collection*, *Charlene*, *Pink Door*, and *Red Interior* (all 1954)—are clearly early Combines of the more painterly rather than sculptural type.

Self-portrait photograph of Rauschenberg as reflected in his work (in progress) **Inside-Out**, 1962

¹ Robert Rauschenberg, statement in *Sixteen Americans*, exh. cat. (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1959), 58.

² William Rubin, "Younger American Painters," *Art International* 4, no. 1 (January 1960): 26.

Among the first of these paintings dominated by the color red, but that also includes fragments of newspapers, fabrics, and other materials of personal significance to Rauschenberg, is *Untitled* (1954, PLATE 2). In this work, a significant shift is evident: pieces of fabric stand apart from the primarily monochromatic surface. Most visible is a horizontal band of multicolored striped fabric that forms a lintel across the top edge of the painting, hinting at the domestic architectural references that the later Combines include. Paint drips from an orange band at the juncture between the fabric and the dark red paint that dominates the rest of the composition—dripping paint would become another feature of the Combines. The yellow crocheted curtain collaged in the lower right quadrant of the pictorial surface is a type of material that would reemerge in the Combines as a reference to American home decoration of the 1940s and to Rauschenberg's upbringing in Texas. And in the center of the composition is the front page of the *New York Times*, as if to announce boldly that the painting is a surface which one is meant to read. Rauschenberg would come to regularly employ newspaper or fabric as a ground to break up the oppressive monotony of the white canvas.

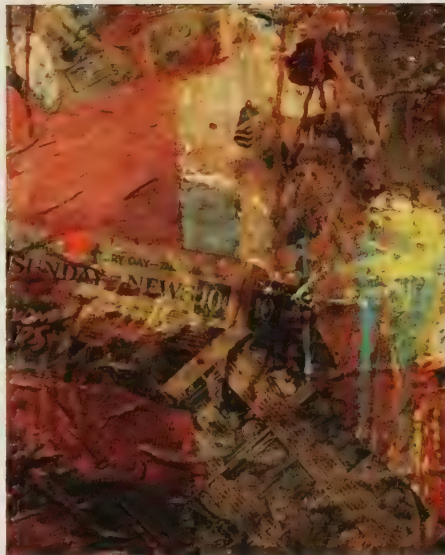
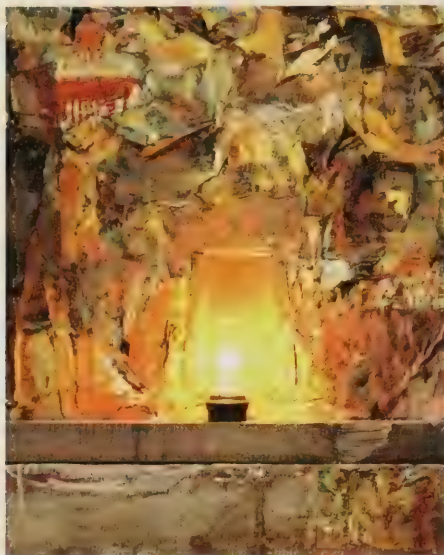
As the Red Paintings were transitioning into the Combines in 1954, Rauschenberg moved between two-dimensional paintings that incorporate collage elements to free-standing sculptures and wall works with three-dimensional objects that break free of the frame. On this dynamic armature, he explored the autobiographical dimensions of which Rubin later spoke. The writer Frank O'Hara was one of the first critics to recognize this development. In a review of Rauschenberg's historic 1954–55 solo exhibition at Egan Gallery in New York, facilitated by the artist Jack Tworok, O'Hara wrote:

Bob Rauschenberg, *enfant terrible* of the New York School, is back again to even more brilliant effect—what he did to all-white and all-black in his last show and to nature painting with his controversial moss-dirt-and-ivy pictures in the last Stable Annual, he tops in this show of blistering and at the same time poignant collages.... He provides a means by which you, as well as he, can get "in" the painting. Doors open to reveal clearer images, or you can turn a huge wheel to change the effect at will.... For all the baroque exuberance of the show, quieter pictures evidence a serious lyrical talent; simultaneously, in the big inventive pieces there is a big talent at play, creating its own occasions as a stage does.³



3 Frank O'Hara, "Reviews and Previews: Bob Rauschenberg," *Artnews* 53, no. 9 (January 1955): 47.





O'Hara's comment that Rauschenberg "provides a means by which you, as well as he, can get 'in' the painting" suggests a growing recognition of the artist's presence in his own work. *Self-Made Retrospective* (c. 1954) literalized this presence. Subsequently dismantled, it came to light in 1991 interviews by Walter Hopps with Jasper Johns and Rauschenberg.⁴ Rauschenberg described it as a shallow cabinet construction hung from the wall, approximately three by four feet, with hinged plywood doors on the front. Inside were several small works that exemplified his production from 1951 through 1954, including a White Painting, a Black Painting, a Gold Painting, a Dirt Painting, and a Red Painting. By 1954, Rauschenberg had clearly begun to write his own artistic history into his work.

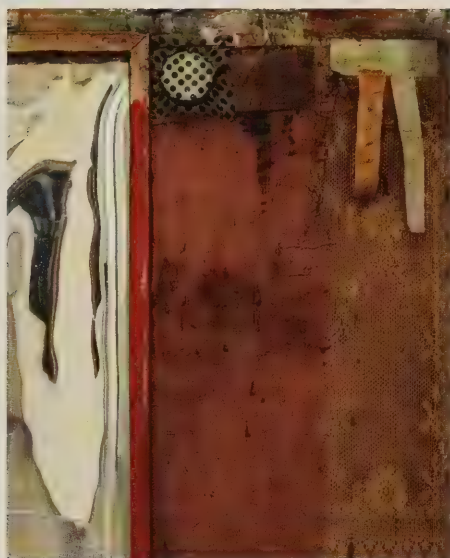
He had begun to write his personal history into his work as well. A group of three Combines from this period marks his first attempts to address where he came from. *Red Interior* (PLATE 11) seems to manifest a longing for, or at least a remembrance of, home. As Alan Solomon observed, it refers specifically to "life back home, and not to the metropolitan environment in which [Rauschenberg] was working."⁵ It features several elements that evoke home: a post-and-lintel form at the top (a post in red that supports a band of black), positive and negative spaces evoking windows, and several different fabrics, ranging from velvet embossed with the words "Push Toilet Service Deliver Goods in Basement" to a silky material. *Untitled* (1954, PLATE 17) features a surface

6 Andrew Forge, *Rauschenberg* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1969), 19–20.

7 When Rauschenberg made *Charlene*, he was still living in his Fulton Street studio. Across the street was a paint store, where he would buy "whatever they had that they would make a special price." He stated that he had "a house rule... that [he] had to use every color from every can." When pressed about the necessity of using every color, even bad ones, he replied that there is no such thing as a bad color and that his favorite bad color used in the early Combines was a "dirty bubble-gum pink." Rauschenberg, in conversation with the author, 11 January 2005. New York:

4 Walter Hopps, *Robert Rauschenberg: The Early 1950s*, exh. cat. (Houston: The Menil Collection and Houston Fine Art Press, 1991), 168–69.

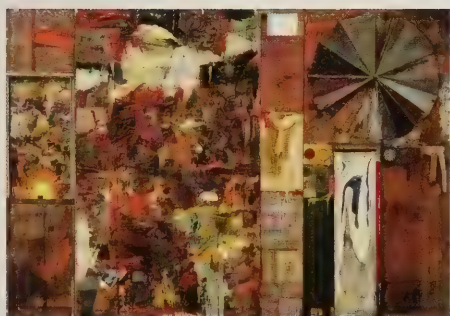
5 Alan R. Solomon, in *Robert Rauschenberg*, exh. cat. (New York: The Jewish Museum, 1963), n.p.



covered in gestural passages punctuated by collaged elements and framed by an illuminated stained-glass light box on top and a wooden shelf along the bottom, as if the painting were a window in a house. And in *Pink Door* (PLATE 14), Rauschenberg included for the first time an actual screen door suggestive of the type often seen in the South. A hinge runs down the middle of the work (a possible precursor to the many hinged or split paintings by Johns of the 1950s), so that the door is paired with a vertical abstract painting. Such references to domestic architecture, evoking “the tangled detritus of generations”⁶ and imbuing a certain sense of the nostalgic, became more and more prominent in Rauschenberg’s oeuvre.

The first major Combines to exemplify the autobiographical approach that Rauschenberg was inventing were *Charlene* and *Collection*. These works share a similar ambition in terms of scale, complexity, and scope. Together, they feature dozens of specific iconographic references drawn from postcards, newspapers, magazines, and other printed material that evoke aspects of Rauschenberg’s art and life. However, while *Charlene* is more consistent with the format and iconography of other works of its period, *Collection* anticipates the later work *Rebus* (1955) in its concentration of elements along a horizontal axis.

Charlene (PLATE 20) comprises four vertical panels of varying widths and horizontal subdivisions that gives the work a complex architectural quality. The first panel consists of three sections; the middle section includes a blinking electric light, anticipating Rauschenberg’s interest in the temporal dimension. The second panel consists of a single plane, an exceptionally large and rich surface formed from an all-over nonhierarchical mingling of painted passages in a variety of colors⁷ and collaged newspapers. The third panel consists of three sections. The top contains a “window” that reveals the wall behind the composition; the next section features a white sweatshirt, collaged to the surface and painted in tones of white and earthy brown with a splash of red, that perhaps refers to the artist himself. The white paint drips onto the third section below, which is covered with an early 1950s scarf designed for the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York that features reproductions of works from its collection. The fourth panel is dominated by a flattened umbrella, which functions as a counterpart to the frieze of colored rectangles that runs along the bottom of *Collection*. The sections of the umbrella are painted in a variety of hues, including rust, green, brown, gray, blue, and bubble-gum pink. Directly below the umbrella are three vertical sections. The left rectangle, predominantly green, is capped with two paint lids, one red and the other yellow-orange—one of the first times that Rauschenberg used the pictorial motif of eyes or holes in a Combine. At the bottom of the rectangle is a framed postcard of the Statue of Liberty against a brilliant sunset. The center rectangle is covered with a reflective



material that incorporates the viewer into the composition. The right rectangle, one of the work's most subtle and poetic sections, includes lace, ribbons, and a red fabric similar to that used in *Red Interior*.

As Roni Feinstein has observed, the autobiographical dimension of *Charlene* is undeniable.⁸ Many of the images in the composition have a personal significance to Rauschenberg. In particular is the newspaper headline in the middle of the second panel that reads "Enjoy Growing-Up Phases." The inclusion of this text might suggest that Rauschenberg was reflecting on his own upbringing—a conclusion further supported by the incorporation, in the upper right of the same panel, of a letter from his mother to him. In the letter, his mother wrote of his sister Janet's participation in a beauty pageant: "Janet really does make a good showing. She has such poise, this has all done her a lot of good. Well all I've talked about is the festival, but that's almost all we've been doing lately." (Based on a later clipping, included in *Untitled* [c. 1954, PLATE 28], we know Janet won the competition.) One can't help but read some degree of competitiveness and melancholy in the inclusion of the letter, since Rauschenberg's own successes—though undeniably significant—largely took place on a stage far away from his mother's eyes.

Like *Charlene*, *Collection* (PLATE 7) is a multi-panel work with an extraordinarily rich surface in which Rauschenberg embedded numerous images of personal significance. Applied to the frame above the two left-most panels are carefully placed pieces of wood. Affixed to one piece is the lid of a cigar tin; to another is attached a group of wood fragments resembling letters in a Sanskrit-like script. Among the images visible in the composition are individual pieces of the same type of scarf as was collaged onto *Charlene*, which may have inspired the title of the work. Other elements include newspaper clippings, magazine pages, and cartoons. One of the clippings contains a story about a man named Robert C. Patterson and his need for money. Another includes a photograph with the caption, "It's Money He Wants." And another references a sixteen-year-old boy who broke into an automobile showroom just to sit at the wheel of a Cadillac. These references hint at Rauschenberg's own modest financial state at the time.

While *Charlene* and *Collection* clearly qualify as Combines, both are essentially two-dimensional. *Minutiae* (1954, PLATE 15), by contrast, is arguably Rauschenberg's first true Combine because of its status as a freestanding three-dimensional sculpture with painted and collaged surfaces. Perhaps because it was created as a set piece for Merce Cunningham Dance Company's *Minutiae*, first performed at the Brooklyn Academy of Music on 8 December 1954 to the accompaniment of music by John Cage, it seems to display fewer personal references than other contemporaneous Combines. Cunningham

⁹ Merce Cunningham, in Judith Mackrell, "The Joy of Sets," *The Guardian*, 6 June 2005.

¹⁰ *Minutiae* is Rauschenberg's first Combine to include legs. In this respect, it anticipates both *Untitled* (c. 1954, plate 28) and *Odalisk* (1955/58, plate 29) as well as *Winter Pool* (1959, plate 111), which stands on a ladder.

⁸ Roni Feinstein, "Random Order: The First Fifteen Years of Robert Rauschenberg's Art, 1949–1964," Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1990, 175–77.

asked Rauschenberg to make something that the dancers could move through, under, and around, like an object in nature. Two weeks later, he observed, Rauschenberg “had made a very beautiful hanging object, with streamers, but we couldn’t use it because in those days we played in so many places where it wasn’t possible to hang anything. So two weeks later he called me again and [said] he’d made these panels. On the back was a comic strip that one of the dancers used to read on stage.”⁹

Minutiae consists of three panels. The two parallel panels in the back, separated by a curtain, are raised on legs, permitting dancers to move under and through them.¹⁰ A third panel stands in front of these two, also allowing movement through the construction. Not unlike the surface of *Collection*, *Minutiae* includes an amalgamation of seemingly diverse elements so detailed that they seem meant to be viewed up close, as, in fact, they were by the performers. Rich iconographic references from magazine photographs, cartoons, and other printed materials are interspersed among passages of gestural abstraction in the form of drips and streams of paint. These passages in turn are in dialogue with the curtain’s panels of colored fabric sewn together—exemplifying Rauschenberg’s interest in hard-edge abstraction—draped from the construction to sway in concert with the movements of the dancers. Finally, a shaving mirror hangs by a metal chain in a circular cutout in the front panel, revolving and scattering light as the dancers moved. Although *Minutiae* is more casually constructed than other works of



Merce Cunningham performing
with *Minutiae*, 1954, Brooklyn Academy
of Music, 8 December 1954

Minutiae, 1954, detail

this period, it is conceivable that the challenge of creating a set piece for the stage was just the impetus that Rauschenberg needed to move from the two-dimensional world of painting into the three-dimensional world of sculpture and the four-dimensional world of performance. Indeed, it should be considered along with *Collection* and *Charlene* as one of the most significant of the early Combines.

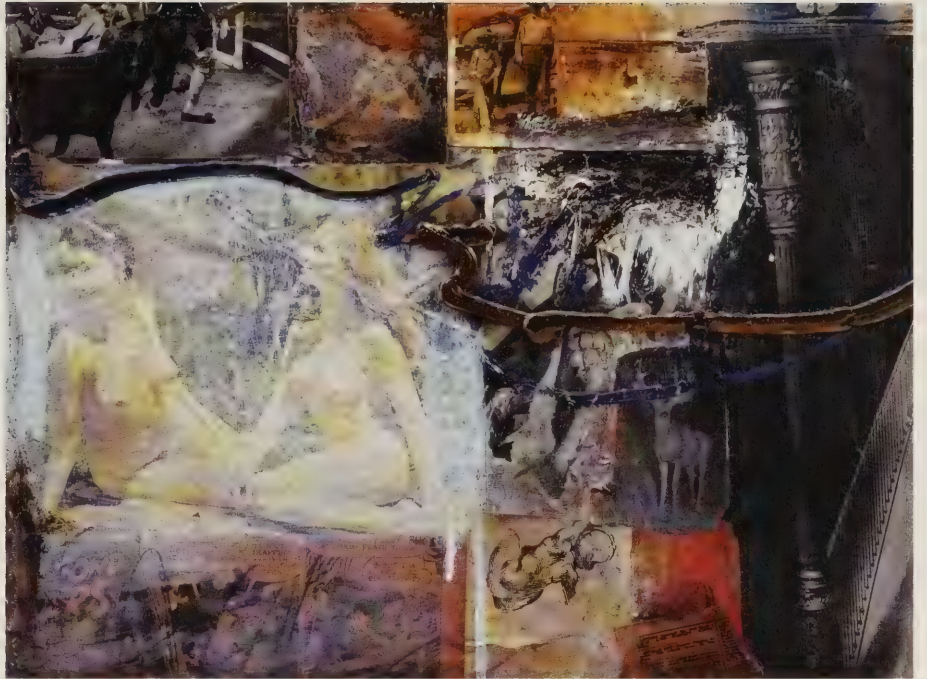
Two other significant early Combines are *Odalisk* (1955/58, PLATE 29) and *Untitled* (PLATE 28), which may be interpreted as veritable portraits of the artist. Both works have been known by the artist and others by multiple and inconsistent titles, a fact that underscores their complex layering of meaning. Both are vertical boxlike constructions that stand on white legs mounted on bases which rest on small casters so that the constructions can be rolled. In addition, both are collaged with drawings, photographs, printed materials, and other objects—most prominently, stuffed chickens—that refer to aspects of Rauschenberg's art and life. Indeed, they function as male and female counterparts to one another, perhaps signifying the masculine and the feminine sides of the artist's persona.

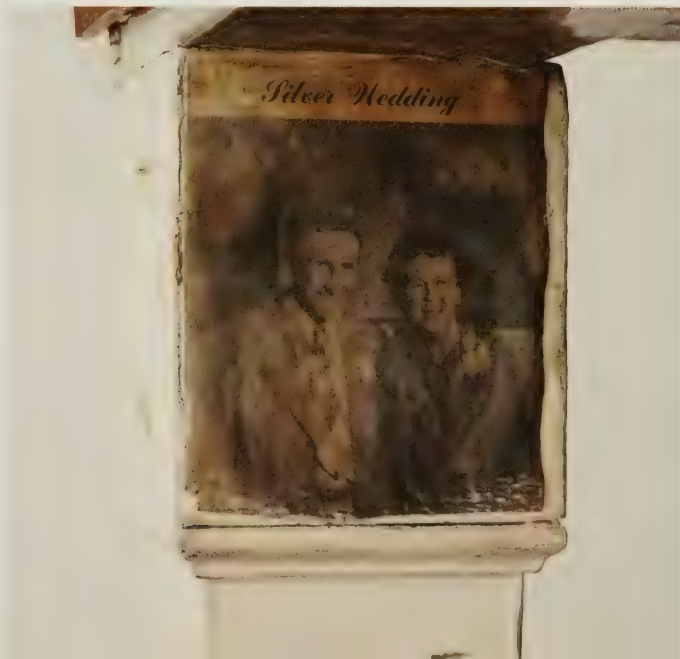
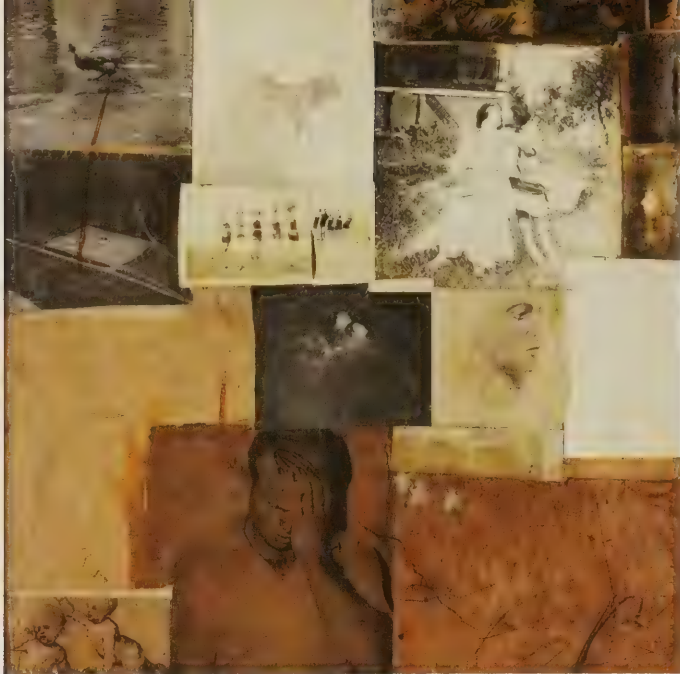
As its title implies, *Odalisk* suggests the feminine. A white pillow, resting on a wheeled base, is pinned by a wooden furniture leg painted white. The insertion of this leg into the pillow has a subtle sexual resonance, anticipating the more explicit insertion of the stuffed Angora goat through the tire in *Monogram* (1955–59). Set atop the leg is a boxlike construction open on two sides and surmounted by a rooster. Viewers may peer into this box through transparent scrims; concealed inside are several light bulbs that blink on and off. To create the outer surfaces of the box, he collaged a variety of images. Many of these images include references to the feminine: a blueprint of a nude woman he made collaboratively with ex-wife Susan Weil; soft-porn magazine photographs of naked female models; reproductions of erotic paintings like François-Edouard Picot's *Amor and Psyche* (1817) and Titian's *Le concert de champêtre* (1509); and a picture of his mother. Other images reference family and home: a smiling older woman, a small boy in overalls, a man standing beside a horse, a young girl on a tricycle, a couple kissing, the artist's sister, and the artist himself. An erect, overtly phallic monument, topped by a rooster no less, *Odalisk* is nevertheless redolent with representations of the feminine.

As is *Untitled* (PLATE 28), which has often been called *Odalisk's* male counterpart. Though the work is sometimes referred to as *Man with White Shoes*, Rauschenberg also referred to it as *Plymouth Rock*—the name of the long-assumed breed of hen that stands in the lower right corner,¹¹ as well as a reference to the place where the Pilgrims first set foot in America. *Plymouth Rock* seems an appropriate title not just because of the presence of the hen, but because of the artist's statement that this work was his first true Combine to cobble together two-dimensional planes into a freestanding three-



11 Marv Lynn Kotz first questioned the hen's attributed breed, and Thomas Buehler or the Rauschenberg Studio, through much research, finally determined it as a Dominique.

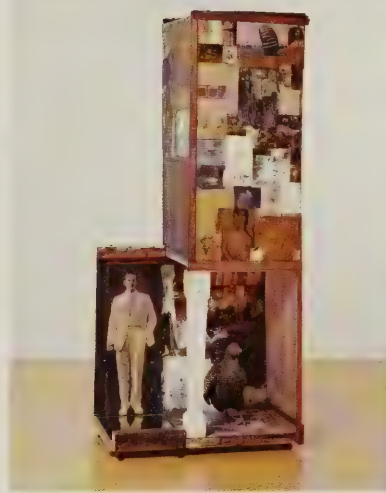




dimensional structure. Autobiographical references occupy one plane of the structure; and a mini-retrospective of his most significant accomplishments as a painter occupy the others.

Untitled takes the form of a boxlike construction that rests on a wheeled base. The lower part of the work features a large photograph of a handsome dandy dressed in a white suit, which is collaged perpendicular to a mirror affixed to the base, next to the hen. The dandy is a stand-in for the artist himself, who is also represented through a plethora of images that resonate with autobiographical significance. These images weave an intricate web of associations that figure the artist through his relationship to his family, friends, artistic companions, and work—images that reflect the artist just as clearly as the literal mirror reflects the dandy. These images include numerous family photographs—of his home in Texas, his mother, his father, his son.¹² They include newspaper clippings, such as an article about his parents' silver wedding anniversary in which he is described as an art student in New York, and an article about his sister Janet's coronation as queen of a local beauty pageant. The notice, though pasted above the hen's head to the underside of the box, can be seen from certain angles in the mirror that stands before the dandy, like the water in which Narcissus saw his reflection. Other elements include personal mementos, such as a letter from his son that says, "I hope that you still like me Bob cause I still love you. Please wright me *back* love love Christopher." Below the letter is a photograph of a forlorn man holding his hand over his face, whom Rauschenberg described as a man awaiting execution in Texas. These images, in turn, resonate with those that refer to Rauschenberg's artistic production up to that time. They include images that evoke the White Paintings, Black Paintings, and Red Paintings. In this respect, the work is a veritable summa of Rauschenberg's life and art up to the time of its making.

In 1955, the Combines began to transition from a phase in which the autobiographical was privileged, sometimes in an almost sentimental or nostalgic way, to a phase in which it was referenced in a more distant and cerebral manner. Nevertheless, there is a persistent duality in Rauschenberg's work, in which both tendencies often exist simultaneously. *Rebus* (PLATE 24), perhaps the most analyzed of the Combines, heralds the inauguration of this new phase. In *Rebus*, Rauschenberg took on the challenge of developing a complex, coherent tripartite composition without resorting to the crutch of making preparatory studies that might impinge on the spontaneous development of the work in time, much like in a performance. In an article on *Rebus*, Roberta Bernstein attempted to decode the composition. She observed that Rauschenberg's "commitment to a detached manner of presentation distinguished him from most other artists in the Abstract Expressionist-dominated New York art scene of the 1950s, and



¹² Rauschenberg, in conversation with the author, stated this work constituted his first use of this "sort of sentimental stuff."

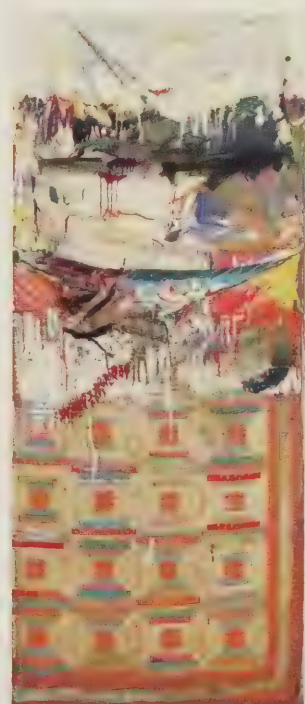


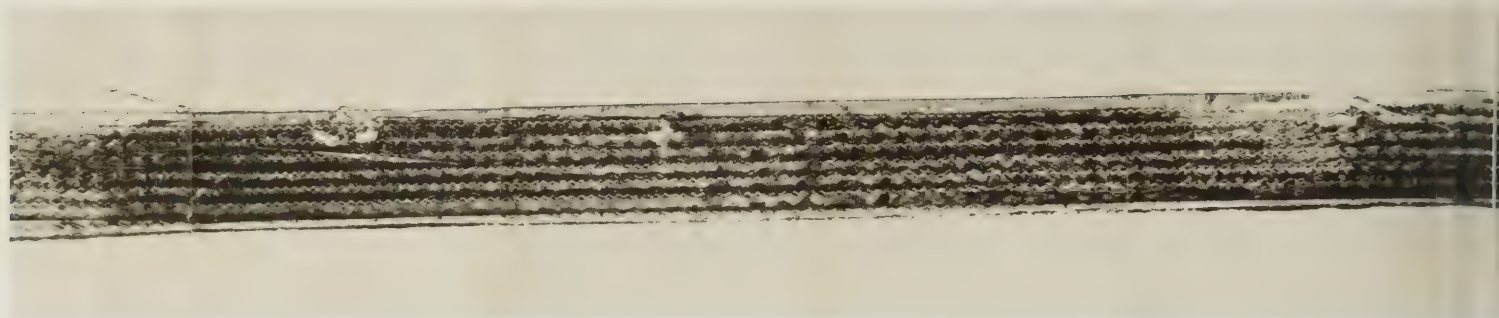
proved prophetic for the art of the 60s and 70s."¹³ Nevertheless, *Rebus* can still be interpreted to reveal a range of more personal references, though they may be more coded than in previous works.

For example, while the issue of sexual identity is a central theme in works such as *Odalisk* and *Untitled*, it is just as central, though more difficult to decipher, in *Rebus*. The left panel of the work features two posters of a female candidate running for lieutenant governor. Her last name has been obliterated: in one poster, it has been torn off; in the other, it is covered by a photograph of two male athletes running in a race, which resonates with the posters themselves. In both images her eyes have been scribbled over, and above one the words "Pony Boy" are scrawled. The inclusion of this text is provocative, especially when considered in relation to the images of young virile athletes in the work. Directly below the band of color tabs horizontally bisecting the work is a line drawing of a figure with both male and female characteristics, including a moustache, breasts, and heavy eyebrows. The center panel features, among many other images, two fragments of a Cy Twombly drawing and a self-portrait by Albrecht Dürer, which is visible underneath a layer of translucent fabric. The right panel features a photograph of a pair of runners and a photograph of a woman who, in contrast to the candidate running for office, appears to be an adult entertainer. These two women—the would-be lieutenant governor and the entertainer—frame a reproduction of one of the most famous representations of women in the history of Western art, Sandro Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* (1486), forming a culmination of the interplay of gender identification contained in this work.

As potentially revealing as *Rebus* may be from an autobiographical standpoint, *Small Rebus* (1956, PLATE 45) includes even more personal references. A simplified version of its heroically scaled predecessor, it is part of Rauschenberg's self-described Pedestrian Series, in which color and image jostle for attention like people on a crowded street. Like *Rebus*, it is bisected by a band of paint chips in a spectrum of colors. This strong horizontal orientation is reinforced by the placement of collaged photographs and other materials. From left to right, these images include a reproduction of Titian's *Rape of Europa* (1559) and photographs of a bullfighter, a track athlete, a gymnast, the head of a horse, and the artist's sister and parents. The track athlete, in mid-stride, is highlighted by the application of a circle of paint, a form echoed by a drawing of a clock without hands on the left edge of the composition—one of many references to time in Rauschenberg's work. Another key image is a found diagram that illustrates the process of sensory perception. Completed one year after *Rebus*, *Small Rebus* evinces Rauschenberg's continuing interest in reflecting on his own work—an interest that he would explore most directly in *Factum I* and *Factum II*.

13 Roberta Bernstein, "Robert Rauschenberg's 'Rebus,'" *Arts Magazine* 52, no. 5 (January 1978): 138.





Factum I and *Factum II* (both 1957, PLATES 69 and 70) are among the most conceptually driven works in Rauschenberg's oeuvre. In them, he identified a problem and constructed a situation that best framed that problem. From the moment of its first exhibition, critics assumed that *Factum I* was a seemingly random assemblage of news photographs, calendar pages, and fragments of fabric and other materials, intermingled with equally random drips and streams of paint. But when one discovers its twin, *Factum II*, a scrupulously patient duplication of every dribble and collage in *Factum I*, one must admit that the same combination of impulse and discipline that produces more conventional pictures was operating here. Rauschenberg often reused images, sometimes in different works—such as the same postcard of the Statue of Liberty included in both *Charlene* and *Untitled* (PLATE 28)—or in a single work—such as the repeating poster of the political candidate in *Rebus*. But the challenge of producing two identical paintings, including the duplication of painterly gestures, tested his artistic skills: “You can’t control these drips...everything is by measure or plan and you just have to do it by eye.”¹⁴ In these works, he continued his dialogue with the painterly traditions of the 1950s, but in an exceedingly controlled and cerebral manner. In this respect, they signify a dramatic shift from the more nostalgic and autobiographical work of the preceding years. Nevertheless, Rauschenberg did not abandon the autobiographical, as his representation of himself and events in his life in works such as *Bed* (1955), *Monogram*, *Broadcast* (1959), and *Talisman* (1958) reveals.

Bed (PLATE 23) is in many respects the opposite of *Rebus*, which Rauschenberg painted in the same year. It is a singular iconic image, without a wealth of iconographic references, that can be absorbed in a single glance. About the height of an adult male, it can be seen as a surrogate for the human figure. Indeed, it is almost like a portrait of the artist himself, especially to the extent that it references his relationships with Twombly and Johns, his closest friends in the 1950s. The head of the bed is dominated

¹⁶ Rauschenberg recently noted that when he was a child, he had a goat named Billy. The goat was a household pet, but his father ultimately killed it. Rauschenberg's father, who died in 1963, never fully appreciated his son's success as an artist. Among the greatest compliments he ever gave to Rauschenberg was his incredulity that the artist could “sell this shit”—a possible source for the inclusion of the feces-like tennis ball references near the rear of the goat. In conversation with the author. Some critics, such as Robert Hughes, have suggested that this interlocking also has a sexual connotation. See Hughes, *The Shock of the New* (New York: Knopf, 1981), 335.

¹⁷ Jill Johnston argued that *Monogram* is a self-portrait, given that the work bears Rauschenberg's initials and that it shows “the artist grounded (fixed to a heavy platform), stating his position directly, immediately—a (scape) goat mocked by a tire.” Johnston, “The World Outside His Window,” *Art in America* 80, no. 4 (April 1992): 119.

¹⁴ Rauschenberg, in conversation with the author.
¹⁵ Rauschenberg observed: “Jasper and I literally traded ideas. He would say, ‘I’ve got a terrific idea for you,’ and then I’d have to find one for him. Ours were two very different sensibilities, and being so close to each other’s work kept any incident of similarity from occurring.” In Calvin Tomkins, *Off the Wall: Robert Rauschenberg and the Art World of Our Time* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1980), 118.

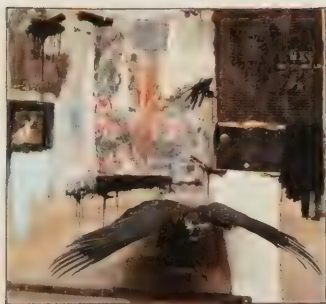
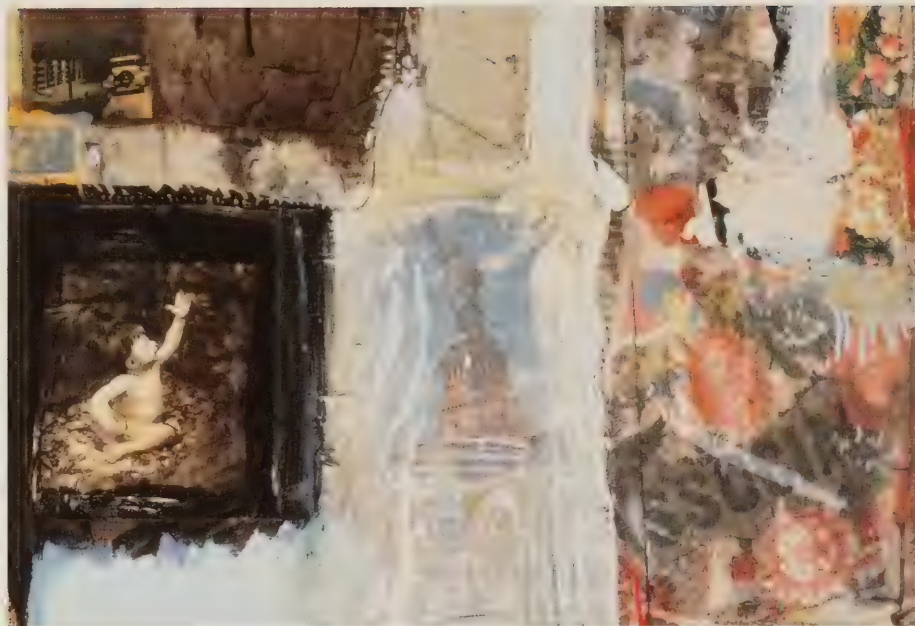
Automobile Tire Print, 1953, detail
 House paint on twenty sheets of paper
 mounted on fabric
 16½ x 264½ inches
 San Francisco Museum of Modern Art
 Purchase through a gift of Phyllis Wattis



by a pillow half covered with a series of Twombly-esque marks, lines, and scribbles (Twombly had contributed drawings to several of Rauschenberg's works). The middle section, from the lower half of the pillow to where the quilt folds back, is defined by the dramatically gestural application of paint in a palette that evokes the red, white, and blue of Johns's flags. And the bottom is dominated by the quilt itself, taken from Dorothea Rockburne, which he did not alter significantly. This quilt, with its repeating pattern of geometric designs, evokes the laboriously produced encaustic paintings that Johns was then producing, including the flags. Indeed, like one of these flags, it is an object that is both representational and abstract. During the second half of the 1950s, Johns and Rauschenberg were neighbors, friends, lovers, and, most significantly, artists developing the work for which they would ultimately become well known. Many writers have correctly observed that they were, and remain, opposites in temperament who were nevertheless willing to share their ideas in an extraordinarily generous way.¹⁵ In a manner less direct than that evidenced in the earlier Combines, *Bed* evokes this relationship, which was so crucial to the development of Rauschenberg's artistic identity at the time.

Monogram (PLATE 114) registers Johns's presence even more powerfully. Begun in 1955 and completed four years later, it spans two phases in the history of the Combines: the first phase, defined by his interest in highly personal subject matter, and the second, more cerebral, phase. It started with the 1955 purchase of a stuffed Angora goat from an office supply store, whose owner had acquired it accidentally in a bulk purchase of office furniture. Rauschenberg initially planned to incorporate the goat into a work to be hung on the wall. But he concluded that such a work felt "too heavy looking," so he shifted the work's orientation from vertical to horizontal. He placed the goat, inserted through the center of a rubber tire, in the middle of a painting positioned on a wheeled base. He stated that he was searching for a way to harness the goat to the picture plane and described the interlocking of the goat and the tire as suggestive of interweaving letters in a monogram.¹⁶ The tire, its tread painted white, also evokes the inked tire that Cage drove pursuant to Rauschenberg's instructions over a series of sheets of paper, which ultimately became *Automobile Tire Print* (1953). This performative work is also echoed by the inked footprint repeated four times on the pictorial surface in front of the goat's face. And as if to suggest the delicate balance between the personal and the conceptual that the work represents, a collaged photograph shows a tightrope walker stepping gingerly through space.¹⁷

With its extensive painterly passages in tonalities of white, black, gray, and brown intermingled with collaged newspaper photographs, *Broadcast* (PLATE 101) is, among other things, a portrait of the artist's state of mind. The photographs in *Broadcast* include images of riots, horseraces, track races, and a falling man. These images of action are a



visual counterpart to the work's aural component: the inclusion of two radios underneath the pictorial surface, whose existence is hinted at only through the protrusion of two knobs, generates the white noise of staticlike interference. It has long been noted, especially with reference to the disjointed, non-sequential, and non-narrative use of language in the Combines, that Rauschenberg is dyslexic and enjoyed working while the radio or television was on as it produced calming background noise. The radio might have been an aid to the artist in making this work (not far from the radio knobs is the exclamation "Help!").¹⁸

In *Canyon* (1959, PLATE 99), Rauschenberg invested the autobiographical with broader social and political meaning. As Kenneth Bendiner observed, in this Combine he reworked Rembrandt van Rijn's painting *Ganymede in the Claws of the Eagle* (*Zeus*) (1635).¹⁹ According to the Greek myth, Zeus fell in love with the beautiful boy Ganymede and took the form of an eagle in order to abduct him. In Rembrandt's painting, Ganymede, suspended in midair from the eagle's beak with his bare buttocks exposed to the viewer, cries and urinates in distress. Rauschenberg's interest in the myth was evident from his production that same year of a Combine titled *Pail for Ganymede* (1959, PLATE 106). He may have been inspired to explore the myth further by the fortuitous acquisition of a stuffed bald eagle, which was being discarded along with other possessions from one of the last surviving members of Theodore Roosevelt's Rough Riders.²⁰ In *Canyon*, Rauschenberg references the myth through a series of personal

²⁰ Regarding his acquisition of the eagle, Rauschenberg explained: "Sari Dienes called me. She lived in the Carnegie Studios and right next door lived one of the last of Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders. He died and the janitors pushed all of his stuff out into the hallway in front of the studios. Sari saw the stuffed eagle and asked me if she should collect it for me. Of course I said yes." In Barbara Rose, *Rauschenberg: An Interview with Robert Rauschenberg* (New York: Vintage, 1987), 61.

