Mediating Histories

An exploration of audiences and exhibitions
in London's Institute of Contemporary Arts (1949-1986)

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I declare the work presented in this thesis is my own.

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Abstract

The discipline of exhibition histories has set out to bring into consideration social, spatial, and cultural frames. Despite this, like other areas of art history, it is increasingly constructing its own hegemony. In the process, other agencies, perspectives or approaches are inevitably overlooked and marginalized. This thesis looks to identify and readdress two omissions from some existing writings on exhibition histories – the intersection of audiences and media. This is achieved by researching the archives of London's Institute of Contemporary Art.

With the ICA as a lens, this project offers a new critical methodology for writing programming and exhibition histories by bringing into consideration the nature of the mediated narrative within exhibitions. The thesis proposes that by taking into account analogue and digital media and ideas of audience engagement and interaction, we can extend the framework of exhibitions beyond curatorial or institutional authority. In taking digital media and its precursors as disruptions we can begin to see dual operations that are continually at play between art historical canon formation and the contemporary contingencies that resist any fixed point of interpretation.

My approach to *Mediating Histories* has been shaped by the ICA programmes themselves; as well as the ways in which they remain, and are accessed in a variety of archives. Many of these programmes were aligned to a dialogue between art and technology, and as such, to support an understanding of a techno-cultural dynamic, the thesis draws on the media-based perspectives of Sarah Cook and Beryl Graham, Wolfgang Ernst, Bruno Latour and Jane Bennett, alongside feminist approaches to art history, exhibitions and spectatorship by Griselda Pollock and Laura Mulvey. This is grounded in the particular focus given to technology and temporality, and spectatorship and the screen in theoretical writings on the history of contemporary art.

The research project contributes knowledge to exhibition histories, contemporary art and institutional histories, and provides original archival research into exhibitions, artworks and programmes held at the ICA that have not yet received adequate analysis.

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Thesis Introduction: Curating Histories

'The present is an intricate array, like the radar screen of an airport or a harbor. The data, in a great holding pattern, have their historical origins, but the fact of immediate consultability is overwhelming. No matter how often we revise the past, the revisions originate in our own time and are hence a part of the simultaneity of the structure of the present.'[1]

Exhibition histories and curatorial courses have been on the increase since the mid 1980s. In 1987 Le Magasin L'Ecole in Grenoble, France, launched the first postgraduate course in curating, the same year the Whitney Museum in New York introduced a Curatorial and Critical Studies option to their Independent Study Programme.[2] In 1992, following a pilot at Middlesex University, the Royal College of Art launched its own post graduate curatorial department, and in 1994 the Bard College followed with a curatorial studies programme. In the build-up to this shift in education, articles and conferences had been increasingly addressing a growing exhibitionary perspective by considering the language of exhibitions, critique, spectatorship and place. From the mid 1990s anthologies were published, compiling these papers into resources for students of curation. One of the most significant was *Thinking Through Exhibitions* (1996), the result of 'The Politics of Images' a symposium held at Tate gallery and the DIA Foundation in 1990.[3] These developments have been followed in the succeeding years by a series of re-visited, re-staged, re-constructed exhibitions.[4] Curating courses have also begun to expand into considerations of mediation, and Aalto University has recently launched a Master's Programme in *Visual Culture and Contemporary Art - Curating, Managing and Mediating Art (CuMMA)* led by Paul O'Neill.[5]

Acknowledging exhibitions and their histories enables us to readdress the separation of the social sphere and place artworks within their spatial, temporal, political and

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[1] Lawrence Alloway, 'The Complex Present' (1979), in Kalina, *Imagining the present: Context, content, and the role of*
[2] ISP was established in 1968 and this replacement of Art History/Museum Studies with Curatorial and Critical Studies was led by Hal Foster the Senior Instructor at the time. See Paul O'Neill, 'Introduction', in *The Culture of Curating*, p.2.
Since 2011 Central Saint Martins has run an Exhibition Studies programme.
[3] Reesa Greenberg, Bruce W. Ferguson, and Sandy Nairne, *Thinking About Exhibitions* (Routledge: London). Apart from three essays the majority of contributions in the publication were written between the mid 1980s - early 1990s. Other publications on exhibition histories include, *The Power of Display* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press, 1998), *The Avant-Garde in Exhibition (*1994) and *Die Kunst der Ausstellung*, *What Makes a Great Exhibition?* (2007), *Curating Subjects* (2007), *The Biennial Reader* (2010), *Exhibitions* (London; Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2014). *Afterall* launched their exhibition histories series in 2010; *The Exhibitionist* Journal, launched 2010.
[4] 2014 was a significant year restaged exhibitions: *Growth and Form,* was restaged at Tate Britain as part of *Richard Hamilton* (13 February – 26 May 2014), *Art in Europe after 1968*, an exhibition from 1980 was restaged at S.M.A.K. Museum, Gent, (13 September 2014 – 15 March 2015), and the ICA reconstructed *an* Exhibit from 1957, in 2014. The same year Lucy Steeds (ed.), *Exhibition*. London; Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2014).
[5] See: http://www.aalto.fi/en/studies/education/programme/curating_managing_mediating_art_master/ [accessed 10 October 2017]

curatorial frame. Anna Staniszewski noted this in 1998 when she argued that the history of 'exhibition installations as representations'[6] had been repressed in art history. She suggested that examining the exhibition would allow us to incorporate knowledge around engineering, social practices, gender, technology, identity and identifications, economics and architecture, or at least it should. Yet despite exhibition studies offering socio-political-global-economic perspectives, in this relatively new field of study, as Felix Vogel has argued, 'the exhibition *as such* [has become a] hegemonial form.'[7] As Vogel points out, many of the articles have been written or edited by the very curators shaping the discipline, who are arguably setting an agenda to promote their own legacy. As a consequence, published or revisited exhibition histories that draw on the narrative of an artist, curator or an institutional perspective risk reasserting authorship. This can obscure 'other' agencies, perspectives or approaches, either ones that were not accounted for at the time, or subsequently, and therefore exacerbate distinctions, siloes and separations rather than making these visible.

In 2011 Bruce Altshuler recommended two canons of exhibitions, a canon for 'art historical significance,' and a canon of 'curatorial innovation'[8] to be used more practically by curating students. It was felt that these canons would help to structure education whilst also acting as a springboard to think about exclusions, as well as inspire creativity. But, as Anna Byzki has pointed out, canons are the result of 'value judgments made by a particular individual or a group' and they '[...] affect to a significant degree the general perception of the historic significance of particular works or artists within a particular field.'[9] If exhibition histories are falling into the canonical structure of art history, and therefore following a pattern of authorship, one way I propose this could be explored is by addressing the role of mediation as a point at which education and exhibitions come together in relation to audiences and technology.

Robert S. Nelson defined mediation as a form of study that takes into consideration 'the ways in which knowledge is constructed, conveyed, replicated, instilled and maintained – not only the past works of art, their creation, patronage, and social function, but also the knowledge that art historians create.'[10] Mediation 'requires that we consider the viewers,

[6] Anna Staniszewski, *The Power of Display: a history of exhibition installations at the Museum of Modern Art* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press), 1998, p.xxii

[7] Felix Vogel makes this argument in, 'Notes on exhibition history in curatorial discourse', in *(New) Institution(alism)* (December 2013), p.51.

[8] Bruce Altshuler, 'Canon of Exhibitions', in *Manifesta Journal*, No.11, 2010/2012, pp.3-12, (p.7).

[9] Anna Brzyski, 'Introduction', to *Partisan Canons*, ed. by A. Bryzski. (Durham, London: Duke University Press, 2007), p.9.

[10] Robert S. Nelson, 'Mediation', in *Critical Terms for Art History* (Chicago, Ill.; London: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p.x.

writers and teachers of art and the institutions that display it,'[11] helping us to reveal not only which histories are being written and why, but to do this in a way that incorporates an understanding of the historical moment of analysis. Maria Lind has recently extended this methodological approach to art history by articulating how mediation 'creat[es] contact surfaces between works of art, curated projects, and people, about various forms and intensities of communicating about and around art.'[12] According to Lind, mediation bridges misunderstandings created in the hierarchical interpretations of culture by showing us what is being communicated and how it is being communicated. With this in mind, my suggestion is that we critique the discipline of exhibition histories and its growing relationship to the canon of art history, not by presenting an alternative canon, but by addressing the 'contact surfaces' that appear in historical research. First of all, what has been classified and preserved for art historical significance or curatorial innovation, and therefore remains in archives and documentation and what has not, and what - for various reasons - sits outside of exhibition histories. Secondly, with this in mind, how is this knowledge employed and how does the information mediate in both historical and contemporary ways? To achieve this, the thesis uses the example of London's Institute of Contemporary Arts for analyzing exhibition making.

Taken as a lens, the Institute of Contemporary Art, I argue, brings an important perspective to the discipline of exhibition histories and to the role mediation has within it, because of the way in which the programmes brought ideas of contemporaneity in art into dialogue with audiences. When it was founded in post-War London in 1947, the ICA declared that it would programme across artistic disciplines and bring the arts into a closer relationship with society. Since its conception the institute has been aligned to moments of shift in artistic practices. For instance, as one of the legacies of European Surrealism, as the space in which British Pop art emerged through the Independent Group,[13] as a host for feminist exhibition making strategies in the 1970s and 1980s, and in terms of disseminating the rise of identity politics and helping to shape post-colonial studies and Cultural Studies in the 1980s.[14] It would be possible and reasonable to further commemorate the ICA's history[15] and reiterate or find new moments that have cultural significance, but this would only repeat the same chronology of development.

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[11] Ibid, p.x.

[12] Maria Lind, 'Why Mediate Art?' in *Ten Fundamental Questions of Curating,* ed. by Jens Hoffmann (Milan: Mousse Publishing, 2013), p.23.

[13] This has been critiqued by Anne Massey: 'there is little evidence to substantiate this claim [...] by the time the so-called "second and third generations" of Pop artists had begun to make an impact the Independent Group had not existed for seven years.' See, 'This is Tomorrow and beyond' in *The Independent Group: modernism and mass culture in Britain, 1945-59* (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 1995), pp.95-108 (p.95).

[14] Many other 'chronicles' of the ICA can be found in David Mellor's anniversary publication *Fifty Years of the Future: A Chronicle of the Institute of Contemporary Arts* (London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1998)

[15] Already commemorated in anniversary publications, such as, *How soon is now: 60 years of the Institute of Contemporary Arts*, ed. by Eshun & Pym (London: ICA, 2008); Massey, *Institute of Contemporary Arts: 1946-1968* (London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 2014); and Mellor's, *Fifty Years of the Future.*

Instead I have chosen to deliberately negate this form of commemoration of the Institute by taking the ICA not as the object of study but as a means to explore approaches to writing about art and history through mediation.

