POP ART AND POPULAR MUSIC

Jukebox Modernism

MELISSA L. MEDNICOV

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Pop Art and Popular Music

This book offers an innovative and interdisciplinary approach to Pop art scholarship through a recuperation of popular music into art historical understandings of the movement. Jukebox modernism is a procedure by which Pop artists used popular music within their works to disrupt decorous modernism during the 1960s. Artists, including Peter Blake, Pauline Boty, James Rosenquist, and Andy Warhol, respond to popular music for reasons such as its emotional connectivity, issues of fandom and identity, and the pleasures and problems of looking and listening to an artwork. When we both look at and listen to Pop art, essential aspects of Pop's history that have been neglected—its sounds, its women, its queerness, and its black subjects—come into focus.

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Cover Image: Pauline Boty, *My Colouring Book* (1963), oil on canvas, 152.4 x 121.9 cm. Collection of Muzeum Sztuki in Łódź.
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Introduction

Towards a Definition of Jukebox Modernism

Jukebox Modernism and its Precedents

Jukebox modernism is an interdisciplinary approach to art history that both looks at and listens to Pop art. Jukebox modernism is a procedure by which Pop artists used popular music within their works to disrupt decorous modernism during the 1960s. Through jukebox modernism, the recuperation of music asserts new art historical understandings of Pop art. I seek to recover one lost history of Pop art—its connection to popular music. Music, and the larger rubric of sound art, has become a major field within art history in recent years.[1] Although Pop art has attracted a great deal of scholarly attention, its relationship to popular music remains under-investigated with a few notable exceptions.[2] Music's relative obscurity in Pop scholarship is surprising, given that many Pop artists used popular music to address the changing social landscape of gender, race, and class, as well as shifting notions of group identity offered by the category of "fandom." This book explores a range of Pop artworks, investigating their unique intersection between visual art and musical work, to produce new insights about both. Through a recuperation of Pop's jukebox modernism, we will recover other aspects of Pop art that have until now been ignored.

Pop art, in the generation after abstract expressionism, challenged that movement's approach to art, the concept of the artist, and its exhibition spaces. Abstract expressionism and then its Greenbergian heir, post-painterly abstraction, were dominated by Clement Greenberg's formalist ideas "as" modernist painting. Greenberg's focus on medium-specificity did not encourage a consideration of how the aural and the visual interact such as in "Towards a Newer Laocoön."[3] Additionally, earlier writing by Greenberg, such as "Avant-Garde and Kitsch," marked mass culture as detrimental to "art" and culture.[4] Art historian Caroline A. Jones has noted that Greenberg's modernism, with its focus upon the visual, could only be accomplished through the suppression of the aural.[5] The suppression of sound in Greenberg's writing should come as no surprise. For Greenberg, an art object was only successful, and actually qualified as art, when its materials were self-evident and did not attempt to enter any other sensorial sphere.[6] A painting should only be, in other words, about and for the eyes, not the ears. Jones, in the chapter "The Modernist Sensorium" from her book *Eyesight Alone*, finds a contextual explanation for this sensory segregation, when she argues that Greenberg's modernism was spawned in a culture that increasingly wanted to buffer itself from

distracting and annoying things like sound.[7] Jones notes figures of the art world who went into white cube-like galleries to get away from the noise of the street and invested in hi-fi personal technology to create a distilled space and sound relationship.[8] Artists disrupted this silence before, during, and after Greenberg, but that silence, like other Greenbergian approaches to art, tended to overshadow art historical memory until recently.[9]

While I do not want to get bogged down in a critique of Greenberg's formalism (as this is a project that has been handled extensively, even exhaustively, over the past several decades), it is, nevertheless, important to note that Greenberg's theories were dominant during the era of Pop's rise in the 1960s. Greenberg's disdain for Pop is not surprising given Pop's ties to figural representation and mass consumer culture (what Greenberg would dismiss as kitsch), but its connection to music would be a further disqualification. Indeed, the emotions and subjectivities that popular music promised, and that Pop art would sometimes use, would be difficult for many to perceive in the art historical environment of the 1960s, especially when Greenberg's critical argument was so inescapable and influential.

The first chapter, "How to Hear a Painting: Jukebox Modernism and Elvis Presley in Pop," offers case studies of jukebox modernism and various works of art. Images of Elvis Presley are particularly useful, such as Ray Johnson's *Oedipus (Elvis Presley #1)* (ca. 1956–1957), Mimmo Rotella's *L'assalto* (1962), Peter Blake's *Got a Girl* (1960–1961), and Andy Warhol's *Elvis* paintings, to consider how the image of Presley heralds his music into artworks. Some of these images also incorporate Presley's early films (Rotella's piece uses a film poster in the work) further expanding the media scope of jukebox modernism within Pop. This chapter elucidates how popular music moved beyond music to include movies and television. In addition to music and movies, the artists also reference fan culture within their work through their materials. By giving further attention to both Presley's image and music, these artworks also garner (or regain) meaning in relation to homoeroticism, sexuality, race, and class. These international artists help us to further explore how jukebox modernism was part of an expansive definition of Pop art—a canon that is continually being revised.

The second chapter "Pink, White, and Black: The Strange Case of James Rosenquist's *Big Bo*," looks at a fundamental part of discussions of popular music and one that is not often addressed in Pop art: race. James Rosenquist's *Big Bo* (1966) is a large-scale shaped canvas of a little-known blues musician, and it represents an African American singer; the canvas is painted pink. Music, one of the few popular cultural domains that made blackness visible to a predominantly white audience in this period, was one of the few categories through which (very few) white Pop painters allowed black subjects to enter into their painting (the remaining works mainly allude to violent Civil Rights events). *Big Bo* enacts Rosenquist's (and, by extension, liberal white America's) deeply ambivalent position on the weight of black celebrity and, more crucially, black masculinity. Placed in juxtaposition with another work by Rosenquist, *Painting for the American Negro* (1962–1963), *Big Bo*'s simultaneous aggrandizement and diminishment of its subject is emblematic of one strain of white middle-class America's position on civil rights: a liberal yet tenuous support for an "equality."

The third chapter, "The Sound and Look of Melodrama in Pauline Boty's Pop Paintings," focuses on gender and Pop art through a discussion of British Pop

artist Pauline Boty's *My Colouring Book* (1963). *My Colouring Book* takes its title and subject from a song sung by Sandy Stewart, Kitty Kallen, Barbra Streisand, and Dusty Springfield. The work is painted in rainy day colors, and it features, in a soft grid, the iconography of a young woman's heartbreak—a necklace, a disappearing lover, an empty room—all objects mournfully described in the song. Through a close reading of this painting, I elaborate upon the ways in which Boty's strangely naïve paintings reflect the pressures and freedoms offered to women by music in the 1960s. Girl groups, singers, and Hollywood melodrama seep into this reading of Boty's paintings to register the complications of female fans' relationships to popular music in this period. Through a focus on Boty and her works that include the formal use of a pop song's lyrics, this chapter recovers the position of the female Pop artist, the use of emotion in Pop art through melodrama, and how music deepens our understanding of gendered representations in Pop art.

In the fourth chapter, "Soundtrack Not Included: Andy Warhol's *Sleep*," I offer a new interpretation of Andy Warhol's film *Sleep*.[10] Warhol premiered the film on January 17, 1964, with a radio tuned to pop music playing on the radio stations—the only time the film was shown with a pop soundtrack. This lost formal element to Warhol's film offers the opportunity to consider how *Sleep* allows for a mix of both chance and dictation: Warhol could not control what was played on the radio although he could switch the channel and, depending on the pop songs played, the meaning of the film would change. When seen and heard with some of the Top 20 hits in January 1964, *Sleep*'s meaning could change depending upon the pop song. Love songs, in relation to the film's subject, Warhol's boyfriend at the time, poet John Giorno, enhance the homoeroticism and emotional potency of the work.

The final chapter, "Sounding Pop Art: An Exhibition History," looks at Pop art's exhibition history in an international context. Music was present at Pop art's first exhibition, the Independent Group's *This Is Tomorrow*, held at London's Whitechapel Art Gallery in 1956. British Pop artists included a jukebox and announced music as an integral element in Pop Art and its exhibitions—an aspect of the important exhibition that is often ignored. My analysis of *This Is Tomorrow* traces the continued use of music in Pop exhibits and installations through Pop's second generation. In addition to *This Is Tomorrow*, I consider music in other exhibitions such as the Stedelijk Museum's 1962 *Dylaby* exhibition, Gerhard Richter and Konrad Lueg's *Living with Pop: A Demonstration for Capitalist Realism* (1963), and Yayoi Kusama's *Kusama's Peep Show* or *Endless Love Show* (1966). The chapter considers how, within international exhibitions that presented different variations and global connections of Pop art, music was included as an integral and continued part of Pop's presence and expansion—and its ramifications within the museum setting. By looking at Pop through its exhibitions and installations, I further assert the international implications of jukebox modernism in Pop art.

The conclusion addresses the ramifications of contemporary art with jukebox modernism. I briefly consider how contemporary art reflects a continuation of jukebox modernism in some of the same modes of the Pop artists discussed in the book: identity, sexuality, gender, emotions, and fan culture.

Fan Culture

Issues of fandom permeate throughout the book. The practice of fans, their collections, and their affections, become part of some of the artists' work. Boty's *My Colouring Book* makes subtle visual references to fandom's mass culture: its rectangular sections recall magazine-size posters and the image of the boy who broke her heart looks like a movie star. Boty pictures love and heartbreak in girlish terms: bright, vivid colors, youthful brushstrokes, and images that appear similar to pages torn out of a magazine and put on one's wall. When *My Colouring Book* is considered in comparison with other paintings that make more explicit reference to cultures of fandom (such as *With Love to Jean-Paul Belmondo*, an adoring homage to the French film star), Boty's mastery of the visual codes of fandom becomes apparent.

Fandom takes a less specific form in the "Pink, White, and Black: The Strange Case of James Rosenquist's *Big Bo*" chapter, where Rosenquist is uninterested in the specifics of Big Bo McGee. Instead, the social context of white fans and black musicians, and the tensions of segregation and integration come to the forefront. Part of the dissonance of this work, comes from the fact that it is a monumental portrait of a musician of whom Rosenquist was perhaps not quite a fan. Indeed, as is clear from the inaccurate remarks that Rosenquist made about the musician in his painting, the artist chose to remain rather uninformed about the details of his subject's life (any "good" fan knows every accurate detail). This positioning of "Big Bo" as someone who should have fans, but doesn't, is one of the issues upon which the chapter pivots.

Additionally, fandom connects many of the artists within the book. Two of the chapters, including two British artists, bring a more unabashed (yet still complicated) fandom to the forefront. Both Peter Blake and Pauline Boty are fan-friendly, identifying with (or through) fan's approaches to pop singers. Ray Johnson and Mimmo Rotella participate in some habits of fans (collecting and re-using images of stars) to varying results. However, Rosenquist creates a tenuous painting, suggestive of fandom yet a "non-fan" painting of *Big Bo*. The British context seems to allow for a more appreciative fandom in the 1960s than American artists were willing to contemplate. Certainly, some of this difference must be related to a British look at American culture instead of American self-regard. These second-generation British Pop artists, too, come after the perhaps more critical Independent Group whose manifesto presented a less celebratory view on popular culture.[11]

Theories about fan culture and what it means to be a fan inform the role of fandom throughout the chapters; how these artists might employ the status or identity of a fan within their work. To be a fan is far more complicated than just liking a particular song or musician; it suggests an identification with a singer and lyric. Fans collect the images of their favorite stars, the songs, movies, and products featuring their stars; fans invest time and energy in their support. The stereotypical view of a fan is one who devotes themselves to their favorite star, possibly at the expense of their best interests. However, scholars such as John Fiske and Richard Dyer offer ways to define the category of fandom in terms of empowerment. In his essay "The Cultural Economy of Fandom," Fiske argues that fandom can subvert popular culture. According to Fiske, fans choose "cultural forms that the dominant value system denigrates," such as pop music, as a means of gaining collective identity (one that participates in and subverts popular culture) and gathering rebellious energy.[12]

Additionally, Richard Dyer's 2003 book, *Heavenly Bodies: Film Stars and Society*, describes some of fandom's useful maneuvers against strict societal norms. Dyer convincingly explains the intersection of market capitalism and star media systems, with particular attention to how fans can co-opt and transform media phenomena for their own celebratory purposes (his example is Judy Garland and her gay male fan community).[13]

Fan theorists such as Henry Jenkins argue that fans often act as "textual poachers," creating a participatory interaction within fan communities.[14] Another fan culture scholar, Matt Hills, argues that to be a fan:

> It is also always performative; by which I mean that it is an identity which is (dis-)claimed, and which performs cultural work. Claiming the status of a "fan" may, in certain contexts, provide a cultural space for types of knowledge and attachment.[15]

Additionally, the status of a fan is part of a shifting form of identity.[16] At times the artists within this book gesture towards—or outright declare—themselves as fans of popular music and its attributes. Their use of the materiality of fandom—its magazine pages, posters, badges, and other aspects—activate their works as part of a legible network of fan culture.

Art history, itself, may act as a kind of fandom.[17] A tension between academic distance and, well, love for one's scholarly subject is a balance most (I hope) scholars could relate to.[18] The study of art history—its darkened rooms with images projected, canons categorizing the "best" artists and art (and the questioning of such modes), the elevation of some artists over others, collections such as those in a museum—perhaps promotes a kind of fandom within its own discipline.

Questions in Popular Music

I would like to address my use of the term "popular music." There has been a great deal written about the delineations between different styles of mass-marketed music and the differences between them. For jukebox modernism and its use by most Pop artists in the works discussed in this book, their interest resided where the music was popular—whether that be within pop, girl groups, rhythm and blues, rock, and so forth. I consider popular music almost as a "sonic popular," a sound (namely music) that was everywhere and liked, i.e. popular. I look to scholar Adam Bradley and his similar use of pop music, instead of the term "rock," in his discussion of the poetry of popular music:

> In contrast, pop is inclusive, multiracial, and global in its appeal. Certainly, it carries its own baggage, including assumptions that all pop is bubblegum musi intended for preteens, that it is mass-produced and indifferently crafted. However, the virtues of the term outweigh these detriments. Pop is encompassing and capacious. It is popular music. It is the *Billboard* charts, which reach across genres. Pop invites rather than excludes. At the same time, pop allows insurgency and opposition and stubborn isolation.[19]

Bradley seeks the inclusive quality and prevalence of pop—yet asserts the differences in the genres. Additionally, Bradley addresses the "baggage" of popular music, which also invited Pop artists to reckon with both the positive and negative impact of the music. Popular music in the period of Pop could be treacle sweet or dangerous (or both or something entirely different). For the purposes of the study, I use popular music to cover the terrain of the music that was popular in this period and that the Pop artists exploited.

As the popular music gained momentum, teenagers seized upon music and fandom as a way to differentiate themselves from the previous generation and to find a commonality. Together, teenagers made the sonic popular into a burgeoning economic category during the 1950s. With the pocket change that the postwar boom helped provide, coupled with a desire to distinguish themselves from the older generation, young fans indulged in the accouterments of fandom: magazines, movie tickets, merchandise featuring stars' imagery, and more. This sensibility of rebellious consumerism informs my understanding of the Pop artists explored here. While these artists were not teenagers when they made these works, all of them fed off of fandom and, to some degree, teen culture resonated in their artistic practice.

My use of popular music for different modes of music such as rock 'n' roll and rhythm and blues also enables us to consider how the music infiltrated both art and larger cultural apparatuses. Art historian Thomas Crow, whose work has given attention to the intricacies of Pop art and popular music, describes a particular phenomenon of both music and art in the high Pop era of the 1960s and names it "the absconding Pop referent."[20] Crow's concept has helped me to see Blake and Boty as a last gasp of sorts in Pop art, representing the moment that Pop painting held the Pop referent before it escaped the art world and fully entered to its origin media of music and film. Crow describes Pop's "wide migration of its characteristic motifs and procedures into the countercultural media, which enjoyed both a mass following and far greater access to resources and visibility."[21] Earlier in his essay, Crow sees popular music and film as places, too, where the Pop referent inhabited.[22] The artists who stayed within the previously accepted confines of art (i.e. painting and sculpture, or as Crow puts it, "remained bound by the dry museum paradigm") got "left behind"[23] as Pop entered into the "vernacular."[24] Boty and Blake were willing to surrender to music, to allow songs to possess their works, and, to allow for the viewer/listener to also feel those effects when in the presence of their pieces. The artists whose work seize upon Elvis Presley's image also feast upon his music. Presley, inherently tied to both his music and his film career, is a moment in which the Pop referent may still withstand this threshold. It is no accident these works are early Pop (or even proto-Pop) to its early crescendo with Warhol's early gallery shows. In contrast, Rosenquist's Pop quality might be described as post-exhaustion, too large and too pink. *Big Bo*, both known and unknown in its subject, becomes confused in its use of Pop. In the chapters on Pop exhibitions and Warhol's *Sleep*, we see how the realm of art expands, and the Pop canon, in its attempts to contain or, perhaps, partake in the Pop referent.

Popular music is, for many critics, the place where modern culture is most visible and most easily ranked. For many, popular music is evidence of modernity's degradation (and fans of such music often ridiculed), while for others, it is the site of modernity's greatest exuberance.[25] Theodor W. Adorno wrote prolifically about the problems of popular music.[26] In *Composing Music for Films*, Adorno and his

co-author, Hanns Eisler, disparage popular music in terms of its emotion provoking abilities: "The greater the drabness of this existence, the sweeter the melody."[27] They argue that "middle-class music" is welcomed because it sugarcoats the lives of the masses.[28] As Adorno and Eisler see it, this recognition of one's own emotional life in music is one way in which "commercialism" attempts to mollify the masses.[29] Their ideas relate specifically to how the use of music in film manipulates the masses and in an earlier period, but are applicable to similar criticism of popular music. In another essay, Adorno further criticizes the emotional potency of music:

> Most people listen emotionally: everything is heard in terms of the categories of late Romanticism and of the commodities derived from it, which are already tailored to emotional listening. Their listening is the more abstract the more emotional it is: music really only enables them to have a good cry.[30]

For Adorno, these emotions are where commodity music ensnares the listener into thinking that they are seen and their feelings are important; yet music is just one form of entrapment into commodity culture.[31]

In another viewpoint on mass culture, Pierre Bourdieu, in *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, writes that "nothing more clearly affirms one's 'class,' nothing more infallibly classifies, than tastes in music."[32] Music knowledge signifies the money to go to concerts, to purchase expensive instruments, and to take lessons.[33] For Bourdieu, music is a pure marker of class because it is and can only be music, "it says nothing and has *nothing to say*."[34] Perhaps pop songs give voice to a non-elite audience using a language both vernacular in terminology and emotions to enable the listener to express feelings and instincts within the mass culture that surrounds their lives.[35] The artists discussed in this book grapple with these questions. I fear that at times I may seem to wholly embrace popular culture and its music without the kinds of critiques of commodity culture and capitalism brought forth by these and other scholars. However, I argue for a jukebox modernism alongside and in conversation with those that challenge an acquiescence to commodity culture.

Fredric Jameson, as a critic of mass culture, argues that the repetition of pop songs—and popular culture, too—allows for its songs to entrench themselves within most people's lives. While the audience might chafe under the demands of high culture, a pop song can become the antidote, soothing listeners through the replaying of familiar notes.[36] This repetition makes popular music into a social balm:

> The passionate attachment one can form to this or that pop single, the rich personal investment of all kinds of private associations and existential symbolism which is the feature of such attachment, are fully as much a function of our own familiarity as of the work itself: the pop single, by means of repetition, insensibly becomes part of the existential fabric of our own lives, so that what we listen to is ourselves, our own previous auditions.[37]

Jameson pinpoints a successful aspect of mass culture—it is everywhere *and* it provides an emotional connection by virtue of ingraining itself into one's life. Indeed, his description of pop music's ability to become entrenched personally to us yet be everywhere at the same time, articulates one of the aspects Pop artists seized and

exploited from popular music. Additionally, Jameson considers the time period of this book, the 1950s and 1960s, to be where a break in culture has occurred, as a shift towards postmodernism. He cites the symptoms of this break from the divisions of elite and popular culture; his examples include Andy Warhol, John Cage, and the Beatles.[38]

Juan A. Suárez, in his book *Pop Modernism*, helps to elucidate how popular culture and modernism were interrelated. He argues that although Pop art has been usually regarded as postmodernism, "Yet modernism seems to have always been postmodern, and the postmodern seems to be the intensification of some formerly marginalized modernist traits rather than a substantially new logic."[39] He cites the connective tissue between modernism and mass culture as one in which "Modernism and mass culture shared iconography, themes, and stylistic devices."[40] His work shows the link between the everyday and the avant-garde, the breakdown of the fissures of cultural distinctions: "Hence, in the era of the electronic media and mass consumption, distinctions between high and low, experimental and mainstream, avant-garde and kitsch designate temporary positions in the cultural feedback loop rather than actual substantive differences."[41] In some cases, Pop artists understood that this loop and the breakdown between "high" and "low" art is precisely where jukebox modernism was most effectively deployed in their artworks. It is also within this breakdown where the pop song carries the same potential for meaning as a Pop painting.

Music has marked scholarship on Pop art and the movement's critical reception.[42] Popular music proliferates beyond its aural component and, within the following chapters, the artists grapple with this dispersion. In these artists' use of fandom and fan culture, they interrogate both the pleasures and problems of popular culture through popular music. Of course, popular music did not appear from the ether, but was produced and managed by record companies, radio stations, and capitalist systems in this period.

Emotional Pop

Once we begin to understand the possible significations and new contexts for Pop art with jukebox modernism, another element to Pop becomes clear: its emotional capabilities. While artworks may result in an emotional response in the viewer, Pop art is often regarded as "affectless" or without emotion.[43] However, scholar Jennifer Doyle offers a revision to emotionless Pop; a suggestion towards where Pop can have feeling in works by Andy Warhol from the early 1960s: "These works are about the way our own feelings can seem like they belong to someone else, as if they are scripted, particularly when they feel quite sincere."[44] With Warhol, the distant experience of feeling is accurate; this distance, in addition to how Warhol talked about his own work, may be one strain of the affectless legacy of Warhol.[45] This is one vein of emotion in Pop, but there are others—depending upon the artist and the song. Pop music often encourages an embodied response from the listener—to dance, to sing along, and to feel. Thus, once we both look at and listen to a Pop artwork, newly recuperated effects *and* affects may be experienced. Throughout the chapters, I apply various example songs to artworks to recover meanings within Pop. I do not suggest these songs as the *only* applications of jukebox modernism, but as a way to begin to consider this co-existence and, at times, relationship between song and artwork.

Popular music attends to our emotions.[46] The majority of pop songs are narratives of love and heartbreak; popular music scholar Simon Frith states that "The pop song is the love song, and by implication, putting these two findings together, is that what pop songs are really about are *formulas of love*."[47] Subjects such as the euphoric rush of love (such as Elvis Presley's songs "All Shook Up" or "I Can't Help Falling in Love with You" where the pain and pleasure of love seem to intermingle) or the devastation of heartbreak and love gone wrong (such as "My Coloring Book" sung by multiple female singers in the 1960s) populate the majority of pop songs. Frith's "formulas of love" will be re-visited in my discussion about Pauline Boty. Additionally, as this book focuses on art and music from the late 1950s to the 1960s, nostalgia becomes another possible emotional arena for the contemporary viewer and listener of Pop artworks.

A brief consideration of film music is useful here, too. It is the place where some of the most erudite critics of popular culture have challenged its use and where we can also learn a great deal about how music, sight, and emotions come together. Simon Frith argues sound and vision come together in popular cinema for plot as well as emotional devices:

> The cinema draws on both popular and art traditions—on vaudeville, melodrama, the circus, and pantomime, on one hand; on opera and ballet, on the other—and in very general terms I would suggest that in the former, popular forms, the music *accompanies* the action, is used to describe the action aurally, to identify characters, to "coax" extra emotion from the audience and so forth.[48]

As Frith describes—music often adds emotional meaning to a film scene or moment. A scene that may seem innocuous (his example is a woman on a staircase), depending upon the music, "takes on different meanings" such as suspense, melodrama, scary, exciting, and happy.[49] As popular music, particularly in the 1950s and 1960s, became integral to film and television, this emotional quality—the keying up of emotion—comes into consideration when Pop artists, astute to these mechanisms, use music in the visual work such as paintings and collage. Pop songs' lyrics also impact the emotional response from the viewer; Adam Bradley states, "Lyrics are the emotional compass pointing the listener in a direction of feeling."[50] I argue that Pop art's use of music touches upon these strains of meaning in different ways. For example, Boty's work uses a song's melodrama to further the viewer and listener's emotional response as well as use the song's lyrics to create the narrative structure of the painting. Or, Warhol, when showing *Sleep*, may not have liked the way that different pop songs impacted the visual effects of the film. Pop art, too, with its use of popular culture and the tension produced by its placement in both the elite world of art and "low" popular culture, occupies a similar use of both traditions.

Additionally, as film music historian Claudia Gorbman wrote, sound fundamentally challenges the focus and temporality associated with sight:

> But music differs from lighting and other elements of film in several important ways. First, we hear it, we don't see it. Hearing is less direct than visual perception; to see something is to instantaneously identify the light rays with the object that reflects them; in hearing, we do not as automatically identify a sound with its source. Moreover, hearing requires a greater duration of the sound stimulus

> than vision requires of an image in order to be recognized. Thus hearing is at once more selective and lazier than vision; it "focuses" consciously on one or at best two auditory events at a time.[51]

As a result, by bringing sound into the museum or the gallery (or studio), the ethos of immediacy and focus is compromised. But this is part of sound's disruptive capacity—its ability to corral the visual into new directions.

One of the reasons jukebox modernism re-asserts the musical associations of Pop art is because that reclamation allows us to also understand Pop as an emotive project. Pop, so often thought of as affectless, or only putting affect in quotation marks as something to be made ironic, remains the most prevalent—if not only—way most scholars treat Pop. The tendency to focus on Warhol's deadpan delivery and Lichtenstein's comic book crises has erased other moments in Pop art, where the emotive possibilities of popular culture proved to be of artistic utility. I recover the Pop that tapped into its audience's emotions, using songs to provoke feelings of love or heartbreak.[52] Many of the Pop works seize upon music's uniting and challenging aspects too: the ways that music can draw you in and tie you to others in the sense that a song can "get you." At the same time, I show that Pop artists could play to emotions to manipulate, annul, and to embrace the fallacies of fans' emotional attachments, too. This is the full gamut of emotive range that the paintings, when viewed with the soundtrack of popular music, recover.

Additionally, we should remember that a great deal of Pop art was first viewed as music played. During the 1960s, New York City gallerist Ivan Karp lectured on Pop while Four Seasons records played.[53] Music was often played at gallery openings.[54] Artists played music while they were working and receiving visits from critics, curators, and gallery owners.[55] Jukeboxes were even included in exhibitions themselves—such as at *This Is Tomorrow*. This mode of distracted looking is something that may need to be recovered, if we are going to think through the implications of returning sound to painting. Modern art-viewing experiences today typically disallow this sort of loud watching and looking. Music in a gallery setting would, undoubtedly for some, debase or distract from the viewing experience. Music has a way of infiltrating the entire viewing space, distracting from the object or display, or infecting it, making the object or installation relate to the subject of the song. Verbs such as infiltrating and infecting decentralize the primacy often given to Greenbergian formulations of (or wishes for) the purity of artworks. Music could even encourage dancing, interacting with strangers, and singing. Music, in the form of popular songs, may bring more affect—emotions, associations and references to love and heartbreak (the most common themes of popular music), and nostalgia—into a visual and aural experience.

Jukebox modernism employs music as a Pop referent as well as employing other attributes of music. Jukebox modernism may incorporate music's formal attributes, its culture of repetition and mass reproduction, its fans, its emotions, and raises its stakes to include the social context in which it existed—taking into accounts its subjects and their experiences in relation to race, gender, identity, class, and sexuality—and how mainstream society at large was reacting to changing norms in those regards—in the 1960s. Pop art, without its jukebox modernism, can describe these conditions, but part of its story is lost. Throughout these chapters, I suggest some new ways particular songs can accompany artworks and I urge the reader to consider playing

such songs, or different songs of their choosing, while looking at reproductions (or better yet, in front of the artwork if possible). I also considered the idea of a kind of soundtrack to accompany the book, one that I now suggest to the reader that they, too, find—what other songs should be heard? What other artworks, Pop or not?

A jukebox modernist approach to Pop art helps us to look further at aspects of Pop that art history has, until recently, left mute: the music itself, women in pop and mass media, and racial identities beyond whiteness. Pop artists used music to convey challenges that painting seemed unable to do. Popular music, so commercial yet so personal, provided a way for artists to confront gender, sexuality, class, and race. Indeed, one of the reasons they chose music as the medium with which to push the boundaries of painting is popular music's cultural potency—its pervasiveness and youthful invasiveness. This music also performed a didactic role, teaching, in possibly misleading or even dangerous ways, how love and life should look and sound. Pop artists visualized, in different ways, the possibilities and problems of this music. At the same time, popular music embodied the contradictions of mass culture—its potential for exploitation as well as redemption—with which Pop artists frequently grappled and that this book recovers.

Notes

1 For some examples of scholarship about music and art before Pop, see: James Leggio, ed. *Music and Modern Art* (New York: Routledge, 2002) and, in particular Harry Cooper's essay "Popular Models: Fox-Trot and Jazz Band in Mondrian's Abstraction," for a carefully considered approach to the tensions between the avant-garde and popular culture as well as the applications of music to a formal understanding of an artwork. Some other examples of scholarship on music and art include: Donna M. Cassidy, *Painting the Musical City: Jazz and Cultural Identity in American Art, 1910–1940* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997); Peter Vergo, *The Music of Painting: Music, Modernism and the Visual Arts from the Romantics to John Cage* (New York: Phaidon, 2010); Steven Johnson, ed., *The New York Schools of Music and Visual Arts* (New York: Routledge, 2002), Simon Shaw-Miller, *Visible Deeds of Music: Art and Music From Wagner to Cage* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); Charlotte de Mille, ed. *Music and Modernism: c.1849–1950* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011); and Krin Gabbard, ed., *Representing Jazz* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995). Leo G. Mazow's work, such as *Thomas Hart Benton and the American Sound* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), establishes an important example of how to integrate the aural into art historical scholarship. The phenomenon of synesthesia has produced art historical scholarship such as the exhibition catalogue, *Visual Music: Synaesthesia in Art and Music Since 1900*, organized by Kerry Brougher, Jeremy Strick, Ari Wiseman, and Judith Zilczer (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2005). *The Routledge Companion to Music and Visual Culture*, edited by Tim Shephard and Anne Leonard (New York: Routledge, 2014) offers a myriad of essays considering the music and its relation to art. The book covers a variety of periods and artistic movements, but, as the editors point out, there is more to contribute in scholarship. Some treatments on the intersection of music and art (at times in terms of pop music) that focus upon contemporary art include: Trevor Schoonmaker, ed. *The Record: Contemporary Art and Vinyl* (Durham: Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University, 2010); Dieter Daniels, Sandra Naumann with Jan Thoben, eds., *See This Sound: Audiovisuology Compendium, An Interdisciplinary Survey of Audiovisual Culture* (New York: D.A.P. Publishers, 2010); and Diedrich Diederichsen and Peter Pakesch, eds., *Rock – Paper – Scissors: Pop Music as Subject of Visual Art* (Köln: D.A.P. Publishers, 2009). The books included in this footnote are by no means a complete list of scholarship on art and music, but offer the reader a sense of a variety of scholars' methodologies—some focus on questions of art history, others on musicological approaches.

2 One important exception to a silencing of music in Pop art is Thomas Crow's scholarship, in particular his monograph *The Long March of Pop: Art, Music, and Design 1930–1995* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014). Crow's book covers a long trajectory of possible musical understandings of Pop art from its origins to contemporary art. Crow begins his study focusing on folk music and art. Another exception, which provides examples of Pop and popular music's circuitous relationship, is John A. Walker, *Cross-Overs: Art Into Pop, Pop Into Art* (New York: Methuen, 1987). Walker describes the relationship between popular music and Pop art covering the period of 1955 to 1985. He writes about the connections between Pop art and popular music (covering a wide terrain in his definition of popular music). Walker moves from pop musicians who went to art school (such as John Lennon) to some brief treatments of artworks that use images of musicians to how pop music used Pop artists for record covers, stage performances, and more.

3 See Clement Greenberg's "Towards a Newer Laocoön," reprinted in *Artists, Critics, Context: Readings In and Around American Art Since 1945*, ed. Paul F. Fabozzi (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 2002), 10–22.

4 See Clement Greenberg's "Avant-Garde and Kitsch," reprinted in *Mass Culture: The Popular Arts in America*, ed. Bernard Rosenberg and David Manning White (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957), 98–107. The essay was first published in 1946 in *The Partisan Review.*

5 See Caroline A. Jones, *Eyesight Alone: Clement Greenberg's Modernism and the Bureaucratization of the Senses* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

6 See Clement Greenberg's "Modernist Painting," reprinted in *Artists, Critics, Context: Readings In and Around American Art Since 1945*, ed. Paul F. Fabozzi, (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 2002), 201–208.

7 Jones, *Eyesight Alone*, 389–435.

8 Ibid., 399–414. In addition to Greenberg's attention to "hi-fi" sound, Jones also describes how, by 1944, Greenberg allowed for specific kinds of music, not popular music, within his discussions of art (413–414). For a discussion about earlier modes of sound fidelity and questions of sound reproduction, see Jonathan Sterne's *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

9 See Douglas Kahn's innovative and interdisciplinary *Noise Water Meat: A History of Sound in the Arts* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001) for his assertion of the importance of sound—and listening—in modernism from the mid-nineteenth century until the 1950s and 1960s with John Cage as a central figure. Additionally, Juan A. Suárez's *Pop Modernism: Noise and the Reinvention of the Everyday* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007) offers a sound-based approach to the twentieth century, but with a focus on popular culture's impact.

10 Warhol filmed *Sleep* in July and August 1963. David Bourdon, *Warhol* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991), 166.

11 Peter and Alison Smithson's 1956 article, "But Today We Collect Ads," describes a world governed by advertising—urging us not only to buy, but how to live, as well. Alison and Peter Smithson, "But Today We Collect Ads," republished in *Pop: Themes and Movements*, ed. Mark Francis with an essay by Hal Foster (New York: Phaidon, 2005), 194–195.

12 John Fiske, "The Cultural Economy of Fandom," in *The Adoring Audience: Fan Culture and Popular Media*, ed. Lisa A. Lewis (New York: Routledge, 1992), 30.

13 Richard Dyer, *Heavenly Bodies: Film Stars and Society* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 137–191.

14 Henry Jenkins, *Textual Poachers: Television Fans and Participatory Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

15 Matt Hills, *Fan Cultures* (New York: Routledge, 2002), xi.

16 Hills argues that fandom is a status that is in continual motion among a network of contexts. Hills, *Fan Cultures*, xii.

17 I am grateful to Christopher Reed for his suggestion to consider this concept in relation to my work on Pop art.

18 See Jennifer Doyle's brief overview of the distancing from emotion of art criticism and theory in *Hold It Against Me: Difficulty and Emotion in Contemporary Art* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), 69–73. She considers the evacuation of emotions (and attachments) that journals such as *October* and *Artforum* propagated as well as other

scholarly responses. For scholarship on issues regarding fan studies and academia as a possible mode of fandom, see Alan McKee's "The Fans of Cultural Theory" and Cornel Sandvoss' "The Death of the Reader? Literary Theory and the Study of Texts in Popular Culture," in *Fandom: Identities and Communities in a Mediated World*, ed. Jonathan Gray, Cornel Sandvoss, and C. Lee Harrington (New York: New York University Press, 2007).

19 Adam Bradley, *The Poetry of Pop* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 4–5. Additionally, Bradley writes that the term "rock" excludes popular genres of the period and focuses upon white singers. See also Jack Hamilton, *Just Around Midnight: Rock and Roll and the Racial Imagination* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016) for further discussion about the terms "rock" and "soul" music, and their relation to race in the 1960s.

20 Thomas Crow, "The Absconded Subject of Pop," *RES 55/56* (Spring–Autumn 2009): 5–20. Crow later touches upon this concept in his book *The Long March of Pop*.

21 Crow, "The Absconded Subject of Pop," 12.

22 Ibid., 8.

23 Ibid., 12.

24 Ibid., 8.

25 Sociologist David Riesman, whose "Listening to Popular Music" was published in 1950, weighed some of the possibilities of popular culture. He describes the positive potential: "My judgment is that the same or virtually the same popular culture materials are used by audiences in radically different ways and for radically different purposes; for example, a movie theater may be used to get warm, to sleep, to neck, to learn new styles, to expand one's imaginative understanding of people and places—these merely begin an indefinitely expansible list." David Riesman, "Listening to Popular Music," reprinted in *Mass Culture: The Popular Arts in America*, ed. Bernard Rosenberg and David Manning White (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957), 409. Riesman's allowance for the positive possibilities of popular culture is tempered by the industry surrounding it (ibid.)

26 Here is a sampling of Theodor W. Adorno's writings on music: "Music, Language, and Composition," *Musical Quarterly* 77 (Autumn 1993): 401–414; "On Some Relationships between Music and Painting," *Musical Quarterly* 79 (Spring, 1995): 66–79; "The Curves of the Needle," trans. Thomas Y. Levin, *October 55* (Winter, 1990): 44–58; *Sound Figures*, trans. Rodney Livingstone, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999); and *Night Music: Essays on Music 1928–1962*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann, trans. Wieland Hoban (New York: Seagull Books, 2009).

27 Theodor Adorno and Hanns Eisler, *Composing for the Films* (New York: Continuum, 2007), 14.

28 Adorno and Eisler, *Composing for the Films*, 14.

29 Ibid.

30 Theodor W. Adorno, "Commodity Music Analyzed," *Quasi una Fantasia: Essays on Modern Music*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (New York: Verso, 1992), 50.

31 Adorno, "Commodity Music Analyzed," 50.

32 Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 18.

33 Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 18–19.

34 Ibid., 19. Italics in original.

35 Simon Frith, *Sound Effects: Youth, Leisure, and the Politics of Rock 'n' Roll* (New York: Pantheon, 1981), 38. Frith argues for both manipulation and real meaning in popular music.

36 Fredric Jameson, "Reification and Utopia in Mass Culture," *Social Text*, 1 (Winter, 1979), 137–138.

37 Jameson, "Reification and Utopia in Mass Culture," 138.

38 Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), 1.

39 Suárez, *Pop Modernism*, 15.

40 Ibid., 3.

41 Ibid.

42 For example, Max Kozloff, in a 1962 review, used the terminology of popular music—as well as teenagers—to denigrate Pop art: "The truth is, the art galleries are being invaded by the pin-headed and contemptible style of gum chewers, bobby soxers, and worse, delinquents. Not only can't I get romantic about this, I see as little reason to find it appealing as I would an hour of rock and roll into which has been inserted a few notes of modern music." Max Kozloff, "'Pop' Culture, Metaphysical Disgust, and the New Vulgarians," reprinted in *Pop Art: A Critical History*, ed. Steven Henry Madoff (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 32.

43 For further analysis on emotions and artworks, see James Elkins, *Pictures and Tears: A History of People Who Have Cried in Front of Paintings* (New York: Routledge, 2005); Erika Doss, "Makes Me Laugh, Makes Me Cry: Feelings and American Art," *American Art* 25 (Fall 2011): 2–8; Erika Doss, "Affect," *American Art* 23 (Spring 2009): 9–11; Doyle, *Hold It Against Me*; and David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989). Some of these texts relate to affect theory and others, such as Freedberg, to response theory. Richard Meyer's "Artists Sometimes Have Feelings," *Art Journal* 67 (Winter 2008) introduces the issue of the relationship between a living artist and art historian in contemporary art scholarship. Affect Theory and emotion as a theoretical approach has produced a great deal of scholarship. For further analysis, some suggestions include: Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (New York: Routledge, 2004), and Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction*, trans. Keith Tribe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015). There is debate about the differences in meaning of affect, emotion, and feeling in terms of word use. I follow Jennifer Doyle's assessment of her term use: "In general, I privilege the words *emotion* and *feeling* over *affect* when describing how people experience works, and use *affect* to highlight the diffuse nature of *emotion* and *feeling*, in which a mood can saturate a space, for example, or in which an institutional setting such as a museum might impose its own set of rules regarding proper comportment, expressivity, and emotionality." Italics in original. Doyle, *Hold It Against Me*, 147 n3.

44 Doyle, *Hold It Against Me*, 108. She writes, "Affect isn't eliminated by Pop Art so much as it is passed around or passed on" (171 n23). Elkins briefly mentions the possibility of emotion in Warhol's work: "Some paintings are intended to be intensely annoying (some of Warhol's were), and who is to say an intense annoyance can't be as powerful as intense affection?" Elkins, *Pictures and Tears*, 134.

45 Warhol states, "I think that once you see emotions from a certain angle you can never think of them as real again. That's what more or less happened to me." Andy Warhol, *The Philosophy of Andy Warhol (From A to B and Back Again)* (New York: Harcourt, 1975), 27. Steven Shaviro offers a view of Warhol as a case study, using the previously mentioned Warhol quote in full as an impetus, of "postmodern emotions." Steven Shaviro, "The Life, After Death, of Postmodern Emotions," *Criticism* 26 (Winter 2004), 125.

46 For analysis of how film music may create an emotional response, see Simon Frith, *Performing Rites* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 99–122.

47 Frith, *Performing Rites*, 161. Frith's use of italics.

48 Ibid., 110.

49 Ibid., 110–111.

50 Adam Bradley, *The Poetry of Pop*, 49. Bradley also cites scientists' research on song lyrics as registering in the amygdala (51–52).

51 Claudia Gorbman, *Unheard Melodies: Narrative Film Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 11–12.

52 Earlier moments in Pop scholarship encouraged a wider range of what constituted Pop art. Important texts such as *Hand-Painted Pop American Art in Transition, 1955–62* incorporated canonical Pop artists as well as "sometimes" Pop artists such as Larry Rivers and Jim Dine. Paul Schimmel points towards the emotional possibilities of Pop by stating: "The simplistic view that all Abstract Expressionism is pure subjectivity, and that all Pop art is relentlessly objective and distant, seems myopic now." Schimmel's call for an understanding of Pop artists' signification and meaning in their use of imagery has, to a large extent, been answered—but the subjectivity, or emotion, of Pop remains absent. Paul Schimmel,

"The Faked Gesture: Pop Art and the New York School," in *Hand-Painted Pop, American Art in Transition 1955–62*, ed. Russell Ferguson, exhibition organized by Donna De Salvo and Paul Schimmel (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 64.