¹⁸ Rauschenberg, in conversation with the author.

¹⁹ Kenneth Bendiner, "Robert Rauschenberg's 'Canyon,'" *Arts Magazine* 56, no. 10 (June 1982): 57–59. The identifications of images in this paragraph were made by Rauschenberg in a conversation with Bendiner at the Institute of Contemporary Art, Boston, 30 October 1981.

images and objects. In the upper left of the composition is a photograph of his son Christopher, who reaches his left arm upward in a gesture that echoes the raised arm of Ganymede in Rembrandt's painting. Christopher also seems to be reaching toward a photograph of the Rauschenberg family car, which is collaged directly above. His gesture also echoes the stretched arm of the Statue of Liberty, a printed reproduction of which is immediately to the right of the photograph and thinly painted over in white. In addition, the pillow suspended by a string beneath the eagle evokes the buttocks of Rembrandt's Ganymede, which are prominently displayed in his painting.

At the same time that Rauschenberg stepped back and represented himself in a more distant way than he had in the earlier Combines, he also began a series of five similarly distant portraits of his closest artist friends at the time: *Trophy I (for Merce Cunningham)* (1959, PLATE 93), *Trophy II (for Teeny and Marcel Duchamp)* (1960, PLATE 128), *Trophy III (for Jean Tinguely)* (1961, PLATE 135), *Trophy IV (for John Cage)* (1961, PLATE 146), and *Trophy V (for Jasper Johns)* (1962, PLATE 159). Among the most detailed of these portraits is the one made for Cunningham. The composition is dominated by a horizontal band of wood flooring with a gap in the middle. In this work, Rauschenberg not only created a portrait of his friend but recalled a specific moment: an incident in which Cunningham came down so hard onto the floor that his foot pierced the floorboards. Knowledge of this incident clarifies the meaning of the images in the work: the photograph of a fallen horse diagonally juxtaposed with that of a delicately balanced Cunningham, the "Caution/Watch/Your Step" sign, the empty space in the middle of the composition evocative of the hole in the floor. This work, in conjunction with the other Trophy portraits, constitutes a portrait of Rauschenberg himself, in a sense, by imaging the constellation of individuals who were in his most intimate circle at the time.



But Rauschenberg's most richly nuanced self-representation during this period is undoubtedly *Wager* (PLATE 88), one of the largest and most ambitious Combines. Consisting of four joined canvases, it is unique in his oeuvre in that it combines at least three of the different modes of self-representation that the artist employed in the Combines: the collage of fragments of found images of autobiographical significance, the incorporation of a necktie, and the representation of the human figure—either the artist himself or a surrogate. The images of autobiographical significance are numerous, and they include references to the blueprints that he made with Weil; architectural elements that recall works like *Red Interior*; bands of color reminiscent of *Collection*, *Rebus*, and *Small Rebus*; poetic surfaces as in *Hymnal* and *Levee* (both 1955, PLATES 26 and 27); and maps, charts, and repetitive forms that appear throughout the series. Rauschenberg created the tracing, a pencil drawing of a nude male figure on the otherwise barren right-most

REMBRANDT VAN RIJN

Ganymede in the Claws of the Eagle (Zeus), 1635

Oil on canvas

67¹/₈ x 51³/₈ inches

Staatliche Kunstsammlungen

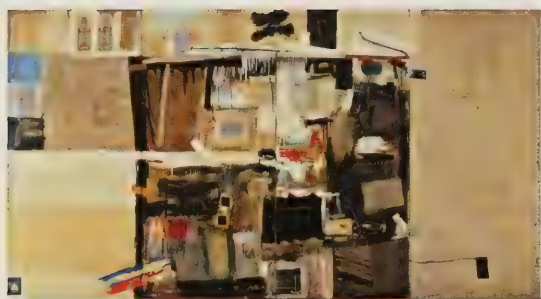
Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden

opposite:

Canyon, 1959, and detail

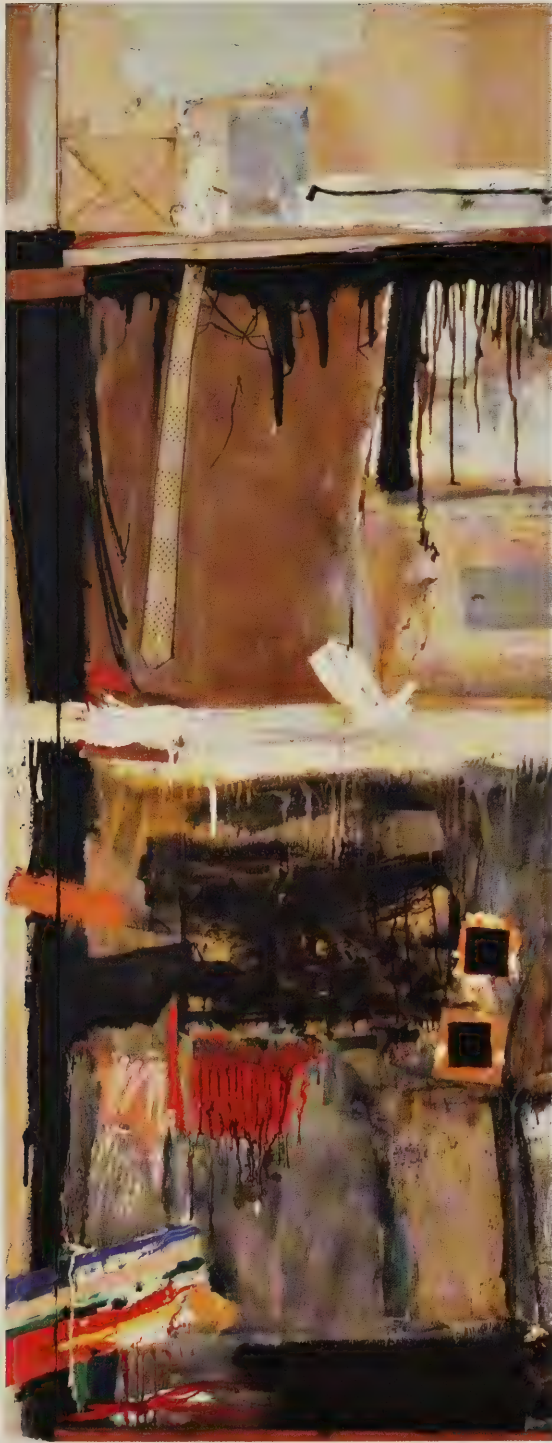
canvas, by outlining his own body, to which he then added representational details. The time he took to create this intimate self-portrait is evident in the short pencil marks that trace with great care and delicacy. *Wager* is a hinge that connects the two phases that divide the Combines, marking Rauschenberg's movement toward a more self-conscious mode of representing his personal and artistic identity that filters out the highly specific autobiographical content of the earlier works. As he noted in a 1960 interview, those earlier works had "a souvenir quality which I am now trying to kill. Nostalgia tends to eliminate some of the directness. Immediacy is the only thing you can trust."²¹

Autobiography and self-portraiture were among the most consistent interests that Rauschenberg explored in the Combine series. During this period, the exploration of his personal and artistic identity ranged from an interest in exploring his relationship to where he came from, through the highly specific autobiographical references in the Combines of the mid-1950s, to the more coded references in the Combines of the later



1950s. In the mid-1950s, he relied on a plethora of highly personal mementos, which he incorporated into works that radiate a poignant sense of intimacy that is at times awkward, but always moving. However, as his work developed and as he became the subject of increased public recognition, he shifted to a more generalized mode of self-representation. Rauschenberg's courageous navigation of the terrain between art and life, an enterprise fraught with risk, is at the core of his representation of self in the Combines and is one of his greatest achievements during this remarkable period in his work.

²¹ Rauschenberg, quoted in "The Emperor's Combine," *Time* 75, no. 16 (18 April 1960): 92.





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Rise and Fall: Theme and Idea in the Combines of Robert Rauschenberg

THOMAS CROW

There is an unassuming and largely overlooked Combine by Robert Rauschenberg in the collection of The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, titled *Slow Fall* (1961, PLATE 150). Its date comes late in the sequence of the hybrid Combine works. Against a painted board surmounted by some found rustic signage and a lone half-pint milk carton, a vertical cascade of crumpled metal establishes the main axis of this wall-mounted relief. A rusted can tied to a piece of string hangs suspended in front of the twisted metal folds. A viewer with no knowledge of the title can readily recognize the themes of gravity and interrupted descent at work in it. *Slow Fall* also establishes a tone of paradox, condensing as it does the childish motif of can and string with the cosmic constant of the earth's gravitational field to generate its hard, unerringly vertical plumb line against which the otherwise irregular configurations of the piece can be measured and compared.



Despite the deftness of its gesture as sculpture, reasons for the relatively obscure status of the piece can be easily adduced. In the collective mind of the art world, the idea of a Rauschenberg Combine does not promise compactness and conceptual economy: standard expectations anticipate the sprawling, random, crowded, and untidy. And it is his professed admirers who seem most fond of descriptive images that run a short gamut from “absolute heterogeneity” to “dumping ground.”¹

There are many reasons why a succession of prominent voices, over the entire course of Rauschenberg's career, has embraced this view of his practice.² But its plausibility may derive, in the first instance, from an inherently unproductive approach taken in nearly every effort to identify a logic—or absence of same—in the arrangements of his Combines, which has been to tackle these objects head-on in their most typically packed and layered manifestations. The result is invariably defeat or, occasionally, a reduction of their multiplicity to some highly simplified script. But a sound alternative approach to identifying pattern or order in any complex phenomenon can be to look for a point of departure nearer the edge of its matrix of possibilities, one lodged in a more modest object that may seem atypical at first encounter and relatively meager in its explanatory potential.

What is the yield, then, when *Slow Fall* is unpacked into its limited number of component parts, with a view to searching out corresponding elements among Rauschenberg's less tractable Combine constructions? Almost immediately, paths of correspondence extend in divergent directions. Take the plumb line: it concretizes the weighted climbing rope seen in the photograph attached to the right side of *Small Rebus* (1956, PLATE 45). The energetic athlete at the top supplies the mass that pulls the upper portion of the rope into gravity's vector; his grip arrests his potential fall as he reaches up to counter the elemental force that ultimately will pull him back to earth. That moment is presaged in the photograph at the very top of the implied column in which another athlete, a runner dressed in similar white shorts and jersey and highlighted with an emphatic black circle, rounds a curve so as to trace a falling trajectory—a gracefully executed “slow fall” from the height sought by the striving climber.

If one then traces this column of photographs from the descending runner back down to the base of the climber's rope, there appears, highlighted by a flare of yellow

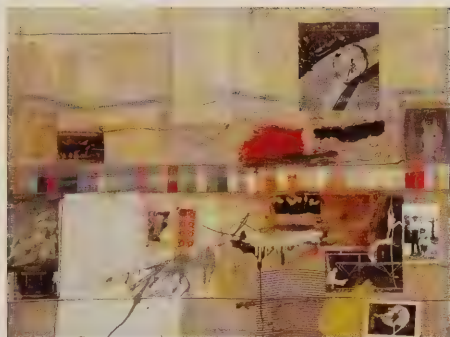
opposite:
Rauschenberg in his Fulton Street studio,
New York, 1954

right:
Slow Fall, 1961

¹ The first quotation comes from Douglas Crimp, “On the Museum's Ruins” (1980), reprinted in Branden W. Joseph, ed., *Robert Rauschenberg* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2002), 70; the second from Craig Owens, “The Allegorical Impulse: Toward a Theory of Postmodernism, Part 2” (1980), in Owens, *Beyond Recognition: Representation, Power, and Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 76.

² For a more extended discussion, see my “This Is Now: Becoming Robert Rauschenberg,” *Artforum* 36, no. 1 (September 1997): 94–96, 98, 100, 139–52.





pigment, a photograph of a petrified dog from the buried ruins of Pompeii. Would that warrant a morbid association between falling and death? This sequence by itself cannot answer that question. But *Small Rebus* repeats the rise-and-fall scenario in a parallel register of motifs at the far left-hand side of the canvas. Above a lone displaced gymnast in a handstand (thereby transformed into something like an ancient Atlantid figure), Rauschenberg applied a cropped reproduction of Titian's *Rape of Europa* (1559). The ascent of Zeus in the guise of a bull bearing his beloved into the heavens parallels that of the agile athletes on the opposite side of the composition, but this elevation is violent and frightening. And the parallel fall, seen in the clipping above, exhibits the same contrasting character: while the descending arc of the runner is comparatively gentle, the bestialized Zeus is on the verge of an agonizing collapse, as a Spanish fighting bull in the ring (from a yellowed newspaper photograph of that ancient ritual) begins to buckle under the toreador's lances and sword, soon to attain the state of the eternal Pompeiian canine.

Rauschenberg joined these parallel columns, each leaning inward from the strictly vertical, with a strong horizontal armature provided by the uniform row of paint manufacturer's color samples. Its slight decline from right to left corresponds to the compressed height of the Europa cycle, lending to the whole tableau a suggestion of perspectival recession, as the mythic past assumes a position behind the present in space as well as time. While these two parallel circuits of rising and falling do not exhaust the range of motifs present in *Small Rebus*, they do coincide precisely with the dominant elements of the strong, interlocked formal design—with its satisfying rhythms of concentration and release—which makes looking at the totality of the work worth its viewer's time and focused attention.

□

To return to *Slow Fall* as a point of departure, the migration of its other components leads to a later Combine relief that exhibits an even more emphatic formal architecture built from parallel divisions of its surface. *Allegory* (1959–60, PLATE 119) (after a term that belongs to the same family of image-enigmas as “rebus”) sets its own metal garland, quite possibly from the same scrap-yard find, into a narrow vertical frame, one of three that anchor a dialogue between a reduced number of applied found objects. Some confidently brushed passages echo the technique of Franz Kline, an older companion to Rauschenberg during his early days in New York.

In the context of that abstract matrix, the crumpled metal column might be registered as the found, three-dimensional equivalent to a rugged trail of paint—and it unmistakably functions in just that way. So does it thereby lose its former association with the pull of gravity and the motion of falling—and thus the sense of a flowing cascade? The

green painted passage just to the left, combined with the dominating red disc fashioned from a splayed umbrella, might suggest instead a bucolic scene—a setting sun viewed from a grassy patch next to a waterfall. The vernacular ordinariness of such a hackneyed vision might have ratified Rauschenberg's unsnobbish instincts: indeed, some such notion, once entertained, becomes impossible to shake off altogether, given the degree to which fantasies of pastoral landscape are bound up with the West's basic conceptions of artistic order and harmony. But the test of strong relevance has to be sought in the repetition or redundancy of the umbrella motif—or its close cognates—over the entire body of his Combines.

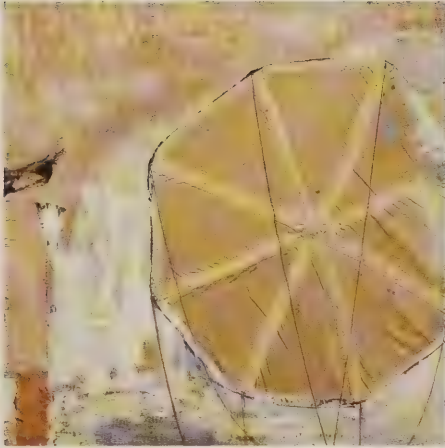
The date of *Allegory* falls near the end of the Combine episode in Rauschenberg's career. But one can go back to its earliest stirrings in 1954 to find a major work like *Charlene* (PLATE 20) distinguished by his use of the same device. A flattened umbrella, its radiating segments painted over in contrasting colors, occupies the upper right of the composition, just as the red umbrella anchors the left side of *Allegory*. Scroll forward a few years towards the midpoint of the Combine chronology and there appears an impressively spare untitled work (c. 1955, PLATE 32) in which an unadorned toy parachute has migrated to the lower right of the flat panel, one of only two large motifs in the entire composition, the other being a single sock partly covered by a vertical stroke of white paint. The parachute has settled to the ground; its shroud lines dangle in limp catenary curves, rhymed by dribbles of paint descending from the diagonally opposite corner. On the left-hand side, the sock stands in for the human appendage that habitually touches the earth, but here it is rotated vertically and slightly elevated so as to suggest some lift from gravity's ultimate grip. Directly above, where an emphatic horizontal seam marks the Combine's highest register, Rauschenberg placed a tiny found landscape of cattle grazing in a green pastoral setting.

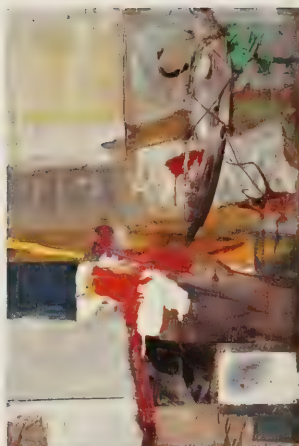


A linear medium like the present essay is ill suited to tracing such networks of correspondence, which tend to branch out in all directions rather than follow a single chain of association. And these branches can track paths of both form and theme. So far, recurring discs of fabric have arrayed themselves largely along lines of similar shape, material, and scale. But the parachutes also return one's thoughts to the theme of ascent and return to earth that organizes *Small Rebus* (almost contemporaneous with the untitled Combine discussed immediately above). The 1950s coincided with the heyday of animated cartoon films, in which a frequent gag featured an unaware, umbrella-bearing character stepping off a high precipice. Disaster seems averted when the umbrella pops open to slow his fall to a gently rocking descent (a moment Rauschenberg captures at the summit of his *The Tower* (1957, PLATE 58) with its uncannily upright and freestanding open umbrella). Needless to say, just as the character begins to smile at his good fortune,

the instrument of his salvation collapses upward, and its hapless owner plunges instantly out of frame.

Allegory, with its broken umbrella (the missing piece displaced to a buried position on the right), roughly coincides in date with a work that takes the theme of interrupted flight and treacherous devices through another family of forms. *Painting with Grey Wing* (1959, PLATE 92) remains a comparatively little-known work, perhaps because its compact dimensions and tight internal construction too closely recall traditional easel painting. The titular motif of the work, a downward-pointing feather (the part that stands for the whole wing), encapsulates both the lift into flight and the fall to earth. The string is now an entangling web that binds the wing; its lines are precisely and delicately extended by stretched skeins of paint that carry the combined implication of binding into the surrounding fabric of paint. The act of binding itself entails both ascent and descent, as Rauschenberg underlines below by the partly obscured collage element depicting demonic human fliers soaring in winged contraptions: the source is the thirteenth plate of Francisco de Goya's print series *Los Disparates* (1816–23), its title *Modo de volar* (A Way of Flying).





Emphatic strokes of brightly colored oil paint converge on another flight motif in *Painting with Grey Wing*, one in which a found bit of neoclassical sculpture in the face of an old Mercury dime equates flight with divinity—with freedom from mortal limitations—rather than with human depravity. Despite its minuscule dimensions, the entire orchestration of the tableau draws the viewer's attention to the worn coin.³ The flanking quadrants present tokens of emptiness: meaningless lines of unbroken type in one and an uncolored piece of paint-by-number in the other; while just nearby, two photographs recount a sequence in which an athletic young man practices some exercise before a sternly watchful older man who stands in the background, his hat pulled low over his brow. The photographs are covered with a light wash such that the features of the young man are difficult to make out, but the ideal androgynous profile on the coin lends itself as a ready surrogate and marks the soaring flight of youthful aspiration toward the beauty of the gods.

The myth of Icarus, whose ingenious wings melted as he flew too close to the sun, undergirds these elements and their arrangement—and Rauschenberg has explicitly acknowledged that inspiration.⁴ Even the postcard of the Empire State Building (which

3 The image on the face of the coin is actually a female allegory of Liberty, the wings on the helmet representing freedom of thought (hence the common confusion, as likely in Rauschenberg's case as in anyone else's, with Mercury).

4 Rauschenberg, unpublished interview with Paul Schimmel, New York, 11 January 2005.

5 Rosalind Krauss, "Perpetual Inventory" (1997), reprinted in Joseph, *Robert Rauschenberg*, 111–13.

symmetrically rhymes the shape of the descending feather) stands as the then-highest ascent of the skyscraper, which is precisely what Icarus briefly became before his father Daedalus's fatally hubristic ambition sent him plummeting to earth and death. The photograph that Rauschenberg pasted opposite Goya's nightmare demons in flight, an image of a woman lost in seemingly troubled sleep (oriented vertically as though she too were falling), uses the device of rhyming gesture in order to place the treacherous dream of flight within the sphere of inner life.

□ □

Addressing this juncture in Rauschenberg's personal progress, Rosalind Krauss aptly posed the question:

If Rauschenberg was forcing himself to engage with "symbolism," was this because his Combine paintings had been truly abstract, as he claimed? Or was it because they had already been invoking connotational fields, particularly in the matrices set up between objects, words, and photographic reproductions on the surfaces of works like *Rebus* (1955), *Talisman* (1958), or *Trophy I (for Merce Cunningham)* (1959)?... Or do the photographic forces already assembling on the surfaces of the Combine paintings, themselves releasing uncontainable networks of association, simultaneously demand the figurative and its textual support?⁵

Though the thematics of *Painting with Grey Wing* possess a rich enough set of precedents in Rauschenberg's earlier Combines, the subtle and comprehensive organization devoted to this particular restatement comes as something of a surprise. The present tracing of his preoccupation with varieties of flight and falls to earth has entailed a passage through a number of works over a half-decade of production, with each such indication contrived to appear slight and off-hand, frequently in the midst of multiplied distractions. But the viewer is put to his or her mettle in this particular Combine, as none of its motifs offer any release from the myth's underlying structure. Of the many modern poets who have sought to recuperate ancient mythography, it would be difficult to name one who has approached the success in that endeavor achieved by Rauschenberg in *Painting with Grey Wing*. Myths, after all, are fundamentally atemporal arrays of opposed and coincident terms—here youth versus age, authority versus aspiration, artifice versus nature, order versus disorder, the human versus the more-than-human—perennial and irresolvable dilemmas that constitute the deep texture of life itself.

Oral and literary renditions necessarily simplify and sacrifice the density with which these oppositions overlay one another—one reason why they must be told over and over again, often with different casts of characters and turns of events. Rauschenberg packs his small canvas with all the matter required for dozens of teased-out tales, his means inherently more capable of approximating the essentially spatial order of mythic structure. Both the freshness and ultimate persuasiveness of the exercise hinge upon these recognitions emerging from materials that bear next to none of the piously cultivated trappings with which classical antiquity has come to be freighted in modern times.

□ □ □

Having begun with one anomalous late Combine in *Slow Fall*, the circuits generated by its two dominating elements have led back to another exceptional work, one likewise advanced in date but turned in the opposite direction. Where the thematically

expansive *Slow Fall* is parsimonious in its spare compact selection of materials, *Painting with Grey Wing* is parsimonious in the thematic constraint to which its abundance of materials must submit. The physical shapes and dynamics of *Slow Fall* began this process of unpacking; a second itinerary through the Combines, then, should proceed from the idea embedded in *Painting with Grey Wing* (following the principle that any complex phenomenon should answer to more than one strong description).

That idea has two main aspects, one general and the other specific. The first is simply the incorporation of an implied subject or protagonist into a Combine. *Trophy I (for Merce Cunningham)* (1959, PLATE 93) unabashedly makes its titular subject the main character, as a collaged photograph features the choreographer and close friend of the artist holding a difficult, barely balanced pose on one foot. This position lends Cunningham the appearance of looking down over a precipice. As no viewer of the piece has ever missed, the found sign reading “Caution/Watch/Your Step” turns the theme of precarious equilibrium and danger of mishap into something of a joke, but such disarming gestures often mask a deeper seriousness—indeed just below the stamped metal sign one finds a newspaper photograph of a downed horse and rider that elides the comic with the empathetic. Close by, an open cut through the surface makes concrete the suggestion of a chasm. *Trophy I* moves from the general level of providing a Combine with a human subject to the association of that subject with motifs of tenuous balance, defiance of gravity, and the potential for collapse—precisely the dynamic of *Painting with Grey Wing*—while additionally sharing the theme of a magus-like prowess ascribed to both the real Cunningham and the mythical Daedalus.



The actual undoing of Icarus is itself absent from *Painting with Grey Wing*, its protagonist having already disappeared beneath the waters that afterwards bore the name Icarian Sea. Casting an eye over the body of previous Combines, however, one catches a glimpse of the event: along the central axis of *Gloria* (1956, PLATE 36), Rauschenberg placed a photograph, isolated by a largely blank expanse, of a tiny figure hurtling backwards and headfirst against a huge featureless sky (in fact a stunt parachutist suspended in a moment before the release of his canopy). But that fleeting vision, on the verge of vanishing, underscores the degree to which subjectivity arrives in the Combines under multiple signs of its disappearance, with the supplemental extinguishing of youth and beauty in the bargain.⁶

There is, of course, one myth in which beauty itself turns a body of water into a fatal trap. In punishment for cruelly spurning the nymph Echo, Narcissus became the victim of his own enchanting beauty, wasting away in futile infatuation with his own reflection until his eventual transformation into the flower that bears his name. Few careful viewers of Rauschenberg's first freestanding Combine, *Untitled* (c. 1954, PLATE 28), have failed to recall the myth of Narcissus when confronted with the photograph of an immaculate figure in white suit and shoes—a Southern debutante's beau from the 1920s, by the look of him—who occupies a vertical flat panel flanking the lower cavity of the upright double-box structure: a mirror covers the platform at his feet. And the mythic association, which might otherwise remain no more than a suggestion, gains solidity through two adjacent features of this complex structure. A turn around the back of the piece reveals an opening into the upper compartment, shrouded in black, on the floor of which stand, saturated in white pigment, an actual pair of shoes—the physical remnant of the catastrophe much like the feather and unraveled bindings in *Painting with Grey Wing*. This earlier iteration of the theme assumes the more pronounced character of a pagan relic, for which the Combine as a whole then functions as shrine and altar.

Circling back to the side of the piece, a look down into the mirror reveals, in place of the immaculate gentleman caller, another apparition of beauty personified. That reflection arrives from the underside of the adjacent cavity and requires some deciphering, as its printed legend appears in reverse. Crouching down and peering upward reveals a handbill from the Louisiana Yam Festival of 1953, emblazoned with the image of its chosen Yambilee Queen, one Janet Rauschenberg. The contest of female beauty, invoked by this triumph of the artist's own sister, shows up on the same reflective surface as the blandly handsome male figure in white. A Judgment of Paris with the yam standing in for the apple? While that connotation may not bear too much weight at present, it is plain

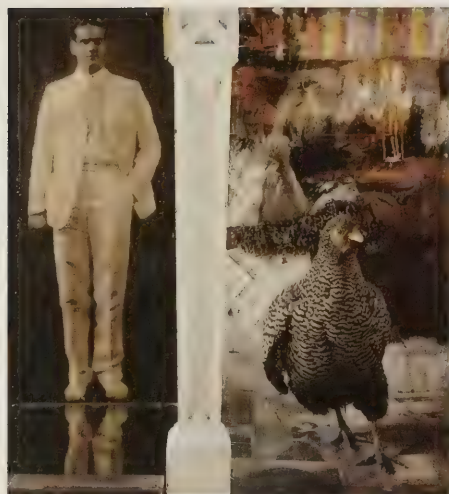


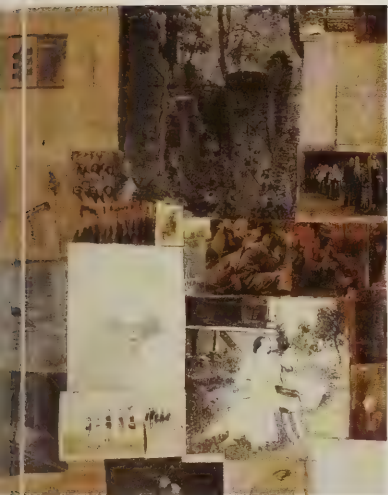
⁶ *Trophy II* (for Teeny and Marcel Duchamp) (1961, plate 128) features at the top of the central panel (the one Rauschenberg describes as representing himself between the work's two dedicatees) another skydiver seen as an isolated speck, this one viewed from above a dunescape.

that Beauty (the capitalization is appropriate) has made its appearance as an agent or power, and in more than one guise.

In their appearance, Rauschenberg's Combines defy any conventional notion of the beautiful, but they plainly intend to explore the idea of beauty, with its intermingled consolations and perils. On the front panel above the two figures is a large period photograph depicting the mirrored profiles of a mother and daughter in a kiss. Among the jazz-age bathing beauties in an adjacent photograph to its left can be found Rauschenberg's own mother (whose twenty-fifth wedding anniversary is chronicled in a small news clipping in the top corner). Completing this central triad of images—and effecting another turn on the theme of descent—is the poignant beauty of the artist's own genetic reflection: a washed-out photograph of his son Christopher.

Below and to the left of that portrait is appended a letter in Christopher's own penciled hand, which reads, "I hope that you still like me Bob cause I still love you. Please wright me *back* love love Christopher" (these notations find an echo in some adjacent scrawls by Cy Twombly). The male actors in this collage scenario tend to signal pain and loss. Dominating the lower zone of the panel is a solitary male who seems lost in some private agony and whose gesture finds itself mirrored in that of a presumably innocent *putto* by Raphael. Human contact recurs, but in the shape of exhausted soldiers collapsed in a heap—and there remains an odd one out. The path upward seems





mined with perils, patrolled as it is by guardians bearing the trappings of the law: be-wigged British jurists and a gun-wielding cop. And at the top one finds a photograph of a downed parachute, still inflated and pulling sideways, cognate to the object that he had just introduced in *Charlene*. That vector of descent and impending collapse sends its reverberation back down the edifice to end, by implication, in the depths of Narcissus's pool.

□ □ □ □

One thus discovers, fully in place at the inception of his Combine cycle, that same tight conjunction between fantasies of flight, their inevitable frustration, and the emblems of love encompassing nearly all of its potential objects. The astute research efforts of Hiroko Ikegami on this particular work have demonstrated that Rauschenberg continued to modify and add elements to the main collage until at least 1958.⁷ The same is true of the closely related *Odalisk* (1955/58, PLATE 29), which he began the next year.⁸ So one's unpacking of the intricate juxtapositions on display in each of these singular constructions maps onto a traversal over time between a substantial number of examples, tracking the repetitions and correspondences among them.

Does one then have any fictional company on that journey—or a surrogate inside these works whose footsteps one might follow? The repeated actions and upward aspirations imply some kind of agent who repeatedly undertakes them and in turn suffers the invariable falls back to earth. While this protagonist occupies no fixed identity, the consistency of Rauschenberg's repeated themes leads one to look for some comparably recurrent personage to embody within itself the driven, frustrated quest toward beauty and freedom. There can be little about any human figure that implies the idea of flight—and nothing about most flying creatures implies the idea of a fall—but the figure of a flightless bird neatly condenses both into one entity or agent.

And that is precisely the one full-bodied presence in *Untitled* (PLATE 28): the stuffed hen standing on the platform adjacent to the dandy's mirror and directly underneath the poster of Janet Rauschenberg's beauty-contest triumph. In conversation, Rauschenberg has referred to the officially untitled Combine, not with the customary shorthand *Man with White Shoes*, but as *Plymouth Rock*,⁹ in reference to the precise breed of hen¹⁰ (and so henceforth will it be called here). Lest one miss the point, he repeats the motif in a photograph affixed to the upper panel that shows another hen floating on a plank submerged in a mirrorlike flooded landscape. Just below is an aerial photograph of prairie land, from which the hen might well have come. Comically establishing that the two images add up to the improbable elevation of an earthbound creature, the artist added a brown trail of watery pigment descending in a gentle arc from the hen's anus to the earth below.

⁸ See 1955 entry of Joan Young and Susan Davidson's "Chronology," in Walter Hopps and Davidson, eds., *Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective*, exh. cat. (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, 1997), 554.

⁹ Rauschenberg, interview with Schimmel.

¹⁰ The breed has recently been reattributed as a Dominique. See note 11 in Paul Schimmel's essay elsewhere in this volume.

⁷ Hiroko Ikegami, unpublished graduate seminar paper, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, 1999.

Identifying this vignette offers an opportunity to pause for a test of relevance, because the source and anecdotal interest of the two collaged photographs are known. Both come from a single compendium of prize newspaper photographs that Rauschenberg might have picked up for pocket change in a second-hand shop.¹¹ The story behind the landscape underneath the photograph of the flood-negotiating hen concerns a prairie fire that burned right up to the borders of an unscathed square of land. Beyond its suggestion of avian apotheosis, the juxtaposition also effects a neat opposition between the two ancient elements of water and fire.

But the relevance of that symbolic dyad requires some further testing within the context of the Combine project as a whole. The book from which both images were drawn, *The Great Pictures—1948*, offers captions for each that typically point up some internal paradox or pathetic contrast. The legend under the aerial landscape, in both content and style, reads like a medieval miracle story:

This picture was made during the great prairie fire which ravaged five hundred square miles of Dakota grass and wheatland northeast of Pierre. The lone white school, the barn and outhouses which look as though they were floating on a magic carpet, were saved as plowmen hastily turned up a barrier of fresh earth.¹²

Caption included, the photograph already conveys the idea of magical levitation as much as it does a conflagration, and the adjacent photograph with its watery landscape also contains a platform that bears its rider above the level of the ground. The picture of the hen, caught in the flooded main street of Canton, Missouri, elicits a contrastingly light commentary in the original source (including “Mad as a Wet Hen” for its inevitable title): “In water up to his hips, [the photographer] provided an unusual record of the ‘fowl’ weather.”¹³

Paging through the one hundred images in the book, Rauschenberg seized on a pair of pictures that individually correspond to the Combine’s mixed tone of magical seriousness and small-town banter, then raised the level of paradox above the found banalities of Midwestern journalism—while not entirely leaving them behind either. Emblems uniting the abstract qualities of flame and quenching fluid do not in fact recur with any noticeable regularity in his other works, but 1955 could convincingly be called the year of the peripatetic fowl in Rauschenberg’s output. In an untitled Combine painting (PLATE 31), another such creature turns up, a comic cutout rooster that turns away from an enticing pinup nude toward a sheet of drawing and writing in a young child’s hand. A paint-splashed pheasant with a clipped tail stalks across the top of *Satellite* (PLATE 25), appearing to exit to the right. And this traversal finds a

¹¹ Clifton C. Edom, ed., *The Great Pictures—1948: The 100 Outstanding Photographs from the Fifth Annual News Pictures of the Year Competition and Exhibition Jointly Sponsored by Encyclopedia Britannica Book of the Year and the University of Missouri School of Journalism* (Garden City, New York: Garden City Publishing, 1949), 73, 87. I am indebted to Morgan Fisher for his recognition of this source.

¹² *Ibid.*, 73.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 87.

more abstract parallel in the yellow horizontal band running across the midsection of the otherwise planar Combine.

The theme of traversal recurs in another work from 1955, *Rebus* (PLATE 24), where it is figured by two photographs of runners moving in the same direction at either end of its crowded horizontal axis. In its initial iterations, the bird provides the principle of such movements both inside and between Combines with an embodied agent whom one observes actually navigating the world that they collectively create. Its disarming persona nonetheless contains within itself the large themes of the works in which it appears, that is, both the necessity of gravity-bound horizontal movement and an implicit yearning to rise upward along the vertical axis.



To emphasize the latter function, a stuffed Leghorn rooster surmounts the freestanding structure of *Odalisk*, thus corresponding to its elevated counterpart in the press photograph affixed to “Plymouth Rock,” just as the use of the same type of white post draws the two pieces into tight alignment with one another. That support presumably constitutes the upended “obelisk” that puns on the art-historical term *odalisque*—a Turkish concubine, usually reclining—so generating the Combine’s title. Its array of figurative references follows the direction set by that title, passing through the autobiographical realm to enter the more abstract territory of female sexual provocation. Nudes from 1950s men’s magazines proliferate to form a harem of their own, a bevy bracketed between both established and fresh art-historical references. One finds a Renaissance nymph from Titian’s *Le concert de champêtre* (1509) (her male companions painted out) and the reclining Psyche (sleeping deeply after a night of sex with the stealthily departing Amor) in a postcard of François-Edouard Picot’s painting of 1817, as well as a reduced copy of a signature work from Rauschenberg’s own past: the monumental female nude that he and his then-wife Susan Weil created circa 1950 by having a friend lie on a sheet of blueprint paper and allowing light to darken the surface around her figure. A wolf—1950s slang for “lecher”—howls from the lower reaches of the collage upward toward one golden-toned pinup model, while at the same time representing peril should the rooster lose his lofty footing.