One aspect that appears particular to the ICA is its engagement with new forms of broadcast technology. Over seventy years, as part of the ICA's commitment to engaging with the dialogue created between art and society, the programming at the ICA has engaged with filmmaking, television, cybernetics, video, the Internet and digital technologies. These mediums and forms of mediation have been applied and explored as ways to extend the reach of the Institute. As a result of this the ICA programmes, from one perspective, appear to mirror the arrival of the digital technology over the second half of the twentieth century. When we take into account that the function of mediation can be 'the rhetoric of art history as well as the rhetoric of art', what the ICA programmes invite into to the study of exhibitions is the importance of recognizing what Lisa Ticker identified as the 'position discourse takes place in.'[16] By acknowledging the engagement with technology as one of the narratives of mediation within exhibitions, we can locate tensions between the desire to form Altshuler's 'canon of exhibitions',[17] and the things, objects, fragments, operations and temporalities that resist or disrupt this frame.

In the study of exhibitions over the last twenty years, there has been an emphasis on contemporary art post 1968. This is predominantly because it allows us to understand the shift away from the art as object towards an ephemeralization of artistic practice. In some cases, ephemera might be all that remains of an artwork or event and as we try to establish a history of non-object based art, it is the traces in collections, archives or studios that provide us with insight into what, when, how and why artworks and events were realized (or not). As a consequence, what are inevitably brought into these reflections are approaches to the curating of 'contemporary art'. Although there are some important exceptions,[18] literature on exhibition histories to date has tended to focus on the period post 1960, or the 1990s onwards. As a result, exhibition histories have, in some cases, become aligned to a particular style of exhibition-making which is associated with Conceptual art, the rise of the 'uber curator', the growing mass of biennials, as well as the art of participation.[19] This is in the process of being readdressed,[20] but it is still

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[16] Lisa Tickner, *Modern Life & Modern Subjects: British Art in the Early Twentieth Century* (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2000), p.212.
[17] Bruce Altshuler, 'A Canon of Exhibitions', pp.3-12.
[18] Such as Massey, *Institute of Contemporary Arts: 1946-1968*; Altshuler, *Salon to Biennial*; and Staniszewski, *The power of Display.*
[19] For example, Paul O'Neill's *Cultures of Curating* focusing on: 'The emergence of curatorial discourse from the late 1960s to the present.' pp.9-50. Seven of the eight exhibitions focused on in the *Afterall* 'Exhibition Histories' took place after 1968.

success rather than failure that is emphasized, whilst marginal projects or approaches remain under-historicized. In addition, although technological media has played an increasing role in how we make, understand, interpret and at times restage these histories,[21] technology is still an agency either sidelined or applied as analogy within art historical analysis. Because of its continued engagement with the relationship between art and society, what the lens of the ICA offers the study of exhibitions is a re-engagement with technology. This is important to explore because technology - specifically forms of temporality, screening and interaction - as I will show, have been crucial to theoretical and historical analysis of contemporaneity in art.

In 1979, the art critic Lawrence Alloway, who convened Independent Group meetings with artist and writer John McHale at the ICA in 1955, captured an image of contemporaneity in art as a 'heap of the present'.[22] In reaction to the role of the art critic who typically looked for a diachrony of progressive or reactionary artworks or movements, Alloway offered a synchronic analysis in which *all* information or data experienced in an exhibition should be considered. He described how each agency has its own 'historical origin[s]', not just at the time of the exhibition, but in any subsequent moments of historical analysis.[23] In other words, how we make sense of and historicize data should be connected to a personal and semiotic experience of the present. Rather than excluding things because they are 'unrelated or incompatible',[24] Alloway suggested that we think of the present in terms of co-existence and diversity. His reflections were informed by the ways in which exhibitions frame a particular present moment, and how within exhibitions, objects, images and ideas offer audiences representations of contemporaneity. [25] When exhibitions, artworks or artists are written about there is often a preference for neat models. This, as Alloway pointed out, is driven by 'the desire to keep the body of art small [and] acts to support the market, for writers succeed in conferring depth of meaning or centrality of role on living artists, they are conferring status.'[26] In a 'simultaneous present', however, we can account for 'miscellaneous [...] personal discovery [...] speculative taxonomies [...] flesh stuff [...]', in other words those

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[20] The Tate conference organized in collaboration with the Paul Mellon Foundation, *Exhibiting Contemporary Art in Post-War Britain, 1945-1960* considered this gap in our knowledge (28-29 January 2014).
[21] The conference *Media in Transition* at Tate Modern (2015) is an interesting example for exhibition research; the format brought together conservators and curators to discuss the restaging and remaking of ephemeral artworks. http://www.tate.org.uk/whats-on/tate-modern/conference/media-transition (1 September 2017).
[22] Alloway, 'The Complex Present', p.245
[23] Ibid, p.241
[24] Ibid, p.244
[25] Alloway describes how exhibitions bring configurations of artists and movements together at particular points in time, he explores this through a few examples including, *Figures* at Kornblee Gallery in 1961, which he believed showed that 'the span of choices facing artists in even "neglected" styles', such as caricatural, gestural abstraction and dappled impressionism, were 'remarkably wide.' 'The Complex Present'. p.248.
[26] Alloway, 'The Complex Present'. pp.242-243

things that sit outside neat models.[27] Alloway's approach to writing about the present, informed by his work at the ICA, has offered me a way to write about exhibitions and programmes that are produced by an institution tied by title and mission to the idea of contemporaneity. First, by acknowledging how data often seems incompatible with neat exhibition and art historical models; and second by bringing into consideration questions about the 'complex present' as a way to reflect on contemporary art and exhibition histories.

Contemporary art

From the second half of the twentieth century the term 'contemporary art' has become consistently used as a way to identify 'critical' art practices.[28] As curator and writer Octavian Esanu encapsulated in his 'Introduction' to *Contemporary Artistic Revolutions: an Institutional Perspective*, 'contemporary art', 'contemporaneity' or 'the contemporary' can be considered as:

> ' . . . An art historical periodization (or resistance and refusal to periodize); as modes of articulation of temporality (or the impossibility of doing so); as manifestations of political, economic and ideological contradictions of late capitalism (or a desire to repress the political); as symptoms of the multiple diseases of globalization and or rising economic inequality (or an affirmative embrace of the "global village" at whatever cost); as part of the lasting Western narrative of "progress", or… of "transition to democracy" bestowable upon an Other (or as critiqued in the context of local post-colonial or post-socialist histories).'[29]

As we see, contemporary art enables a plurality of times, locations, spaces and narratives to be accounted for in a way that negates the Euro-American associations of the modern and or post-modern.[30] For Terry Smith, part of the success of the term has been the way it reflects a 'thirst for situatedness,'[31] an idea he connects to time-based artwork, to Minimalist, Conceptual and performance practices as well as to the self-reflective

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[27] Ibid, pp.245-246
[28] Peter Osborne refers to a critical contemporary in *Anywhere or not at all: philosophy of contemporary art* (London; New York: Verso, 2013).
[29] Octavian Esanu. 'Curatorial Statement (Short Introduction)', in *Contemporary Artistic Revolutions: An Institutional Perspective [Working Papers]* published for the exhibition and conference *Contemporary Artistic Revolutions* (Beirut Lebanon: AUB Art Galleries, February-March 2017), n.p.n.
[30] Alfred J Barr commented on the 'supine neutrality of the term "contemporary."' Letter to Paul Sachs, 1929, see Richard Meyer, *What was contemporary art?* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2013), p.38.
[31] Terry Smith, 'Taking Time', in *What is Contemporary Art?* (Chicago, Ill.; London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), p.198.

approach of looking back at the 'unresolved legacies from the history of art.'[32] Similarly, Boris Groys has identified how contemporary art reflects an interest in working 'on the level of context, framework, background or of new theoretical interpretations'.[33] As an art historical periodization, contemporary art has been connected to moments of revolution: tied to 1945, with the concept of a shared present at the end of the Second World War; the student protests in 1968; and 1989 with the end of historical communism. This 'sanctuary of revolutionary thought'[34] has had the effect of highlighting a relationship between art and an evolving series of 'turns', such as, the linguistic, the educational, the anthropological, the post-colonial, the audience, or the curatorial turn.[35] This quality of dynamic instability, 'perhaps most profoundly' as Amelia Jones has reflected, shows how 'art since 1945 has insistently, in ways varying as widely as the kinds of people making it, explored the contingency of the visual arts (like any form of expression) – the way in which works of art (including performances, live events, etc.) exist and come to mean within circuits of meaning, economic and social value, and personal and collective desire that are far more complex than we can ever fully understand.'[36] If contemporary art, as Jones points out, is tied to contingency in the visual arts, then one way to understand its production, circulation and dissemination with relation to audiences is to explore the role played by technological media, since this is something that literally become activate in the present moment.

The contemporary, as Groys, Jones and Smith all identify, is a temporal term implying what it is to share time or to be with time - to be con-temporary - because of this, many theorists, historians and artists searching for definitions have returned to the temporal medium of photography and its derivatives (photography, film, video, digital media). Groys associates this temporal engagement with the growing inclusion of film in contemporary art exhibitions suggesting that these displays form 'comrades of time'[37] out of spectators. He describes how to be with time, in German (zeitgenössisch), translates to 'comrade' and that 'so-called time-based art […] best reflects […] [the] […] contemporary condition' in the way it 'thematizes the non-productive, wasted, non-historical, excessive time.'[38] Spectators of film in art exhibitions share their own temporal experience – as comrades - with the looped artworks on display and become 'spectators

[32] Smith, 'What is Contemporary Art?' in *What is Contemporary Art?* p.246.
[33] Boris Groys, 'Comrades of Time' in *What Is Contemporary Art? An Introduction*, ed. by Julieta Aranda, Brian Kuan Wood, Anton Vidolke (Berlin, New York: Sternberg Press, 2010), pp. 20-39 (p.40).
[34] Cuauhtemoc Medina, 'Contemp(T)orary: Eleven Theses', in *What Is Contemporary Art? An Introduction*, pp.10-21 (p.21).
[35] For an introduction to the idea of the 'turn', see Paul O'Neill & M. Wilson, *Curating and the educational turn* (London: Open Editions, 2010). p.15.
[36] Amelia Jones, 'Introduction' to *A companion to contemporary art since 1945* (Malden, Mass.; Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), p.15.
[37] Groys, 'Comrades of Time', in *What Is Contemporary Art? An Introduction*, pp. 20-39.
[38] Ibid, p.28

on the move.'[39] The viewers literally move around a gallery space rather than standing contemplating an artwork; but they also move in a digital sense adapting to the continual experiences of circulation and distribution that are an inherent part of our contemporary post-digital mediation.