53 Tony Scherman and David Dalton, *Pop: The Genius of Andy Warhol* (New York: HarperCollins, 2009), 65.

54 In one example, Thomas Crow describes collector Richard Brown Baker's experiences. Crow, *The Long March of Pop*, 200.

55 For example, Andy Warhol describes a studio visit from Henry Geldzahler: "Henry liked all the rock and roll I kept playing while I painted." Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, *POPism*: *The Warhol Sixties* (New York: Harcourt, 1980), 20.

1 How to Hear a Painting

Jukebox Modernism and Elvis Presley in Pop

Elvis Presley, a figure who occupied the national and international imagination, inspired different Pop artists in the late 1950s and 1960s. As music critic Greil Marcus wrote, "Elvis Presley is a supreme figure in American life, one whose presence, no matter how banal or predictable, brooks no real comparisons."[1] While Marcus is writing in general terms about Presley and the magnitude of his influence, it applies to Pop art as well. Presley's image weaves in and out of the Pop art movement, bringing with him his songs and his movies. Presley as a subject of Pop art, in addition to his music and film career, gains signification in relation to shifting modes of identity related to race, class, gender, and sexuality. In this chapter, I include Ray Johnson's *Oedipus (Elvis Presley #1)* (ca. 1956–1957), Mimmo Rotella's *L'assalto* (1962), Peter Blake's *Got a Girl* (1960–1961; among other works by Blake), and Andy Warhol's silver Elvis Presley series to illuminate the interrelationship between popular music and art objects in this period—and as an early origin point in Pop art itself.

These works, and Presley as a subject in particular, clearly show the sound element of Pop and broaden the range from the mainstream to periphery of Pop. These artists range from the most "legibly" Pop (such as Warhol and Blake) to those associated on the periphery as Pop artists (such as Rotella and Johnson). When Rotella and Johnson are included in Pop art scholarship, it is usually due to Presley's appearance in their work. Overall, these artists present a small international sampling, American, British, and Italian, and offer a way of continuing to restructure the Pop canon. These artists and their works show the importance of jukebox modernism—that these works need to be heard again.

Erika Doss, in her book *Elvis Culture*, re-assessed Presley's image through his fans' use and determination with his image, and considered Presley's role in visual culture. While Doss does briefly consider Presley's image in Pop art (including Warhol and Johnson), her main focus is on vernacular visual uses of Presley. Doss takes these fans' cultural attachment and use of Presley seriously. She states that Presley's cultural meaning is "ambiguous but contradictory, solid but unstable."[2] Doss cites the primacy of Presley's music for his lasting impact, but considers his image through television as one of the main sources for his ardent fandom.[3] According to Doss, "sight is the dominant sense in modern Western culture—how else can we explain the phenomenal popularity of television compared with radio?—and Elvis, perhaps more so than any other performer in the 1950s, recognized this."[4] Doss considers Presley to "set the pace for the predominantly visual aura of contemporary popular culture" and she also points out our vernacular language surrounding music

culture—for example, we go "see" a musician or a band.[5] Doss effectively argues that although we may use the term "seeing" to go see and hear a performance, Presley's image activated a range of sensorial (and bodily) reactions, not the least of which was an emotional one:

> "Seeing" Elvis, in other words, was never simply a matter of looking at him. Elvis was never just a picture or a statue, a beautiful object that his fans gazed upon and contemplated. Elvis demanded reaction and response, the physical and emotional participation of an audience that was urged to become more than a body of listeners or viewers, but "an audience of performers."[6]

Artists, when using an image of Presley in their works, would be cognizant of the visual, aural, and embodied impact of Presley's image.

Presley, when seen on television screens, entered the home. The visual impact in the home space—in connection to the music that could then be listened to in one's bedroom—created even more of a shock (good for teenage fans, bad for parents). Karal Ann Marling points out this "intimacy" of seeing Elvis's performances in ones' home, "became doubly shocking, as if a family friend had begun a series of bumps and grinds in front of the sofa."[7] Marling describes Presley's first television performances as the ones that drew the most ire for critics for their shock value; however, quickly his performances became rather tame.[8] The sight of Presley—particularly his dancing and the kinds of attention it might garner from teenagers—gained primacy (although Presley's music was also troubling) to critics and concerned parents. There is the well-known story about Presley's two consecutive Sunday appearances on the *Ed Sullivan Show*: the first week Presley was presented "in full, unobstructed view" and, after much criticism, shot "strictly from the waist up during the last show, on January 6, 1957."[9]

Presley's image and music carry signification in scholarship about race, class, and sexuality—particularly in scholarship on the late 1950s in America. This scholarship is voluminous. Presley can signify societal tropes of the 1950s and 1960s, and resistance to those norms, surrounding sexuality and identity. Race and class, in both separate and intersectional ways, are equally important to any discussion of Presley's cultural signification. There are various and contradictory "histories" of Presley's iconic image and sound and its relation to race. For some scholars, Presley signifies musical and cultural appropriation of African American music—one of the most visible signs in popular music's history of musical appropriation.[10] For others, Presley has been a sign of racial integration in the 1950s.[11] Music history scholar Brian Ward argues that Presley is somewhat related to integration as he was met with resistance, along with his African American peers, by an older white audience.[12] Presley's legacy in this regard remains debated, but the language of these debates was present during his rise to stardom. To what degree the Pop artists discussed in this chapter were cognizant or considered race in relation to Presley is unclear and offers further avenue for future considerations of jukebox modernism and Pop art. In the next chapter, "Pink White, and Black: The Strange Case of James Rosenquist's *Big Bo*," I address the relationship between African American musicians and white music fans and its impact on Pop art.

Presley, an American icon, had an international scope. Presley's star persona through music, movies, and consumer goods traveled throughout the United States

and Europe (in addition to when he was stationed overseas in the military). Presley influenced the first generation of Pop in England, the Independent Group. Thomas Crow describes Presley's records as part of a trove of American popular culture upon which *This is Tomorrow* and Richard Hamilton's insert for the exhibition's catalogue, *Just What Is It That Makes Today's Homes So Different, So Appealing?* (1956), pivot upon.[13] Many British scholars were critical of the American influence on British culture during the 1950s (and after). British cultural historian Richard Hoggart, in *The Uses of Literacy* (1957), condemns the culture of "juke-box boys" in milk bars in England as one mode of the deterioration of British working-class culture under the auspices of mass culture.[14] Additionally, Hoggart remains convinced that popular music does not meet the needs of the British working class.[15] More recently, Adrian Horn argues that jukeboxes became a gathering place for many British teenagers during the 1950s. Through the music played on the jukebox: "Here regional interpretations were made and American and American-style music was absorbed into a mainstream, predominantly working-class and British youth culture."[16] Christopher Finch argues that rock 'n' roll was one form of American culture that was ingested into British culture.[17] Presley and his status as an American star, heard on jukeboxes and seen in movies, would have been legible as a form of the Americanization they saw occurring in England. To fans, Presley may have been seen as American, but also as a new and exciting musician whose records they were eager to listen to.[18]

Presley remained a subject for the second British generation of Pop, too. Presley was a part of the international expansion of American mass culture in the 1950s and 1960s. Peter Blake, commonly linked with popular music through his work along with Jann Haworth on the Beatles' 1967 *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* album cover,[19] often used stars of both music and film as the subject of his paintings. Presley also appears in his *Self-Portrait with Badges* (1961), *EL* (1961), *Elvis and Cliff* (1959), and *Girls with Their Hero* (1959–1962). Presley and the stars featured in Blake's *Got a Girl* are a form of American mass culture's expansion into Europe.[20] Blake also included subjects such as the Everly Brothers, Sammy Davis, Jr., Bo Diddley, the Beach Boys, and the Beatles in his paintings and collages from the same period. Formal analysis of several Blake paintings demonstrate his cooption of Presley as a means to advance how capitalism, rooted in mass reproduction and fandom, also placed pressure on identity under those structures.

In Blake's *Girls with Their Hero*, as the title suggests, the hero is Elvis Presley and the "girls" are ardent fans of the singer. Blake paints multiple images of Presley in various kinds of appearances (as singer, in his military uniform, and other images that might also appear as press or publicity images) along with a painted record. In case one missed the point of the subject from the images and the title, ELVIS appears in bold font and all capital letters on the right of the work. The top register of the work features four young figures (the "girls" of the title). They appear to be fans of Presley, but in varying modes of reception. The figure on the far left has their hands up to their head, a kind of screaming for one's beloved star; yet, the one on the far right seems rather unimpressed by the whole event, or by Presley. The painting's ambiguity and Blake's loose brushwork challenge the viewer and our perception of these fans and their collected materials.

Peter Blake's *Got a Girl* (1960–1961) teaches us how to look at and listen to a painting (Figure 1.1). The collage features a series of teen heartthrobs in the upper register: Fabian, Frankie Avalon, Ricky Nelson, Bobby Rydell, and Elvis Presley—Presley

appears twice, first in a frontal view, then in left profile. On the upper left is the vinyl record also titled "Got a Girl," a single by the Four Preps. The bottom register is a chevron of red, white, and blue. Blake's work gets its title from the song as well as its formal attributes: the song, about a boy worrying that his girlfriend is thinking of those stars while kissing him, details these heartthrobs in its chorus and they are repeated in that order in Blake's work. Blake includes two Presleys as a formal rendering of the song's lyrics: "Yeah, there was Fabian, Avalon, Ricky Nelson, too … Bobby Rydell and I know darned well Presley's in there, too."[21] Formally, the work follows the chorus, repeating Presley, and also, in that repetition, urging the viewer to keep looking and listening to the work. The record, which originally could be removed from the collage and played, activates both sight and sound as a Pop work.

Blake, through his focus on the chorus, seizes upon the mass reproduction of popular culture in his work. Just as the chorus repeats in the song, he uses the culture of mass reproduction (the record and the images of stars), which also, one might imagine, could be repeated indefinitely in production. People could continue to purchase and listen to the record, go see movies starring the singers, and purchase their images. This culture of reproduction is supported by the chevron design underneath the teen stars—a design that also has the potential to repeat itself.[22] Repetition is one of the main features of both Pop art and popular music.[23] By using jukebox modernism to analyze art works, the interdependence of these different kinds of repetitions and reproductions becomes clear. Just as the chorus repeats, and the listener often repeats the song they just listened to.

Fan culture, too, often appears in Blake's works. His painting, *The Beatles*, used a fan magazine autograph page as his source material. In another work, *EL*, Blake takes the image of Elvis from found materials: a fan's scrapbook with a lipstick kiss.[24] Art historians declare about Blake: "He was a fan."[25] His painting, *Self-Portrait with Badges*, presents Blake as a fan, holding an Elvis Presley fan magazine and wearing the popular trend of badges for bands and other products (Figure 1.2). Blake appears to not quite meet the expectations created by fan culture; he is older and balding and wearing the clothes and trends of a younger generation. Blake's discomfort in the painting is palpable—out of place and not quite fitting within these new pressures of popular culture. Additionally, *Got a Girl* includes components coming from fan culture—pages of fan magazines and a record—pieces any good fan of the song's stars (or the Four Preps) would own.

Another artist, Ray Johnson, made two artworks using the image of Elvis Presley in 1956–1957: *Oedipus (Elvis Presley #1)* and *Elvis #2* (Figures 1.3 and 1.4). American and working slightly earlier than Blake, Johnson also uses fan culture within his work. Johnson, commonly associated with mail art or Fluxus (when given a categorization), appears in Pop surveys with these Presley works and a few other works such as *James Dean* (1957).[26] Johnson's Presley works share a red palette and use different press images of the singer. *Oedipus (Elvis Presley #1)* features Presley's profile in black and white. The tonal range makes Presley's face, most likely taken from a fan magazine, particularly his cheek, appear porous and almost stone-like (or like a face recently recovered from a difficult period of acne).[27] Johnson photocopied these works and may have adjusted the copier for this effect.[28] The work is washed over in red via tempera and ink wash and the material is listed as a magazine page.[29] The red drips from one of his eyes, a kind of bloody teardrop stream down his cheek. There are about twenty little red boxes in a loose grid on the lower left of the work (pooled

Figure 1.1 Peter Blake, *Got a Girl* (1960–1961), oil, wood, photo collage and record on hardboard, 37" x 61" x 1 3/8" (94 x 154.9 x 4.2 cm), collection of the Whitworth Art Gallery, University of Manchester.

Figure 1.2 Peter Blake, *Self-Portrait with Badges* (1961), oil paint on board, 1743 x 1219 mm, collection of Tate Gallery, London.

teardrops, perhaps?).[30] The washes of red also seem lightest on his cheek, further enhancing this porous appearance. The pooling of the red in his eye, along with the intensely saturated shadow, makes his eye impossible to make out. His mouth is open and the placement of red squares also mimics a suggestion of song or words flowing out of his mouth.[31] The mouth and void-like eye become the focus of the viewer's gaze. On the lower right is Presley's full name in bold, capitalized font along with number thirty-nine—making the source material in terms of fan magazines even more legible. Underneath Presley's name, Johnson signed his.

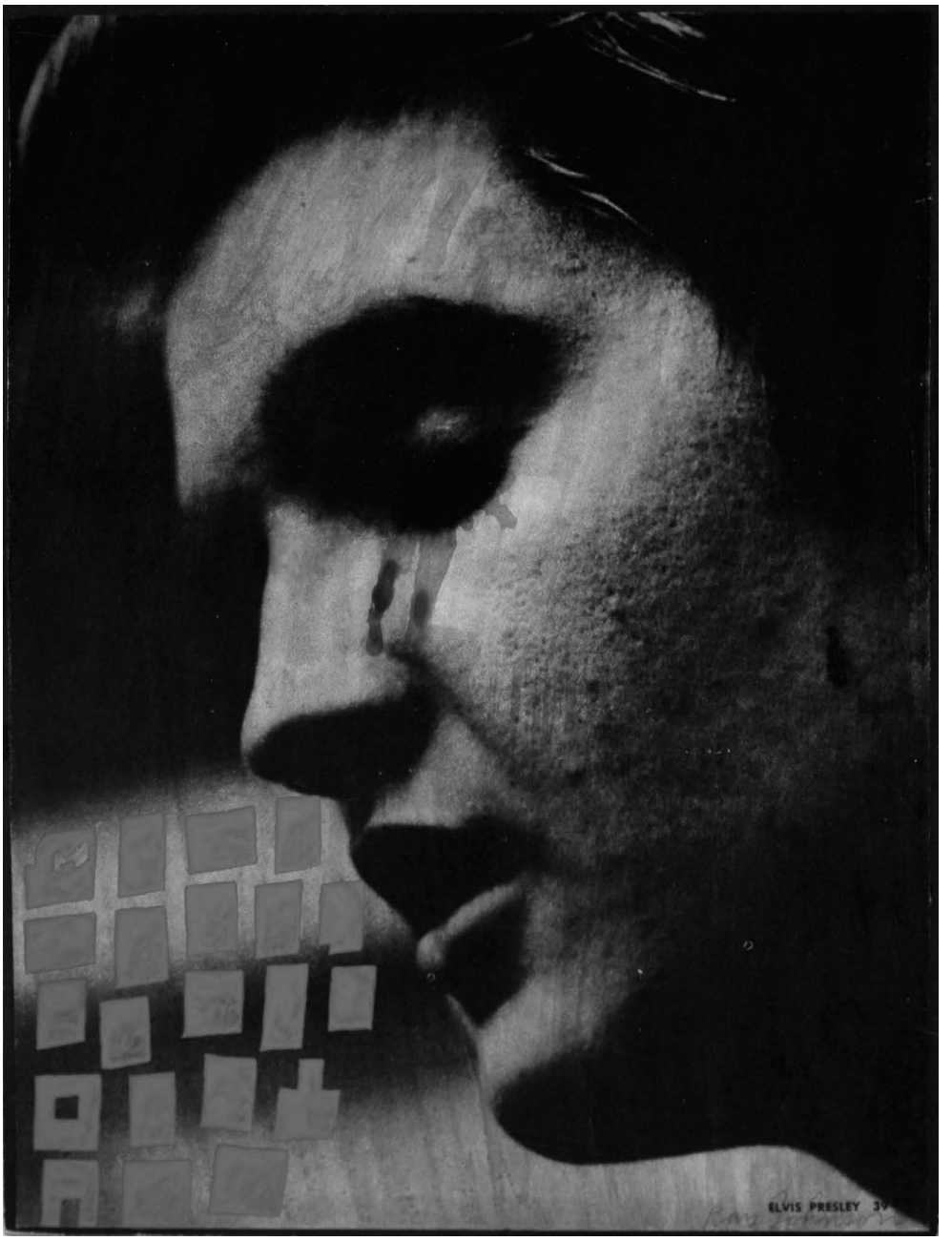

Figure 1.3 Ray Johnson, *Oedipus (Elvis Presley #1)* (ca. 1956–1957), collage, 10 ¾" x 8".
Source: Collection of William S. Wilson, © The Ray Johnson Estate. Elvis Presley™: Rights of Publicity and Persona Rights; ABG EPE IP, LLC.

When we both look and listen to Johnson's work, further opportunities for the work's meaning and its possible emotional affects become centralized. For example, the reader might listen to Presley's hit "Heartbreak Hotel" (released in 1956) while viewing Johnson's *Oedipus (Elvis Presley #1)*, which Johnson worked on from 1956–1957. "Heartbreak Hotel" was the first of Presley's hits to enter the U.S. Billboard and held the first position for eight weeks.[32] In the song, the vocal tease of Presley's voice with the initial lyric, "I get so lonely, baby," pulls the listener into the song. Interspersed in the song is the play of Presley's voice and twang of the piano. As we have seen, the red drips that stream down Presley's cheek and the red square collaged forms imbue Presley with emotion—rather legible, given as far as tears go as a subject, as heartbreak. Additionally, there is the suggestion of the heartbreak or perhaps yearning of a fan for Presley. Towards the end of the song, guitar and piano dominate while Presley is silent then the song ends with Presley's lamentation of his broken heart. Thus, the work encourages the legibility of heartbreak of the song with the image itself. I am not arguing Johnson is explicitly referring to "Heartbreak Hotel." He might be, but broken hearts were the subject of a fair number of Presley's hits.

Another work, Johnson's *Elvis* #2, includes a publicity photograph of the singer. In this work, Presley's face fills the work. He holds his chin and lower face in his hands, his lips somewhat pursed, again emphasizing the mouth. *Elvis #2* also includes the red grid-like squares, here, covering his face (although the image of Presley is clearly legible). Johnson called these kinds of collages "moticos." Johnson's friend and most prolific scholar, William S. Wilson, described Johnson's use of collage in his New York Correspondence School as part of Johnson's network via mail art, as a system of references that take on private and public meaning through different references the image may hold for the intended viewer and recipient:

> In this New York Correspondence School of Art, he takes public images (e.g. clippings from popular magazines) and sends them to friends for their private references. In the *public collages*, private references are made public; but they remain private; and thereby remain references.[33]

Thus, an image may be a private reference (or "joke") between two friends, but then take on a more public meaning as well. For example, James Dean may be legible as the star to most, if not all, viewers of the work, but may have private meaning—as a fan or in reference to some inside joke among friends—just a few examples of possible private meaning that a star may take in Johnson's work. Some of Johnson's works include popular imagery and references that pertain to Pop art; others do not.

The work, too, fuses the new artistic generation with the homoeroticism of the image. In 2010, curators Jonathan D. Katz and David C. Ward included *Oedipus (Elvis Presley #1)* in their exhibition, *Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture*, at the National Portrait Gallery. The curators describe the work, in relation to the exhibition, in terms of the homoerotic: "Johnson responded to an art world infatuated with the hypermasculine purity of Jackson Pollock's monumental paint drips with small, hand-wrought collages that celebrated the homoerotic appeal of all-American pinup boys—a subversive gesture indeed."[34] Furthermore, they write, "Johnson here touts America's favorite heartthrob as his own."[35] The language choice of "his own" suggests Johnson's control over the image of Elvis and the description by these curators and art historians suggests a correlation between Johnson's artistic act and that of a

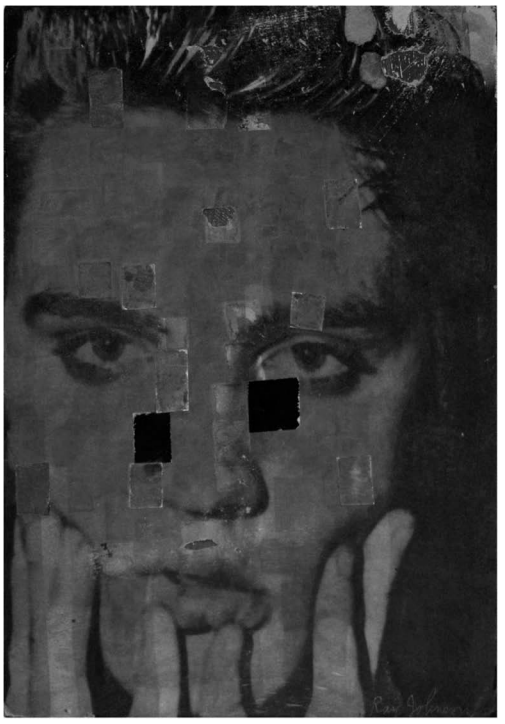

Figure 1.4 Ray Johnson, *Elvis #2* (ca. 1956–1957), collage, 10 ½" x 7".
Source: William S. Wilson, © The Ray Johnson Estate. Elvis Presley™: Rights of Publicity and Persona Rights; ABG EPE IP, LLC.

fan. One does not diminish the other; rather Johnson astutely used the practices of fans within his own work to exploit the fan practice for these varied understandings (which do not undermine one another). In the early 1970s, Johnson used a different feature of fan culture, fan clubs, in his work when he "mailed individuals letters enrolling them in fan clubs he created—the Cher Fan Club, the Shelley Duvall Fan Club, the Edie Beal Fan Club, the Deadpan Fan Club—that were phantoms, created entirely through rubber stamps and existing only on paper."[36] Fan practices, used by Johnson in his work, is further evidence of Johnson's interest in the subject position of the fan.

Another scholar, Jonathan Weinberg, also ties Johnson's practices to that of a fan. In his essay "Ray Johnson Fan Club," he cites the numerous celebrity appearances in Johnson's work (such as Shirley Temple and Marilyn Monroe) as well as the previously mentioned fan clubs created by Johnson. Weinberg compares Johnson to Warhol for various reasons: their interest in celebrity (Weinberg compares Johnson's Presley collage with Warhol's *Triple Elvis* from 1964), their sexual identity, and how celebrity and sexuality might intersect. Weinberg sees the main difference between the two artists to be Johnson's "far more private and intimate" images of celebrities.[37] Weinberg cites the emotive potency of the red tears in *Oedipus (Elvis Presley #1)*: "Where Warhol's Elvis is a distant sex object, Johnson's seems to love unrequitedly."[38] Emotion also transpires in *Elvis #2*, according to Weinberg, "This sense of vulnerability is even more pronounced in Johnson's *Elvis #2* (ca. 1956–57), in which the singer puts his

hands to his face in a gesture that suggests despair."[39] Most enticingly (although with some judgment), Weinberg ties these emotions to the status of a fan:

> Yet for all of the silliness of the fan and the fan club, there is something touching in their desire for a connection with a fabulous personality that always remains out of reach. Johnson's *Elvis Presley #1* and *#2* mirror this very quality of unrequited love which is the fan's emotion.[40]

Weinberg then argues Johnson's collage process retains "the feeling of scrapbooks."[41] Scrapbooks, longing, and the kind of emotional investment a fan makes in their favorite star (in addition to an economic investment—buying records, magazines, and other merchandise) transpire within Johnson's Presley collages.

Other scholars have also pointed, albeit in much looser terms, towards a kind of fan-like approach to Johnson's work. Donna De Salvo compares Johnson's *Oedipus (Elvis Presley #1)* with Andy Warhol's collage of Elvis Presley (ca. 1956), which features Presley as a gold boot:

> Johnson's *Elvis* equally functions on dual levels. Selecting a photographic and a public image, he used the mythic hero of Elvis to address the death of the mythic hero of Abstract Expressionism. The image also has a charged eroticism—a homoeroticism that seems quite at odds with the machismo of the New York School. Ultimately, each artist retains in the image of Elvis the sense that it is a mirror on which viewers may project their own particular desires.[42]

According to De Salvo, Johnson's Presley image utilizes many associations—and seeks abrasion through the stereotypical, commonly understood heterosexual and masculine persona of abstract expressionism versus Johnson's use of homoeroticism. Johnson employs eroticism, masculinity, and modes of fame (both in popular culture *and* art—abstract expressionist painters were then the fading stars of the art world) in his image. De Salvo also describes this "projection" as a way, if one loosely follows her description, of how some fan behavior operates—a fixing of desire or meaning that one may have for a star.

In a different kind of emotional investment, William S. Wilson describes Johnson's approach to art within the terms of the networks and connectivity of friendship. Wilson writes, "Ray made art as a way to think about what was real to him—to think about the visual arts and to think about friendship."[43] Through Johnson's connections of imagery and references to language and to the people toward whom he directed his work, an affection is present in the work. While friendship and fandom are not the same network of connectivity or emotional attachment, such affection and attachment offers a tantalizing link. The music of Presley needs to be considered in relation to his image and this network in the context of Pop art.

Presley's songs, too, further add to the associations and particularly the word play that Johnson utilized in his work. The only connection that I have found that (briefly) attempts to tie Presley's song lyrics to Johnson's work is scholar Wendy Steiner's evocative suggestion:

> Johnson was fixated on Elvis Presley. I think, not only because of the idol's sex appeal and fame, but because of his song, "Return to Sender." As repetition of the refrain indicates ("She wrote upon it:/Return to sender, address unknown./No

> such number, no such zone,") that woman's refusal to receive the communication is unequivocal, but so is the persistence of the sender, who gives the letter to the postman, mails it out again time after time, then sends it "special D," and finally decides to carry it to her personally.[44]

Furthermore, Steiner suggests that Johnson's work in collage, mail art, and his death may all be tied to that song. While an evocative use of music in relation to Johnson's work, I am not convinced Johnson was "fixated" on Presley. (While Presley appears in often reproduced works by Johnson, Presley is not the subject of the majority of Johnson's works.) The play on "sender" and Johnson's intricate use of language and their relationships to his network of friends and colleagues does support Steiner's claims.

Johnson's Elvis collages were produced from 1956–1957, the years in which Presley became a national phenomenon. In addition to his prominence in music, this is the same period his first movies were released. A bit later, Andy Warhol's 1963 silver *Elvis* paintings (or "silver Elvises" as David McCarthy calls them) feature Presley in his role of movie star—Warhol used the press images from *Flaming Star* (1960) for the series. David McCarthy notes that Warhol "knowingly drew attention to cinematic convention, while also continuing to position his work in relation to contemporary vanguard art" through his use of the advertising source materials.[45] Here, then, the film star Presley is the main attraction, not the singer. Although there is not much of a distinction between the music and movies of Presley, it is difficult to imagine someone in this period seeing an image of Presley in a film role and not also thinking of Presley's songs—whether from the movie or other albums. McCarthy positions Warhol as an astute admirer of Presley's star position, not as a "starstruck fan" of Presley.[46] For the exhibition, Warhol also showed paintings of Elizabeth Taylor; this, too, then focuses the attention on film. McCarthy gives film prominence for Warhol in his Los Angeles exhibition: images of film stars in the place of stars.[47] For example, works such as *Double Elvis* (1963) feature a doubling of Presley, having just pulled his gun from its holster (Figure 1.5). The positioning of Presley encourages the viewer to read his hydra-like body as seeming to shift back and forth, causing the viewer to question the work's center. The meeting space between the two Elvises, the overlap of his body, seems to be the center; as Richard Meyer has noted, further focusing the viewer on bodies touching bodies and amplifying the homoeroticism in the work.[48] Other works from the series, such as *Triple Elvis [Ferus type]* (1963) (in the collection of the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art), feature a centered Elvis, with less attention (although there is still some) to overlapping bodies.

Richard Meyer, in *Outlaw Representation: Censorship and Homosexuality in Twentieth-Century American Art*, offers astute analysis of how Warhol used the *Flaming Star* images in the silver Elvis series to link Presley to a homoerotic gaze.[49] Pop songs, particularly in the 1950s and 1960s, were "supposed" to be meant for a heterosexual love story. The realities of popular culture, such as Meyer showed in his scholarship in regard to *Flaming Star*'s publicity photographs, was one in which mainstream popular culture, a place often inhospitable to gay identities in this period, could be re-used or re-purposed by those left out of such paradigms. Pop songs, through their listeners, could, then, take on different meanings unintended by their singers and songwriters at the time.[50] Sexuality played an

Figure 1.5 Andy Warhol, *Double Elvis* (1963), silkscreen ink on synthetic polymer paint on canvas, 6' 11" x 53" (210.8 x 134.6 cm). Gift of the Jerry and Emily Spiegel Family Foundation in honor of Kirk Varnedoe, Museum of Modern Art, New York.

important role in Presley's stardom—his heartthrob status and the dominant role sexuality played within his songs, movies, dances, and appearances. Film scholar Rick Altman, despite his mostly negative criticism of rock musicals and Presley's movie career, writes that "Elvis nevertheless dominated a decade of musical filmmaking because of his understanding of the sexuality of song."[51] The majority of Presley's songs were about love, as is true of most pop songs. When listening to one of Presley's songs about love, the listener may imagine themselves alternatively as both the singer and the one to whom the song is addressed. Then, the viewer and listener occupy a place in which the Pop artwork may address their identity, desire, and heartbreak. Wrapped up in all this (swirling around like a fever, particularly at, say, the heights of Presley's rise to stardom) is sexual desire. This visible and present emphasis on desire; perhaps first meant for a female audience would have, as Meyer has shown, been made legible in coded and, at times not coded, homoerotic terms as well. Presley's sexual presence and the erotic gaze were often attached to him.[52]

Art critic John Coplans integrates some musical analysis in his discussion of the series when it was viewed as a whole at the Ferus Gallery in September and October of 1963:

> When all the paintings are strung out in a single space, the series becomes like a musical mural, so to speak; as the eye of the viewer travels from canvas to canvas, each is linked to the whole by a continuity of the rhythmic beat of the figure against the continuous silver ground.[53]

Presley's image becomes the bearer of his song—that one cannot be divorced from the other. Coplans, writing in 1971, ties the light effects of silver Elvises to the multisensory effects: "Yet when the paintings are continuously strung along a wall space, the pervasively rhythmic repetition of the imagery becomes a metaphor of Rock and Roll's powerful incessant beat, the fragmented overprinted images suggesting optical after-images caused by stroboscopic light."[54] Coplans' description here almost acts as a precursor to Warhol's later work with the Exploding Plastic Inevitable, which layered the aural and the visual, and is discussed in later chapters. I argue, additionally, that if the repetition becomes a metaphor for a visual effect via popular music's sounds, so, too, does it act in a similar way aurally.

I would like to take Coplans' suggestion of a musical montage a bit further, to apply and consider a Presley song in relation to a singular work from the series (although one that features Elvis in repetition). There are varied approaches one might take: a song from *Flaming Star*, or a popular hit from any of his movies. Since the series had its debut at the Ferus Gallery in fall of 1963 and *Flaming Star* was in theaters in 1960, I selected a popular hit from around the time Warhol made the work. Since David McCarthy dates Warhol's series around "late spring and summer of 1963,"[55] I chose a popular Presley song from the late summer, one that might be have been played in Warhol's studio and still might be played in the early Fall or still in the aural memory of most visitors well versed in pop music: "(You're the) Devil in Disguise."[56] The song begins slowly, listening the angelic qualities of a lover that are soon revealed to hide cheating behavior. Then, the quicker beat of the chorus lists the accusations to remind the listener to not fall for the hiding of bad behavior, denying the singer will fall again for the temptations. Considering the proliferation of Presley in the Ferus Gallery, the tensions within the song—the play between slower and quicker parts—might also impact how the viewer looked and moved throughout the gallery. One might slow down their looking, linger on Presley at one point in the song, and move from image to image as the beat picks up. As the chorus repeats, the multiple images of Presley repeat.

I apply, here, one song as an example of jukebox modernism—not as the only Presley song that might create further meaning. Rather than argue that this is the only specific song Warhol was thinking of, I am arguing that Warhol would certainly be aware of it given his aptitude for media and how pop radio worked, a topic later discussed in Chapter 4. Additionally, jukebox modernism also offers the opportunity to consider how other pop music, for example, the Ronettes' "By My Baby" or Crystals' "Then He Kissed Me," both listed as top twenty songs in the U.S. charts in October 1963,[57] might impact the viewer—in the elite gallery space, looking at Presley, thinking about his songs, and then thinking about what they may have heard on the radio on their way to the gallery. Additionally, one then starts to think about how that song may apply to the viewer in conjunction to the images—does a song about heartbreak then possibly remind one of their own? This is a hypothesis that is unprovable, but one that has a foundation in our relationship to popular music. The use of Presley, a

readily identifiable star, brings the viewer into close proximity of their emotions. Hal Foster described Pop's use of mass media in terms that encourage our attachments (although he is not quite arguing for an emotional Pop). Foster posits the tension of expectation of painterly aesthetic experiences:

> In light of this aesthetic tradition, Pop and painting would appear to be in fundamental tension, for in its engagement with a mass culture given over to media and market alike, Pop mostly promotes interested, not disinterested, looking, and celebrates desirous, not detached, being.[58]

However, Fredric Jameson argues against the possibility of affect in the end of modernism and as it pertains to celebrities. He writes,

> The waning of affect is, however, perhaps best initially approached by way of the human figure, and it is obvious that what we have said about the commodification of objects holds as strongly for Warhol's human subjects: stars—like Marilyn Monroe—who are themselves commodified and transformed into their own images.[59]

Monroe, easily interchangeable with Presley for Jameson's point, becomes the commodity, not the person under Jameson's interpretation of Warhol. Monroe—and Presley—were commodified into their own image. They were also loved, identified with, and even despised by many fans and critics. Mass culture in the era of Pop and under the auspices of jukebox modernism allows for both.

Another artist, Mimmo Rotella, also featured Presley as a commodified movie star in his work *L'assalto* (1962) (Figure 1.6). *L'assalto* features Presley from a poster advertisement for *King Creole*.[60] The décollage, a torn movie poster from the streets of Rome, includes the layers of mass marketing that filled the city streets for movies and more. Presley fills the movie poster, his face writhing in agony—or perhaps ecstasy—with his jaw clenched and eyes squinting. The title emphasizes violence. As Presley's face contorts, bodily harm is threatened by both the image and title. His contortions look, too, almost as if he is in mid-song. His red jacket nicely rhymes with the red type for "Oggi al Metropolitan," announcing the film's screening in a cinema. Another scene from the movie appears in the lower right, featuring a male figure in an alleyway with a car waiting, evoking the film noir moments of *King Creole*. Additionally, on the lower left (a bit below Presley's name), one can make out what appears to be the name Hal Wallis, the producer of *King Creole*.[61] Given the poster's subject matter and images of violence, *King Creole*'s narrative fits the poster more than other Presley films preceding 1962 (*King Creole* was released in the United States in 1958 by Paramount Pictures). The movie's narrative features Walter Matthau as a crime boss who comes into conflict with Presley's character. However, the movie's title does not appear on the poster—nor does it appear as if its lack is the result of Rotella's intervention. The movie's title is, maybe, besides the point—many filmgoers may only need to know Presley is the star for their attendance. At various areas throughout the work, other posters below start to seep up through the torn passages—mostly indeterminate, but, at one point, what looks to be a dead man comes through Presley's shoulder. On the work's upper-right corner is a stamp, associating the work with public sanctioned postings in the city. On the bottom right, next to the other male figure in the work, is Rotella's name, small, but recognizable.

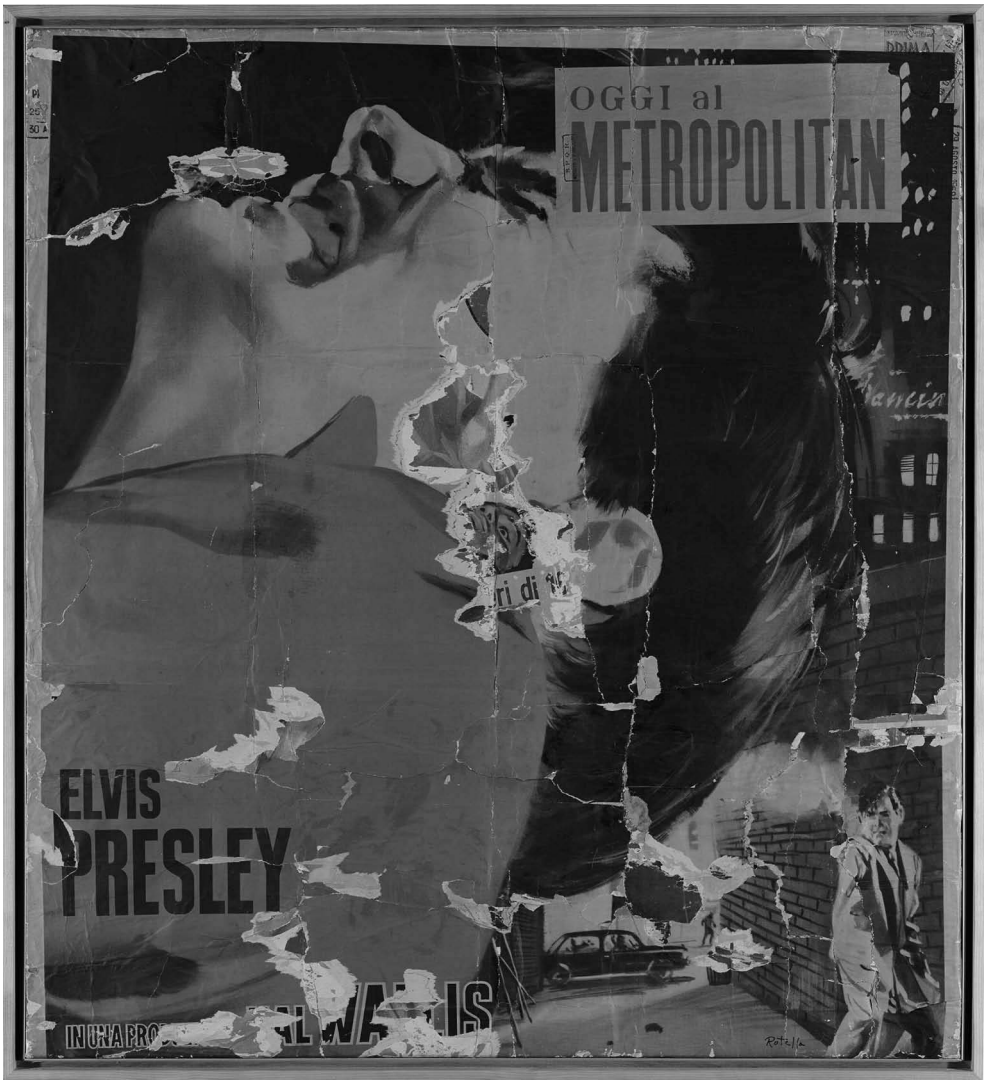

Figure 1.6 Mimmo Rotella, *L'assalto* (1962), paper collage, 136 x 151 cm, collection of Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, Germany.

Source: Mimmo Rotella © 2017 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/SIAE, Rome and Elvis Presley™: Rights of Publicity and Persona Rights; ABG EPE IP, LLC. Image courtesy of Bpk Bildagentur/Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, Germany/Art Resource, New York.

Rotella, at times grouped with nouveau réalisme and occasionally associated with Pop, started using posters from the streets of Rome after a period as a painter.[62] Brandon Taylor describes Rotella's process as it began in the early 1950s: "Made first in 1953 and exhibited in 1954, Rotella's *décollages* required his taking down scraps of already torn advertising posters, sticking them onto canvas, and sometimes cutting or tearing them again to form textures of flagrant contingency and incoherence."[63] Soon, Rotella's *décollages* focus upon film.[64] Taylor cites 1960 as the watermark year for Rotella's work:

> It was in that year that Mimmo Rotella began to introduce into his work images of spectacular human individuals (film stars especially) derived from the torn remains of full color Italian film posters from the Cinecittà film industry headquarters just outside Rome, where the films of Rossellini, Visconti, Fellini, along with American imports from Paramount and Twentieth-Century Fox, were being prepared for a new transcontinental public.[65]

Rotella included other film posters in his work such his *Marilyn Monroe* (1962) which uses Billy Wilder's *Some Like It Hot* as its main source material.[66] Rotella, through his use of advertising materials and often popular culture as those materials' subject, enters into the Pop art domain.[67] Usually, when Rotella and other *décollage* artists are discussed in terms of sound, it is noise—noise of the streets from which the posters came and noises from the movies referenced.[68]

Rotella's work focuses attention on associations with Presley's music and films. Most obviously, the song associated with the movie (and the same title) the contemporary viewer would readily associate with the work (and the later museum viewer). Additionally, other sounds may come into play such as street noises since the work itself comes from the streets of Rome. The jukebox modernism of Rotella's piece also includes a further sonic dispersion and disruption to the gallery space. The varied associations of Presley—music, film, television, print, and practically everywhere—expands jukebox modernism in the 1950s and 1960s with the use of popular music in film.

Presley's films, such as *King Creole*, *Jailhouse Rock*, or *Loving You*, were part of a larger market of films called "jukebox musicals."[69] These films were also interchangeably called "teenage films" by contemporary film critics.[70] The term was applied to "jukebox musicals" as well as films focused on a teenage storyline, but might not include music, such as *Rebel Without a Cause*. An emphasis on the teen subject and market was intrinsically linked to rock 'n' roll as the first indicator of the purchase power and economic potential of the teen market. Film scholar Peter Stanfield writes, "But if the film with universal appeal increasingly appeared as an impossible ideal, the sharpened awareness of the importance of teenagers (and their avid consumption of pop music) as a distinct and significant audience was not ignored."[71] Popular music leads to its incorporation into film—movie studios' plan to capitalize on the stars already found in music. These stars are not only found in rock 'n' roll (although they can be); Stanfield argues that "teenpix" covered a variety of kinds of popular music from rhythm and blues to swing to folk and more.[72] Stanfield points towards the diversity of popular music as a way to limit the view of teenage films' emphasis on rock 'n' roll, yet this supports then a wider understanding of popular music and its role in the film, mainly "teenpic jukebox."[73]

Jukebox cinema becomes part of an overall commodification and proliferation of popular songs—and, in the case of Presley, the star. Film scholar David E. James describes how cinema tried to compete or usurp the audio-visual phenomena as originating from the popular music and dispersing outwards:

> As popular music threatened its hegemony in conglomerated industrial culture, cinema was forced to compete, sometimes to attack or attempt to contain or take revenge upon upstart rock 'n' roll, but more often to incorporate, enhance, or celebrate it in the creation of hybrid audio-visual forms.[74]

Music and film feasted upon one another and then expanded further. Popular music and its use in film was one way, according to James, that film tried to nullify any threat that music suggested to the social order of the period:

> The project that the earliest rock 'n' roll films undertook was to combine the modes of *Rock 'n' Roll Revue* and *Blackboard Jungle*, to marry the former's representation of rock 'n' roll performance, especially by African American artists, with the latter's narration of its social meaning, but specifically to dispute its musical, social, and industrial threat. Referencing their social milieu and the hit records they featured, they became known as "Jukebox Musicals."[75]

In these attempts to undermine the potency of rock 'n' roll, some films may have been successful—but others possibly not. The image of the singer, the origin of the "threat," remained—albeit for a possibly short period in the public's imagination.