□ □ □ □

While flightless birds depart the scene fairly quickly in the temporal unfolding of the Combine adventure, not to be seen again after 1955, motifs of frustrated flight and the vain effort to grasp unapproachable beauty remain. Bookending the rough decade over which the Combines developed are Rauschenberg’s two moments of greatest explicitness in subject matter: the autobiographical references in the first year, balanced by the overt invocation of classical myth toward the end—the latter a distinct phase that includes,

alongside *Painting with Grey Wing*'s large flight feather, the kouros-like *Pail for Ganymede* (1959, PLATE 106) and the wheeled *Gift for Apollo* (1959, PLATE 107). Add to those *Canyon* (PLATE 99), of the same year, with its powerful Jovian eagle and a pillow like that of *Odalisk* suspended in the shadow of the stuffed raptor's outstretched wings. It requires no particular inclination toward arcane speculation to discern the reappearance of bird flight as an organizing preoccupation, transposed from the comic ineffectuality of the flightless chickens to a heroic/tragic mode intervening between the human and the divine. There is the large flight feather that stands in for the *Grey Wing*; Ganymede was the beautiful mortal boy seized by Zeus/Jupiter in eagle guise and carried to Olympus; while the actual pail that trails the implied chariot of Apollo/Helios evokes Phaeton, the pathetic son of the god, who was pitched (like Icarus) to his death when he tried to drive his father's tempestuous horses across the sky.

The classical titles of this cluster of 1959 works have been too readily ascribed to a late bid for high cultural legitimation, little more than superficial add-ons to the random lexicon that preceded and underlay them. But the mythological descriptions of this phase rely on firm precedents in the body of work elaborated over 1955 and 1956. *Small Rebus* can in fact be seen as something of a fulcrum between the two. On the opposite side of the canvas from the scene of Zeus levitating another conquest, autobiography manifests itself in a family photograph of the artist's parents and sister, future beauty-queen Janet. The artist himself is absent, his presence having been dispersed across a whole range of partial and shifting substitutes.

This insistent pattern and predictability (as the viewer becomes progressively alert to the likelihood of certain reappearances and transformations) first raise the question: why have Rauschenberg's actual choices in the construction of his Combines, their intricate layering of theme and design, come to be ruled out of serious consideration in most quarters? The orthodoxy was set in place by the artist's friend and ally, the composer John Cage, who declared that "there is no more subject in a *combine* than there is in a page from a newspaper. Each thing that is there is a subject.... any one of them could be removed and another come into its place through circumstances analogous to birth and death, travel, housecleaning, or cluttering."¹⁴

On a basic level, this insistently asymbolic perspective may be an artifact of a mistaken definition of the relevant unit of analysis. Symptomatic in this regard is the proposition by Leo Steinberg, well known to every specialist in postwar art, that the primary value of Rauschenberg's Combines lay in their establishment of something called "the flatbed picture plane," which is to say, a prestated unity that subsumed and surpassed the specific character of anything placed upon it. Steinberg has more recently admitted that he adopted the term for largely tactical reasons, acknowledging forthrightly, "What

¹⁵ Leo Steinberg, *Encounters with Rauschenberg* (A Lavishly Illustrated Lecture) (Houston: The Menil Collection; and Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 29.

¹⁶ Joseph, *Random Order: Robert Rauschenberg and the Neo-Avant-Garde* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2003), 14.

¹⁷ Barbara Rose, *Rauschenberg: An Interview with Robert Rauschenberg* (New York: Vintage, 1987), 44.

¹⁴ John Cage, "On Robert Rauschenberg, Artist, and His Work" in *Silence: Lectures and Writings* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1961), 101, 99.

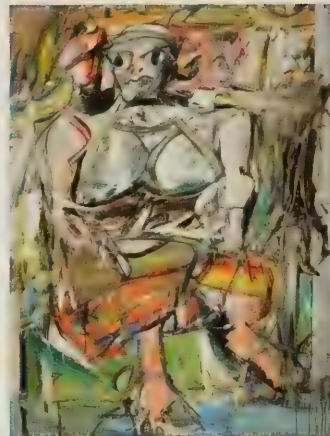
was needed in the mid-sixties was resistance to Clement Greenberg, and I figured that to do it effectively, to champion Rauschenberg, required a special strategy." Greenberg, of course, had posited a grand narrative whereby the history of Western painting could be viewed as a necessary progression toward an abstract, resolutely two-dimensional art that was "about" nothing more than flatness and the delimitation of flatness. The duty of the artist consequently lay in finding ever more inventive ways to dramatize the not-to-be-violated unity of the picture plane. Steinberg, sharing with many the view that this thesis had turned into an attenuated and sterile orthodoxy, chose "to campaign on Greenberg's own turf, on enemy territory, as it were—not in defense of Rauschenberg's subject matter, or kooky procedures, or puckish invention—but on formalist grounds and precisely in terms of the picture plane."¹⁵

Kooky? Puckish? His condescension toward the artist is massive, once the alibi of "the picture plane" is removed. And this would-be-disarming admission has come a little late, well after dozens of later interpreters, including Steinberg himself, had taken the concept as authoritative. The result, in the approving words of one writer, has been a dominant "line of analysis that regards the meaning of [Rauschenberg's] work as residing not in its iconography but in its more structural reflections of the social, subjective, and commercial transformations that Steinberg already in 1972 termed 'post-modernist.'"¹⁶

But this line of demarcation between what might be called iconophilia and (an ascendant) iconophobia rests upon a simpler, less acknowledged difference. Steinberg's admission reveals less about his own aesthetic assumptions than it does about those he assumed in his contemporaries, which is to say, an unshakable belief in the indivisible formal unity of the individual work as a hallmark of its seriousness.¹⁷ Were he to have argued for Rauschenberg's importance on any other grounds, no challenge to formalist orthodoxy would have registered. But the price to be paid was the implicit concession to Greenberg's whole form of argument: to assume in Rauschenberg's Combines a prior unity has therefore been to cast their potential meaning in commensurately abstract terms. Such is the logical outcome when no appeal to internal differentiation or distinction is permitted. But such assertions remain incorrigible, that is, beyond falsifiability by any direct observation one might make of a particular feature of any Combine. As such, their persuasiveness has largely depended upon the stature, network, or sheer rhetorical insistence of the interpreter.

□ □ □ □ □

Preoccupation with prior or achieved unity of this kind represents no critic's conceit, but arose from the concrete character of artistic success as it was bequeathed to Rauschenberg by the first generation of New York School painters. Their challenge to



the advanced art of Europe had come to rest in the primacy of an insistent simplified image, articulated by just enough internal incident to prevent its constituent forms from collapsing into literal oneness with the stretched canvas support.

As a new entrant in a New York scene of intimidating self-importance, Rauschenberg (having replaced his given name Milton with the more forceful and all-American “Bob”) acutely felt the need for a context in which to gauge the credibility of his own work. As he recalled: “I just wanted to know if there *was* something I was doing that was remotely related to what they were doing.”¹⁸ What they were doing presupposed the priority of singular and unified objects. And he found himself able not only to operate within those parameters, but to make existing New York School procedures do unprecedented kinds of work. Around 1950, at the height of Jackson Pollock’s achievement as a painter, even his most ardent admirers had yet to recognize the potential of lowering the canvas from the easel to the floor. By 1949, Rauschenberg and Weil were already extending that procedure into that new territory. Their horizontal imprints of human bodies on blueprint paper shared with Pollock’s great poured canvases a seamless all-over method, yet simultaneously recovered a place for the monumental human figure that had been all but banished from the advanced practice around them (contrast their singular deftness of gesture with the well-documented struggle that Willem de Kooning was at the same moment waging to wedge his monumental figure of *Woman I* (1950–52) into the fragmented relief of broken gestures with which he had first answered the reigning imperative to go abstract). Rauschenberg’s *White Paintings* (1951) and *Black Paintings* (1951–53), undertaken in Cage’s orbit, took to its furthest limits this imperative to decrease internal differentiation to a feasible minimum.

Given that there was virtually no support in his early 1950s milieu for an art that thrived on complication and internal division, how then did Rauschenberg manage to

ROBERT RAUSCHENBERG AND SUSAN WEIL
Untitled, c. 1950
Exposed blueprint paper
69¾ x 41¾ inches
Collection of Susan Weil

WILLEM DE KOONING
Woman I, 1950–52
Oil on canvas
75⅞ x 58 inches
The Museum of Modern Art, New York
Purchase

leave behind the conditions of his apprenticeship in order to generate a different kind of art? One answer to this question surely lies in Europe, and *Small Rebus* again offers a discreet but telling key. A virtual hinge between its two distinct halves is composed of cut and collaged maps, their arrangement such that the eastern part of Europe, including the peninsula of Greece, adjoins the American Midwest. The Baltic Sea, as a result, flows into the northern Great Lakes, and the Adriatic approaches the Mississippi, in sum establishing a new mythical continent as a setting for the energetic action of the piece. In contrast to the stay-at-home older generation of American artists, Rauschenberg sought out the inheritance of Europe firsthand, as he and Twombly set out together on what would be a formative journey to Italy in the autumn of 1952.

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They traveled on money from a grant that Twombly obtained from the Virginia Museum of Fine Art on grounds that any young neoclassicist of the eighteenth century would have found familiar. Twombly wrote in his application to the museum: “What I am trying to establish is—that Modern Art isn’t dislocated, but something with roots, tradition and continuity.... A Fellowship...would enable me...to experience European cultural climates both intellectual and aesthetic...not only for the painting I intend to do there, but for a lifetime of work.”¹⁹ In the short run, Twombly’s zeal to acquire physical souvenirs of “European cultural climates” so strained their shared funds that Rauschenberg, the financially dependent partner, found himself broke and in desperate need of a temporary livelihood. A chance encounter sent him off to do building work in North Africa—which added to his repertoire of classical references another rich set of Roman remains.²⁰

The entire sojourn lasted seventeen months, and both artists arranged toward the end of that period, in the spring of 1953, to exhibit in two Italian galleries the work they had accomplished. Rauschenberg showed a series of emblemlike constructions—some hanging, some enclosed in boxes—composed of small found objects chosen, in his words, “for either of two reasons: the richness of their past: like bone, hair, faded cloth and photos, broken fixtures, feathers, sticks, rocks, string, and rope; or for their vivid abstract reality: like mirrors, bells, watchparts, bugs, fringe, pearls, glass, and shells.” His terms for the resulting combinations—Personal Boxes and Personal Fetishes—evoke fabulous forms of fiction. One piece was built around the skull of a bird he saw as “decorated in a rich false history”; another made of mirrors conjures “visual infinity”; while further “totems hang pretentiously boasting of their fictitious past.”²¹

These words come from a typewritten hand-corrected artist’s statement that Rauschenberg supplied for his first exhibition in Rome and are particularly valuable for having been written before he was to take the pursuit of “rich false histories” to another

¹⁸ See, for example, the influential essay by Brian O’Doherty in *American Masters: The Voice and the Myth* (New York: Random House, 1974), 204, which popularized the idea of an indiscriminating “vernacular gaze” as the hallmark of Rauschenberg’s project. In the same passage, O’Doherty also asserted that there is nonetheless “something that, for all his apparent clowning, [Rauschenberg] believes in profoundly: the integrity of the picture plane.”

¹⁹ Quoted in Kirk Varnedoe, *Cy Twombly: A Retrospective*, exh. cat. (New York: The Museum of Modern Art), 56 n. 48.

²⁰ In Rose, *Rauschenberg*, 38–40.

²¹ A facsimile of the typescript statement is reproduced in Hopps, *Robert Rauschenberg: The Early 1950s*, exh. cat. (Houston: The Menil Collection and Houston Fine Art Press, 1991), 232.

level of scale and ambition in the Combines to come (and thus before fame and the retrospective reflections that arrive in later interviews, in which his habitual cat-and-mouse games with his interlocutors can provide support for virtually any reading). Something of what he meant comes through in the haunting record he created of his own enigmatic ritual, a suite of photographs documenting the Personal Fetishes draped from trees, crumbling walls, and classical statuary in the Pincio Gardens of Rome on what appears to have been a deserted early morning.



Striking in his Italian imagery, both verbal and visual, is the ascription of some autonomous influence to his materials and to the quasi-independent presences that emerge from their combination—a slightly sinister power that outruns his own creative authority over them both. And he invited visitors to submit themselves to these objects in their turn: “You may develop,” he proposed, “your own ritual about the objects.... compartments are left empty for you to add bits of your own choice, to rearrange the contents, or to leave them in their emptiness which signifies unknown possibilities.”

The legend is that a hostile review after their second exhibition in Florence caused him to throw nearly all of these objects into the Arno River—following literally the sarcastic instruction of the critic in question. “It saved the packing problem,” he said at the time,²² but that literally throwaway remark arguably masked a deeper motivation, a panicked response to some threat carried by whatever power had been externalized in his own creations. On his return to the United States, which took place almost immediately after this episode, he quickly reverted to his earlier patterns, both in his adherence to older mentors and his striving for unity in procedure and effect. This was the moment—in 1953—of the twenty-two-foot-long *Automobile Tire Print*, undertaken with Cage’s assistance, and *Erased de Kooning Drawing*, when the older artist lent the younger a heavily marked drawing that he would turn, over three long weeks of labor, into a nearly blank sheet with its irreducible ghost of an image hovering on the plain white page. But he also created another work by means of effacement, this time an act of smothering that has remained in deep obscurity when compared to the notoriety of his de Kooning exercise (which has come to match Marcel Duchamp’s found urinal in the annals of perceived artistic provocation). In this instance, the effaced object was of his own making, and this second act of suppression tends to confirm one’s feeling that there was much more to the episode of the Arno bridge than Rauschenberg acknowledged.

Had this object been made after 1954, it would comfortably fit within the canon of his Combines, but its date goes back to 1951 or thereabouts.²³ It has come down to us under the title *Should Love Come First?*, taken from the roughly circular clipping of an article headline rendered in the freeform “modern” graphics of contemporary popular



Erased de Kooning Drawing, 1953

Traces of ink and crayon on paper with mat and label on gold-leaf frame

25 1/4 x 21 3/4 x 1/2 inches

San Francisco Museum of Modern Art

Purchased through a gift of Phyllis Wattis

Should Love Come First?, c.1951

Oil, printed paper, and pencil on canvas

24 x 30 inches

Work now exists as **Untitled [small black painting]**, 1953

magazines, which reads: “my problem...should love come first?”²⁴ Like a number of his later Combines, it incorporates a reduced example of his own art, in this case a drawing that duplicates the pattern in his painting 22 *The Lily White* (c.1950, page 270), which had been shown in his first exhibition at Betty Parsons Gallery. He imposed its hopscotch-like maze over one corner of a sheet with a large diagram—another circle—of concentric clock faces indicating time and distance from Washington to various cities across the world. This evocation of foreign wanderlust finds some echo in a small reproduced Claude Monet painting (1883) of the Normandy coast, while the emphatically inked footprint joined to a forward-stepping dance diagram implies a protagonist in motion.

Nowhere else in his work did the internal complication and personal suggestiveness of this very early piece make another appearance until he began fashioning Personal Boxes and Personal Fetishes some two years later, when he had actually made a temporary escape from the confines of his personal and artistic life in New York. After destroying the bulk of those objects, he came back to New York and did the same thing to *Should Love Come First?*. His means, in this instance, was to cover its entire surface with newspaper and heavy black pigment, thereby turning it into another in the series of Black Paintings, which he had inaugurated just preceeding his adventures in Europe. It survives as a creased, buckled, and opaque abstraction without a title.

Did that mean “No”? A reading of this action as a willful suppression of a forbidden aspect of the self and its desires would seem entirely plausible. All the more so in light of his redeploying the same Black Painting manner as backdrop to the fetishlike white shoes in *Plymouth Rock*, at which point he suddenly seized an uninhibited freedom to emblazon his work with proliferating direct and indirect references to the contradictory makeup of his own existence. From that point onward, there was for him no looking back to the closed and inhibited idiom of monochrome painting that had dominated his efforts over the previous four years. Cage later sniffed that it looked like his protégé had been cleaning out his family attic.²⁵ But Rauschenberg plainly understood the stakes well enough not to settle for any minor confessional form. The temporarily suppressed lessons of the Old World again found their purchase, and the grip of compulsorily unitary form had been broken.

Or, perhaps not, in that the repetitive drama enacted within the Combines—continual aspiration upward, fighting the constraints of gravity, only to be pulled down, even obliterated, by an unforgiving natural order—restages his own prior experience, the progress of his art, and the terms on which he had sought to establish his individuality and professional maturity. Themes of symbolic battle and the obstructed quest have long been the particular province of allegories—and by long, one means a genealogy

²² Robert Rauschenberg, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, 1976), 33.

²³ Hopps, *Robert Rauschenberg* (1991), 54–55.

²⁴ Conversation with Michael Lobel helped bring my attention back to the significance of this work.

²⁵ Cage, “On Robert Rauschenberg,” 103.

overleaf:

Personal Fetishes (c.1952) arranged and photographed by Rauschenberg, Pincio Gardens, Rome, 1953





that reaches back to poetic works like the medieval *Romance of the Rose* (c. thirteenth century) and the Elizabethan *Faerie Queene* (1596) forward through Daniel Defoe and Franz Kafka. Angus Fletcher, perhaps the leading modern scholar of the allegorical mode, has described its characteristic protagonist as a figure whose uncertainty magnifies the strength of his internal hopes and fantasies as they return to him in the form of threatening or beguiling external apparitions.²⁶ What might be a traumatic rehearsal of threatening inner conflicts is controlled by the ritual-like repetition and two-dimensional patterning of conflict, which imposes a controlling order on disputed territory through incantatory repetitions of familiar elements. And, while allegorical personages require the semblance of actual personalities, they exist primarily to exhibit a single trait or perform a single action, as if possessed by some supernatural force.

In just this way Rauschenberg's Combines contrive to disperse the self—and also the objects of the self's desires—into an array of provisional shifting substitutes whose progress has been traced here in reverse from his later Combines back to their first appearances. The unresolved parts and experiences of the self distribute themselves over an array of found substitutes, none of which need represent a complete or permanent state.

For all the personal predispositions that might have pushed him toward this solution, it is crucial to recognize that his move into explicit allegory was no autobiographical symptom, but a considered *aesthetic* choice aimed at making indisputably major work during a period of transition and uncertainty that affected many others besides himself (he drove this point home when he duplicated the apparent improvisations of *Factum I* feature for feature in *Factum II* in 1957 [PLATES 69 and 70]). While it is certainly no new thing in Rauschenberg criticism to invoke the term “allegory”—few have missed the fact that he used the word as a title for one work—its potential value has been short-circuited by the overwhelming attention given to two partial and limiting cases of allegory as a frame for analysis.

The first is the notion that Rauschenberg's choices of motif correspond to a rigid lexicon of prescribed meanings. The rather lamentable history of allegory in painting and sculpture, in contrast to the far richer record of poetry and drama, does indeed justify the fear that the work might be sacrificed by overzealous iconographers on a Procrustean bed of clear and distinct message-mongering. For a more influential group of interpreters, the defense against such naïve readings has been to keep the category of allegory in place but to reverse its valence, such that applying the term to Rauschenberg's Combines in particular comes to signify the defeat rather than the triumph of legibility. Seizing upon Walter Benjamin's general extrapolation of allegorical practice from two special cases (German Baroque “mourning plays” and Charles Baudelaire's poetry), their version of

27 The quotation comes from Joseph, *Random Order*, 130; his account follows the link made between Rauschenberg and Benjamin's writings on allegory established by Owens (see *Beyond Recognition*, 64–65, 76–77). The most powerful exponent of this thesis has been Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, “Allegorical Procedures: Appropriation and Montage in Contemporary Art,” *Artforum* 21, no. 1 (September 1982): 43–56. He quotes from Benjamin's fragment “Zentralpark” (1939) in his own translation: “The allegorical mind arbitrarily selects from the vast and disordered material that its knowledge has to offer. It tries to match one piece with another to figure out whether they can be combined. This meaning with that image, or that image with this meaning. The result is never predictable since there is no organic mediation between the two.”

26 Angus Fletcher, *Allegory: The Theory of a Symbolic Mode* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1964), 34–35 and passim

allegory reduces itself to a melancholy gaze over a landscape of ruins, depleted fragments sifted from the residue of the past, whose perpetual recombination testifies only to “the loss or impossibility of any direct experience of cultural history, a relation seen to have been severed by the intervention of mechanical reproduction.”²⁷

This dichotomy between rival notions of allegory restates the opposition between iconophilia and iconophobia discussed above, but this reconfiguration at least offers the benefit of moving closer to the territory in which the Combines actually operate, as a more robust understanding of allegory can subsume the partial insights of both positions. The naïvely message-driven version of allegory has at a minimum the advantage of recognizing the primacy of the artist’s conscious choices. The ruins-of-meaning school, while confusing a picture of the conditions of art-making with its outcomes, fully recognizes the degree to which Rauschenberg turned on its head the unity-driven aesthetic of his time, letting loose a proliferation of ungoverned signs that his older artist-peers had trained themselves to keep at bay.

There is no reason, in fact, to posit that Rauschenberg was an allegorist from the first moment that he shook off the external command that suppressed difference within his works; nor need he have been acquainted in any way with the august literary names cited above. His logical first step was to move as far as possible in the opposite direction so as to generate something like a maximum inventory of potentially useful elements randomly available in his environment. Consistent with this impulse is the frequent recurrence in the Combines of empty mapping and measuring devices as statements of infinite possibility: the clocks without hands in *Small Rebus* and *Migration* (1959, PLATE 91); the calendar pages in *Factum I* and *II*; the star chart in *Canyon*. Indeed, the idea of an inventory enters into a number of Combines as an explicit theme, like the band of paint-color chips that stretches across *Small Rebus*. At certain moments, he tacked as close to randomness as he dared to do. Once he had set his universe of migratory symbols into motion, however, he would find his choices constrained in turn by the tendency of those symbols to behave in certain ways and not in others—a phenomenon foreshadowed by the uncanny power he sensed in his *Personal Fetishes*.

Though there are pockets in which allegory has remained robust within modern culture—think of operas from Richard Wagner through Richard Strauss (*Die Frau ohne Schatten* [The Woman Without a Shadow], 1919) to the song-plays of Kurt Weill and Bertolt Brecht—it had been condemned since the early Romantic period as a prime example of aesthetic error. As a result, Rauschenberg found an organizing framework for his art lying unused and overlooked on a rubbish heap of critical disfavor—much as he encountered the material scraps and discards that he salvaged from the street and junk shop.



Migration, 1959, detail

Canyon, 1959, detail

In the mid-1950s, when there were next to no contemporary models to follow, fashioning an allegory proved to be a process of discovery for maker and viewers alike. The unfolding of the process could be described in stages: a flight from compulsory unity as a master aesthetic toward a maximized proliferation and multiplicity of signs; then, as no condition of true randomness can ever be sustained, regularities begin to appear (and indeed would already be present in his putatively random array of sources, as demonstrated by the example of the *Great Pictures* volume discussed above). “Allegory” is the name traditionally given to such regularities as they necessarily manifest themselves in any abundantly populated system of art. Some in the system that Rauschenberg had set in motion, like the levitating chicken, emerge as newly stable artifacts. Other points of convergence—like the Fall of Icarus or the Judgment of Paris—translate clusters of charged elements into more familiar second-order narratives. His growing awareness of correspondences to actual allegories of the past progressively fed back into and solidified those emergent patterns.

The common failing of both the iconophilic and iconophobic approaches to Rauschenberg lies in the essentially static model each brings to the task of interpretation. Neither a symbolic recipe book nor an entropic neutralizing terrain (whether one likens it to a newspaper layout, a flatbed plane, or a ruined edifice), the Combines comprise what might more usefully be called, to borrow another mathematical term, a dynamical system: every successive iteration of the system—which is to say, every individual Combine—altered the terms by which repeated or novel elements functioned in both their earlier and later appearances. Such behaviors underlie allegory’s world-creating function, such that the artist, while setting the initial conditions of the allegorical process and guiding its unfolding, finds himself nonetheless becoming subject in turn to the agents and forces that come to govern it.

As a general model for allegory, such a perspective helps account for the open-ended tendencies of the form, for its episodic extension and continually digressive embellishments. If Rauschenberg had been no self-conscious allegorist when he set this system in motion, he knew in fairly short order that he had become one. Already by 1955–56, the teasing titles of *Rebus* and *Small Rebus* extend an invitation to the viewer to attempt some decoding, in the same way that he had asked his audience in Rome to “develop your own ritual about the objects.” Intricate variety embedded in what appears to be ragged improvisation can be taken as the functional equivalent to the precious, lapidary play of imagery and poetic diction present in allegories since the chivalric romances of Chrétien de Troyes—indeed this is probably the only such equivalent that his disabused age would have found credible.²⁸ And he had abundant opportunity to absorb the interplay between each successive Combine, in that nearly all of them remained in his studios through the entire epoch of their making.

28 A distinctly unfashionable theorist of medieval allegory, C. S. Lewis (also one of its most popular modern practitioners) characterized Chrétien in words that could readily be applied to Rauschenberg’s effort to rediscover artistic means adequate to a wide range of emotional complexity: “Chrétien can hardly turn to the inner world without, at the same time, turning to allegory.... it would not surprise us if Chrétien found some difficulty in conceiving the inner world in any other terms. It is as if the insensible could not knock at the doors of the poetic consciousness without transforming itself into the likeness of the sensible; as if men could not easily grasp the reality of moods and emotions without turning them into shadowy persons. Allegory, besides being many other things, is the subjectivism of an objective age.” Lewis, *The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 30.

A famous photograph taken in his Front Street space in 1958 shows him in a pensive pose, looked down upon by an imposing population of his own major works, a group comprising his latest (*Monogram*, 1955–59, PLATE 114) and his earliest productions (the white-suited “gentleman caller” hovers over his shoulder like a classical daemon at the ear of Socrates). Unexhibited and unsold, the Combines built out their own enclosing meditative world. The mythological cycle of 1959 admit no doubt about the nature of the project he had embarked upon five years before. And his simultaneous decision to undertake his comprehensive sequence of solvent-transfer drawings dedicated to Dante Alighieri’s *Inferno* from the *Divine Comedy* (1307–21), probably the most profound of late-medieval allegories, draws a line back to his suppressed Italian experiments, between which the Combines stretch like a secret epic of his own.



Rauschenberg in his Front Street studio,
New York, 1958



Rauschenberg's Refusal BRANDEN W. JOSEPH

Rauschenberg working on **Dylaby**, "Dylaby: Dynamisch Labyrinth," installation at Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, September 1962

My thanks to David White, Thomas Buehler, Laura Giles, Gerhard Kolberg, Christine Frohnert, Elizabeth Hamilton, and Yolande Korb. This article is dedicated to Yve-Alain Bois.

Epigraph: Andy Warhol, *a: a novel* (New York: Grove Press, 1968), 10–11. Typographical treatment altered.

1 K.G. Hultén, ed., *Bewogen Beweging*, exh. cat. (Amsterdam: Stedelijk Museum, 1961). A very different understanding of many of the works in this exhibition would later be proposed in Yve-Alain Bois and Rosalind E. Krauss, *Formless: A User's Guide* (New York: Zone Books, 1997).

2 The rotary glass plates shattered during their first trial.

3 Hultén, *Bewogen Beweging*, 12. Translation mine. Although Hultén's brief overview of "bewegende kunst" (movement art) passed over Gabo's contribution, the constructivist's profile would have remained high, owing in part to the important monograph in which Herbert Read described his constructions as "images of a tradition that has still to be established." Read, in *Gabo: Constructions, Sculpture, Paintings, Drawings, Engravings* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1957), quoted in Steven A. Nash and Jörn Merkert, eds., *Naum Gabo: Sixty Years of Constructivism* (Munich, Germany: Prestel-Verlag, 1985), 195.

Drella Do you want to meet Rauschenberg?

Ondine No.

D No?

O Who is he?

D Uh, the number one artist.

O Is he really?

D I think so.

O I don't believe it. I think you are. Oh, come on, Drella, he doesn't make movies... he doesn't make movies.

D He's trying to.

O *with sarcasm*—He's trying to. Have I ever seen any of his work?

D You might have.

—DRELLA (ANDY WARHOL) AND ONDINE (ROBERT OLIVO) IN *a: a novel*, 1968

Art in Motion

Robert Rauschenberg's Combine painting *Black Market* (1961, PLATE 130) was produced for a specific context and destination: the 1961 exhibition "Bewogen Beweging," organized by the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam in conjunction with Stockholm's Moderna Museet. Usually referred to in English as "Art in Motion"—though more appropriately translated as "Moving Movement" or even "Tumultuous Commotion"—the exhibition was curated by a team made up of K.G. Pontus Hultén, Willem Sandberg, and Swiss artists Daniel Spoerri and Jean Tinguely. Including more than 220 works from a wide range of historical and neo-avant-garde artists, "Bewogen Beweging" sought to sketch out a comprehensive history of kinetic art. In the first few pages of the eccentrically tall and thin catalogue, statements by the likes of Alexander Calder, Umberto Boccioni, Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, and László Moholy-Nagy set forth an apparently continuous desire to explore movement as both an irreducible aspect of reality and a particularly modern phenomenon.¹ Despite the catalogue's emphasis on complexity and breakdown, it implied that kineticism was the means toward a new art (according to Richard Huelsenbeck, a new "anti-art") that would sweep away distinctions between materials, genres, and mediums. The inclusion of a small motor, the excerpt from Boccioni suggested, would suffice to provide art with a rhythm that operated beyond the confines of painting, sculpture, poetry, or music.

Of the contemporary artists, Tinguely was the best represented, followed at a distance by Yaacov Agam, Jesus Raphael Soto, Pol Bury, and Dieter Rot [Dieter Roth]. Marcel Duchamp exhibited *Bicycle Wheel* (1913; replica, 1935), which graced the catalogue's cover, along with the *Rotoreliefs* (*Optical Disks*) (1935), *Rotary Demisphere* (*Precision Optics*) (1925), spinning disks with puns, and a re-creation of the dangerously kinetic rotary glass plates he constructed in 1920 with Man Ray.² Also included was a replica of the double doorway from Duchamp's Paris studio at 11 rue Larrey, famously able to be both open and closed at the same time (exemplifying the exhibit's emphasis on paradox), and two less evidently germane examples of his *Boîte-en-valise* (1935–41). Calder was similarly foregrounded, represented by what were, apparently, too many pieces to count: catalogue numbers forty-three to sixty-three were listed together simply as "about 20 other mobiles." Acknowledged as the father of kineticism, however, was Naum Gabo, whose sole entry, *Kinetic Construction* (*Standing Wave*) (1919–20), was described as "the first kinetic construction."³

Credited as the exhibition's *Vertegenwoordiger*, or representative, in the United States was Billy Klüver. Klüver's charge was to collect relevant work from a contingent of



New York artists, none of whom, aside from the singularly appropriate Robert Breer, ultimately provided more than one or two examples. Klüver seems to have cast his net widely, even sending something from John R. Pierce, the director of research at his employer, Bell Labs. Though neither Rauschenberg nor Jasper Johns was particularly associated with kineticism, Klüver invited them both to produce moving pieces specifically for the exhibition.⁴ Klüver knew that Johns would give him something with a thermometer attached to it (*Thermometer* [1959]), but he had no idea what Rauschenberg would provide. He had in mind only *Money Thrower for Tinguely's H.T.N.Y.* (1960), a small contraption Rauschenberg made for Tinguely's *Homage to New York*, the kinetic structure that destroyed itself in spectacular fashion a year earlier in the sculpture garden of the Museum of Modern Art in New York. (Rauschenberg's device used springs and a small gunpowder charge to pepper the audience with silver dollars.)

Rauschenberg worked on *Black Market* until the very last minute, making it the final piece to be collected for shipping. When Klüver eventually saw it in Stockholm, he was greatly puzzled. Unlike *Pantomime* (1961, PLATE 139), *Dry Cell* (1963), or any of the work Rauschenberg would later make in collaboration with Klüver and other scientists and engineers, *Black Market* dealt with motion only superficially. Although one could obviously lift the cover of each of the four metal clipboards mounted to its surface—"books," as they were labeled, reminiscent of the wooden doors in Johns's *Target with Plaster Casts* (1955)—the overall function and meaning of the work remained obscure to Klüver even well after he received Rauschenberg's instructions.⁵

4 Information on Billy Klüver's role in the exhibition comes from Klüver, fax to Lars Blunk, 20 June 2000; copy located in Rauschenberg's archives, New York.

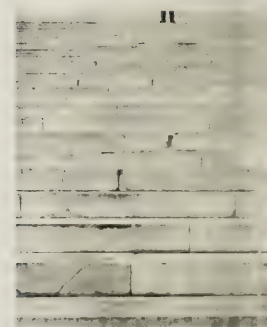
5 "On the surface [*Black Market*] was an artwork with motion built in, but it has bothered me over the last forty years what its meaning was." Klüver, *ibid.*



We will return to the manner in which *Black Market* functions, and what that function might mean, in due course. Here, however, we might take note of how, rather than pointing toward Rauschenberg's future involvement with technology, *Black Market* seems to point back to, even culminate, the aesthetic that characterized the Combines of the previous six or seven years. For though *Black Market* shares with a host of other pieces Rauschenberg made the same year the formal device of connecting the wall to the floor by means of a rope or cable (see *Blue Eagle*, PLATE 140; *Magician II*, PLATE 138; *Wall Street*, PLATE 136; and *Slug*, PLATE 141), the part-by-part collage of small items on its surface resembles works of 1959, such as *Monogram* (1955–59, PLATE 114) or *Migration* (1959, PLATE 91) more than the broader flatter expanses of paint found throughout the Combines of 1961–62 such as *Ace* (1962, PLATE 160). And those earlier pieces—despite

top:
Money Thrower for Tinguely's H.T.N.Y., 1960
 Electric heater with gunpowder,
 metal springs, twine, and silver dollars
 6¾ x 22½ x 4 inches
 Collection Pontus Hultén, Paris

bottom:
JEAN TINGUELY
Wundermaschine/Méta-Kandinsky I, 1956
 Polychrome relief
 15⅞ x 40⅝ x 13 inches
 Museum Tinguely, Basel



courting movement through mirrors, openings, and “empty” spaces that, like the White Paintings (1951), could capture the lights and shadows cast by the room—often seemed, like *Black Market*, to be meditations on, or even laments of, their lack of inherent motility. Rauschenberg’s frequent inclusion in his work of dancers, athletes, horse riders, and the like, stilled by the effects of photography, serve as a reminder that, as John Cage once succinctly observed, “He regrets we do not see the paint while it’s dripping.”⁶

Like the mirror in, for example, *Charlene* (1954, PLATE 20), *Black Market*’s four reflective clipboard covers incorporate the images and movements of its spectators. Furthermore, their arrangement—as panels or frames lined up across the center of the canvas—recalls that of the four sheets of paper at the bottom left of *Wager* (1957–59, PLATE 88) or the three near the top of *Hazard* (1957, PLATE 68), both of which, despite their layer of beige paint, seem to reference the modular arrangements of the White Paintings.⁷ Earlier than either of these examples, a not dissimilar linear sequencing can be found in Rauschenberg’s Eadweard Muybridge–like photographic series *Cy + Roman Steps* (I, II, III, IV, V) (1952), in which Cy Twombly is photographed moving progressively

⁶ John Cage, “On Robert Rauschenberg, Art, and His Work,” in *Silence* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1961), 100.

⁷ A similar lineup of blank squares is also found in an untitled microfilm-sized work made by Rauschenberg in 1957 (plate 60).

⁸ Walter Hopps, *Robert Rauschenberg: The Early 1950s*, exh. cat. (Houston: The Menil Collection and Houston Fine Art Press, 1991), 22.

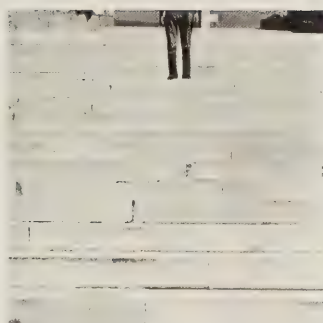
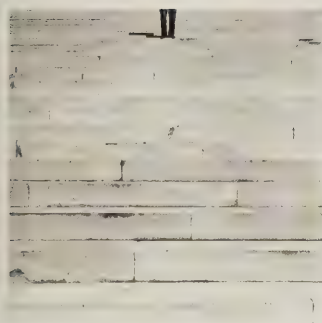
White Painting, 1951

Oil on canvas

72 x 108 inches overall

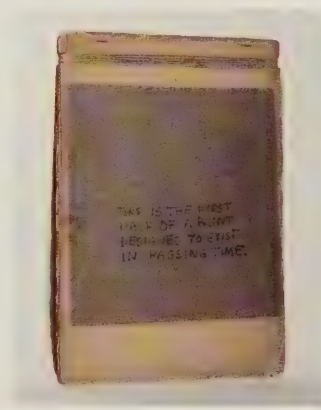
San Francisco Museum of Modern Art

Purchased through a gift of Phyllis Wattis



toward Rauschenberg's camera until he fills its frame entirely. The work, with its evident interest in capturing a temporal sequence, was preceded by another, which took a form similar to that of a clipboard pad. *This Is the First Half of a Print Designed to Exist in Passing Time* (c.1949), which Walter Hopps termed "probably Rauschenberg's first mature work,"⁸ consists of fourteen square woodcut impressions, each one printed after the wood was progressively cut away so that an increasing number of white striations appear on each print. Bound together at the top with twine, the work not only resembles the pad on a clipboard but also an oversize "flip book," its temporal sequence potentially animated by the flick of a thumb.