For Peter Osborne, the gradual decline of movements and 'isms' over the twentieth century is connected to the definition of contemporary art as 'postconceptual', not in the sense of a style but as a 'historical-ontological condition'.[40] He associates this with temporality, but also the inescapability from modernity, which functions to provide contemporary art with its critical relevance. In the process a 'crisis of mediations' is revealed in the distributed collective meanings of an artwork, understood on a socio-political level, and mediated through 'technologies of production', associated with 'techniques and productive practices'.[41] This is an accumulative effect of the 'inherently disruptive'[42] medium of photography, which for Osborne and many others represents the moment of break in art history from the stability of the object. According to Osborne, it is in analyzing 'changes in the ontology of the photographic image that promises to provide insight into not only artistic ontology, but the politics of cultural forms more generally.'[43] Although methodologically at odds, Terry Smith shares with Osborne an interest in the way temporal mediums have offered artists a means to question: 'what it is to be in time, to be located or on the move, to find freedom within mediation, to piece together a sense of self from the fragmented strangeness that is all around us.'[44] Like Groys, Smith relates this to the spectator's experience, describing how in contemporary art there is a tendency to take up the viewer's time. This results in a 'plethora of temporalities'[45] that, for Smith, represents the conditions of contemporaneity. For Osborne, a conception of spectatorship or 'subjective temporality' is created through the 'phenomenological time of reception, the time of the art-viewer, which mediates and particularizes these more fundamental structures.'[46] He suggests that the most effective art projects offer 'speculative collectives as its imagined recipient' and 'its absent but possible producers.'[47] But these speculative, imagined figures are just that, unaccounted for.

In taking an approach to writing about contemporary art that combines spectatorship and technological temporality, Groys, Smith, Osborne, and Jones all recognize the shift

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[39] Ibid, p.37
[40] Ibid, p.51
[41] Osborne, *Anywhere or not at all: philosophy of contemporary art*, p.85
[42] Ibid, p.120
[43] Ibid, p.118
[44] Smith, 'What is Contemporary Art?' p.235
[45] Smith, 'Taking Time' in *What is Contemporary Art?* p.198
[46] Osborne, 'Art time', in *Anywhere or not at all: philosophy of contemporary art,* p.175
[47] Ibid, p.195

from analogue photography to digitization. As we see with Osborne, a time-based interest is channeled through the idea of distributed conceptual, technological ontologies. For Smith, the contemporary condition can be related to the artistic interest in reappraising spectacle through the interplay between surface and screening. According to Smith, while surface is the field of creative reproduction, the screen in its layers of creation and reception, can be understood as '[...] the field of representation in the visual culture as a whole.'[48] In other words, the screen becomes our way of reading what is made visible in visual culture. What these approaches have introduced to the theory and study of contemporary art is an integrated idea of 'presentness', in which the role of technology in relation to modernity, and the implied - but not always acknowledged - role of the spectator who watches or interacts with the screen.

However, although theoretical interpretations of contemporary art, such as those referenced above, connect to shifts in technology, there has been a reluctance to engage in technological processes in any depth. What Alloway's image of the screen of data 'in a great holding pattern' brought to mind was a way of accounting for information, whatever discipline it may come from, in the writing of art and its exhibitions. My suggestion in this thesis is that the narratives of mediation are crucial to our understanding of exhibitions, as well as to an engagement with notions of contemporaneity. The screen, which quickly moves into new patterns, becomes a site of commonality between the spectator, exhibition, technology, the institution and the artist/s. We can extend this engagement with audiences, technology and the screen with Bruno Latour, who has written about how mediations open up the possibility of interrelationships as 'the exchange of human and nonhuman properties'.[49] Latour states: 'Whereas objects could only face out at the subjects – and vice versa – nonhumans may be folded into humans though the key processes of translation, articulation, delegation, shifting out and down.'[50] If we apply this into our historical analysis rather than face a spot lit object on display in a museum cabinet, we could take into account data that includes the processes in which 'non-humans' are enfolded into cultural and historical analysis. We could address the nature of the mediated narrative within exhibitions, including the artist, institution, audience and technology.

Ideas of media in relation to exhibition histories is one of the key questions raised in Beryl Graham and Sarah Cook's publication *Rethinking Curating* (2007), a book which

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[48] Smith, *Impossible presence: surface and screen in the photogenic era* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2001), p.34

[49] Bruno Latour, *Pandora's hope: essays on the reality of science studies* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 1999), p.193.

[50] Ibid, p.193.

offers a connection between contemporary art, curating and technological characteristics and behaviours. They define these characteristics, through reference to Steve Dietz, as 'interactivity, connectivity, and computability,'[51] and use these terms as a way to show how contemporary art – particularly artworks relating to practices of participation - have frequently borrowed from media histories. They argue that despite these characteristics there still remains a separation between the disciplines:

> '[…] The language of new media is beginning to find itself in the mouths of contemporary art critics and curators, albeit often via pejorative references to "Nokia art," chat rooms and flash mobs. It is the contemporary artists rather than the critics who have discerned the common behaviours of participative systems, whether new media or not. If the artist is making a platform for participation, then it is not necessarily the fabric of a physical platform that is important, but the knowledge of how the immaterial systems of participation operate.'[52]

Cook and Graham's analysis goes some way to filling the gaps. Where the behavior of media was previously excluded, they offer instead a broadening of exhibition histories by providing 'knowledge of how the immaterial systems of participation operate'.[53] Although written ten years ago, *Rethinking Curating* importantly exposes a contradiction in art historical writing when electronic or digital behaviours are applied as metaphor but not engaged with as process. Although the separation between media and art exhibitions has and is being readdressed in recent approaches to curating, a distance still remains between the role of technology and the methodological approach to writing exhibition histories. The ICA was one of, if not the first, institute internationally to define its cross-disciplinary programming in terms of contemporary arts, enables us to explore the pre-digital, such as experimentations with electronic behaviours, its programming has frequently explored a shifting dialogue has between art and society through technology.

[51] Sarah Cook and Beryl Graham, *Rethinking curating: art after new media* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press, 2012), p.34.
[52] Ibid, p.139.
[53] Ibid.

The lens: London's Institute of Contemporary Arts

On its foundation in 1947, the ICA decided not to collect, but instead to programme, organize, edit and arrange in order to inform London's post-war society in modern art.[54] Its founders included: the art critic Herbert Read; painter and collector, Roland Penrose; Belgium surrealist E.L.T Mesens; Editor of the Architectural Review, J.M. Richards; French filmmaker Jacques Brunius; Hungarian filmmaker and Manager of the Academy Cinema, George Hoellering; Edward Clark, who would arrange the music programme; art critic, Robert Melville; Chair of Lund Humphries and collector, E.C Gregory; collector Peter Watson; and briefly, the art critic and collector Douglas Cooper, who later left following a disagreement about the aims of the Institute.[55] These individuals all shared an interest in surrealism (many had met while organizing or taking part in the Royal Academy's *First International Surrealist Exhibition* in 1936) and they retained the anarchist spirit of surrealism in their choice to have independence from any single patron or funder. They also decided to be free from the weight of history that accompanied both a collection and the term modern, choosing instead the term institute and the frame of contemporary arts.[56]

The ICA would be co-operative and experimental, taking an inter-arts, international, inter-disciplinary approach as a way to educate and bring society and art into closer 'communion'; as described in the published constitution, they would 'diffuse knowledge or information'.[57] The first membership brochure detailed these art forms as, painting, sculpture, music, literature, ballet, theatre, architecture, film and radio.[58] While educating society (though not in the traditional sense of the word) about modern art was part of their purpose, choosing to name themselves as an institute of 'Contemporary Arts', as Peter Osborne has noted, was not an acknowledgement of the contemporary in replacement of the modern, but displayed an understanding of how the term contemporary, could perform the function of 'a qualification of (rather than counter to) "the modern"'.[59] At the time the 'contemporary' was associated much more within design, a field many of the founders were aligned to. In adopting the 'contemporary,' the founders chose to connect their programme with the communicative processes of design, industry and technology. It was perhaps felt that 'contemporary arts', as an institutional

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[54] These are the terms used by the ICA until the late 1980s when catalogues began to define role of curators within its exhibitions.
[55] See Massey, *The Independent Group*, p.22.
[56] 'Organising Committee Minutes', see the seventh meeting on 21 May 1946, Tate Archive, TGA 955/1/1/1.
[57] 'Constitution', 28 March 1951, Tate Archives, TGA 955/1/1/9.
[58] Institute of Contemporary Arts membership brochure, 1950, Tate Archive, TAM 48, 45/1.
[59] Osborne, *Anywhere or not at all: philosophy of contemporary art,* p.16.

frame or 'qualification', would help to facilitate the connection between modern art and society.[60]

Connections to processes of communication were introduced to ICA members early on through a series of lectures looking into the role of broadcasting and to processes of translation between mediums. Lectures included: 'A Comparison between Television and Film' (January, 1950),[61] 'Understanding Contemporary Music' on the BBC series *Music in Our Time* (December, 1950), 'Movement for Screen', chaired by *Sight and Sound* (September, 1952), while a regular TV Study Group was established in 1950 for discussions following the screening of live Television programmes in the Members Room. These lectures, discussions and groups suggest an interest in exploring the difference between the theatrical experience and the delayed mediated experience of watching on television screens with audiences, and unusually for the arts at time this aligned the Institute's programming to broadcast media. We can connect this approach to its founder's interest in disseminating ideas through a variety of platforms, such as print, radio and exhibitions. These forms of mediation enabled the committee to reach broader audiences following on from similar methods employed in promoting modernist aims through the 'constant production of avant-garde manifestos, magazines, book and exhibitions.'[62] Since the 1930's Herbert Read had been writing for the BBC's *The Listener*. According to Nanette Aldred this has framed him, 'as a curator of ideas in a modern public sphere', because of the way Read 'understood that' in order to create a common ground for arts, 'he had to make full use of the current media possibilities including the new medium of radio and the old medium of the press.'[63]

At the time people could visit the Tate Gallery, the National Gallery or the Courtauld Gallery where they would have experienced 'fine arts' in chronological displays, or they could listen to arts programmes on the BBC, but the two rarely aligned. In an attempt to understand the relationship between art and society, part of the achievement of the ICA was in bringing the arts and broadcast communication closer together. However, as Aldred points out, although the ambition was to reach the public, in part through Read's accessible writing style and through the broadcast media, as 'it turned out [it was] a

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[60] Ibid, p.6. In Osborne's word, in the 'immediate post war years [...] new uses of "contemporary" in English [were used] to denote both a specific style of design ("contemporary design) and the artistic present more generally ("contemporary arts").'