Movies, according to Ed Halter, had a "foundational influence on the development of Pop and its visual vocabulary."[76] He expands the view of Pop to include movies about Pop artists, movies that contain a Pop sensibility, underground cinema (and in relation to camp), and mass culture/cinema as Pop works. He sees Pop artists' project having "explored what it felt like to live inside a media saturated culture."[77]

Presley and other musicians extended their media presence to television as well. One could see a movie with Presley, catch his appearance on television shows, and listen to his songs on the radio in the car, or listen to records at home while reading a fan magazine and/or looking at a poster on your wall (likely torn from such a magazine). A multimedia aural and visual immersion in and of Presley (and other stars) was possible, and often likely, during this period. Additionally, one could even wear Presley's image or have his likeness (or name) through other marketed goods such as lipstick or clothing.[78]

Particularly when artists used elements of fan culture and ephemera in their works, a multimedia aspect of the artwork is amplified. Blake's *Got a Girl* uses the Four Preps' record (something ostensibly owned by a fan) and the kinds of images of the heartthrobs that appeared in fan magazines. His *Self Portrait with Badges* incorporates the pin trend for fans as well as a Presley magazine. In Blake's *The Beatles*, he uses as a source material the kind of autograph page that appeared in fan magazines, he even leaves the spaces blank on his painting where a fan would collect Paul, John, George, or Ringo's autographs. While Rotella does not take the kind of poster a fan might have on their wall (although they might) as his source material, the excitement of seeing your favorite star's face as you walk down a city street still applies here. Johnson's Elvis collages, through his use of a magazine page and his alterations to the image, are also

not so distant from a fan's intercessions or mark making on an image torn from a fan magazine—lipstick kisses, drawn hearts, or the like. Warhol used publicity stills of Presley in *Flaming Star* for his series; using an image for the film's promotion, but also one that would appeal to fans (to attract an audience to the theater or to tear out of a magazine).

Each of these artists participate in fan culture and, in some cases, act as a fan themselves in their work. Margery King, in her 1995 essay about Warhol's Elvis and Marilyn works, succinctly positions Warhol's role as fan from early in his career and onwards. She describes his acts as a fan—from his collection of publicity photographs and a signed Mae West photograph—to his childhood drawing of Hedy Lamar in addition to his early career work such as a drawing of James Dean soon after his death.[79] In addition to the silver Elvis paintings, Warhol made other images featuring Presley, showing him in repetition such as *Elvis 49 Times* (1962), in the fall of 1962.[80]

Presley would soon be replaced by the phenomenon of the Beatles, a subject of and explored in a few works by Peter Blake, and, later, the Rolling Stones. The Rolling Stones, whose appearance in Richard Hamilton's *Swingeing London 67* (1968–1969)—using as the source image the press photograph of Mick Jagger and Robert Fraser under arrest for drug-related charges—may perhaps be the last moment that Pop, in the sense of the art movement, held onto this quality of jukebox modernism.

In conclusion, when discussions of Presley enter art history, often his music is made peripheral or, usually, ignored. By reunifying sight and sound within an art historical study of Presley, further meanings and significations may be attached to the artwork. This new understanding helps us to reconsider how Pop art—often thought of as silent artworks—used images of Presley (and, by extension, other popular music icons of the period) to activate a musical component. This recuperation of sight and sound addresses the complexity of popular music in relation to art and how a new interdisciplinary framework may alter our understanding of art in the 1960s.

Notes

1 Greil Marcus, *Mystery Train: Images of America in Rock 'n' Roll Music* (New York: Plume, 2015), 113.
2 Erika Doss, *Elvis Culture: Fans, Faith, and Image* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1999), 4.
3 Doss, *Elvis Culture*, 4–5.
4 Ibid., 6.
5 Ibid. Additionally, Doss links Presley's use of his body in performance through dance to performance artists who considered the body in their avant-garde practices ranging from the Gutai, Carolee Schneemann, John Cage, and more (6–7).
6 Doss, *Elvis Culture*, 9.
7 Karal Ann Marling, *As Seen On TV: The Visual Culture of Everyday Life in the 1950s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 179.
8 Marling, *As Seen On TV*, 179.
9 Ibid., 180.
10 LeRoi Jones, *Blues People* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1963), 222–223. Jones discusses rock 'n' roll as "a flagrant commercialization of rhythm & blues" and, despite this commercialization, the music retains meaning. Jones' book traces the history of African American music. Jones later changed his name to Amiri Baraka. Michael Bane, *White Boy Singin' the Blues* (New York: Penguin, 1982), attempts to show how white musicians used music performed by African American musicians, while also defending that use. See also Bruce Tucker, ""Tell Tchaikovsky the News": Postmodernism, Popular

Culture, and the Emergence of Rock 'n' Roll," *Black Music Research Journal* 22 (*Supplement: Best of BMRH*; 2002): 23–47. Tucker discusses Presley and "unconscionable exploitation," while also arguing that to relegate his work to that one characterization was "to ignore the cultural and cross-cultural meaning of his music, his persona, and his performances" (34).

11 See Michael T. Bertrand, *Race, Rock, and Elvis* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000). Bertrand argues Presley was one sign of desegregation in the 1950s. He cites examples of teenagers breaking down, physically, segregation barriers in music venues as well as teenagers' purchasing power (168–188). Additionally, he cites Presley as "acknowledging" his African American musical sources (103).

12 Brian Ward, *Just My Soul Responding: Rhythm and Blues, Black Consciousness, and Race Relations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 2. Ward also cites Presley as, along with Alan Freed, as "the epicentre of the rock and roll controversy" (109). Additionally, Ward addresses the exploitation felt by many African Americans (134–135).

13 Thomas Crow, *The Long March of Pop* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 82. Crow describes Magda Cordell bringing back a "trunk filled with this material (interspersed with pulp comics and Elvis Presley records)" to London and members of the Independent Group after visiting John McHale in America. Crow then dates Hamilton's collage to around April 1956 based upon her return to London.

14 Richard Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy: Changing Patterns in English Mass Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, reprinted in 1961), 202–205. Bertrand Russell offers an indictment against the American influence on British culture in his essay "The Political and Cultural Influence," published in *The Impact of America on European Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1951), 3–19. In the same volume, Martin Cooper questions the musical taste of popular music in "Revolution in Musical Taste." Later scholarship such as Adrian Horn's *Juke Box Britain: Americanisation and Youth Culture, 1945–60* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2009), 66–89, addressed Hoggart's example of the milk bar and the jukebox as a signifier of social change in Britain. Dick Hebdige, in "Towards a Cartography of Taste 1935–1962," *Hiding in the Light* (New York: Routledge, 1990), places Hoggart within a context of cultural critics who viewed consumer culture as a decidedly American (47, 50–52).

15 Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy*, 136–137.

16 Horn, *Juke Box Britain*, 189.

17 Christopher Finch, "London Pop Recollected," in *Pop Art: U.S./U.K. Connections, 1956–1966*, ed. David E. Brauer, Jim Edwards, Christopher Finch, and Walter Hopps (New York: D.A.P., 2001), 22. Finch also argues British Pop artists modelled themselves on Elvis Presley (among other American stars) (23).

18 Finch, "London Pop Recollected," 25. Finch describes the excitement in Britain for American mass culture.

19 See Crow, *The Long March of Pop*, 351–355 for analysis of the album cover.

20 I discuss in detail the transatlantic quality of *Got a Girl* in my essay, "Jukebox Modernism: The Transatlantic Sight and Sound of Peter Blake's *Got a Girl* (1960–1961)," in *The Global Sixties in Sound and Vision: Media, Counterculture, Revolt*, ed. Timothy Scott Brown and Andrew Lison (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 211–226.

21 The Four Preps' "Got a Girl" was released as a single in 1960 by Capitol Records.

22 For further analysis of *Got a Girl* and its use of the chorus and hook in relation to modes of reproduction, see Mednicov, "Jukebox Modernism." Additionally, see the essay for further discussion on the stakes of American heartthrobs in British culture. For my discussion of how *Got a Girl* further plays into features of popular culture and mass reproduction, as well as shifting modes of identity, see Mednicov, "How to Hear a Painting: Looking and Listening to Pop Art," in *Imago Musicae: International Yearbook of Musical Iconography*, vol. 27/28, ed. Anne Leonard and Tim Shephard (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2015), 213–228.

23 I address the culture of repetition and reproduction within the rhetoric of Pop art in my essay, "Jukebox Modernism." Some further examples of analysis of repetition with popular music, include Richard Middleton, "'Play It Again Sam': Some Notes on the Productivity of Repetition in Popular Music," *Popular Music* 3 (1983): 235–270 and Gary Burns, "A Typology of 'Hooks' in Popular Records," *Popular Music* 6 (January 1987): 1–20.

24 Peter Blake, *Peter Blake*. Exhibition catalogue, February 9–March 20 (London: The Tate Gallery, 1983), 87.
25 David McCarthy, *Pop Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 38. For further analysis on Blake's use of fan culture, and his status as a "fan" by contemporary critics and later historical views, see Mednicov, "How to Hear a Painting," 224–225.
26 Both *James Dean* and *Elvis #2* are included in Mark Francis and Hal Foster's major Pop survey, *Pop: Themes and Movements* (New York: Phaidon, 2005), 54. *James Dean* is used on the cover of the hardcover volume. While Johnson is nominally associated with Pop art, *James Dean*'s inclusion and its cover status, further supports Johnson's placement in Pop. *Oedipus (Elvis Presley #1)*, along with *James Dean*, is included in Pop surveys such as in Paul Moorhouse, *Pop Art Portraits* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 72, 75. William S. Wilson writes, "Because of Ray's collages of Elvis Presley and James Dean from 1956–57, he was among the earliest Pop artists." Wilson then also nicely ties Johnson's relation to Pop to Fluxus and other networks. William S. Wilson, *Ray Johnson: En Rapport* (New York: Feigen Contemporary, 2006), n.p.
27 Presley was, in fact, sensitive about his acne-scarred skin and enlarged pores. Peter Guralick, *Careless Love: The Unmaking of Elvis Presley* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 1999), 46–47. Guralick describes unfortunate events with a "doctor" Presley sought out after seeing advertisements for skin treatments.
28 Francis describes this process with *Elvis #2* and *James Dean*. Francis, *Pop*, 54. Francis describes Johnson's process and then his distribution of the works through mail as well as display on the streets of New York and Grand Central Station. Francis links Johnson's process and his "display" as "indicative of his celebration of mechanical reproduction and democratic techniques."
29 Moorhouse, *Pop Art Portraits*, 180.
30 Julie J. Thomson, in "How to Make an Artist: The Teaching of Josef Albers and Ray Johnson's Work," also points to an emotional potency in this play of bloody drips and tear drops in *Oedipus (Elvis Presley #1)*. Julie J. Thomson, "How to Make an Artist: The Teaching of Josef Albers and Ray Johnson's Work" in *From BMC to NYC: The Tutelary Years of Ray Johnson, 1943–1967* (Asheville: Black Mountain College Museum and Arts Center, 2010), 17–21, 19. In a brief interlude in her catalogue essay, Thomson suggests some components of how song can interrelate with Johnson's work. Thomson analyzes the grid as "Irregular shapes fill a space in front of Presley's mouth, conveying the ambiguity of the words and meanings that Presley sings" (19). She also writes that "With this thoughtful pairing Johnson gestures towards the ambiguity of Presley's songs as well as the multiple ways in which they can be interpreted by listeners" (19).
31 Johnson's title *Oedipus (Elvis Presley #1)* and his use of "drips" have been attributed to his post-abstract expressionist generation. The use of Oedipus as a title, the figure who killed his father, relates to a generational challenge to the previous artistic generation for Johnson—to some degree, a statement he will learn from the abstract expressionist painters, but he will also supersede them. See also Donna De Salvo, "Correspondences" in *Ray Johnson: Correspondences*, ed. Donna De Salvo and Catherine Gudis, exhibition catalogue (Columbus: Wexner Center for the Arts, Ohio State University), 23.
32 Joel Whitburn, *The Billboard Book of Top 40 Hits* (New York: Billboard Books, 2004), 500. The single was released by RCA and entered the charts on March 10, 1956 (ibid.).
33 William S. Wilson, "Ray Johnson: Letters of Reference," in *Ray Johnson* (New York: Between Books, n.d.) n.p. Wilson's use of italics.
34 Jonathan D. Katz and David C. Ward, *Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture*, exhibition catalogue, National Portrait Gallery (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 2010), 161.
35 Katz and Ward, *Hide/Seek*, 161.
36 De Salvo, "Correspondences," 26–27.
37 Jonathan Weinberg, "Ray Johnson Fan Club," in *Ray Johnson: Correspondences*, ed. Donna De Salvo and Catherine Gudis, exhibition catalogue, Columbus: Wexner Center for the Arts, Ohio State University), 101–102.
38 Weinberg, "Ray Johnson Fan Club," 102. Weinberg writes that for Johnson, "His Elvis is more like the singer of *Heart Break Hotel* than *Jail House Rock*" (ibid.) Author's spelling.

39 Weinberg, "Ray Johnson Fan Club," 102.
40 Ibid.
41 Ibid., 103.
42 De Salvo, "Correspondences," 24.
43 William S. Wilson, "With Ray: The Art of Friendship," *Ray Johnson, Black Mountain College Dossiers, No. 4* (Asheville: Black Mountain College Museum and Arts Center: 1997), 12.
44 Wendy Steiner, "The Webmaster's Solo: Ray Johnson Invites Us to the Dance," in *Ray Johnson: Correspondences*, ed. Donna De Salvo and Catherine Gudis, exhibition catalogue (Columbus: Wexner Center for the Arts, Ohio State University), 81–82. Steiner includes her citation for the song: "'Return to Sender,' words and music by Otis Blackwell and Winfield Street" (83 fn34).
45 David McCarthy, "Andy Warhol's Silver Elvises: Meaning Through Context at the Ferus Gallery in 1963," *Art Bulletin* 88, no. 2 (June 2006), 354–372, 354.
46 McCarthy, "Andy Warhol's Silver Elvises," 356. McCarthy also mentions the appeal for Warhol of Presley's "failed seriousness" or "camp" qualities (358).
47 Ibid., 359.
48 Richard Meyer, *Outlaw Representation: Censorship and Homosexuality in Twentieth-Century American Art* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2002), 150.
49 Meyer, *Outlaw Representation*, 150–153. Bradford R. Collins argues that Warhol's images of Presley using *Flaming Star*'s publicity photographs were meant for both a "straight" and "gay" audience—that both "were meant to enjoy their erotic charge." Additionally, he states Warhol chose this image of Presley because the image of a cowboy was often found in gay erotica. Bradford R. Collins, *Pop Art: The Independent Group to Neo Pop, 1952–1990* (New York: Phaidon, 2012), 145.
50 It is also possible that some songs are purposefully left ambiguous or open-ended. This may be more often the purpose in terms of general love songs that a fan may imagine oneself "in," but would also open up the song's meaning for those perhaps unintended by the original songwriter or performer. However, Simon Frith argued that figures such as Presley did not so much challenge or change conventions, rather solidify the norms of gendered expectations. Simon Frith, *Sound Effects: Youth, Leisure, and the Politics of Rock 'n' Roll* (New York: Random House, 1981), 238–239. In a different example, Blake Stimson discusses Warhol and his adoration as a fan of Shirley Temple in relation to a Warhol's gay identity. Blake Stimson, *Citizen Warhol* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014), 88–110. See also Mednicov, "How to Hear a Painting," 220–222.
51 Rick Altman, *The American Film Musical* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 196. Altman places Presley's "ability to seduce his female audience" as placing the singer-actor in a different category than Frankie Avalon and other similar musicals (ibid.).
52 See David R. Shumway, "Watching Elvis: The Male Rock Star as Object of the Gaze," *The Other Fifties: Interrogating Midcentury American Icons*, ed. Joel Foreman (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 124–143. Shumway views Presley as controversial figure in the 1950s due to his troubling gender roles and norms of sexuality (138).
53 John Coplans, "Andy Warhol and Elvis Presley," *Studio International* 181 (February 1971), 50. Coplans considers Warhol's Presley to be the film, not music, star.
54 Coplans, "Andy Warhol and Elvis Presley," 50.
55 McCarthy, "Andy Warhol's Silver Elvises," 354.
56 Dave McAleer, *The Book of Hit Singles, Top 20 Charts from 1954 to the Present Day* (San Francisco: Backbeat Books, 2001), 87. McAleer charts the song at five during the month of August 1963 and that it had been charted the previous eight weeks. Branden W. Joseph, in "No More Apologies: Pop Art and Pop Music, CA. 1963," suggests this song as a better one than what he believes have played in Warhol's studio in early spring while making the work. Joseph, "No More Apologies: Pop Art and Pop Music, CA. 1963," *Warhol Live: Music and Dance in Andy Warhol's Work*, ed. Stéphane Aquin (New York: Prestel, 2008), 126. He also argues that, by this period, Presley had lost his potency as any kind of sign of transgression (125).

57 McAleer, *The Book of Hit Singles*, 89. McAleer uses Billboard chart positions for U.S. charts (6).
58 Hal Foster, *The First Pop Age: Painting and Subjectivity in the Art of Hamilton, Lichtenstein, Warhol, Richter, and Ruscha* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 12.
59 Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), 11.
60 Presley's first starring role was in *Love Me Tender* in 1956. Presley's success led to movie studios' desire to release more films starring popular singers. R. Serge Denisoff and William D. Romanowski, *Risky Business: Rock in Film* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1991), 76.
61 Hal Wallis gave Presley his first movie role in *The Rainmaker* (1956), which featured Presley in two scenes. Wallis and Presley's manager, Colonel Parker, negotiated a three-picture deal. Wallis also produced films such as *Casablanca* and *The Maltese Falcon*. Peter Guralnick, *Last Train to Memphis: The Rise of Elvis Presley* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 1994), 259–262.
62 Brandon Taylor, "Torn Pictures," in *Urban Walls: A Generation of Collage in Europe & America* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 2008), 15. Rotella was also a jazz drummer and was "the founder of a type of phonetic poetry he called *epistaltici*" (ibid.). Additionally, see Germano Celant, ed., *Mimmo Rotella* (Milan: Skira, 2007), 28–29.
63 Taylor, "Torn Pictures," 15–16. For further explanation of Rotella's process, see Celant, *Rotella*, 532.
64 Taylor, "Torn Pictures," 16.
65 Ibid., 27.
66 *Marilyn Monroe* is titled "*The Hot Marilyn*" in Celant, *Rotella*, 219 pl. 216.
67 Taylor discusses the importance of collage in early British Pop and the Independent Group. Taylor, "Torn Pictures," 21–24.
68 See examples such as Taylor's "Torn Pictures" essay for analysis on variant sounds and Bradford R. Collins, *Pop Art*, 310. Taylor quotes Mimmo Rotella describing the effects of his *décollage* process: "just as if a trumpet, a drum, and a saxophone were playing by themselves" (16).
69 David E. James, *Rock 'N' Film: Cinema's Dance with Popular Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 32. James emphasizes the social context in early rock 'n' roll films, a place where the music and the film's narrative may layer to further derive meaning. While some of Presley's films do not carry much in the way of a larger social meaning, the potential is nonetheless there.
70 Peter Stanfield, *The Cool and the Crazy: Pop Fifties Cinema* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2015), 74.
71 Stanfield, *The Cool and the Crazy*, 74. Rick Altman qualified the "rock musical" as "often defined more by their supposed adolescent audience than by a shared rock-and-roll musical style." Altman, *The American Film Musical*, 112.
72 Stanfield, *The Cool and the Crazy*, 91.
73 Stanfield argues that this diversity in teenage films, through his main example of Calypso music, debunks the mythic status of rock 'n' roll's sole centrality. Stanfield, *The Cool and the Crazy*, 91. He uses the term "teenpic jukebox" (90–111).
74 James, *Rock 'N' Roll Film*, 2.
75 Ibid., 32.
76 Ed Halter, "Pop and Cinema: Three Tendencies," in *International Pop* (New York: D.A.P. Publishers, 2015), 182.
77 Halter, "Pop and Cinema: Three Tendencies," 192. Halter argues that Guy DeBord and his concept of the society of the spectacle was a kind of antidote for what, perhaps, the Pop artists strove to diagnose.
78 Guralnick describes the initial deal for Presley's licensing for *The Reno Brothers* (later called *Love Me Tender* upon its release in 1956) with merchandiser Hank Saperstein. Guralnick, *Last Train to Memphis*, 354. For further discussion about the proliferation of Presley's image and its connections to repetition in popular music, see Mednicov, "Jukebox Modernism," 213–215.

79 Margery King, "Starstruck: Andy Warhol's Marilyn and Elvis," *Carnegie Magazine* 62 (July–August 1995), 10. King also includes materials in the Warhol time capsules such as a "Teen Stars Album" fan magazine (12). Additionally, she cites Walter Hopps' description of Warhol's studio as extensively filled with fan magazines and similar materials: "'What really made an impression,' recalled the curator Walter Hopps after a 1960 or 1961 studio visit, 'was that the floor—I may exaggerate a little—was not a foot deep, but certainly covered wall to wall with every sort of pulp movie magazine, fan magazine, and trade sheet, having to do with popular stars from the movies or rock 'n' roll … the extraordinary sight was all this pulp pop star literature, and the thought of Warhol wallowing in it" (10). King cites this quote from Jean Stein, edited with George Plimpton, *Edie: An American Biography* (1982; rept. New York: Dell, 1983), 159. King also includes drawings Warhol made of Joan Crawford and Hedy Lamar based on advertisements for Maybelline and presented as kinds of "publicity-type photographs 'autographed' to Maybelline, a commercial play on the autographed star photographs he himself had collected as a boy" (13). Thus, King demonstrates the importance fan culture plays in Warhol's work.

80 *Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné, Volume 1: Paintings and Sculpture 1961–1963*, edited by George Frei and Neil Pritz (New York: Phaidon, 2002), 253.

2 Pink, White, and Black

The Strange Case of James Rosenquist's *Big Bo*

In 1966 James Rosenquist created a painting that was remarkable for its subject matter. Unlike the vast majority of works made by (white) Pop artists in the 1960s, the painting registers the cultural prominence of an African American. *Big Bo* is a large work (92" x 66")—a shaped canvas of a black musician's face. The only other work by Rosenquist to address African Americans directly is his earlier *Painting for the American Negro* (1962–1963), a large triptych filled with images of American products and black and white subjects (Figures 2.1 and 2.2). Both works are highly ambivalent, even confused, the products of a white artist whose attempted interventions in the dynamics of racism arguably recuperated and even reinforced, rather than combated, the mechanisms of disenfranchisement and discrimination to which he was nominally opposed. This chapter addresses the ways in which music presented Rosenquist with a most particular vantage point on civil rights and class. Jukebox modernism, in this chapter, is often rendered silent. The failure of *Big Bo* offers an opportunity to look more closely at how Pop painters attempted, with varying degrees of success, to understand the tangle of music, race, and class that confronted listeners and viewers in the 1960s.

While Rosenquist has never discussed *Big Bo* and *Painting for the American Negro* as a pair, I consider these paintings to be forlorn pendants in his *oeuvre*. *Big Bo*, the portrait of a little-known blues musician, and *Painting for the American Negro*, a work devoted to the black middle class, both fail as attempts to translate a black subject—an aspect of contemporary life with which few Pop artists were concerned. In the two works Rosenquist stumbled his way into the places where white middle-class America feigned comfort when it came to race: music and consumer culture. It was through such stumbling that, I argue, his paintings catalogued the inability of white liberalism to confront the relationship between race and success in America. The subject of *Big Bo* was a musician who failed to gain celebrity through consumer culture and is rendered almost ridiculous in his reach for success as a black man, even as *Painting for the American Negro*, in typical bourgeois Pop fashion, seems to argue that success for African Americans is attainable and best measured by consumption.

By accident or design, Rosenquist has, in Michael Lobel's estimation, become the history painter of the 1960s.[1] Works such as *F-111* (1964–1965) and *President Elect* (1960–1961, 1964), Lobel has argued, resonate politically with events such as the Vietnam War and President Kennedy's assassination. Rosenquist is an artist who at times has registered with great precision shifts in the political environment (as was

Figure 2.1 James Rosenquist, *Big Bo* (1966), oil on shaped canvas, 92" x 66 1/2", Musée d'Art Moderne et d'Art Contemporain, Nice, France.

Source: Art © Estate of James Rosenquist/Licensed by VAGA, New York. Image courtesy of the Estate of James Rosenquist.

Figure 2.2 James Rosenquist, *Painting for the American Negro* (1962–1963), oil on canvas, 203 x 533.4 cm overall; panels: 203 x 177.8 cm each. Purchased 1967. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. Photo: NGC.

the case with *President Elect*, which the artist altered after the assassination) and yet, at the same time, has denied the very moments his art intersected with significant political and historical events.[2]

Both *Big Bo* and *Painting for the American Negro* were made in a period when the civil rights movement and American racial injustice were highly visible. In the same year Rosenquist began *Painting for the American Negro*, violence erupted when James Meredith, an African American Air Force veteran, attempted to register for classes at the University of Mississippi in Oxford. Indeed, it is remarkable that most white Pop artists seemed so allergic to depictions of black people or investigations of race, especially since the early 1960s, the years of Pop's greatest success, marked a high-water mark in the fight for racial equality in the Unites States. Aside from Warhol's *Race Riot* images and a few canvases by Rosalyn Drexler, Robert Indiana, and Allan D'Arcangelo, the best-known Pop artists remained silent about racial conflict.[3]

The identity of Rosenquist's *Big Bo* has been a point of misunderstanding and disagreement in recent scholarship. The work has been heralded as a great Pop portrait, yet scholars such as Emily Braun have mistaken his subject for the seminal rock 'n' roll star Bo Diddley.[4] In fact, it depicts the blues musician Big Bo McGee. A great deal of the confusion began with Rosenquist himself, who was in many respects unclear about the particulars of his subject's biography. The artist misidentified his subject as Big Bo "McGhee," misspelling the name both in his 2003 retrospective catalogue and his 2009 memoir.[5] Although McGee performed in the 1950s and 1960s in the duo Little Whitt and Big Bo, Rosenquist only paints Big Bo. McGee was neither widely known nor successful in his own lifetime.[6] The Alabama Blues Project, devoted to preserving the state's blues tradition, produced and released Little Whitt and Big Bo's only album, *Moody Swamp Blues*, in 1995.[7] The album's release articulates the duo's importance in the history of blues but also, in light of the lack of previously released material, the musicians' relative anonymity.

Rosenquist has also mistaken other important features of McGee's identity, writing "*Big Bo* was a blind Texas rock-and-roll singer."[8] Yet, according to multiple scholarly sources on McGee, the singer was active primarily in Alabama and Mississippi, and, most astonishingly, none of these sources mentions any visual impairment.[9] Indeed, McGee supported his family by driving a truck carrying "dangerous chemicals and explosives," an unlikely occupation for a blind man.[10] Rosenquist remained satisfied with the details he misremembered, or what he was initially told about the blues singer.

The monumental size of *Big Bo* contrasts with the ostensible insignificance of the sitter and sets up the conditions for a misunderstanding of the work, since Rosenquist may have anticipated that viewers would (and often did) mistake McGee for the more famous Bo Diddley. The painting's size suggests that this Bo is someone famous, more famous than McGee ever was. Rosenquist has stated that he chose this image (which he borrowed from a concert poster) because he was interested in what he called "self-inflation." He has said he called works such as these "self-portraits, because by employing the same slick, glossy techniques they used in their own advertising and public relations I could mirror their self-inflation."[11] Rosenquist's use of the term "self-portraits" suggests that he saw each advertisement as part of a self-determined image. In other words, the subject hopes that the advertised image and the "real" person will in the end become the same, resulting in celebrity. For *Big Bo*, Rosenquist chose as his subject someone who in his advertising promoted himself almost too much, and who, as depicted, quite literally had grown a big head, out of proportion

to his actual importance. However, without Rosenquist's comments about *Big Bo*, this ostensible portrait lacks specificity. The ambiguity of the subject's identity, in turn, functions to highlight his failed self-promotion. Were the work a portrait of Bo Diddley, the painting would be less troubling because it would be easier to identify and, thus, perhaps be easier digest or classify.

Why, if Rosenquist's goal was to mirror the self-inflation of celebrity, would he include an obscure bluesman alongside figures such as Joan Crawford, Marilyn Monroe, and John F. Kennedy? Those three, after all, are subjects of Rosenquist's better-known celebrity portraits, many of which he showed as a group in his 2003 retrospective, organized by the Guggenheim Museum in New York. As Sarah Bancroft wrote in the exhibition catalogue, Rosenquist "eviscerated these 'self-portraits' of their original purpose and content"—to a certain extent, their faces are rendered without the background information that would ground them in a particular context.[12] Nevertheless, both the Crawford and Kennedy portraits are readily recognizable. In contrast, *Big Bo*'s lack of context obfuscates the sitter's identity. *Big Bo*, *Untitled (Joan Crawford Says…)*, and *President Elect* are Rosenquist's best-known portraits, yet only the first depicts someone never really known in the first place.

Big Bo, without his musical identity, loses his sound. This loss derives, perhaps, from the perceived danger that black male singers could present in the 1960s. Compare *Big Bo*, for example, with another image centered on a black musician, Drexler's *Chubby Checker* (1964), which depicts a singer popular in the 1960s (Figure 2.3). Chubby Checker, his identity undisputed, appears three times in Drexler's painting, performing his 1960 hit "The Twist," as vignettes of a white couple happily dancing the Twist float at a distance. The jukebox modernist component to the work, the song and dance, readily appear within the Pop context. Checker is the largest figure, situated at the center within a blue rectangle delineated by white borders; his image appears again, partially cropped at the bottom right, and smaller at the upper right. At the left are four bubbles enclosing the dancing couple, their faces distorted in monstrous detail. Although Drexler's work features both black and white figures, it suggests segregation more clearly than integration: couples dancing the Twist never touched.[13] Onstage, Checker generally performed the dance alone, removing any potential threat represented by singing or dancing with a white woman. Drexler's painting emphasizes those solitary aspects of his performance. The repeating images of Checker and the white couple never quite meet, as the bubbles place the couple in a space distinct from that of the singer. Checker is fixed and encapsulated as the source of entertainment, "The Twist." His white audience is buffered from him. *Big Bo*, in contrast, is rendered mute by the very ambiguity that surrounds his visage.

British Pop artist Peter Blake did not dwell on the issues of segregation in his images of black singers.[14] In *Bo Diddley* (1963), Blake painted the rhythm and blues artist for whom *Big Bo* is often mistaken, playing his guitar and filling most of the panel (the work is about 48" x 30"). Blake emphasized Diddley's position as a musician by using a record cover as his source material.[15] There can be no mistaking Diddley, as Blake blazed his name in large stenciled letters across the top of the canvas. The artist painted the musician in rich brown tones against a muddy brown background, paying careful attention to the album's details with a painterly flourish. Diddley wears his signature plaid jacket and looks away from the viewer, off to his left, denying the viewer eye contact. Additionally, Peter Blake's *Portrait*

Figure 2.3 Rosalyn Drexler, *Chubby Checker* (1964), oil and acrylic with photomechanical reproductions on canvas, 75" x 65 1/4" (190.5 x 165.7 cm). Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution.

Source: © 2017 Rosalyn Drexler/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York and Garth Greenan Gallery, New York.

of Sammy Davis, Jr. (1960) attends to the black singer as a personage with an identity beyond the persona he offers for the amusement of audiences. Blake painted Davis in three scenes: Army veteran, pensive smoker, and actor. Blake's *Portrait of Sammy Davis, Jr.* differs by presenting a complex identity, an actual identity beyond just Drexler's depiction of Checker's performance or Rosenquist's assumptions about Big Bo McGee.

Another artist, Wallace Berman (not commonly associated with Pop art), made an African American singer and a song his subject matter in his collage, *Papa's Got A Brand New Bag* (1964). Berman roots the image in James Brown's image and through the use of the song title. While not exactly a Pop artwork, it is one that participates in jukebox modernism and pertains to the issues surrounding the Pop works in this chapter. Berman includes a frenzy of images: James Brown, Muhammad Ali, Hebrew letters, a woman's eye, and more. Some images are readily legible, others are not. The result, a kind of conglomeration of America (common to Berman's work), is made more visible through the use of the title, its connection then to Brown's image, and his reliance upon the viewer to then know the song—and ostensibly "hear" it in their memory.

Exacerbating the racial issues of Rosenquist's painting is his choice of palette: *Big Bo* is a black man who has been painted in pink tones. According to the artist, he used pink because the rock 'n' roll singer "advertised himself in pink tones, just like I painted him."[16] Exactly how much power McGee had in such decisions remains impossible to know, but the potency of the color pink seemed to resonate with

Rosenquist. While pink has gone through many different connotations and gender twists, it remains a peculiar color to paint anyone.[17]

Until the 1950s, pink was generally considered a masculine color because of its association with red.[18] Karal Ann Marling has discussed the ways in which pink became *the* color of the 1950s, arguing that Mamie Eisenhower created a mania for pink that was at its height from 1951 to 1953 and solidified pink as a "girl color." In the postwar period, however, the meaning of pink remained unstable and, at times, shocking: "Color was a pick-me-up, the visual symbol for the shock of the new."[19] Notable examples of the use of pink in the visual culture of the 1950s included Jayne Mansfield's pink swimming pool, Elvis Presley's pink suits and Cadillac, and pink housewares. Marling posits the possibility of different pinks, wondering:

> Or were there *two* pinks on either side of a growing generational divide? Mamie's pretty, ladylike shade versus the aggressively hot pink of the teenagers, the former a visual code for receptivity to new styles and products, the latter a mark of rebellion against social conventions, including the rigid sexual coding of blues and pinks?[20]

Pink roved from safe to scandalous, insinuating itself with both the bland acceptability of Mamie Eisenhower and the fleshy sexual heat of Elvis Presley. The color was entirely suitable for the boy that parents hoped their daughters might marry: "the popularity of pink apparel began with a Brooks Brothers shirt, suitable for Ivy League men or women," and was eventually adopted, in a tango of Mamie and Presley, by middle-class men who wore "at work, the occasional pastel shirt; at home, sports shirts in busy prints and multicolored appliqué."[21] At the same time Presley kept pink dangerous. The color moved between genders and variations in masculinity in this period; depending on the shade, the color could be appropriate for a white-collar dad or the heartthrob at high school.

Pink, in short, was a freighted category that carried within it many of the contradictions of consumer culture. The "shock of the new" may be one reason that Big Bo (or those responsible for his publicity) advertised in pink—it was the color that marked new purchases and captured the energy of youth—yet it could also be the color of security and femininity. Pink could seem safe to one generation and exciting, trendy, and different to a younger one.

When Rosenquist saw McGee's advertisement, however, he saw "self-inflation," a reach for fame or even visibility. Rosenquist's attribution of self-inflation is based on the assumption that McGee controlled his image and propagated it in the poster that Rosenquist cites. Rosenquist further magnified McGee by making the musician so very big and pink. Perhaps the tonal shift, or even the action of negation, that pink performed in McGee's ad is what enticed Rosenquist to paint him. Pink washes over *Big Bo*, quieting racial difference and making the portrait odd.[22]

Pink paints over, or paints out, McGee's blackness. Pink hides *Big Bo* in plain sight, calling attention to his anonymity, yet in its chromatic washes rendering him somewhat unreadable. In effect, by adding pink, a color often used to critique or undermine masculinity, the advertisement circumvented the threat that the large, looming face of a black man may have posed to a white audience during this period. Perhaps this is what Rosenquist seized on with the color of *Big Bo:* pink renders *Big Bo* visible but safe.

A few years earlier, Rosenquist had painted another work that deals with race, *Painting for the American Negro*, which anticipates one formal aspect of *Big Bo*: both works feature a black man painted pink. Thus, Rosenquist made race the focal point of two works: in *Painting for the American Negro*, through his evocation of the black middle class, and in *Big Bo*, through his depiction of a black musician.

Painting for the American Negro, unlike *Big Bo*, has no relationship to popular music; rather, it is a jumble of overlapping images from other aspects of American life. It is a large work (about 6' x 17'), comprising three panels. Painted in bright colors—yellow, blue, green, and red— it is filled with suited men, basketball players, a horse, sunglasses, a white family, a washing machine, a cake, a Chevy, and a black man painted pink. The work presents race and Cold War American culture in bits and pieces as a triptych companion to *President Elect*, and Rosenquist claims the work as one of his "more overt social commentaries."[23]

In 2006 Jan van der Marck asked the artist about his first retrospective, in 1968. Rosenquist focused his memories on *Painting for the American Negro*:

> Then there was a multipanel painting with the title *Painting for the American Negro*. I had gone to school with black people my age and I met them at the Art Students League. They were all middle class but they were still discriminated against. I naively believed that in a country that is built on capitalism, money should set you free. Blacks owned property, had money, but were they really free? Not too long ago, when convicted of a crime, a white man gets six months but the black man gets ten years in jail. We really always had a civil rights crisis, but we failed to recognize it. What it [the painting] all means, I don't know. The main character is a black man, but I painted him pink. The chocolate cake is a giveaway. Of the eyeglasses, one lens is opaque, the other is clear. The painting is held together by a green Chevy, symbol of American middle-class existence. There are the white babies receiving loving care and those black heads stomped on by a faceless suit. What the black horse is doing there, I don't remember, but the upside-down legs belong to basketball players. So are you satisfied now that I explained my own picture?[24]

Rosenquist places the work within the context of the civil rights movement, but while he highlights the fact that he painted a black man pink, he does not offer any reason why. The artist's own comments suggest a Pop approach to the civil rights struggle: the situation must be bad if consumerism can't solve it. Rosenquist's point of access to issues of civil rights remains class driven, and he can only see that, in America under capitalism, if black and white citizens spend money, buy the same things, and still are not equal, it is a sign of injustice.[25] During a period when American citizens were denied civil rights and often subjected to racially motivated acts of violence, including murder, to seize on this particular version of injustice may seem to diminish, or even negate, these horrific events. Perhaps, in somewhat problematic language, Rosenquist also understands that economic inequality is one form of structural racism.

We might further read Rosenquist's approach generously by acknowledging the ways in which access to material prosperity has, as Paul Gilroy notes, played an

important part in black empowerment, even if consumerism has tended in the long run to perpetuate segregation:

> Gradually, it became possible for some of North America's racial inferiors to buy and to enjoy things that they were not supposed to have. Indeed, forbidding legitimate access to those desirable objects often made them all the more attractive. Rendered valuable, and employed as a medium that transmitted pleasures, dangers, and opportunities of transgression, blackness could be offered slyly to whites as well as blacks. Its double appeal should be seen in the historical context created by emergent consumer culture and the social and political forms which corresponded to consumerism while racial segregation endured.[26]

Thus, consumerism has tempted both black and white consumers with the possibilities of not only conforming to but also rebelling against social norms. Members of each race were able to "buy" into the other. A 1961 *Harvard Business Review* article by Henry Allen Bullock, cited in Gilroy's essay, detailed advertisers' attempts and strategies to exploit the intersections of race and class. Bullock urged companies to learn the habits and desires of African American consumers, arguing that black and white Americans had different views on "belongingness": "Negroes want group identification, [whereas] whites, feeling that they already have this, want group distinction."[27] Significantly, an automobile occupies most of the canvas of *Painting for the American Negro*, presiding over images of other consumer goods as a sign of mobility. However, Gilroy argues that the power offered to African Americans by car ownership also had subversive implications. Those with the ability to purchase a car, those behind the wheel, have equal power, at least momentarily:

> …U.S. highways produced an artificial space where all the people driving these dangerous machines could encounter one another as formal equals, even if the necessary privacy of their individual transit experiences contributed to the way that they lived out their widening social separation. The highway produced a uniquely powerful sense of the peculiar historical and political logic of "separate but equal."[28]

Consumer goods—especially cars—offered a momentary rush and false promise of equality.

Many voices in the civil rights movement, however, contested the usefulness of consumerism as a means to achieve black empowerment. During the 1960s, figures such as Malcolm X condemned African Americans who sought equality through class mobility. In his speech "Message to the Grass Roots," Malcolm X berated the black middle class for assimilation within and appeasement of the white upper classes. He argued that no racial equality of any kind could be achieved in America, precisely because of capitalism:

> This modern house Negro loves his master. He wants to live near him. He'll pay three times as much as the house is worth just to live near his master, and then brag about "I'm the only Negro out here." "I'm the only one on my job." "I'm the only one in this school." You're nothing but a house Negro. And if someone comes to you right now and says, "Let's separate," you say the same thing that the house Negro said on the plantation. "What you mean, separate? From America, this good white man? Where are you going to get a better job than you get here?"[29]

Malcolm X described a parallel between the black middle class and the situation of house slaves in the pre-emancipation period, and sees betrayals in both instances. In his view, those African Americans who live in white neighborhoods, buy consumer goods that are marketed to white consumers, and work in white-dominated occupations have lost ties to their larger community. Malcolm X argued, to some extent, that those who have bought into the (white) American Dream (a house in a good neighborhood, a car, a job, a family) have been assimilated into white experience—one in which they still have limited rights and access. Rosenquist's comments about *Painting for the American Negro*, express concerns that even if a black citizen buys a green Chevy or plays on a high school basketball team, he will still face discrimination.

Rosenquist has described the work's impact on viewers from his own milieu:

> Yes, he [James Michener] came to my studio and he paid me a compliment. [Michener said,] "That's what I have been trying to write about in my books; the plight of the middle-class American Negro." He was an art collector, you know. But he bought pictures by people nobody had ever heard of. He was a nice guy, though he didn't buy one of mine. I remember him being married to an oriental woman. We had dinner together in Chinatown, not once but twice. The Sculls, too, came to see that picture, but when Ethel heard the title, she said, "Jimmm, you don't have African tribes dancing in it," and I told her, "Sorry, this is not a musical."[30]

Ethel Scull's racist comments are, of course, troubling. She sees African Americans and wants African tribes. The Sculls, prominent Pop collectors and tastemakers, may be viewed as representative of a white, upper-class response to a painting addressing the African American experience of class and consumer culture.