Which brings to mind what may have been in Rauschenberg's: for *Black Market*'s four rectangular clipboards—each of which reflects what stands before it, arranged in a linear numbered sequence that goes, as the street sign above declares, "One Way"—seem



Cy + Roman Steps (I, II, III, IV, V), 1952
Suite of five gelatin-silver prints
20 x 16 inches each
San Francisco Museum of Modern Art
Purchased through a gift of Phyllis Wattis

This Is the First Half of a Print Designed to Exist in Passing Time, c.1949
Pencil on tracing paper and fourteen woodcuts on paper, bound with twine and stapled
12 1/8 x 8 7/8 inches
Collection of the artist

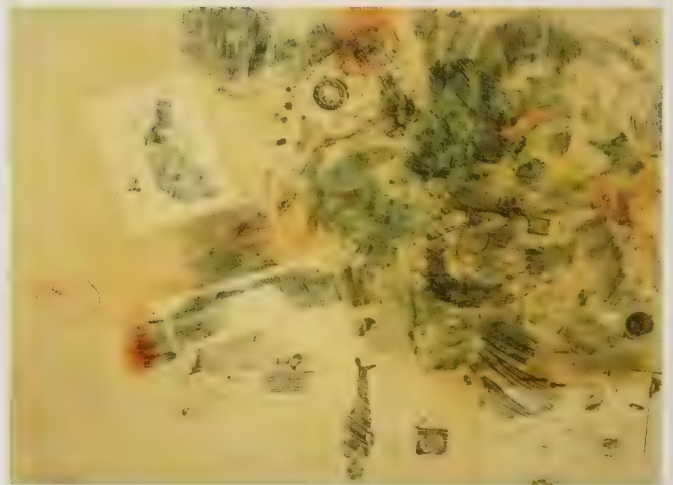
to imply that the type of movement Rauschenberg was proposing related to that of the motion picture, i.e., film. And this reading might additionally be supported (especially as we are often told that every item in Rauschenberg's work can be interpreted directly) by pointing to the line of metal index dividers above clipboard number two, which fall from the top of the canvas like a film strip through a projector toward a circular object that might be read as standing for some sort of projector lens. Circa 1953, Rauschenberg produced a small untitled Combine painting—his first, according to Twombly⁹—that incorporated the bellows of a four-by-five-inch box camera. So why not now, especially given the punning relation to “Art in Motion,” produce something analogous to a “moving picture”? Isn't that, after all, essentially what Klüver must have requested?

Cunning-Hanger

Further evidence for such a reading might be found among Rauschenberg's solvent-transfer drawings, many of which, like those in the series *Dante's Inferno* (1958–60), are both avowedly illustrational and invoke the representational conventions of cinema.¹⁰ The transfer drawing *Cunning-Hanger* (1959) is also apparently dedicated, in part, to motion. It contains several images of tire treads (tires are a staple in all phases of Rauschenberg's work) and, at top left, just off center and the clearest of the work's illustrations, is a picture of a dance troupe, likely that of Merce Cunningham. Just below the dancers is a more diaphanous, lightly transferred image of a crowded city street.¹¹ Separated by the thin but tangible division of a pencil line, the two images—of trained dancers posing and people going about their daily chores—form a juxtaposition between “high” or artistic and “low” or quotidian types of movement.



Cunning-Hanger, 1959
Solvent transfer, pencil, watercolor,
and gouache on paper
23¾ x 35½ inches
Sonnabend Collection, New York



Quicksand, 1965
Solvent transfer, ink, watercolor,
and gouache on paper
36 x 48 inches
The Schorr Family Collection

Below and to the left of the crowded street scene is a vertical strip of doubly perforated film, a reference no doubt to the photographic substrate of Rauschenberg's technique—in which reproductions from magazines or other sources are soaked in a solvent and rubbed to transfer the image to paper—but also, potentially, a relation to motion-picture film. Note the luminescent yellow watercolor wash that extends across and beyond the film strip, as well as the two angled pencil lines that traverse its length and recall the schematic plan or section of the cone of light cast by a film projector. A complex relation seems to be forming on the left of *Cunning-Hanger* between photography and movement, the motion picture and the still.

More significantly, perhaps, what Rauschenberg's strip of transferred film presents is the notion of a linear succession of square or rectangular images. To some extent this spatial organization can be found throughout the drawing (and others) in the loosely gridded arrangement and largely rectangular "framing" of all the transferred images, a function of the horizontal striations of Rauschenberg's stylus as it moved back and forth across a delimited area on the back of the image to be transferred.¹² This framing effect is highlighted in *Cunning-Hanger* by the rectangular boundary drawn in pencil, freehand, around the tire mark just to the left of the film strip and by another ruled or stenciled rectangle below it. The particularly linear nature of the strip of film, however, seems most closely echoed by the stack of roughly square images several inches to its right. Beginning with Rauschenberg's signature on what looks like a torn sheet of ruled paper, the vertical arrangement continues with the reproduction of an Old Master portrait, atop which stands another crowded street scene and three abstract blocks of color: red, yellow, and black. The colors are traversed and united by a vertical white brushstroke that travels upward and, slightly broader at the top, echoes the pencil lines on the strip of depicted film. In this progression, the drawing itself, as figured by the morphology of the gridded vertical stack (like the index cards in *Black Market*), seems to be proclaiming its link to the very structural conditions of film.

(It might be noted that this type of stacked regularity—including the careful, cinematic direction and pacing of the eye found throughout the Dante Inferno drawings—undergoes a marked change in the 1960s, an effect that could be related to Rauschenberg's increasing interest in the spatial and representational characteristics of television. Regard, for example, the more chaotic spatial arrangements in such transfer drawings as *Digits* [1961], *Spring Clearance* [1961], or the particularly large *Quicksand* [1965], where a dynamic but stable bird's-eye view of a Chivas Regal whisky bottle on a rectilinear span resembling a sheet of paper conveys a traditional artistic—or perhaps cinematic—space, juxtaposed with a more disorienting topsy-turvy whirl of imagery to its right, in the center of which stands a television.¹³)

¹² Krauss, "Perpetual Inventory" (1997), in *Robert Rauschenberg*, ed. Branden W. Joseph (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2002), 113–14. Krauss discussed the allegorical relation between painting and photography that underlies Rauschenberg's silkscreen paintings, an analysis not unrelated to the argument I will develop in what follows.

¹³ Elizabeth Taylor appears in both halves of the equation: as a large clearer image on the side associated with cinema and amidst the more chaotic swirl associated with television and—as the nodding reference to Warhol's *Campbell's Soup Cans* (1962) seems to indicate—Pop art (though Rauschenberg, it should be noted, had previously included two Campbell's Soup cans in his transfer drawing *Pewter Drawer* [1961]).

⁹ The characterization by Cy Twombly of this small untitled work (plate 3) as the "first Combine" is in the curatorial records of Rauschenberg's New York office. Judging from the color palette and the heavily encrusted texture of the collage, it may be, however, that the work actually dates to 1954 or even 1955.

¹⁰ Bitite Vinklers, "Why Not Dante?," *Art International* 12, no. 6 (summer 1968): 99–106.

¹¹ According to a label on the back, the work's original title, perhaps assigned by the gallery, was *Street Throng*.

The duality and slippage between film as photographic (still) and film as cinematic (moving) is in some sense, it seems, the point of *Cunning-Hanger*, a reflection on the notion of medium that complements its inherent relation of drawing and photography and forms a corollary to the Cunningham dancers frozen in mid-stride. Given this problematic, the two images of the crowded street that stand across from and parallel to one another might be read as two consecutive frames. In motion pictures, it is of course the succession of two frames—virtually identical but with slight, almost unnoticeable differences resulting from the movement made by the camera and/or the photographed subject over the split second between clicks of the shutter—that provides the means by which apparent motion can be produced from images that are, in reality, stills. Some such effect of identity and difference certainly plays across Rauschenberg's two images of the city street. They are distinguished necessarily, even intentionally, by the striations caused by the rubbing of the stylus (note the marked directional rotation from horizontal to vertical in the left-hand image). These differences do not remain on the surface; rather, they infiltrate the depicted scene. The boxlike shape at the left below the twin verticals, for example, is rendered more fully—it is darker and more dimensional—in the picture on the left; the background buildings appear more substantial, the angle between them more pronounced, in the picture at the right; and so on, down to the manner in which the different directions of the striations alter the apparent speed and direction of the crowd's movement. These distinctions have an effect as one looks from one picture to the other that is tempting to call cinematic, even cinematographic.¹⁴

In any case, they are not insignificant, but rather prominent enough to disturb, or put into question, any assumption that these two images are simply the same. But while they seem to depict or signify something more than mere mechanical reproduction (though that issue is, of course, both implicit and important), these differences are also ultimately fleeting, unstable, and irresolvable into either identity or something like a clear temporal progression.

Both sides of this equation are important: the reference to or invocation of the structure of film, and the instability, even impossibility, of synthetic reading. In this, *Cunning-Hanger* recalls the experience of viewing *Factum I* and *Factum II* (both 1957, PLATES 69 and 70), the two nearly identical Combine paintings that similarly defeat memory and cognition, whose differences are so clearly visible but so difficult to articulate, codify, or remember: two works in which, as Rauschenberg declared, the creative intention was exactly the same, but the outcome nevertheless subverted the achievement of identical results.¹⁵ Whereas the two newspaper photographs of a burning building at the bottom of *Factum I* and *Factum II* reveal a sequence that is clearly temporal (the firemen's ladder having been extended above the launderette sign in the image on the

¹⁶ These images appear on Rauschenberg's vintage negative sheets VP114 and VP220.

¹⁷ Cage wrote about the *Factums*: "is this a poetry in which Eisenhower could have disappeared and the Mona Lisa taken his place? I think so but I do not see so." Cage, "On Robert Rauschenberg," 102. On a form of thought predicated on the separation, rather than synthesis, of diverse faculties, which opposes "common sense" but is not simply irrationality, see Gilles Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*, trans. Paul Patton (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), especially chapters four and five.

¹⁸ "That visual art should confine itself exclusively to what is given in visual experience, and make no reference to anything given in any other order of experience, is a notion whose only justification lies in scientific consistency." Clement Greenberg,

"Modernist Painting" (1960), in *Modernism with a Vengeance, 1957–1969*, vol. 4 of Greenberg, *The Collected Essays and Criticism*, ed. John O'Brian (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 91.

¹⁹ Ibid., 86.

¹⁴ In actuality, they resemble nothing so much as the demonstration of the effects of subtle changes upon a seemingly still image that filmmaker Ken Jacobs would develop within his "Nervous System" performances. See, for example, *New York Street Trolleys 1900* (1997).
¹⁵ Richard Kostelanetz, "A Conversation with Robert Rauschenberg," *Partisan Review* 35, no. 1 (winter 1968): 96–97.

right), the paired Eisenhower images at the top of each canvas reiterate and replicate the works' overall effect, their identity or difference being difficult, if not impossible, to decipher by eye through the overlaid scrim. This is not an isolated example: the two depictions of the runner in Rauschenberg's more modest *307* (1958, PLATE 76) recreate this situation, as do a pair of the artist's own snapshots at the bottom of *Photograph* (1959, PLATE 95), two nearly identical European landscapes that are demonstrably taken from two different negatives,¹⁶ not to mention the many instances of duplication found in Rauschenberg's other transfer drawings. In *Cunning-Hanger*, then, the two images of the crowd reveal something in which Rauschenberg seems to have been particularly invested: the production of a visual distinction that implies a sequential reading, that calls forth a synthesis into decidable meaning, but that does not or cannot deliver or achieve it in any sustainable way. It is as though what Rauschenberg is doing, what in fact he is doing, is instigating a separation between the faculty of abstract or synthetic thought (as a form of self-evidence or recognition) and what has generally been assumed to be the most rational and abstract of senses, vision.¹⁷

Hybrid Modernism

The connection between the visual and a certain mode of abstract rational thought is, of course, the foundation of that understanding of art history we call modernist. It is a story laid out nowhere more clearly or concisely than in Clement Greenberg's "Modernist Painting," written in 1960 and published in 1961. According to Greenberg, the modernist pursuit of "purely optical experience" was an expression of the striving by the visual arts to attain something like the security and self-definition of Kantian philosophy or scientific method.¹⁸ And this alliance between rationality and visibility would be sealed, guaranteed as its necessary condition, on the basis of a strict quarantine between media that precluded the types of heterogeneous mixings and strategic emulations that have proved important to our readings of both *Black Market* and *Cunning-Hanger*. "It quickly emerged that the unique and proper area of competence of each art coincided with all that was unique in the nature of its medium," wrote Greenberg:

The task of [artistic] self-criticism became to eliminate from the specific effects of each art any and every effect that might conceivably be borrowed from or by the medium of any other art. Thus would each art be rendered "pure," and in its "purity" find the guarantee of its standards of quality as well as of its independence. "Purity" meant self-definition, and the enterprise of self-criticism in the arts became one of self-definition with a vengeance.¹⁹

Whether with a vengeance or not, Rauschenberg had already traveled that road ten years earlier with his White Paintings. Yet, if what Rauschenberg initially sought was a similarly modernist reduction to the endpoint or essence of painting as a medium—"the point a circle begins and ends," as he described his project to Betty Parsons²⁰—what he discovered was ultimately quite different. For from their place of iconic purity, Rauschenberg's pristine white canvases began to emphasize their qualities as objects. This, what Toby Mussman would call their literal "surfaceness," belied the type of idealizations or abstractions around which discussions of the modernist picture plane revolved.²¹ In the various modular arrangements in which Rauschenberg placed them, the White Paintings' edges conveyed both pictorial aspects (echoes, in some cases, of Barnett Newman's "zips") and physical, implicitly sculptural ones that would underlie the multi-panel construction of the Combine paintings and justify their three-dimensional build-out into the "free-standing pictures" that define the Combines proper.²² Added to this would be the further connotation or reception, first articulated by Cage, of the White Paintings as photographic plates or cinema screens for the projection of lights and shadows.²³ Thus, what the White Paintings seem finally to have demonstrated to Rauschenberg is that at the endpoint of one medium, when it is hunted or tracked back to its essence, is neither nothingness nor purity, but the conditions of other media. Painting whittled to its core opens onto sculpture, environment, and cinema, not all at once and indiscriminately, but in the type of heterogeneous or hybrid articulations Dick Higgins would define nearly a decade and a half later as "intermedia."²⁴

With *Broadcast* (1959, PLATE 101), completed one year before Greenberg's article (and the same year as *Cunning-Hanger*), Rauschenberg had already expanded such investigations beyond the questions of artistic *medium* (already, in *Broadcast*, an admixture of painting and collage and, like the Combines generally, of painting and sculpture) to those of mass or communications *media* by embedding beneath the surface of the work three functioning radios.²⁵ These two dimensions or aspects of the work come together and interrelate on the basis of certain commonalities, such as duration,²⁶ while at the same time instigating other, irreducible and dialogic, interactions across media: collage allows the painting to "broadcast" a cry for "Help!," for example, while the radios produce a cacophonous audio collage. Together, Rauschenberg's amalgam of painting, collage, and radio conjured up the audio-visual conditions of sound film or television (both, incidentally, predicated on a certain type of montage) without ever simply collapsing into the illustration of either of these other media. Although Rauschenberg modeled the term "Combine" on Calder's coining of "mobile,"²⁷ he never sought to produce a distinctly new art form. Though they profoundly question the very possibility of

20 Rauschenberg, letter to Betty Parsons, reproduced in facsimile in Hopps, *Robert Rauschenberg: The Early 1950s*, 230.

21 Toby Mussman, "A Comment on Literalness. Should the Picture Plane Be Abolished?," *Arts Magazine* 42, no. 4 (February 1968): 14–17.

22 "The word [Combine] does really have a use—it's a free-standing picture," Rauschenberg, in Kostelanetz, "A Conversation with Robert Rauschenberg," 96.

23 Cage, "On Robert Rauschenberg," 102.

24 Dick Higgins, "Intermedia" (1965–66), reprinted in *Leonardo* 34, no. 1 (2001): 49–54.

25 As Benjamin Buchloh has argued, Rauschenberg's work effects a certain "pictorializing" of the legacy of avant-garde montage in which painting always seems to hold the upper hand as the determinate medium. Buchloh, "Andy Warhol's One-Dimensional Art: 1956–1966," in *Andy Warhol*, ed. Annette Michelson (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2001), 20. Rather than a misunderstanding of the aims of the historical avant-garde, however, Rauschenberg's refusal to abandon painting, to negate or overthrow it, can be understood as an attestation to the properly deconstructive nature of his enterprise.

26 "Listening happens in time," Rauschenberg explained of *Broadcast*:

"Looking also had to happen in time." G.R. Swenson, "Rauschenberg Paints a Picture," *Art News* 62, no. 2 (April 1963): 45.

27 Kostelanetz, "A Conversation with Robert Rauschenberg," 96.

28 This was noted by Hal Foster in *The Return of the Real* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1996), 20. Rauschenberg explicitly questioned the purity of the medium in Lawrence Alloway, Marcel Duchamp, et al., "The Art of Assemblage: A Symposium" (1961), in *Studies in Modern Art*, ed. James Leggio and Helen M. Franc (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1992), 143.

29 Jürgen Wissmann, *Rauschenberg: Black Market* (Stuttgart, Germany: Philipp Reclam, 1970), 4.

purity, Rauschenberg's mutual interrelations of different media do not obviate their specificity, but pose a multifaceted array of specific and deconstructive encounters.²⁸

The Valise and the Book

If *Black Market* is meant to operate, in part, through an "intermedial" relation with film, what it records is not so much the room—the reflections of which remain unfixed—as the contents of the attached wooden valise. For although *Black Market* was not exactly kinetic, it was a mechanism of sorts intended to operate as follows: inside the valise were four relatively anodyne objects like those that might be found in any Combine, readymades (for the reference of Rauschenberg's valise is almost certainly Duchamp's) such as a flashlight, a photograph, a handkerchief, a funnel, or, in one case, a lightbulb partially covered with barnacles found at some seaside location.²⁹ Also inside the valise was a block with an ink pad, a number of pencils, and four rubber stamps of Rauschenberg's name with a number one through four. On the inside of the lid, hung from two screw eyes, was a card (provided by Rauschenberg in ten languages) instructing visitors: "Objects 1, 2, 3 or 4 may be taken if a new object is put in its place. Please stamp the new object with the correct number, and trace or draw it into the book of the same number, and sign your name."

Works of Rauschenberg's such as *Black Market* have been understood as somewhat wry reenactments of the heroic avant-garde's attempts at effecting audience participation. Benjamin H.D. Buchloh, for instance, in a brief but influential analysis, has characterized such work as evincing "aspirations toward a new (and historically naïve) aesthetic of participation," one that had, in the work of Rauschenberg and Johns especially, "reached



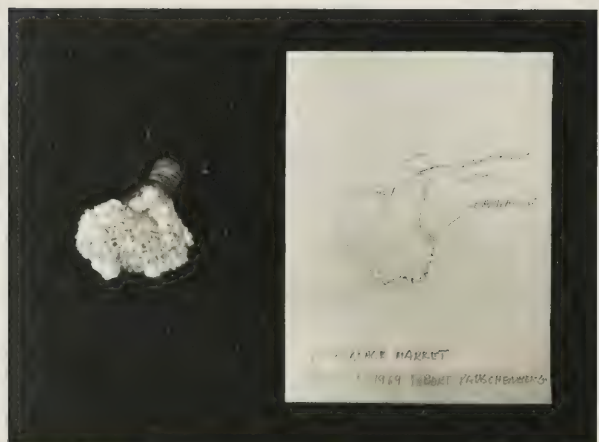
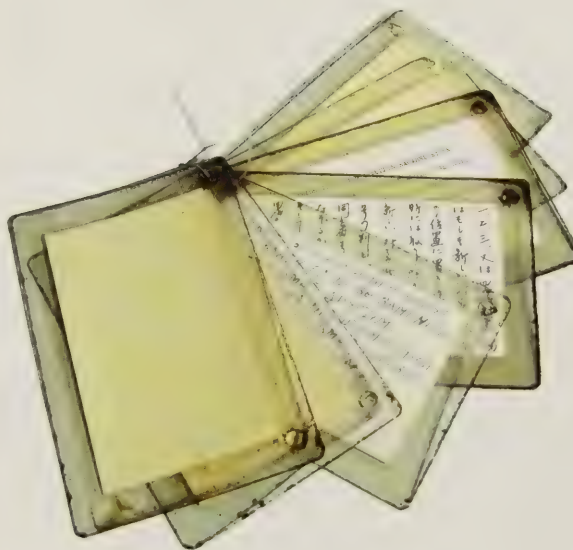
MARCEL DUCHAMP

**Boîte-en-valise, or de ou par Marcel Duchamp
ou Rose Sélavy, 1935–41**

Brown leather valise with handle containing sixty-nine miniature replicas and printed reproductions and one original hand-colored collotype

Philadelphia Museum of Art

The Louise and Walter Arensberg Collection



[a] level of infantilizing interaction, restricting the potential participants to winding up a music box, clapping their hands, or hiding an object.”³⁰ Buchloh’s comment is insightful and certainly aptly characterizes Rauschenberg’s goal of audience activation as it was (sometimes quixotically) pursued throughout the following decade in works like the *Revolvers* (1967) and *Soundings* (1968) (the latter operated in part by viewers clapping or making other noises).³¹ Unlike Johns or the Duchamp of the *Boîte*, which contained a miniaturized retrospective of the artist’s work, Rauschenberg always professed less interest in self-referentiality than in opening his work, and his conception of the self, to external influences, even forces of the outside. Nevertheless, the valise in *Black Market* undoubtedly functioned as an (overly literal) illustration of Duchamp’s contention in “The Creative Act” (1957) that:

All in all, the creative act is not performed by the artist alone; the spectator brings the work in contact with the external world by deciphering and interpreting its inner qualifications and thus adds his contribution to the creative act.³²

Despite the historical limitations on a participatory aesthetic, we might once again understand *Black Market* more thoroughly and productively not by looking forward but by looking back to earlier concerns that had resonated throughout Rauschenberg’s career up to this time.

One such concern was temporality. While the clipboard covers reflect transitory impressions, the notepads beneath them record the longer-term history of the work’s transformations. Like the White Paintings, which incorporated lights and shadows but also gathered dust, *Black Market* forms a temporal palimpsest of the fleeting present and the layered buildup of the past. The clipboard pads come to take on the qualities of an archaeological site, revealing a slightly bureaucratic fossil record of the work’s evolution. (One, incidentally, not unlike film, which Rauschenberg’s friend Robert Whitman appositely characterized as the “record of someone looking at something past.”³³)

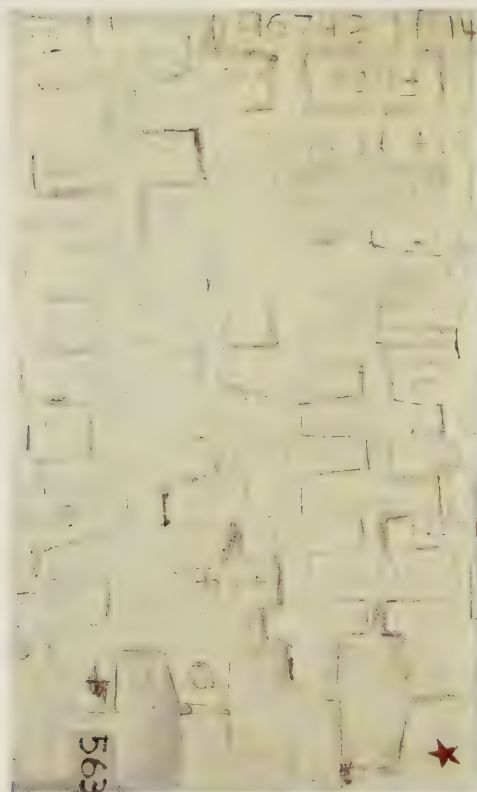
Another concern of the piece would seem to be that of transcoding or transforming the surface of painting into a surface of *inscription*. In the procedure Rauschenberg prescribed for *Black Market*, the activity of drawing finds itself demoted from its traditionally artistic and creative status to become equivalent or coterminous with rote indexical tracing, stamping, and, above all, writing—the latter evinced both by the descriptions and labels that, while not strictly required, were nonetheless included in Rauschenberg’s own examples and, most of all, by the obligation of the donor to sign the record of their donation.

³⁰ Buchloh, “Andy Warhol’s One-Dimensional Art,” 13–14.

³¹ Both David Antin and Leo Steinberg commented on the technocratic reduction of the human subject implied by Rauschenberg’s technological work. Antin, “Art and the Corporations,” *Artnews* 70, no. 5 (September 1971): 26; and Steinberg, “Reflections on the State of Criticism” (1972), in *Robert Rauschenberg* (2002), 24.

³² Marcel Duchamp, “The Creative Act” (1957), in *The Writings of Marcel Duchamp*, eds. Michel Sanouillet and Elmer Peterson (New York: Da Capo, 1973), 140 (emphasis mine).

³³ Quoted in Sheldon Renan, *An Introduction to the American Underground Film* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1967), 237.



Rauschenberg's interest in converting the space of pictorial representation into a space of writing predates even the Combines' inclusion of collage, going back at least as far as the gameboardlike expanse of inscribed words and numbers in *22 The Lily White* (c. 1950). That such concerns were once again on Rauschenberg's mind at the time of "Bewogen Beweging" seems confirmed by the story of *Johanson's Painting* (1961, PLATE 155), which Rauschenberg made in Stockholm and showed at the second venue of the exhibition, the Moderna Museet (presented as "Rörelse I kunsten"). The work, a fairly typical Combine painting with broad flat expanses of paint, appeared to have even less to do with the theme of the exhibition than *Black Market*, its sole relation to motion seemingly that of the few items at its left connected by a string and a chain. When confronted by a woman on the way to the opening dinner who, unaware of being in the artist's presence, shouted upon sight of the work a derogatory "Ingmar Johansson could have made that," Rauschenberg rushed up and began to scrawl on its surface "This is Johanson's painting" before the shocked woman could knock his hand away.³⁴

However, if the title of *Black Market* is to tell us something, another (perhaps the overriding) concern of Rauschenberg's construction is to be found in a sort of smuggling.

Rauschenberg had engaged in a similar operation of illicit importation some years earlier in the Combine painting *Short Circuit* (1955, PLATE 22), which included a painting by Susan Weil and an encaustic flag by Johns, each secreted behind a hinged door. Rauschenberg's explanation for grafting the work of these two artists (and lovers of his) into his own was to exhibit them in the Stable Gallery's Fourth Annual from which they had (he felt unfairly) been excluded. (Rauschenberg also approached Ray Johnson and Stan VanDerBeek, both of whom ultimately declined.) In addition to righting a curatorial injustice, *Short Circuit*'s incorporation of the work of other artists opened it to a certain play of meaning, a multiplication of sorts of the registers of semantic content beyond that which could be attributed to having issued, fully formed, from his own mind. "I don't want a painting to be just an expression of my personality," Rauschenberg insisted, here paraphrasing Duchamp's "The Creative Act." "I feel it ought to be much better than that. And I'm opposed to the whole idea of conception-execution—of getting an idea for a picture and then carrying it out. I've always felt as though, whatever I've used and whatever I've done, the method was always closer to a *collaboration*."³⁵ (The Johns flag was later stolen by an unknown "viewer" and replaced at Rauschenberg's request by a facsimile made by Elaine Sturtevant, an artist who specializes in replicating the style of others, particularly Johns.³⁶)

Black Market was also a means of smuggling unauthorized objects into Rauschenberg's work and, hence, into the museum. (And, like Johns's flag, these items did not remain there: Rauschenberg's suitcase was also a post box, a weigh station for packages disseminated to unknown recipients and destinations.) Klüver maintained that Rauschenberg hoped viewers would trade items that had some personal value for them: "You had to put something of your own in the suitcase," he recalled. "If it was a piece of paper that you did not need, you felt it was too trivial, and if you put something very personal that actually belonged to you—which is of course what Bob wanted—then you were torn between the object and the art work."³⁷ These items, then, though they were not to be Rauschenberg's, were to be "personal"—that is, ideally, of some particular significance, meaning, or semantic charge for their donor. Thus, though they were indeterminate vis-à-vis Rauschenberg's intentions, they were not for their donors strictly readymades in the sense in which Duchamp's were chosen in a state of aesthetic "anaesthesia."³⁸ That these were what was to be put into the valise indicates that, as in *Short Circuit*, the history and presumably meaning of *Black Market* was to become, in some small but significant manner, no longer the product of Rauschenberg's ideas, intentions, or expression alone. Rauschenberg thereby insisted on a hybridity of meaning, an intertextuality: not turning the work over fully to viewers now to become producers, nor denying signification or intentionality on the part of the artist, but producing a

³⁵ Quoted in Calvin Tomkins, *The Bride and the Bachelors* (New York: Penguin, 1968), 204. Although in this quotation Rauschenberg is referring specifically to a "*collaboration* with materials," the point is even more true when those materials are, as in *Short Circuit*, from other identifiable artists.

³⁶ On Elaine Sturtevant, see *Sturtevant: The Brutal Truth and Catalogue Raisonné, 1964–2004*, 2 vols., eds. Udo Kittelmann and Mario Kramer (Frankfurt, Germany: Museum für Moderne Kunst; and Ostfildern-Ruit, Germany: Hatje Cantz, 2004).

³⁷ Klüver, fax to Blunk.

³⁸ Duchamp, "Apropos of Readymades" (1961), in *The Writings of Marcel Duchamp*, 141.

³⁴ Ingmar Johansson was a Swedish boxer, evidently not associated by this woman with particular refinement. See Klüver, fax to Blunk; and Joan Young and Susan Davidson, "Chronology," in Hopps and Davidson, eds., *Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective*, exh. cat (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, 1997), 559.

certain semantic play, a slippage in which artistic meaning was not merely undermined or denied—Rauschenberg's collage does traffic in signification—but also heightened in its antics and registers or levels of interaction and interplay.

In *Black Market*, the signature styles of Weil and Johns (the latter counterfeited by Sturtevant) are replaced by the donors' signatures. This change no doubt conveys something of the same historical transformation in the status of subjectivity that Buchloh found reflected in the foreclosure of a legitimate aesthetic of participation: the transformation from an aesthetic of individual expression (already put into question by the neutrality of Johns's motifs) to one of administration, the signature in *Black Market* acting as the bureaucratic attestation of presence or authority on a document of almost legalistic dryness.³⁹ But while the signature, as a written mark of authorization, if not authorship, is to make clear that the objects (and, potentially, messages or meanings) in question did not issue from Rauschenberg, the donated objects nonetheless become "Rauschenberg's" when they enter his *Black Market*. This much is clear by the fact that each object had to be imprinted by a stamp embossed with Rauschenberg's name. Thus, even when Rauschenberg himself was not there to choose or control the entry of objects into his work, he nonetheless managed to "appropriate" them, designating them via his seal (which is another form of authorization) as works of art. Both the donated object and the donor's signature are thereby transformed, transubstantiated—to use a term from "The Creative Act"—when they enter *Black Market*. (And at the same time, of course, as part of a market, potentially augmented in value.)

However, before too easily accepting and resting content with platitudes about the manner in which *Black Market* transforms "life" into "art" or critiques of its betrayal of the readymade's more radical, anti-art implications, we should attend more closely to the particulars of the situation. In *Black Market*, according to the dictated procedure, the readymade enters the work both by submitting to a mark and by being converted into diagrammatic image, trace, and text. This composite "text" is, importantly, authorized by a signature: a traditional mark of authority, authorship, or provenance that normally guarantees the intentionality of what is "inside" the work of art and, in this case, warrants that this intentionality is not, or not exactly, that of the artist. It is this signature that is put within a "book" within the frame of an artwork that, as we have seen, via collage and the presence of the clipboards, has already been coded as a space of inscription or text. Rauschenberg thus institutes a *mise-en-abyme* of textuality, one that we lose sight of if we concentrate only on the passage of objects through the valise. Within this structure, importantly, the signature becomes but one more mark upon the "documentary surface" of the "flatbed picture plane" that, as Leo Steinberg famously described it, "had to be whatever a billboard or dashboard is, and everything a projection

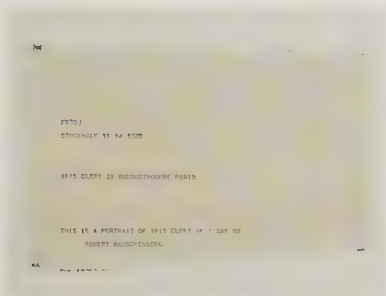
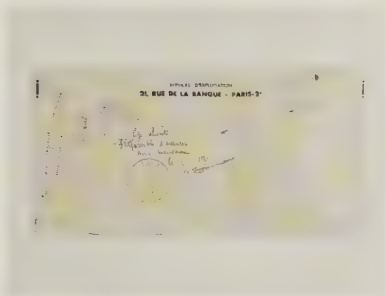
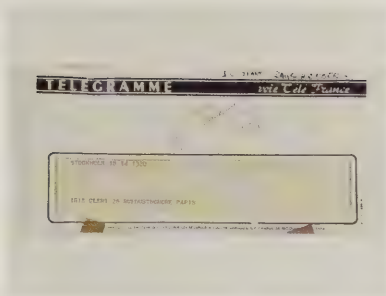
41 Jacques Derrida, "Le facteur de la vérité," in *The Post Card: From Socrates to Freud and Beyond* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 495.

42 Derrida, "Signature Event Context" (1971), trans. Samuel Weber and Jeffrey Mehlman, in *Limited Inc* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1988), 1–23. In an attempt to stave off the bad faith to which certain art historians and *New York Times* writers are prone, let me quote Derrida's caveat about intentionality and meaning: "By no means do I draw the conclusion that there is no relative specificity of effects of consciousness, or of effects of speech (as opposed to writing in the traditional sense), that there is no performative effect, no effect of ordinary language, no effect of presence or of discursive event (speech act). It is simply that those effects do not exclude what is generally opposed to them, term by term; on the contrary, they presuppose it, in an asymmetrical way, as the general space of their possibility" (page 19).

43 Not to mention those of Larry Rivers, Jim Dine, parts of the work of Allan Kaprow and Claes Oldenburg, the earliest Pop art of Warhol, and much of Fluxus.

39 *Black Market* thus leads toward something like the tautological and bureaucratic structure that Buchloh has found characteristic of Conceptual art. Buchloh, "Conceptual Art 1962–1969: From the Aesthetic of Administration to the Critique of Institutions," *October*, no. 55 (winter 1990): 105–43. The bureaucratic nature of the procedure instituted in *Black Market* comes to the fore in companship with Robert Morris's *Statement of Esthetic Withdrawal* (1963), his signed and notarized statement of the withdrawal of all aesthetic content from his work *Litanies* (1963). The document, mounted with a sheet of lead featuring an etched front and side view of the work in question, effectively combined *Black Market* with Rauschenberg's *Erased de Kooning Drawing* (1953).

40 Steinberg, "Reflections on the State of Criticism," 28, 30.



screen is, with further affinities for anything that is flat and worked over—palimpsest, canceled plate, printer's proof, trial blank, chart, map, aerial view.”⁴⁰

Given our previous conjectures about *Black Market*, we might be given pause by Steinberg's prominent inclusion of “projection screen” among the list of characteristics of Rauschenberg's picture plane that is otherwise largely given over to modes of inscription. This might serve to remind us that we have encountered the problematic *mise-en-abyme* of the signature once before, and in a work seemingly consecrated to film: *Cunning-Hanger*, where Rauschenberg included his name as a sort of trompe-l'oeil within the framework of the work itself. Written in graphite onto the image of a sheet of ruled paper that has been transferred onto the sheet of his work, Rauschenberg's signature is there, and is there as “reproduced.” It is an authorization of the work as coming from the hand and the mind of the artist *and*, at one and the same time, an illustration of that authorization, a “signature between quotation marks,” as it were.⁴¹ In so moving the mark of authenticity or authorship from the “outside” of the picture inside, Rauschenberg calls attention not just to the presence of writing *within* the work but to the general status of the work itself *as* writing. And by this gesture he pulls questions of authorship, authority, meaning, and intention as well out of any self-evident presence into the realm of writing and thus into the generalized play of iterability and repetition that, as we have seen in *Factum I* and *II*, was an ongoing concern. For writing, as we have long known, has as its irreducible condition that it is available, constantly and constitutively, for appropriation, misappropriation, citation, and graft. Regardless of the force of original intention, any written mark, including a signature, can be moved from context to context (and can even be forged), which alters or transforms but never fully dominates or controls the semantic meaning of the mark so moved.⁴² It was the general condition of representation as writing that Rauschenberg and those artists closest to him would persistently and multifariously explore throughout the 1950s and 60s. Whether in Johnson's mail-art collages (that recipients were to add to and send on), Twombly's graffiti-like scribbles, or Johns's stenciled Wittgensteinian conundrums of labeled and mislabeled colors, it was the instability and promiscuity of language as writing that formed the focus of their concerns.⁴³

It was from Stockholm, once again during preparations for “Art in Motion,” that Rauschenberg sent his infamous telegram to the Parisian Galerie Iris Clert that is now known as *This Is a Portrait of Iris Clert If I Say So* (1961). This work has been received, whether it has been praised or critiqued, as an instantiation of a first-order understanding of the readymade as a performative speech act: the declaration “I hereby pronounce this X to be a work of art” seemingly functioning in the same manner as a dignitary might christen a ship or a sheriff of the Wild West might appoint someone his

This Is a Portrait of Iris Clert If I Say So, 1961, details

Telegram with envelope

17½ x 13⅝ inches

Collection Ahrenberg, Vevey, Switzerland

deputy. Left untouched, perhaps mystified, within such an understanding of the ready-made are any of the institutional determinants upon which such pronouncements are effectuated.⁴⁴ Yet also at play in Rauschenberg's *Portrait of Iris Clert* is the function of the signature, which, once again, has been put into quotes and brought into the work itself. Not only is there no "signature" to Rauschenberg's statement, if by that one means the singular attestation of a handwritten script, but aside from its indentation, there is no typographic distinction between the words "Robert Rauschenberg" and the text that they would attest, authorize, or sign. As in *Cunning-Hanger*, Rauschenberg's "signature" is present in *Portrait of Iris Clert* as reproduced, and in this case as transmitted and rewritten at a distance—telegraphed from Stockholm to Paris. Here we find ourselves confronted once again with a particular understanding of the ready-made, not as inherently transgressive or real but as thoroughly textual: rather than a performative speech act, Rauschenberg's ready-made is an effect of, and subject to, the particular vicissitudes of writing. In an age of digital signatures, legally accepted even though machinically produced, we may not need to be reminded that "In order to function, that is, to be readable, a signature must have a repeatable, iterable, imitable form; it must be able to be detached from the present and the singular intention of its production. It is its sameness which, by corrupting its identity and its singularity, divides its seal."⁴⁵

Something similar is to be found in *Black Market*. Objects are incorporated into the Combine through a textual procedure more complex than it initially seems: not simply placed in the box but stamped with the name and seal of the artist, transcribed as trace and text onto the surface of the work, and authorized with a signature before being disseminated to unknown recipients, who repeat the same sequence of operations. Coursing through the operation of *Black Market*, then, are a series of tropes—inscription, citation, authorization, dissemination, iteration, de- and recontextualization—that were only then coming to the fore in a theoretical turn that would be dubbed "textual." A turn that, moreover, a whole generation of thinkers more or less Rauschenberg's contemporaries would understand as harboring a certain politics, textual play being deployed as a challenge to both the dogmatism of an outdated (but not for that any less bombastic) ideology of humanism and common sense on the one hand and the utopianism of an emerging "post-literary" ideology of the technological return to (tele-)presence on the other. Rauschenberg would prove no more immune to these ideologies than anyone, and for a time particularly prone to the latter. However, what I want to suggest is that in *Black Market*, Rauschenberg poses—not for the first time in his work, but perhaps nearly for the last, before the problematic of writing began to drop away in the silk-screens and work with technology—less a naïve aesthetic of participation than an

47 Chrissie Iles, "Between the Still and the Moving Image," in *Into the Light: The Projected Image in American Art, 1964–1977*, eds. Iles and Thomas Zumner (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 2001), 62. Anthony McCall's esteem of Rauschenberg's work was confirmed in conversation with the author.