[61] This included Robert Manvell, C.A. Lejeune, Michael Barry, Royston Morely and Ian Atkins and was chaired by Donald McCulloch, see: Tate Archive, TGA 955/1/7/14.

[62] Nannette Aldred, 'A sufficient flow of vital ideas . . . Herbert Read and the flow of ideas from the Leeds Art Club to the ICA' in *Re-Reading Read: New Views on Herbert Read*, ed. by M. Parakostos (London: Freedom Press, 2007), pp. 70-81 (p.81).

[63] Ibid, pp.81 and 86.

particular version of good taste and a specific section of the public'[64] that was being promoted. Although the founders of the ICA identified the importance of broadcast media in relation to forms of artistic communication, it can be argued that it wasn't until the Independent Group that the engagement with audiences extended from a focus on informing the public, to one where an engagement with audiences was seen as creative in itself. It was particularly the way in which the Independent Group introduced into this a questioning of the 'value and subject of culture,'[65] that helped this relationship to shift.

The ICA post-Independent Group

The Independent Group consisted of artists, architects, designers, and art critics, who met at the ICA (between 1952-55) in order to discuss new approaches to aesthetics. The Independent Group were interested in challenging the Aristotelian logic, associated with Herbert Read's philosophy of the timelessness of modern art, by taking an approach to contemporary aesthetics (based on Siegfried Gideon, Ernst Gombrich and D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson) that integrated technology, science, design and mass consumption alongside the visual arts.[66] Influenced by developments in communication technology, commercial culture and images 'as found',[67] the Independent Group at various points considered how a 'Machine Aesthetic' and an 'Expendable Aesthetic'[68] could replace the existing emphasis in exhibitions, artworks and art criticism, on the original encounter with an artwork. One of the ways they approached this was by integrating the role of informational channels of communication.

In his article, *The Plastic Parthenon,*[69] John McHale described a shift from the outdated idea of the aura of artistic value, into new forms of value created through circulation, taking into consideration the effects of mass-consumption and technological advancements. With each translation new value was created and, as McHale described, the feedback produced in this process altered, 'subtly the original communication.'[70] In his writing McHale suggested that the processes of translation, circulation and feedback from technology and commercialism (an effect from a newly expanding globalized world) could be understood to have created a 'new continuum'.[71] The integration of the feedback

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[64] Ibid, p.81.
[65] Ibid, p.87.
[66] see Massey, *The Independent Group*, pp.42-45.
[67] Reyner Banham, 'The New Brutalism', in *Architectural Review* 118, 1955, pp.354–361.
[68] The 'Machine Aesthetic' was the theme of Reyner Banham's convenorship of the Independent Group in 1952; an 'Expendable Aesthetic' was formulated by the group in 1955, see Massey*, The Independent Group*, p.49 and p.85.
[69] John McHale, 'The Plastic Parthenon', (first Published in English in Dot Zero 3 [Spring 1967], pp.4-11), in *John McHale the Expendable Reader: Articles on Art, Architecture, Design, and Media (1951-1979),* ed. by Alex Kitnick (New York: GSAPP BOOKS, 2011), pp.84-97.
[70] Ibid, p.95.
[71] Ibid, p.87.

created by spectators and technology in this newly 'participative society'[72] transformed the experience of art from a canonical moment into new and expendable interactions. These ideas, described in *The Plastic Parthenon*, found visual form in various configurations through the Independent Group exhibitions, discussions, writings and events, such as *Parallel of Art and Life* (ICA, 1953) in which the spectator's role in mediated systems became visually illustrated in an exhibition design that appeared to echo the creative process of forming, what Alloway referred to as, a 'long front of culture'.[73]

The brief three years of the Independent Group remain the central nexus of the ICA because the dissemination of their ideas has helped to lead to the development of methodologies in visual culture. Existing studies into the Independent Group help us to open up the impact of their ideas and how these continue to have relevance to our post-digital perceptions. Anne Massey's publication *The Independent Group: Modernism and Mass Culture in Britain, 1945-59* (1995), was the first to reposition the history of the Independent Group away from Pop art and locate the approach of the group, through their discussions, exhibitions and events, in terms of a re-visioning of modernism that incorporated processes of engineering, mass culture, design and technology. Her contributions in 1995 as well as *Out of the Ivory Tower*, [74] and *Institute of Contemporary Arts: 1946-1968* (2014), crucially reiterate the centrality of design, communication and collaboration as aspects repeatedly excluded from art history, as well as from writings on the history of contemporary art. The work of the Independent Group informed the development of computer arts. As Charlie Gere has pointed out: 'Though most members of the Independent Group did not, either then or later, use computers to make art, their interest in technology and technological discourses helped make British computer art possible'.[75] While for Ben Highmore, the Independent Group's interest in the 'social life of machines' can be seen 'as a contextual studies programme-in-waiting'.[76] They demonstrated how it was necessary to understand a range of subjects in order to interpret visual imagery.

Elaborating on a point of 'inbetweeness' offered by the ICA is one of the key contributions made by Ben Cranfield's doctoral thesis *Between Anarchy and Technology: Key*

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[72] Ibid, p.97.
[73] See Lawrence Alloway, 'The Long Front of Culture', (first published in *Cambridge Opinion*, Vol. 17, 1959, pp.24-6). Reprinted in *Imagining the Present: Context, Content, and the Role of the Critic*, ed. by Richard Kalina (London: New York: Routledge, 2006), pp.61-64.
[74] Massey, *Out of the Ivory Tower: the Independent Group and popular culture* (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 2013).
[75] Gere
[76] Ben Highmore, 'Brutalist Wallpaper and the Independent Group', in *Journal of Visual Culture*, Vol. 12 (2013), pp.205-21 (p.208).

Experiments from the Archive of the Institute of Contemporary Arts, London, 1947-1969 (2009).[77] Taking the institutional 'frame', for its flexibility in resisting fixed points of history and allowing for the intersections within archives, Cranfield considers a space of in-betweeness within the interrelation of art forms. Rather than a historical remapping, Cranfield considers the 'little narratives',[78] selected for their interstitial quality, located within the walls of the ICA or the pages of their publications, each highlighting the experimental, discursive and dialogic, and technological, from early policy documents of the ICA. This is read through a Foucauldian 'an archival' structure. From this approach Cranfield comes to a conclusion that:

> '[...] Once identity politics (which may be seen as fore-grounded, or even created in this period) made itself felt the most experimental in-between practices of the early seventies, it is no longer possible to demand such attention to Readian anarchy and Independent Group dialogues with technology, which this thesis takes as the ICA's major themes in its formation of an experimental network between 1947-69.'[79]

The timeframe, which Cranfield makes clear was necessary in order to limit the scope of the thesis, inevitably creates a finality that ends up dividing a before and after of 1960s technological experimentations. Since then articles and papers by Cranfield (referenced throughout this thesis) have explored the contemporary conditions that were made manifest by the Independent Group's negation of the ICA's modernism in more historically expansive terms. In one of these articles Cranfield points out that: 'By examining the institutionalisation of the discursive possibilities and contradictions that demanded the positions taken by members of the Independent Group', it is possible to see 'how contradictions and tensions became the condition and concern of the contemporary, as an inchoate bracketing of interrelated and often incompatible desires for relevancy, technocracy and criticality.'[80]

My contribution is indebted to this existing literature on the ICA and the Independent Group, that looks variously into the trajectory of their ideas in technology, media, design, inbetweeness, contradiction and tension, as expressions and reflections on the contemporary condition through art. My interest has been in exploring what might happen if, rather than restricting these ideas to their historical period, we were to extend

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[77] Ben Cranfield, 'Between Anarchy and Technology: Key Experiments from the Archive of the Institute of Contemporary Arts, London, 1947-1969' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, Birkbeck College, 2009).
[78] Cranfield takes this approach from Alex Seago and David Mellor. Ibid, p.39.
[79] Ibid, pp.40-41.
[80] Cranfield, 'Not Another Museum', p.315.

them into research of the exhibitions and programmes the ICA organized in the 1970s and 1980s. If, as Cranfield suggested in his doctoral thesis, there was a sense of professionalization in arts programming after 1968, what aspects of tension, 'inbetweeness' and 'technocracy' continued to exist post-1968? I argue that this is vital to address because of the way the Independent Group's ideas of circulation; translation and replication have mirrored, and were informed by, an anticipation of digital technology. As Nick Lambert has rightly argued 'art history has engaged with non-material, performative and ephemeral artworks for some time, and since curating evolves in response to informational systems so should institutions grasp the implications of datastreams, configurations and collaboration.' [81] The dissemination of Independent Group discussions, events and exhibitions can therefore provide us with creative and critical insights into a shifting relationship between media and art in a way that is integrated, rather than hierarchical or separated by discipline.

In order to extend the ideas of translation, circulation and replication beyond the time period of the Independent Group, and to address the role of audiences and technology in exhibition histories through the ICA, this thesis focuses on selected programmes that took place at the ICA between 1949 and 1987. Throughout, I make connections back to the interest of the ICA Founders in educating 'the public' in modern art, as well as the Independent Group's interest in integrating processes of commercialization, communication and channels of distribution. I hope to achieve this by considering the ICA and its audience in terms of shifts in mediation, looking specifically at ways in which the screen, as space of representation, and its audience have been conceived at different moments in time.