Given Rosenquist's recollection of *Painting for the American Negro*, and Michener's response to it, the work may be described as the privileged but failed attempt by a white artist to take a stand for civil rights. In his memoir Rosenquist noted with regard to *Painting for the American Negro*:

> Artists keep looking for the truth, but the truth can be very ugly, it can be a veil or a pair of glasses you put on so you can turn a blind eye to things you don't want to deal with, such as how our perceptions of black people are distorted by stereotypes.[31]

His use of "our" is telling, his understanding of racism is filtered through white understanding rather than including black experience. His use of "our" also suggests a white public as his intended audience that he is trying to reach—and his intent to change that audience's prejudices. The painting, such as in its inclusion in the 2014 Brooklyn Museum of Art exhibition, *Witness: Art and Civil Rights*, has come to find signification in the context of the civil rights movement. In the catalogue, Teresa A. Carbone writes about the work: "At the very least, *Painting for the American Negro* calls into question the viewer's complicity in accepting images of race promulgated through the seemingly factual evidence of popular photographs."[32] Thus, in some ways Rosenquist was successful in his efforts to effect social change through his painting. Carbone describes his use of "images sourced

from popular magazines and advertisements" as how he, in part, "challenged the authority of widely circulated popular imagery by reshaping and completing it."[33] Rosenquist imagines a white viewer who looks at or beyond these stereotypes, and he approaches the subject through the frame of a predominantly white cultural force—consumerism.

Andy Warhol's *Race Riot* series offers another example of Pop paintings that tested the relation between white viewers and black suffering. He exploited the repetitive nature of newspaper images and silkscreen printing to foreground a white viewer's assumptions about racial violence. Warhol, too, painted race in pink tones in his *(Pink) Race Riot* of 1963 (Figure 2.4). The subject matter was Charles Moore's *Life* magazine photograph of the violent response that year in Birmingham, Alabama, under Public Safety Commissioner Eugene "Bull" Connor, to peaceful civil rights protestors. Martin A. Berger has discussed images of those protests by the Associated Press photographer Bill Hudson, noting that white viewers focused on the violent aspects of these images, and that "the good citizenship of northern whites was predicated on the ability of the image to establish a contrast between whites in the North and the South."[34] White viewers responded to these images as a call to police the South, to address a problem "there," not "here." In Berger's view, "The appeal of such photographs to whites rested largely on the success of the images in focusing attention on acts of violence and away from historically rooted inequities in public accommodation, voting rights, housing policies, and labor practices."[35] While white Northerners may have supported civil rights initiatives when violence began to receive media coverage, everyday racist practices (which in some cases were as pervasive in the North as in the South) were more easily ignored. Berger's argument helps to frame Rosenquist's painting (and Warhol's images, which derived from a visual culture similar to Hudson's) as part of a larger problem: the tradition of a white gaze onto black struggle.[36] Artists who fed primarily on mass-media perspectives of that struggle were ever more likely to be trapped within that tradition.

Warhol's attempt to picture this struggle was a bit different than Rosenquist's. Warhol took an image of violence, repeated it, and covered the images in candy colors. There is an obvious political allusion with his red, white, and blue *Little Race Riot* (1963), but other versions were pink, mustard, and turquoise. The repetition of images and bright colors seems to evacuate meaning from the events depicted.[37] Warhol's use of bright colors with images of violence relate to his *Disaster* series of the same period including subjects such as electric chairs. Where Warhol focused on one moment and expanded outward, Rosenquist's *Painting for the American Negro* filled the canvas with many different images, losing any cogent message in the process. While Rosenquist's title claims the work is *for* African Americans, it is more accurately a painting *about*, or *of*, the African American experience, for an elite, white audience.

Further testing the capabilities of Pop art to address race, Drexler emphasized the terrifying figure of white racial violence by leaving a black subject out of her painting altogether. Like Warhol, she made the Birmingham race riots her subject in *Is It True What They Say about Dixie?* (1966).[38] While Warhol repeated a dramatic moment in the riots, Drexler captured images of men complicit in the violence, but who publicly keep their hands clean. The image, black and white with the exception of Connor's red tie, does not show the explicit violence of the riots. The figures, made

Figure 2.4 Andy Warhol, *(Pink) Race Riot* (1963), silkscreen ink and acrylic on linen, 128 ¼" x 83". Museum Ludwig, Cologne.

Source: © 2017 The Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts, Inc./Licensed by Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Image courtesy of Rheinisches Bildarchiv Köln, rba_c004383.

of oil-paper collage, are almost cinematic in their imposing onslaught on the viewer. Drexler cropped the work so that the men appear as an army of suits coming at the viewer in perpetuity. While Rosenquist looked at racism's relation to consumerism, Drexler focused on the systematic nature of racism's violence. As with *Painting for the American Negro*, the title of *Is It True What They Say about Dixie?* is telling. Drexler asks the viewer what is true about the events. One senses that she doesn't doubt

the veracity of the reports. But if she needs to ask, it suggests that she was not there and does not know anyone who experienced the riots. Again, we have a displaced, if sympathetic, white viewer.

Looking at Rosenquist's *Painting for the American Negro* along with Warhol's *Race Riot* series and Drexler's *Is It True What They Say about Dixie?* it becomes ever more apparent that Pop artists who wanted to consider race simply could not picture it.[39] When Pop artists attempted to address race in their works, the black subjects were either glossed over (Warhol), absent (Drexler), or not rendered clearly (Rosenquist, who painted *Big Bo* in pink).[40]

Big Bo, with its pink portrait of a musician and its perspective on issues of race and consumerism, shifts the directionality of consumption away from the dynamics of *Painting for the American Negro*. In the latter, African Americans are staged as consumers who should have access to goods (and, as an extension, equality) but do not—a fact that is, to the painter, a source of outrage. *Big Bo*, in contrast, stages the black musician as someone who should be in the position of selling. He is pitching his music, and in the process making a claim to fame—which, to the painter, appears inflated.

Rosenquist enacts this asymmetry between consumerism and equality in the context of popular music—an arena of popular culture in which segregation was a particularly complex subject. This shift comes in part from the realities of popular music and race during the 1950s and 1960s, when popular music became a contradictory sign of both integration and segregation. As discussed briefly in Chapter 1, music cut across races in a limited way when white teenagers began paying for records written and performed by black musicians.[41] Teenage music fans sought out rock 'n' roll (first performed by black musicians) because it was new, good, and maybe dangerous—and inspired parental disapproval.[42] At the same time, the economics of the music industry perpetuated racist practices; black musicians were often cheated out of royalties or paid less than their white counterparts, such as Pat Boone, who recorded songs first made popular by black performers.[43] White parents were often uneasy with their children buying "race records" (a term commonly used in the period), and record companies responded by selling recordings of white musicians playing the same songs.[44] When white musicians such as Presley became popular, however, many parents worried that he sounded "black" and that he encouraged integrated listening; if both black and white teenagers could be fans of his music, they could potentially share the same space.[45] Presley's sexual threat only exacerbated these racial fears in some white adults.

When McGee advertised himself in pink, was he hoping to shock or to reassure his audience? If he played a role in the decision to use pink, did he choose the color to seem safe—borrowing from Mamie Eisenhower? Or was he using a more raucous pink, tinged in Presley vibrations? Depending on where the poster was hung, it could be either or both. In any case, he most likely was aware that he had to pitch himself carefully—to entice concertgoers without inviting violence. In other words, he had to make sure he didn't seem too appealing to white women. As rock 'n' roll began to infiltrate mainstream musical practices, many white resisters were fearful of the effect black musicians might have on white women.[46]

Some black musicians attempted to maintain their visibility in ways that white mainstream culture might see as safe. Little Richard created a public image that bordered on the ridiculous, to appear nonthreatening to white parents. In his biography,

The Life and Times of Little Richard, by Charles White, Little Richard described his success as the result of straddling the precarious and outlandish:

> We were breaking through the racial barrier. The white kids had to hide my records cos they daren't let their parents know they had them in the house. We decided that my image should be crazy and way-out so that the adults would think I was harmless. I'd appear in one show dressed as the Queen of England and in the next as the pope.[47]

According to Little Richard's own assessment, he created an outlandish presence that mollified parents and excited teenagers. He turned the white audience's own prejudices against them, subverting expectations through wild showmanship. What one group saw as ridiculous, another saw as sexual and dangerous. Even his name, *Little* Richard, diminished his potential threat. Little Richard's perspective is complicated by his biographer's analysis of the performer's work in the 1956 Hollywood rock 'n' roll movie *The Girl Can't Help It*. White writes that the film's director, Franklin Tashlin, chose to show Little Richard, "probably the most overtly sexual Rock 'n' Roller ever," ogling the film's star Jayne Mansfield.[48] As noted in his biography, Little Richard found a persona that would allow him to be both safe and dangerous at the same time.

Part of the reason Little Richard needed to present such diverse public identities can be traced to the white audience's relationship to black success. He chose a diminutive name and an outrageous persona to temper possible protests—and to reach a wider audience. Similarly, Rosenquist experimented with scale and spectacle, so enlarging the face of McGee that his persona was made to seem smaller. He rendered McGee pink, a color that could seem hip but that could also serve to render him possibly neutral (like Little Richard in a dress). The devices as described by Little Richard to infiltrate white audiences were, in *Big Bo*, reversed and redeployed by a white artist who achieved minimization through maximization.

Rosenquist is a canonical Pop artist, yet both *Big Bo* and *Painting for the American Negro* are largely ignored in the scholarship. *Big Bo*, a pink painted canvas, draws attention to the reverberations of music and race in the 1960s. It relied on popular musical culture because it troubled racial and economic lines. Music transgressed race precisely because both white and black people had access to music made by black singers and musicians and wanted to purchase their records. *Big Bo*, however, is a painting about a musician without a great number of fans. Rosenquist painted a "portrait" about trying for fame but also about failing to achieve it. In the process, he denies McGee both his identity and his body.

Rosenquist's other work about African Americans, *Painting for the American Negro*, attempted to address racial and class disparities in America at the height of the civil rights movement. In some ways, it may be a failed painting, as the artist espouses equality but the painting's message is unclear—he claimed to paint "*for the American Negro*," but the subject remains messy in its ambiguity. Just as the message and stakes claimed by *Painting for the American Negro* are vague, the identity of the subject of *Big Bo* remains nebulous. It may be that there are so few Pop paintings with black subjects in part because, beyond music, white artists did not understand how to represent the black experience of consumer culture in this period.

Rosenquist, through his Pop perspective on commodity culture, can only picture race in white, middle-class American terms: music and consumer culture. Rosenquist was not alone among white Pop artists in this rendering. Rosenquist's *Big Bo* and this case study offer an example of a silencing of jukebox modernism. The singer is left silent, misidentified in art history, and muted in the gallery space. The two paintings are an oppositional pair: *Big Bo* emptily aggrandizes the seller (of McGee's image and music), and *Painting for the American Negro* renders consumerism as confused. To the surprise of Rosenquist (and perhaps some white Americans), even when given the opportunity to buy and sell, black citizens were still not equal in America in the 1960s. Just as Rosenquist stumbled in his reckoning with race and class, so too has art history. *Big Bo*, a painting whose subject was inaccessible to the artist and art historians alike, helps us to consider how both have attempted to address race—and failed.

Notes

1 See Michael Lobel, *James Rosenquist: Pop Art, Politics, and History in the 1960s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).

2 See Sarah Bancroft, "Modern Issues and Current Events," in *James Rosenquist: A Retrospective*, ed. Walter Hopps and Sarah Bancroft, exhibition catalogue (New York: Guggenheim Museum Publications, 2003), 126. According to Rosenquist, the work was a protest against the military-industrial complex rather than specifically the war in Vietnam. In an interview with Bancroft that took place in December 2002 and January 2003, he stated: "The building of war planes provided income for countless American families, but I couldn't understand why the government wasn't building hospitals and schools instead of war planes that would immediately become obsolete." In Rosenquist's 2009 memoir, he wrote, "*F-111* has been called an antiwar painting, but actually war was not something we talked about that much at the time." James Rosenquist with David Dalton, *Painting Below Zero: Notes on a Life in Art* (New York: Knopf, 2009), 153. In terms of critical reception, Lobel found no mention of Vietnam in reviews of *F-111*'s first show at the Leo Castelli Gallery. Rosenquist discussed *F-111* in connection to Vietnam after the Castelli show, when the work was on display at the Jewish Museum in New York during the summer of 1965. Lobel, *James* Rosenquist, 145. According to Lobel, *Painting for the American Negro* "demonstrates his tendency to avoid specific political references in favor of more oblique ones" (82–83).

3 Thomas Crow offers one reason for Pop artists' silence: "It may be that African-American style, sport, and music held little attraction for New York artists. Perhaps closer to the mark is the subject of race coming under the heading of political crisis, which demanded a moral response likely to undermine the detachment and indirection enjoined on American artists as guarantee of their serious intent." Thomas Crow, *The Long March of Pop: Art, Music, and Design, 1930–1995* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 160. Furthermore, Crow writes about Rosenquist's *Painting for the American Negro*: "While this kind of explicitness on the subject of race in America remained rare in Pop, it is notable that symbolic protests like these broke through at all, so strong were the shibboleths, following the norms of the time, against perceived propaganda in art—just as Rosenquist had recognized back at the Art Students League, when he had acknowledged mural painting's consignment to a discredited era of 'WPA projects, post offices, and Marxists'" (205). After his defense of the painting, however, Crow argues: "The existence of both *Painting for the American Negro* or Indiana's *Confederacy* series only underlines a general failure of Pop Art overtly to grasp the key political issues and movements of the early 1960s" (ibid.).

4 Emily Braun, "Sex, Lies, and History," *Modernism/Modernity* 10, no. 4 (November 2003): 729–756, 739. Lobel quotes Braun's identification. See Lobel, *James Rosenquist*, 177 n5. Both in his 2003 retrospective and 2009 memoir, Rosenquist identified the work as a portrait of Big Bo McGee ("McGhee"). *Head on Another Shape: Study for Big Bo* (1966) was included in the exhibition *Pop Art Portraits*, which traveled to the National

Portrait Gallery in London. See Paul Moorhouse, *Pop Art Portraits* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

5 Rosenquist and Dalton, *Painting Below Zero*, 112. See Bancroft, "Anonymity, Celebrity, and Self-Promotion," in *James Rosenquist: A Retrospective*, ed. Walter Hopps and Sarah Bancroft, exhibition catalogue (New York: Guggenheim Museum Publications, 2003), 72.

6 After a 1995 album release, Little Whitt and Big Bo toured Europe for three months, where they did receive some degree of renown. However, in the United States most of the duo's success remained among blues aficionados. See Charles L. Hughes, "Cleo 'Big Bo' McGee," *Encyclopedia of Alabama* website, www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/face/Article.jsp?id=h-2480, accessed April 5, 2014. I wish to thank Alabama Blues Project founder Debbie Bond for sharing her memories of Big Bo McGee with me as well as her unpublished American Studies MA thesis, "Raised up in the Blues: The Early Life and Times of Country Blues Musician Big Bo McGee," completed at the University of Alabama in 2003.

7 Hughes, "Cleo 'Big Bo' McGee." Big Bo and Little Whitt, *Moody Swamp Blues*, Vent Records, 1996.

8 Rosenquist ties McGee's geography to Texas, where the artist saw the concert poster that he used as source material. Rosenquist and Dalton, *Painting Below Zero*, 112; and Rosenquist, email to the author, October 4, 2011: "I was driving through Texas and I saw a poster nailed on a wall with this man's image in pink."

9 Bond, "Raised up in the Blues" and Hughes, "Cleo 'Big Bo' McGee."

10 Hughes, "Cleo 'Big Bo' McGee."

11 Rosenquist and Dalton, *Painting Below Zero*, 112.

12 Bancroft, "Anonymity, Celebrity, and Self-Promotion," 72.

13 Elijah Wald, *How the Beatles Destroyed Rock 'n' Roll: An Alternative History of American Popular Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 222. See also Michael T. Bertrand, *Race, Rock, and Elvis* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 183–184, for a discussion of responses by the law in Southern states to interracial dancing at concerts.

14 Thomas Crow argues differently about another work by Blake with the same subject, *Bo Diddley* (1963–1964). Crow writes "Blake's flamboyant portrait, however, carries something of the minstrel show about it, consistent with the white British mimicry of black American idioms on display in the Rolling Stones' appropriation of the signature Bo Diddley beat in their first real hit, "Not Fade Away," released the same year." Crow, *Long March of Pop*, 160.

15 Marco Livingstone, *Peter Blake: One Man Show* (London: Ashgate, 2009), 79.

16 Rosenquist and Dalton, *Painting Below Zero*, 112. Rosenquist has emphasized pink as McGee's central advertising technique: "He chose to advertise himself in bright pink." E-mail to the author, October 4, 2011. There is very little archival information on Big Bo and Little Whitt and, in particular, no records of such pink posters. Big Bo died in 2002.

17 Until the 1950s pink was often a "boy" color, while blue could signify "girl." Jo B. Paoletti, *Pink and Blue: Telling the Boys from the Girls in America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012), 86–93.

18 An essay by David Byrne on the color pink offers a more recent history of (and perhaps fanciful approach to) the color. David Byrne, "Color/Pink," *Cabinet* 11 (Summer 2003), cabinetmagazine.org/issues/11/pink.php, accessed February 11, 2014. For more on pink's incarnation as docile and feminine in the 1950s, see Lynn Peril, *Pink Think: Becoming a Woman in Many Uneasy Lessons* (New York: Norton, 2002).

19 Karal Ann Marling, *As Seen on TV: The Visual Culture of Everyday Life in the 1950s* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 40.

20 Marling, *As Seen on TV*, 41.

21 Ibid., 173. Marling points out pink could be suitable for Ivy League men *and* women.

22 *Head on Another Shape: Study for Big Bo* (1966), Rosenquist's study for *Big Bo*, also emphasizes the strange additive properties of pink. Substantially smaller than *Big Bo* (35" x 26"), the study includes the same pink portrait as *Big Bo*; however, here, Big Bo's face is superimposed on white canvas shaped in a silhouette that does not match Bo's pink head; it is as if there was a different singer lurking behind Bo. The effect is one of ill fitting: *Big Bo* appears to rest on the surface of things.

23 Rosenquist and Dalton, *Painting Below Zero*, 188.
24 Jan van der Marck, "Reminiscing on the Gulf of Mexico: A Conversation with James Rosenquist," *American Art* 20, no. 3 (Fall 2006), 99.
25 Rosenquist restates the middle-class issue in his memoir: "The picture was painted during the turmoil of the civil rights struggle, and it's in part about the middle-class black who is educated and successful but is still discriminated against." Rosenquist and Dalton, *Painting Below Zero*, 188.
26 Paul Gilroy, *Darker than Blue: On the Moral Economies of Black Atlantic Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 10.
27 Bullock quoted in Gilroy, *Darker than Blue*, 11. Bullock's article provided a case study on automobiles purchasing. See also W.T. Lhamon, Jr., *Deliberate Speed: The Origins of a Cultural Style in the American 1950s* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), especially his chapter "Out of the Hole," for an analysis of car culture, racial signification in popular music, and Chuck Berry's song "Maybellene."
28 Gilroy, *Darker than Blue*, 32.
29 Malcolm X, "Message to the Grass Roots," in *Malcolm X Speaks: Selected Speeches and Statements*, ed. George Breitman (New York: Grove, 1965), 11.
30 Rosenquist quoted in van der Marck, 99–100.
31 Rosenquist and Dalton, *Painting Below Zero*, 188.
32 Teresa A. Carbone, "Exhibit A: Evidence and the Art Object," in *Witness: Art and Civil Rights in the Sixties* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 2014), 85. The exhibition catalogue also offers a wide-ranging overview of the artists who did engage with the civil rights movement in the 1960s.
33 Carbone, "Exhibit A," 85.
34 Martin A. Berger, "Race, Visuality, and History," *American Art* 24, no. 2 (Summer 2010), 95.
35 Berger, "Race, Visuality, and History," 95.
36 Berger has also discussed Warhol's use of Charles Moore's *Life* magazine photographs from Birmingham in his *Race Riot* series. Berger wrote, "Ignoring published images that spoke unequivocally to whites of black agency, Warhol selected the photographs that most succinctly articulated a safe narrative of peaceful, victimized blacks. Given that the artist indiscriminately referred to the dog-attack pictures from Birmingham as both his 'Montgomery' and 'Selma' pictures, he was apparently more interested in the racial dynamic they displayed than in the specifics of the campaign. For well-meaning whites—whether reporters, editors, or artists—photographs that too obviously illustrated active blacks and inactive whites held scant allure." Martin A. Berger, *Seeing Through Race: A Reinterpretation of Civil Rights Photography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 26–27.
37 Anne M. Wagner, in "Warhol Paints History, or Race in America," *Representations* 55 (Summer 1996), 98–119, placed Warhol's works in a more positive context. She argued that Warhol used images of a man being attacked, instead of other options, because he painted "as a liberal," and in seeking to give historical and political agency to these works, he picked a moment of heightened violence (109). Wagner also wrote that Warhol's canvases "imagine white viewers" (113). Berger would echo this view of a presupposed white viewer in his 2010 essay regarding press photographs and, so too, does Rosenquist's *Painting for the American Negro*. For a somewhat divergent view on whether Warhol painted "as a liberal," see Taro Nettleton, "White-on-White: The Overbearing Whiteness of Warhol Being," *Art Journal* 62, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 14–23, which analyzes Warhol's consciousness of his whiteness and discusses the systematic ways in which mass culture assumes whiteness. Bradford R. Collins considers the *Race Riot* series as related to Warhol's interest in a religious cycle and the significance of the dogs in the source photographs, rather than civil rights. Bradford R. Collins, "Warhol's Modern Dance of Death," *American Art* 30, no. 2 (Summer 2016): 43–44.
38 Bradford R. Collins, "Reclamations: Rosalyn Drexler's Early Pop Paintings, 1961–67," in *Seductive Subversion: Women Pop Artists, 1958–1968*, ed. Sid Sachs and Kalliopi Minioudaki, exhibition catalogue (Philadelphia: University of the Arts; New York: Abbeville, 2010), 166. Collins urges the reader against viewing the work as only a

commentary on civil rights, since "for the artist the work was part of a larger focus on the male tendency to bad behavior."

39 Robert Indiana, a sometime Pop artist, is another notable exception to Pop artists' silence about civil rights in this period. His series, *The Confederacy*, focus on racism in the South. For further analysis, see Kalliopi Minioudaki's essay "From His Story to History: Robert Indiana's Patriotic Art of Social Engagement," in *Robert Indiana: New Perspectives*, ed. Allison Unruh (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2012). Minioudaki declares Indiana's series as "one of the most powerful conceptual indictments of racism produced by a white American artist by the mid-nineteen-sixties" (99). She places Indiana's works within a context of "social engagement" in his work throughout his career (ibid.). Additionally, Minioudaki includes Pop artist Allan D'Arcangelo, whose works such as *Highway 80 (In Memory of Mrs. Liuzzo)* from 1965, as an artist who made the violence and the civil rights movement a subject of their work in the 1960s. D'Arcangelo's work takes as its subject the murder of Viola Liuzzo. Barbara Haskell cites Robert Indiana's *Confederacy* series as a "condemnation" that "brooked no ambiguity" in comparison to what she sees as Warhol's limitation in the *Race Riot* series. She quotes Indiana's own words: "'The situation in the South affects everyone,' he said. 'I can't wake up in the morning and … see a newspaper or listen to the radio without becoming … perhaps ill at the news that comes through. I am sensitive to this.'" Barbara Haskell, "Robert Indiana: The American Dream," in *Robert Indiana: Beyond Love*, ed. Barbara Haskell (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 101. Thomas Crow briefly mentions the musical component to Indiana's work in relation to racism. He points to two 1961 works "emblazoned with the circular legend 'God is a Lily of the Valley / He Can Do Everything But Fail." Crow writes "But their point of departure lay in his hearing over the radio the African-American gospel number 'God Can Do Anything But Fail,' popular in versions by both the Caravans and the Jordan Southernaires, which marks a rare recognition of deep African-American culture within the purview of Pop at a level largely unknown to the white population." Crow, *Long March of Pop*, 160.

40 Lobel has shown that when Rosenquist wanted to, he could paint political events with more precision. *Painting for the American Negro* is given minimal consideration in *James Rosenquist: Pop Art, Politics, and History in the 1960s*, warranting only three pages. Lobel explained this limited discussion in terms of the artist's failure to represent civil rights appropriately: "The painting makes no reference to such contemporaneous civil rights leaders such as Martin Luther King, Jr., who might have served an analogous role here to the one Kennedy plays in *President Elect*, instead piling up more indirect references to race, color, and civil rights." Lobel, *James Rosenquist*, 83. Indeed, while Rosenquist claims *Painting for the American Negro* was overtly about the civil rights struggle, even using the word "turmoil" in his discussion of the work's contemporary events, there were many events, such as the Birmingham riots, which, visually, would bring racism's horrors to the viewer with more clearly. Rosenquist's own discussion of the work places it within the context of less violent but just as horrifying everyday acts of racism. Rosenquist and Dalton, *Painting Below Zero*, 188.

41 See Simon Frith, *Sound Effects: Youth, Leisure, and the Politics of Rock 'n' Roll* (New York: Pantheon, 1981), 94–95. Christopher Hight's article "Stereo Types: The Operation of Sound in the Production of Racial Identity," *Leonardo* 36, no. 1 (2003): 13–17, attempts to show how visual stereotypes relied upon a history of sonic ones.

42 See Brian Ward, *Just My Soul Responding: Rhythm and Blues, Black Consciousness, and Race Relations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 94.

43 See Ward, *Just My Soul Responding*, 44–48. Ward describes the practice, from 1954 to mid-1956 of the white musicians' covers of songs first made popular by African American musicians. Ward writes, "Most commentators have viewed the cover phenomenon, with its careful 'whitening' of black style, as a deliberate affront to black dignity and a glaring example of the systematic economic and cultural exploitation of black America" (44). Additionally, Ward found that most black musicians were earning a royalty rate "between 1 and 4 percent of the retail price of recordings sold, or else provided one-off payments of around $200 in return for performances which sometimes made millions of dollars" (48). For example of a song's history of covers, see Christopher A. Waterman's essay "Race Music: Bo Chatman, "Corrine Corrina," and the Excluded Middle," which traces the song

through its 1928 debut as part of a "race record catalog" by its music publisher through various covers by white singers through the 1994 movie that takes the song as its title (171). Christopher A. Waterman, "Race Music: Bo Chatman, "Corrine Corrina," and the Excluded Middle" in *Music and the Racial Imagination*, ed. Ronald Radano and Philip V. Bohlman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 167–205.

44 Ward, *Just My Soul Responding*, 44. This is specifically addressed in Ward's quote in footnote 43.

45 Frith wrote, "And when Elvis Presley and the other rockabilly singers put the two musics together to make rock 'n' roll in the 1950s, the shock was not musical (the 'first rock 'n' roll record' has been claimed for both black and white dance bands in the 1940s) but ideological: it was the overt, assertive, *social* intermingling of black and white that was threatening." Frith, *Sound Effects*, 24.

46 Brian Ward cites issues surrounding "young white women" and their status as fans to African American musicians as a "major challenge to prevailing racial and sexual orthodoxies." Ward, *Just My Soul Responding*, 38.

47 Charles White, *The Life and Times of Little Richard: The Quasar of Rock* (New York: Pocket Books, 1985), 65–66

48 White, *The Life and Times of Little Richard*, 81.

3 The Sound and Look of Melodrama in Pauline Boty's Pop Paintings

Pauline Boty's short life was the stuff of melodrama: she was a young artist, an occasional bit player in films, and a figure at the center of a burgeoning mod scene in London who worked and played with other painters such as Peter Blake, David Hockney, and Derek Boshier. She married a literary agent and television producer after a ten-day romance (devastating other would-be boyfriends). When she discovered she was pregnant and underwent routine tests, she learned she had cancer. She refused chemotherapy to save her unborn child and died in 1966, at the age of 28, eight months after giving birth to her daughter. Mostly forgotten after her death, Boty was rediscovered about thirty years later when her paintings were uncovered in her brother's barn. This biography, glamorous and tragic as it is, sets the stage for a closer look at Pauline Boty's painting, *My Colouring Book* (Figure 3.1). I summarize her biography not because it is going to be terribly important for the analysis I will offer, but rather because the story of her life might provoke an emotional response in the reader. For affect is the main subject of Boty's painting. It was a tearjerker, trafficking in emotions between viewer and object, listener and song.

Pauline Boty's *My Colouring Book* (1963) features six vignettes of brightly painted heartbreak: empty arms, a vacant room, and a lover's gift. Derived directly from the lyrics of the song, "My Coloring Book," the painting focuses upon the melodrama of female desire as codified by popular music. Melodrama, in this chapter, operates in two senses. First, the historical meaning: the genre of melodrama originated as a kind of performance in which music (melos) accompanied action and enhanced the viewer's experience of dramatic—and particularly emotional—moments in a play or narrative.[1] Music is used to amplify the narrative, in this case, a pop music song. Additionally, a more contemporary meaning applies to the work: a genre of narrative familiar from mid-century film in which exaggerated characters and events appealed to the audience's emotions.[2] In both cases, music is used to make the audience *feel* more.[3] Boty's art bridges both intimacy and universality: it is imbued with personal heartbreak, yet based on mass-marketed source material that could be heard on anyone's record player.

Boty's determined following of the song provides a guide, or a template, of emotional response. More specifically, Boty's work derives emotional templates from the kind of girl group songs that functioned as directives for women in this period: how to cry and when, how to get over a cheating boyfriend, how to tell other girls to stay away from your man, and if a hit should feel like a kiss.[4] Female fan culture in the 1960s elucidates the ways the directives of popular culture worked upon women in this period. The work's formal attributes, the collection of images, the movie star-like

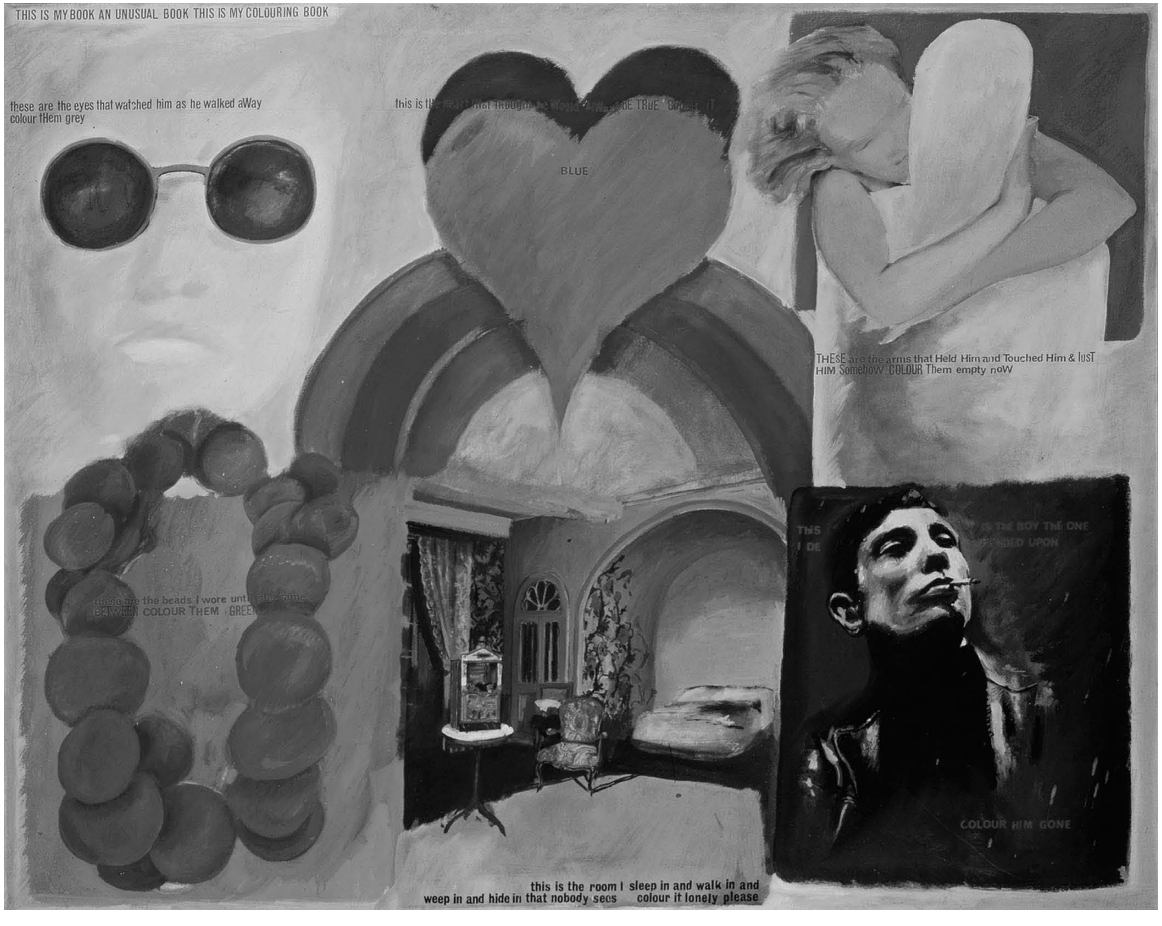

Figure 3.1 Pauline Boty, *My Colouring Book* (1963), oil on canvas, 152.4 x 121.9 cm, Collection of Muzeum Sztuki in Łódź.
Source: Pauline Boty Estate/Whitford Fine Art. Image courtesy of Muzeum Sztuki in Łódź.

boyfriend, trade in a female fan experience—the kind in which movie and record companies encouraged women to dream of heartthrob boyfriends and collect their images. Boty's painting, under jukebox modernism, places the work within the framework of heightened emotional popular consumption directed at women around this period: Douglas Sirk-style melodrama and popular music's screaming, weeping girls.

Boty takes her work's title and narrative structure from a popular song of the period, "My Coloring Book," and the artist quotes the song throughout the painting. Boty transposes the song's lyrics in stenciled letters onto the painting's six scenes proceeding from left to right, top to bottom beginning with the third verse.[5] In the upper left corner, the eyes that watched her lover walk away (accentuated by glasses) correspond to the above lyric; the top middle, her blue broken heart; the top right, her now empty arms; the bottom left, the beads she wore, green with envy as she is to be replaced; the bottom middle, her lonely room; and the bottom right, her absent lover—a cinematic bad boy smoking in his black turtleneck and leather jacket.

Kitty Kallen was the first singer to release the song "My Coloring Book."[6] The song, written by Fred Ebb and John Kander, was then released as a single by Barbra Streisand in 1962.[7] The length of Streisand's version suited it for album play rather than radio.[8] Boty's choice of this song, destined for play on a record player at home rather than on the radio, suggests a domestic, private listening experience, with incessant repeats, occasioned perhaps by personal heartbreak. The album version uses musical arrangements, string melodies, and "1940s movie-score harmonies" to emphasize the melodramatic aspects of the song.[9] It was released by another female pop singer, Sandy Stewart, the same year. Perhaps the song's most popular incarnation, sung by Dusty Springfield, was released in April 1964 in the United Kingdom on the album *A Girl Called Dusty*.[10] Thus, Springfield's version—perhaps the most familiar one today—comes too late for Boty's painting. Springfield's interest in the song, coupled with the two earlier performances, gives evidence of the ways in which this particular song resonated among young women at the time.[11]

Barbra Streisand's exaggerated performance complements the overwrought content of the song. She wails with longing.[12] Pauline Boty, in linking her painting to such a performance, tapped into larger operations of melodrama in modern culture. Peter Brooks, in *The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James, Melodrama, and the Mode of Excess*, describes melodrama's origin and history as a popular medium and locates its presence in contemporary mass culture. Additionally, he describes melodrama as imbued with music, even those melodramas that do not come with a predetermined soundtrack:

> Even though the novel has no literal music, this connotation of the term melodrama remains relevant. The emotional drama needs the desemanticized language of music, its evocation of the "ineffable," its tones and registers. Style, thematic structuring, modulations of tone and rhythm and voice—musical patterning in a metaphorical sense—are called upon to invest plot with some of the inexorability and necessity that in pre-modern literature derived from the substratum of myth.[13]

Brooks' concept of melodrama remains both popular and musical, emphasizing the need for music to further encourage the audience to feel. To put it another way, music is intrinsic to both the narrative and its meaning. Boty, by making her painting reliant on lyrics and music, establishes an emotional response to *My Colouring Book*.

Just as *My Colouring Book* emphasizes feeling and a song, many of Boty's other works foreground the complexities and pleasures of popular culture, particularly as they related to women and sexuality. Indeed, this painting is best understood against the backdrop of Boty's larger *oeuvre*, most of which is characterized by smart understandings of women's sexuality in popular culture, though without (for the most part) the emotional intensity of *My Colouring Book*. Her paintings contain sexualized imagery, including a labial coronation of a Godard heartthrob (*With Love to Jean-Paul Belmondo*), the British sex scandal star Christine Keeler (*Scandal 63*), and pornographic-style magazine images (*It's a Man's World II*). These images speak to the pleasures preferred and encouraged by mass culture (looking and fantasizing about celebrities) and celebrate the disruptive effects of women's sexuality as it appears in the media (perhaps, in the case of Ms. Keeler, even threatening to overthrow the government). Additionally, Boty's habit of posing, often nude, with her paintings highlights the ways she seems to both celebrate sexuality and problematize mass culture's role in shaping it.[14] In Boty's paintings, the relationship between depicted figures, photographs, and the artist's own implied body is key to the complexity of these images. *My Colouring Book* resonates amid these works as the breaking point, the place where the passions of sex and popular culture become too much and overwrought emotions prevail as the only response.

Boty was often interviewed in newspapers and on the radio, becoming a kind of celebrity in her own right. Her nicknames, the "Wimbledon Bardot" or the "Brigitte Bardot of the Royal College of Art," connote a collapse between her identity and other popular female celebrities of the time. She was an aspiring actress, playing bit parts in movies such as *Alfie* (1966). Boty was entrenched publically in popular culture and Pop art—further evidenced by her role as the only female artist included in Ken Russell's BBC Monitor program, *Pop Goes the Easel* (1962).

Feminist scholars have championed Boty as someone who used her public persona to complicate modes of thinking about women and sex in the 1960s. Boty takes on the persona of the sexualized icon in a way that disrupts expectations. Sue Tate has been an important recuperative scholar for Boty's place within art history. Tate also describes Boty's engagement with fan culture in her work as: "Taking the viewer deep into pictorial space, she uses the language of paint to render the empathetic, embodied if transitory experience of the fan."[15] Additionally, in one of the most prominent studies of the artist and her era to date, Kalliopi Minioudaki maps the significance of women Pop artists in her important essay, "Pop's Ladies and Bad Girls: Axell, Pauline Boty, and Rosalyn Drexler" and her 2010–2011 exhibition, with Sid Sachs, *Seductive Subversion: Women in Pop, 1958–68*, to assert Boty's place within the revised canon.[16] Minioudaki argues that Boty used her media presence to challenge conventional notions of women and sexuality. While previous scholars had focused upon Boty's own sexuality as a device in her artwork, Minioudaki emphasizes Boty's use of her burgeoning celebrity such as her regular radio appearances on the *Public Ear*, where she criticized romance stories in magazines directed at women for their emphasis on marriage.[17]

Both Tate and Minioudaki have briefly mentioned the layering of image and lyrics in *My Colouring Book*. Tate describes the "melancholic pleasures" of the painting and pop song.[18] By further engaging with jukebox modernism and the painting, the use of music and melodrama continues to raise the stakes of women in Pop and mass culture—a project first put forth by Tate and Minioudaki. Their scholarship provides

an important foundation for understanding Boty, and through a focus on the jukebox modernist strain in Boty's work here, we will better understand how music and melodrama, with *My Coloring Book* as our primary example, trapped women into feeling.

The scholarship on Boty has focused on her work as a gender specific and sexually provocative artist. Emphasizing Boty's use of her own body, which functioned as a type of prop or supplement to her paintings, scholars have debated the extent to which Boty embraced or challenged the male and media gaze. Sarah Wilson, in her catalogue essay for *The Sixties: The Utopian Years*, contrasted Boty's sexualized images with those of Peter Blake:

> Whereas Blake's 'fanzine' attitude in his *Girlie Door* (1959), with its female pin-ups, or homage to Elvis, *Got a Girl* (1960–61), is shot through with frustration and a wistful sentimentality, Boty—through her sex and authorship alone, but surely with deliberately referential irony—subverts the genre with the *Playboy*-like, boob-shot painted fragments of *It's a Man's World II* (1965–66).[19]

Wilson argues for an interpretation of Boty as a different, maybe better, Pop artist than her colleague Peter Blake, thanks to her powerful interrogation of her subject position. Where Blake's *Girlie Door* is infused with overblown male adoration for the female body, Boty paints similar images in *It's a Man's World II* and, according to Wilson, through her identity as a female, poses a challenge to those kinds of images. *It's a Man's World II* has a strange composition, a center vertical "panel" filled with various nude images of women, against an English countryside landscape.

Boty's earlier companion piece, *It's a Man's World I*, from 1964, regales the viewer with painted images of prominent men: Elvis Presley, a Beatles photograph, celebrity images intermixed with John F. Kennedy's assassination, Muhammad Ali, a fighter pilot, Albert Einstein, and Lenin.[20] This work, as well as its accompanying title, suggests some of the positive and negative career possibilities available to men. As we have seen in Chapter 1, Presley brings jukebox modernist applications in his inclusion. When the two paintings are considered as a pair, the male and female experience in consumer culture comes under pressure. In *It's a Man's World II*, women's bodies are presented in a sexualized lushness and offered up to the viewer. As we consider both paintings, we see Boty working through the ways in which masculine and feminine "success" is catalogued in this period.