48 Cage, *Conversing with Cage*, ed. Richard Kostelanetz (New York: Linelight Editions, 1994), 181; and Barbara Rose, *Rauschenberg: An Interview with Robert Rauschenberg* (New York: Vintage Books, 1987), 34. The precise meaning of Rauschenberg's point is enigmatic (Rose never follows up on his provocative comments), but Rauschenberg goes on, intriguingly, to bring together his opposition to Marshall McLuhan with his opposition to Abstract Expressionism, both, though very differently, associated with the myths of presence and direct communication.

49 Hultén, *Bewogen Bewegen*, n.p.

44 As Duchamp explained, it is not enough that an artist pronounce his or her work "art" for it to be accepted as such ("The Creative Act," 138–40).

45 Derrida, "Signature Event Context," 20. It should be noted that Duchamp himself would begin to reproduce and reissue his signature ready-mades in series during the 1960s.

46 Ibid.



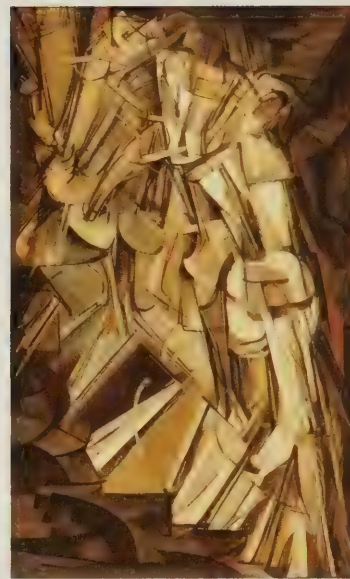
awareness of something like the “historical expansion of a general writing”⁴⁶ that, ten years later, Jacques Derrida would oppose to the theories offered (to artists above all) by Marshall McLuhan.

In thinking about film, about how a painting could perhaps become (like) a film, in *Black Market* and other works Rauschenberg can be understood as tacitly proposing a media theory of his own, one predicated on the type of intermedia relations that this essay has been engaged in tracking: painting with film, painting with writing, writing with film, and so on. (Not to mention the interrelation between painting and sculpture, illusionistic and real space, that characterizes all of Rauschenberg’s Combines—and that “sculptural” filmmaker Anthony McCall would cite as an influence.⁴⁷) The stakes of such an implicit theorization of media would run counter to those that would reduce or eliminate all the “gaps” within a holistic “global village.” Adhering to the tenets of McLuhan, Cage would come to see Rauschenberg’s insistence on the “gap” between art and life as “a little Roman Catholic”; Rauschenberg, for his part, when Cage tried to read McLuhan to him, responded, “That’s an oversimplification.”⁴⁸ In 1961, of course, Rauschenberg had probably not yet encountered McLuhan, whose *The Gutenberg Galaxy* would appear the following year. But the context for which *Black Market* had been produced posited a similar effacement of mediation. Through the incorporation of picture and sound, Hultén wrote in the “Bewogen Beweging” catalogue, the kinetic artwork “becomes a public entertainment [*schouwspel*], but more direct and tangible than stage or film.”⁴⁹

Double Feature

To the list of Rauschenberg’s works that evidently reference cinema would have to be added *Double Feature* (1959, PLATE 104), a large Combine painting produced the same year as *Cunning-Hanger*. Unusual is *Double Feature*’s limitation to only three items of pictorial collage: the depiction of horses moving through water at the top; a newspaper or magazine image turned on its side of more swiftly running horses at the right; and, at the bottom, an image of a stick figure-like array of white lines suggesting motion in the manner of nineteenth-century scientist Étienne-Jules Marey’s chronophotographs.

Together with the title, these three images corroborate the tropes of film and movement we have already encountered and add to them, it would seem, a further reference to art history. Though Marey is commonly remembered as one of the forerunners of modern cinema, he was also an influential and controversial figure in the history of modern art. Rauschenberg almost certainly knew of Duchamp’s interest in Marey’s work, evident in such famous paintings as *Nude Descending a Staircase (No. 2)* (1912), a work Rauschenberg would invoke a few years later by including a *Life* magazine



chronophotograph of a nude woman walking down stairs in the silkscreen *Express* (1963). This image is imitated to the left by the fourfold overlapping repetition of a horse jumping a steeplechase gate and joined by a passage juxtaposing “high” and “low” movement, as in *Cunning-Hanger*, through the Cunningham dancers depicted atop soldiers rappelling down the face of a cliff.⁵⁰ Marey had, of course, entered the history of art long before Duchamp’s reference in the controversy over whether or not painters like equine enthusiast Théodore Géricault or arch-realist Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier accurately portrayed a horse’s gallop. (They did not, and Meissonier had to correct his later paintings according to the evidence produced by Marey and his Anglo-American contemporary, Muybridge.) Given the pairing of Marey with two images of horses, there is little reason to doubt that Rauschenberg knew of this tale or that *Double Feature* is in some way about this episode in nineteenth-century art.

Further evidence of Rauschenberg’s interest in this episode from art history can be surmised from the proto-cinematic sequencing of *Cy + Roman Steps* which, as we have already noted, seemingly references the photographic studies of Muybridge. In Rauschenberg’s five-part progression, the stairs of Rome’s Santa Maria in Aracoeli recall both the steps on which Muybridges’s models sometimes acted as well as the Cartesian grids against which they invariably conducted their tasks. However, it is the

Express, 1963
Oil and silkscreen ink on canvas
72 x 120 inches
Fundación Colección Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid

MARCEL DUCHAMP
Nude Descending a Staircase (No. 2), 1912
Oil on canvas
57 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 35 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches
The Philadelphia Museum of Art
The Louise and Walter Arensberg Collection



51 James Meyer, *Minimalism: Art and Polemics in the Sixties* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2001), 205. Given that Twombly was Rauschenberg's (perhaps already estranged) lover at the time, the dimension of ungraspable loss is no less apposite. As Marta Braun has shown, however, Muybridge's work is far from rational, if by that one means scientific, and instead plays upon the viewer's assumptions about chronology to feign both objectivity and temporal succession. Braun, *Picturing Time: The Work of Etienne-Jules Marey (1830–1904)* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 228–55. There is thus an interesting paradox whereby the work of Rauschenberg or LeWitt (or as we will see, Hollis Frampton), while disorienting, is potentially *more* logical, orderly, and scientific than their model.

50 The source of this image is given in Robert S. Mattison, *Robert Rauschenberg: Breaking Boundaries* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2003), 136–38. The image can also be found in Rauschenberg's *Retroactive I* (1964). On the possible thematic references of Rauschenberg's silkscreens to Duchamp, see Roni Feinstein, *Robert Rauschenberg: The Silkscreen Paintings, 1962–64*, exh. cat. (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1990).

distinction between Rauschenberg's and Muybridge's work that ultimately proves most telling. Muybridge's photographs, at least the vast bulk of them, never depicted subjects who violated the boundaries of the frame or moved so close to the camera lens. Indeed, because Muybridge used a battery of a dozen or more cameras rather than one, issues of distance and foreshortening so prominent in Rauschenberg's sequence were rarely a factor. Even when running directly toward the camera, as happens in a couple of the images in *Animal Locomotion* (1887), Muybridge's models never approach the lens anywhere as closely as Twombly.

Such discrepancies make it, then, somewhat surprising that it was the particular disposition of Rauschenberg's walking figure, rather than Muybridge's, that Sol LeWitt would chose to replicate in *Muybridge I* (1964). In LeWitt's work, viewers are invited to look through the ten peephole-like openings of a black box at a sequence of photographs of a nude woman who, with each shot, moves toward the camera, her upper and lower body—as in Rauschenberg's photographs but not Muybridge's—ultimately severed by the top and bottom of the frame. According to James Meyer, the overall effect of the work, including the final occlusion of the woman's genital area from view, is to “reconfigure this most rational of senses [vision], this transparent access to knowledge, into a desiring act incapable of grasping its object”:

LeWitt's nude is a body in transformation. Where Muybridge presents the figure from the side, maintaining the same scale, the same illusion of depth, from left to right, LeWitt positions the body ever closer to the camera, creating a disorienting shift of scale through a progressive cropping. In the final shot, the nude's navel presses against the camera's lens, an abstract plane of flesh.⁵¹

A decade later, when photographer and filmmaker Hollis Frampton reprised the same forward motion in his comic “Apple Advancing” from *Sixteen Studies from Vegetable Locomotion* (with Marion Faller, 1975), the notion of visual ungraspability was even more pronounced. At the moment when the steadily advancing and therefore perspectively enlarging apple comes closest to the viewer, it blocks all incoming light and disappears into another type of “abstract plane”: a black monochrome panel. The expected outcome, a visual grasp of the depicted object, results instead in total loss.

At issue for LeWitt and Frampton was an investigation of the type of seriality that, anticipated by Rauschenberg, characterized the generation associated with Minimalism, Conceptual art, and Structural film. The exploration of serial structures served to open up paradoxes and complexities of rationality, science, and logic that opposed the “scientific consistency” of formalist modernism and undermined its claims to medium-specific

EADWEARD MUYBRIDGE
Plate 137 (female descending stairs and turning around) from *Animal Locomotion*, 1887
Collotype
University of Pennsylvania Archives
Eadweard Muybridge Collection

HOLLIS FRAMPTON and MARION FALLER
“Apple Advancing” from *Sixteen Studies from Vegetable Locomotion*, 1975
Black-and-white photograph
11 x 14 inches
Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York
Evelyn Rumsey Cary Fund, 1983



purity.⁵² This last aspect was especially intriguing for Frampton, who saw in both Muybridge and Marey a marked tension within the notion of the medium, one that ultimately split film into photography and cinema. As Frampton wrote:

The work of Étienne-Jules Marey, a scientist who switched from graphic to photographic notations of animal movement under Muybridge's direct tutelage, summarizes the point of distinction between the still photograph and cinema; his studies consist of serial exposures made on a single plate. The photograph could no longer contain the contradictory pressures to affirm time and to deny it. It split sharply into an illusionistic cinema of incessant motion and a static photographic art that remained frozen solid for decades. So complete and immediate was the separation that by 1917 the photographer Alvin Langdon Coburn (an ex-painter, who is rumored to have collaborated on a Vorticism film, long since lost, with Ezra Pound) could speculate in print—and in ignorance—on the “interesting patterns” that might be produced if one were but to do what Marey had in fact done, mountainously, thirty-odd years before.⁵³

Important for Frampton about the work of Muybridge and Marey was the hybridization of stasis and movement that existed in the moment before photography and cinema divided into separate mediums with divergent histories and representational teleologies. Rather than hypostatizing the “purity” or “essence” of each medium, Frampton's genealogical impulse focused on the historical moment when the conditions of the two media were intertwined, existing within and in contradistinction to each other in a self-interrogating friction. According to Frampton, neither the “illusionistic” claims of

⁵² See, for example, Mel Bochner, “The Serial Attitude” (1967), reprinted in *Conceptual Art: A Critical Anthology*, eds. Alexander Alberro and Blake Stimson (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1999), 22–27; Dan Graham, “Muybridge Moments,” *Arts Magazine* 41, no. 4 (February 1967): 23–24; Sol LeWitt, “Sentences on Conceptual Art” (1969), reprinted in *Conceptual Art: A Critical Anthology*, 106–08; and Krauss, “LeWitt in Progress” (1977), in *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1985), 245–58.

⁵³ Frampton, “Eadweard Muybridge: Fragments of a Tesseract,” in *Circles of Confusion: Film, Photography, Video Texts 1968–1980* (Rochester, New York: Visual Studies Workshop Press, 1983), 75.

⁵⁴ Donald Judd, “Specific Objects” (1965), reprinted in *Donald Judd: Complete Writings 1959–1975* (Halifax, Canada: The Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design; and New York: New York University Press, 1975), 181–89; and Michael Fried, “Art and Objecthood” (1967), reprinted in *Art and Objecthood: Essays and Reviews* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 148–72. Judd, for his part, remained suspicious of Rauschenberg's hybridity, dividing it between the “traditional” two-dimensionality of collage and the “radical” three-dimensionality of shape. Judd, “In the Galleries: Robert Rauschenberg,” *Arts Magazine* 37, no. 9 (May–June 1963): 103–04.

⁵⁵ Tom Gunning, “Never Seen This Picture Before: Muybridge in Multiplicity,” in *Time Stands Still: Muybridge and the Instantaneous Photography Movement*, ed. Phillip Prodger (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2003), 227. On Muybridge's relation to movement and stasis, see pages 255–56. Gunning discusses the importance of Muybridge's work for subsequent generations of artists as being in its polyvalence and hybridity on page 272.

⁵⁶ Braun chronicles the importance of Marey's work for the cinematic inventions of both Thomas Edison and the Lumière family, *Picturing Time*, 187–98.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 174.

cinema nor the inert “frozen” reproductions of photography attain the analytical and critical effectiveness of their mutual implication in the hybrid practices of Muybridge and Marey. Something similar, I would argue, is at work in Rauschenberg’s Combines, which instigate a taut hybridity that is neither the creation of a new formal category (such as Donald Judd’s “specific objects”) nor the inchoate all-accepting “theatricality” of which Michael Fried, in defense of the purity of artistic media, would accuse both Rauschenberg and Judd.⁵⁴

As an itinerant showman, Muybridge toyed with both ends of the spectrum, demonstrating to audiences both stills and, by means of his zoopraxiscope, moving animations without ever adopting or exhibiting either one exclusively. As Tom Gunning has observed, though Muybridge often courted the conditions of an emerging spectacle culture, “his ‘motion pictures’ must be approached through their interstitial nature. They existed both as still images and, in certain conditions, as illusions of motion, but always demonstrated to the audience, never taken for granted.”⁵⁵ Marey, for his part, proved uninterested in and even hostile to deploying his technical and scientific innovations for the production of moving pictures. Despite having provided solutions indispensable for the invention of the kinetoscope and cinematograph, as well as eventually constructing his own projector, Marey proved diffident at best toward the usefulness of resynthesizing the discontinuity of photographically recorded motion back into an appearance of continuity.⁵⁶ Such a procedure was useful to him only as a cross check, not an advance upon, movement’s disarticulation and analysis.⁵⁷

In a provocative study of Marey’s work, François Dagognet dwelt on the nineteenth-century scientist’s reticence toward the moving image, reflecting particularly on the angry and definitive break between Marey and his assistant, Georges Demeny, whom Marey found involved in exploiting his inventions toward the development of a motion-picture device, the phonoscope. Attempting to comprehend this incident led Dagognet to pose a somewhat odd, perhaps epistemologically suspect, but nonetheless intriguing question: Why, if as seems to be the case, Marey developed all of the components by which film strips could be projected as moving images, did he not produce or pursue the invention of cinema? Why, that is, didn’t Marey devote himself or part of his resources to making movies? According to Dagognet, Marey’s “refusal” was an inadvertent but precocious resistance to the type of synthesis—first of distinct still images and then of images and sound—that would come to define the realms of spectacle and culture industry. Dagognet concluded:

Why, under the circumstances, did Marey turn away from the final adjustments? The fact is that he preferred analysis to synthesis, the latter rendered visible what had first been made

SOL LEWITT

Muybridge I, 1964 (schematic representation of interior)

Painted wood with ten compartments, each containing photographs by Barbara Brown, Los Angeles, and flashing lights
10¾ x 96 x 9⅞ inches

The LeWitt Collection, Chester, Connecticut

invisible. "What they [moving photographs] show, the eye could have seen directly," wrote Marey, "they have added nothing to the power of our sight, reduced none of its illusions. The true character of a scientific method is to supplement the shortcomings of our senses and correct them." It was surely this hidden aversion to phantasmagoria, a refusal of false appearances, and, conversely, an attraction to what distances us from the sensory, that provided the framework for this apparent renunciation.... Marey preferred absorbing the spectacle of the world into graphs rather than the opposite. He had no interest in the artifice of fictitious moving images.⁵⁸

Which brings us back to what I have called Rauschenberg's implicit media theory (as well as to the epigraphic exchange between Warhol and Olivo with which this essay began). Rauschenberg, too, was interested in absorbing the spectacle of the world: "There's no reason," he once told Lawrence Alloway, "not to consider the world as one gigantic painting."⁵⁹ Yet the conditions of the spectacle had, of course, profoundly altered by the midpoint of the twentieth century, the entire representational realm having undergone "the shift from nature to culture" that we know as postmodernism.⁶⁰ "I was bombarded with TV sets and magazines, by the refuse, by the excess of the world," Rauschenberg stated: "I thought that if I could paint or make an honest work, it should incorporate all of these elements, which were and are a reality."⁶¹ Though Rauschenberg courted the visual, even audio-visual, conditions of a contemporary media-saturated image realm, invoking tropes such as cinema, television, motion, and technology, the steadfast hybridity of his work might be understood along the same lines as Marey's "refusal," as an opposition to the illusionistic syntheses of a spectacular realm that, no longer emergent, was coming into a phase by which it would characterize society as a whole.⁶²

When Rauschenberg utilized movies they were only as parts of his heterogeneous Combine-like performances, and even then they were decidedly fractured and fragmented on both the visual and auditory registers: a disarticulated travelogue projected on a discontinuous screen made up of cards hung on the backs of audience members in *Map Room II* (1965); a randomly cutup boy-scout instructional film projected on objects hanging from a washing line as part of *Linoleum* (1966). On the other hand, instances of Marey- or Muybridge-like photographic analyses of motion are found throughout Rauschenberg's early production with a remarkable consistency: not only in the two images of a burning building in *Factum I* and *Factum II* (redoubled as they are repeated

⁵⁸ François Dagognet, *Etienne-Jules Marey: A Passion for the Trace*, trans. Robert Galeta and Jeanine Herman (New York: Zone Books, 1992), 156–57. Dagognet referred specifically to the audio-visual condition of the culture industry on page 12. Although Braun described the break between Marey and Georges Demy more in terms of interpersonal friction, her conclusion is much the same as Dagognet's. See Braun, *Picturing Time*, 254–55.

⁵⁹ Quoted in Roberta Bernstein, "Robert Rauschenberg's 'Rebus,'" *Arts Magazine* 52, no. 5 (January 1978): 139.

⁶⁰ Steinberg, "Reflections on the State of Criticism," 28 and 36. The idea of postmodernism is most influentially developed in Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1991).

⁶¹ Quoted in Robert Hughes, *The Shock of the New* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981), 345.

⁶² My reference is, of course, to Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle* (1967), trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (New York: Zone Books, 1994). On the spectacle as the result of audio-visual synthesis, not merely representation, see Jonathan Crary, "Spectacle, Attention, Counter-Memory," *October*, no. 50 (fall 1989): 97–107.

⁶³ But not always easily read. The difficulty of deciphering Marey's graphs, the possibility of their being misread, as discussed by Stanley Joel Reiser, is an indication of the hybrid status of Marey's trace, between indexicality and writing. Reiser, *Medicine and the Reign of Technology* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 101–04.

⁶⁴ Braun, *Picturing Time*, 81; and Marey, "Natural History of Organized Bodies," *Annual Report for the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for 1867*, 1868, 285, as cited in *ibid.*, 61–62 (ellipses and insert hers).

in the two “identical” canvases), but also in the two photos of a bullfight just to the left of the crossword puzzle in *Honeysuckle* (1956, PLATE 35); in the three gymnasts that appear to be the same figure in different poses in *Small Rebus* (1956, PLATE 45); in the two pictures of the pole vaulter on the right in *Summerstorm* (1959, PLATE 94); in the strip of time-lapse photos at the bottom of one panel in *Odalisk* (1955/58, PLATE 29), more of which appears on the left in *Painting with Grey Wing* (1959, PLATE 92); and so on. Such instances serve as counterpart and complement to the less graspably different image pairs like the two Eisenhowers in the *Factums* discussed before. Together, such demonstrations indicate that Rauschenberg’s interest was, not unlike Frampton’s, in a tense amalgam of media, including cinema and photography, movement and stasis, flowing and frozen time.

We now come back to the final and most important feature that distinguished the work of Marey, whom Rauschenberg included in *Double Feature*, from that of Muybridge, whom he did not. For while both produced similarly paradoxical depictions of static motion, Marey distinguished himself not only through greater opposition to illusion, but also through an interest in a type of inscription that motivated his lifelong experiments with sphygmographs, cardiographs, thermographs, pneumographs, myographs, polygraphs, and other devices by which forms of movement could be written.⁶³ Pace the first line of Frampton’s observation, Marey did not so much give up graphic notations for photographic ones as transform photography (as chronophotography, or “time light writing”) into a means of graphic notation. It was this endeavor that motivated his erasure of the human body’s actual contours by the custom-made black suit adorned with buttons and discontinuous white lines against a black background that, via multiple exposures, appeared across a single negative. “With this artifice,” wrote Marta Braun, “Marey was finally able to transform his subject into a graphic notation”—a notation to be approached, as Marey himself observed, as “an archaeologist...deciphering inscriptions traced in an unknown language...[who tries] turn by turn, several meanings for each sign.”⁶⁴

Rauschenberg’s allusions to art history have most often been used to argue not just that he had knowledge of and respect for his predecessors, but that his work operates entirely according to the most traditional principles of past art, principles that would preclude the type of reflections upon the medium with which we have been engaged. Yet what seems to have been invoked through *Double Feature*’s reference to art history is nothing other than the hybridization of media and the importation of a logic of inscription, trace, and a certain form of writing into a realm traditionally devoted to the iconic. With Marey, the apparently seamless indexicality of the photograph gives way to a trace that effectively allies or hybridizes it with writing, a “spacing,” as Rosalind Krauss wrote

about an only seemingly different photographic context, that "is the indication of a break in the simultaneous experience of the real, a rupture that issues into sequence."⁶⁵ In *Double Feature*, as in all of Rauschenberg's Combines, inscription—as the spatialization and analysis that renders simultaneous the temporal flow of images (as motion) and language (as speech)—proves part of the same textual play found in *Black Market*. If this art-historical tale seems more convincing than some others, it is because *Double Feature* tells it not only through its art-historical referentiality, but also through its form: aside from the three images discussed, *Double Feature* is an expanse of writing, one characterized less by the lone decipherable word "loft" than by the beautiful and enigmatic map of washed-out and brushed-over linguistic fragments of multiple sizes, colors, and fonts. Far from simply abstract, Rauschenberg's letters simultaneously compel and frustrate, invoke and undermine, an activity of reading.⁶⁶

It is in the fragmentation, unreadability, and heterogeneity of his montage that Rauschenberg signals his distance from the nineteenth-century positivism of Marey, as much as *Cy + Roman Steps* did vis-à-vis the aims of Muybridge. Yet it is Rauschenberg's hybridity that, on another level, brings him and the nineteenth-century French scientist together. For Marey stood on a threshold that opened onto, but was not identical with, the dual historical developments of culture industry and Taylorism, a moment that would prove crucial to a dialectic of Enlightenment by which scientific positivism turned over into repressive administration.⁶⁷ By the time Rauschenberg was working, in the mid-twentieth century, that strain of modernist art that Greenberg saw as the legitimate heir of Enlightenment critique had forgone its historically resistant status and become a similarly disciplinary enterprise, one that worked to shore up and regulate not only artistic media but the subjects who would behold it.⁶⁸ The vehemence with which this form of subjectivity would be defended, however, only betrayed the fact that it was already outmoded. With the emergence of the new media realm noted above, the individual would be replaced by a new form of subjectivity and subject to new forms of control and a new ideological claim to self-presence. Standing on this historical threshold, Rauschenberg's hybrid textual Combines can be understood as emblematic of their time, the complexity of which they courted and the implications of which (or certain of them) their very complexity refused.

65 Krauss, "The Photographic Conditions of Surrealism" (1981), in *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths*, 115. In his early photographs, it might be noted, Rauschenberg was particularly attracted to signs, graffiti, symbolic North African runes, and other instances of language and/or inscription.

66 Does the term "loft" refer to the Wright brothers, whose historic solution to the problem of flight was inspired by consultation with Marey's book *Animal Mechanism: A Treatise on Terrestrial and Aerial Locomotion* (1874)? (See Braun, *Picturing Time*, 222). Rauschenberg's fondness for the Wright Brothers was evinced the same year in the small *Orville Wright in S.C.* (1959, plate 113). Regardless of the answer, it does no justice to Rauschenberg's production to reduce its meaning and import to any such observation. Such a procedure—elevating or hypostatizing a single reference, even that of Marey, into the entirety of the work's meaning such that it occludes understanding or discussion of other facets of the work (a synecdochal procedure structurally identical to ideology)—is precisely what this article hopes to question.

67 Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments*, ed. Gunzelin Schmid Noerr, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2002).

68 In Fried's "Art and Objecthood," noted Foster, "the doctrine of aesthetic autonomy returns in a late guise, and it suggests that rather than separate from religion (as Enlightenment aesthetics sometimes proposed to be), autonomous art is, in part, a secret substitute for religion—that is, a secret substitute for the moral disciplining of the subject that religion once provided" (*The Return of the Real*, 53). With this development, it might further be noted, would come the deployment of a disciplinary vocabulary of pathology; those, like Rauschenberg, who refused to conform were deemed alien, corrupt, perverted, or degenerate (see Fried, "Art and Objecthood," 153, 161, and 164).

69 See Braun, *Picturing Time*, 132, figure 73.

70 On Gabo, see Rosalind E. Krauss, *Passages in Modern Sculpture* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1977), 56–67, 207–21.



Standing Wave

The “Art in Motion” exhibition, for which *Black Market* was conceived, was devoted to the development of a kinetic art that stood, in some sense, upon the foundation of its anointed progenitor: Gabo’s *Standing Wave*. In retrospect, this modest work, a small bar atop a vibrating motor, resembles nothing so much as a famous chronophotograph of Marey, taken in 1886, shaking a similarly flexible rod almost as though it were a large fishing pole.⁶⁹ Gabo’s construction effects a ninety-degree rotation from the horizontal of Marey’s scientific demonstration to the abstract vertical anthropomorphism of modern sculpture. As made even clearer by the title under which it was exhibited in Amsterdam, *Virtueel volume*, Gabo’s kineticism stood for the ideals of synthesis, illusion, form, and even the production of a certain virtual subjective interiority.⁷⁰ Against such “modern” associations, which had already been taken up within both the art and culture industry, Rauschenberg’s *Black Market*, which so puzzled Klüver, put forward the tenets that for almost a decade had characterized his Combines: exteriority, inscription, spacing, dissemination, analysis, hybridization, and intermedia.

NAUM GABO

Kinetic Construction (Standing Wave), 1919–20

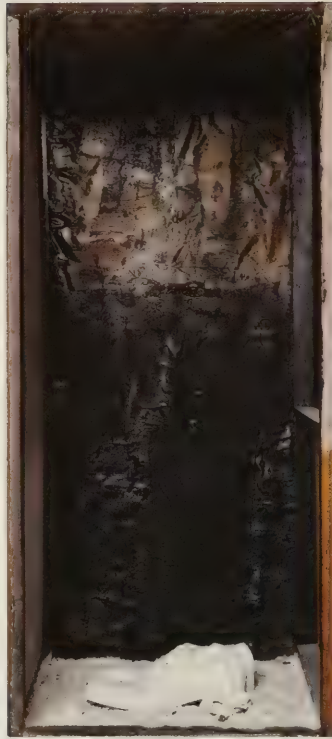
Metal, painted wood, and electrical mechanism

24½ x 9½ x 7½ inches

Tate Gallery, London

overleaf:

Untitled, c.1954, detail



When I think about Robert Rauschenberg, I always think about his masterful way with color. I remember that Jean Tinguely made a sculpture called *Narva* (1961) in Stockholm, and I complimented him about the way he used color in the piece. He laughed a lot and said, “Those are Bob’s colors.” So it was really a double compliment, as Rauschenberg is a magician with color. He uses color with an authority that’s almost from another century, a true painter’s relationship to color as some musicians have absolute pitch. Yet he works in monochromatic ranges with equal richness.

I feel that the Combines radiate poetry. Maybe this poetic feeling comes from Rauschenberg’s economy of color in some of the works in order to reinforce a simple poetry, to not complicate it but to let it be very pure in the formal sense. This goes for the associative sense as well, because obviously different objects are elements coming from the world of constraint, the world called reality, and into the world of art. As ropes, fabric, photographs, or pieces of metal, they carry associations, and these associations are an important part of the poetic send-off that his sculptures offer. He often avoids additional color to keep this poetry pure. This can also be seen in some of his drawings, where the purity of black on white paper has the same strong effect using simple means to carry very strong feelings. Of course, some of the sculptures have their own inherent color from their range of found objects, as the work of John Chamberlain does, but in many of the sculptures there is no additional paint, and they are more monochromatic in scale.

There is a sense of improvisation in Rauschenberg’s work that comes out of discipline and experience. He knows exactly the moment when something is right. I wonder how controlled the process of art-making is for him—if conscious decisions occur or if the making takes place in a trancelike state, of seeming consciousness. It seems to me that sometimes you could not reason, you could not find this agreement between elements in reason, you’d have to find them in a trance.

He chooses the most junky stuff possible to be able to make the “click” happen, the moment they transform from material to poetry. If the click doesn't happen, it's absolutely nothing—inert, worse than junk. It's a failed action. But for Rauschenberg the click does happen, and the effect of the click is somehow more important the junkier the incorporated elements are. He takes the most rejected parts of our surroundings and makes them the most beautiful. It's by a kind of magic. There must be a challenge, in the sense that they are so awful, before the transformation happens.

In further considering Rauschenberg's use of color, there is a lot of shade and shadow. Shadow is an important part of the sculpture in this world of his. It has an interesting relationship to his black-and-white photography. Sometimes, when we say monochrome it is not necessarily black and white. I remember when the cardboard pieces were first made, they were a shock to people because of the pure color schemes and poor materials that this master of color used.

Rauschenberg's use of the poorest, most thrown away, and rejected things, things that people avoid seeing, intrigues me very much. It's almost like a program, maybe of a social or philosophical kind. It has a certain religious element. I have a feeling it's something important for him. In our generation (which I can say because we're of the same generation), I think it was a critical experience or discovery for us that things that are important very often are the least considered, on all levels of life. People weren't always looking for what was best for them, and the great things in life were sometimes the most simple, and hidden, too—hidden behind conventions. We had been taught certain values, and it took people like Rauschenberg to show us how hollow these conventions are.

For him, this is demonstrated through the sculpture, by the simplicity of the operation, by the simple magic. A piece of junk all of a sudden, by unconventional operations, became indescribable, became poetry. The previous generation, if you think about Piet Mondrian, or even Jackson Pollock—they tried so hard. They were so phenomenally ambitious and moral that somehow they overshot the target. I think what Rauschenberg introduced was a way to say it more simply, to make it more direct. You can say that Kurt Schwitters tried to do it in a simple way. There has, of course, been a lot of discussion about the difference between Rauschenberg's and Schwitters's work. I think one difference is the ease of Rauschenberg's—there appears to be no effort.

Although Schwitters was a great master, there is in his work the presence of self-consciousness, ambition, and, of course, politics. However, the ease of Rauschenberg's work lifts up and flies away in the poetic sense, which comes from the fact that you see no struggle. It's just as easy as words, as talking, as part of a phrase, and it results in great beauty. This is something American, I think, in the sense that in America there is enough freedom from heavy tradition, as well as the very different sense of space in America and in American art—the essential role of space without limitations, the great freedom of space, the fact that there's a lot of it, and scale is very large. Pollock had already discovered that in some sense, although strangely enough, while his dripping demonstrates a fabulous freedom, there is still some kind of compulsion to make great work, to impress people. Whereas in Rauschenberg's works, there is anti-ambition. There is joy and total ease. They seem to come without struggle and baggage; there's nothing weighing them down.

The radiance of Rauschenberg's tormented pieces of metal or his abandoned objects, his pieces of reality where constraint has mismanaged them into victims of their lives, that's a part of the emotional radiance, the way they radiate life. The way that they have been conceived, used, destroyed, and then recuperated tells us a life story of the object, of the fragment which is a part of something humanistic. There's a humanistic element—it's never too late. There is great optimism.

When Rauschenberg's works were first shown in Europe, it was a great shock for many people. I saw the first show in Paris in 1961. It was something that we had waited for. It was like a revelation in one way, and a confirmation in another. Finally, something was shown that was so strong and so powerful. For me, I can't say it was a surprise, it was more like, ah, finally somebody did it right.





Inventory and Exhibition History of Combines COMPILED BY MARY BETH CAROSELLO

PLATE 1 **Untitled** (1954)

"Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978

"Robert Rauschenberg: The White and Black Paintings, 1949–1952," Larry Gagosian Gallery, New York, 18 April–31 May 1986

"Robert Rauschenberg: The Early 1950s," The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 15 June–11 August 1991; The Menil Collection, Houston, 27 September 1991–5 January 1992; Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago, 8 February–19 April 1992; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 14 May–16 August 1992; Guggenheim Museum SoHo, New York, 24 October 1992–24 January 1993

"Second Hiroshima Art Prize," Hiroshima City Museum of Contemporary Art, Hiroshima, Japan, 3 November 1993–16 January 1994

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998; Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 27 June–11 October 1998; Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain, 21 November 1998–7 March 1999

PLATE 2 **Untitled** (1954) *

"Robert Rauschenberg," Egan Gallery, New York, December 1954–18 January 1955

"Six Decades of American Painting," Des Moines Art Center, Des Moines, 10 February–12 March 1961

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings 1953–1964," Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, 3 May–6 June 1965

"Robert Rauschenberg: The Early 1950s," The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 15 June–11 August 1991; The Menil Collection, Houston, 27 September 1991–5 January 1992; Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago, 8 February–19 April 1992; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 14 May–16 August 1992; Guggenheim Museum SoHo, New York, 24 October 1992–24 January 1993

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998; Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 27 June–11 October 1998; Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain, 21 November 1998–7 March 1999

PLATE 3 **Untitled** (c. 1953)

No exhibition history.

PLATE 4 **Will** (c. 1954)

No exhibition history.

PLATE 5 **Elaine's Party** (1954)

"Robert Rauschenberg: The Early 1950s," Guggenheim Museum SoHo, New York, 24 October 1992–24 January 1993

PLATE 6 **Untitled** (c. 1953)

No exhibition history.