The screen and its audience

Ideas of the screen and spectatorship inevitably create connections to film studies and extensive theorizations of spectatorship in *Screen* magazine as well as in television studies. While this is relevant to the ICA - and has much potential for future research - it is way beyond the scope of this thesis. As Erica Balsom has recently pointed out, 'the bibliography of challenges to *Screen* theory's model of spectatorship could be the topic of an entire doctoral dissertation, as the diverse positions range from feminism, cognitivism, phenomenology, postcolonial theory, queer theory, cultural studies, and new

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[81] Nicholas Lambert, 'Internet Art Versus the Institutions of Art', in *Art and the Internet*, ed. by Leanne Hayman Phoebe Adler, Arrate Hidalgo, Dana Saey, Phoebe Stubss and Nick Warner (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2013), pp. 12-17 (p.17).

historiography.'[82] Whilst spectatorship was a term the ICA used in its bulletins, publications, and organizing minutes over the 1970s and 1980s and will therefore be considered in this thesis, particularly in relation to experiments in screening technology, electrical energy, and in the way it was reconceived in relation to participation,[83] it is not the only term. During the 70's and 80's a reconstruction of audiences was gaining increased focus from arts organisations and funders. For Ian Christie, the shift from spectatorship into audiences can be related to the three key areas: the dominance of television at the time; the formalization of film studies; and the 'growth of new human and social sciences.'[84] Christie has described how film studies in the 1970s focused on theories of spectatorship highlighting '"constructing" or implying audiences', alongside a semiotics of film studies and auteur theory; whilst the scholarship of television studies were creating its own theorization of audiences. Christie has reflected that 'despite the profusion of new screen (and sonic) experiences, and the new techniques for analyzing these, there is still much to learn from revisiting the rich literature of cinema after taking the "audience turn."'[85] I address some of the gaps that have been created by the analysis of audiences by different disciplines by considering how the idea of the audience, the public and spectatorship has been framed by the ICA at different moments in time. All three terms are used throughout the thesis because of the way they enable me to access what was significant at the time, for example the fact that 'the Public' was used predominately in 1949, the term and the idea of audiences is particularly significant in this study. The term audience is effective, as Christie identified, because it implies a mediated experience that is reflective of the delayed experience created by television screening. It allows me to make connections to broadcast technologies so important to the founding of the ICA but it also provides a way into the role of the audio-visual medium in the late 1970s and early 1980s. It is therefore a term shared by technological analysis, as well as by the funding of culture over the 1970s. As I explore, the Arts Council increasingly referred to art and its audiences. To explore audiences enables a recognition and acknowledgement of the sound and quality of audio alongside an understanding what was or is being screened.

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[82] Erica Balsom, *Exhibiting Cinema in Contemporary Art* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2013), footnote No.62., p.199.

[83] 'Participation forecloses the traditional idea of spectatorship and suggests a new understanding of art without audiences, one in which everyone is a producer. At the same time, the existence of an audience is ineliminable, since it is impossible for everyone in the world to participate in every project.' Claire Bishop, *Artificial hells: participatory art and the politics of spectatorship.* (London: Verso, 2012), p.241.

[84] Ian Christie, 'Introduction: In Search of Audiences', in *Audiences: Defining and Researching Screen Entertainment Reception*, ed. by Ian Christie (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), pp.11-24 (p.11).

[85] Ibid, p.20.

The ICA Archives

In 1994 Tate purchased the ICA archive for £80,000, following negotiations throughout the 1980s, as an example of British art and its organisations. As a result of this acquisition we could say that our understanding of the Institute's role within British culture shifted because its ephemeral traces which are now in Tate's collection, the Institute became validated, or reinstituted as having historical significance. When Tate purchased the ICA files the collection was defined as 1947-1986. My suggestion is that historical framing has had a lasting effect on how the ICA, as an archival object in Tate's collection by signifying the ICA's arrival into the canon of British art history. For this reason these dates have been applied as brackets for this study, which reveals and works against this canonization of institutional authority by proposing a new methodological approach to writing about exhibition histories.

In contrast to the orderly files and archival environment I consulted in the Tate Reading Rooms, the ICA records from 1987 onwards are uncatalogued and exist in the department files they were left in, stored by the ICA.[86] Beyond this, the archive has been distributed across different locations, for this thesis the following archives have been consulted: records relating to the ICA at the Victoria & Albert Museum (for Arts Council records); films connected to the ICA at the BFI; videos, u-matics and ephemera from the ICA's Video Library now owned by Central Saint Martin's Film and Video Study Collection; art collections at the V&A and the Hamburger Banhof, as well as numerous records in private collections.[87] My approach to these archives has been informed by intersections of mediation, which includes: the ICA's approach to exhibition and programming, by the content and structure of the various archives themselves and the mediation of historical analysis, as well as by an analysis of the periodizations and theories of contemporary art (as discussed above) and their close connection to media, screening and temporality.

Either digitized or on the verge of digitization, in the course of my research I have become aware that these archives and their contents are not just fixed in one place but are continually in motion. This awareness has the effect of transforming our relationship to the archive, as well as to history itself. As Vivian Sobchack has pointed out, the relationship to digitization can be understood through a desire for presence in visual culture. This:

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[86] At the time of writing these archives were in the process of being relocated with the Tate.
[87] Including the personal archives of Jane Pearce, Norman Rosenthal and Bill McAlister.

> 'Calls forth a new kind of methodology – and a new kind of historiography. Empirical and materialist, emphasizing qualitative and often quantitative description, this new methodology emphasizes the "thingness" of things and entails not interpretive "reading" or cultural "analysis" but closely looking at and, when possible, touching, operating, and performing the object of study.'[88]

The approach Sobchack describes in this extract is referred to as media archaeology and is one way that in our research we can invoke a sense of presence – or 'presence effect,'[89] through not just looking, but touching, taking apart, and listening. This material engagement with the '"thingness" of things' is led by a desire to avoid the hegemonic control of one institution or one discipline, such as exhibition history. As Foucault wrote in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, one of the founding ideas within media archaeology, it is not about 'rediscovering what might legitimize an assertion, but of freeing the conditions of emergence of statements, the law of their coexistence with others, the specific form of their mode of being, the principles according to which they survive, become transformed and disappear.'[90] I have applied the approach of media archaeology in my analysis as a way to consider how one thing, moment or fragment from an archive, can reveal the conditions of its enunciation, both at the time and in subsequent circulations including beyond the originating space of the Institute, as well as in new digital perspectives.

This methodological approach, as I hope to demonstrate, is not only connected to digital media but is equally reflected on in the role of photography within theories of contemporary art history. Peter Osborne, for instance, referred to the 'distributive unity'[91] of postconceptual art in the twentieth century. Distribution enables photographic media to form 'its own "expanding field,"' both in the sense of technological shifts, 'through negative-based prints, film, television and video to digital imaging', as Osborne describes, and in the cultural sense, where 'a certain *de*-materialized generality […] transcends their technologically particular material forms and acts as a kind of relay between them.'[92] But while for Osborne technology is to be transcended from in philosophical enquiry, through the lens of this thesis, we can see for example with the

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[88] Vivian Sobchack, 'Afterword: Media Archaeology and Re-presencing the Past', in *Media Archaeology: Approaches, Applications and Implications*, ed. by Erkki Hutamo and Jussi Parikka (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 2011), p.327.

[89] Ibid, p.329.

[90] Michel Foucault, *Archaeology of knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1989 (2002)), p.143.

[91] Osborne, *Anywhere or not at all*, pp.121-123. Osborne uses this as an alternative to Kant's 'collective unity' and develops the concept in relation to Deleuze's reworking of 'Kant's negative conception of distributive unity' in which the concept is turned 'into a positive ontological concept of distributive difference', p.122.

[92] Osborne, *Anywhere: or not at all,* p.123.

Independent Group how technological processes, temporalities and a variety of materialities can be creatively and intellectually incorporated into our understanding of the relationship between technology and culture.

One way to address the idea of coexistence from Foucault and the importance of photography and temporality to contemporary art is to think about 'not cultural-historical but cultural-technological.'[93] Wolfgang Ernst has described how media archaeology opens your 'ears to listen' to the real sounds of media and offers a challenge to the structuring of heritage and history.[94] It is a way to shift considerations of power and knowledge from cultural theory into 'circuits and technologies in which it is embedded', rather than 'the normal source-base of critical theory and humanities'.[95] For Ernst, just as for theorists of contemporary art, this starts with the technology of photography, which he describes as social in its aim to remove the hierarchical voice of the cultural theorist. But through media archaeology, photography is understood as the archaeological tool itself, as a device of telling rather than describing. As such, media archaeology is an approach that addresses the way things operate as well as how they appear in the present, experienced on the screen in temporal rest. This 'presence effect'[96] invites a way into of writing a history of things as they are actively occurring, appearing and reappearing rather than simply static or represented in linear history. As media archaeologist Jussi A. Parikka has pointed out, it is a methodology within critical media studies that invites us to, 'think through its ties with archival institutions'. [97] This is what I believe the ICA, as an organization that has engaged with the arrival of digital technology, can contribute.

However, it should be pointed that as an approach media archaeology is also problematic. Ernst's 'cool mechanical eye [and] cold gaze' is an anti-hermeneutic proposition that asks us to 'step outside of human perception.' [98] This purposefully neglects social and political issues, such as 'subjectivity and subjectification',[99] as Jussi A Parikka has pointed out, when in fact, 'it might prove extremely fruitful – to rethink power/knowledge through the circuits and technologies in which it is embedded.'[100] Given the period of time this thesis covers when issues of racial, gendered, social, and sexual identities were being actively and importantly addressed in artworks,

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[93] Wolfgang Ernst, 'Media Archaeology: Method and Machine versus the History and Narrative of Media', in *Digital Memory and the Archive* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), p.250.
[94] Ibid, p.69.
[95] Jussi A Parikka, *What Is Media Archaeology?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012), p.133.
[96] Sobchack, 'Afterword: Media Archaeology and Re-Presencing the Past', p.327.
[97] Parikka, *What Is Media Archaeology?* p.5.
[98] Parikka, 'Introduction' to *Digital Memory and the Archive*, p.9.
[99] Parikka, *What is Media Archaeology?* p.133.
[100] Ibid.

programming and cultural theory, rather than ignoring these concerns and manifestations, my suggestion is that we can bring some of these ideas together by drawing on the approach of media archaeology in order to inform the way we read and interpret institutional archives, like the ICA, but that this should also include subjectivity.