Furthermore, Minioudaki also points to Boty's challenges of societal expectations of women, focusing upon a

> …woman's duality in post-war media as either mother/wife and household consumer or as consumable object of male desire, be it star or pin-up. Exploiting the sexy glamour of the latter two in art and life, she found a way to voice and defend women's neglected right to pleasure.[21]

Boty's *5-4-3-2-1* (1963) typifies this "right to pleasure" with its explicitly floral labial image and the provocative almost-expletive text, "Oh, for a fu…"[22] (Figure 3.2). It is also a painting that, like *My Colouring Book*, relies on song lyrics for part of its meaning. The sequence "5-4-3-2-1" was the countdown from Manfred Mann's theme song for the Pop mod television show "Ready Steady Go!" Boty once appeared on this popular British television show, dancing with fellow Pop artist Derek Boshier on the

program.[23] Minioudaki has described *5-4-3-2-1*, as opposed to Peter Blake's works, as a way that Boty asserts an evocation of individuality, personality, and *feeling*, in this case, a bodily sensation:

> …Boty celebrates not the paper body of Blake's pasted pin-ups but the ecstatic laughter of the show's celebrated presenter, lost in what has been justly interpreted as an orgasmic pandemonium of labial and hairy rose petals, reinforced by the illustrations of some explicitly empowering lyrics: "Oh, for a fu**."[24]

In Boty's use of stenciled numbers, lyrics, and the show's hostess Cathy Magowan (who, we assume, is calling for the "fu…."), *5-4-3-2-1* evokes the sounds of sex as they could be articulated by a woman in the mass media.[25]

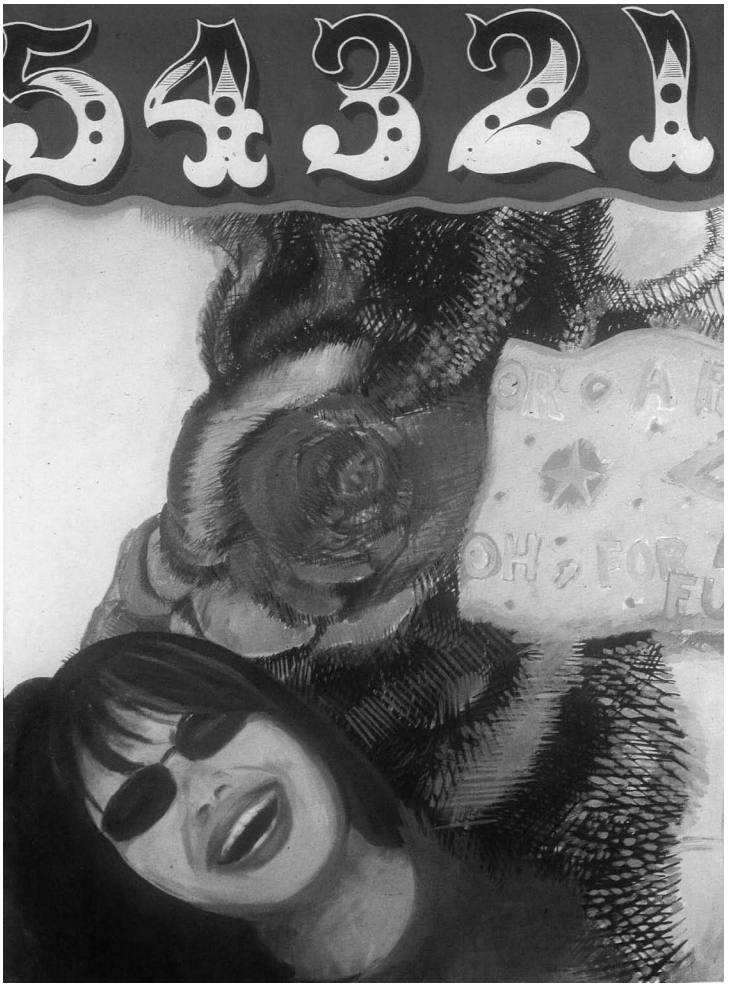

Figure 3.2 Pauline Boty, *5-4-3-2-1*, 1963. Current location unknown.
Source: Pauline Boty Estate/Whitford Fine Art.

Sexual longing in Boty's work could also be expressed by romantic fixation on celebrities. She participated in the culture of fandom in which she became a collector of idols' images, developing a visual vocabulary of unrequited love-at-a-distance. Boty's choice of stars, Jean-Paul Belmondo, the French New Wave bad boy of Jean-Luc Godard's films, suggests a more sophisticated desire than the American pop stars of Blake's *Got a Girl*. In *With Love to Jean-Paul Belmondo*, the actor is rendered in grey newspaper tones with a sexualized floral halo under brightly colored, youthful hearts, melding the imagery of mass culture and feminine sexual desire (Figure 3.3). Boty claims him by pinning him in place with her red floral halo. *With Love to Jean-Paul Belmondo*, re-directs mass culture's gaze back upon a male figure and, by doing so, asserts a female gaze. Minioudaki discusses *With Love to Jean Paul Belmondo* as an image of female desire and one that uses female fandom as an avenue of a sexualized female gaze. Minioudaki describes this "subversive inversion" of fandom:

> She thus turns Belmondo into an equivalent of Bardot, but "for women only," in a subversive inversion that locates female desire within Pop's iconology and in a fanzine gesture that validates the pleasure of the female gaze that is involved in popular culture's objectification of male pop stars and in the consequent expressions of female fandom. [26]

Additionally, Sue Tate mentions a reversal of the gaze. She contends, "This is not a painting about Belmondo per se, but about the emotions he generates among his female fans."[27] Thomas Crow also describes the work as participating in fandom's

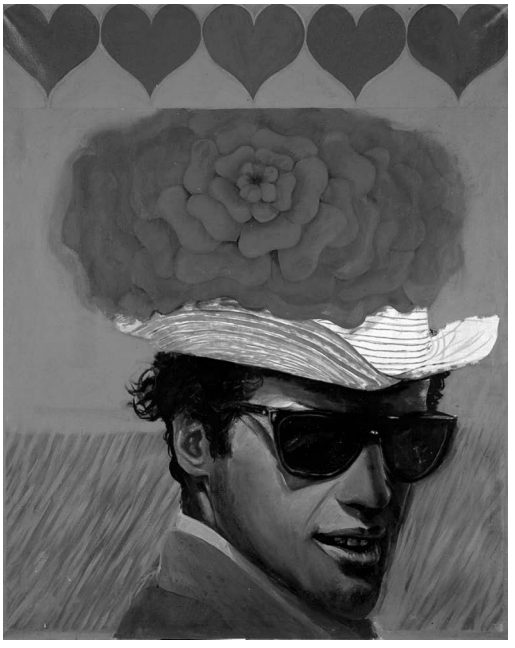

Figure 3.3 Pauline Boty, *With Love to Jean-Paul Belmondo* (1962), oil on canvas, 59 7/8 x 48 in. Private collection.
Source: Pauline Boty Estate/Whitford Fine Art.

terms: "Her rendering of Belmondo's face (in the black and white of *Breathless*) resembles the workmanlike, photo-based modeling of fan tributes more than the techniques of a trained painter."[28] Boty effectively uses the material culture of fandom, directed at young women, to critique how that culture directed ways of looking.

Boty's embrace of fan culture reaches a crescendo in paintings like *Celia Birtwell and Some of Her Heroes* (1963), which features Boty's friend and textile designer (Figure 3.4). In a state of partial undress Birtwell holds a rose, a token of love, surrounded, ostensibly in her own room, by fan-like images of men, most notably a possible appearance by Elvis Presley again.[29] Images seemingly torn out of magazines of Presley and other movie star-like men (and the strange appearance of a man on a water buffalo) surround Birtwell. With her shirt undone, she looks out at the viewer without almost any emotion. Her partial nudity contrasts with the placement of her hands, clasped in front of her pubic region, denying access to the viewer. Boty was often photographed with her works, participating in a fashioning of her own identity in association with her art.[30] She was photographed by Michael Ward with *Celia Birtwell and Some of Her Heroes*. In one such photograph, she wears the same clothing (without the pants) as Birtwell and strikes a similar pose. Boty slips between subject and creator of her paintings.[31] Boty enacts the fantasies most of us might have—of living a friend's life and celebrity crushes—by physically placing herself in these photographic afterlives of her paintings. Additionally, Boty's photographs, along with her paintings, create another layer of fandom by presenting Boty, possibly, as a fan of her own works.

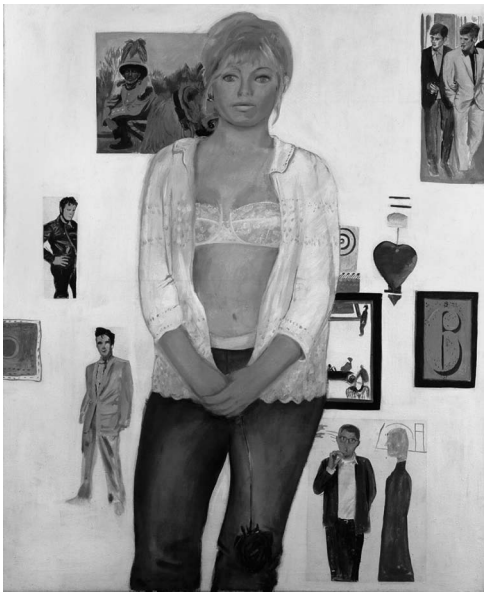

Figure 3.4 Pauline Boty, *Celia Birtwell and Some of Her Heroes* (1963), oil on canvas, 152.5 x 122.5 x 2 cm. Collection of Museu Coleção Berardo, Lisbon, Portugal.

Source: Pauline Boty Estate/Whitford Fine Art. Image Courtesy of Museu Coleção Berardo, Lisbon, Portugal. © Elvis Presley™: Rights of Publicity and Persona Rights; ABG EPE IP, LLC.

Boty's paintings offer different conflations of female experience, sometimes sexual, under the aegis of celebrity culture. Under a rubric of fandom and jukebox modernism, works such as *With Love to Jean-Paul Belmondo* and *Celia Birtwell and Her Heroes* traffic in readily seen signs of fandom, pictures on walls and odes to heartthrobs, while her other works such as *5-4-3-2-1* take a broader approach to fandom, focusing on the countdown to the orgy of celebrity supplied by a television theme song. Indeed, in her paintings, through Boty's use of her own body in photographs with her works, and by surrounding women with the bric-a-brac of admiration and romance through the collecting of media images, Boty taps into the ways in which women might fantasize a libidinal attachment to celebrities in general.[32] She understands fandom, particularly among young women, as something that structures female identity in important ways.

Fandom and female identity were intertwined in this period. Just a look at one version of fandom—Beatlemania—highlights how young women responded to music and found a new, subversive release through it. In their essay "Beatlemania: Girls Just Want to Have Fun," Barbara Ehrenreich, Elizabeth Hess, and Gloria Jacobs provide a glimpse at the female frenzy over the Beatles that erupted in England in 1963, and in the United States the following year. The authors see the Beatles phenomena of the 1960s as the second, but most pronounced, episode (after Elvis in the 1950s) in which teenage girls discovered a new sexual outlet and became an economic market.[33] While Boty was not a teenager, and her works are not about teenage lust, the response of teenage girls to the Beatles is a useful reference point for understanding our broader themes. For fandom offered a range of fantasies that could promise a break from bourgeois norms. As the authors wrote, "part of the appeal of the male star—whether it was James Dean or Elvis Presley or Paul McCartney—was that you would *never* marry him; the romance would never end in the tedium of monogamous terms."[34] Excitement—an explicitly sexual excitement—enticed these girls, not dreams of marriage. Beatlemania, in some ways, offers a moment to look at how young women reacted in ways that not only surprised parents but also record companies. The authors explain Beatlemania as a way to protest the circumscribed route that was supposed to predetermine teenage girl's lives. It is important to note, as we return to Boty's painting, that this culture of fandom often pivoted on the emotional excess and the magnitude of affect that the "hopeless love" of celebrity admiration could provide:

> Adulation of the male star was a way to express sexual yearnings that would normally be pressed into the service of popularity or simply repressed. The star could be loved noninstrumentally, for his own sake, and with complete abandon. Publicly to advertise this hopeless love was to protest the calculated, pragmatic sexual repression of teenage life.[35]

Girls chose the path of heartbreak, of unrequited love, of melodrama, in opposition to societal expectations. By placing their affections upon a man they may never meet, they indulged in a fantasy life over reality—choosing the impossible over parental expectations.

At the same time young women were screaming for Paul, John, George, and Ringo, they were also demanding to hear voices that sounded closer to their own on the record player. They were happy to spend their allowances on the Beatles, but they also craved female stars to emulate. Earlier in this same period, girl groups began to release

records in 1957 and dominated popular music sales from 1960 to 1963. Jacqueline Warwick, in *Girl Groups, Girl Culture*, writes: "girl group music was at the forefront of popular music during the early 1960s, an unprecedented instance of teenage girls occupying center stage of mainstream commercial culture."[36] Girl groups and female singers offered an opportunity for female fans to explore different modes of femininity through different singers' personas—in their rooms and "through singing, girls can 'try on' the voices and stances of different kinds of femininity, in much the same way that they might try on clothes, makeup, and hairstyles."[37] And, as addressed earlier in the Introduction, Simon Frith argues pop songs function as "formulas of love."[38] Songs about love and heartbreak offered to girls, in this period, moments of playacting with emotions and sex:

> Singing into her hairbrush and strutting and pouting in front of her bedroom mirror while listening to a record about the thrills of love and the perils of heartbreak may indeed have been playacting for the sexually inexperienced girl at midcentury. To dismiss a musical event because it does not stem from lived experience, however, ignores one of the most valuable functions of music. Listeners can turn to music to seek access to their inner selves and find new ways of experiencing emotion through rehearsing the passions of others, whether through listening or otherwise participating in music.[39]

As Warwick notes, these moments of emotional experimentation and release usually took place in the girl's home, namely, her room. Home was the private sphere where pop music rituals directed at girls were carried out: playing records, trying on clothes, and reading the proliferating romance comics that filled woman's magazines at the time. [40]

These are the terms in which we should keep in mind as we return to Boty's painting—the terms of sexuality as they were changing in the early to mid-1960s under the pressure of the mass media, as the meanings of girlhood shifted in the burgeoning culture of female "fans." Boty's *My Colouring Book* makes the private sphere of girl's fandom its centerpiece, picturing a girl's room in the lower, middle register. According to "My Coloring Book's" lyrics on the painting, this room is where the woman goes to cry and be lonely. This is the space that Boty knows should be covered with posters. As we have seen from other paintings, Boty understands how to decorate a girl's interior with, say, Jean-Paul Belmondo or Elvis Presley. However, Boty is working on a different register here. She takes the absence and longing that is the core of the fan's emotional state, and makes it physical through this architectural example.[41] The room is marked by the absence of figures—even the dollhouse (a girl's room *en abyme*) is unpopulated. And the room pictured seems unlike a room that would be occupied by the protagonist of the song—it is weirdly unlived in, strangely haut bourgeois, and antiquated in décor. Outdated and outmoded, it seems like a parent's vision of how a girl's room should look. The fancy dollhouse mimics the room's décor, seeming to portend that the girl should end up in a home similar to where she grew up. Boty also paints Celia Birtwell, as an adult, but in a room that intersperses fan imagery with Pop-like paintings. The modes of how fans and listeners interacted with—and took on identifications with music—are further activated under jukebox modernism in relation to Boty's paintings.

Yet, this is just the kind of space that would have been packed with imagery, ripped from the pages of fan magazines. Perhaps while listening to their favorite records in

their rooms, young women were also reading popular British magazines such as *Valentine*, *Jackie*, and *Romeo*.[42] By 1968, British teen magazines gained a readership of nine million.[43] Most magazines consisted of photographs of pop stars, features and gossip stories about pop stars, readers' letters asking for information about such stars, readers' letters asking for help with problems, advertisements, short stories, fashion and beauty advices, and comic-strip romances.[44] The magazine titled *Jackie*, for an example—a British magazine first published in 1964—used a female name as its title to promote identification and group identity among its female teenage audience.[45] For magazines such as *Jackie*:

> Adolescence comes to be synonymous with *Jackie*'s definition of it. The consensual totality of feminine adolescence means that all girls want to know how to catch a boy, lose weight, look their best and be able to cook. This allows few opportunities for other feminine modes, other kinds of adolescence.[46]

Magazines, in addition to dictating the kinds of lives girls should want to lead, also tutored girls in how to listen and be a fan of music. Magazines for boys would give more technical musical analysis; however for girls, the emphasis focused upon how to be a fan and contained fictional love stories that originated in pop song narratives.[47] While Pauline Boty was not a teenager and these magazines' target audience, the magazines were inescapable. Historian Jon Savage describes these magazines as part of a media system that was "a sophisticated, comprehensive and fast-moving economy."[48] Pop music was a driving force of teen magazines, music magazines (presumably for an older audience), television shows, movies, pirate radio, and more.[49] Music and media became intertwined.

While Boty's painted room is free of the posters that should inhabit it, the form of the painting takes the place of those posters. The painting, *My Colouring Book*, is about 47" across, so the width of each soft rectangular image in its grid is about 12" across, mimic the size of magazine sheets, similar to those one would expect on a girl's wall. The painting, then, offers two somewhat contradictory yet simultaneous scenarios: it expresses a fan culture that a girl was not able to display due to parental control—mom and dad didn't want all those messy magazines wrecking the wall paint and/or the painting expresses a girl's fantasy of what a glamorous room would look like—and it is conspicuously free of fan paraphernalia. The very culture of fandom encourages its own erasure in the domain of fantasy.

This doubled absence, part deprivation of the girl, part inflation of the girl, is a feature of the entire painting, even of the operations of fantasy upon which the song hinges. While the song is titled "*My* Coloring Book," repeatedly throughout the song, someone *else* is beseeched to do the actual coloring: the song's protagonist begs someone else to color the room lonely, please, her heart blue, or her lover gone. This is a painting about the female subject that is displaced and yet inhabitable by an entire population of similar fans. Displaced identity prevails throughout her works.

Such operations of absence and fantasy are the lifeblood of melodrama—a genre upon which a few other Pop artists would also meditate, Roy Lichtenstein in particular. Both *My Colouring Book* and Roy Lichtenstein's *Drowning Girl*, from the same year, traffic in heightened melodrama (Figure 3.5). Other scholars, in particular Minioudaki, have emphasized Boty's innovation in her layering of word and image and its possible relation to Lichtenstein's work.[50] Additionally, Minioudaki places Boty's use of pop music in opposition to Peter Blake and Roy Lichtenstein:

> Literalising Blake's Pop art goal of achieving the equivalent of Pop music in painting, Boty expands her sources from visual to musical and radically mingles word with image. By denying the representation of her female heroine, she rejects the canonical victimization of the feminine in Pop romances such as those by Lichtenstein and instead visualizes the voice of her desire (as well as that of its singer, Dusty Springfield, a rare female Pop star of the time) and its loss.[51]

I would like to further expand Minioudaki's important comparison to analyze the modes and means by which Boty employs melodrama to amplify both her use of lyrics and emotions.

Figure 3.5 Roy Lichtenstein, *Drowning Girl* (1963). Oil and synthetic polymer paint on canvas, 67 5/8" x 66 3/4" (171.6 x 169.5 cm). Philip Johnson Fund (by exchange) and gift of Mr. and Mrs. Bagley Wright. The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Pop art scholar Michael Lobel, in his book *Image Duplicator: Roy Lichtenstein and the Emergence of Pop Art*, relates Lichtenstein's work, and in this particular case, *Drowning Girl*, to melodrama. Lobel considers Lichtenstein's use of melodrama in subject matter (early 1960s romance comics) and in technique (Lichtenstein's close-up, cropped views find a parallel in the tight shots of a Douglas Sirk film). These cropped images focus emotion; the viewer is directed to experience the heartbreak of the *Drowning Girl*, not to consider what may have led to the break-up or to sympathize with the male involved. According to Lobel, Lichtenstein's "images represent an extreme emotionalism without the 'center' to which melodrama in other genres pointed: in other words, they proffer a world of surface without depth."[52] This lack of depth and extreme emotionalism is encapsulated by the female figure: a girl choosing to drown after a heartbreak.

Lichtenstein's source material, the romance comic, was also directed towards the female viewer. In 1968 Connie Alderson, in *Magazines Teenagers Read*, surveyed three British and American popular magazines, *Trend*, *Jackie*, and *Valentine*, and found all three devote the most space to romance strip-stories.[53] Additionally, romance comics and other features of teen magazines often were imbued with a cross-pollination of pop stars and content. For example, "in *Valentine* every strip-story has the same title as the name of a current pop song and a picture of the star or group appears at the beginning of the story."[54] Romance comics would use songs or singers as narrative anchors for love lost.

Thus, both Boty and Lichtenstein use melodrama differently to attend to women's emotionality. And, like Lichtenstein's *Drowning Girl, My Colouring Book* withholds and denies visual information. The protagonist, whose heartbreak the song and image lament, is hinted at and taken away from the viewer at various intervals. In the initial, upper left vignette, where her face fades while she watches her lover walk away. In the upper right section, in which she wraps her arms around her disappeared love, her face is marked by schematic blurs where the eyes, nose, and mouth should be. Objects stand for her as well, such as the green necklace that floats, disembodied. In *My Colouring Book*, where the painting and song's subject is the female experience, yet we are denied access to that very woman.[55] The physicality of *My Colouring Book*, the viewer entering the work through an absent subject and its emotional effects, enacts an environment in which the live bodies of the viewer/listener responds to the emotions evoked by the art through its use of music.

To that extent, Boty and Lichtenstein's works are inverses of each other. Where Lichtenstein provides the girl, Boty shows the objects and spaces that define femininity. The difference lies in the willingness of each work to welcome the identification of the viewer. Lichtenstein's melodrama is emotion in quotation marks. It is our opportunity to stand back and smirk at the excess. Boty's absences, while cast in a knowing tone, nevertheless are there in part to beseech the viewer to step in. And the further absences in this work activate the longing that melodramatic fantasy allows. Thus in Boty's work, through her use of the lyrics and absent subject, we experience the depth of melodrama. The viewer gets a map entrenched in bodily sensations: the eyes that watched him walk away, the heart now blue, the empty arms, absent neck upon which a necklace would rest, the sanctuary of a room, and the actual boy who broke her heart. Indeed, the 1950s construction of the melodrama, or tearjerker, is one of a "physical response" to an emotional story, then Boty's painting is far more melodramatic than Lichtenstein's *Drowning Girl*.[56]

Pauline Boty's *My Colouring Book* is unusual for Pop art in large part due to its welcoming of big emotion. The painting's emotional abundance is the engine for the painting, with words that continually point the viewer and listener towards certain feelings and narrative scenes, with bright colors for love and deep blues for sadness. Boty employs the language and moods of melodrama, a mode predicated on excess, to problematize and help us understand how pop songs and, maybe, paintings can toy with our emotions.[57] Boty's painting bubbles with emotions and release, no longer repressed, and these emotions use both the visual and sonic for expression.

Peter Brooks describes melodrama as a form of modern understanding: "as a mode of conception and expression, as a certain fictional system for making sense of experience, as a semantic field of force."[58] Melodrama is the mode where repression breaks through and emotional responses are given primacy—and punctuated by music. Melodrama, from its origins, gained its greatest success, in its formative years and now, with a popular audience. Brooks argues that people need these melodramas because they capture the conflicts of our daily lives and, in turn, "popular melodrama daily makes the abyss yield some of its content, makes us feel we inhabit amidst those forces, and they amidst us."[59] Such a sense of the abyss occurs in *My Colouring Book* (both the painting and the song), where the melodrama becomes a potential vehicle for the viewer/listener to both feel catharsis and relinquishing control. The song lasts only about four minutes (three of which feature Streisand's vocals as one example), but it feels much longer.[60] Each singer draws out the lyric's pain and heartbreak, reveling in the song's melodramatic impulse. According to Brooks,

> Melodrama is similar to tragedy in asking us to endure the extremes of pain and anguish. It differs in constantly reaching toward the "too much," and in the passivity of response to anguish, so that we accede to the experience of the nightmare....[61]

Melodrama is a type of brinkmanship, then; it takes us to the edge of our emotions and watches us spill over. It is in that emotional spillage that, according to Brooks, "melodrama offers us heroic confrontation, purgation, purification, recognition."[62] Brooks finds a kind of heroism in melodrama: A melodrama can be said to succeed when it forces the audience to feel the extremes of emotions, and through this excess of feeling, they feel cleansed.

Hollywood melodrama, perhaps best exemplified by Douglas Sirk's films such as *Magnificent Obsession* (1954), *Written on the Wind* (1956), and *Imitation of Life* (1959), enjoyed a broad audience, but was specifically meant to appeal to women and teenage girls.[63] Sirk's melodramas appealed to those who might feel repressed or oppressed by the world around them and hungry to see some reflection of themselves on-screen. Films such as *Written on the Wind* took on class tensions and repressed sexualities; *Imitation of Life* tackled racial and class taboos. These classic incarnations of "women's films" seized upon a new consumer possibility—the female audience. There was a "new 'female market,'" according to film historian Maria LaPlace, which might even subvert early feminist demands and needs: "woman's desires for sexuality, power, freedom and pleasure could be channeled into the passive purchase and consumption of mass-produced commodities."[64] *My Colouring Book* relates to another kind of Hollywood cinema aimed at the new teen consumer: the teen melodrama.

Teen melodramas such as *A Summer Place* (1959), *Peyton Place* (the 1957 film version coming after record breaking book sales), and *Where the Boys Are* (1960) addressed serious problems through teenage experiences. *A Summer Place* featured teen stars Sandra Dee and Troy Donahue as star-crossed lovers, a parallel to their respective father and mother separated long ago by class divisions, whose union results in an unplanned pregnancy and teen marriage. *Peyton Place* presented an ordinary town filled with scandalous secrets ranging from out-of-wedlock children to incest. *Where the Boys Are*'s teen girls came of age at the cusp of the 1960s, attempting to negotiate changing sexual mores, and, in one part of the movie, sexual assault. Teens were at the center of the heightened drama in each film. The films were marketed to teenagers and often cast with the teen audience, known to love pop music, in mind. For *Where the Boys Are*, Connie Francis was cast by executives hoping her success as a singer would transfer to the film's box office.[65] Francis' song for the film (with the same title as the film) became a hit in the United States and abroad.[66] As with any melodrama, music heightened the emotional impact in all three films. Additionally, the music from each movie became popular hits resonating with audiences who wanted to bring the music home and continued to feel the film's emotions.

This, then, might be a way of understanding the stakes of Boty's painting. In focusing on the melodramatic presentation of song, Boty comprehends the usefulness of popular music and its fantasy potential, allowing for re-imagination of a self. Perhaps the melodrama helped women live a bit larger, see their own feelings validated on the big screen, and share that experience with others.[67] This expansion of personal feelings onto and into mass culture reverberates in the way Boty impersonated her paintings in photographs, multiplying herself in many mediums, seeing and molding herself into a star persona, and her continual play of presence/absence. At the same time, melodrama could also, particularly at mid-century, provide such pleasures primarily as a means of rechanneling female discontent. Consumption of fan magazines and records could take the place of real political change. These stakes are entirely congruent with Boty's works, many of which are much more literal in terms of their framing women's identity as consumers as well as pretenders to a certain model of femininity.

Pauline Boty's *My Colouring Book* expands upon pop music's tendency toward melodrama and accents the excess of emotional directives foisted upon the female listener in this period. Simon Frith wrote:

> Pop songs work precisely insofar as they are *not* poems … The pop song banalities people pick up on are, in general, not illuminating but encouraging: they give emotional currency to the common phrases that are all most people have for expressing their daily cares. The language that hems us in suddenly seems open—if we can't speak in poetry, we can speak in pop songs. They give us a way to *refuse* the mundane.[68]

For Frith, pop songs can, for about four minutes at most, allow listeners to recognize themselves in harmonies and rhythm, to find a little of themselves on the radio. He argues for the potential of pop music to subvert the societal pressures. However, pop songs also function by letting the listener not think too deeply and, perhaps, remain complacent.[69] A song can be liberating, but it holds you within the confines of societal expectations. This may be where and when a pop song can trap you, the moment

a song on the radio summarizes your own personal heartbreak. Pauline Boty's *My Colouring Book* is an example of what happens when we speak in pop songs. Music, while in many instances provided a new outlet and voice to women in this period, also directed how women should act and *feel*. Within jukebox modernism, we both hear and see Boty's version of Pop and the full range of emotion and its manipulations is made evident. Pauline Boty took the emotional currency of a pop song and aims it at us, both the viewer and listener, to make us play at feeling emotions.

Notes

1 Film historians John Mercer and Martin Shingler define melodrama "as a dramatic narrative with musical accompaniment to mark or punctuate the emotional effects, understanding the word to mean, literally, 'melos' (music) + 'drama.'" John Mercer and Martin Shingler, *Melodrama: Genre, Style, Sensibility* (New York: Wallflower/Columbia University Press, 2004), 7.
2 Mercer and Shingler consider melodrama's success—its "longevity"—as related to the genre's emotional impact. Mercer and Shingler, *Melodrama*, 8.
3 Mercer and Shingler consider music to act not only as a marker of emotion, but also as "constituting a system of punctuation, heightening the expressive and emotional contrasts of the storyline. In such moments, music makes these films much more dramatic and, by the same token, less like real life." Mercer and Shingler, *Melodrama*, 13.
4 Themes from Top 20 songs such as Lesley Gore's "It's My Party" (both US and UK June 1963), "Judy's Turn to Cry" (US, August 1963), "She's a Fool" (US, November 1963); The Shirelles' "Will You Still Love Me Tomorrow" (US, January 1961 and UK, February 1961); Brenda Lee's "Here Comes That Feeling" (UK June 1962); Maureen Evans' "Like I Do" (UK January 1963); the Chiffons' "He's So Fine" (US March 1963, UK May 1963); and the Crystals' "Then He Kissed Me" (US and UK in September 1963). The violence mentioned relates to the Crystals' "He Hit Me It Felt Like a Kiss," which upon its release in 1962 received some airplay, but does not enter the Top 20 charts according to McAleer. These are just a few examples, chosen from the years leading up to the making of Boty's painting. Of course, there are boy band versions, best epitomized by the Four Seasons' "Big Girls Don't Cry" (entering the charts in the US in November 1962 and in the UK in February 1963). Dusty Springfield had her first Top 20 hit in Britain in November 1963 with "I Only Want to Be With You." See Dave McAleer, *The Book of Hit Singles: Top 20 Charts from 1954 to the Present Day* (San Francisco: Backbeat Books, 2001) for chart positions.
5 Barbra Streisand, "My Coloring Book," Columbia Records. The single was released in 1962 and included on *The Second Barbra Streisand Album*, Columbia Records, 1963. Kitty Kallen also released "My Coloring Book" in 1962—her last major hit. The melodramatic effect of Stewart's version relies more heavily on her musical accompaniment.
6 Jon Savage cites Kallen's version as the "source" for Boty's painting. Jon Savage, *1966: The Year the Decade Exploded* (London: Faber and Faber, 2015), 181. The song was also sung by Barbra Streisand, Sandy Stewart, and Dusty Springfield in the 1960s.
7 Released as a double single with "Lover, Come Back to Me" in November 1962.
8 Linda Pohly, *The Barbra Streisand Companion: A Guide to Her Vocal Style and Repertoire* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2000), 167. Pohly writes "The style and length of some of the numbers make it obvious that the repertoire was chosen for album sales instead of radio play ("My Coloring Book" exceeds four minutes)."
9 Pohly, *The Barbra Streisand Companion*, 27. Music historians have pointed to the visual aspects of the song as well. According to Pohly, "The album rendition, arranged by Peter Matz, is the most refined and elaborate with a compound duple meter and 1940s movie-score harmonies. The use of high and low string countermelodies helps paint the visual story of a woman who has lost her man."
10 Annie J. Randall, *Dusty! Queen of the Postmods* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 20.

11 It is possible that Boty was influenced by Stewart's version. While Streisand is an exemplar of using her voice in an emotive wail, Stewart also uses her voice to similar effect in her vocal rendition. I am not arguing that these performances (or the later Dusty Springfield version) are interchangeable, rather these performances by female singers in this period relied upon melodramatic vocal effect.
12 Neal Gabler, in his biography of Streisand (in comparison with Frank Sinatra), writes, "If Sinatra is the bard of loneliness and seduction, Streisand is the bard of pain and pining, and *her* uptempo songs are expressions of her resilience in the face of that pain" (author's italics). Neal Gabler, *Barbra Streisand: Redefining Beauty, Femininity, and Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 76.
13 Peter Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James, Melodrama, and the Mode of Excess* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), 14. Additionally, Thomas Elsaesser's landmark essay, "Tales of Sound and Fury: Observations on the Family Melodrama," reprinted in Christine Gledhill's edited volume, *Home Is Where the Heart Is: Studies in Melodrama and the Women's Film* (London: British Film Institute, 1987), 43–69, asserts sound's importance to melodrama.
14 Sarah Wilson, "Daughters of Albion: Greer, Sex, and the Sixties" in *The Sixties: Britain and France, 1962–1973, The Utopian Years*, ed. David Alan Mellor and Laurent Gervereau (Wappinger's Fall, NY: Antique Collector's Club, 1997), 78. Boty posed for the photographer Michael Ward in 1963 in front of her paintings *Tom's Dream* and *Celia Birtwell and Some of her Heroes* (1963), and again for Lewis Morley, Roger Mayne, and *Vogue* (by David Bailey). For examples of early recuperative scholarship on Pauline Boty, see Sue Tate's essay "Re-Occupying the Erotic Body: The Paintings and 'Performance' of Pauline Boty, British Pop Artist (1938–66)," in *Sexual Politics of Desire and Belonging*, ed. Nick Rumens and Alejandro Cervantes-Carson (New York: Rodopi, 2007): 205–227. Tate (as Sue Watling) along with David Alan Mellor, curated and wrote the exhibition catalogue for *Pauline Boty (1938–1966): The Only Blonde in the World* (London: Mayor and Whitford Fine Art Galleries/AM Publications, 1998), the first solo exhibition of Boty's work since her death. Tate's dissertation, "Gendering the Field: Pauline Boty and the Predicament of the Woman Artist in the British Pop Movement," Bath Spa University, 2004, has been withheld by the author. An unpublished MA thesis, Terry Ann Riggs' "It's a Man's World: An Analysis of the Life and Work of Pauline Boty," Courtauld Institute, 1996, was an additional early recovery of Boty's work. In "Re-Occupying the Erotic Body: The Paintings and 'Performance' of Pauline Boty, British Pop Artist (1938–66)" and in her essay, "'Forward via a Female Past': Pauline Boty and the Historiographical Promise of the Woman Pop Artist" in *Feminism Reframed, Reflections on Art and Difference*, ed. Alexandra M. Kokoli (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2008), Tate argues Boty's work can be seen as a proto-feminist embrace of a bodily sexuality and discusses photographs of Boty (nude) with her artworks. Tate has been an important force behind the recovery of Boty in scholarship. Tate's *Pauline Boty: Pop Artist and Woman* (Wolverhampton: Wolverhampton Art Gallery, 2013) provides an overview of Boty's work and life. Additionally, Kalliopi Minioudaki argues for such a feminist reading of Boty's art in relation to mass culture in her essay "Pop Proto-Feminisms: Beyond the Paradox of the Woman Pop Artist," in her co-edited 2013 exhibition catalogue *Seductive Subversion: Women Pop Artists, 1958–1968*, ed. Sid Sachs and Kalliopi Minioudaki (Philadelphia: University of the Arts; New York: Abbeville, 2010). The catalogue also features an essay by Tate, "A Transgression Too Far: Women Artists and the British Pop Art Movement." Minioudaki's "Pop's Ladies and Bad Girls: Axell, Pauline Boty and Rosalyn Drexler," *Oxford Art Journal* 30, no. 3 (2007) provides a fundamental feminist text on Pop art.
15 Tate, *Pauline Boty*, 74.
16 Minioudaki, "Pop's Ladies and Bad Girls," 404–430 and *Seductive Subversion: Women Pop Artists, 1958–1968*, ed. Sid Sachs and Minioudaki (Philadelphia: University of the Arts; New York: Abbeville, 2010).
17 Minioudaki, "Pop's Ladies and Bad Girls," 415 and Tate, *Pauline Boty*, 102–103.
18 Tate, *Pauline Boty*, 74. Minioudaki makes a similar point about the layering of text and imagery and its emotional affect, see "Pop's Ladies and Bad Girls," 414.
19 Wilson, "Greer, Sex and the Sixties," 77.

20 Sue Tate (published as Watling) describes the painting as a critical of the "patriarchy." Sue Watling, "Pauline Boty: Pop Artist (1938–1966)," in *Pauline Boty (1938–1966): The Only Blonde in the World* (London: Mayor and Whitford Fine Art Galleries/AM Publications, 1998), 17.
21 Minioudaki, "Pop's Ladies and Bad Girls," 415.
22 Ibid.
23 Ibid. and Tate, *Pauline Boty*, 77. Boty appeared with fellow British Pop artist Derek Boshier on the program.
24 Minioudaki, "Pop's Ladies and Bad Girls," 415. Bradford R. Collins describes the work as about female sexuality. Bradford R. Collins, *Pop Art: The Independent Group to Neo Pop, 1952–90* (New York: Phaidon, 2012), 288. See also Tate, *Pauline Boty*, 77.
25 David McCarthy briefly mentions the painting as "targeting desire" and in relation to the burgeoning sexual revolution in the 1960s. He also cites Boty's peer, Peter Phillips, and his use of jukeboxes in paintings from the early 1960s such as *The Entertainment Machine* (1961) in addition to Peter Blake's *Got a Girl* as these Pop artists "acknowledging music as a major source of inspiration in contemporary life." McCarthy, *Pop Art* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 54. Tate describes the red rose in *5-4-3-2-1* and in *With Love to Jean Paul Belmondo* as a sign of female sexuality and pleasure as part of Boty's assertion the female experience in Pop. Tate, "'Forward Via a Female Past,'" 185–186.
26 Minioudaki, "Pop's Ladies and Bad Girls," 414.
27 Tate, *Pauline Boty*, 77.
28 Thomas Crow, *The Long March of Pop: Art, Music, and Design, 1930–1995* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 344. Minioudaki also points to the work and its grisaille, newspaper imagery in this and other works as participating in modes of fan culture. Minioudaki, "Pop's Ladies and Bad Girls," 414.
29 Tate cites a conversation in which Birtwell states that Boty saw a resemblance between Birtwell and Presley. Tate, *Pauline Boty*, 80. Tate also cites the juxtaposition of celebrity and Pop artists within the work (81).
30 See Tate, "Re-Occupying the Erotic Body," 213–216, "'Forward via a Female Past,'" 188–189, and *Pauline Boty*, 78–81.
31 Tate describes a "subject/object conflation," which can be taken further into a consideration of fan culture. Tate, "'Forward via a Female Past,'" 188.
32 Minioudaki, "Pop's Ladies and Bad Girls," 414.
33 Barbara Ehrenreich, Elizabeth Hess, and Gloria Jacobs, "Beatlemania: Girls Just Want to Have Fun," in *The Adoring Audience: Fan Culture and Popular Media*, ed. Lisa A. Lewis (New York: Routledge, 1992), 97. The authors see teen culture as a mode of protest: "Sexual repression had been a feature of middle-class teen life for centuries. If there was a significant factor that made mass protest possible in the late fifties (Elvis) and the early sixties (the Beatles), it was the growth and maturation of a teen market: for distinctly teen clothes, magazines, entertainment, and accessories." Nicolette Rohr's "Yeah yeah yeah: The sixties screamscape of Beatlemania," *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 29 (2017): e12213, further establishes the screams of fans as caught up both in the adoration of the Beatles and the scream itself as a signifier of both emotion and possible protest. Rohr writes: "Beatlemania was not explicitly political, but it was radical in its force and scale, its challenge to established order and expectations surrounding gender, its protracted neglect for public decorum, and the intensity of emotion felt and publically displayed by young women. More to the point, the endurance of these experiences—the extent to which they stayed with the screaming fans and to which the fans made their voices heard—helped make the Beatles, Beatlemania, and especially Beatles fans integral parts of the 1960s and the challenges to gender conventions, loosening sexual confines, and broader cultural transformations that were among the most revolutionary of the decade's many dislocations" (2). Furthermore, Rohr accents the emotional response (along with bodily) fan responses to the Beatles.
34 Ehrenreich, Hess, and Jacobs, "Beatlemania," 96. Authors' italics.
35 Ibid., 97.
36 Jacqueline Warwick, *Girl Groups, Girl Culture*: *Popular Music and Identity in the 1960s* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 32–33.

37 Warwick, *Girl Groups, Girl Culture*, 48. Warwick describes these events in the home space and at school.
38 Simon Frith, *Performing Rites* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 161.
39 Warwick, *Girl Groups, Girl Culture*, 49.
40 Angela McRobbie suggests that girl culture, the kinds of behaviors and hobbies promoted in teenage magazines, were performed mainly in the home. Angela McRobbie, "*Jackie* Magazine: Romantic Individualism and the Teenage Girl," in *Feminism and Youth Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 107. Simon Frith discussed the bedroom as a site of "girl culture" in Britain in *The Sociology of Rock* (London: Constable, 1978), 64.
41 In *It's a Man's World I*, Boty uses the landscape of palatial English estates as the background for sexualized images of women. One imagines the room depicted in *My Colouring Book* as being in such an estate.
42 Connie Alderson, *Magazines Teenagers Read* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1968), 5–8. Alderson focuses on the three magazines and breaks down their structure.
43 Alderson, *Magazines Teenagers Read*, 5. Alderson cites that number for overall readership.
44 Alderson, *Magazines Teenagers Read*, 8.
45 McRobbie, "*Jackie* Magazine," 68.
46 Ibid., 69.
47 McRobbie writes "Critical attention is shown neither to the music itself nor its techniques and production. The girls, by implication, are merely listeners." McRobbie, "*Jackie* Magazine," 110. See Alderson, *Magazines Teenagers Read*, 30–54, for analysis of the various ways pop stars appeared in teen magazines.
48 Savage, *1966*, 43.
49 Ibid., 42–48.
50 Minioudaki, "Pop's Ladies and Bad Girls," 414.
51 Ibid.
52 Michael Lobel, *Image Duplicator: Roy Lichtenstein and the Emergence of Pop Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 142. For Lobel's analysis of Lichtenstein and Sirk, see 138–142. Bradford R. Collins has offered an alternative possible view of the *Love Comic* paintings as relating to Lichtenstein's own unexpressed feelings about his concurrent divorce. Collins, *Pop Art*, 107–108.
53 Alderson, *Magazines Teenagers Read*, 8. Additionally, McRobbie's "*Jackie* Magazine" critically analyzes the weekly magazine *Jackie* in its attempts to teach and reflect expected behaviors for teenage girls. McRobbie pays particular attention to the ways in which Jackie promotes romantic ideals of marriage in the comic strip style stories (79–92).
54 Alderson, *Magazines Teenagers Read*, 9.
55 Minioudaki, "Pop's Ladies and Bad Girls," 414. Minioudaki states Boty's removal of the female subject denies a Lichtenstein victimized subject position.
56 Ben Singer, *Melodrama and Modernity: Early Sensational Cinema and Its Contexts* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 40. Singer argued that melodrama finds its meaning in a bodily response: "Melodramatic excess is a question of the body, of physical responses. The term *tearjerker* underscores the idea that powerful sentiment is in fact a physical sensation, an overwhelming feeling" (author's italics).
57 See Erika Doss' brief look at emotional paintings (her examples include Mark Rothko and Norman Rockwell), "Makes Me Laugh, Makes Me Cry: Feelings and American Art," *American Art* 25, no. 3 (Fall 2011): 2–8.
58 Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination*, xiii.
59 Ibid., 205.
60 Springfield's version is about a minute less. While Streisand's version begins with a dramatic crescendo, Springfield opens the song with her vocals.
61 Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination*, 35.
62 Ibid., 205.
63 See Mercer and Shingler, *Melodrama*, 42–43. Mercer and Shingler describe film melodrama's catering to a newly "discovered" consumer class in the postwar period.
64 Maria LaPlace, "Producing and Consuming the Woman's Film: Discursive Struggle in *Now, Voyager*," in *Home is Where the Heart Is: Studies in Melodrama and the Woman's Film*, ed. Christine Gledhill (London: British Film Institute, 1987), 139. See also Barbara Klinger, *Melodrama and Meaning: History, Culture, and the Films of Douglas Sirk* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1994), for a description of Universal Studios'

attempt to increase ticket sales for *Written on the Wind* by attracting women, a "lost audience" (47).