PLATE 7 **Collection** (1954) *

"Robert Rauschenberg," Egan Gallery, New York, December 1954–18 January 1955

"Six Painters and the Object," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 14 March–12 June 1963

"54–64: Painting and Sculpture of a Decade," organized by Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Tate Gallery, London, 22 April–28 June 1964

"Robert Rauschenberg," Museum Haus Lange, Krefeld, Germany, 12 September–18 October 1964

"Robert Rauschenberg," Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 23 February–7 April 1968; Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, Germany, 19 April–26 May 1968; Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, 7 June–14 July 1968

"Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998; Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 27 June–11 October 1998; Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain, 21 November 1998–7 March 1999

"Robert Rauschenberg," San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 5 May–7 September 1999

"Celebrating Modern Art: The Anderson Collection," San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 7 October 2000–15 January 2001

PLATE 8 **Untitled** (1954) *

"Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary

Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998

PLATE 9 **Untitled** (1954)

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings, Drawings and Combines, 1949–1964," Whitechapel Gallery, London, 4 February–8 March 1964

"Summer Loan Exhibition," The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 17 July–30 September 1979

"Territorium Artis," Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn, Germany, 17 June–20 September 1992

"Second Hiroshima Art Prize," Hiroshima City Museum of Contemporary Art, Hiroshima, Japan, 3 November 1993–16 January 1994

PLATE 10 **Bantam** (1954)

"Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978

PLATE 11 **Red Interior** (1954) *

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings 1953–1964," Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, 3 May–6 June 1965

"Robert Rauschenberg," Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 23 February–7 April 1968; Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, Germany, 19 April–26 May 1968; Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, 7 June–14 July 1968

"Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978

"Rauschenberg," Tate Gallery, London, 28 April–14 June 1981

PLATE 12 **Paint Cans** (1954) *

"Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998

PLATE 13 Untitled (1954)

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 27 June–11 October 1998; Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain, 21 November 1998–7 March 1999

PLATE 14 Pink Door (1954) *

"Robert Rauschenberg," Egan Gallery, New York, December 1954–18 January 1955
 "Robert Rauschenberg: Selections," Fort Worth Art Center, Fort Worth, Texas, 5 January–2 February 1969
 "Robert Rauschenberg: Werke 1950–1980," Staatliche Kunsthalle, Berlin, 23 March–4 May 1980
 "Joseph Beuys, Robert Rauschenberg, Cy Twombly, Andy Warhol: Sammlung Marx," Nationalgalerie, Berlin, 2 March–12 April 1982; Städtisches Museum Abteiberg, Mönchengladbach, Germany, 6 May–30 September 1982
 "Amerikanische Kunst im 20. Jahrhundert: Malerei und Plastik, 1913–1993," Martin-Gropius-Bau, Berlin, 8 May–25 July 1993; Royal Academy of Arts and Saatchi Gallery, London, as "American Art in the 20th Century: Painting and Sculpture, 1913–1993," 16 September–12 December 1993

PLATE 15 Minutiae (1954) *

"Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978
 "Robert Rauschenberg: Werke 1950–1980," Staatliche Kunsthalle, Berlin, 23 March–4 May 1980; Kunsthalle, Düsseldorf, Germany, 6 June–13 July 1980; Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, Humlebaek, Denmark, 20 September–25 November 1980; Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, Germany, 3 December 1980–18 January 1981; Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich, Germany, 4 February–5 April 1981; Tate Gallery, London, 29 April–14 June 1981
 "Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998; Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 27 June–11 October 1998; Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain, 21 November 1998–7 March 1999

PLATE 16 Untitled (1954)

"Red Paintings," Egan Gallery, New York, December 1954–18 January 1955

PLATE 17 Untitled (1954) *

"Robert Rauschenberg," Egan Gallery, New York, December 1954–18 January 1955
 "Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998; Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 27 June–11 October 1998; Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain, 21 November 1998–7 March 1999

PLATE 18 Untitled (1954)

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998
 "Twentieth-Century American Art: The Ebsworth Collection," National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 5 March–11 June 2000; Seattle Art Museum, Seattle, 10 August–12 November 2000

PLATE 19 Untitled (c.1955)

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998; Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 27 June–11 October 1998; Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain, 21 November 1998–7 March 1999
 "Robert Rauschenberg," San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 5 May–7 September 1999
 "Robert Rauschenberg at SFMoMA," San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 27 June–8 September 2002

PLATE 20 Charlene (1954) *

"School of New York: Some Younger Artists," The Stable Gallery, New York, 15 December 1959–9 January 1960; travel funded by American Federation of Arts
 "4 Amerikanare: Jasper Johns, Alfred Leslie, Robert Rauschenberg, Richard Stankiewicz," Moderna Museet, Stockholm, 17 March–6 May 1962; Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 18 May–18 June 1962; Kunsthalle, Bern, 7 July–2 September 1962
 "Rauschenberg: Première exposition (Oeuvres 1954–61)," Galerie Ileana Sonnabend, Paris, 1–16 February 1963
 "Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963
 "Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings, Drawings and Combines, 1949–1964," Whitechapel Gallery, London, 4 February–8 March 1964
 "Four Germinal Painters," XXXII International Biennial Exhibition of Art, United States Pavilion, Venice, Italy, 20 June–18 October 1964
 "Robert Rauschenberg," Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 23 February–7 April 1968; Kölnischer

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"Rauschenberg: Première exposition (Oeuvres 1954–61)," installation at Galerie Ileana Sonnabend, Paris, 1963

Kunstverein, Cologne, Germany, 19 April–26 May 1968; Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, 7 June–14 July 1968

PLATE 21 Interview (1955) *

"Robert Rauschenberg," Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 3–29 March 1958
 "Out of the Ordinary: The Audience as Subject," Contemporary Arts Association, Houston, 26 November–27 December 1959
 "Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings, Drawings and Combines, 1949–1964," Whitechapel Gallery, London, 4 February–8 March 1964
 "Dada, Surrealism, and Their Heritage," The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 27 March–9 June 1968; Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, 16 July–8 September 1968; The Art Institute of Chicago, 19 October–8 December 1968

"The Museum of Contemporary Art: The Panza Collection," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 13 February–29 September 1985
 "Individuals: A Selected History of Contemporary Art, 1945–1986," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 10 December 1986–10 January 1988
 "Hand-Painted Pop: American Art in Transition, 1955–62," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 6 December 1992–7 March 1993; Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago, 3 April–20 June 1993; Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 16 July–3 October 1993

"Images of an Era: Selections from the Permanent Collection," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 15 October 1995–23 June 1996
 "Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998
 "Panza: The Legacy of a Collector," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 12 December 1999–30 April 2000
 "A Room of Their Own: From Rothko to Rauschenberg," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 11 February 2001–31 March 2002
 "Mid-Century Masterworks from the Collection," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 20 July 2003–26 January 2004

PLATE 22 Short Circuit [formerly titled Construction with Jasper Johns Flag] (1955)

Fourth Annual Exhibition of Paintings and Sculpture, Stable Gallery, New York, 26 April–21 May 1955
 Group Exhibition, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, 13 March–20 May 1958
 "Art in Process: The Visual Development of Collage," Contemporary Study Wing, Finch College Museum of Art, New York, 9 March–August 1967; Charles H. MacNider Museum, Mason City, Iowa, 24 August–14 September

1967; University of Georgia, Athens, 28 September–19 October 1967; State University College, Plattsburgh, New York, 2–23 November 1967; Cedar Rapids Art Center, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 11 January–1 February 1968; The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C., 15 February–7 March 1968; The Neville Public Museum, Green Bay, Wisconsin, 21 March–11 April 1968; Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Indiana, 25 April–16 May 1986; State University College, Geneseo, New York, 4–25 July 1968; Bates College, Lewiston, Maine, 12 September–3 October 1968

PLATE 23 Bed (1955) *

"Robert Rauschenberg," Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 3–29 March 1958

Festival of Two Worlds, Spoleto, Italy, 17 April–10 September 1958

"Art and the Found Object," Time-Life Reception Center, New York, 12–30 January 1959

"Documenta II: Kunst nach 1945," Museum Fridericianum, Kassel, Germany, 11 July–11 October 1959

Exposition Internationale du Surréalisme, Galerie Daniel Cordier, Paris, 15 December 1959–15 February 1960

International Surrealist Exhibition, D'Arcy Galleries, New York, 28 November 1960–14 January 1961

"4 Amerikanare: Jasper Johns, Alfred Leslie, Robert Rauschenberg, Richard Stankiewicz," Moderna Museet, Stockholm, 17 March–6 May 1962; Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 18 May–18 June 1962; Kunsthalle, Bern, 7 July–2 September 1962

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings, Drawings and Combines, 1949–1964," Whitechapel Gallery, London, 4 February–8 March 1964

"Four Germinal Painters," XXXII International Biennial Exhibition of Art, United States Pavilion, Venice, Italy, 20 June–18 October 1964

"The New American Realism," Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts, 18 February–4 April 1965

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings 1953–1964," Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, 3 May–6 June 1965

"The Object Transformed," The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 29 June–5 September 1966

"Dada, Surrealism, and Their Heritage," The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 27 March–9 June 1968; Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, 16 July–8 September 1968; The Art Institute of Chicago, 19 October–8 December 1968

"The Art of the Real: USA, 1948–1968," The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 3 July–8 September 1968

"New York Painting and Sculpture: 1940–1970," The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 18 October 1969–8 February 1970

"Currents," Dayton's Gallery 12, Minneapolis, 3 April–2 May 1970

"American Pop Art," Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 6 April–16 June 1974

"Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978

"Robert Rauschenberg: Werke 1950–1980," Staatliche Kunsthalle, Berlin, 23 March–4 May 1980; Kunsthalle, Düsseldorf, Germany, 6 June–13 July 1980; Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, Humlebaek, Denmark, 20 September–25 November 1980; Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, Germany, 3 December 1980–18 January 1981; Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich, Germany, 4 February–5 April 1981; Tate Gallery, London, 29 April–14 June 1981

"For Love and Money: Dealers Choose," Pratt Institute, Manhattan Center, New York, 14 September–10 October 1981

"Castelli and His Artists," Aspen Center for the Visual Arts, Aspen, Colorado, 17 June–8 August 1982; La Jolla Museum of Contemporary Art, La Jolla, California, 23 April–6 June 1982; Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 11 September–9 October 1982; Portland Center for the Visual Arts, Portland, Oregon, 22 October–3 December 1982; Laguna Gloria Art Museum, Austin, 17 December 1982–13 February 1983

"Blam! The Explosion of Pop, Minimalism, and Performance, 1958–1964," Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 20 September–2 December 1984

"Les années 50," Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, 30 June–17 October 1988

"Colección Leo Castelli," Fundación Juan March, Madrid, 7 October 1988–8 January 1989

"High & Low: Modern Art and Popular Culture," The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 7 October 1990–15 January 1991; The Art Institute of Chicago, 20 February–12 May 1991; The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 21 June–15 September 1991

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998

"To Be Looked At: Painting and Sculpture from the Collection," The Museum of Modern Art Queens, Long Island City, New York, 29 June 2002–6 September 2004

PLATE 24 Rebus (1955)

"Robert Rauschenberg," Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 3–29 March 1958

"Robert Rauschenberg," Galerie Daniel Cordier, Paris, 27 April–May 1961

"Rauschenberg," Galleria dell'Ariete, Milan, 24 October–November 1961

"4 Amerikanare: Jasper Johns, Alfred Leslie, Robert Rauschenberg, Richard Stankiewicz," Moderna Museet, Stockholm, 17 March–6 May 1962; Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 18 May–18 June 1962; Kunsthalle, Bern, 7 July–2 September 1962

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings, Drawings and Combines, 1949–1964," Whitechapel Gallery, London, 4 February–8 March 1964

"Four Germinal Painters," XXXII International Biennial Exhibition of Art, United States Pavilion, Venice, Italy, 20 June–18 October 1964

"Robert Rauschenberg," Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 23 February–7 April 1968; Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, Germany, 19 April–26 May 1968; Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, Paris, 7 June–14 July 1968

"Robert Rauschenberg: Selections," Fort Worth Art Center, Fort Worth, Texas, 5 January–2 February 1969

"New York Painting and Sculpture: 1940–1970," The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 18 October 1969–8 February 1970

"American Pop Art," Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 6 April–16 June 1974

"Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978

"High & Low: Modern Art and Popular Culture," The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 7 October 1990–15 January 1991

PLATE 25 Satellite (1955) *

"Thirteen Artists," Newport Festival, Newport, Rhode Island, June 1958

First Biennale de Paris, Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, October 1959

"Sixteen Americans," The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 16 December 1959–14 February 1960

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

"Abject Art: Repulsion and Desire in American Art; Selections from the Permanent Collection," Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 23 June–29 August 1993

"Views from Abroad: European Perspectives on American Art 1," Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 29 June–1 October 1995

"Beat Culture and the New America: 1950–1965," Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 9 November 1995–4 February 1996

PLATE 26 **Hymnal** (1955) *

"Rauschenberg," Galleria dell'Ariete, Milan, Italy, 24 October–November 1961
 "4 Amerikanare: Jasper Johns, Alfred Leslie, Robert Rauschenberg, Richard Stankiewicz," Moderna Museet, Stockholm, 17 March–6 May 1962; Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 18 May–18 June 1962; Kunsthalle, Bern, 7 July–2 September 1962
 "Rauschenberg: Première exposition (Oeuvres 1954–61)," Galerie Ileana Sonnabend, Paris, 1–16 February 1963
 "Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963
 "Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings, Drawings and Combines, 1949–1964," Whitechapel Gallery, London, 4 February–8 March 1964
 "New Realism," Gemeentemuseum, The Hague, The Netherlands, 15 June–31 August 1964
 "Pop art, nouveau réalisme, etc....," Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, 5 February–1 March 1965
 "Robert Rauschenberg: Selections," Fort Worth Art Center, Fort Worth, Texas, 5 January–2 February 1969
 "Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978
 "Robert Rauschenberg: Werke 1950–1980," Staatliche Kunsthalle, Berlin, 23 March–4 May 1980; Kunsthalle, Düsseldorf, Germany, 6 June–13 July 1980; Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, Humlebaek, Denmark, 20 September–25 November 1980; Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, Germany, 3 December 1980–18 January 1981; Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich, Germany, 4 February–5 April 1981; Tate Gallery, London, 29 April–14 June 1981
 "Rauschenberg," Galerie Beyeler, Basel, Switzerland, 12 March–31 May 1984
 "Selections from the Ileana and Michael Sonnabend Collection: Works from the 1950s and 1960," Art Museum, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, 3 February–9 June 1985; Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery, The University of Texas, Austin, 8 September–27 October 1985; Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, 23 November 1985–9 March 1986
 "Hand-Painted Pop: American Art in Transition, 1955–62," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 6 December 1992–7 March 1993; Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago, 3 April–20 June 1993; Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 16 July–3 October 1993
 "Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998; Museum Ludwig, Cologne,

Germany, 27 June–11 October 1998; Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain, 21 November 1998–7 March 1999

PLATE 27 **Levee** [formerly titled **Drift**] (1955) *

Tenth Anniversary Exhibition, Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 4–26 February 1967
 "Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978
 "Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998

PLATE 28 **Untitled** (c.1954) *

XII Premio Lissone, Palazzo dei Centro del Mobile, Lissone, Italy, 1961
 "Four Germinal Painters," XXXII International Biennial Exhibition of Art, United States Pavilion, Venice, Italy, 20 June–18 October 1964
 "The Museum of Contemporary Art: The Panza Collection," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 13 February–29 September 1985
 "Individuals: A Selected History of Contemporary Art, 1945–1986," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 10 December 1986–10 January 1988
 "Hand-Painted Pop: American Art in Transition, 1955–62," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 6 December 1992–7 March 1993
 "Images of an Era: Selections from the Permanent Collection," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 15 October 1995–23 June 1996
 "Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998
 "Panza: The Legacy of a Collector," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 12 December 1999–30 April 2000
 "A Room of Their Own: From Rothko to Rauschenberg," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 11 February 2001–31 March 2002

PLATE 29 **Odalisk** (1955/58) *

"Art and the Found Object," Time-Life Reception Center, New York, 12–30 January 1959
 "New Media, New Forms," Martha Jackson Gallery, New York, June–July 1960
 "Robert Rauschenberg," Galerie Daniel Cordier, Paris, 27 April–May 1961
 "4 Amerikanare: Jasper Johns, Alfred Leslie, Robert Rauschenberg, Richard Stankiewicz," Moderna Museet, Stockholm, 17 March–6 May 1962; Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 18 May–18 June 1962

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings, Drawings and Combines, 1949–1964," Whitechapel Gallery, London, 4 February–8 March 1964
 "New York Painting and Sculpture: 1940–1970," The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 18 October 1969–8 February 1970
 "Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978
 "Robert Rauschenberg: Werke 1950–1980," Staatliche Kunsthalle, Berlin, 23 March–4 May 1980; Kunsthalle, Düsseldorf, Germany, 6 June–13 July 1980
 Internationale Ausstellung Köln 1981, Kunsthalle, Cologne, Germany, 30 May–16 August 1981
 "Les années 50," Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, 30 June–17 October 1988
 "Pop Art," Royal Academy of Arts, London, 13 September–15 December 1991; Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 23 January–19 April 1992; Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, Madrid, 16 June–14 September 1992; Museum of Fine Arts, Montréal, 23 October 1992–24 January 1993
 "Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998; Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 27 June–11 October 1998; Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain, 21 November 1998–7 March 1999
 "Les années Pop, 1956–1968," Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, 15 March–2 July 2001

PLATE 30 **Monk** (1955) *

"Art in Process: The Visual Development of Collage," Contemporary Study Wing, Finch College Museum of Art, New York, 9 March–August 1967; Charles H. MacNider Museum, Mason City, Iowa, 24 August–14 September 1967; University of Georgia, Athens, 28 September–19 October 1967; State University College, Plattsburgh, New York, 2–23 November 1967; Cedar Rapids Art Center, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 11 January–1 February 1968; The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C., 15 February–7 March 1968; The Neville Public Museum, Green Bay, Wisconsin, 21 March–11 April 1968; Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Indiana, 25 April–16 May 1986; State University College, Geneseo, New York, 4–25 July 1968; Bates College, Lewiston, Maine, 12 September–3 October 1968
 "Selections from the Ileana and Michael Sonnabend Collection: Works from the 1950s and 1960s," Art Museum, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey,

3 February–9 June 1985; Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery, The University of Texas, Austin, 8 September–27 October 1985; Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, 23 November 1985–9 March 1986

"Roma—New York, 1948–1964: An Art Exploration," The Murray and Isabella Rayburn Foundation, New York, 5 November 1993–10 January 1994

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998; Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 27 June–11 October 1998; Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain, 21 November 1998–7 March 1999

PLATE 31 Untitled (1955) *

"Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978

"The Expressionist Image: From Pollock to Today," Sidney Janis Gallery, New York, 9–30 October 1982

"Hand-Painted Pop: American Art in Transition, 1955–62," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 6 December 1992–7 March 1993; Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago, 3 April–20 June 1993; Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 16 July–3 October 1993

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998

PLATE 32 Untitled (c. 1955) *

"Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998

PLATE 33 K24976S (1956)

"Contemporary American Painting," Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts, Columbus, Ohio, 14 January–15 February 1960

"Robert Rauschenberg," Galerie Daniel Cordier, Paris, 27 April–May 1961

"Rauschenberg," Galleria dell'Ariete, Milan, Italy,

24 October–November 1961

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings, Drawings and Combines, 1949–1964," Whitechapel Gallery, London, 4 February–8 March 1964

PLATE 34 Interior (1956) *

"Art and the Found Object," Time-Life Reception Center, New York, 12–30 January 1959

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

"Robert Rauschenberg," Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 23 February–7 April 1968; Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, Germany, 19 April–26 May 1968; Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, 7 June–14 July 1968

"Robert Rauschenberg: Selections," Fort Worth Art Center, Fort Worth, Texas, 5 January–2 February 1969

"Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978

"Robert Rauschenberg: Werke 1950–1980," Staatliche Kunsthalle, Berlin, 23 March–4 May 1980; Kunsthalle, Düsseldorf, Germany, 6 June–13 July 1980; Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, Humlebaek, Denmark, 20 September–25 November 1980; Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, Germany, 3 December 1980–18 January 1981; Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich, Germany, 4 February–5 April 1981; Tate Gallery, London, 29 April–14 June 1981

"The New York School: Four Decades," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 1 July–22 August 1982

"Selections from the Ileana and Michael Sonnabend Collection: Works from the 1950s and 1960s," Art Museum, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, 3 February–9 June 1985; Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery, The University of Texas, Austin, 8 September–27 October 1985; Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, 23 November 1985–9 March 1986

"Colección Sonnabend: 25 años de selección y de actividad," Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, Madrid, 30 October 1987–15 February 1988; capc Musée d'art contemporain, Bordeaux, France, 6 May–25 September 1988; Art Cologne, Cologne, Germany, 10–16 November 1988; Hamburger Bahnhof, Berlin, 7 December 1988–26 February 1989; Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome, 14 April–2 October 1989; Museo d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea di Trento e Rovereto, Trento, Italy, 4 November 1989–7 January 1990; Musée Rath, Geneva, Switzerland, 28 January–16 April 1990; Sezon Museum of Art, Tokyo, 15 May–24 June 1990; The Miyagi Museum of Art, Sendai, Japan, 3 July–16 August 1990; Fukuyama Museum of Art, Hiroshima, Japan, 22 September–14 October 1990; The National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto, Japan, 5 January–11 February 1991

"A View From the Sixties: Selections from the Leo Castelli Collection and the Michael and Ileana Sonnabend Collection," Guild Hall Museum, East Hampton, New York, 11 August–22 September 1991

"Hand-Painted Pop: American Art in Transition, 1955–62," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 6 December 1992–7 March 1993; Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago, 3 April–20 June 1993; Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 16 July–3 October 1993

"Peinture: Emblèmes et références," capc Musée d'art contemporain, Bordeaux, France, 10 December 1993–27 February 1994

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain, 21 November 1998–7 March 1999

"Robert Rauschenberg Combines: Painting + Sculpture," Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore, 6 December 2000–20 May 2001

PLATE 35 Honeysuckle [formerly titled Kneepad] (1956) *

No exhibition history. Illustrated in *Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings, Drawings and Combines, 1949–1964*, exh. cat. (London: Whitechapel Gallery, 1964).

PLATE 36 Gloria (1956)

"New Work: Bluhm, Budd, Dzubas, Johns, Leslie, Louis, Marchisol, Ortman, Rauschenberg, Savelli," Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 6–29 May 1957

Group Exhibition, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, 13 March–20 May 1958

"Art and the Found Object," Time-Life Reception Center, New York, 12–30 January 1959

"Robert Rauschenberg," Galerie Daniel Cordier, Paris, 27 April–May 1961

"Rauschenberg," Galleria dell'Ariete, Milan, Italy, 24 October–November 1961

"4 Amerikanare: Jasper Johns, Alfred Leslie, Robert Rauschenberg, Richard Stankiewicz," Moderna Museet, Stockholm, 17 March–6 May 1962; Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 18 May–18 June 1962; Kunsthalle, Bern, 7 July–2 September 1962

"Rauschenberg: Première exposition (Oeuvres 1954–61)," Galerie Ileana Sonnabend, Paris, 1–16 February 1963

"Sound Light Silence: Art That Performs," Nelson Gallery, Atkins Museum, Kansas City, Missouri, 4 November–4 December 1966

"Robert Rauschenberg," Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 23 February–7 April 1968; Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, Germany, 19 April–26 May 1968; Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, 7 June–14 July 1968

PLATE 37 Untitled (1956) *

"Second Hiroshima Art Prize," Hiroshima City Museum of Contemporary Art, Hiroshima, Japan, 3 November 1993–16 January 1994

PLATE 38 Opportunity #7 (1956)

"Artists of the New York School: Second Generation," The Jewish Museum, New York, 10 March–28 April 1957

"Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 27 June–11 October 1998; Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain, 21 November 1998–7 March 1999

PLATE 39 Memorandum of Bids (1957) *

"Robert Rauschenberg," Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 3–29 March 1958

"Rauschenberg: Première exposition (Oeuvres 1954–61)," Galerie Ileana Sonnabend, Paris, 1–16 February 1963

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings, Drawings and Combines, 1949–1964," Whitechapel Gallery, London, 4 February–8 March 1964

"Robert Rauschenberg," Museum Haus Lange, Krefeld, Germany, 12 September–18 October 1964

"Robert Rauschenberg," Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 23 February–7 April 1968; Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, Germany, 19 April–26 May 1968; Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, 7 June–14 July 1968

"Robert Rauschenberg: Werke 1950–1980," Staatliche Kunsthalle, Berlin, 23 March–4 May 1980; Kunsthalle, Düsseldorf, Germany, 6 June–13 July 1980; Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, Humlebaek, Denmark, 20 September–25 November 1980; Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, Germany, 3 December 1980–18 January 1981; Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich, Germany, 4 February–5 April 1981; Tate Gallery, London, 29 April–14 June 1981

"Castelli and His Artists: Twenty-Five Years," Aspen Center for the Visual Arts, Aspen, Colorado, 17 June–8 August 1982; La Jolla Museum of Contemporary Art, La Jolla, California, 23 April–6 June 1982; Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 11 September–9 October 1982; Portland Center for the Visual Arts, Portland, Oregon, 22 October–3 December 1982; Laguna Gloria Art Museum, Austin, 17 December–13 February 1983

"Pop Art: 1955–1970," organized by the International Council of The Museum of Modern Art, New York: Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia, 27 February–14 April 1985; Queensland Art Gallery, South Brisbane, Australia, 1 May–2 June 1985; National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia, 26 June–11 August 1985

"Peinture: Emblèmes et références," capc Musée d'art contemporain, Bordeaux, France, 10 December 1993–27 February 1994

"Neo-Dada: Redefining Art, 1958–62," Equitable Gallery, New York, 27 January–18 March 1995

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998; Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 27 June–11 October 1998; Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain, 21 November 1998–7 March 1999

"Contemporary American Masters: The 1960's," Nassau County Museum of Art, Roslyn Harbor, New York, 13 June–12 September 1999

"Rauschenberg," Gallerie d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea—Palazzo dei Diamanti, Ferrara, Italy, 29 February–6 June 2004

PLATE 40 Rhyme (1956)

"Collage in America," organized by American Federation of Arts, Zabriskie Gallery, New York, 16 December 1957–4 January 1958; Davenport Municipal Art Gallery, Davenport, Iowa, 1–24 February 1958; George Peabody College, Nashville, 7–26 March 1958; Florida A&M University, Tallahassee, 7–27 April 1958; University of Wyoming, Laramie, 8–28 May 1958; Atlanta Public Library, Atlanta, 15 September–5 October 1958; Newcomb College, Tulane University, New Orleans, 21 October–15 November 1958; Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York, 24 November–18 December 1958; Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center, Colorado Springs, 5–25 January 1959; Ohio University, Athens, 8–28 February 1959

The 26th Biennial of Contemporary American Painting, Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 16 January–8 March 1959; Winston-Salem Public Library, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 1–21 April 1959; Amarillo College, Amarillo, Texas, 4–24 May 1959; J. B. Speed Art Museum, Louisville, 5–25 June 1959; Cedar Rapids Art Association, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1–22 September 1959; University of Oklahoma, Norman, 5–25 October 1959; Clemson College, Clemson, South Carolina, 7–27 November 1959; Brooks Memorial Art Gallery, Memphis, 7–27 January 1960; Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, 10 February–1 March 1960; Albany Institute of History and Art, Albany, 1–30 April 1960

"Rauschenberg: Première exposition (Oeuvres 1954–61)," Galerie Ileana Sonnabend, Paris, 1–16 February 1963

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings, Drawings and Combines, 1949–1964," Whitechapel Gallery, London, 4 February–8 March 1964

"Robert Rauschenberg," Museum Haus Lange, Krefeld, Germany, 12 September–18 October 1964

"Robert Rauschenberg," Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 23 February–7 April 1968; Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, Germany, 19 April–26 May 1968; Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, 7 June–14 July 1968

"Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978

"To Be Looked At: Painting and Sculpture from the Collection," The Museum of Modern Art Queens, Long Island City, New York, 29 June 2002–6 September 2004

PLATE 41 Untitled (1956)

No exhibition history.

PLATE 42 Untitled (c. 1956)

No exhibition history.

PLATE 43 Untitled (c. 1956) *

No exhibition history.

PLATE 44 Untitled (c. 1956) *

"Twelve Americans: Masters of Collage," Andrew Crispo Gallery, New York, 17 November–30 December 1977

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998

PLATE 45 Small Rebus (1956) *

Group Exhibition, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, 13 March–20 May 1958

"Métamorphose de l'objet: Art et Anti-Art, 1910–1970," Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, 22 April–6 June 1971

"The Museum of Contemporary Art: The Panza Collection," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 13 February–29 September 1985

"Hand-Painted Pop: American Art in Transition, 1955–62," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 6 December 1992–7 March 1993; Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago, 3 April–20 June 1993; Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 16 July–3 October 1993

"Images of an Era: Selections from the Permanent Collection," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 15 October 1995–23 June 1996

"Panza: The Legacy of a Collector," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 12 December 1999–30 April 2000

"A Room of Their Own: From Rothko to Rauschenberg," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 11 February 2001–31 March 2002

"Rauschenberg," Gallerie d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea—Palazzo dei Diamanti, Ferrara, Italy, 29 February–6 June 2004

PLATE 46 **Untitled** [formerly titled **Collage with Gauze**] (1957)

Benefit Group Show, Sandler, September 1957–7 March 1959
 “Wit and Whimsy in Twentieth-Century Art,” American Federation of Arts, New York, November 1962–November 1963
 Weatherspoon Annual Exhibition, Weatherspoon Art Gallery, University of North Carolina, Greensboro, 1968
 “Actual Size,” Larry Gagosian Gallery, Los Angeles, 24 September–16 October 1985

PLATE 47 **Untitled** [formerly titled **Collage with Brown Drip**] (1957)

“Cage: Kunst als Grenzbeschreitung; John Cage und die Moderne,” Neue Pinakothek, Munich, Germany, 18 July–25 August 1991

PLATE 48 **Untitled** [formerly titled **Collage with Airmail Stamp**] (1957)

No exhibition history.

PLATE 49 **Untitled** (1956) *

No exhibition history.

PLATE 50 **Untitled** [formerly titled **Collage with Yellow**] (1957) *

Rental Gallery, Cincinnati Arts Museum, Cincinnati, 24 January 1958–21 January 1959
 “Rauschenberg, Schwitters, Tuttle,” Blum Helman Gallery, New York, 4–28 February 1987
 “XIX and XX Century Master Paintings and Sculptures,” Acquavella Galleries, New York, 1 November–1 December 1988
 Group Exhibition, Edward Tyler Nahem Fine Art, New York, February–April 2001
 Group Exhibition, Edward Tyler Nahem Fine Art, New York, May–June 2001

PLATE 51 **Untitled** [formerly titled **Collage with Horse**] (1957) *

Inaugural Art Exhibition, Seagram Building, New York, May 1958
 “The Museum in the Gallery: The 35th Anniversary Celebration of the New York University Art Collection,” Grey Art Gallery, New York University, New York, 7 June–23 July 1993
 “Americanisms: Shaping Art and Culture in the 1950s,” The Andy Warhol Museum, Pittsburgh, 28 September 2002–20 July 2003

PLATE 52 **Untitled** [formerly titled **Collage with Two Squares**] (1957)

No exhibition history.

PLATE 53 **Untitled** [formerly titled **Collage with Blue Ink Square**] (1957)

No exhibition history.

PLATE 54 **Untitled** (1957)

Art Dealers Association of America Art Show, James Goodman Gallery Booth, New York, 22–26 February 1996

PLATE 55 **Wanderlust** [formerly titled **White Collage**] (1957) *

“Rauschenberg: Première exposition (Oeuvres 1954–61),” Galerie Ileana Sonnabend, Paris, 1–16 February 1963
 “Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings, Drawings and Combines, 1949–1964,” Whitechapel Gallery, London, 4 February–8 March 1964
 “American Art in Belgium,” Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, 1 May–1 August 1977

PLATE 56 **Untitled** (1957)

“The Language of Art,” Kunsthalle, Vienna, 27 August–17 October 1993

PLATE 57 **Untitled** [formerly titled **Collage with Cuff**] (1957) *

Lending Service, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 4 December 1957–13 May 1959
 “Rauschenberg: Première exposition (Oeuvres 1954–61),” Galerie Ileana Sonnabend, Paris, 1–16 February 1963
 “Robert Rauschenberg,” Museum Haus Lange, Krefeld, Germany, 12 September–18 October 1964

PLATE 58 **The Tower** (1957) *

Set for Paul Taylor Dance Company’s *The Tower*, Kaufman Auditorium, YMHA, New York, 10 February 1957
 “Robert Rauschenberg: Werke 1950–1980,” Tate Gallery, London, 28 April–14 June 1981
 “Blam! The Explosion of Pop, Minimalism, and Performance, 1958–1964,” Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 20 September–2 December 1984
 “Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective,” Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998

PLATE 59 **Untitled** (c. 1957)

No exhibition history.

PLATE 60 **Untitled** (1957)

“Petits formats,” Galerie Beyeler, Basel, Switzerland, 1978

PLATE 61 **Untitled** [formerly titled **Collage with Letter**] (1957)

“Collage International: From Picasso to the Present,” Contemporary Arts Museum, Houston, 27 February–6 April 1958
 “Robert Rauschenberg,” National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo,

New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978

PLATE 62 **Untitled** [formerly titled **Collage with Blue**] (1957)

“Rauschenberg: Première exposition (Oeuvres 1954–61),” Galerie Ileana Sonnabend, Paris, 1–16 February 1963
 “Robert Rauschenberg,” Museum Haus Lange, Krefeld, Germany, 12 September–18 October 1964

PLATE 63 **Untitled** [formerly titled **Collage with Rock**] (1957)

“Zabriskie Collection Show,” Zabriskie Gallery, New York, 16 December 1957–4 January 1958
 “Collage in America,” organized by American Federation of Arts: Davenport Municipal Art Gallery, Davenport, Iowa, 1–24 February 1958; George Peabody College, Nashville, 7–26 March 1958; Florida A&M University, Tallahassee, 7–27 April 1958; University of Wyoming, Laramie, 8–28 May 1958; Atlanta Public Library, Atlanta, 15 September–5 October 1958; Newcomb College, Tulane University, New Orleans, 21 October–15 November 1958; Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York, 24 November–18 December 1958; Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center, Colorado Springs, 5–25 January 1959; Ohio University, Athens, 8–28 February 1959

PLATE 64 **Warbler** (1957)

No exhibition history.

PLATE 65 **Dear Janice** (1957)

Group Exhibition, Area Gallery, New York, 30 January–25 February 1959
 Munson Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut, 14 October–19 November 1959
 “Second Hiroshima Art Prize,” Hiroshima City Museum of Contemporary Art, Hiroshima, Japan, 3 November 1993–16 January 1994

PLATE 66 **Untitled** (1957)

Gallery G, New York, 1963

PLATE 67 **Painting with Red Letter S** (1957) *

Pittsburgh Bicentennial International Exhibition of Contemporary Painting and Sculpture, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, 5 December 1958–8 February 1959
 V Bienal, Museu de Arte Moderna, São Paulo, Brazil, 21 September–31 December 1959
 “Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings 1953–1964,” Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, 3 May–6 June 1965

PLATE 68 **Hazard** (1957) *

“Robert Rauschenberg,” Museum Haus Lange, Krefeld, Germany, 12 September–18 October 1964
 “May Exhibition of Contemporary Art,” Washington University, St. Louis, May 1959
 V Bienal, Museu de Arte Moderna, São Paulo, Brazil, 21 September–31 December 1959

"American Vanguard," Nebraska Art Association, Omaha, 15 March–15 April 1961

"Art in America," Decorative Art Center, New York, 6–23 December 1961

"Art Since 1950: American and International," Century 21 Exposition, Seattle, 21 April–21 October 1962; Rose Art Museum, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings, Drawings and Combines, 1949–1964," Whitechapel Gallery, London, 4 February–8 March 1964

"Robert Rauschenberg," Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 23 February–7 April 1968; Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, Germany, 19 April–26 May 1968; Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, 7 June–14 July 1968

"Pop Art America Europa," Forte di Belvedere, Centro Mostre di Firenze, Florence, Italy, 4 July–4 October 1987

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 27 June–11 October 1998; Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain, 21 November 1998–7 March 1999

PLATE 69 Factum I (1957) *

Festival of Two Worlds, Spoleto, Italy, 17 April–10 September 1958

"Collage Show," Douglas College, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 20 November–22 December 1959

"School of New York: Some Younger Artists," The Stable Gallery, New York, 15 December 1959–9 January 1960; travel funded by American Federation of Arts

"Robert Rauschenberg," Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 3–29 March 1958

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings, Drawings and Combines, 1949–1964," Whitechapel Gallery, London, 4 February–8 March 1964

"Four Germinal Painters," XXXII International Biennial Exhibition of Art, United States Pavilion, Venice, Italy, 20 June–18 October 1964

"New York Painting and Sculpture: 1940–1970," The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 18 October 1969–8 February 1970

"Métamorphose de l'objet: Art et Anti-Art, 1910–1970," Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, 22 April–6 June 1971

"The Museum of Contemporary Art: The Panza Collection," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 13 February–29 September 1985

"Individuals: A Selected History of Contemporary Art, 1945–1986," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 10 December 1986–10 January 1988

"High & Low: Modern Art and Popular Culture," The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 7 October 1990–15 January 1991; The Art Institute of Chicago, 20 February–12 May 1991; The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 21 June–15 September 1991

"Rolywholyover A Circus," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 12 September–28 November 1993; The Menil Collection, Houston, 14 January–3 April

1994; Guggenheim Museum SoHo, New York, 23 April–7 August 1994; Art Tower Mito Contemporary Art Center, Ibaraki, Japan, 3 November 1994–26 February 1995; Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, 21 May–30 June 1995

"Images of an Era: Selections from the Permanent Collection," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 15 October 1995–23 June 1996

"Hand-Painted Pop: American Art in Transition, 1955–62," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 6 December 1992–7 March 1993; Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago, 3 April–20 June 1993; Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 16 July–3 October 1993

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998

"Panza: The Legacy of a Collector," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 12 December 1999–30 April 2000

"Open Ends," The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 28 September 2000–4 March 2001

"A Room of Their Own: From Rothko to Rauschenberg," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 11 February 2001–31 March 2002

"Mid-Century Masterworks from the Collection," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 20 July 2003–26 January 2004

PLATE 70 Factum II (1957) *

"Robert Rauschenberg," Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 3–29 March 1958

Festival of Two Worlds, Spoleto, Italy, 17 April–10 September 1958

"Collage Show," Douglas College, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 20 November–22 December 1959

"School of New York: Some Younger Artists," The Stable Gallery, New York, 15 December 1959–9 January 1960; travel funded by American Federation of Arts

"Six Painters and the Object," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 14 March–12 June 1963

"New York Painting and Sculpture: 1940–1970," The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 18 October 1969–8 February 1970

"The Morton G. Neumann Family Collection," National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 31 August 1980–11 January 1981

"Robert Rauschenberg," Fundación Juan March, Madrid, 8 February–March 1985

"High & Low: Modern Art and Popular Culture," The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 7 October 1990–15 January 1991; The Art Institute of Chicago, 20 February–12 May 1991; The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 21 June–15 September 1991

"Making Choices," The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 16 March–26 September 2000

"Open Ends," The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 28 September 2000–4 March 2001

"A Room of Their Own: From Rothko to Rauschenberg," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 11 February 2001–31 March 2002

"Mid-Century Masterworks from the Collection," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 20 July 2003–26 January 2004

PLATE 71 State (1958)

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain, 21 November 1998–7 March 1999

PLATE 72 SAF (1958) *

Benefit, Ethical Culture Fieldston School, New York, 13–29 October 1959

PLATE 73 Lincoln (1958) *

"School of New York: Some Younger Artists," The Stable Gallery, New York, 15 December 1959–9 January 1960; travel funded by American Federation of Arts

"Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978

PLATE 74 Docket of Violation [formerly titled **Statue of Liberty**] (1958)

"Pop Art," Royal Academy of Arts, London, 13 September–15 December 1991; Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 23 January–19 April 1992; Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, Madrid, 16 June–14 September 1992; Museum of Fine Arts, Montréal, 23 October 1992–24 January 1993

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998

PLATE 75 Bird (1958)

No exhibition history. Detail used on record cover, *Piano Quintet/Ross Lee Finney; String Quartet (1931)/Ruth Crawford Seeger*, ML 5477 Columbia, 1960.

PLATE 76 307 (1958)

"Robert Rauschenberg," Katonah Gallery, Katonah, New York, 28 May–24 September 1958

PLATE 77 1A (1958)

No exhibition history.