'I am trying to watch myself as I perform it'[101]

When we address contemporary art and bring our analysis together with technology, presence and audience experience become centralized, yet despite this, the subjective reading of contemporary art has often been neglected. This is something that feminist theorists have worked to readdress. In *Becoming Past: History in Contemporary Art,* Jane Blocker expresses surprise at how authors, particularly of the contemporary, tend not to include a consideration of their own methods, assuming that historical origins are more fixed than their own moment. Taking this as a challenge she states, 'I am trying to watch myself as I perform it'.[102] As a technique, Blocker's self-reflective approach 'undermines linear historical temporalities and asserts a view of history in which the past is an always already told and always already repeated story.'[103] It is striking how so many feminist historians take this approach as a way to 'expand the frame' of 'an art history of canonical modernists', as Lisa Tickner has commented, in her case interpreting the Whitechapel Gallery exhibition, *Twentieth Century Art* (1914). Tickner achieves expanding the frame through an analysis of some of the individual works rather than the exhibition as a whole. She recognizes, in psychoanalytic terms, 'the transference of the historian' as 'the productive incorporation of the position from which discourse takes place (rather than the objectivity and neutrality of the commentator).'[104] Her approach challenges the existing curatorial frame of the modernist exhibition by reflecting on the shaping of context around its artworks. Tickner's and Blocker's methodologies are reflective of what Griselda Pollock described as 'differencing the canon'. Instead of 'reproduc[ing] the segregation – ghettoization – which excluded groups aim to challenge by demanding intellectual and educational equal rights for their own excluded minority,'[105] in 'differencing the canon' we can show how within writing history we can explore the process of canon formation. Pollock stresses 'active re-reading and reworking of that which is visible and authorized in the spaces of representation in order to articulate that which, while repressed, is always present as its structuring other.'[106] This approach

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[101] Jane Blocker, *Becoming Past: History in Contemporary Art* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016), p.6.
[102] Ibid, p.5.
[103] Ibid, p.18.
[104] Lisa Tickner, *Modern Life & Modern Subjects: British Art in the early Twentieth Century*, p. 213.
[105] Ibid, p.7.
[106] Griselda Pollock, 'About Canons and Culture Wars', in *Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art's Histories* (London: Routlede, 1999), pp.3-21 (p.8).

reveals the process in operation between the desire for, 'the formation of canons and the writing of counter-histories,' questioning whether it is even possible to be a feminist art historian.[107]

What Pollock and these other historians share is the belief that reactive approaches to historical analysis can be a means to open up awareness onto 'multiple occupancy'[108] within representations. In different ways they suggest that the presence of the writer can be inserted in an interior position within the curatorial, institutional or historical frames. They recognize how the position of the feminist historian can act to reclaim a space previously dominated by masculinity and enable personal 'othering' perspectives to encroach upon this space. This can then be applied as a feminist strategy that challenges how things have been, or are being constructed in exhibition histories: and this is an approach I expand on in this thesis, alongside media archaeology.

We can see this in Laura Mulvey's 'Postscript' to *Fetishism and Curiosity* a description of her experience in Jimmie Durham's ICA exhibition *Re-Runs* (1994). Mulvey's text, which structurally follows the exhibition handout, echoes Durham's approach to the exhibition. He initially confronts the spectator with binaries of 'us/them', creating an emotional response from the viewer, and then opens these out into 'delicate modifications, displacements and ironies'.[109] By mirroring this process within her own writing – which she describes as 'the slow process of working through the objects on display'[110] - Mulvey reveals how the exhibition and the artworks function in relation to the viewer. Her position shifts from the physical and metaphorical perspective of 'the vantage point of the gallery steps' down to 'a journey of displacements through material and ideas', placing the reader in the position of her own sight and interpretation.[111] The play of glances, looks and gazes, that is suggestive of her writing on film[112] - like Blocker, Tickner and Pollock - helps the reader to become aware of an alternative perspective from the fixed narratives to one that engages with things as they are continually changing and or playable in the present. My approach similarly draws on the strategies of these feminist historians as a way to open up the institutional history of the ICA, so far dominated by masculinity and canonical histories, into narratives of subjective and technological mediations.

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[107] Ibid, P.8.
[108] Ibid, p.11.
[109] Laura Mulvey, 'Afterword', in *Fetishism and Curiosity* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press; London: BFI Pub, 1996), p.159.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Ibid, pp.162-163.
[112] This is something Mulvey takes up again with her 'pensive' and 'possessive' spectators, see Mulvey, *Death 24x a Second: Stillness and the Moving Image* (London: Reaktion Books, 2006).

Moments, not movements

The thesis contributes and expands on the history of exhibitions that addresses the notion of contemporaneity, through the lens of the ICA, in two ways: firstly, through media and processes of mediation in the concept of the screen, and secondly through the idea of an audience, including myself as a feminist writer. The histories selected for each of the chapters are neither dominant nor marginal but have appeared as representative of the dispersed archives and records I have consulted. In this they follow the idea of Foucauldian archaeology, in the way they are selected from what is already present in their 'worn conditions and domain of appearances'.[113] Alongside this I have drawn on the emphasis on the photograph and its derivatives in the analysis of contemporary art history, pushing this further into a focus on technological media.

There are exclusions; many of the exhibitions or projects referenced in the thesis are by white male artists and programmers. This is not to say that the ICA did not play a crucial role in pluralizing discourse. Identities largely invisible within patriarchal art history and exhibitions began to be acknowledged at the ICA in the 1970s and onwards, through exhibitions and events, such as, *Gay Sweatshop* (1977) *The Thin Black Line* (1985), the *Women's Season* (1980) and *The Gay Sensibility in the Arts* (1986). It is possible to form an interpretation of feminist discourse and gender studies at the ICA, as Eleanor Roberts has recently achieved in her critique of the role played by the ICA and of other UK spaces and artist collectives (between 1968-1980). But researching the archival traces of the ICA from 1947, this is unfortunately not what dominates and since I set out to respond to the conditions of the ICA archive in its distributed form – as part of a collaborative project with the ICA - I have relayed the dominance I have found. Even listing these events arguably begins to create 'subdisciplinary formations'.[114] Instead, the selection of moments, fragments, images and objects that are the focus for each of the chapters do not tell one 'subdisciplinary', or even disciplinary narrative, or contain and relegate ideas and their manifestations to particular fixed moments, but hope to move between the canon of art, its exhibitions and the mediating detail. This opening out demonstrates, as Pollock has pointed out how, 'that which [is] repressed, is always present as it's 'structuring other', and therefore offers an alternative interpretation where 'the other [exists] in an expanded but shared cultural space'.[115]

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[113] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, p.145.
[114] Pollock, 'About Canons and Culture Wars', pp.7-8.
[115] Ibid, p.11.

Summary of chapters

In its negation of commemorating the ICA the thesis is not a historical survey, or a study
of a particular period; but is instead a collection of historical moments as they are found
to be located in images, objects, fragments and screens. Rather than move from a point of
origin, the chapters move between historical moments enabling an exploration of
relationships between what is screened and received by audiences, including the female
historian. Each chapter begins with an image, object or an archival fragment as a way to
unravel a moment of time. The fragments are read through and against the canonical
histories that have come to frame them. In each case the idea of the present moment of
encounter, the idea of contemporaneity being engaged with at the time, or the materiality
of the technology used, enables me to think about how history is written and objectified.
The first two chapters introduce a shift from spectatorship to audience. In Chapter One,
the notional spectator is constructed through a surrealist film essay made of objects in an
exhibition from 1949. In this instance, it is through the work of a contemporary artist
that we screen a new viewpoint onto the projections of an earlier modernist gaze. In the
second Chapter the spectator from 1949 is sharply contrasted with the audience in the
video library in the 1980s, where the physically present visitor interacts, co-authors and
re-mediates a compilation of Derek Jarman's super 8's. The transition between the
approaches to reception from Chapter One to Chapter Two opens up questions about
participation, which are then explored in Chapters Three and Four. In Chapter Three a
shift from spectatorship to reception of information is explored through *Cybernetic
Serendipity* (1968) and *Electric Theatre* (1971). Following this, the art of participation in
cultural theory is explored in Chapter Four, through the German term 'mitbestimmung'
(participation), when an exhibition itself became an object to be documented, observed
and reified. In the final Chapter the composing and decomposing matter and an
embodied screen are materialized in relation to the audience, the artist and the Institute
as a feminist embrace of the uncontained. This ending works as a way to re-evaluate,
from a feminist perspective, some of the previous workings of the screen.

Chapter One

The first Chapter sets up the position of a notional spectator through a film by Austro-
Hungarian Director George Hoellering, called *Shapes and Forms* (1949). It considers this
as a point of mediation between the imagined spectator of the film and the exhibition
40,000 Years of Modern: A Comparison of Primitive and Modern (20 December 1948 – 29
January 1949). The example of *Shapes and Forms* allows me to outline the central aspects
of the thesis relating to interpretation through film, the modernist isolation of the object

and, by drawing on the materiality and temporality of film, begin to consider the relationship between the technology and cultural history of the exhibition narrative. As the objects in the film rotate, their situation within Western museum collections are revealed and the silence of the object is voiced.

Chapter Two

Chapter Two uses the archival fragment Derek Jarman's *Programme 1* (1984) as a way to explore Wolfgang Ernst's theory of 'mediatic temporalities' by focusing on the screen in the transferal of Super 8, to video, to YouTube within the context of the institutional shift that occurs in the ICA with the arrival of Video Library and Cinematheque in 1981/2. It considers the effect of reading the institution through the object by reading this as a techno-cultural moment. The Chapter takes inspiration from Laura Mulvey's theory of pensive spectatorship and her use of the Then and the Now as a structural device to locate the different moments in the films' history. I address how the ability to control film by pausing or rewinding has provided the opportunity for a closer, textual analysis. This brings awareness to an active audience, on many levels, from the moving viewers at a Jarman's screening at parties in 1970s, to the viewers at the ICA in the videotheque in the 1980s, to my own role in interacting with the Jarman film in Central Saint Martins archive. In the background to the Chapter is an acknowledgement of three aspects: the shift taking place at the ICA towards a celebration of its own history; the greater awareness that was given to audiences by the ICA and the Arts Council; and, in relation to both of these aspects, the production and distribution of the ICA's own video and television programmes.

Chapter Three

In Chapter Three the audience becomes embedded in the screen through an interactive display of light and sound. Beryl Graham and Sarah Cook have commented that Lippard's dematerialization is complicated by the role of media and, by drawing on Jane Bennett's idea of a thing freed, and Bruno Latour's 'blind-spot', this Chapter attempts to test this role of media by integrating electrical energy from the exhibition *Electric Theatre*. The purpose is to build on the spectator interaction considered in Chapter Two in the Video Library, and to try and locate this development in the ICA's history, to a point where spectator interaction becomes central. Historically, the Chapter is situated in connection with the 'landmark' exhibition *Cybernetic Serendipity*, and is related to anthropological studies programmed through lectures in *The Body as a Medium of Expression* and the exhibition *Shona Sculptures of Rhodesia*. At this moment in the ICA's mediation, there is a

connection not just to electronic relays but also to anthropology, connectivity and computation, and it is within this that we witness how spectatorship becomes reconceived through information and reception.

Chapter Four

Beginning with a video monitor screening an exhibition discussion that took place in Germany, Chapter Four considers the ways in which the exhibition itself became an object of study. *Art into Society - Society into Art* introduced a shift in the construction of the exhibition by raising the importance of the active spectator, and in the way it highlighted documentation to the exhibition's historical narrative. It was programmed as a collaboration between the ICA and Joachimides as an exercise in 'Mitbestimmung', the German word for participation within which they revisited the exhibition *Art in the Political Struggle (Kunst im Politischen Kamf),* Hannover 1973. Co-organiser and art critic Christos M. Joachimides suggested that the exhibition approach demonstrated a need for a 'therapeutic return'.[116] Despite the emphasis given to participation and notion of a politically activating exhibition, throughout the exhibition's mediation both at the time and subsequently, in its historicization, there is a return to the commodified, reified art object.