65 R. Serge Denisoff and William D. Romanowski, *Risky Business: Rock in Film* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1991), 114.

66 Denisoff and Romanowski, *Risky Business*, 114–115. The song was a top hit in fifteen different countries (Denishoff and Romanowski mention it was recorded in nine languages) as well as reaching "Number 4 on the *Billboard* charts."

67 Tate states in her 2013 essay that *My Colouring Book* "captures the deliciously melancholic pleasures afforded to the pop music fan, who can share the emotions in the song and thus feel she in 'no longer alone.'" Tate, *Pauline Boty*, 74.

68 Simon Frith, *Sound Effects: Youth, Leisure, and the Politics of Rock 'n' Roll* (New York: Pantheon, 1981), 38 (author's italics).

69 Such as I discussed in the "Introduction" in relation Theodor Adorno and Fredric Jameson's writing.

4 Soundtrack Not Included
Andy Warhol's *Sleep*

One familiar version of Pop art history features Andy Warhol as a Pop artist whose works in various media often incorporated music in a multitude of ways. Indeed, music was an integral part of Warhol's practice from the start. Some prominent examples of Warhol's links to popular music include (but are not limited to) his paintings of Elvis Presley (discussed in a previous chapter), which troubled fixed definitions of sexuality; his album covers (produced both early in his career as a graphic designer and later for the Velvet Underground and the Rolling Stones); his dance diagram series, the Exploding Plastic Inevitable, his management of the Velvet Underground, and his participation in the art Pop music group The Druds. Additionally, Warhol was the coded subject of Bob Dylan's "Like a Rolling Stone."[1] As discussed in Chapter 1, Warhol is well known as a fan, too: evidence ranges from his vast music and fan collections to a love of opera and sugary pop.[2]

In this chapter, I focus upon Warhol's film, *Sleep* (1963), not commonly associated with popular music (Figure 4.1). His use of popular music in this piece is not well known, and his decision to show the work without music after initial screenings suggests an important shift in Warhol's career and Pop art. In fact, the film is regularly counted as one of Warhol's "silent films" in scholarship. However, when *Sleep* premiered, on January 17, 1964, it was accompanied by a radio tuned to pop music.[3] Warhol controlled the dial, actively making his own soundtrack as the film progressed.[4] *Sleep* thereby offered a mix of chance and control: Warhol could not determine what was played on the radio although he could switch the channel and, depending on the pop songs played, change the meaning of the film.

The Top 20 hits in January 1964, songs that would have been regularly featured on the radio, ranged from bubblegum heartthrob Bobby Rydell's "Forget Him" to the romantic, torch song style of Lenny Welch's "Since I Fell for You," to the driving beats of car song "Hey Little Cobra" by the Rip Chords.[5] A soundtrack including any of these songs would have created an entirely different experience of *Sleep* than when it is shown without accompaniment, which is how most people know the work. Using these three songs as possible examples, Warhol could inflect *Sleep* with humor and double-entendres; melodic, forlorn love, or romantic optimism.[6] Even silent, the film is imbued with elements of the erotic, we are watching Warhol's boyfriend at the time, poet John Giorno, sleep, after all. Pop songs, combined with watching a man sleep, would enhance such a reading. Warhol's use of a radio soundtrack offers a revised understanding of the film in the context of Pop art through the application of jukebox modernism: the inescapability of pop songs on the radio, the emotional inflections such songs could provide in any moment, the incongruity of watching a

Figure 4.1 Andy Warhol, *Sleep* (1963). Still from a 16 mm b/w silent film. First performance organized by Film-Makers' Cooperative at Gramercy Arts Theatre on 17 January, 1964. AM1991-F1204. Location: Musee National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, France.

man sleep and listening to the beat of pop songs, and the historical specificity of a musical context.

Music operated as a soundtrack in Warhol's studio. As Warhol wrote in *POPism*, the repetition of pop songs found a complement in Pop art's goals and Warhol's removal of the gestural stroke or mark in his painting:

> I knew that I definitely wanted to take away the commentary of the gestures—that's why I had this routine of painting with rock and roll blasting the same song, a 45 rpm, over and over all day long—songs like the one that was playing the day Ivan [Karp] came by for the first time, "I saw Linda Yesterday" by Dickey Lee. The music blasting cleared my head out and left me working on instinct alone. In fact, it wasn't only rock and roll that I used that way—I'd also have the radio blasting opera, and the TV picture on (but not the sound)—and if all that didn't clear enough out of my mind, I'd open a magazine, put it beside me, and half read an article while I painted.[7]

Music became a tool that Warhol relied upon to clear his mind, a noise to evacuate all other noises. This kind of distracted listening—or looking—a practice most are guilty

of on a regular basis, in our media-saturated lives, was one that Warhol seized upon most often through pop music. It wasn't just the beats and repetitions of a popular song, but that those same beats and choruses could be counted on to be played over and over again on the radio.

Sleep is usually described as a single, *silent* uninterrupted shot of John Giorno sleeping (and usually proclaimed to be over eight hours long, sometimes longer). The film was shot at the standard 16 mm sound speed of twenty-four frames per second, but was projected at the silent film speed of sixteen frames per second—thus the running time increases by 50 percent and creating a slow motion effect (which may be, among other reasons, why the film feels so long).[8] The film lasts about five and half hours, and consists "of twenty-two separate close-ups of Giorno's body, multiply printed, and then spliced together in variously repeating sequences."[9] As art historian Branden W. Joseph has noted, this aspect of Warhol's film, its internal repetition, is usually ignored.[10]

More recently, a different kind of evacuation of sound and use of repetition has been considered in relation to *Sleep*: Branden Joseph's 2005 essay "The Play of Repetition: Andy Warhol's *Sleep*." In the essay, Joseph points to a discussion Warhol had in late September 1963 with Ruth Hirschman (Pacifica Radio) about his (at the time) unfinished film *Sleep* and John Cage. Hirschman asked Warhol: "Is there any tie-up between this and let's say Cage, John Cage's music?" to which Warhol replied: "Yeah, I think so."[11] As Joseph also points out, Warhol had recently attended Cage's presentation of Erik Satie's *Vexations* (840 repetitions of an 80-second piano phrase that contained repetitions as well).[12]

John Cage has taught us that silence is the absence of intended sounds, but is never absolute, and the same "Cagean" theory has been applied to repetition, where no repetition is exactly the same.[13] Indeed, Henry Geldzahler's description of *Sleep*, which has been one embraced by many scholars (although it has some errors), holds that the film is not a repetitive film of a man sleeping, but instead accentuates the subject's many small movements. Geldzahler wrote:

> The slightest variation becomes an event, something on which we can focus our attention. As less and less happens on screen, we become satisfied with almost nothing and find the slightest shift in the body of the sleeper or the least movement of the camera interesting enough.[14]

According to Geldzahler, watching a man sleep becomes so monotonous that any small change becomes "an event." The viewing experience is so boring that he doesn't even notice that he's watching the same footage again and again.

Joseph provides a close formal reading of *Sleep* and offers a detailed analysis of how the film repeats reels.[15] Joseph's essay eventually leads the reader to a less Cagean version of *Sleep*, finding more in common with LaMonte Young's theories of repetition and Young's drone music of sustained, repeated sounds.[16] Warhol might have learned quite a bit about repetition from Young during his brief stint in the artist/pop music group The Druds in 1963, which preceded the filming of *Sleep*—and also included LaMonte Young who played tenor saxophone for the band, which also featured Lucas Samaras and Warhol singing back up to Patty Oldenburg's lead vocals; lyrics were by Jasper Johns, and Walter De Maria was on drums.[17] Additionally, Warhol would later commission Young to compose music for a 1964 showing of *Sleep, Eat, Kiss*, and *Haircut* during the New York Film Festival. We must, then, also consider *Sleep*

with its radio soundtrack—what is more repetitive and more compulsive than a pop radio station?

American Top 40 radio, particularly in the 1960s (after the Senate had outlawed "payola") developed the formula whereby "hits" were played in a regimented model: hit, jingle, hit, commercial, hit, older song, and so forth.[18] For a song to be placed on the playlist almost ensured it would be played—repeatedly. Repetition remained inherent in Top 40 radio (the very kind of station Warhol most likely sought out to use in his first showing of *Sleep*). By playing the same songs over and over, the station hoped to catch listeners eager to hear their favorite song.[19] Radio station programmers predicated their logic upon teenage listening behaviors, "irregular, always switching off or over, impatient to hear their favorite tunes"; repeated playing of the same song increased the odds of a given song being heard.[20] Todd Storz, owner of a chain of radio stations in New Orleans in the 1950s and 1960s, noticed teenagers grouped around jukeboxes, playing the same song again and again rather than a variety of tunes.[21] Storz ordered his stations to "mimic teen behavior" and one song could appear on a station as many as forty times a day—hence the term, "Top 40" (though the term would later refer to the forty most popular songs of the day).[22] Of course, once you hear a song a few too many times, you get sick of it, increasing the demand for new songs to exhaust.[23] Repetition and distracted listening formed a self-sustaining cycle, on which radio stations counted to ensure their listeners.

Warhol's use of the radio as a soundtrack may seem random or reliant on chance; however, once we've considered how pop radio worked (and how well-versed Warhol was in popular music) chance seems to be a minor aspect of the piece—Warhol would have been able to count on certain songs appearing more than once over an almost six-hour period (the length of *Sleep*). Furthermore, Warhol himself described radio as a repetitious cycle (and seeking it out for that very quality, too) for his road trip out to LA for his second Ferus Gallery show (in his book *POPism*):

> The radio was on the whole time—full blast. As a matter of fact, I was the one who insisted on blasting it because I get very nervous about people falling asleep at the wheel. You sure get to know the Top 40 when you make a long trip like that—over and over again, the same songs: Lesley Gore, the Ronettes, the Jaynettes, Garnet Mims and the Enchanters, the Miracles, Bobby Vinton.[24]

Whether Warhol's use of a pop soundtrack was a one-time experiment or not, the ramifications of considering the work as coming with—and losing—a soundtrack is tantalizing. As the work ages, does the soundtrack remain frozen in 1964 or does it change to the Top 40 of each passing year? When *Sleep* was screened as part of "The Films of Andy Warhol: Part II" at the Whitney Museum of American Art in 1994, it was shown with "a live radio accompaniment from an 'oldies' station."[25] In some ways, the lost soundtrack operates as a ghost artifact of Warhol's *Time Capsules*, his archive of his personal ephemera, functioning for one brief moment in the mode of popular music.

Furthermore, we should consider the top hit songs' sounds on the radio during December 1963 and January 1964. These are a few of the songs that Warhol would have known, given his understanding of pop radio, to expect to hear. They include (along with those previously mentioned) songs such as "Dominique" by the Singing Nun, "Louie, Louie" by Kingsmen, "There I've Said it Again" by Bobby Vinton, "She's a Fool" by Lesley Gore, "Sugar Shack" by Jimmy Gilmer and the

Fireballs, "Quicksand" by Martha and the Vandellas, and "Little Red Rooster" by Sam Cooke.[26] Some are love songs; others are not. The songs traverse the terrain of popular music. In just this small sampling, the songs include the teen pop power ballad of Lesley Gore, Motown ("Quicksand" by Martha and the Vandellas), the saccharine pop of Jimmy Gilmer and the Fireballs ("Sugar Shack"), the more raucous "Louie, Louie" (Kingsmen), and the drawn-out croons and melodies of "There I Said It Again." From Warhol's perspective, these songs were all part of the sonic popular. Warhol, turning the radio dial on January 17, 1964, produced a soundtrack of popular music touching upon its varied modes at that time.

These singers and groups are included in Warhol's earlier statement in *POPism* about listening to the car radio for his cross-country road trip to Los Angeles for his Ferus Gallery opening in October 1963. Later in *POPism*, he even repeats some of the same singers and bands in connection to a layered aural experience at the Factory. Warhol describes what happened when Billy Name brought a phonograph to play opera records in the Factory:

> The opera records at the Factory were all mixed in with the 45's I did my painting to, and most times I'd have the radio on while the opera was going, and so songs like "Sugar Shack" or "Blue Velvet" or "Louie, Louie"—whatever was around then—were blended in with the arias.[27]

Warhol reveals how popular music, at times as part of a larger, layered sonic experience, was part of his artistic practice as a kind of background "noise." He would also, then, implement popular music's possible impact—along with other sounds—in later screenings of *Sleep* (without popular music) as well as with the Exploding Plastic Inevitable.

At another point early in *Sleep*'s historiography, Warhol discussed the film as having a kind of soundtrack. In a fall 1963 interview with Ruth Hirschman, Warhol describes his plans for *Sleep*: "Oh, well, it's a movie where you can come in at any time. And you can walk around and dance and sing."[28] Warhol discusses this after Hirschman asks if he plans to have *Sleep* reviewed "the way the last Cage concert was, with all the reviewers going from 11 to 12?"[29] Hirschman refers to Cage's presentation of Erik Satie's "Vexations" in September 1963, which lasted eighteen hours and forty minutes.[30] Warhol's expectation that people will "dance and sing" suggests there is some kind of music accompaniment people will recognize and sing and dance along to. This experience is different than the audience experience at a John Cage performance, a difference between an avant-garde performance versus hearing the kinds of music one might sing along to and have heard earlier that day on the radio.

Additionally, Taylor Mead, a member of Warhol's Factory and actor in Warhol's films, participates in the interview and interjects about Warhol's intentions for *Sleep* and how it may or may not be influenced by John Cage. Mead makes a distinction between Warhol and Cage and, perhaps, a distinction between pop and avant-garde musical performances. Mead gives Cage credit for what potential he offers, but contends that Cage's kind of music is not actually very fun and infers a kind of emotional response more often offered by pop:

> I think it's more fun to. It's more fun to have an hour concert than something that people wander in just to see—well, I don't know, it's fun both ways, but I'd like it, I like it, I'm very theatrical, I like a theatrical evening really, that gives you a great overall feeling that really charges you.[31]

In the same interview, Taylor Mead interjects about *Sleep*, "I'm doing the music for it."[32] Later in the interview, Warhol states of *Sleep*, "It won't be silent. Taylor's going to do the music."[33] Mead then responds, "I'm going to do a spontaneous sound track, I think. With using pianos or whatever's available in the studio, and everything. My radio, and everything."[34] *Sleep* is most commonly regarded as a "silent" Warholian work. In this moment, Warhol states multiple times, and emphatically, that *Sleep* would not be silent and would be accompanied by music.

Hirschman then prompts a discussion with Warhol and Mead about Cage's influence on Warhol. A sticking point, a turn against Cage, is brought up by Mead: "Well, with Cage or those other people you come in and maybe you're intellectually piqued, you know, but you aren't stirred emotionally and overwhelmed."[35] Warhol gives Cage credit for his influence on other artists, yet seems to agree with Mead.[36] It is the emotional, the "romantic" capabilities of music that Warhol finds appealing—and lacking in Cage's work.[37]

If we consider Warhol's *Sleep* alongside another avant-garde filmmaker's use of pop songs and film, Kenneth Anger's *Scorpio Rising* (1963), the comparison offers one possible suggestion for why *Sleep* may no longer have a pop soundtrack. According to *Sleep*'s star, John Giorno, he and Warhol went to see quite a bit of underground cinema at the start of their relationship in the Spring of 1963—Giorno lists Jack Smith's *Flaming Creatures* as well as other films including Anger's *Scorpio Rising*.[38] However, *Scorpio Rising* was first shown publicly on March 4, 1964 at the Cinema Theatre, Los Angeles.[39] In any case, Warhol and Giorno did see *Flaming Creatures*, Smith's film that used popular music to similar effects as *Scorpio Rising*. As Juan A. Suárez points out, "The films of Anger and Smith, for example, played off image and soundtrack against each other, creating witty commentaries on the gender assumptions underlying pop lyrics, and exposing the song's manipulability."[40] While *Sleep* was only shown once with its pop music soundtrack, Anger's film is always accompanied by its pop sounds. *Scorpio Rising*, running about twenty-eight minutes, features a motorcycle gang in various vignettes set to thirteen pop songs (an exception of two were released in 1963).[41] Most of the songs are romantic and, in the period, an assumption of heterosexual couples as a subject in the songs. The film intersperses images of the motorcycle gang members buffing their vehicles, lounging around reading comics, and partying with images of 1953's *The Wild One* (starring Marlon Brando) and *The Road to Jerusalem*. Anger's *Scorpio Rising* takes a hetero-normative motorcycle gang and uses a soundtrack to add homoeroticism to the film. What might seem like a common trope in films using popular music—stories about teenagers and/or teen rebels and their lives and interests set to a popular music soundtrack—in Anger's film, the lingering shots on the "body" of the motorcycle, empty boots, in the opening sequence of *Scorpio Rising* co-op the visual and aural culture of somewhat mainstream America for other means. Indeed, the opening credits transpire on the back of a motorcycle jacket (with "Kenneth Anger" appearing at the very bottom of the jacket). As the figure turns around and walks toward the camera, the focus is on his bare torso. The song "Fools Rush In" accompanies the opening sequence and suggests a love forbidden or at the least one that may not end well.

In other moments, Anger uses a visual and sonic abrasion between the toughness of the motorcycles and the soft voice of singing girl groups. In "Wind-Up Doll," the song plays while the viewer watches a man work on the motorcycle. The lyrics suggest the "subject"/singer is the wind-up doll, toyed with by the partner for their pleasure—at

the possible detriment to the singer. There is a lot of "actual" winding or mechanics in the film as we watch the man work on the motorcycle. This is further suggested by the sequence including a motorcycle toy. Through our position as viewer, the wind-up toy shifts the song's meaning towards questions of the motorcycle as the sequence's toy and/or the male himself as the wind-up toy for possibly the director/camera and the viewer. During the song's final laments, the emphasis is on the muscular arms of the male figure while he works on his vehicle. There is a correlation between the pride in the machine and admiration of both the vehicle's and the male figure's body. Anger used hit pop songs for an immediate context in the film. As another example, Bobby Vinton's "Blue Velvet," was at the top of the U.S. charts for ten weeks beginning in September 1963.[42] Suárez provides a parallel between Anger and Smith's use of popular music:

> Two famous such juxtapositions were the "Blue Velvet" sequence in *Scorpio Rising*, in which Bobby Vinton's song ("She wore blue velvet …") is edited to images of muscular men in blue denim and leather; and the final sequence of Jack Smith's *Flaming Creatures*, which uses Gene Vincent's "Bo-bop-a-loo-la (She's My Baby)" as background to a party of male transvestites slow-dancing with each other. In these examples the oppositional thrust of pop music is overlaid with a further layer of unconventionality deriving from the gay appropriation of the songs.[43]

In this instance, the languid crooning song about a lover wearing blue velvet lingers on the male members of the motorcycle gang as they dressed in blue jeans and black leather jackets. The frame opens with a shot of blue jeans at shin length then slowly moves up the body to the bare torso, as the subject buttons his jeans and buckles his belt.

Juan Suárez considers Anger's use of rock 'n' roll in *Scorpio Rising* as perhaps one of the reasons for the film's success in the art cinema theater circuit, more so than its "theme or style."[44] Indeed, as Suárez points out, Anger applies pressure to the songs' meanings, layering and playing with the gender motifs of the visual and aural.[45] Furthermore, Suárez describes the persona of Scorpio as absorbing mass culture to further problematize it:

> Mass-produced images determine Scorpio's looks, gestures, and stance, and can thus be said to erase his own identity and authenticity. From another point of view, these shots extend the gay spectatorial gaze that structures the film's early sequences to a number of mass cultural texts ranging from the songs of the soundtrack, to the comics ("Dondi," "Freckles and His Friends," "Li'l Abner"), to movie stars (besides the ones already mentioned, there are quick shots of Bela Legosi and Gary Cooper). In this sense, the biker's mimicry should not be read as a blind reflex conditioned by the media, but as a defamiliarizing reading that "outs" the repressed homosocial and homoerotic significations of these specific texts.[46]

The persona of Scorpio wears the signs of mass culture to question its significations. Mass culture, in the form of popular music, and the assumption in the 1960s that pop love songs were heterosexual love songs, becomes material under Anger's direction.[47] Music helps to render queerness more visible in *Scorpio Rising*.[48]

Additionally, Warhol may have been interested in the ways pop songs could (sometimes unintentionally) amplify the homoeroticism of the film. John Giorno, in his book *You Got to Burn to Shine*, describes *Sleep* in part as a reaction to the homophobia Warhol encountered in the New York City art world: "Andy got around homophobia by making the movie *Sleep* into an abstract painting: the body of a man as a field of light and shadow."[49] Giorno argues that Warhol used abstraction to negate or subvert the eroticism inherent in the project. And, yet, the work remains suffused with homoeroticism. Recent scholarship has seen the abstraction of Giorno's body to be steeped in homoeroticism. Joseph writes that, in reel two of *Sleep*, "The first three shots depict Giorno's buttocks, providing the film's most overtly homoerotic imagery."[50] Perhaps, with a pop music soundtrack, *Sleep* became "too legible" as homoerotic, too similar to the ways in which Anger's *Scorpio Rising* would operate.

Film scholar David E. James also ties Warhol and Anger's films together through each artist's use of popular culture. For James, *Scorpio Rising*'s popular music in its "juxtaposition of the best and the worst of pop songs makes for a pervading ambiguity and polyvalence in any given image."[51] The layering of music and image don't work for James, who finds the music confused:

> As with Warhol's invocation of classic screen stars, references to media icons aggrandize and belittle; Scorpio is on the one hand ennobled by the mythic rhetoric of pop music's fantasy context, but every "Devil in Disguise" or "Wipe Out" resonance is undercut—for example, by "Wind up Doll" as the motorcycle is initially assembled, and, at the most vulnerable point as the epic hero is completing his armoring, by "She Wore Blue Velvet." Similarly, the comic strip images of boyish affection that suggest Scorpio's homosexuality trivialize what is elsewhere presented in epic proportions. On the other hand, the film does embrace the massive energy of its music and propose itself as the filmic form of that energy.[52]

How the film's use of gay identity "trivializes" what is elsewhere epic is unclear. However, popular music seems to be accountable both for this and for the film's redemptive quality. According to James:

> The traditional capability of collage to speak what cannot be directly said—here, most obviously, the revised models of sexuality—becomes thus a cinematic as well as a filmic function, and the actual footage of Brando and the actual pop songs, as well as being intradiegetic markers that internally restructure signs, are the means by which the restored signs can be socially negotiated.[53]

Music, along with appropriated film such as the footage of Brando, manipulates and alters the original source materials.

Anger's use of a soundtrack and his film shots key up how the music accents the tensions (or lack thereof) between sound and image. Carel Rowe describes Anger (along with Jack Smith) and his use of music as a specific, contemporary moment beholden to that music:

> Anger and Smith take different advantage of the nostalgic resonances of pop music; Anger places a film in a specific "AM radio-time." This is the time zone in which a song got the most airplay on popular radio and, therefore, becomes

> the time when the film is forever taking place. Anger's images serve as a social documentary of the era. The pop narrative lyrics serve, simultaneously, as a social commentary on the images.[54]

The pop soundtrack freezes *Scorpio Rising* in 1963. Warhol's showing of *Sleep* with a pop radio soundtrack operates in a similar fashion. Although we may not know the exact songs Warhol played, we have the Billboard Top 40 as a reliable guide.

At times Anger's film plays upon that difficult to define term: camp. The term, made most famous by Susan Sontag, and often, as is the case with Sontag, becomes a term defined by lists of what forms may constitute camp, rather than a defined term.[55] Anger's use of camp plays upon the idea that if the pop music soundtrack is taken at initial listen, no deeper meaning or tension between image and music might be garnered. The viewer who understands camp, then understands the tensions between pop songs and images of men. Suárez links the film work of Warhol and Anger (along with avant-garde filmmaker Jack Smith) as representative of camp, identified as a "gay sensibility": "Their reworkings of mass cultural products are most often informed by gay identifications and desires, and by the gay remotivation of cultural artifacts known as 'camp.'"[56] According to Suárez, these three filmmakers' work, emblematic of American avant-garde cinema, "takes place when mass culture has already 'won out' over other cultural modes" and camp is their answer to systematic mass culture.[57] Or, as Susan Sontag wrote about Jack Smith's *Flaming Creatures*, it reveals: "the modern 'camp' way of relishing mass culture."[58] Perhaps this is why Warhol retreated from a possibly camp soundtrack while showing *Sleep* and chose, instead, to use a modernist silence to emphasize the abstracted quality of Giorno's body as rendered in *Sleep*. It is possible, that when viewed with a soundtrack, *Sleep* became camp, an effect Warhol did not intend for his early films—similar to the impact Anger's music choices have on his images.

Mass culture was re-used and then, depending on your camp sensibility, celebrated, mocked, and relished the original mass culture object. Camp, in its use in underground film, veered towards a Pop sensibility as well. Ed Halter describes this phenomenon in relation to many of the filmmakers discussed in this chapter:

> In the United States, underground filmmakers such as Kenneth Anger, Jack Smith and Ken Jacobs, George and Mike Kuchar, and of course Conner and Warhol simultaneously parodied and celebrated mass culture's "maximal forms" through a camp sensibility. And underground camp, like Pop, required its own menu of media artifacts: teeny-bopper songs and comic strips in Anger's *Scorpio Rising* (1963), syrupy easy-listening tracks in the Kuchars' mock-Hollywood mini-epics, or television commercial footage, interpolated whole into Warhol's *Soap Opera* (1964).[59]

Popular music is another artifact of mass culture used for camp (and Pop's) functions. Just as camp can be difficult to fully define or delineate, popular music helps to enhance that nebulous—and potent—quality to both Pop and camp.[60]

Geldzahler, in his "Some Notes on *Sleep*," writes that what holds Warhol's work together is the "absolute control" he had "over his own sensibility—a sensibility as sweet and tough, as childish and commercial, as innocent and chic as anything in our culture."[61] In listing Warhol's multitude of personality traits, Geldzahler could easily

be describing a pop song, too. Geldzahler, writing in 1963, is hinting at what Sontag would further elaborate upon a year later in her essay "Notes on 'Camp.'" Sontag declares: "A sensibility (as distinct from an idea) is one of the hardest things to talk about; but there are special reasons why Camp, in particular, has never been discussed."[62] Sontag further tries to define camp in terms of its exaggeration, or artifice. Thomas Meehan, in his 1965 *New York Times Magazine* response to Sontag, names *Sleep* as number two on his list of "some movies, people and things that are generally agreed to be Pure Camp."[63] Referring to *Sleep* without its soundtrack, Meehan suggests that the length of the film (erroneously listed as eight hours) is one way in which the film is "too much" and thus camp.

Furthermore, art historian Douglas Crimp considers the question of camp in relation to Warhol and asks, did Warhol see "a sleeping John Giorno ironically?"[64] Crimp answers this question (among others) by claiming that Warhol "sought expansion—'liking things'—not by constructing fantasy worlds but through a single-minded attentiveness to the world as he found it."[65] Here, the camera's attention is focused upon Giorno's body. Additionally, Crimp also suggests that Warhol's film *Batman Dracula* was left unfinished because, due to the costumes, narrative, and more, the film became "too camp."[66] Perhaps this is also the reason that Warhol abandoned a pop soundtrack with *Sleep*—popular songs' lyrics wove a narrative that became "too camp," or just "camp," against Giorno's body.

There are mentions of Giorno's romantic relationship with Warhol in scholarship as well as more recent discussion of Warhol's work within a queer theoretical framework, and some discussion of *Sleep*'s eroticism.[67] There are fissures in the myth that Warhol was "asexual."[68] Giorno is explicit about the romantic and sexual nature of his relationship with Warhol, describing their first kiss, in part to find solace after John F. Kennedy's assassination:

> I started crying and Andy started crying. We wept big fat tears. It was a symbol of the catastrophe of our own lives. We kissed and Andy sucked my tongue. It was the first time we kissed. It had the sweet taste of kissing death. It was all exhilarating, like when you get kicked in the head and see stars.[69]

Both looker and looked at as subject positions are vital to our understanding of *Sleep*, and Giorno, at whom we look, is not only the star, but the subject of *Sleep*. Crimp includes *Sleep* among a list of Warhol's early films that "can be thought of as portraits," suggesting that Giorno's subject position is integral to the work.[70] Thus, Giorno's identity within *Sleep* (as John Giorno and as love interest of Warhol) starts to maneuver the film from anonymity. And, then, the relationship between Warhol and Giorno—the affection, eroticism, and the possible emotional attachment—also enters into the film. Sontag also writes about camp: "Camp is a tender feeling."[71] Here, too, this sentiment or feeling camp carries and popular music encourages may pivot on *Sleep*. A slow pop love song may, instead of or in addition to, create a more tender and sweet "portrait" of Giorno. This is one new mode of viewing of *Sleep* (not the only, but an amendment).

As is often the case with Warhol's early films, one common mode of thought suggests the viewer embodies Warhol's vision as filmmaker. Geldzahler, again with some possible errors, describes the correlation between the camera and Warhol's eye: "for it is Andy Warhol that holds the camera and it is through his eyes that we see the

scene."[72] For Geldzahler, the camera, Warhol, and the viewer's experience become intertwined. We look as Warhol looked; we become beholden to his camera's gaze. At times this is uncomfortable—particularly when watching Warhol's *Screen Tests*. Warhol's *Blow Job* has a similar effect—at first what may appear titillating; as it goes on, becomes less pleasurable. *Sleep* may also cause discomfort, because of the voyeuristic element of watching someone who is at his most vulnerable, unaware he is being watched.

Giorno said the work originated in Warhol's erotic desire:

> I looked over and there was Andy in bed next to me, his head propped up on his arm, wide-eyed awake, looking at me. "What are you doing?" I said with a rubber tongue. "Watching you," said Andy. I awoke again and Andy was still looking at me with Bette Davis eyes.[73]

Giorno's waking and Warhol's looking continues throughout the night. It culminates with Warhol inspired to make his first film, *Sleep*.[74] Stephen Koch noted the eroticism in *Sleep* early. He describes the work (along with *Kiss*): "In each of these two films, the camera voyeuristically stares at images of people for whom—in sleep, in eroticism—the experience of time has been radically, metabolically, made other, rendered private, changed."[75] For Koch, the eroticism in Warhol's films is linked to voyeurism.[76] The filmmaker gazes with longing; the viewer may do so, too. But by lingering on the sleeping body, and acknowledging its vulnerability, we may also be led to a consideration of death. Additionally, Joseph describes some moments in *Sleep* as "noticeably morbid," "almost Gothic," and says one shot "evokes a medieval death mask, the pillow that of a death bed."[77] He also points the reader towards Stephen Koch's similar reading of *Sleep*. In addition, Koch relates *Sleep* to a somewhat coded (or decoded to those with art historical knowledge) homoerotic gaze:

> …in Warhol's lusting, in a pornography intriguingly close to the central line of Western homoeroticism, the image of the Beautiful Male Body in its excruciated final anguish, from the Saint Sebastians to Michelangelo's Dying Slave to Gericault's shipwrecked men writhing on the rafts to Gustave Moreau's Cecil B. de Mille Babylon catastrophe to—*Sleep*, *Vinyl*.[78]

David Bourdon similarly linked Giorno's appearance in *Sleep* to the lineage of the "sleeping nude" in Classical and Renaissance art.[79]

Additionally, Wayne Koestenbaum discusses *Sleep* in terms of its erotic voyeuristic potency: "Apparently, Mrs. Warhola liked watching her son sleep, as he liked watching his boyfriends sleep; spying on motionlessness is a rather specialized erotic discipline."[80] While Koestenbaum's parallel between Warhol's mother and his practice of watching his boyfriends sleep is confusing, he does declare the homoeroticism as visible in *Sleep*. Koestenbaum's comments, along with Joseph, offer differing acknowledgments of the eroticized gaze in the film.[81] *Sleep*, with its invitation to prolonged looking, asks just who is doing the looking, who is invited to stay so long by someone's bed, and suggests a possible post-sex exhaustion and gaze.[82]

Another correlation to underground cinema is Jack Smith's *Normal Love* (1963–1965). Douglas Crimp describes how Smith orchestrated his screenings of the

film along with a soundtrack: "Smith turned every screening of his *Normal Love* into a one-of-a-kind performance by playing selections from his vast record collection to accompany the silent footage and by resplicing the film's sequences in the projection booth while showing it."[83] Warhol was familiar with Smith's film; he was at its filming and photographed Smith.[84] Smith's "one-of-a-kind performance" of *Normal Love* bears similarity then to Warhol's first screening of *Sleep*. Smith also layered film and music in his film *Flaming Creatures*. Suárez links Smith's use of music with Warhol's Velvet Underground, Warren Sonbert, and Kenneth Anger. The filmmakers used popular music as a way to garner interest in their work and/or to complicate its meaning through "subversive readings of the iconography of the song's lyrics."[85] Suárez includes Warhol in this argument for his collaborations with the Velvet Underground, but *Sleep* and its soundtrack apply here as well. Thus, we must also consider relevant to *Sleep* Suárez's declaration:

> Hence besides being part of the history of the American avant-garde cinema, underground films were also part of gay American culture. They fashioned models of subjectivity and desire that reflected the experiences of the (male) urban gay communities of the time.[86]

Thus, *Sleep*—with its pop music soundtrack—allowed for a new interpretation.[87]

Another avant-garde filmmaker, Bruce Conner, applied a pop soundtrack to his work.[88] In *COSMIC RAY* (1961), Conner chose a song, Ray Charles' "What I'd Say," to amplify and play with his images' significance. P. Adams Sitney cites Bruce Conner's *COSMIC RAY* as a possible forerunner or earlier parallel for Anger:

> Formally, *Scorpio Rising*'s precursor (by a few years at most) was Bruce Conner's second film, *Cosmic Ray*. Whether or not Anger had seen the film is hardly relevant here, as I can hardly believe it had a direct influence upon him. Nevertheless, Conner should be credited as the first film-maker to employ ironically a popular song as the structural unit in a collage film. The title of his film is a pun, referring both to Ray Charles, whose song "Tell me what I say" forms the sound track of the film, as well as atomic particles from outer space. Conner intercut material which is primarily the irrelevant dance of a naked woman, which he photographed himself, with stock shots from old war films, advertisements, a western, a Mickey Mouse cartoon, etc., ridiculing warfare as a sexual sublimation. The structure of the ideas evoked by Conner's collage is straightforward; unlike Anger's film, there is little room for ambiguity in *Cosmic Ray*.[89]

Sitney sees—and hears—a parallel and disjuncture in each artist's use of music in their films. I am not sure there is actually much ambiguity in Anger's *Scorpio Rising* to the contemporary viewer or whether that ambiguity existed for the initial viewer. For Sitney, it appears that Conner is the more successful artist—that although both Anger and Conner used popular music and found footage, the "ambiguity" Sitney sees in Anger makes *Scorpio Rising* less successful.

Conner's use of music in his films has recently received more scholarly attention. Conner, not nominally grouped within Pop, occasionally has some crossover with the movement.[90] David Byrne describes Conner's layering of music and particularly

imagery as an early form of "sampling."[91] Conner's *COSMIC RAY*, with its direct use of music, its reliance upon the layering of sound and image, departs from Warhol's *Sleep*: it is much shorter and made with a fixed song and image relationship.[92] Another work by Connor, *BREAKAWAY* (1966), also layers music and image; another precursor to the music video as we know it, and a different form of jukebox modernism.[93] Due to Conner's specific and affixed use of music, it is somewhat "easier" to treat those music choices with signification; neither the song nor the image changes in viewing.[94] Diedrich Diederichsen argues that Conner's song choice in *COSMIC RAY* adds further social and political meaning to the work: "The song is a product of the culture industry as well as the absolute opposite, the product of a social community in the grip of historical experiences: the African American community on the eve of the civil rights era."[95] While Conner combined image and song in a specific assembled relationship, Warhol—well versed and aware of how popular radio worked—chose a random yet "known" soundtrack for *Sleep*.

While it is lamentable that Warhol's soundtrack is now "lost," the songs that accompanied *Sleep* can be imagined since they were "selected" from the Top 40 available on January 17, 1964. Ironically, Warhol would later use *Sleep* as a kind of visual noise for performances by the Velvet Underground and the Exploding Plastic Inevitable.[96] *Sleep*, a silent movie that once came with a soundtrack, became a form of visual static for a sensory overloaded experience.

Notes

1 See Thomas Crow, *The Long March of Pop: Art, Music, and Design 1930–1995* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 280–283. Crow explores the rivalry of Warhol and Dylan.

2 See Margery King's essay "Starstruck: Andy Warhol's Marilyn and Elvis," *Carnegie Magazine* 62 (July–August 1995), 10–14 for a discussion of Warhol's collecting activities as a fan of film and music stars.

3 Email correspondence with the author and Matt Wrbican, February 3, 2011. Matt Wrbican, Chief Archivist at the Andy Warhol Museum, stated that Warhol changed the dial at the first screening. Callie Angell contends that the first two nights at the Gramercy Arts Theater, a transistor radio tuned to a pop music station was played at low volume during the screening. Callie Angell, *The Films of Andy Warhol: Part Two, Andy Warhol Film Project* (New York: Whitney Museum of Art, March 30–April 24, 1994), 11.

4 Email correspondence with the author and Matt Wrbican, February 3, 2011. Art critic David Bourdon stated *Sleep* debuted with two transistor radios playing simultaneously "tuned to different rock stations." David Bourdon, "Warhol as Filmmaker," *Art in America* 59 (May/June 1974), 50.

5 Dave McAleer, *The Book of Hit Singles, Top 20 Charts from 1954 to the Present Day* (San Francisco: Backbeat Books, 2001), 91.

6 Warhol would later use pop music to create atmosphere in *Poor Little Rich Girl* (1965). Callie Angell eloquently described Warhol's use of music for effects with the Everly Brothers' music in relation to Edie Sedgwick's performance: "In this first reel, the blurred figure of Edie, silent in her morning preparations and accompanied by the nostalgic sounds of an Everly Brothers album, becomes increasingly alluring yet ungraspable, setting up a tension that is resolved in the second, in-focus reel, in which a clearly visible Edie tries on clothes and talks to the off-screen Chuck Wein." Callie Angell, "Andy Warhol, Filmmaker," *The Andy Warhol Museum* (New York: Distributed Art Publishers, 1994), 132–133. As Angell relates, Warhol counts on the already less popular Everly Brothers to create a less dynamic effect with her performance. Warhol plans his use of a soundtrack according to the effect he wants to create.

7 Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, *POPism*: *The Warhol Sixties* (New York: Harcourt, 1980), 8.

8 Angell, *The Films of Andy Warhol*, 9. Later, screenings were slowed down to be shown at 18 fps. Roy Grundmann, *Andy Warhol's Blow Job* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003), 5.
9 Branden W. Joseph, "The Play of Repetition: Andy Warhol's *Sleep*." *Grey Room* no. 19 (Spring, 2005), 28.
10 Joseph, "The Play of Repetition," 28.
11 Ruth Hirschman, "Pop Goes the Artist," Transcription of KPFK radio broadcast, published in *Annual Annual*, 1965, The Pacifica Foundation, Berkeley, CA, republished in *I'll Be Your Mirror: The Selected Andy Warhol Interviews, 1962–1987*, edited by Kenneth Goldsmith (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2004), 42.
12 Joseph, "The Play of Repetition," 23.
13 Ibid., 25.
14 Henry Geldzahler, "Some Notes on *Sleep*," reprinted in *Film Culture Reader*, ed. P. Adams Sitney (New York: Cooper Square Press, 2000), 300–301.
15 Joseph, "The Play of Repetition," 29–33.
16 Ibid., 42.
17 Joseph describes the band and its music in Branden W. Joseph, "No More Apologies: Pop Art and Pop Music, CA. 1963," *Warhol Live*, edited by Stéphane Aquin (New York/Montreal: Prestel, 2008), 122.
18 Simon Frith provides a brief overview of payola (record companies paying deejays to play records on the radio) before it was outlawed in 1960. Simon Frith, *Sound Effects: Youth Leisure, and the Politics of Rock 'n' Roll*. (New York: Pantheon, 1981), 117–122. Furthermore, playlists were dictated by sales figures, other radio stations' playlists, *Billboard* weekly charts, radio consultants, and, lastly, listener requests. Lhamon cites Todd Storz's New Orleans radio stations as initiating "Top 40" radio in 1955. W.T. Lhamon, *Deliberate Speed: The Origins of a Cultural Style in the American 1950s* (Washington: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1990), 24.
19 Frith, *Sound Effects*, 120–121.
20 Ibid.
21 Lhamon, *Deliberate Speed*, 24.
22 Ibid.
23 Ibid.
24 Warhol and Hackett, *POPism*, 46.
25 Angell, *The Films of Andy Warhol*, 11.
26 McAleer, *The Book of Hit Singles*, 89–91.
27 Warhol and Hackett, *POPism*, 82–83.
28 Hirschman, "Pop Goes the Artist," 41.
29 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid., 42.
32 Ibid., 41.
33 Ibid., 45.
34 Ibid., 45–46.
35 Ibid., 42.
36 Ibid.
37 Hirschman asks Warhol about Cage: "But you don't feel that he's a romantic, do you?" to which Warhol replies singularly: "No." Hirschman, "Pop Goes the Artist," 43.
38 John Giorno, *You Got to Burn to Shine* (New York: High Risk Books, 1994), 129.
39 David E. James, "Rock 'n' Film: Generic Permutations in Three Feature Films from 1964" *Grey Room* 49 (Fall 2012): 6–31, 7. The film was then shut down by the Los Angeles police department. After this censorship, as R. Serge Denisoff and William D. Romanoski wrote, "*Scorpio Rising* became an influential underground classic. The film made a number of sporadic appearances on college campuses and in film societies and then resurfaced for a run in New York City in 1966." R. Serge Denisoff and William D. Romanoski, *Risky Business: Rock in Film* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1991), 168. It is possible Giorno and Warhol saw the film during a "sporadic appearance."