PLATE 78 Thaw (1958)

"Documenta II: Kunst nach 1945," Museum Fridericianum, Kassel, Germany, 11 July–11 October 1959

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings 1953–1964," Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, 3 May–6 June 1965

PLATE 79 Curfew (1958) *

"Contemporary American Painting and Sculpture," University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 1 March–5 April 1959

"Sixteen Americans," The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 16 December 1959–14 February 1960

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings, Drawings and Combines, 1949–1964," Whitechapel Gallery, London, 4 February–8 March 1964

"Four Germinal Painters," XXXII International Biennial Exhibition of Art, United States Pavilion, Venice, Italy, 20 June–18 October 1964

"Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998; Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 27 June–11 October 1998; Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain, 21 November 1998–7 March 1999

PLATE 80 Talisman (1958) *

"Collage Show," Allan Stone Gallery, New York, 23 December 1958–26 January 1959

69th Annual Art Exhibition, University of Nebraska Gallery, Lincoln, 26 January–21 April 1959

First Biennale de Paris, Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, October 1959

"The Art of Assemblage," The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 2 October–12 November 1961; Dallas Museum for Contemporary Arts, Dallas, 9 January–11 February 1962; San Francisco Museum of Art, San Francisco, 5 March–15 April 1962

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

"Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978

PLATE 81 Coca-Cola Plan (1958) *

"Laughter in Art," Dallas Museum for Contemporary Arts, Dallas, 5 November 1958–6 January 1959

"Below Zero," Reuben Gallery, New York, 18 December 1959–5 January 1960

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

"Four Germinal Painters," XXXII International Biennial Exhibition of Art, United States Pavilion, Venice, Italy, 20 June–18 October 1964

"The Museum of Contemporary Art: The Panza Collection," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 13 February–29 September 1985

"Individuals: A Selected History of Contemporary Art, 1945–1986," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 10 December 1986–10 January 1988

"High & Low: Modern Art and Popular Culture," The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 7 October 1990–15 January 1991; The Art Institute of Chicago, 20 February–12 May 1991; The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 21 June–15 September 1991

"Rolywholyover A Circus," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 12 September–28 November 1993; The Menil Collection, Houston, 14 January–3 April 1994; Guggenheim Museum SoHo, New York, 23 April–7 August 1994; Art Tower Mito Contemporary Art Center, Ibaraki, Japan, 3 November 1994–26 February 1995; Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, 21 May–30 June 1995

"Hand-Painted Pop: American Art in Transition, 1955–62," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 6 December 1992–7 March 1993; Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago, 3 April–20 June 1993; Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 16 July–3 October 1993

"Images of an Era: Selections from the Permanent Collection," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 15 October 1995–23 June 1996

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998

"Panza: The Legacy of a Collector," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 12 December 1999–30 April 2000

"A Room of Their Own: From Rothko to Rauschenberg," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 11 February 2001–31 March 2002

"Americanisms: Shaping Art and Culture in the 1950s," The Andy Warhol Museum, Pittsburgh, 28 September 2002–20 July 2003

PLATE 82 Black Mail (1958)

"Robert Rauschenberg," Katonah Gallery, Katonah, New York, 28 May–24 September 1958

Benefit, Ethical Culture Fieldston School, New York, 7–18 November 1958

Rental Gallery, Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 3 June–1 July 1959

PLATE 83 Untitled [formerly titled Construction] (1958)

"The Tremaine Collection: 20th-Century Masters," Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut, 25 February–15 May 1984

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998

"XIX and XX Century Master Paintings and Sculptures," Acquavella Galleries, New York, 26 October–21 November 1998

Spring Exhibition, Acquavella Galleries, New York, 1 May–15 June 2001

"20th-Century Sculpture," Acquavella Galleries, New York, 4 April–22 May 2003

PLATE 84 Interior 2 (1958) *

"Richard Brown Baker Collects!," Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut, 24 April–22 June 1975

"Collecting with Richard Brown Baker from Pollock to Lichtenstein," Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut, 19 May–13 September 1995

PLATE 85 Untitled (1958)

No exhibition history.

PLATE 86 Untitled (1958)

No exhibition history.

PLATE 87 Untitled [formerly titled Abstract Collage (Avant-Garde Cocteau)] (1958) *

No exhibition history.

PLATE 88 Wager [formerly titled Nocturnes in an earlier state] (1957–59) *

"Sixteen Americans," The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 16 December 1959–14 February 1960

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings 1953–1964,"

Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, 3 May–6 June 1965

"Robert Rauschenberg," Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 23 February–7 April 1968; Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, Germany, 19 April–26 May 1968; Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, 7 June–14 July 1968

"Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978

"Robert Rauschenberg: Werke 1950–1980," Staatliche Kunsthalle, Berlin, 23 March–4 May 1980; Kunsthalle, Düsseldorf, Germany, 6 June–13 July 1980

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998; Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 27 June–11 October 1998

PLATE 89 Forge (1959)

First Biennale de Paris, Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, Paris, October 1959

"Robert Rauschenberg," Galerie Daniel Cordier, Paris, 27 April–May 1961

"Rauschenberg," Galleria dell'Ariete, Milan, Italy, 24 October–November 1961

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings, Drawings and Combines, 1949–1964," Whitechapel Gallery, London, 4 February–8 March 1964

"New-Dada e Pop Art Newyorkesi," Galleria Civica d'Arte Moderna, Turin, Italy, 2 April–4 May 1969

"Acquisition Priorities," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 15 October 1976–16 January 1977

"Twelve Americans: Masters of Collage," Andrew Crispo Gallery, New York, 17 November–30 December 1977

"Second Hiroshima Art Prize," Hiroshima City Museum of Contemporary Art, Hiroshima, Japan, 3 November 1993–16 January 1994

PLATE 90 Kickback [formerly titled **King**] (1959) *

"Documenta II: Kunst nach 1945," Museum Fridericianum, Kassel, Germany, 11 July–11 October 1959

"Sixteen Americans," The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 16 December 1959–14 February 1960

"4 Amerikanare: Jasper Johns, Alfred Leslie, Robert Rauschenberg, Richard Stankiewicz," Kunsthalle, Bern, 7 July–2 September 1962

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings, Drawings and Combines, 1949–1964," Whitechapel Gallery, London, 4 February–8 March 1964

"Métamorphose de l'objet: Art et Anti-Art, 1910–1970," Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, 22 April–6 June 1971

"The Museum of Contemporary Art: The Panza Collection," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 13 February–29 September 1985

"Individuals: A Selected History of Contemporary Art, 1945–1986," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 10 December 1986–10 January 1988

"Rolywholyover A Circus," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 12 September–28 November 1993; The Menil Collection, Houston, 14 January–3 April 1994; Guggenheim Museum SoHo, New York, 23 April–7 August 1994; Art Tower Mito Contemporary Art Center, Ibaraki, Japan, 3 November 1994–26 February 1995; Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, 21 May–30 June 1995

"Images of an Era: Selections from the Permanent Collection," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 15 October 1995–23 June 1996

"Hand-Painted Pop: American Art in Transition, 1955–62," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 6 December 1992–7 March 1993; Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago, 3 April–20 June 1993; Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 16 July–3 October 1993

"Panza: The Legacy of a Collector," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 12 December 1999–30 April 2000

"A Room of Their Own: From Rothko to Rauschenberg," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 11 February 2001–31 March 2002

PLATE 91 Migration (1959) *

"Six Painters and the Object," Solomon R.

Guggenheim Museum, New York, 14 March–12 June 1963

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998; Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 27 June–11 October 1998; Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain, 21 November 1998–7 March 1999

PLATE 92 Painting with Grey Wing (1959) *

Galerie Neufville, Paris, 16 November 1960

"The Museum of Contemporary Art: The Panza Collection," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 13 February–29 September 1985

"Individuals: A Selected History of Contemporary Art, 1945–1986," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 10 December 1986–10 January 1988

"Images of an Era: Selections from the Permanent Collection," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 15 October 1995–23 June 1996

"Panza: The Legacy of a Collector," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 12 December 1999–30 April 2000

"A Room of Their Own: From Rothko to Rauschenberg," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 11 February 2001–31 March 2002

PLATE 93 Trophy I (for Merce Cunningham) (1959)

V Bial, Museu de Arte Moderna, São Paulo, Brazil, 21 September–31 December 1959

"Vanguard American Painting," Galerie Würthle, Vienna, 19 June–8 July 1961; Zwerglgarten, Salzburg, Austria, 10 July–31 August 1961; Kalemegdan Pavilion, Belgrade, Yugoslavia, 15 September–1 October 1961; Umetnički Pavilion, Skopje, Yugoslavia, 14–29 October 1961; Moderna Galerija, Zagreb, Yugoslavia, 9–20 November 1961; Umetnostna Galerija, Maribor, Yugoslavia, 25 November–4 December 1961; Moderna Galerija, Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, 11 December 1961–7 January 1962; Rijeka, Yugoslavia, 13–31 January 1962 (site unknown); USIA Gallery, American Embassy, London, 1–15 March 1962; Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, Germany, 14 April–13 May 1962

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings, Drawings and Combines, 1949–1964," Whitechapel Gallery, London, 4 February–8 March 1964

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings 1953–1964," Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, 3 May–6 June 1965

"Robert Rauschenberg," Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 23 February–7 April 1968; Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, Germany, 19 April–26 May 1968; Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, 7 June–14 July 1968

"New York: The Second Breakthrough, 1959–1964," Art Gallery, University of California, Irvine, 18 March–27 April 1969

"Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978

"Rauschenberg," Galerie Beyeler, Basel, Switzerland, 12 March–31 May 1984

"Les années 50," Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, 30 June–17 October 1988

PLATE 94 Summerstorm (1959) *

"Sixteen Americans," The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 16 December 1959–14 February 1960

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

"Robert Rauschenberg," Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 23 February–7 April 1968; Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, Germany, 19 April–26 May 1968; Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, 7 June–14 July 1968

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998

PLATE 95 Photograph (1959) *

First Biennale de Paris, Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, Paris, October 1959

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

"Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978

"Word as Image: American Art, 1960–90," Milwaukee Art Museum, Milwaukee, 15 June–26 August 1990

"Hand-Painted Pop: American Art in Transition, 1955–62," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 6 December 1992–7 March 1993; Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago, 3 April–20 June 1993; Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 16 July–3 October 1993

"Under Development: Dreaming the MCA's Collection," Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago, 29 April–28 August 1994

PLATE 96 Backwash (1959)

No exhibition history.

PLATE 97 Bypass (1959)

"4 Amerikanare: Jasper Johns, Alfred Leslie, Robert Rauschenberg, Richard Stankiewicz," Moderna Museet, Stockholm, 17 March–6 May 1962

"Rauschenberg: Première exposition (Oeuvres 1954–61)," Galerie Ileane Sonnabend, Paris, 1–16 February 1963

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings, Drawings and Combines, 1949–1964," Whitechapel Gallery, London, 4 February–8 March 1964

"Robert Rauschenberg," Museum Haus Lange, Krefeld, Germany, 12 September–18 October 1964

"Selections from the Robert and Jane Meyerhoff Collection," The Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore, 27 September–30 October 1966

"The Robert and Jane Meyerhoff Collection: 1945–1995," National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 31 March–21 July 1996

PLATE 98 Dam (1959) *

"Dorothy C. Miller: With an Eye to American Art," Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, Massachusetts, 19 April–16 June 1985

PLATE 99 Canyon (1959) *

"Robert Rauschenberg," Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 29 March–16 April 1960

"The Art of Assemblage," The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 2 October–12 November 1961; Dallas Museum of Contemporary Arts, Dallas, 9 January–11 February 1962; San Francisco Museum of Art, San Francisco, 5 March–15 April 1962

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

"Four Germinal Painters," XXXII International Biennial Exhibition of Art, United States Pavilion, Venice, Italy, 20 June–18 October 1964

"Robert Rauschenberg," Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 23 February–7 April 1968; Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, Germany, 19 April–26 May 1968; Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, 7 June–14 July 1968

"Painting in New York: 1944–1969," Pasadena Art Museum, Pasadena, California, 24 November 1969–11 January 1970

"Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978

"Robert Rauschenberg: Werke 1950–1980,"

Staatliche Kunsthalle, Berlin, 23 March–4 May 1980; Kunsthalle, Düsseldorf, Germany, 6 June–13 July 1980; Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, Humlebaek, Denmark, 20 September–25 November 1980; Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, Germany, 3 December 1980–18 January 1981; Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich, Germany, 4 February–5 April 1981; Tate Gallery, London, 29 April–14 June 1981

"Castelli and His Artists: Twenty-Five Years," Aspen Center for the Visual Arts, Aspen, Colorado, 17 June–8 August 1982; La Jolla Museum of Contemporary Art, La Jolla, California, 23 April–6 June 1982; Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 11 September–9 October 1982; Portland Center for the Visual Arts, Portland, Oregon, 22 October–3 December 1982; Laguna Gloria Art Museum, Austin, 17 December–13 February 1983

"Blam! The Explosion of Pop, Minimalism, and Performance, 1958–1964," Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 20 September–2 December 1984

"XXXth Anniversary: The First Fifteen Years, Part I," Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 31 January–7 March 1987

"'Four Rooms' and a 'House Ball': Pop and the Everyday Object," Guggenheim Museum SoHo, New York, 27 January–31 May 1993

"Amerikanische Kunst im 20. Jahrhundert: Malerei und Plastik, 1913–1993," Martin-Gropius-Bau, Berlin, 8 May–25 July 1993; Royal Academy of Arts and Saatchi Gallery, London, as "American Art in the 20th Century: Painting and Sculpture, 1913–1993," 16 September–12 December 1993

"The Tradition of the New: Postwar Masterpieces from the Guggenheim Collection," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 20 May–11 September 1994

"Objects of Desire: The Modern Still Life," The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 May–26 August 1997

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998

"Robert Rauschenberg Combines: Painting + Sculpture," Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore, 6 December 2000–20 May 2001

"American Pop Icons," Guggenheim Hermitage Museum, Las Vegas, 14 May–2 November 2003

PLATE 100 Inlet (1959) *

"Out of the Ordinary: The Audience as Subject," Contemporary Arts Association, Houston, 26 November–27 December 1959

Society for Contemporary Art Twentieth Annual Exhibition, The Art Institute of Chicago, 18 May–18 June 1960

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings, Drawings and Combines, 1949–1964," Whitechapel Gallery, London, 4 February–8 March 1964

"Sixteen Americans," installation at The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1959

"The Museum of Contemporary Art: The Panza Collection," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 13 February–29 September 1985

"Individuals: A Selected History of Contemporary Art, 1945–1986," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 10 December 1986–10 January 1988

"Hand-Painted Pop: American Art in Transition, 1955–62," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 6 December 1992–7 March 1993; Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago, 3 April–20 June 1993; Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 16 July–3 October 1993

"Images of an Era: Selections from the Permanent Collection," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 15 October 1995–23 June 1996

"Panza: The Legacy of a Collector," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 12 December 1999–30 April 2000

"Rauschenberg," Gallerie d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea—Palazzo dei Diamanti, Ferrara, Italy, 29 February–6 June 2004

PLATE 101 Broadcast (1959)

"Robert Rauschenberg," Leo Castelli Gallery, 29 March–16 April 1960

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings, Drawings and Combines, 1949–1964," Whitechapel Gallery, London, 4 February–8 March 1964

"Sound Light Silence: Art That Performs," Nelson Gallery, Atkins Museum, Kansas City, Missouri, 4 November–4 December 1966

"Robert Rauschenberg," Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 23 February–7 April 1968; Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, Germany, 19 April–26 May 1968; Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, 7 June–14 July 1968

"Robert Rauschenberg: Selections," Fort Worth Art Center, Fort Worth, Texas, 5 January–2 February 1969

"Hand-Painted Pop: American Art in Transition, 1955–62," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 6 December 1992–7 March 1993; Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago, 3 April–20 June 1993; Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 16 July–3 October 1993

"Pop Art: The John and Kimiko Powers Collection," Gagosian Gallery, New York, 20 April–30 June 2001

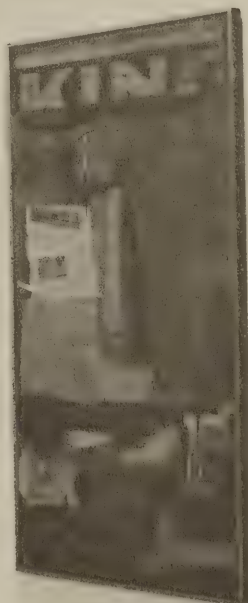
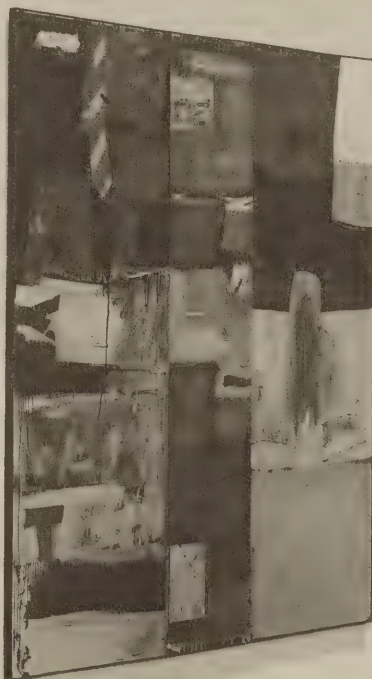
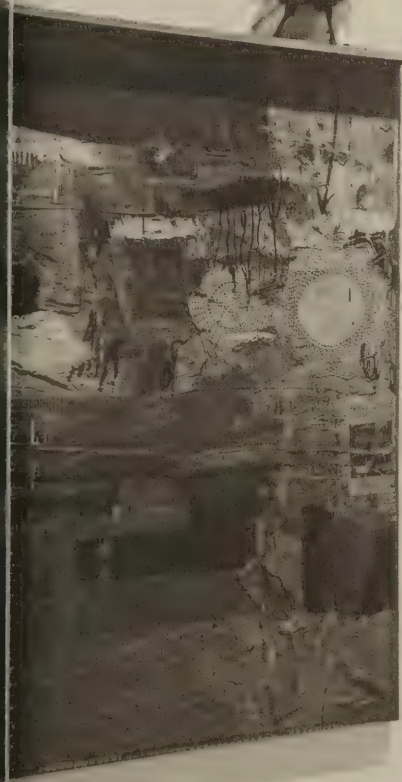
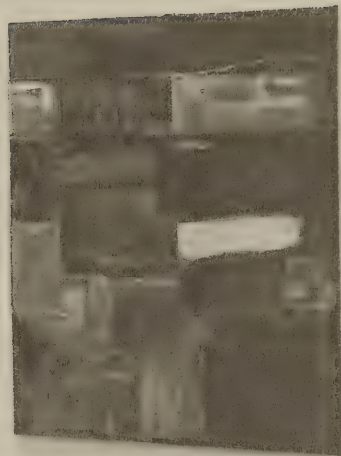
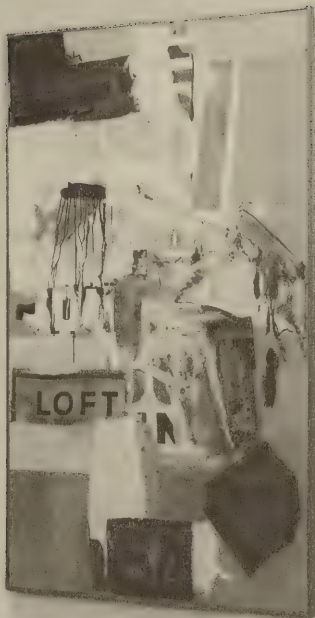
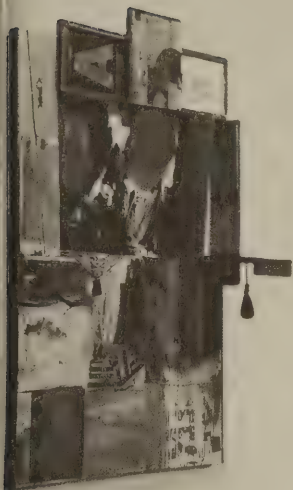
PLATE 102 Forecast (1959) *

"An Exhibition of Avant-Garde Paintings," Brooks Museum, Memphis, 5–24 October 1960

PLATE 103 Magician (1959) *

"Sixteen Americans," The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 16 December 1959–14 February 1960

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963



"Four Germinal Painters," XXXII International Biennial Exhibition of Art, United States Pavilion, Venice, Italy, 20 June–18 October 1964

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings 1953–1964," Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, 3 May–6 June 1965

"Robert Rauschenberg," Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 23 February–7 April 1968; Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, Germany, 19 April–26 May 1968; Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, 7 June–14 July 1968

"New York: The Second Breakthrough, 1959–1964," Art Gallery, University of California, Irvine, 18 March–27 April 1969

"Robert Rauschenberg: Werke 1950–1980," Staatliche Kunsthalle, Berlin, 23 March–4 May 1980; Kunsthalle, Düsseldorf, Germany, 6 June–13 July 1980; Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, Humlebaek, Denmark, 20 September–25 November 1980; Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, Germany, 3 December 1980–18 January 1981; Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich, Germany, 4 February–5 April 1981; Tate Gallery, London, 29 April–14 June 1981

"In Our Time: Houston's Contemporary Arts Museum, 1948–1982," Contemporary Arts Museum, Houston, 23 October 1982–2 January 1983

"Rauschenberg," Galerie Beyeler, Basel, Switzerland, 12 March–31 May 1984

"Selections from the Ileana and Michael Sonnabend Collection: Works from the 1950s and 1960," Art Museum, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, 3 February–9 June 1985; Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery, The University of Texas, Austin, 8 September–27 October 1985; Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, 23 November 1985–9 March 1986

"Colección Sonnabend: 25 años de selección y de actividad," Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, Madrid, 30 October 1987–15 February 1988; capc Musée d'art contemporain, Bordeaux, France, 6 May–25 September 1988; Art Cologne, Cologne, Germany, 10–16 November 1988; Hamburger Bahnhof, Berlin, 7 December 1988–26 February 1989; Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome, 14 April–2 October 1989; Museo d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea di Trento e Rovereto, Trento, Italy, 4 November 1989–7 January 1990; Musée Rath, Geneva, Switzerland, 28 January–16 April 1990; Sezon Museum of Art, Tokyo, 15 May–24 June 1990; The Miyagi Museum of Art, Sendai, Japan, 3 July–16 August 1990; Fukuyama Museum of Art, Hiroshima, Japan, 22 September–14 October 1990; The National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto, Japan, 5 January–11 February 1991

"Peinture: Emblèmes et références," capc Musée d'art contemporain, Bordeaux, France, 10 December 1993–27 February 1994

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998; Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 27 June–11 October 1998; Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain, 21 November 1998–7 March 1999

PLATE 104 **Double Feature** (1959)

"Sixteen Americans," The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 16 December 1959–14 February 1960

"Vanguard American Painting," Galerie Würthle, Vienna, 19 June–8 July 1961; Zwerglgarten, Salzburg, Austria, 10 July–31 August 1961; Kalemegdan Pavilion, Belgrade, Yugoslavia, 15 September–1 October 1961; Umetnički Pavilion, Skopje, Yugoslavia, 14–29 October 1961; Moderna Galerija, Zagreb, Yugoslavia, 9–20 November 1961; Umetnostna Galerija, Maribor, Yugoslavia, 25 November–4 December 1961; Moderna Galerija, Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, 11 December 1961–7 January 1962; Rijeka, Yugoslavia, 13–31 January 1962 (site unknown); USIA Gallery, American Embassy, London, 1–15 March 1962; Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, Germany, 14 April–13 May 1962

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

"Four Germinal Painters," XXXII International Biennial Exhibition of Art, United States Pavilion, Venice, Italy, 20 June–18 October 1964

"Pop Art America Europa," Forte di Belvedere, Centro Mostre di Firenze, Florence, Italy, 4 July–4 October 1987

PLATE 105 **Three Traps for Medea** (1959)

"Robert Rauschenberg: Selections," Fort Worth Art Center, Fort Worth, Texas, 5 January–2 February 1969

"Second Hiroshima Art Prize," Hiroshima City Museum of Contemporary Art, Hiroshima, Japan, 3 November 1993–16 January 1994

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998; Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 27 June–11 October 1998; Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain, 21 November 1998–7 March 1999

"Rauschenberg," Gallerie d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea—Palazzo dei Diamanti, Ferrara, Italy, 29 February–6 June 2004

PLATE 106 **Pail for Ganymede** (1959) *

"Robert Rauschenberg: Selections," Fort Worth Art Center, Fort Worth, Texas, 5 January–2 February 1969

"Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978

"Robert Rauschenberg: Werke 1950–1980," Staatliche Kunsthalle, Berlin, 23 March–4 May 1980; Kunsthalle, Düsseldorf, Germany, 6 June–13 July 1980; Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, Humlebaek, Denmark, 20 September–25 November 1980; Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, Germany, 3 December 1980–

18 January 1981; Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich, Germany, 4 February–5 April 1981; Tate Gallery, London, 29 April–14 June 1981

"Cast, Carved and Constructed: An Exhibition of Contemporary American Sculpture," Margo Leavin Gallery, Los Angeles, 1 August–19 September 1981

"Miró in America," The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 20 April–27 June 1982

"Robert Rauschenberg," Fundación Juan March, Madrid, 8 February–March 1985; Fundació Joan Miró, Barcelona, Spain, 28 March–19 May 1985

"Robert Rauschenberg: Sculpture," Modern Art Museum of Fort Worth, Fort Worth, Texas, 22 October–31 December 1995; Museum of Contemporary Art, Miami, 25 April 1995–28 July 1996

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998; Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 27 June–11 October 1998; Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain, 21 November 1998–7 March 1999

PLATE 107 **Gift for Apollo** (1959) *

Morse Gallery Exhibition, Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida, 14 February–5 March 1960

"Robert Rauschenberg," Galerie Daniel Cordier, Paris, 27 April–May 1961

"4 Amerikanare: Jasper Johns, Alfred Leslie, Robert Rauschenberg, Richard Stankiewicz," Moderna Museet, Stockholm, 17 March–6 May 1962; Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 18 May–18 June 1962

"Four Germinal Painters," XXXII International Biennial Exhibition of Art, United States Pavilion, Venice, Italy, 20 June–18 October 1964

"Métamorphose de l'objet: Art et Anti-Art, 1910–1970," Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, 22 April–6 June 1971

"The Museum of Contemporary Art: The Panza Collection," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 13 February–29 September 1985

"Individuals: A Selected History of Contemporary Art, 1945–1986," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 10 December 1986–10 January 1988

"Masterpieces from the Permanent Collection," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 19 January–17 February 1991

"Pop Art," Royal Academy of Arts, London, 13 September–15 December 1991; Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 23 January–19 April 1992; Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, Madrid, 16 June–14 September 1992; Museum of Fine Arts, Montréal, 23 October 1992–24 January 1993

"Images of an Era: Selections from the Permanent Collection," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 15 October 1995–23 June 1996

"Panza: The Legacy of a Collector," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 12 December 1999–30 April 2000

"A Room of Their Own: From Rothko to Rauschenberg," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 11 February 2001–31 March 2002

PLATE 108 **Well Nell** (1959)

"Small Works from the Collection of Richard Brown Baker," Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, 1973

"A Curator's Choice 1942–63: A Tribute to Dorothy Miller," Rosa Esman Gallery, New York, 6 February–6 March 1982

"Collecting with Richard Brown Baker from Pollock to Lichtenstein," Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut, 18 May–13 September 1995

PLATE 109 **Bride's Folly** (1959)

"Arte USA," Fundación Juan March, Madrid, February–March 1977

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings 1953–1964," Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, 3 May–6 June 1965

PLATE 110 **Untitled** [formerly titled **Tin Can, Pocket Watch and Chain**] (1959) *

No exhibition history.

PLATE 111 **Winter Pool** (1959) *

"Robert Rauschenberg," Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 29 March–16 April 1960

"4 Amerikanare: Jasper Johns, Alfred Leslie, Robert Rauschenberg, Richard Stankiewicz," Moderna Museet, Stockholm, 17 March–6 May 1962; Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 18 May–18 June 1962

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

The 28th Biennial Exhibition of Contemporary American Painting, Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 18 January–3 March 1963

"Four Germinal Painters," XXXII International Biennial Exhibition of Art, United States Pavilion, Venice, Italy, 20 June–18 October 1964

Bicentennial, "Rane Memorial Exhibition," Brown University, Providence, 31 March–3 April 1965

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings 1953–1964," Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, 3 May–6 June 1965

"Robert Rauschenberg," Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 23 February–7 April 1968; Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, Germany, 19 April–26 May 1968; Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, 7 June–14 July 1968

"Pop Art Redefined," organized by the Arts Council of Great Britain, Hayward Gallery, London, July–August 1969

"Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978

"Robert Rauschenberg: Werke 1950–1980" Tate Gallery, London, 28 April–14 June 1981

"Blam! The Explosion of Pop, Minimalism, and Performance, 1958–1964," Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 20 September–2 December 1984

"American Art at Mid-Century: Highlights from a Private Collection," Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 12 June–14 November 1993

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998

PLATE 112 **Gift for Ileana** (1959)

"Robert Rauschenberg," Museum Haus Lange, Krefeld, Germany, 12 September–18 October 1964

PLATE 113 **Orville Wright in S.C.** (1959)

No exhibition history.

PLATE 114 **Monogram** (1955–59) *

"Three: Norman Bluhm, Jean Dubuffet, and Robert Rauschenberg," Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 31 March–8 April 1959

"School of New York: Some Younger Artists," The Stable Gallery, New York, 15 December 1959–9 January 1960; travel funded by American Federation of Arts

"4 Amerikanare: Jasper Johns, Alfred Leslie, Robert Rauschenberg, Richard Stankiewicz," Moderna Museet, Stockholm, 17 March–6 May 1962; Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 18 May–18 June 1962; Kunsthalle, Bern, 7 July–2 September 1962

"Rauschenberg: Première exposition (Oeuvres 1954–61)," Galerie Ileana Sonnabend, Paris, 1–16 February 1963

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

"54–64: Painting and Sculpture of a Decade," organized by Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Tate Gallery, London, 22 April–28 June 1964

"American Pop Art," Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 6 April–16 June 1974

"Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978

The Internationale Ausstellung Köln 1981, Kunsthalle, Cologne, Germany, 30 May–16 August 1981

"Castelli and His Artists: Twenty-Five Years," Aspen Center for the Visual Arts, Aspen, Colorado, 17 June–8 August 1982; La Jolla Museum of Contemporary Art, La Jolla, California, 23 April–6 June 1982; Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 11 September–9 October 1982; Portland Center for the Visual Arts, Portland, Oregon,

22 October–3 December 1982; Laguna Gloria Art Museum, Austin, 17 December–13 February 1983

"Robert Rauschenberg," Fundación Juan March, Madrid, 8 February–March 1985; Fundació Joan Miró, Barcelona, Spain, 28 March–19 May 1985

"Transformations in Sculpture: Four Decades of American and European Art," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 22 November 1985–16 February 1986

"Implosion: A Postmodern Perspective," Moderna Museet, Stockholm, 24 October 1987–10 January 1988

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998

PLATE 115 **Diplomat** (1960) *

"Robert Rauschenberg," Galerie Daniel Cordier, Paris, 27 April–May 1961

"Rauschenberg," Galleria dell'Ariete, Milan, Italy, 24 October–November 1961

"Aktuelle Kunst," Suermondt Museum, Aachen, Germany, 1969

"Kunst um 1970: Sammlung Ludwig, Aachen," Künstlerhaus, Vienna, 8 March–12 June 1977

"Faszination des Objekts," Museum Moderner Kunst, Vienna, 1980–81

"Dialogue in Contemporary Art in Europe I," Centro de Arte Moderna, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon, 1985

"Standards," Österreichische Ludwig-Stiftung, Salzburg, Austria, 1986

"Pop Art America Europa," Forte di Belvedere, Centro Mostre di Firenze, Florence, Italy, 4 July–4 October 1987

"Omaggio a Leo Castelli: Da Rauschenberg a Warhol, da Flavin a Judd, 20 artisti a New York negli anni Sessanta," Padiglione d'Arte Contemporanea, Milan, Italy, 16 July–4 November 1996

PLATE 116 **Octave** (1960) *

"Robert Rauschenberg," Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 29 March–16 April 1960

"Wright Collection," Portland Art Museum, Portland, Oregon, 8 November–6 December 1964

"Pop Art: 1955–1970," organized by International Council of The Museum of Modern Art, New York, Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia, 27 February–14 April 1985; Queensland Art Gallery, South Brisbane, Australia, 1 May–2 June 1985; National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia, 26 June–11 August 1985

"Hand-Painted Pop: American Art in Transition, 1955–62," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 6 December 1992–7 March 1993; Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago, 3 April–20 June 1993; Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 16 July–3 October 1993

"What Is Real? American Art 1960–1975," Tacoma Art Museum, Tacoma, Washington, 19 March–19 June 1994

PLATE 117 **Vitamin** (1960/68) *

"Six Decades of American Painting," Des Moines Art Center, Des Moines, 10 February–12 March 1961

Society for Contemporary Art Twentieth Annual Exhibition, The Art Institute of Chicago, 18 May–18 June 1960

"Three Young Americans," Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin, Ohio, 8–29 January 1963

Columbia Museum of Art, Columbia, South Carolina, 13 March–11 June 1963

"Directions 1964," Vassar College Art Gallery, Poughkeepsie, New York, 4–31 May 1964

"World Show," Washington Square Galleries, New York, June 1964

"Paint and Painted: Paintings and Sculptures from the Collection," Fisher Landau Center for Art, Long Island City, New York, 2 May 1993–14 April 1995

PLATE 118 **Pilgrim** (1960) *

"New Media, New Forms: Junk Culture as Tradition," Martha Jackson Gallery, New York, 6–24 June 1960

"Robert Rauschenberg," Galerie Daniel Cordier, Paris, 27 April–May 1961

"Rauschenberg," Galleria dell'Ariete, Milan, Italy, 24 October–November 1961

"4 Amerikanare: Jasper Johns, Alfred Leslie, Robert Rauschenberg, Richard Stankiewicz," Moderna Museet, Stockholm, 17 March–6 May 1962; Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 18 May–18 June 1962; Kunsthalle, Bern, 7 July–2 September 1962

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings, Drawings and Combines, 1949–1964," Whitechapel Gallery, London, 4 February–8 March 1964

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings 1953–1964," Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, 3 May–6 June 1965
"Robert Rauschenberg," Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 23 February–7 April 1968; Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, Germany, 19 April–26 May 1968; Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, 7 June–14 July 1968

Documenta IV, Museum Fridericianum, Kassel, Germany, 27 June–6 October 1968

"Robert Rauschenberg: Selections," Fort Worth Art Center, Fort Worth, Texas, 5 January–2 February 1969

"Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977

"Robert Rauschenberg: Werke 1950–1980," Staatliche Kunsthalle, Berlin, 23 March–4 May 1980; Kunsthalle, Düsseldorf, Germany, 6 June–13 July 1980; Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, Humlebaek, Denmark, 20 September–25 November 1980; Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, Germany, 3 December 1980–18 January 1981; Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich, Germany, 4 February–5 April 1981; Tate Gallery, London, 29 April–14 June 1981

"Pop Art," Royal Academy of Arts, London, 13 September–15 December 1991; Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 23 January–19 April 1992; Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, Madrid, 16 June–14 September 1992

PLATE 119 **Allegory** (1959–60)

"Robert Rauschenberg," Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 29 March–16 April 1960

"Robert Rauschenberg," Galerie Daniel Cordier, Paris, 27 April–May 1961

"Rauschenberg," Galleria dell'Ariete, Milan, Italy, 24 October–November 1961

"4 Amerikanare: Jasper Johns, Alfred Leslie, Robert Rauschenberg, Richard Stankiewicz," Moderna Museet, Stockholm, 17 March–6 May 1962; Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 18 May–18 June 1962; Kunsthalle, Bern, 7 July–2 September 1962

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

"54–64: Painting and Sculpture of a Decade," organized by Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Tate Gallery, London, 22 April–28 June 1964

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings 1953–1964," Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, 3 May–6 June 1965

"Two Decades of American Painting," organized by The International Council of the Museum of Modern Art: National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, 15 October–27 November 1966; National Museum of Art, Kyoto, Japan, 10 December 1966–22 January 1967; Lalit Kala Akademi, New Delhi, 25 March–15 April 1967; National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia, 6 June–9 July 1967; Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia, 26 July–20 August 1967

"Robert Rauschenberg," Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 23 February–7 April 1968; Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, Germany, 19 April–26 May 1968; Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, 7 June–14 July 1968

"Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998; Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 27 June–11 October 1998

"Les années Pop, 1956–1968," Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, 15 March–2 July 2001

PLATE 120 **Hawk** (1960)

"Robert Rauschenberg," Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 29 March–16 April 1960

"Robert Rauschenberg," Galerie Daniel Cordier, Paris, 27 April–May 1961

"Rauschenberg," Galleria dell'Ariete, Milan, Italy, 24 October–November 1961

"4 Amerikanare: Jasper Johns, Alfred Leslie, Robert Rauschenberg, Richard Stankiewicz," Moderna Museet, Stockholm, 17 March–6 May 1962; Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 18 May–18 June 1962

PLATE 121 **Nettle** (1960)

"Robert Rauschenberg," Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 29 March–16 April 1960

"Robert Rauschenberg," Dwan Gallery, Los Angeles, 4–31 March 1962

"Masters of the Sixties: From New Realism to Pop Art," Marisa del Re Gallery, New York, November–December 1984

"Important Paintings," Marisa del Re Gallery, New York, 11 March–4 April 1992

PLATE 122 **Summer Rental** (1960) *

"Rauschenberg," Galleria dell'Ariete, Milan, Italy, 24 October–November 1961

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings, Drawings and Combines, 1949–1964," Whitechapel Gallery, London, 4 February–8 March 1964

PLATE 123 **Summer Rental + 1** (1960) *

"American Vanguard," Nebraska Art Association, Omaha, 15 March–15 April 1961

"Vanguard American Painting," Galerie Würthle, Vienna, 19 June–8 July 1961; Zwerglgarten, Salzburg, Austria, 10 July–31 August 1961; Kalemegdan Pavilion, Belgrade, Yugoslavia, 15 September–1 October 1961; Umetnički Pavilion, Skopje, Yugoslavia, 14–29 October 1961; Moderna Galerija, Zagreb, Yugoslavia, 9–20 November 1961; Umetnostna Galerija, Maribor, Yugoslavia, 25 November–4 December 1961; Moderna Galerija, Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, 11 December 1961–7 January 1962; Rijeka, Yugoslavia, 13–31 January 1962 (site unknown); USIA Gallery, American Embassy, London, 1–15 March 1962; Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, Germany, 14 April–13 May 1962

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

"Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978

PLATE 124 **Summer Rental + 2** (1960) *

"Between the Fairs: Twenty-Five Years of American Art, 1939–1964," Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 24 June–23 September 1964

"Robert Rauschenberg," Peale House Galleries, Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia, 7 March–14 April 1968

"Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978

"Twentieth-Century American Art: Highlights of the Permanent Collection of the Whitney Museum of American Art," organized by Whitney Museum of American Art, New York: Robert Hull Fleming Museum, University of Vermont, Burlington, 25 March–22 May 1988; Hunter Museum of Art, Chattanooga, Tennessee, 12 June–7 August 1988; Phoenix Art Museum, Phoenix, 26 August–2 October 1988

"Beyond the Frame: American Art 1960–1990," Setagaya Art Museum, Tokyo, 6 July–18 August 1991; The National Museum of Art, Osaka, Japan, 29 August–29 September 1991; Fukuoka Art Museum, Fukuoka, Japan, 15 November–15 December 1991

"Spheres of Influence," Whitney Museum of American Art at Champion, Stamford, Connecticut, 1 October–20 November 1993

PLATE 125 **Summer Rental + 3** (1960) *

The Sixty-Fourth American Exhibition of Paintings and Sculpture, The Art Institute of Chicago, 6 January–5 February 1961

"Robert Rauschenberg," Galerie Daniel Cordier, Paris, 27 April–May 1961

"Rauschenberg," Galleria dell'Ariete, Milan, Italy, 24 October–November 1961

"Robert Rauschenberg: Werke 1950–1980," Staatliche Kunsthalle, Berlin, 23 March–4 May 1980; Kunsthalle, Düsseldorf, Germany, 6 June–13 July 1980; Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, Humlebaek, Denmark, 20 September–25 November 1980; Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, Germany, 3 December 1980–18 January 1981; Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich, Germany, 4 February–5 April 1981; Tate Gallery, London, 29 April–14 June 1981

"Joseph Beuys, Robert Rauschenberg, Cy Twombly, Andy Warhol: Sammlung Marx," Nationalgalerie, Berlin, 2 March–12 April 1982; Städtisches Museum Abteiberg, Mönchengladbach, Germany, 6 May–30 September 1982

PLATE 126 **Untitled** (1960)

No exhibition history.