Chapter Five

In the final Chapter we take a photocopy of Helen Chadwick's hands (called *Wall of the City of Palms*) from the ICA's archival files at Tate, as a starting point to consider her ICA exhibition *Of Mutability,* which led to Chadwick to win the Turner Prize in 1987. In the exhibition's historicization the role of the audience as voyeur is frequently commented on. My suggestion is that in the exhibition's mediation we see a play between the control of representation between the artist and the ICA both at the time and in the historical analysis. I position this within the development of Identity politics and Gender studies, through programmes taking place at the ICA in 1986, as well as in relation to feminist exhibition-making strategies in the 1970s and 1980s. I open up these discussions, taking place at the time, of Chadwick's interest in technological media and various live and inanimate forms of materiality. I explore the scanning process of the photocopy machine used in her work *The Oval Court*, and the generative and decomposing waste in *Carcass*. These material aspects show a contingency that is relevant to our understanding of contemporary art history. This is supported by Jussi A Parikka's *Geology of Media*, Donna

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[116] Norman Rosenthal, 'Report on the colloquium in Berlin, 1974', see: Tate Archives, TGA 955/12/3/3.

Haraway's *Companion Species Manifesto* and Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev's suggestion that an exhibition be seen as compost, as something that is ultimately uncontainable.

Through narratives of mediation the thesis aims to consider how we might open up a dialogue between contemporary/historical moments within the production of histories that resist canonical forms of value accumulation. It attempts to expand the methodology for research into contemporary art through its exhibitions by considering what might happen if were not to follow the path of the exhibition or institution, but instead if we were to keep the complexity of stories, technological processes, or histories, as they appear in the archive as objects, moments, or screens. This approach is supported by media archaeology and feminist art history as theories that also resist the canonical structures in cultural history. The thesis ends in the mid 1980s, the closure point of the ICA archive at Tate, and a key moment in the development of exhibition studies and the history of curating. At this moment in time the example of a shift in material culture is explored through a feminist, ecological reclaiming of mediation, in a play between the screening of and by Helen Chadwick and her bursting open tower of compost. The accidental spillage of composing and decomposing matter, both generative and destructive, effectively mirrors the feminist questioning of art historical coherence at the time as well as my own challenge, spilling out of the coherence of exhibition histories.
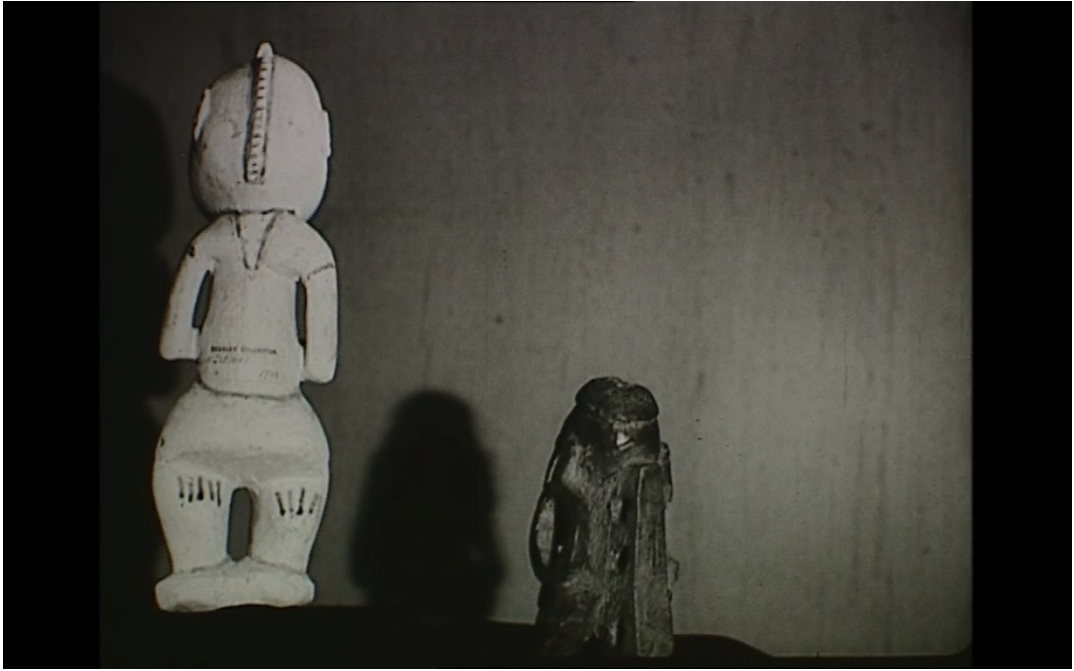
Fig 1. Still from *Shapes and Forms,* dir. by George Hoellering (1950).

Chapter One:

Screening *40,000 Years of Modern Art: A Comparison of Primitive and Modern* (1949)

> 'There will be no lecturing to distract your attention. Aided by the music, the camera will be your guide on this journey through an enchanted world, where the human imagination blossoms out luxuriantly in the shapes and forms of art.'[117]

Shapes and Forms (1949), a short film by the Austro-Hungarian Director George Hoellering, is the first example of the Institute of Contemporary Art (ICA) on screen. Filmed overnight, it creates a light-motion animation of objects that were displayed in the ICA's second exhibition *40,000 Years of Modern Art: A Comparison of Primitive and Modern* (21st December 1948 – 29th January 1949). Despite the ICA's educative commitment to find a 'common ground for a progressive movement in the arts', rather than 'merely' collecting or exhibiting 'the chance productions of individual artists',[118] this film by Hoellering reverses any plurality emerging from the ICA's programming, and proposed 'no lecturing to distract your attention.'[119] Instead, notional spectators were invited to witness the blossoming of an inner, unconscious world, where objects twirl into and out of the darkness, to a dramatic composition by Hungarian ethnomusicologist László Lajtha. As a mediation on one of the moments of the ICA, *Shapes and Forms* functions as a way for me to open up some central themes of the thesis. The objects rotating within the film act as disruptions to the idea of static history and, like other archival moments and fragments in this thesis, allow me to consider how the audience or spectators were being constructed at this moment in time. In this Chapter I ask what was meant by a 'modern spectator' as understood in relation to the provocation *40,000 Years of Modern Art* and then I consider how should we understand this form of spectatorship in relation to the ICA's commitment to 'contemporary arts'[120]? Following this, what role do the film's rotating objects play as points of mediation between the contemporary moment of the exhibition and the construction of spectatorship or audiences?

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[117] Introduction to *Shapes and Forms,* dir. by George Hoellering (Film Traders Ltd, 1950), held by the BFI Archives, a transcription of the introduction can be found in Tate Archive, TGA 955/1/12/10 (6 of 54).
[118] Herbert Read, 'Contemporary Arts', in *The Time*s, 26th June 1947.
[119] Introduction to *Shapes and Forms*, Tate Archive, TGA 955/1/12/10 (6 of 54).
[120] The Institute of Contemporary Arts Objects and Regulations', 28 March 1951, Tate Archive, TGA 955/1/1/9.

Both the film and the exhibition should be seen as part of the ICA's diffusion of the contemporary arts, which in this instance was demonstrated by exploring the 'eternal recurrence […] [of] […] universality in art'[121] through the use of abstract of unnatural forms in 'primitive art' and the work of Western 'Modern Art'. For the ICA, this form of curatorial comparison was deeply connected to their roots in European surrealism. Roland Penrose was latterly to reflect that the ICA's inception could be linked to the *International Surrealist Exhibition* at the Royal Academy in 1936, which many of its founders were involved with.[122] Since then, as we know – and as post-colonial studies have exposed – the modern consumption of primitivism by 'the aesthete, the scholar and the connoisseur', has rightly become defunct, and as Julian Stallabrass points out, from our globalized perspective, 'we might ask whether there is in fact anything in it that we want to keep for our own use today.'[123] What can be gained from going over this colonial view? For Stallabrass, although the approach is redundant, part of the value of looking back over this history is to see how the mythmaking produced by the Western gaze - which reduced so-called primitive arts to essentialized forms – emerged out of a relationship between politicized forms of perception and shifts in colonialism between 1918-1930. Educating audiences to look for an, 'insular aesthetic experience'[124] was part of Western superiority and, as Stallabrass argues, can be found in the emphasis in descriptions of primitive arts on the aesthetic surface, and as expressions of unconscious emotion. Stallabrass and other theorists, who have addressed the modern obsession with 'primitive arts', often locate this comparative approach to exhibitions and as a consequence tie its history to the construction of audiences. The result has been, as Stallabrass suggests, that while modern perception was tied to the present moment primitive arts were placed in stasis as 'a negative image of our present state.'[125]

Although *40,000 Years* has been written about in connection to the ICA's history,[126] it has rarely been acknowledged within literature that deals with the modern interpretation of primitivism and its exhibition history.[127] By providing this context we can explore the

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[121] Herbert Read, 'Preface', to *40,000 Years of Modern Art* (London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1949), p.6.
[122] Roland Penrose interview with Dorothy Morland, 'ICA Reminiscences' (October 1976), Tate Archive, TGA 955/1/14/10-11.
[123] Julian Stallabrass, 'The Idea of the Primitive: British Art and Anthropology 1918-1930', in *New Left Review* I/183, (September-October 1990), p.115.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid, p.112.
[126] See Massey, *The Independent Group: Modernism and mass culture in Britain, 1945-1959*, pp.25-26; Massey, *Institute of Contemporary Arts 1946-1968*, pp.22-31; David Thistlewood, *Herbert Read: Formlessness and Form: An Introduction to His Aesthetics* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), p.194; Margaret Garlake, *New Art, New World: British Art in Postwar Society* (New Haven, Conn.; London: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1998), pp.21-22.
[127] This is with the exception of Ben Cranfield who picks up the exhibition communicated the idea that a non-academic modern 'form of art could be found across periods and places as an expression of similar psychological forces at work', see 'All Play and No Work? A 'Ludistory' of the Curatorial as Transitional Object at the Early ICA', *Tate Papers*, no.22 (Autumn 2014) http://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/22/all-play-and-no-work-a-ludistory-of-the-curatorial-as-transitional-object-at-the-early-ica [accessed 26 September 2017].

construction of audience perception at this time. The exhibition took place four years after the end of the Second World War, under a Labour government working to promote the process of de-colonization. National identity in a new globalized community was therefore being politically and culturally reconstructed, and it was within this historical context that the founders of the ICA looked to shape new ways of perceiving, experiencing and engaging audiences in modern art; *40,000 Years* formed part of this agenda. As their choice for the second exhibition, not only the exhibition but its various modes of mediation can offer us insight into the way the founders of the Institute were looking to frame the relationship between art and society.