40 Juan A. Suárez, *Bike Boys, Drag Queens, and Superstars: Avant-Garde, Mass Culture, and Gay Identities in the 1960s Underground Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press: 1996), 117.
41 David E. James, "Rock 'n' Film, 7.
42 Dave McAleer, *The Book of Hit Singles*, 87.
43 Suárez, *Bike Boys, Drag Queens, and Superstars*, 117–118.
44 Ibid., 117.
45 Ibid.
46 Ibid., 163.
47 Suárez refers to this as "the mobility of popular meanings" and Anger's film as exemplifying it in his "use of pop love songs." Suárez, *Bike Boys, Drag Queens, and Superstars*, 172.
48 Cécile Whiting briefly relates how Anger used popular music in another film, *Kustom Kar Kommandos* (1965) beyond its supposed intentions: "When the Paris Sisters croon, 'I want a boy to call my own' just as the camera lens pauses on the boy's shapely buttocks, the teenager emerges as the object of desire—for the Paris Sisters perhaps, but also, given the boy's provocative pose, for a presumed male viewer, a member of the kustom kar subculture." Cécile Whiting, *Pop L.A.: Art and the City in the 1960s* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008), 85–86.
49 Giorno, *You Got to Burn to Shine*, 133. Linda Nochlin's "Sex Is So Abstract: The Nudes of Andy Warhol," reckons with Warhol's treatment of the (mainly) male nude throughout his career and questions Warhol's claims that "sex is so abstract" in those works. The exhibition catalogue essay appears in *Andy Warhol Nudes*, ed. John Cheim (New York: The Overlook Press, 1995).
50 Joseph, "The Play of Repetition," 30. Additionally, Suárez argues that Warhol's early films, including *Sleep*, "disclose a queer materiality" in how their amphetamine use influenced Warhol's work in the early 1960s. Suárez, "Warhol's 1960s' Films, Amphetamine, and Queer Materiality," *Criticism* 56, no. 3 (Summer 2014), 629.
51 David E. James, *Allegories of Cinema: American Film in the Sixties* (Princeton University Press, 1989), 153–154.
52 James, *Allegories of Cinema*, 154–155.
53 Ibid., 155.
54 Carel Rowe, *The Baudelairean Cinema: A Trend within the American Avant-Garde* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), 9.
55 Susan Sontag, "Notes on 'Camp'" in *Against Interpretation and Other Essays* (New York: Picador, 1966). See also Philip Core, *Camp: The Lie That Tells the Truth* (New York: Putnam, 1984), for another attempt to define camp through a dictionary-like mode.
56 Suárez, *Bike Boys, Drag Queens, and Superstars*, xvii. In a different book, Suárez states, "Camp allows for the expression of queer desire, while modernism is most often used in the expression of memory and dreamlike states." Suárez, *Pop Modernism: Noise and the Reinvention of the Everyday* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 195. See also Sasha Torres, "The Caped Crusader of Camp: Pop, Camp, and the *Batman* Television Series," in *Pop Out: Queer Warhol*, ed. Jennifer Doyle, Jonathan Flatley, and José Esteban Muñoz (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), for analysis of camp and gay identity in Warhol's work.
57 Suárez, *Bike Boys, Drag Queens, and Superstars*, xvii.
58 Susan Sontag, "Jack Smith's *Flaming Creatures*" (1964) republished in *Against Interpretation*, 231.
59 Ed Halter, "Pop and Cinema: Three Tendencies," in *International Pop* (New York: D.A.P. Press, 2015), 190.
60 Andrew Ross points towards a contemporary application of camp, born of Pop but also responding to contemporary popular culture. Andrew Ross, *No Respect: Intellectuals & Popular Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 139.
61 Henry Geldzahler, "Some Notes on *Sleep*," 300.
62 Susan Sontag, "Notes on Camp," *Against Interpretation*, 275. Cécile Whiting discusses the links between camp and Pop art in the early 1960s and its relation to Warhol in her book, *A Taste for Pop: Pop Art, Gender, and Consumer Culture*, and his troubling of

the "borders of culture." Whiting writes, "When associated with either a Camp or Pop aesthetic in the popular press, Warhol could not represent a continuation of the modernist concerns of the 1950s nor a reassertion of that era's cultural order and hierarchies of taste." Whiting, *A Taste for Pop: Pop Art, Gender, and Consumer Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 180–181.

63 Thomas Meehan, "Not Good Taste, Not Bad Taste—It's 'Camp,'" *New York Times Magazine* (March 21, 1965), 30. Meehan includes *Sleep* as "the most famous of the Underground movies" and as "merely eight hours of film of a man sleeping" (113). Meehan also describes *Scorpio Rising* as one of "recent Camp favorites" (113).

64 Douglas Crimp, "*Our Kind of Movie*" (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012), 133.

65 Crimp, "*Our Kind of Movie*," 135.

66 Ibid.

67 Joseph notes the eroticism present in *Sleep* as relating "the visual erotics suffusing all of Warholean cinema." Joseph, "The Play of Repetition," 26–27. Joseph names Giorno, "Warhol's then current love interest" (27). Victor Bockris describes *Sleep* as "Ten years later Andy would make a film called *Sleep* about staying up all night to watch his boyfriend sleep." Victor Bockris, *The Life and Death of Andy Warhol* (New York: Bantam, 1989), 76. Arthur Danto calls *Sleep* "a gift of sorts to his boyfriend of the time, John Giorno, a poet" to make him a star. Arthur C. Danto, *Andy Warhol* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 75. Suárez also argues that *Sleep*'s production was indebted to Warhol's use of amphetamines and that scholars' neglect of acknowledgment of drug use in the Factory was also related to a distancing from the queer subculture. Juan A. Suárez, "Warhol's 1960s' Films," 627. Elisa Glick, in *Materializing Queer Desire: Oscar Wilde to Andy Warhol* (Albany: State University of New York, 2009), includes Warhol in her study as a form of "Pop dandyism" (137). She describes Warhol's films (including *Sleep*) as "Like the other minimalist works from this era—films such as *Sleep* and *Couch—Blow Job* demonstrates Warhol's insight about the seductive power of frozen and reified forms of desire" (148). Glick relates this eroticism to temporality and a lingering gaze and links his films' use of the concept to his earlier drawings. Yet, the eroticism of *Sleep* is still discounted, such as in Tony Scherman and David Dalton's *Pop: The Genius of Andy Warhol*. The authors cite Giorno's quote about abstraction and *Sleep*, but also write: "the movie carries very little sexual charge; Andy was not going to risk anything overtly homoerotic for his first venture into filmmaking." Tony Scherman and David Dalton, *Pop: The Genius of Andy Warhol* (New York: HarperCollins, 2009), 180.

68 Glick, *Materializing Queer Desire*, 135. Glick counters the asexual and affectless or unemotional persona often assigned to Warhol. Glick cites Gregory Battock's "The Andy Warhol Generation," *Other Scenes* 4, no. 9 (1970), n.p. and a 2004 Warhol Museum exhibition. John Wilcock's *The Autobiography and Sex Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Trela Media, 2010) also counters such descriptions of Warhol. See also Gavin Butt, *Between You and Me: Queer Disclosures in the New York Art World, 1948–1963* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 106–135.

69 John Giorno, *You Got to Burn to Shine*, 123. Giorno describes in detail their sexual relationship (132 and 143–145).

70 Douglas Crimp, "*Our Kind of Movie*," 79.

71 Sontag, "Notes on 'Camp,'" 292.

72 Geldzahler, "Andy Warhol," *Art International* 8 (April 25, 1964), 35.

73 John Giorno, "A Collective Portrait of Andy Warhol," in *Andy Warhol: A Retrospective*, ed. Kynaston McShine (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1989), 436. Giorno repeats this story in *You Got to Burn to Shine*, 129–131. I agree with Branden Joseph's assessment that to read *Sleep* as solely linked to Warhol's looking is incorrect: "Despite the importance of such scopic investment, any attempt to describe *Sleep* as a mere extension of Warhol's personality or subjectivity, to see it as a faithful record of his own voyeuristic or desirous gaze, proves far too reductive." Joseph, "The Play of Repetition," 27. However, while it is reductive to read *only* desire or voyeuristic pleasure into *Sleep*, often that element is ignored and needs to be addressed in Warhol scholarship.

74 John Giorno, "A Collective Portrait of Andy Warhol," 436.

75 Stephen Koch, *Stargazer* (New York: Praeger, 1973), 18.

76 Koch, *Stargazer*, 41.
77 Joseph, "The Play of Repetition," 35. Joseph later also relates the final shot of *Sleep* to Warhol's 1955 James Dean drawing, an image also mixed with death, after Dean's death from a car crash (37). Furthermore, Wayne Koestenbaum relates this motionlessness to paralysis and even death: "*Sleep* is a wake" and Giorno's body becomes a stand in for Warhol's late father. Wayne Koestenbaum, *Andy Warhol* (Penguin: New York, 2001), 26.
78 Stephen Koch, *Stargazer*, 135. Joseph cites this quote in agreement with Koch as well as other art historical references. Joseph, "The Play of Repetition," 35.
79 Bourdon also links the representation of the sleeping body to an erotic looking, describing "Warhol surely must have delighted in the leisurely pleasure of gazing unashamedly at his beautiful dreamer, so passive and vulnerable." David Bourdon, *Warhol* (New York: Abrams, 1989), 167.
80 Wayne Koestenbaum, *Andy Warhol*, 25.
81 Joseph, "The Play of Repetition," 44.
82 Prolonged gazes relate to many of Warhol's early films, but *Blow Job* offers an important comparison within the artist's oeuvre. *Blow Job* did not come with a soundtrack. In some ways, the lack of music or sound may (to some degree) de-sexualize the portrayed action. *Blow Job*, explicitly through its title related to a sexual act, has over time changed the presumptive gender of off-screen partner of the sexual act. Peter Gidal, *Andy Warhol: Blow Job* (London: Afterall Books, 2008), 7. Grundmann's *Andy Warhol's Blow Job* offers an important look at the film "as being about gay sex and gay identity without dismissing other contexts through which a reading of the film may proceed" (4).
83 Crimp, "*Our Kind of Movie*," 103. Crimp relates this to Smith's mentorship of Warhol and Warhol's later screenings of *Chelsea Girls*.
84 David E. James, "Amateurs in the Industry Town: Stan Brakhage and Andy Warhol in Los Angeles," *Grey Room* no. 12 (Summer, 2003), 84.
85 Suárez, *Bike Boys, Drag Queens, and Superstars*, 117.
86 Ibid., 126.
87 Suárez argues use of popular music as one mode in which these avant-garde filmmakers used popular music in relation to gender as a means of an avant-garde filmmaking practice. Suárez, *Bike Boys, Drag Queens, and Superstars*, 126.
88 Another filmmaker and film that creates a precedent for a silent film with a radio soundtrack is Barbara Rubin's *Christmas on Earth* (1963), which was tuned to "whatever the viewer had playing on AM radio." Joseph Klarl, "Barbara Rubin, *Christmas on Earth*," *The Brooklyn Rail* (February 5, 2013), https://brooklynrail.org/2013/02/artseen/barbara-rubin-christmas-on-earth, accessed November 15, 2017.
89 P. Adams Sitney, *Visionary Film: The American Avant-Garde 1943–2000* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 108–109. Sitney does not use the capitalized title as is commonly used.
90 Laura Hoptman discusses Conner's placement within Pop and Nouveau Réalisme within the context of Conner's assemblages. Laura Hoptman, "Beyond Compare: Bruce Conner's Assemblage Moment, 1958–1964," in *Bruce Conner: It's All True*, ed. Rudolf Frieling and Gary Garrels (San Francisco: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art in association with University of California Press, 2016), 275–283.
91 David Byrne, "Visual Sampler 1.0," in *Bruce Conner: It's All True*, ed. Rudolf Frieling and Gary Garrels (San Francisco: San Francisco Museum of Modern art in association with the University of California Press, 2016), 193.
92 Kevin Hatch describes the editing process of *COSMIC RAY*. Kevin Hatch, *Looking for Bruce Conner* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2012), 131–138. Furthermore, Hatch writes, "Conner edited the film with both the music and its performer in mind; as he later noted, 'I felt that I was, in a way, presenting the eyes for Ray Charles, who is a blind musician … I was supplying his vision'" (132). Additionally, Hatch places Conner's films *COSMIC RAY* and *BREAKAWAY* in the context of underground cinema and compares Jack Smith's *Flaming Creatures* and Anger's *Scorpio Rising*. Hatch hears Smith and Anger's use of music as "ironic" and he argues that, "In Conner's films, the sound track magnifies the unresolved issues present in *both* audio and visual tracks" (145). Author's italics.

93 For a brief overview and partial viewing of *BREAKAWAY*, visit the Los Angeles Museum of Contemporary Art's video archive, www.youtube.com/watch?v=5CHtEASlzG8, accessed July 31, 2017. Of particular note is Toni Basil's description of her collaboration with Conner for the film.

94 This is complicated by Conner's later revision of *COSMIC RAY*, *THREE SCREEN RAY* (2006).

95 Diedrich Diederichsen, "Psychedelic/Realist: Bruce Conner and Music," in *Bruce Conner: It's All True*, ed. Rudolf Frieling and Gary Garrels (San Francisco: San Francisco Museum of Modern art in association with the University of California Press, 2016), 350.

96 Angell states "nearly all of Warhol's films" could be seen at EPI performances. Angell, "Andy Warhol, Filmmaker," 134. Warhol described the performances: "Inside, the Velvets played so loud and crazy I couldn't even begin to guess the decibels, and there were images projected everywhere, one on top of the other. I'd usually watch from the balcony or take my turn at the projectors, slipping different-colored gelatin slides over the lenses and turning movies like *Harlot*, *The Shoplifter*, *Couch*, *Banana*, *Blow Job*, *Sleep*, *Empire*, *Kiss*, *Whips*, *Face*, *Camp*, *Eat* into all different colors." Warhol and Hackett, *POPism*, 204. David James further relates these works to later attempts to make avant-garde films into sculpture, a kind of commodity that could be exhibited in museums and galleries. James discusses "Warhol's blowups of frames from *Sleep* on plexiglass" with Paul Sharits and Tony Conrad. David E. James, *Allegories of Cinema*, 272–273. According to the Andy Warhol catalogue raisonné, such silkscreens were shown at the ICA, Boston in 1966. Georg Frei and Neil Printz, eds., *The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné, Paintings and Sculptures 1964–1969: Vol. 2B* (New York: Phaidon, 2004), 187.

5 Sounding Pop Art
An Exhibition History

In previous chapters, jukebox modernism has been used to reconsider various artists and Pop works. In this final chapter, I consider how a series of Pop exhibitions further expands the canon of Pop art and how music was linked with the movement's expansion. The use of music in these exhibitions expands our understanding of Pop's exhibition history (and the movement's history itself). I consider the influence of jukebox modernism beginning with the Independent Group's *This Is Tomorrow*, held at London's Whitechapel Art Gallery in 1956, and through a select group of Pop exhibitions such as the Stedelijk Museum's 1962 *Dylaby* exhibition, Gerhard Richter and Konrad Lueg's *Living with Pop: A Demonstration for Capitalist Realism* (1963), and Yayoi Kusama's *Kusama's Peep Show* or *Endless Love Show* (1966). Raysse's *Raysse Beach*, part of the *Dylaby* exhibition, is emphasized due to its unique position "in between" Pop art. These exhibitions trace the varied and international potencies of Pop. The interdisciplinary nature of these exhibitions appears to have been a challenge to their contemporary critics, who often dismissed the music in Pop art in derogatory terms, as well as in subsequent art historians' treatment of music and Pop within the discipline.

Popular music was present at Pop art's first exhibition, the Independent Group's *This Is Tomorrow* exhibition. British Pop artists included a jukebox in the exhibition and announced music as an integral element in Pop art and its exhibitions. The exhibition's jukebox, rarely discussed in great depth in scholarship, relates to the silencing of Pop's art history, a muting of its jukebox modernism.[1] The exhibition's use of music transformed the gallery space and marks a foundational encounter missing in art historical scholarship. When the jukebox was not being ignored in scholarship, it was often denigrated in contemporary criticism of the exhibition. An anonymous critic, writing in *Apollo*, ended his or her fierce criticism of the exhibition by lingering on its sounds:

> May I add that quite ceaselessly a juke-box (that beloved tune creator sacred to the pin-table saloon) screams the poorest kind of popular contemporary music, punctuated by barbaric yawps and squeals which came, I believe, from a contraption bidding one "Speak" into a speaking-tube nearby. This ensured pandemonium.[2]

The critic, harsh throughout the review, saves the most pointed criticism for the use of music until the conclusion. Music in the form of the jukebox, and the sounds from the other contraption, are heard only as a disturbance to the reviewer. In contemporary criticism, popular music, much like other elements of mass culture in Pop art, is met

in coded terms of class transgressions (this collision of mass culture and elite culture ensured a tangling and disturbance of British hierarchies of class and culture).

Even in recent scholarship on *This Is Tomorrow*, scholars describe the jukebox as both a gathering and a divisive force. In the 2008 *Europop* exhibition catalogue, Walter Grasskamp wrote:

> Group Two's contribution became a real attraction for the general public, not least because of the jukebox, even if the visitors were predominantly young people from the working class immigrant quarter of the East End where the Whitechapel Art Gallery was situated, and not the sophisticated London art public.[3]

Grasskamp's later analysis reveals what was "coded" (and often not so coded) in contemporary British criticisms of popular music in terms of possible class transgressions within British culture during the period.[4] He also suggests Pop art—and popular music—brought people into the gallery space who might not otherwise have felt welcome in those spaces. Grasskamp only begins to consider how the jukebox transformed the gallery space itself in terms of bringing people within the space. Another scholar, Brian Wallis, mentions "children from the working-class neighborhood came in off the street to hang out by the jukebox."[5] The jukebox drew viewers into the gallery.

As we have seen in previous chapters, popular music was integral to the second generation of British Pop artists such as Peter Blake and Pauline Boty. In the television programme, *Pop Goes the Easel*, Pop art was introduced to the British with popular music vingettes. Artists such as Blake and Boty (along with Derek Boshier and Peter Phillips) were featured in different vignettes, at times with music. The film, directed by Ken Russell for the BBC series "Monitor" had its debut on March 25, 1962.[6] The film, both as an introduction to the British public of Pop art and its "display" of what constitutes the movement, adds to our understanding in this chapter of how Pop art was displayed—along with popular music. As Lisa Tickner describes, Russell filmed the artists in an attempt to make his film typify the art movement with its emphasis on mass culture.[7] Russell intended for the film to be a different kind of documentary about art: "Russell's ambition was not to make a film *about* Pop Art (or even, as he also put it, a film about popular culture with art as his excuse), but a 'Pop Art Film.'"[8] Russell edited the film to create for the viewer a sense of the art movement and featured scenes of the artists in a varying array of situations alongside other media: "His film had dream sequences and clips from westerns and Hollywood musicals; its tone was knowing and irreverent, its editing snappy, and its soundtrack packed with pop songs from Buddy Holly to Chubby Checker."[9] The film culminates with a dynamic party scene set to "Twist Around the Clock" (1961) and, as Tickner states, "The BBC provided the alcohol, everyone become rather merry—including the camera crew perched in the rafters—and the sequence is remarkable for its lack of dialogue and a joyous physicality that culminates in Boty's shimmying twist."[10] This ecstatic pop culmination is somewhat abated by the film's final moments; the film shifts from popular music to classical music.[11] The presentation of British Pop art to the public, while not in a traditional exhibition, did inhabit a different media space for Pop: television. *Pop Goes the Easel*, through Russell's presentation of the artists alongside music as well as film, created a new, and apt, vehicle for the movement to reach a larger public.

Additionally, in Pop's second generation another landmark exhibition, *Dylaby*, held at Amsterdam's Stedelijk Museum from August 30 to September 30, 1962, featured an international group of artists such as Niki de Saint Phalle, Jean Tinguely, Per Olof Ultvedt, Daniel Spoerri, Martial Raysse, and Robert Rauschenberg.[12] The museum's director and curator, Willem Sandberg, along with curator Ad Petersen, worked with the artists, but, mostly, they gave the artists control over the exhibition. The exhibition invited guests to interact with a series of installations.

Martial Raysse's *Raysse Beach* (1962) infused the gallery space with the party-like atmosphere of the beach (Figure 5.1). The installation included a children's inflatable pool, plastic flowers, inflatable beach toys such as swans, beach balls, and sharks, sand, neon signs, towels, mannequins dressed in various kinds of beachwear, and life-sized photographs of bathing-suit clad women taken from magazines.[13] Raysse emphasized the beach experience by adding lamps to create artificial sunlight and radiators to increase the heat.[14] Furthermore, Raysse included sound—in the form of popular music—with a jukebox that played American pop songs.[15] Within this international exhibition, music was included as an integral part of Pop, expanding its ramifications and challenging the traditional museum space.

The *Dylaby* exhibition itself is included in Bruce Altshuler's *Biennials and Beyond—Exhibitions that Made Art History (1962–2002)* suggesting the exhibition's importance. *Dylaby* earns its position as a pivotal exhibition because, according to Altshuler:

> "Dylaby" ("Dynamic Labyrinth") was set in a major museum known for its support of contemporary art and artists, and it thus exemplifies the increasing influence of art institutions over artistic activity. But it was also an artists' intervention, a project that disrupted both the physical and mental space of Amsterdam's Stedelijk Museum with a meandering path of participatory installations.[16]

Figure 5.1 Martial Raysse, *Raysse Beach* (1962), installation from the exhibition, "New Realism Exhibition, Paris, March 2007." Mixed media, 1962. Inv.: AM2008–187. Photo: Jean-Claude Planchet.

By this account, the *Dylaby* exhibition was exceptional due to its institutional support from the Stedelijk Museum, and its *disruption* of a museum experience. In contemporary criticism of the show, Gerrit Kouwenaar wrote that the show turned the "passive viewer into an active co-creator."[17] For example, the museum visitor could enter through two installations: Spoerri's, which forced the viewer to rely upon touch to navigate it, or Per Olof Utvedt's, a structure through which the viewer could climb. Some other examples of the installations include a second one by Spoerri, which featured furnishings turned at a 90-degree angle, and Niki de Saint Phalle's *Shooting Gallery*, where visitors shot bags of colored paint above an installation of prehistoric monsters. The visitor's experience would culminate in Tinguely's balloon-filled room.[18] In Raysse's installation, music was the "disruption" that shook the passive viewer into a participant.

Raysse Beach occupies a tenuous position in the Pop art canon: sometimes reproduced and rarely analyzed in Pop art surveys.[19] While seldom written about in detail in terms of its music, the installation used music (American music) to disrupt or enhance (depending on your viewpoint) how viewers interacted with it. Furthermore, it encouraged visitors to dance. *Raysse Beach* was not alone in this invitation to interact; many of the works in the *Dylaby* exhibition encouraged viewers to participate with the works, often in a playful manner.

Typically Raysse's works, and *Raysse Beach* in particular, are seen as responding to a French context; however, I place the work within an international and American context, particularly since *Raysse Beach* emerged in an international exhibition. While Raysse is from Nice, and the Côte d'Azur is often a featured locale of his works, the jukebox and its songs lend an American influence, as does the title "*Raysse Beach*" (never *Raysse Plage*).[20] In title and in materials, the work remains rooted in an American environment. Additionally, in the jukebox's early days, it was often seen as a vehicle of Americanization in Europe.[21] This is not to undermine the work's decidedly French Riviera attributes. Rather, perhaps *Raysse Beach* can have it both ways: be both French *and* American, as such distinctions became increasingly entangled in the postwar period.

Raysse Beach was first shown in a French context: an earlier, miniature version (without music) of *Raysse Beach* debuted in 1961 at the Festival of Nouveau Réalisme in Nice.[22] Rosemary O'Neill, in her book *Art and Visual Culture on the French Riviera, 1956–1971*, describes *Raysse Beach* as a "simulacra" and that "the environment represented, in Raysse's words, 'the ideal life, the eternal and beautiful dream, eternal youth, and eternal vacation.'"[23] O'Neill's work on L'École de Nice places Raysse's important and active role within that group of artists, including artists such as Yves Klein and Arman, and provides a foundational French context for Raysse's oeuvre. O'Neill argues that although Yves Klein is credited with L'École de Nice, Raysse was its "exemplar" through his "emphasis on the consumerism of the Mediterranean leisure industry and his use of 'solarized' color to capture the region's visual aesthetic."[24] While *Raysse Beach* appears to be a celebration of fun in the sun and leisure culture, Martial Raysse grew increasingly critical of both Pop art and its modes and incorporations of mass-produced consumer culture.

Emmelyn Butterfield-Rosen, in her essay "*La Vitrine/L'éponge*: The École de Nice and the 'Hygiene of Vision,'" further locates Raysse within a French artistic circle and artistic practice. She focuses on Raysse's "hygiene of vision" in the context of a

"trinity of Klein/Arman/Raysse" within L'École de Nice and Nouveau Réalisme. She describes emphasizes *Raysse Beach*'s importance to the artists:

> How might *Le Vide* and *Le Plein* look different if considered as components of a triplet rather than a couplet, in relation to *Raysse Beach*, once referred to by Pierre Restany as Raysse's own incarnation of *Le Plein*? *Raysse Beach*, a simulacral waterfront, stages a confrontation of organic and synthetic worlds. The installation, populated by mannequins in sunglasses, consisted of a jukebox, a neon sign, radiant heat lamps, blow-up beach balls, and plastic swans. Although this polychrome panoply was characterized by John Ashbery as a "terse homage to the pleasures of plastic," it was of course expressly built around the conceit of pleasurable immersion in the ocean and the natural world.[25]

Butterfield-Rosen gives Raysse primacy among the artists. Additionally, she firmly places *Raysse Beach* within a French context. According to Butterfield-Rosen, the installation relates closely to postwar French modernization:

> *Raysse Beach*, a portrait of postwar Nice in all her "purity of spirit," was a culminating point in the period of Raysse's career (1958–62) when he identified himself as a *docteur* or *ingenier de la vision* (doctor or engineer of vision), producing work under the provocative slogan Hygiène de la Vision (Hygiene of Vision). At the end of a decade in which consumption of personal and domestic hygiene products rose in France by 86 percent, Raysse developed a body of work that placed bathing and ablution, health and purity, the optimum maintenance of objects and persons, at its very core.[26]

The increasing influx of consumer culture—and Raysse's interest in "hygiene"—relates to the postwar modernization of France based upon cleanliness, which, as Kristin Ross has shown, was considered part of the Americanization of France.[27]

The American beach and French Riviera scenes were, maybe, not two entirely different places for Raysse. Perhaps Raysse's inclusion of American popular music—and the jukebox—situates *Raysse Beach* within two places at once. When the work is viewed in relation to English in the title, the beach could be located in different places than the French Riviera. The emphasis was on fun: brightly colored beach toys, smiling images of models in neon colors, and music made for dancing. This beach scene, familiar to the Côte d'Azur, was becoming typical of the American imagination of fun, too. Popular Hollywood movies such as *Gidget* (1959), *Gidget Goes to Hawaii* (1961), Elvis Presley's *Blue Hawaii* (1961), and *Where the Boys Are* (1960) promoted the American beach as *the* site of fun in the sun—and include pop soundtracks. Later, from 1963–1965, Beach Blanket movies would solidify the American presentation of California and a teenage beach culture.[28] The California sun would also become familiar to Raysse. The artist had gallery representation in the United States with the Dwan Gallery in Los Angeles.[29]

James Meyer, in his essay "The Art Gallery in an Era of Mobility," part of the exhibition catalogue *Los Angeles to New York: Dwan Gallery 1959–1971*, emphasizes the American legibility of Pop in Raysse's work:

> Far more than Arman, Tinguely, and Saint Phalle, the work of Martial Raysse, the last of the nouveaux réalistes Dwan represented, drew from the commercial imagery then being explored by American pop artists, and it was within the critical discourse of international pop that Raysse's practice was now received.[30]

Meyer points out that Raysse's first exhibition with the Dwan Gallery followed their first Pop exhibition, *My Country 'Tis of Thee*, which received negative criticism.[31] Raysse's exhibition also met with harsh criticism and in terms familiar to other negative Pop reviews of the period, questioning whether Pop was even art at all.[32]

In another work, *Soudain l'été dernier* (1963), Raysse used beach culture as his subject matter and, through his title, created ties to American popular culture. The work's title resonates with Tennessee Williams' play *Suddenly, Last Summer* and evokes the 1959 film starring Elizabeth Taylor, Katharine Hepburn, and Montgomery Clift. Raysse belies, with his work's brightly neon colored image, Williams' dark narrative of homophobia, cannibalism, and lobotomies. The emotional tone of Raysse's assemblage, with its smiling model with blocks of bright blue, green, orange, red, and purple divided into pieces and a beach blanket and hat that protrude into the viewer's space, does not bear much resemblance to that of the film's plot, in which Taylor's character, Catherine, witnesses a "terrible" event and her cousin's murder on a beach in Europe. Although the work does not have much visual relation to the Elizabeth Taylor melodrama, Raysse's title (the same title used when the film was released in France) imbues the work with possible darker undertones. The interchange between Raysse's work and the film's plot gives the work, typical of Raysse in this period, a sharper potential for criticism of leisure and beach culture, and, perhaps, of the American influence on both in French culture.

A month after the *Dylaby* exhibition, Raysse re-created *Raysse Beach* at the Alexander Iolas Gallery in New York City, November 12–25, 1962. The installation's American debut was met with tepid critical response by Donald Judd in *Arts Magazine*:

> "The Swimming Pool corresponds to sophisticated and expensive tastes and not to the ordinary needs of life." This is the stated purpose of a room with sand on the floor, a full rubber swimming pool, rubber seals, geese and balls, a jukebox, mannequins in bathing suits and life-sized photographs of girls, some of which are overpainted or have flowers and fruit attached. The purpose of this room, designated *Raysse Beach*, is not evident. Anything that Raysse has altered, such as the photographs, is corny. The rest looks like any unsophisticated and cheap backyard in Canarsie.[33]

Judd's review details the artist's failure to convey a cogent message in his use of materials. And, Judd places such criticism in American terms; the work looks "unsophisticated and cheap" and belongs in a Brooklyn neighborhood, which, in the 1960s, was considered primarily middle class. According to Judd, the work was not only bad, it was also decidedly American. For Judd, *Raysse Beach* was not an imagining of the bright French Riviera.

At the same time *Raysse Beach* was installed at the Iolas Gallery, Raysse was included in the *New Realists* exhibition at the Sidney Janis Gallery in New York City.[34] His work, *Supermarket, Hygiène de la Vision* (1961), was an assemblage based upon the displays of the French store Prisunic. The display case, made of twenty-eight compartments, was filled with toiletries aimed at the female consumer.[35] The *New Realists* show blurred the lines between Pop and nouveau réalisme and included Raysse, Arman, and Klein alongside American Pop artists such as Andy Warhol and James Rosenquist—the exhibition, effectively, "launched American 'Pop Art.'"[36] It is important to note that the *New Realists* show, similar to *Dylaby*, asserted, or perhaps hoped for, an international movement.

Another New Realist artist (and colleague of Raysse), Ben Vautier, had connections to Nice, but is rarely (if ever) qualified as a Pop artist. He is typically placed with

Fluxus and nouveau réalisme—defying the boundaries of categorization. In terms of Fluxus, Ben was inspired after seeing George Brecht perform to participate in the movement and to produce his own scores, "often closely related to music."[37] However, he used popular music in his works. In relation to Raysse and his use of popular music, and the change in gallery setting, he should be briefly discussed in this chapter. Ben's "Living Sculpture" series (1959–1962), a multidisciplinary work that incorporates pop music, challenged the boundaries of the museum space. In *Ben's Window* (1962/1992–93, Walker Art Center), the storefront features phrases in his handwriting such as "art," "drink Coca-Cola fresh," "we have had enough of it all," and "art is a dead story."[38] When the work was reproduced, Ben included new materials such as cassette tapes "Greatest Hits of 1962" and "Greatest Hits of 1963."[39] The addition of music from an earlier period creates a kind of stasis in the work musically, placing it within the musical context of the 1960s.

In the late 1950s, Ben also exhibited his paintings in his record store, Le magasin, in Nice, France.[40] While I do not claim Ben to be a Pop artist, his work, like Raysse's, shares (although to a lesser degree) some Pop symptoms when viewed through jukebox modernism. Le magasin, his record store, was more than a store—it was also a gallery and "nucleus of the art scene in Nice."[41] In the exhibition catalogue *Ben Vautier: Is Everything Art?* Andres Pardey describes Le magasin as:

> On the one hand, Ben's Le magasin was the founding site of the École de Nice and, on the other hand, a gallery for many befriended artists. The networking with friends, artists and visitors here virtually became an artistic act, an attitude that alludes to Ben's openness to new media.[42]

Ben exhibited his own work as well as other artists' work in a space open to experimentation in art, performance, happenings, and other events.[43] Le magasin, as both music store and gallery, became a different kind of site for collaboration.

At Raysse's 2014 retrospective at the Centre Georges Pompidou, his *Raysse Beach* once again invited museum visitors to dance. When I visited the exhibition on a June afternoon, I witnessed families with young children, teenagers, and older couples dancing in front of the work and its jukebox. The steady play of the Beach Boys evoked the California sun. The museum dates Raysse's installation as 1962–2007 allowing for the work to change and (perhaps) materials to be replaced. According to a list of the jukebox's songs from the Centre Pompidou-Metz in 2011, they were a range of singles from the early 1950s through the mid-to-late 1960s.[44] Although most of the songs listed were released in the mid-to-late 1950s, some songs were released and added to the work after the *Dylaby* exhibition.[45] Although the sand, inflatables, and other aspects of the work appear to have been updated for later incarnations, the songs, after the late 1960s, do not. This may suggest that at one point, Raysse was interested in updating the jukebox's singles, but he does not continue. Rather, the work becomes frozen in a 1960s context (in a similar mode as *Ben's Window*) and, while still inviting participation in a museum exhibition setting, turns out to be an experience tinged with nostalgia—through its popular music.[46] As the music remains static in the late 1960s, the works itself no longer evolves.

Raysse Beach, through its inclusion of popular music, disrupts the gallery space. Through a consideration of how the music operated (and still does) via the work and in the gallery space, jukebox modernism impacts our understanding of the work. By

considering Raysse's inclusion of pop music, we increase the international legibility of his work—which is lost when we ignore the work's pop sounds. *Raysse Beach*'s pop music allows for a vantage point that helps us to summarize the international components of *Raysse Beach* and the *Dylaby* exhibition. Both in title and in the use of American music, *Raysse Beach* asserts both French and American popular and mass culture, or, at the very least, the blurring of such boundaries. At the *Dylaby* exhibition, the other artists included incorporated play or interaction with their installations through other senses and experiences to herald international claims for a new kind of art. Raysse chose to use pop music to further the participatory aspect of the exhibition. *Raysse Beach*'s pop music invited museum visitors to play, to dance, and to have fun in the installation. By losing *Raysse Beach*'s pop sounds, we are in danger of losing such international claims.

A year later, Gerhard Richter and Konrad Lueg's international Pop exhibition, *Living with Pop: A Demonstration of Capitalist Realism*, included music as well. Richter and Lueg (known after as Konrad Fischer)'s well-known installation was held in a Düsseldorf furniture store (Möbelhaus Berges). The artists challenged the sound and the space of the exhibition. Visitors entered to see life-size sculptures of President John F. Kennedy and Alfred Schmela (an art dealer). Next, there was a kind of living room area, which included the artists, both dressed in a suit and tie, sitting on furniture placed on pedestals. Among the other items included in this room were common household elements such as cake, coffee, a television playing, pine air freshener, and flowers. There were other elements such as Joseph Beuys' clothes hanging on the wall.[47] Notably for jukebox modernism, it was "accompanied by dance music periodically interrupted by advertising slogans for furniture."[48] Additionally, eight paintings by the artists were hung throughout the store. The exhibition displayed furniture, the artists, and paintings as, equally, forms of commodity. Scholar Christine Mehring described the exhibition, via its subtitle:

> The subtitle, *Demonstration for Capitalist Realism*, unmistakably summoned the economic miracle, which had come in the form of food, furniture, and a new Western capitalist alliance. This was the experience of the lower middle class that appeared to be the subject of the performance, but, we ought to note, it was also that of the artists.[49]

The placement outside of the gallery setting and in a store, along with the other elements of the exhibition, further support the installation's suggestion of the West (and capitalism) and place the work in a lower middle-class experience. Mehring emphasizes the class of the artists as immediate in the performance. Music, and specifically dance music (as has been noted in numerous places), becomes part of this cipher of the West—and capitalism—as well as part of the exhibition's noise.[50]

Additionally, the exhibition invitation evoked other kinds of noise, prompting the guest by including a deflated balloon: "1. Blow up! Follow inscription! 2. Let it burst! Note sound! Pop!"[51] Here, again, sound (the play of the sound of popping and the word "pop," if not music in this instance) is included as an important—and introductory—element to Pop and this exhibition. In addition to the wordplay on "pop," the sound of a balloon popping is disruptive—surprising and not usually welcome. Sound, suggested in the exhibition's invitation, promises a different kind of exhibition experience—one outside of the traditional museum or gallery space.

Another exhibition on the edges of what might be considered Pop art is Yayoi Kusama's *Kusama's Peep Show* or *Endless Love Show* (1966).[52] The environment featured, as described in the 2000 Kusama monograph, "A mirrored hexagonal room with coloured lights that flashed in time to piped-in rock and roll, *Peep Show*, like its bawdy namesake, was experienced by viewers through slots located at eye level."[53] The viewer then saw one's own reflection repeated throughout the walls, among blinking lights and set to rock 'n' roll music.[54] In Kusama's own words, the lights were part of an audio-visual tandem, "Embedded in the ceiling were small red, white, blue, green, and yellow light bulbs programmed to blink incessantly in changing patterns as music played."[55] Scholar Midori Yamamura writes that when *Peep Show* debuted at the Richard Castellane Gallery, the music playing was the Beatles.[56] Another installation, *Driving Image* (1964 and 1966) also featured the Beatles' music. When exhibited in Essen, Germany, "the piece had been made all the more startling by the addition of a loud soundtrack of Beatles songs playing in the background."[57] Additionally, Kusama's *Love Forever* installation included Beatles music; the artist "proposed an 84-inch high, 112-inch-wide mirror-lined kaleidoscopic hexagonal room, where for the show's duration a tape of music by the Beatles would accompany flashing strobe lights covering the ceiling."[58] Kusama's mirror rooms, part of her larger project of self-obliteration, use music as one way to amplify the sensation of self-obliteration.[59]

Kusama's installations do not fit perfectly into the Pop art canon, but there are shared interests. Her obfuscation of categorization may also be part of why she has only recently been heralded.[60] Her installations such as *Peep Show*, through her use of popular music, create some connections to Pop art. Additionally, her use of lights (and the use of light and sound together) place her works such as *Infinity Mirror Room* (1965), by Yamamura's accounts, within psychedelic art: "Sound, flashing lights, projected images, and mirrors were all elements that became essential to Kusama's psychedelic art."[61] Kusama approached social change in her works through her use of music. Yamamura argues Kusama used music as one way to engage with youth culture against the U.S. involvement in Vietnam and to "connect her art with the youth engaged in that struggle. One solution for her was to introduce music by the Beatles, a group especially admired by peace-loving hippies."[62] Kusama's later work in the 1960s included music, such as the film *Self-Obliteration*, with Jud Yalkut, which featured music by Joe Jones and the Tonedeafs as a kind of soundtrack.[63] In 1968, her "Anatomic Explosions," featured naked dancers (with polka dots on their bodies) who "gyrated to rock 'n' roll music in front of public buildings like the New York Stock Exchange, the Statue of Liberty and the Alice in Wonderland Statue in Central Park until they were forced to stop by the police."[64] Kusama's work during the 1960s continued to use popular music as part of her larger project of self-obliteration in addition to representing psychedelic culture and social change.

Kusama's work in this period has been predominantly understood in scholarship in relation to art in the United States and Europe. The *Yayoi Kusama Retrospective* at the Center for International Contemporary (1989–1990), places Kusama's work within a Japanese context and beyond a categorization in terms of style.[65] In her essay in the catalogue, Alexandra Munroe quite effectively states: "Ultimately, Kusama is best understood as an original, independent artist whose work prefigures some and relates to several styles, but resists fitting in any one modernist movement."[66] Kusama's uniqueness beyond art movements or any one category is a common thread in scholarship on the artist.

Kusama, often discussed in parallel to Pop because of such practices as her accumulations,[67] is linked regularly with Andy Warhol, particularly his Exploding Plastic Inevitable. In both *Kusama's Peep Show* and Exploding Plastic Inevitable, music was part of a kinetic, multisensory experience. While Kusama's work was shown in a traditional gallery setting, the Exploding Plastic Inevitable debuted at the Dom, a Polish meeting hall in New York City rented during April 1966 by Warhol[68] (Figure 5.2).