PLATE 127 **Untitled** (1960)

No exhibition history.

PLATE 128 **Trophy II (for Teeny and Marcel Duchamp)** (1960)

"Robert Rauschenberg," Galerie Daniel Cordier, Paris, 27 April–May 1961

"Rauschenberg," Galleria dell'Ariete, Milan, Italy, 24 October–November 1961

"4 Amerikanare: Jasper Johns, Alfred Leslie, Robert Rauschenberg, Richard Stankiewicz," Moderna Museet, Stockholm, 17 March–6 May 1962; Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 18 May–18 June 1962; Kunsthalle, Bern, 7 July–2 September 1962

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

Premio Nacional e Internacional, Instituto Torcuato di Tella, Buenos Aires, 7 October–1 November 1964

"Robert Rauschenberg," Contemporary Arts Museum, Houston, 12 March–15 April 1965

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings 1953–1964," Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, 3 May–6 June 1965

"Two Decades of American Painting," organized by The International Council of the Museum of Modern Art: National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, 15 October–27 November 1966; National Museum of Art, Kyoto, Japan, 10 December 1966–22 January 1967; Lalit Kala Akademi, New Delhi, 25 March–15 April 1967

"Robert Rauschenberg," Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 23 February–7 April 1968; Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, Germany, 19 April–26 May 1968; Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, 7 June–14 July 1968

"Castelli at Dayton's," Dayton's Gallery 12, Minneapolis, 19 April–17 May 1969

"Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978

"Art in Our Time: 1950 to the Present," Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, 5 September 1999–5 September 2001

"Walk Around Time," Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, 17 February 2002–8 February 2004

PLATE 129 **Studio Painting** [formerly titled **Untitled** and **Calendar**] (1960–61) *

"Robert Rauschenberg," Galerie Daniel Cordier, Paris, 27 April–May 1961

"Rauschenberg," Galleria dell'Ariete, Milan, Italy, 24 October–November 1961

"4 Amerikanare: Jasper Johns, Alfred Leslie, Robert Rauschenberg, Richard Stankiewicz," Moderna Museet, Stockholm, 17 March–6 May 1962; Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 18 May–18 June 1962; Kunsthalle, Bern, 7 July–2 September 1962

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings, Drawings and Combines, 1949–1964," Whitechapel Gallery, London, 4 February–8 March 1964

"Rauschenberg," Galerie Ileana Sonnabend, Paris, 14–30 May 1964

"Four Germinal Painters," XXXII International Biennial Exhibition of Art, United States Pavilion, Venice, Italy, 20 June–18 October 1964

"The Gosman Collection," Art Gallery, University of Pittsburgh, September–October 1969

"19th- and 20th-Century Art from the Collections of Alumni and Friends," Elvehjem Art Center, University of Wisconsin, Madison, September–November 1970

"Contemporary Art: The Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Joseph A. Gosman," The University of Michigan Museum of Art, Ann Arbor, September–October 1972

"Impressionist and 20th-Century Masters: Selected Works from the Collection of Asher B. Edelman," Thomas Amman Fine Art, Zürich, Switzerland, 17 June–18 September 1987

"Masters of American Painting," C&M Fine Arts, New York, 29 March–13 May 1995

"City of Ambition: New York and Artists 1900–1960," Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 3 July–27 October 1996

"American Works: 1945–1975," C&M Fine Arts, New York, 8 October–6 December 1997

PLATE 130 **Black Market** (1961) *

"Bewogen Beweging," Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 10 March–17 April 1961; Moderna Museet, Stockholm, as "Rörelse i konsten," 17 May–3 September 1961; Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, Humlebaek, Denmark, as "Bevaegelse i kunsten," September–October 1961

"Robert Rauschenberg," Dwan Gallery, Los Angeles, 4–31 March 1962

"Three Young Americans," Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin, Ohio, 8–29 January 1963

"The Popular Image Exhibition," Washington Gallery of Modern Art, Washington, D.C., 18 April–2 June 1963

"Robert Rauschenberg," Museum Haus Lange, Krefeld, Germany, 12 September–18 October 1964

"Dix ans d'art vivant: 55–65," Fondation Maeght, Saint-Paul, France, 3 May–23 July 1967

"Robert Rauschenberg: Werke 1950–1980," Staatliche Kunsthalle, Berlin, 23 March–4 May 1980; Kunsthalle, Düsseldorf, Germany, 6 June–13 July 1980; Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, Humlebaek, Denmark, 20 September–25 November 1980; Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, Germany, 3 December 1980–18 January 1981; Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich, Germany, 4 February–5 April 1981; Tate Gallery, London, 29 April–14 June 1981

"The First Show: Painting and Sculpture from Eight Collections, 1940–1980," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 18 November 1983–19 February 1984

"Pop Art," Royal Academy of Arts, London, 13 September–15 December 1991; Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 23 January–19 April 1992; Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, Madrid, 16 June–14 September 1992; Museum of Fine Arts, Montréal, 23 October 1992–24 January 1993

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 27 June–11 October 1998

"Les années Pop, 1956–1968," Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, 15 March–2 July 2001

PLATE 131 First Time Painting
[formerly titled **Happening—Theatre of the American Embassy**] (1961) *

Concert for David Tudor, American Embassy, Paris, 20 June 1961

"Robert Rauschenberg," Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 23 February–7 April 1968

"Sammlung 1968: Karl Ströher," Kunstverein and Neue Nationalgalerie, Berlin, 1 March–14 April 1969; Städtische Kunsthalle, Düsseldorf, Germany, 25 April–8 June 1969; Kunsthalle, Bern, 12 July–17 August 1969

"Bildnerische Ausdrucksformen 1960–1970: Sammlung Karl Ströher," Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, Germany, 24 April–14 June 1970

"Bilder für Frankfurt," Museum für moderne Kunst, Frankfurt, Germany, 8 February–14 April 1985

"Dalla Pop Art americana alla nuova figurazione: Works from the Museum of Modern Art, Frankfurt," Padiglione d'Arte Contemporanea, Milan, Italy, 23 September–23 November 1987

"Amerikanische Kunst im 20. Jahrhundert: Malerei und Plastik, 1913–1993," Martin-Gropius-Bau, Berlin, 8 May–25 July 1993; Royal Academy of Arts and Saatchi Gallery, London, as "American Art in the 20th Century: Painting and Sculpture, 1913–1993," 16 September–12 December 1993

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998

PLATE 132 Second Time Painting (1961) *

"Three Young Americans," Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin, Ohio, 8–29 January 1963

"Selections from the Rose Art Museum," Salander-O'Reilly Galleries, New York, 6–30 April 1983

"Pop Art," Royal Academy of Arts, London, 13 September–15 December 1991; Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 23 January–19 April 1992; Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, Madrid, 16 June–14 September 1992; Museum of Fine Arts, Montréal, 23 October 1992–24 January 1993

"Second Hiroshima Art Prize," Hiroshima City Museum of Contemporary Art, Hiroshima, Japan, 3 November 1993–16 January 1994

"Out of Actions: Between Performance and the Object, 1949–1979," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 8 February–10 May 1998

"A Defining Generation: Then and Now, 1961 and 2001," Rose Art Museum, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts, 30 September–9 December 2001

PLATE 133 Third Time Painting (1961)

"Annual Exhibition 1962: Contemporary Sculpture and Drawings," Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 12 December 1962–3 February 1963

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

"Four Germinal Painters," XXXII International Biennial Exhibition of Art, United States Pavilion, Venice, Italy, 20 June–18 October 1964

"The New American Realism," Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts, 18 February–4 April 1965

"Robert Rauschenberg," Peale House Galleries, Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia, 7 March–14 April 1968

"New York Painting and Sculpture: 1940–1970," The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 18 October 1969–8 February 1970

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998

PLATE 134 Blue Exit (1961)

"Abstract Expressionists and Imagists, 1961," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 13 October–31 December 1961

"Robert Rauschenberg," Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 4–31 March 1962

"Robert Rauschenberg," Dwan Gallery, Los Angeles, 4–31 March 1962

"My Country 'Tis of Thee," Dwan Gallery, Los Angeles, 18 November–15 December 1962

Park Synagogue, Cleveland, 22 October–21 November 1963

Ravinia Festival, Chicago, August 1965

"Contemporary Art USA," Norfolk Museum of Arts and Sciences, Norfolk, Virginia, 18 March–10 April 1966

PLATE 135 Trophy III (for Jean Tinguely) (1961) *

"Anti-process: Manifestazione, collettiva, internazionale," Galleria il Canale, Venice, Italy, 18 June–8 July 1960

"Robert Rauschenberg," Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 23 February–7 April 1968; Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, Germany, 19 April–26 May 1968; Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, 7 June–14 July 1968

"The Museum of Contemporary Art: The Panza Collection," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 13 February–29 September 1985

"Individuals: A Selected History of Contemporary Art, 1945–1986," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 10 December 1986–10 January 1988

"Paradox of Process: Collage and Assemblage in the Permanent Collection," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 22 April–22 July 1990

"Selections from the Permanent Collection: Pop Art and Minimalism, 1960–1975," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 7 April–28 May 1991

"Amerikanische Kunst im 20. Jahrhundert: Malerei und Plastik, 1913–1993," Martin-Gropius-Bau, Berlin, 8 May–25 July 1993; Royal Academy of Arts and

Saatchi Gallery, London, as "American Art in the 20th Century: Painting and Sculpture, 1913–1993," 16 September–12 December 1993

"Out of Actions: Between Performance and the Object, 1949–1979," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 8 February–10 May 1998; MAK–Austrian Museum of Applied Arts, Vienna, 17 June–6 September 1998; Museu d'Art Contemporani, Barcelona, Spain, 15 October 1998–6 January 1999; Museum of Contemporary Art, Tokyo, 11 February–11 April 1999

"Panza: The Legacy of a Collector," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 12 December 1999–30 April 2000

"A Room of Their Own: From Rothko to Rauschenberg," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 11 February 2001–31 March 2002

PLATE 136 Wall Street (1961)

"Rauschenberg," Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 7 November–5 December 1961

"4 Amerikanare: Jasper Johns, Alfred Leslie, Robert Rauschenberg, Richard Stankiewicz," Moderna Museet, Stockholm, 17 March–6 May 1962; Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 18 May–18 June 1962

"54–64: Painting and Sculpture of a Decade," organized by Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation: Tate Gallery, London, 22 April–28 June 1964

"Robert Rauschenberg," Museum Haus Lange, Krefeld, Germany, 12 September–18 October 1964

"Robert Rauschenberg," Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 23 February–7 April 1968; Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, Germany, 19 April–26 May 1968; Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, 7 June–14 July 1968

Documenta IV, Museum Fridericianum, Kassel, Germany, 27 June–6 October 1968

Internationale Ausstellung Köln 1981, Cologne, Germany, 30 May–16 August 1981

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 27 June–11 October 1998

"Pop Classics," ARoS Aarhus Kunstmuseum, Aarhus, Denmark, 26 May–5 September 2004

PLATE 137 First Landing Jump (1961) *

"An Exhibition in Progress," Michigan State University, East Lansing, 10 September 1961–23 January 1962

"Robert Rauschenberg," Dwan Gallery, Los Angeles, 4–31 March 1962

"Dealer's Choice," Dwan Gallery, Los Angeles, 10 February–2 March 1963

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

"The 1960s: Painting and Sculpture from the Museum Collection," The Museum of Modern Art, New York, June–September 1967

"Robert Rauschenberg," Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 23 February–7 April 1968; Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, Germany, 19 April–26 May 1968; Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, 7 June–14 July 1968

"Painting in New York: 1944 to 1969," Pasadena Art Museum, Pasadena, California, 24 November 1969–11 January 1970

"Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978

"Castelli and His Artists: Twenty-Five Years," Aspen Center for the Visual Arts, Aspen, Colorado, 17 June–8 August 1982; La Jolla Museum of Contemporary Art, La Jolla, California, 23 April–6 June 1982; Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 11 September–9 October 1982; Portland Center for the Visual Arts, Portland, Oregon, 22 October–3 December 1982; Laguna Gloria Art Museum, Austin, 17 December–13 February 1983

"Contemporary Works from the Collection," The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 21 November 1985–1 April 1986

"Pop Art: Selections from The Museum of Modern Art," High Museum of Art, Atlanta, 24 October 1998–17 January 1999

"Making Choices: Walker Evans and Company," The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 16 March–22 August 2000; Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 10 July–16 September 2001

"Das MoMA in Berlin," Neue Nationalgalerie, Berlin, 2 February–19 September 2004

PLATE 138 **Magician II** (1961) *

"Rauschenberg," Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 7 November–5 December 1961

"New-Dada e Pop Art Newyorkesi," Galleria Civica d'Arte Moderna, Turin, Italy, 2 April–4 May 1969

"A Tribute to Leo Castelli," The Mayor Gallery, London, 16 April–17 May 1985

"Second Hiroshima Art Prize," Hiroshima City Museum of Contemporary Art, Hiroshima, Japan, 3 November 1993–16 January 1994

Plate 139 **Pantomime** (1961) *

"Annual Exhibition," The Art Institute of Chicago, 5 January–18 February 1962

"Robert Rauschenberg," Dwan Gallery, Los Angeles, 4–31 March 1962

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

"The Atmosphere of '64," Institute of Contemporary Art, Philadelphia, April 17–1 June 1964

"Emblems and Contours," Sperone Westwater, New York, 7 January–11 February 1995

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998

PLATE 140 **Blue Eagle** (1961) *

"Robert Rauschenberg," Dwan Gallery, Los Angeles, 4–31 March 1962

"Robert Rauschenberg: Selections," Fort Worth Art Center, Fort Worth, Texas, 5 January–2 February 1969

"Poets of the Cities," Dallas Museum of Fine Arts, Dallas, 20 November–29 December 1974; San Francisco Museum of Art, San Francisco, 31 January–23 March 1975; Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut, 23 April–1 June 1975

"Twelve Americans: Masters of Collage," Andrew Crispo Gallery, New York, 17 November–30 December 1977

"Sixties Color," Larry Gagosian Gallery, Los Angeles, 10 April–4 May 1985

Long-term loan, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1985–1998

"Second Hiroshima Art Prize," Hiroshima City Museum of Contemporary Art, Hiroshima, Japan, 3 November 1993–16 January 1994

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998; Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 27 June–11 October 1998; Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain, 21 November 1998–7 March 1999

"An American Legacy: A Gift to New York," Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 24 October 2002–26 January 2003

PLATE 141 **Slug** (1961)

"Rauschenberg," Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 7 November–5 December 1961

PLATE 142 **Coexistence** (1961)

"Rauschenberg," Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 7 November–5 December 1961

"Robert Rauschenberg," Dwan Gallery, Los Angeles, 4–31 March 1962

"My Country, 'Tis of Thee," Dwan Gallery, Los Angeles, 18 November–15 December 1962

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

Newport Harbor Museum, Newport Beach, California, November 1966

"Depth and Presence," Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 3–30 May 1971

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998

PLATE 143 **Aen Floga** [formerly titled

Don Quixote] (1961) *

"Rauschenberg," Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 7 November–5 December 1961

"4 Amerikanare: Jasper Johns, Alfred Leslie, Robert Rauschenberg, Richard Stankiewicz," Moderna Museet, Stockholm, 17 March–6 May 1962; Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 18 May–18 June 1962

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings, Drawings and Combines, 1949–1964," Whitechapel Gallery, London, 4 February–8 March 1964

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998; Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 27 June–11 October 1998; Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain, 21 November 1998–7 March 1999

Centenary Exhibition, Whitechapel Art Gallery, London, 21 March–20 May 2001

"Paintings from the Early 1960s," Paula Cooper Gallery, New York, 13 December 2002–13 January 2003

"Rauschenberg," Gallerie d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea—Palazzo dei Diamanti, Ferrara, Italy, 29 February–6 June 2004

PLATE 144 **193466** (1961)

"Rauschenberg," Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 7 November–5 December 1961

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings, Drawings and Combines, 1949–1964," Whitechapel Gallery, London, 4 February–8 March 1964

Tenth Anniversary Exhibition, Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 4–26 February 1967

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998

"Aftershock," Dickinson Roundell, New York, 5 May–20 June 2003

PLATE 145 **Red Rock** (1961)

"Rauschenberg," Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 7 November–5 December 1961

"Robert Rauschenberg: Selections," Fort Worth Art Center, Fort Worth, Texas, 5 January–2 February 1969

"Robert Rauschenberg: Werke 1950–1980," Staatliche Kunsthalle, Berlin, 23 March–4 May 1980; Kunsthalle, Düsseldorf, Germany, 6 June–13 July 1980; Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, Humlebaek, Denmark, 20 September–25 November 1980; Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, Germany, 3 December 1980–18 January 1981; Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich, Germany, 4 February–5 April 1981; Tate Gallery, London, 29 April–14 June 1981

"Skulptur im 20. Jahrhundert," organized by Galerie Beyeler for Merian-Park, Basel, Switzerland, 3 June–30 September 1984

"Second Hiroshima Art Prize," Hiroshima City Museum of Contemporary Art, Hiroshima, Japan, 3 November 1993–16 January 1994

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998; Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain, 21 November 1998–7 March 1999

"The Global Guggenheim: Selections from the Extended Collection," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 9 February–18 April 2001

PLATE 146 Trophy IV (for John Cage) (1961)

"Rauschenberg," Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 7 November–5 December 1961

"Robert Rauschenberg: Werke 1950–1980," Staatliche Kunsthalle, Berlin, 23 March–4 May 1980; Kunsthalle, Düsseldorf, Germany, 6 June–13 July 1980; Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, Humlebaek, Denmark, 20 September–25 November 1980; Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, Germany, 3 December 1980–18 January 1981; Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich, Germany, 4 February–5 April 1981; Tate Gallery, London, 29 April–14 June 1981

"Second Hiroshima Art Prize," Hiroshima City Museum of Contemporary Art, Hiroshima, Japan, 3 November 1993–16 January 1994

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998; Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 27 June–11 October 1998; Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain, 21 November 1998–7 March 1999

"Robert Rauschenberg," San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 5 May–7 September 1999

PLATE 147 Untitled (1961)

No exhibition history.

PLATE 148 The Bell (1961)

No exhibition history. Refabricated in 2002 by Rauschenberg.

PLATE 149 Untitled (1961)

"Rauschenberg," Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 7 November–5 December 1961

PLATE 150 Slow Fall (1961)

"Rauschenberg," Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 7 November–5 December 1961

"The Museum of Contemporary Art: The Panza Collection," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 13 February–29 September 1985

"Individuals: A Selected History of Contemporary Art, 1945–1986," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 10 December 1986–10 January 1988

"Neo-Dada: Redefining Art, 1958–62," Scottsdale Center for the Arts, Scottsdale, Arizona, 3 November–31 December 1994; Equitable Gallery, New York, 27 January–18 March 1995; Contemporary Arts Museum, Houston, 8 July–10 September 1995; Tufts University Art Gallery, Medford, Massachusetts, 6 October–3 December 1995; Florida International University Art Museum, Miami, 5 January–3 March 1996

"Panza: The Legacy of a Collector," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 12 December 1999–30 April 2000

"A Room of Their Own: From Rothko to Rauschenberg," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 11 February 2001–31 March 2002

PLATE 151 Empire I (1961)

"Rauschenberg," Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 7 November–5 December 1961

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings, Drawings and Combines, 1949–1964," Whitechapel Gallery, London, 4 February–8 March 1964

"Eight Artists," Art Museum of South Texas, Corpus Christi, 8 February–24 March 1974; Miami Art Center, Miami, 4 April–2 May 1974

"Robert Rauschenberg: Werke 1950–1980," Staatliche Kunsthalle, Berlin, 23 March–4 May 1980; Kunsthalle, Düsseldorf, Germany, 6 June–13 July 1980; Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, Humlebaek, Denmark, 20 September–25 November 1980; Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, Germany, 3 December 1980–18 January 1981; Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich, Germany, 4 February–5 April 1981; Tate Gallery, London, 29 April–14 June 1981

"Pop Art: 1955–1970," organized by International Council of The Museum of Modern Art, New York: Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia, 27 February–14 April 1985; Queensland Art Gallery, South Brisbane, Australia, 1 May–2 June 1985; National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia, 26 June–11 August 1985

"Second Hiroshima Art Prize," Hiroshima City Museum of Contemporary Art, Hiroshima, Japan, 3 November 1993–16 January 1994

"Robert Rauschenberg: Sculpture," Modern Art Museum of Fort Worth, Fort Worth, Texas, 22 October–31 December 1995; Museum of Contemporary Art, Miami, 25 April 1995–28 July 1996

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998; Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain, 21 November 1998–7 March 1999

PLATE 152 Empire II (1961) *

"Rauschenberg," Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 7 November–5 December 1961

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings, Drawings and Combines, 1949–1964," Whitechapel Gallery, London, 4 February–8 March 1964

"Robert Rauschenberg: Selections," Fort Worth Art Center, Fort Worth, Texas, 5 January–2 February 1969

"Eight Artists," Art Museum of South Texas, Corpus Christi, 8 February–24 March 1974; Miami Art Center, Miami, 4 April–2 May 1974

"Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998

PLATE 153 Door (1961)

"Rörelse i konsten," Moderna Museet, Stockholm, 17 May–3 September 1961

"Rauschenberg: Works from 1949–1968," Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, 10 October–30 December 1968

"Peinture: Emblèmes et références," capc Musée d'art contemporain, Bordeaux, France, 10 December 1993–27 February 1994

PLATE 154 Reservoir

[formerly titled **Fourth Time Painting**] (1961) *

"Rauschenberg," Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 7 November–5 December 1961

"Robert Rauschenberg," National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 30 October 1976–2 January 1977; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 25 March–17 May 1977; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, 24 June–21 August 1977; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978

"Paintings in the United States from Public Collections in Washington, D.C.," Palace of Fine Arts, Mexico City, 15 November 1980–6 January 1981

"Treasures from the National Museum of American Art," organized by the National Museum of American Art, Washington, D.C.; Seattle Art Museum, Seattle, 20 February–13 April 1986; Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis, 17 May–13 July 1986; Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, 13 August–5 October 1986; Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas, 7 November 1986–4 January 1987; High Museum of Art, Atlanta, 3 February–29 March 1987; National Museum of American Art, Washington, D.C., May–June 1987

"Hand-Painted Pop: American Art in Transition, 1955–62," The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 6 December 1992–7 March 1993; Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago, 3 April–20 June 1993; Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 16 July–3 October 1993

"Modernism and Abstraction: Treasures from the Smithsonian American Art Museum," organized by Smithsonian American Art Museum; The Art Museum at Florida International University, Miami, 7 January–26 March 2000; Colby College Museum of Art, Waterville, Maine, 1 August–29 October 2000; Memorial Art Gallery, University of Rochester, Rochester, New York,

28 January–25 March 2001; Allentown Art Museum, Allentown, Pennsylvania, 22 April–17 June 2001; Frist Center for the Visual Arts, Nashville, 21 July–9 September 2001; Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts, 7 October 2001–6 January 2002; National Academy Museum, New York, 6 February–7 April 2002; Des Moines Art Center, Des Moines, 4 May–30 June 2002; Muskegon Museum of Art, Muskegon, Michigan, 21 July–29 September 2002

PLATE 155 Johanson's Painting (1961) *

"Rörelse i konsten," Moderna Museet, Stockholm, 17 May–3 September 1961. Made for exhibition but not listed in catalogue.

"Robert Rauschenberg: Werke 1950–1980," Staatliche Kunsthalle, Berlin, 23 March–4 May 1980; Kunsthalle, Düsseldorf, Germany, 6 June–13 July 1980; Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, Humlebaek, Denmark, 20 September–25 November 1980; Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, Germany, 3 December 1980–18 January 1981; Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich, Germany, 4 February–5 April 1981; Tate Gallery, London, 29 April–14 June 1981

"Rauschenberg," Galerie Beyeler, Basel, Switzerland, 12 March–31 May 1984

"Robert Rauschenberg," Fundación Juan March, Madrid, 8 February–March 1985; Fundació Joan Miró, Barcelona, Spain, 28 March–19 May 1985

"Colección Sonnabend: 25 años de selección y de actividad," Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, Madrid, 30 October 1987–15 February 1988; capc Musée d'art contemporain, Bordeaux, France, 6 May–25 September 1988; Art Cologne, Cologne, Germany, 10–16 November 1988; Hamburger Bahnhof, Berlin, 7 December 1988–26 February 1989; Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome, 14 April–2 October 1989; Museo d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea di Trento e Rovereto, Trento, Italy, 4 November 1989–7 January 1990; Musée Rath, Geneva, Switzerland, 28 January–16 April 1990; Sezon Museum of Art, Tokyo, 15 May–24 June 1990; The Miyagi Museum of Art, Sendai, Japan, 3 July–16 August 1990; Fukuyama Museum of Art, Hiroshima, Japan, 22 September–14 October 1990; The National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto, Japan, 5 January–11 February 1991

"Robert Rauschenberg Combines: Painting + Sculpture," Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore, 6 December 2000–20 May 2001

PLATE 156 Rigger (1961)

"Rauschenberg," Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 7 November–5 December 1961

"Robert Rauschenberg," Dwan Gallery, Los Angeles, 4–31 March 1962

28th Biennial Exhibition, The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 18 January–2 March 1963

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The

Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998; Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 27 June–11 October 1998; Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain, 21 November 1998–7 March 1999

PLATE 157 Stripper (1962)

"Rauschenberg," Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 7 November–5 December 1961

"1961," The Dallas Museum for Contemporary Arts, Dallas, 3 April–13 May 1962

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

"The Biennale Eight," The Institute of Contemporary Art, Boston, 20 June–26 July 1964

"Robert Rauschenberg: Werke 1950–1980," Staatliche Kunsthalle, Berlin, 23 March–4 May 1980; Kunsthalle, Düsseldorf, Germany, 6 June–13 July 1980; Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, Humlebaek, Denmark, 20 September–25 November 1980; Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, Germany, 3 December 1980–18 January 1981; Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich, Germany, 4 February–5 April 1981; Tate Gallery, London, 29 April–14 June 1981

"Joseph Beuys, Robert Rauschenberg, Cy Twombly, Andy Warhol: Sammlung Marx," Nationalgalerie, Berlin, 2 March–12 April 1982; Städtisches Museum Abteiberg, Mönchengladbach, Germany, 6 May–30 September 1982

PLATE 158 Cartoon (1962)

XVIII Salon de Mai, Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, 6–27 May 1962

"Three Young Americans," Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin, Ohio, 8–29 January 1963

Extended loan, Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis, 1970

"Selections from the Roger and Myra Davidson Collection," Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, 17 January–22 March 1987. Painting was only exhibited for the first few weeks until it was removed for the Blum Helman exhibition.

"Rauschenberg, Schwitters, Tuttle," Blum Helman Gallery, New York, 4–28 February 1987

"Second Hiroshima Art Prize," Hiroshima City Museum of Contemporary Art, Hiroshima, Japan, 3 November 1993–16 January 1994

PLATE 159 Trophy V (for Jasper Johns) (1962)

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998; The Menil Collection, Contemporary Arts Museum, and The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 12 February–17 May 1998; Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 27 June–11 October 1998; Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao, Spain, 21 November 1998–7 March 1999

PLATE 160 Ace (1962) *

"Ace," Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, 7–21 April 1962
"66th Annual Exhibition: American Painting and Sculpture," The Art Institute of Chicago, 26 January–3 March 1963

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings, Drawings and Combines, 1949–1964," Whitechapel Gallery, London, 4 February–8 March 1964

"Four Germinal Painters," XXXII International Biennial Exhibition of Art, United States Pavilion, Venice, Italy, 20 June–18 October 1964

"Robert Rauschenberg," Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 23 September–30 October 1977; The Art Institute of Chicago, 3 December 1977–15 January 1978

"Robert Rauschenberg: Werke 1950–1980," Staatliche Kunsthalle, Berlin, 23 March–4 May 1980; Kunsthalle, Düsseldorf, Germany, 6 June–13 July 1980; Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, Humlebaek, Denmark, 20 September–25 November 1980; Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, Germany, 3 December 1980–18 January 1981; Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich, Germany, 4 February–5 April 1981; Tate Gallery, London, 29 April–14 June 1981

PLATE 161 Navigator (1962) *

"Robert Rauschenberg," Dwan Gallery, Los Angeles, 4–31 March 1962

"Robert Rauschenberg," The Jewish Museum, New York, 31 March–12 May 1963

Group Exhibition, Dwan Gallery, Los Angeles, 29 June–25 July 1964

"Bildnerische Ausdrucksformen 1960–1970: Sammlung Karl Ströher," Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, Germany, 24 April–14 June 1970

"Bilder für Frankfurt," Museum für Moderne Kunst, Frankfurt, Germany, 8 February–14 April 1985

"Das Museum für Moderne Kunst und die Sammlung Ströher—Zur Geschichte einer Privatsammlung," Museum für Moderne Kunst, Frankfurt, Germany, 5 December 1994–8 January 1995

"The Museum, the Collection, the Director and his Loves," Museum für Moderne Kunst, Frankfurt, Germany, 13 September 2002–21 April 2003

PLATE 162 Wooden Gallop (1962)

"Robert Rauschenberg," Dwan Gallery, Los Angeles, 4–31 March 1962

"Pop Art USA," Oakland Art Museum, Oakland, California, 7–29 September 1963

"Three Hundred Years of American Art in the Chrysler Museum," Chrysler Museum, Norfolk, Virginia, 1 March–4 July 1976

PLATE 163 Untitled (1962)

"Second Hiroshima Art Prize," Hiroshima City Museum of Contemporary Art, Hiroshima, Japan, 3 November 1993–16 January 1994

"Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Paintings and Drawings," Marc de Montebello Fine Art, New York, 31 October–21 November 1995

PLATE 164 Dylaby (1962)

"Rauschenberg: Première exposition (Oeuvres 1954–61)," Galerie Ileana Sonnabend, Paris, 1–16 February 1963

"Pop art, nouveau réalisme, etc.,," Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, 5 February–1 March 1965

"Pop Art: 1955–1970," organized by the International Council of The Museum of Modern Art, New York; Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia, 27 February–14 April 1985; Queensland Art Gallery, South Brisbane, Australia, 1 May–2 June 1985; National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia, 26 June–11 August 1985

"Colección Sonnabend: 25 años de selección y de actividad," Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, Madrid, 30 October 1987–15 February 1988; capc Musée d'art contemporain, Bordeaux, France, 6 May–25 September 1988; Art Cologne, Cologne, Germany, 10–16 November 1988; Hamburger Bahnhof, Berlin, 7 December 1988–26 February 1989; Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome, 14 April–2 October 1989; Museo d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea di Trento e Rovereto, Trento, Italy, 4 November 1989–7 January 1990; Musée Rath, Geneva, Switzerland, 28 January–16 April 1990; Sezon Museum of Art, Tokyo, 15 May–24 June 1990; The Miyagi Museum of Art, Sendai, Japan, 3 July–16 August 1990; Fukuyama Museum of Art, Hiroshima, Japan, 22 September–14 October 1990; The National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto, Japan, 5 January–11 February 1991

"Pop Art," Royal Academy of Arts, London, 13 September–15 December 1991; Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 23 January–19 April 1992; Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, Madrid, 16 June–14 September 1992; Museum of Fine Arts, Montréal, 23 October 1992–24 January 1993

"Peinture: Emblèmes et références," capc Musée d'art contemporain, Bordeaux, France, 10 December 1993–27 February 1994

"Les années Pop, 1956–1968," Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, 15 March–2 July 2001

PLATE 165 Dylaby (1962)

"Dylaby: Dynamisch Labyrint," Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, September 1962

"Rauschenberg: Première exposition (Oeuvres 1954–61)," Galerie Ileana Sonnabend, Paris, 1–16 February 1963

"Robert Rauschenberg: Paintings, Drawings and Combines, 1949–1964," Whitechapel Gallery, London, 4 February–8 March 1964

"Robert Rauschenberg: Werke 1950–1980,"

Kunsthalle, Düsseldorf, Germany, 6 June–13 July 1980; Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, Humlebaek, Denmark, 20 September–25 November 1980; Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, Germany, 3 December 1980–18 January 1981; Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich, Germany, 4 February–5 April 1981; Tate Gallery, London, 29 April–14 June 1981

"Selections from the Ileana and Michael Sonnabend Collection: Works from the 1950s and 1960s," Art Museum, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, 3 February–9 June 1985; Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery, The University of Texas, Austin, 8 September–27 October 1985; Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, 23 November 1985–9 March 1986

"Colección Sonnabend: 25 años de selección y de actividad," Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, Madrid, 30 October 1987–15 February 1988; capc Musée d'art contemporain, Bordeaux, France, 6 May–25 September 1988; Art Cologne, Cologne, Germany, 10–16 November 1988; Hamburger Bahnhof, Berlin, 7 December 1988–26 February 1989; Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome, 14 April–2 October 1989; Museo d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea di Trento e Rovereto, Trento, Italy, 4 November 1989–7 January 1990

"American Masters of the 60s," Tony Shafrazi Gallery, New York, 9 May–23 June 1990

"Pop Art," Royal Academy of Arts, London, 13 September–15 December 1991; Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Germany, 23 January–19 April 1992; Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, Madrid, 16 June–14 September 1992

"Peinture: Emblèmes et références," capc Musée d'art contemporain, Bordeaux, France, 10 December 1993–27 February 1994

"Retrospective," Sonnabend Gallery, New York, 13 May–1 September 2000

"Les années Pop, 1956–1968," Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, 15 March–2 July 2001

"From Pop to Now: Selections from the Sonnabend Collection," The Frances Young Tang Teaching Museum and Art Gallery, Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs, New York, 22 June–29 September 2002

"American Pop Icons," Guggenheim Hermitage Museum, Las Vegas, 14 May–2 November 2003

"Rauschenberg," Gallerie d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea—Palazzo dei Diamanti, Ferrara, Italy, 29 February–6 June 2004

PLATE 166 Inside-Out

[formerly titled **Novice**] (1962)

Valley College, Los Angeles, November 1965

Fine Arts Patrons of Newport Harbor, Pavilion Gallery, Balboa, California, November 1966

PLATE 167 Art Box (1963)

"Contemporary Boxes and Wall Sculpture," Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, 22 September–22 October 1965

Rauschenberg with William and Chessy Rayner in Jasper Johns's Fulton Street studio, New York, 1954

PLATE 168 Bath (1964)

"Las palabras de la pintura," Centro Galego de Arte Contemporánea, Santiago de Compostela, Spain, 1 October–14 December 2004

PLATE 169 Story (1964)

"Collaborations," Mary and Leigh Block Gallery, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, 28 September–26 October 1980

"Art and Dance: Images of the Modern Dialogue 1890–1980," Institute of Contemporary Dance, Boston, 9 November 1982–8 January 1983; Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio, 6 March–24 April 1983

"Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective," Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 19 September 1997–7 January 1998

PLATE 170 Gold Standard (1964) *

Made as performance art at Tokyo Sogetsu Hall, 28 November 1964. The painting was made in four hours, and the process was televised.

"The Sofu Teshigahara Collection," Sogetsu Art Museum, Tokyo, 12 April–11 September 1982

Contemporary Art Exhibition to Commemorate Sogetsu 60th Anniversary, Sogetsu Art Museum, Tokyo, 13 October 1986–28 March 1987

"Second Hiroshima Art Prize," Hiroshima City Museum of Contemporary Art, Hiroshima, Japan, 3 November 1993–16 January 1994





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Exhibition catalogues have been included only for those exhibitions that were dedicated primarily to the Combines. Only exhibition reviews for these shows are included in this bibliography.

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