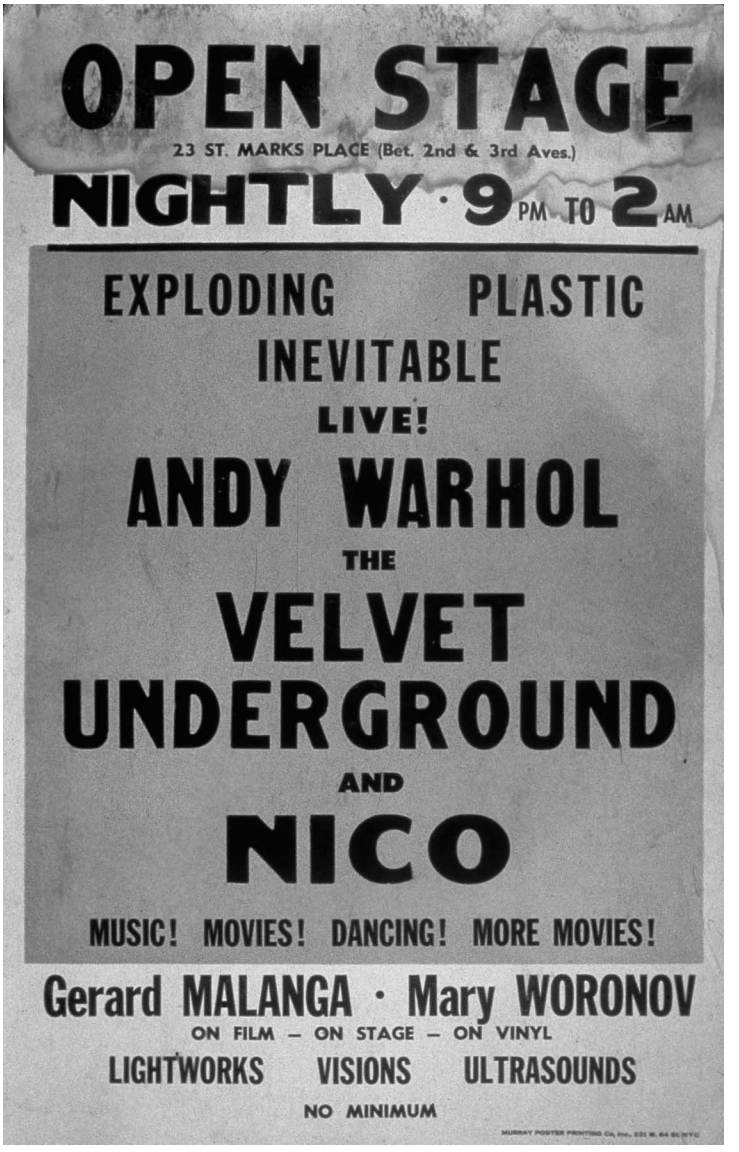

Figure 5.2 Poster for a concert with Andy Warhol, the Velvet Underground and Nico, at St. Mark's Place (Manhattan): Exploding Plastic Inevitable Live!

Source: © 2017 The Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts, Inc./Licensed by Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Image courtesy of Bridgeman Images.

In both instances, the meaning of what constitutes an exhibition space, including presenting art as relating to a sex show and/or as a party—as some other kind of experience than just looking at art—is emphasized.

As I discussed in Chapter 4 regarding Andy Warhol's *Sleep*, the Exploding Plastic Inevitable featured images from Warhol's films along with the music, performances, and an aural and visual sensory overload. Warhol's production of a roving art party featured the Velvet Underground, screenings of Warhol's earlier films, light shows, and dance performances by Gerard Malanga, Mary Woronov, and Ingrid Superstar that incorporated sadomasochism.[69] Branden W. Joseph explains the EPI experience as:

> At the height of its development, the Exploding Plastic Inevitable included three to five film projectors, often showing different reels of the same film simultaneously; a similar number of slide projectors, moveable by hand so that their images swept the auditorium; four variable-speed strobe lights; three moving spots with an assortment of colored gels; several pistol lights; a mirror ball hung from the ceiling and another on the floor; as many as three loudspeakers blaring different pop records at once; one to two sets by the Velvet Underground and Nico; and the dancing of Gerard Malanga and Mary Woronov or Ingrid Superstar, complete with props and lights that projected their shadows high on the wall.[70]

In addition to the Velvet Underground and other non-musical sounds occurring at the Exploding Plastic Inevitable's performances, multiple pop records were played—creating a cacophony of both sight and sound. Or, as Joseph states, "The cumulative effect was one of disruptive multiplicity and layering, as the Velvet Underground, Nico, and other of Warhol's superstars appeared amidst the barrage of sounds, lights, images, and performance."[71] Repetition goes beyond its use in Pop and popular music towards overabundance.[72] The "multiplicity and layering" results in the Exploding Plastic Inevitable being considered part of Warhol's expanded cinema (along with the use of his films).

The Velvet Underground fit a different musical category than Kusama's use of Beatles music or Raysse's jukebox hits. Whatever my defense of popular music as a form that can be used for other purposes beyond commercial by the artists in earlier chapters (albeit those artists were not always successful), the musical experience of the Exploding Plastic Inevitable was decidedly different—possibly at times aggressively so. At the Up-Tight (an earlier variation of EPI) performances, Barbara Rubin and Jonas Mekas would use lights, cameras, and language to confront the viewer.[73] Additionally, as Joseph states, the group surrounding Warhol—and performed in the EPI—consisted of "delinquents, drag queens, addicts, and hustlers … It was a group, however, that would later emerge within punk and a politicized gay subculture."[74] EPI included people not often recognized within 1960s popular music, and as Joseph argues, mainstream culture in the 1960s. Existing beyond the gallery and museum exhibition space, EPI performances translate a different mode of jukebox modernism. EPI serves to further consider this transition from Pop's jukebox modernism to its later possible applications within the realm of punk and may have other attributes with the later commodification and inclusion of the Velvet Underground into popular music.

The Velvet Underground's songs and music exist as both art and popular music. David E. James eloquently described the Velvet Underground's music as:

> At once pop and anti-pop, capable simultaneously of the loveliest melodies and extreme atonal drone, with Reed's vocals oscillating between speaking and singing, between poetry and music, their formal vanguardism corresponded to a moral vanguardism, a celebration of otherwise anathematized people, practices, and ways of life.[75]

The Velvet Underground, early in their career, were influenced by minimalist music more than popular music due to their atonal sound and John Cale's work with LaMonte Young.[76] The subject matter of their songs, such as "Heroin," also shifted their audience from the pop singers previously discussed in this book. John Cale, member of La Monte Young's Theater of Eternal Music, then the Primitives (with Tony Conrad, Lou Reed and Walter De Maria), and later the Velvet Underground, is one link of avant-garde music to Warhol's Pop. Atonal minimalism met rock 'n' roll in the Velvet Underground.[77] Cale, quoted in Victor Bockris' biography of Lou Reed, described the overstimulation of EPI and the band's experiences playing at the events, as well as how the group saw themselves in between La Monte Young's Minimalism and more popular forms of music:

> "I'd never seen a show like that," John Cale said. "You just ignored it and played. Lou and I had an almost religious fervor about what we were doing—like trying to figure ways to integrate some of La Monte Young's and Andy Warhol's conceptions into rock and roll. It was exciting because what Lou did and what I did worked. What he put into words and what I put into music and what the band put together, the combination of everything and the mentality involved in it, was stunning."[78]

Additionally, Cale's quote further supports how the Velvet Underground saw themselves as an integration of rock 'n' roll. This integration places their music within the purview of jukebox modernism, participating in the sonic popular. Cale, was a member of La Monte Young's Theater of Eternal Music along with Marion Zazeela, Tony Conrad, and Terry Riley. Cale, in his autobiography, links his earlier experiences with La Monte Young to the Velvet Underground:

> The members of the Dream Syndicate, motivated by a scientific and mystical fascination with sound, spent long hours in rehearsals learning to provide sustained meditative drones and chants. Their rigorous style served to discipline me and developed my knowledge of the just intonation system. I also learned to use my viola in a new amplified way which would lead to the powerful droning effect that is so strong in the first two Velvet Underground records.[79]

Victor Bockris evocatively described the experience of hearing and seeing the Exploding Plastic Inevitable, in addition to Joseph's description of the performances, further emphasizes the collision of sight and sound:

> The colored lights played across the whole ensemble, and the spinning mirrored ball sent slivers of light splintering in a hundred different directions. This created a flickering effect, which, combined with the loudest rock music ever heard at the

> time, disoriented the audience, with mixed-up messages of love, peace, hate, and revenge. Nico sang trancelike, fixated, aloof, her beauty as removed from conventional concepts of warmth as Alaska; Warhol's show filled the space with images as disturbing and abrasive as Reed's songs.[80]

The atonal qualities of the Velvet Underground and the not quite Pop of Warhol's films do place the Exploding Plastic Inevitable on the outskirts of "Pop" and perhaps jukebox modernism. However, there are connections and overlaps in terms of rock 'n' roll and elements of the Warhol's Pop production. Even within the avant-garde, there was a tenuous intersection with popular music. Edward Strickland, in his study of Minimalism, connects the Velvet Underground's music to both avant-garde and popular music:

> Along with their harmonic stasis the Velvets borrowed their relentless volume from Young's drones. In this, Cale's arrival with his electrically amplified instrument had been crucial, as had Conrad's introduction of contact mikes, which enabled Young to realize more adequately his construction, in avant-garde adaptation of rock producer Phil Spector, of a "wall of sound."[81]

Spector and his "wall of sound" are best known for pop hits by groups such as the Ronettes and the Righteous Brothers.[82] Some music historians describe Spector as raising the stakes of popular music (even in terms of art). Mick Brown, in his biography of the producer, describes Spector's wall of sound as:

> Marshalling armies of guitars and keyboards and brass and drums, celestial sleighbells, and voices keening like angels, he made records of a hitherto unconceived-of grandeur and majesty, elevating the themes of teenage love and heartache to the epic proportions of Wagnerian opera—"little symphonies for the kids," as he put it.[83]

By Strickland's description, popular music influenced the avant-garde (Spector impacts Young) and then both influence the Velvet Underground (who at various moments occupy places in both avant-garde and popular culture).

Warhol's work with the Exploding Plastic Inevitable emphasized an experience beyond the gallery setting—and is most commonly situated within Warhol's career as part of the expanded cinema movement, not Pop.[84] David Joselit described two modes of Warhol's work:

> Just as Warhol's EPI dramatized a model of *subjectivity* in which kinesthetic experience is always on the verge of transforming into mediated experience, his model of *objectivity* developed years earlier, established an analogous alternating current between the commodity as a representation and the commodity as a use-value.[85]

While Joselit bases his argument on how Warhol's work with EPI continues his use of media through the figure/ground relationship in Warhol's earlier paintings, this demarcation between subjective and objective experiences is important. Warhol's Exploding Plastic Inevitable, through a "kinesthetic experience," becomes a bodily one and occupies the subjective. The immersive environment, expanded cinema, and

the Velvet Underground's music work in tandem to further the bodily and sensorial experience.

Rehearing and re-seeing these exhibitions and performances expands our knowledge of Pop art's music and its applications to jukebox modernism. Additionally, we may also then expand how we view and hear works that may not have music playing. These works, too, participate in a disruption of quietude as a form of jukebox modernism in the gallery setting. Artworks playing music can bring into the gallery their beats or melodies and change its soundscape, but works that include the imagery of music—whether it be images of pop stars, words to a song, or other formal elements derived from musical culture—by bringing into the gallery space associations with music, also disrupt the quiet gallery as (most) museum visitors invariably hear such associations in their own minds.

A problem with today's re-presentation of Pop works in the museum setting is that most often the sonic aspects are quieted or nulled. There are exceptions (such as *Raysse Beach*'s inclusion in the Martial Raysse retrospective at the Centre Georges Pompidou in 2014). Additionally, some of the exhibitions challenged the museum setting by going beyond the confines of a museum or gallery (such as a furniture store or a meeting hall). The Independent Group embraced music as part of their manifesto and in the exhibition space. Richter and Lueg's use of music was part of the overall impact of moving beyond that traditional space meant for viewing. Kusama used popular music in her installations to create bodily responses to audio-visual effects. In the case of an individual Pop artwork such Peter Blake's *Got a Girl* at the Whitworth Gallery in Manchester, England, the record that originally played music is now glued on the collage, silencing the work. When we usually see Pop art in museums, unless in an exhibition focusing on the movement itself, it is rare to hear the works being shown. When the music is ignored (or silenced) in histories of Pop art, or in exhibitions, the ramifications of that sound—such as its disruptive quality, its unifying or inviting quality (its accessibility), and possible other modes of understanding of the movement—are also silenced. Pop art then remains silent, hung on white walls in museums.

By looking at these select exhibitions, we can also consider how Pop art and its exhibitions impacted the museum soundscape. In *The Soundscape of Modernity* Emily Thompson argues: "Like a landscape, a soundscape is simultaneously a physical environment and a way of perceiving the environment; it is both a world and a culture constructed to make sense of that world."[86] Music, in these installations and exhibitions, altered the soundscape. At times, popular music was used to convey meaning, to impact how the viewer perceived the installation within the gallery or museum. There were concurrent explorations of sound in the gallery space and, at times, beyond such spaces, with artists such as Carolee Schneemann's *Meat Joy* (1964) and its Motown soundtrack, Robert Rauschenberg and his work *Broadcast* (1959), which included three concealed radios as well as his later work with Experiments in Art and Technology (E.A.T.), Happenings, Fluxus events, group ZERO and its networks, and performance art in further studies.[87] Additionally, Yayoi Kusama's work, as previously discussed, fits some aspects of different movements, moving beyond categorization. Perhaps Pop encouraged these different uses of the museum and gallery space—and challenged notions of where art should be seen or heard—but, as the criteria for what constitutes Pop art comes under pressure, some of these movements have moments of overlap, and the use and meaning of the museum space as an

"exhibition space" were also challenged. The museum or gallery space itself was only at times sustainable for the jukebox modernist strains of art in the 1960s.

In conclusion, a reconsideration of Pop art's exhibition history allows for new interpretations of popular music in art in the 1960s and for the inclusion of other missed moments in art history. Pop survey exhibitions in 2015, *International Pop* and *The World Goes Pop*, also expanded the canon of Pop art. As their titles suggest, the expansion focused on an international context of the Pop movement and incorporated previously excluded artists—and countries—in the Pop canon.[88] Popular music, when heard alongside Pop art in these exhibitions, impacts the experience of the artworks and gallery space. Exhibitions such as *This Is Tomorrow*, *Dylaby*, *Living with Pop: A Demonstration of Capitalist Realism*, Warhol's Exploding Plastic Inevitable, and Kusama's installations created immersive environments, and music helped to enhance the visitor's experience. Pop art's exhibitions may help us to see or hear other parts of Pop art previously unacknowledged and point us toward new scholarship in exhibitions, artists, and new approaches to the movement and the omissions left unheard.

Notes

1 For example, the jukebox may receive a passing mention in scholarship and usually grouped as an example of the exhibition's use of popular culture (and its American influence) such as in Bradford Collins' *Pop Art: The Independent Group to Neo Pop, 1952–1990* (New York: Phaidon, 2012), 39. Thomas Crow, in *The Long March of Pop: Art, Music, and Design, 1930–1995* (Yale University Press, 2014), does not mention the jukebox.
2 "A Shaft from Apollo's Bow: This Is Tomorrow—Or Is It?" *Apollo* (September 1956): 89.
3 Walter Grasskamp, "The Second Discovery of America. British Pop Art, Viewed as an Exoticism," in *Europop*, ed. Tobia Bezzola and Franziska Lentzsch (Köln: DuMont, 2008), xiii. Group Two of *This Is Tomorrow* consisted of Richard Hamilton, John McHale, and John Voelcker (helped by Magda Cordell and Terry Hamilton).
4 I consider the jukebox briefly in regards to the importance of music (and its American connotations) to British Pop art in Mednicov, "How to Hear a Painting: Looking and Listening to Pop Art," in *Imago Musicae: International Yearbook of Musical Iconography*, vol. 27/28, ed. Anne Leonard and Tim Shephard (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2015), 222. Additionally, I describe class tensions in Pop art and *This Is Tomorrow* in my essay, "Jukebox Modernism: The Transatlantic Sight and Sound of Peter Blake's *Got a Girl* (1960–1961)," in *The Global Sixties in Sound and Vision: Media, Counterculture, Revolt*, ed. Timothy Scott Brown and Andrew Lison (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 219–223, as well as popular music as a charged point in British views on American mass culture and its impact on British culture. Additionally, I discuss the jukebox as a referencing different spaces such as a gallery and bar.
5 Brian Wallis, "Tomorrow and Tomorrow and Tomorrow: The Independent Group and Popular Culture," in *Modern Dreams: The Rise and Fall and Rise of Pop*, ed. Edward Leffingwell and Karen Marta (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1988), 9.
6 Lisa Tickner, "Pop Goes the Easel: Derek Boshier in 1962," in *Derek Boshier: Rethink/Re-Entry*, ed. Paul Gorman (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2015), 76. In another moment in which art and music intersected, Boshier did work for both the Clash and David Bowie. John A. Walker, "Over View," in *Derek Boshier: Rethink/Re-Entry*: 18.
7 Tickner, "Pop Goes the Easel: Derek Boshier in 1962," 76.
8 Ibid., 76. Tickner's use of italics.
9 Ibid., 81. Tickner also describes the pop soundtrack as "largely American" (77).
10 Ibid., 80. Additionally, Tickner points out that both Boty and Boshier went on to become dancers on the dance television show, *Ready Steady Go!*
11 Ibid., 80.

12 Bruce Altshuler, *Biennials and Beyond—Exhibitions That Made Art History: 1962–2002* (New York: Phaidon, 2013), 27. Earlier possible incarnations of the exhibition include a plan with Jean Tinguely and the Dutch Situationists to create a large labyrinth within the Stedelijk. This plan was never realized when the museum and city officials wanted to place "conditions" on the project. *Dylaby* means "Dynamic Labyrinth."
13 Mark Francis, ed. *Pop: Themes and Movements* (London: Phaidon, 2005), 106. Raysse's use of neon signs in *Raysse Beach* marks "the artist's first use of the medium."
14 Francis, *Pop*, 106.
15 The songs on the jukebox are, for the most part, American. There are few British exceptions such as Petula Clark ("Downtown" and "Kiss Me Goodbye") and The Troggs ("Love Is All Around"). These British exceptions were released *after* the Dylaby exhibition. Songs based upon e-mail correspondence with Emmanuel Martinez, Secrétaire general, Centre Pompidou-Metz, on April 7, 2011.
16 Altshuler, *Biennials and Beyond*, 27.
17 Gerrit Kouwenaar, "Public Is Co-Creator of Dylaby at the Stedelijk Museum," *Vrije Volk, 8 September 1962*, cited in Altshuler, *Biennials and Beyond*, 36.
18 Altshuler, *Biennials and Beyond*, 27.
19 *Raysse Beach* appears in Mark Francis, *Pop*, 106 and Collins, *Pop Art*, 314.
20 Raysse's later work, *Ici Plage, comme ici-bas* (2012) clearly uses plage in its title—and revisits the beach theme.
21 Adrian Horn, *Juke Box Britain: Americanisation and Youth Culture, 1945–60* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2009), 66–89.
22 Emmelyn Butterfield-Rosen, "*La Vitrine/L'éponge*: The École de Nice and the 'Hygiene of Vision,'" *New Realisms: 1957–1962: Object Strategies Between Readymade and Spectacle* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2010), 74.
23 Rosemary O'Neill, *Art and Visual Culture on the French Riviera, 1956–1971* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), 112–113.
24 O'Neill, *Art and Visual Culture*, 77.
25 Butterfield-Rosen, "*La Vitrine/L'éponge*," 65–66. Butterfield dates the works as 1961, but uses the Dylaby exhibition's *Raysse Beach*. She discusses the artists as a trinity (65).
26 Butterfield-Rosen, "*La Vitrine/L'éponge*," 66.
27 O'Neill, *Art and Visual Culture*, 95. For further discussion about French modernization and its relation to cleanliness, see Kristin Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies: Decolonization and the Reordering of French Culture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995).
28 Timothy Shary, *Teen Movies: American Youth on Screen* (New York: Wallflower, 2005), 31–33.
29 Raysse described Los Angeles as "un Côte d'Azur gigantesque," framing the American beach through the French experience in a French interview. O'Neill, *Art and Visual Culture*, 115–116. O'Neill cites the quote from Jean-Jacques Lévêque, "Martial Raysse: la beauté, c'est le mauvais gout." *Raysse Beach*, although not reproduced at the Dwan Gallery exhibition of his work in 1967, is discussed in detail in the exhibition's catalogue by Otto Hahn. Otto Hahn, "Martial Raysse or The Solar Obsession," *Martial Raysse*, exhibition catalogue (Los Angeles: Dwan Gallery, 1967), 6–10.
30 James Meyer, "The Art Gallery in an Era of Mobility," in *Los Angeles to New York: Dwan Gallery, 1959–1971*, ed. James Meyer with Paige Rozanksi and Virginia Dwan (Chicago/Washington: The University of Chicago Press and National Gallery of Art, 2016), 51.
31 Meyer, "The Art Gallery in an Era of Mobility," 53.
32 Ibid., 54. Meyer cites the critic Henry Seldis.
33 Donald Judd, "Martial Raysse" *Arts Magazine* 51 (January 1963), 50–51. O'Neill addresses Judd's criticism by stating that "Raysse countered the view that there was a clear cultural distinction in French and American taste by demonstrating that 'bad taste' and vulgar sensibilities were part of the contemporary culture of the Côte d'Azur, a region long associated with the international elite." O'Neill, *Art and Visual Culture*, 113. *Raysse Beach* was altered at the Iolas Gallery, framing "the space with photographs rather than also including wall-mounted assemblages of readymade pool products" (112).
34 *New Realists* took place at the Sidney Janis Gallery from October 31–December 1, 1962. Altshuler, *Biennials and Beyond*, 39.

35 O'Neill, *Art and Visual Culture*, 115.
36 Julia Robinson, "Before Attitudes Became Form—New Realisms: 1957–1962," *New Realisms: 1957–1962: Object Strategies Between Readymade and Spectacle* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2010), 24.
37 Margriet Schavemaker, "Ben's Text Art in Context," *Ben Vautier: Is Everything Art?* (Heidelberg: Kehrer, 2015), 18.
38 The Walker Center's wall label, www.walkerart.org/collections/artworks/bens-window, accessed May 17, 2017.
39 Email correspondence with Kayla Hagen, Assistant Registrar, Walker Art Center, May 30, 2017.
40 Andres Pardey, "Ben—Le magasin," in *Ben Vautier: Is Everything Art?* (Heidelberg: Kehrer, 2015), 32.
41 Pardey, "Ben—Le magasin," 32.
42 Ibid.
43 Ibid., 36.
44 Email correspondence with Emmanuel Martinez, Secrétaire general, Centre Pompidou-Metz, on April 7, 2011.
45 Some later examples include: The Duprees' "Have You Heard" (1963) and The Beach Boys' "God Only Knows" (1966). Email correspondence with Emmanuel Martinez, Secrétaire general, Centre Pompidou-Metz, on April 7, 2011.
46 *Raysse Beach* loses, with its nostalgic tendencies, the quantifiers of Raysse's hygiene of vision such as "the aura of the perennially fresh and new." Butterfield-Rosen, "*La Vitrine/L'éponge*: The École de Nice and the 'Hygiene of Vision,'" 69.
47 See Christine Mehring, "The Art of a Miracle: Toward a History of German Pop, 1955–72," in *Art of Two Germanys: Cold War Cultures*, ed. Stephanie Barron and Sabine Eckmann (New York: Abrams, 2009), 158, for a description of the exhibition.
48 Mehring, "The Art of a Miracle," 158. Bradford R. Collins also mentions music and suggests it was the reason the exhibition was shut down: "Guided tours by the artists, which included music, dancing and drinking, quickly got out of control, and in just over an hour and a half the event was closed." Collins, *Pop Art*, 337. Dietmar Elger, translated by Elizabeth M. Solaro, in *Gerhard Richter: A Life in Painting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), also cites dance music at the exhibition, after the exhibition's announcement, "dance music followed" and interrupted by guests being brought up to the store's fourth floor in the waiting area with the papier-mâché figures. At some point the music began again and was interrupted (63). The dance music continued during the second part of the exhibition (at 8:30 pm). This consisted of a tour from the fourth floor down to the basement: "It was accompanied by dance music from the loudspeakers, interrupted sporadically by announcements" (64–65). In addition to the interruptions of announcements, the music was also interspersed with advertisements. Collins describes the event as "closed" due to events getting out of control, while Elger relates—through Richter and Lueg's report—"By 9:30 p.m. the last visitor has left the building." One was escorted earlier because he removed most of his clothing, but the issues with music seem to be absent from Richter and Lueg's experience (65). Elger cites 122 visitors to the exhibition.
49 Mehring, "The Art of a Miracle," 158.
50 The exhibition's music, beyond "dance," is not further explained in the texts I have been able to find.
51 Mehring, "The Art of a Miracle," 161 fn27.
52 The installation is included in Mark Francis and Hal Foster's *Pop* survey. Francis, *Pop*, 148.
53 Laura Hoptman, "Survey, Yayoi Kusama: A Reckoning," in *Yayoi Kusama*, ed. Laura Hoptman, Akira Tatehara, and Udo Kultermann (London: Phaidon, 2000), 59.
54 Mark Francis described the installation as "Accompanied by loud pop music, this installation adapted the form of a peep show." Francis, *Pop*, 148.
55 Yayoi Kusama, *Infinity Net: The Autobiography of Yayoi Kusama* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 51.
56 Midori Yamamura, *Yayoi Kusama: Inventing the Singular* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2015), 135–137.

57 Udo Kultermann, "Focus: *Driving Image*, Essen, 1966," in *Yayoi Kusama*, ed. Laura Hoptman, Akira Tatehara, and Udo Kultermann (London: Phaidon, 2000), 88. A contemporary reviewer of the 1966 *Driving Image* exhibition noted in general terms the music (88). Kultermann cites the review as an "Anonymous editorial article in local Essen newspaper, April 1966" (92 fn7).
58 Yamamura, *Yayoi Kusama,* 137.
59 Jo Applin describes in general terms how Kusama's environments correlate to Kusama's description of her mental illness and self-obliteration. Jo Applin, "I'm Here, but Nothing: Yayoi Kusama's Environments," in *Yayoi Kusama*, ed. Frances Morris (New York: D.A.P. Publishers, 2012), 188–190.
60 See Laura Hoptman, "Survey, Yayoi Kusama: A Reckoning," in *Yayoi Kusama*, ed. Laura Hoptman, Akira Tatehara, and Udo Kultermann (London: Phaidon, 2000), 32–82, for an overview on the varied movements that Kusama fit—and then discarded—particularly during the sixties as well as consideration of Kusama's later career resurgence.
61 Yamamura, *Yayoi Kusama*, 135.
62 Ibid., 138.
63 Laura Hoptman, "Survey, Yayoi Kusama," 64.
64 Ibid., 64–67.
65 Karia, Bhupendra "Introduction," in *Yayoi Kusama: A Retrospective,* ed. Bhupendra Karia (New York: Center for International Contemporary Arts, 1989), 7.
66 Alexandra Munroe, "Obsession, Fantasy and Outrage: The Art of Yayoi Kusama," in *Yayoi Kusama: A Retrospective*, ed. Bhupendra Karia (New York: Center for International Contemporary Arts, 1989), 11. Munroe includes Pop within the list of possible artistic affiliations.
67 Lynn Zelevansky writes "Although Kusama did not conform to what have since become defining characteristics of pop art, in the early sixties the trend was interpreted more broadly than it is today, and her collages of airmail stickers and dollar bills, emblems of contemporary consumer culture, were often seen in that context." Lynn Zelevansky, "Driving Image: Yayoi Kusama in New York," in *Love Forever: Yayoi Kusama*, *1958–1968*, ed. Thomas Frick (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1998), 16. Zelevansky also includes Kusama's *Accumulations* in this relationship. However, Kusama did not see herself as part of the Pop art movement. Laura Hoptman describes Kusama as placing "herself with the Europeans, whose work she saw as opposed to pop." Laura Hoptman, "Down to Zero: Yayoi Kusama and the European 'New Tendency,'" in *Love Forever: Yayoi Kusama*, *1958–1968,* 50.
68 Greg Pierce, "All Here And Now And The Future…Then: Andy Warhol's Exploding Plastic Inevitable" in Andy *Warhol Live: Music and Dance in Andy Warhol's Work*, ed. Stéphane Aquin (Montreal Museum of Fine Arts/Prestel, 2008), 140. See also Branden W. Joseph, "'My Mind Split Open': Andy Warhol's Exploding Plastic Inevitable," *Grey Room* no. 8 (Summer 2002): 80–107. An earlier incarnation of the Exploding Plastic Inevitable was Warhol's Up-Tight, which had its debut on January 13, 1966—at a dinner for the New York Society for Clinical Psychiatry. Joseph, "'My Mind Split Open,'" 87.
69 Pierce, *Warhol Live: Music and Dance in Andy Warhol's Work*, 140.
70 Joseph, "'My Mind Split Open,'" 81.
71 Ibid., 81–82.
72 Joseph cites contemporary critics as admonishing the shows with words such as "decadence" and "perversion." Joseph, "'My Mind Split Open,'" 82.
73 Joseph, "'My Mind Split Open,'" 88.
74 Ibid., 97.
75 David E. James, "I'll Be Your Mirror Stage: Andy Warhol in the Cultural Imaginary," in *Pop Out: Queer Warhol*, ed. Jennifer Doyle, Jonathan Flatley, and José Esteban Muñoz (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 41. James also briefly addresses how the Velvet Underground's music becomes commodified through the record industry (41).
76 John Cale was a member of LaMonte Young's Theatre of Eternal Music further supporting the ties between Minimalist avant-garde music and the Velvet Underground. The Velvet Underground also understood popular music; Lou Reed worked for a popular music

record company after graduating from college. Rob Jovanovic, *Seeing the Light: Inside the Velvet Underground* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2010), 21–25.

77 Joseph describes this union as: "Within the canonical history of rock 'n' roll, this anecdote has become emblematic, not only of the meeting of Conrad, Reed, and Cale, but of the subsequent development of the Primitives into the Warlocks, the Falling Spikes, and, eventually, the Velvet Underground, with its melding of Reed's literate rock-and-roll sensibility and the minimalism of the Theatre of Eternal Music—'Heroin,' from the Velvet Underground's first album, with Cale's steady, just-intonation viola playing, being the primary example." Branden W. Joseph, *Beyond the Dream Syndicate: Tony Conrad and the Arts after Cage* (New York: Zone Books, 2008), 228.

78 Victor Bockris, *Transformer: The Lou Reed Story* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), 122.

79 John Cale and Victor Bockris, *What's Welsh for Zen: The Autobiography of John Cale* (New York: Bloomsbury, 1999), 60. He also states a difference between Young and Warhol, seeing Young's work as stronger (83).

80 Bockris, *Transformer*, 121.

81 Edward Strickland, *Minimalism: Origins* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 156.

82 Mick Brown, in his study of Spector, states Spector and his Wall of Sound included many Top 40 hits from 1961 to 1966. Mick Brown, *Tearing Down the Wall of Sound: The Rise and Fall of Phil Spector* (New York: Knopf, 2007), 3.

83 Brown, *Tearing Down the Wall of Sound,* 3.

84 Homay King, "Stroboscopic: Warhol and the Exploding Plastic Inevitable," *Criticism*, 56, No. 3 (Summer 2014), 457. See also Joseph, "'My Mind Split Open,'" 80–107. However, King also argues that the use of color and "these projected color gels flatten the depth of field, giving the film and live movement more of the look of Warhol's paintings" (459). Furthermore, Joseph relates the EPI to Warhol's earlier work relating to popular music (83).

85 David Joselit, "Yippie Pop: Abbie Hoffman, Andy Warhol, and Sixties Media Politics," *Grey Room*, no. 8 (Summer 2002), 74. Italics in original.

86 Emily Thompson, *The Soundscape of Modernity* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002), 1.

87 Schneemann's *Meat Joy* is included in Francis, *Pop*, 148.

88 A slightly earlier exhibition, *Pop Art in Europa* held at the Netherlands' Valkhof Museum (2012–2013) began the expansion within the context of European artists (many of whom were included in the later incarnations of international Pop art exhibitions). Frank van de Schoor and Willy Van den Bussche, eds., *Pop Art in Europe*, exhibition catalogue (Zwolle: WBooks, 2012).

Conclusion
Contemporary Jukebox Modernism

By recovering Pop art's jukebox modernism, I hope other muted histories of Pop art are re-heard and re-seen in art history. While there has always been an association between Pop art and popular music, jukebox modernism further elucidates the stakes by which different modes of identity can be explored and incorporated into Pop art history or "the canon." By adding music back into our understanding of Pop art, we also added emotion and feeling back into Pop. While my book focuses on Pop art of the 1960s, it is a project made possible by the continuing art and culture that remembers this connection, between the sonic and the visual, more than ever before. Jukebox modernism's use of popular music urges us to look and listen more closely to art in the following decades and in contemporary art. Interventions in the intermediate years, such as Dan Graham's *Rock My Religion* (1983–1984), continue to expand jukebox modernism in art after Pop. I see jukebox modernism as a theoretical approach to art history, as one that has malleability—1970s funk and punk are just a few suggestions for further study.

Contemporary artists, following their Pop antecedents, remind us of the highly sensorial lives we live: ones that demand us, at practically every moment, to be looking and listening to objects, screens, spaces, and, occasionally, other people. My exploration of the particular, very rich exchange between art and music in the 1960s, offers a foundation for understanding the globally connected, media saturated world of today. Today, contemporary art asserts a global presence, one that uses sound, music, noise, and ruckus. Artists, to name a few examples of many, such as Christian Marclay, Kehinde Wiley, Doug Aitken, Rineke Dijkstra, and Candice Breitz, remember and expand upon these visual and aural connections.

Doug Aitken's *SONG 1* summarizes some of the affective subject positions discussed previously in relation to jukebox modernism. In 2012 Aitken's projected video, on the full circumference of Washington DC's Hirshhorn Museum, played "I Only Have Eyes for You" on a loop, repeating the song for thirty-five minutes.[1] The song made most famous by the Flamingos was repeated differently each time, sung by various contemporary musicians such as Beck, James Murphy (of LCD Soundsystem), and others. On the walls of the Hirshhorn, different narrative vignettes played, each lasting about the length of the song featuring scenes of drivers on the Los Angeles freeway, waitresses, a middle-aged man at a pay phone, factory workers, and actress Tilda Swinton seeming like a ghost or avenging Pop angel in white, all singing in voices most likely other than their own. In some instances, more than one singer could appear, unaware of each other. Visual rhymes with the museum and its surrounding space emphasize the repetitions in both pop songs and daily life: cars that

circled a parking garage in an oppositional circle against the Hirshhorn's concaves, a sequence of cars on a Los Angeles highway that seemed to rival the cars on the Washington, DC streets, and, most resonantly, spinning recording devices which mimic not only the song's repetitions, but also the repetitions of the Hirshhorn's own spiraling walls. The piece ran nightly, for two months (March to May 2012).

SONG 1 captures the essence of a pop song: its repetitive nature, its ability to resonate differently to various audiences, its potency to get people to dance in the streets, and to connect us, sometimes despite ourselves. The song acts as the work's binding tissue providing moments of connectivity. However, while the actors in the work sing of only seeing "you," none of the vignettes show anyone actually connecting. In other words, most of the scenes do not render anyone listening or seeing someone else. I argue the work's popularity is precisely its Pop-ness—the emotional connections, the repetitions that stayed the same yet changed every few minutes when a different singer appeared on the Hirshhorn's concave concrete walls. The song was about connections and seeing one another, yet the visual component of the work emphasized the lack of connections among us. The evening I saw the work, some people stopped and stared and many others danced with loved ones. Reviews of the exhibition emphasized the importance of the pop song and its potency for the public.[2] Aitken's work, structured by a song, reiterates Blake and Boty's use of pop songs to structure their works and then re-interpreted the messages those songs attempted to deliver to its listeners. Aitken, by utilizing sound and space, finds Crow's lost Pop referent, and asserts its presence in the city, Washington, DC, and specifically on the outside walls of a contemporary art museum. Music makes people stop and the visual made them stay. *SONG 1* employed music to establish a connected listening public, even though they were watching images of loneliness and disconnection. The act of listening connected people while the act of viewing reminded us of our difference, of just how lonely a pop song can be.

Another work seizes upon the emotional pull—and fallacy—of popular music. Rineke Dijkstra's 1997 video piece, *Annemiek*, provides us with a contemporary example of the emotional force of a pop song. Dijkstra asked students at a Dutch high school to bring their favorite music to a video shoot. Annemiek, a teen girl, lip-sings to the Backstreet Boys' song "I Wanna Be With You." The video lasts about four minutes, the length of the song, and the pre-teen girl's angst is palpable. Her face fidgets and changes, she laughs at herself and, in one moment, looks as though she might cry under the pressure of the video's gaze.[3] However, none of these emotions matches the song she lip-syncs. The girl gives up her voice to a pop song and may not even know English. *Annemiek*, in a similar fashion to *My Colouring Book*, presents the potential emotional damage a pop song can do. Dijkstra, by placing words and emotions out of sync, highlights the betrayal of a pop song. Once we learn the words, we must sing with feeling.

A different mode, but similar in the use of lip syncing and the ways people may identify with pop stars through their music, directs the viewing experience of Candice Breitz's works such as *Queen (A Portrait of Madonna)*, *King (A Portrait of Michael Jackson)*, and *Legend (A Portrait of Bob Marley)* (all from 2005). These works use fans within the works. *Queen (A Portrait of Madonna)* consists of a thirty-channel installation showing different people singing, karaoke-style, songs from Madonna's *Immaculate Collection* album. The piece lasts seventy-three minutes. Breitz advertised in Milan for fans of Madonna to contact her and to perform the album while

being videotaped for seventy-three minutes. However, there is no musical accompaniment. These fans perform their expertise in Madonna's greatest hits. The piece relies upon the viewer/listener's ability to know the song and singer and the perhaps emotional muscle memory of the song to elicit recognition. The title suggests this work is a portrait although Madonna herself is absent. The portrait of Madonna is marked by her fans, or vice versa.[4]

Kehinde Wiley, a painter of portraits inflected with art historical and contemporary hip hop styles, provides, in some ways, an answer to James Rosenquist's *Big Bo*. Rosenquist's *Big Bo*, all style with confused meaning, meets Wiley's overload of sumptuous painterly style that, likewise, troubles meaning. Wiley names his portraits, if not with the real names of the sitter, then with grand names, such as *Napoleon Leading the Army Over the Alps* (2005) or as part of an art historical tableaux such as *Tribute Money* (2011) or *Ecce Homo* (2009). In these works, Wiley mines the art of painting's own history, as well as the contemporary visual culture of hip hop and its music videos, to confront contemporary assumptions about race, class, and sexuality.[5]

Another artist, Mingering Mike, answers *Big Bo* differently. Mingering Mike, the invention of an outsider artist, was a "funk and soul musician" mainly active in the late-1960s to late-1970s. Mingering Mike's music is only known through hand-painted, fictional album covers—with no records included. Working mainly in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Mingering Mike would place his titles such as *Minger's Gold Supersonic Greatest Hits (Vol. 3)* and *Can Minger Mike Stevens Really Sing*, in record store bins around the Washington, DC area. Mingering Mike, a cult figure in the record collecting community and only now included in contemporary art shows, is a singer without sound. In the process, he becomes a kind of avatar, a soul superstar who sings nightly alongside James Brown in his sonic imagination. The artist's soundless music is very different from *Big Bo*'s. Mingering Mike, working outside a record production system and with no real music to promote, evacuates sound but attempts to make himself be seen.[6]

In a different approach, artists use music instruments, or reference music's sound culture, in their works. Christian Marclay uses the materials of sound to make visual and audio works. In one of his best-known pieces, *Ghost (I Don't Live Today)* from 1985, Marclay plays an instrument of his own making, which allows him to play records in the same stance as one would strike to play a guitar. He plays the record of Jimi Hendrix Experience's 1967 *Are You Experienced?* while concert footage of Hendrix played in the background. Other works by Marclay include installations of vinyl records on gallery floors such as *Untitled* (1987–2007) and *Footsteps* (1989) and "Recycled Records," which took broken records and reassembled them to create new, unintended sounds (1980–1986).[7] Another artist, Jamal Cyrus, uses musical instruments that should have sound yet mutes them in his work.[8] Additionally, Jennie C. Jones makes work that references hard-edge abstraction while using materials such as an acoustic absorber panel.[9]

These artists are only a sampling of contemporary artists who continue to use music in their works. They resonate in this study due to their rich use of the same terrain that Pop artists first encountered in the 1960s. They respond to popular music for many of the same reasons earlier Pop artists did: its emotional potency, fan culture, and the pleasures and problems of both looking at and listening to a work of art. Popular music, too, offered ways for these artists to address identity: gender, class,

race, and sexuality. The structures of popular music, both sonically and within mass culture, were used by Pop artists to assert jukebox modernism. Jukebox modernism teaches us to listen more carefully to Pop and contemporary art's music, to hear and see what has been muted by its absence.

Notes

1 The piece "played" every night from March 12, 2012 through May 13, 2012 beginning at sunset and ending at midnight.
2 See reviews such as Esther Yi's "When a Museum's Exterior Becomes a Canvas for Video Art," *The Atlantic*, published online on March 27, 2012, www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2012/03/when-a-museums-exterior-becomes-a-canvas-for-video-art/255125/, accessed October 22, 2017. Another review, "Millions of People Go By: Doug Aitken's 'Song 1' Distills City Life," by Daoud Tyler-Ameen, *The Record: Music News from NPR*, published online on May 20, 2012, also cites the way the work, through song, seemed to connect people in the city, www.npr.org/blogs/therecord/2012/05/18/153029745/millions-of-people-go-by-doug-aitkens-song-1-distills-city-life, accessed October 22, 2017.
3 Jennifer Blessing, in the catalogue for Dijkstra's retrospective at the Guggenheim, offers a different view on the work, seeing it instead as an exploration of gender ambiguities under popular culture. Jennifer Blessing, "When We Still Feel: Rineke Dijkstra's Video," in *Rineke Dijkstra: A Retrospective* (New York: Guggenheim Museum, 2012), 30. Blessing cites a connection to Warhol's *Screen Tests* with *Annemiek* (31).
4 Olesya Turkina, "Candace Breitz," in *Ice Cream: Contemporary Art in Culture*, ed. "The Ten Curators" (New York: Phaidon Press, 2009), 64. In a 2007 compendium of contemporary artists, curator Olesya Trukina describes Breitz's work as within a matrix of manipulated emotions. While less specific in its identifications with a pop celebrity, Phil Collins' *The World Won't Listen* (2004) shares some similarities in its use of karaoke. Sergio Edelsztein, "Phil Collins," in *Ice Cream: Contemporary Art in Culture*, ed. "The Ten Curators" (New York: Phaidon Press, 2009), 88.
5 See Krista Thompson's *Shine: The Visual Economy of Light in African Diasporic Aesthetic Practice* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), 215–270.
6 See Dori Hadar, *Mingering Mike: The Amazing Career of an Imaginary Soul Superstar* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007) for an overview of Mingering Mike.
7 Barbara London, "Do-It-Yourself," in *The Record: Contemporary Art and Vinyl*, ed. Trevor Schoonmaker (Durham: Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University, 2010), 129–130.
8 Naomi Beckwith, "Only Poetry," in *The Freedom Principle: Experiments in Art and Music 1965 to Now*, ed. Naomi Beckwith and Dieter Roelstraete (Chicago: Museum of Contemporary Art Chicago and University of Chicago Press, 2015), 49. Beckwith places Cyrus' work, in addition to other artists, in the context of asserting the importance of African Americans in music and culture. See also the full text for further considerations of art and music.
9 Beckwith and Roelstraete, *The Freedom Principle*, 148.

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