In this chapter I will show that we can locate this art/society relationship somewhere between a contemporary understanding of 'a public'[128] and an idealized image of the notional modern spectator. To achieve this, I draw on post-colonial interpretations of primitive and modern exhibition history, including those by James Clifford, Julian Stallabrass, and Susan Hiller. These critiques from the mid-1980s onwards reveal how part of the function of colonial discourse was to position 'primitive arts' in 'some vague past',[129] the purpose of which, as Rasheed Araeen has argued, was to 'define and fix the positions of non-European peoples in such a way that they were deprived of their active and critical functions in contemporary cultural practices.'[130] In the construction of primitivism anything remotely contemporary and relational was removed in preference for emphasizing the static, distant and remote. As such, the critiques above offer insight by exposing this rhetoric of simplification and a-temporality. As a development of these critiques, contemporary art and curatorial studies today provide a further flexible, relational way to interpret this history, moving it away from the 'vague past' and into the present.

As one part of the exhibition's mediation, the film *Shapes and Forms* in many ways mirrored the modern vision of the exhibition organizers. Filmed at night, *Shapes and Forms* was conceived without interruptions from spectators or the possibility of conflicting discursive perspectives. Instead, when it was viewed in the dark environment of the cinema, the film visually and aurally guided the spectator into a specific mode of viewing. At the same time the screening of *Shapes and Forms* also opened up new ways of seeing the exhibition and can be visited afresh if we consider the film through the

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[128] Herbert Read, 'Contemporary Arts', in *The Times*, 26th June 1947.
[129] James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 1988), p.201.
[130] Rasheed Araeen, 'From Primitivism to Ethnic Arts', in *The Myth of Primitivism: Perspectives on Art*, ed. by Susan Hiller (New York; London: Routledge, 1991), pp158-82 (p.166).

'conditions of contemporaneity'.[131] It can be screened and paused within the present moment, and in part because of this, the film offers us a potential contingency to its problematic history. As Terry Smith has commented, contemporary art has repeatedly explored the nature of temporality and the idea of a shared time and place between artwork and viewer. In the use of duration, extension, slowing down, or wasting time, contemporary artists have made time a tangible medium for the spectator to experience. This has been used as a way to challenge the position of modernist 'timelessness' and replace it with the 'plethora of temporalities'[132] that are an inherent part of the 'conditions of contemporaneity', and therefore crucial to postcolonial or world time:

> 'If the radical provisionalization of time (along with that of place, media, and affect) is symptomatic of the current condition of contemporaneity, we might expect that the past-present-future triad at the core of modern conceptions of time would be radicalized: not only by the mixing of these times, but their disruption and displacement by other kinds of time.'[133]

From this arise potential disruptions when viewing the revolving objects on screen in *Shapes and Forms*. Although presented as vision of timeless modernism, as the objects turn, fade, and emerge, so the histories of ownership are enunciated, and new ways of extending these histories into plural directions become possible.

The film's surrealist use of motion and sound as animating techniques also sets up unexpected connections to moving images by later artists. There are a surprising number of examples of films where surrealist techniques, like those used in *Shapes and Forms*, have been re-appropriated, these can offer a more relational perspective on the film's history and with it associations of modernist construction of primitive arts. For instance, in films such as *Statues Also Die* (1953) by Chris Marker and Alain Resnais, *Von Hand* (2011) Helke Bayrle and Sunah Choi,[134] *USER GROUP DISCO* (2009) by Elizabeth Price and *It for Others* by Duncan Campbell, the artists have all applied techniques from surrealist animation in a way that dialectically negates the limitations of simply 'observing and recording.'[135] By considering *Shapes and Forms* – and likewise *40,000 Years* – in relation to these artworks, my suggestion is that we are able to 'cast a contemporary light onto these objects.'[136] This was the reflection of the curator Clementine Deliss, whose project *Object Atlas* (2012) brought about dialogues between

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[131] Terry Smith, 'Taking Time . . .' in *What is Contemporary Art?* p.198.
[132] Ibid, p.198.
[133] Ibid, p.211.
[134] *Von Hand* (by hand) was commissioned by Clementine Deliss for *Object Atlas – Fieldwork in the Museum.*
[135] Clementine Deliss, 'Introduction', to *Object Atlas: Fieldwork in the Museum* (Bielefeld: Kerber, 2012), p.24.
[136] Ibid, p.20.

contemporary artists and the ethnographic collections at the Weltkulturen Museum as a curatorial strategy to readdress the problematic history of the collection, and to literally bring to light objects in museums that are so often kept off display and in storage because of their troubled genealogies. Following Deliss's approach, I would argue that seeing *40,000 Years* and its mediation *Shapes and Forms* in relation to these films brings in a new form of contemporary conversation – one that can acknowledge the still-dominant colonial gaze, and its related form of spectatorship, whilst at the same time present the multiplicity of artistic representations to the public. As I will explore, this was already a conflict that was taking place between two forms of perception – the modern and the contemporary - when the film was made in 1949.

What we find in the ICA's extensive discursive programming, including lectures, discussions and performances, is not a singular perspective but the idea of coexistence where multiple viewpoints are brought together. This is shared in the films discussed above through a practice of 'rewriting'.[137] These aspects of 'rewriting' and 'coexistence'[138] could be considered as methods relating to Foucault's reflection on discourse and statements as successive, and as an alternative to chronology, influence and origin. Against the idea of a universal form, part of the promotion of *40,000 Years* – in which ideas were conceived of as something internal – what if, through Foucault we were to 'interpret [...] the statement', here considered in *Shapes and Forms*, in a way that 'might reveal [...] the analysis of their coexistence, their succession, their mutual functioning, their reciprocal determination, and their independent and correlative transformation.'[139] Drawing on Foucault's discursive formations enables us to recognize and acknowledge the aspects of modern perception taking place at that time, but in a way that defines the exhibition as a foundational moment. Instead, we could see the ideas in the exhibition's programming – the conception of a contemporary public and the disruptions created by the film – in terms of 'positive dispersion'.[140] If we look at where there is 'overlapping and dispersion'[141] and therefore outside of this particular moment in history (1949), we can see this archival fragment alongside films by later artists. As Foucault pointed out: 'It is not a question of rediscovering what might legitimize an assertion, but of freeing the conditions of emergence of statements, the law of their coexistence with others, the specific form of their mode of being, the principles according to which they survive, become transformed and disappear.'[142]

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[137] Michel Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, p.60.
[138] Ibid, p.72.
[139] Ibid, p.32.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Ibid, p.127.

In this Chapter I provide an introduction to the exhibition *40,000 Years* in relation to the surrealist interest in ethnography in the early twentieth century, placing in the historic context of the ICA's development in London just after the Second World War. I consider how forms of 'super-real presence,'[143] were being performed through surrealism as anachronism and how they can be reflected on in the collaged approach to the exhibition design. This is then contextualised and complicated through the founder's choice of the term 'contemporary' over the 'modern' in 1946. In the second half of the chapter I develop contemporaneity as a site of coexistence from the exhibition by looking at the film *Shapes and Forms*. I draw connections to the reclaiming of surrealist animation by contemporary artists and offer a contemporary reading to the film, specifically with Elizabeth's Price's USER GROUP DISCO. Thus I will show how when we see the film and exhibition in terms of Foucault's 'positive dispersion', it becomes possible to see how the silence and sanitization of objects in *40,000 Years* and *Shapes and Forms*, become representative of the conflict between a modern ideal and a contemporary public.

The exhibition: 'Art of our time'

40,000 Years of Modern Art included 80 paintings and sculptures of 'modern' art, defined in the accompanying catalogue as 'Art of our time',[144] alongside 150 objects and artworks, from Africa, Pre-Historic Europe, Melanesia, Polynesia, Australia and America, that were referred to as 'The Art of Primitive Peoples'.[145] They were displayed in an installation designed by graphic designer F.H.K. Henrion, in a style that appeared to navigate the public's engagement away from associations of the dusty, dark space of a museum. Objects – as much as possible – were displayed outside glass cabinets, with only a barrier of pebbles preventing visitors from stepping too close, [146] while chipboard walls and cabinets helped to lighten the display. The pebble barrier also simultaneously unified the disparate objects and gave a domestic feel to the environment, as though the visitor was being invited to walk down a curving garden path. The exhibition was held at the Academy Hall on Oxford Street, in which the ceiling was painted black and the walls of the hall grey especially for the show. Photographs of the exhibition's tangled extension leads lying across the gallery space's pathway suggest the importance of the theatrical lighting system for spot-lighting objects against the darkness of these walls.[147]

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[143] William Archer and Robert Melville, *40,000 Years of Modern Art: A Comparison of Primitive and Modern* (London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1948).
[144] Ibid, p.52.
[145] Ibid, p.48.
[146] See Massey, *Institute of Contemporary Arts*, p.25; also see Roland Penrose interview with Dorothy Morland, 'ICA Reminiscences' (October 1976), Tate Archive, TGA 955/1/14/10-11.
[147] The lighting was organized and designed by theatre lighting designer Eric Wolfensohn and supplied by Stage Electrical Equipment, *40,000 Years of Modern Art*. p.5

The selection of works and the appointment of Henrion were made by an exhibitions committee, which included collector and Co-Director of the Hannover Gallery, Arthur Jeffress, the art critic Robert Melville, Belgian surrealist artist and writer E.L.T Mesens, the artist and collector Roland Penrose, the art critic Herbert Read, and the collector Peter Watson. Following in the footsteps of their first exhibition, *40 Years of Modern Art* (1948) – described by Robert Melville as 'a kind of stock-taking of English collections […] designed to indicate the development of modern art from the fauves and the cubists to the present day'[148] – many of the works selected for *40,000 Years* were loaned from the extensive collection of their personal networks, including from Margaret Webster Plass, Modernist architect Erno Goldfinger, and from Peter Watson and Roland Penrose's own collections. These works were displayed alongside loans from the leading collections of ethnography in the UK, Germany and France, including the Frobius Institute in Frankfurt, the Ashmolean and Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford and Musee de L'Homme in Paris, amongst others.[149]

As the second exhibition to be organized by the ICA, *40,000 Years* was seen as an opportunity to promote ideas behind the ICA's foundation, to build its membership and raise money for the future programme.[150] In the 'Preface' to the exhibition catalogue Read described how the exhibition was concerned with demonstrating the 'universality of art', that ' . . . like conditions produce like effects, and more specifically, that there are conditions in modern life which have produced effects only to be seen in primitive epochs.'[151] These 'conditions', were summed up by Read as 'a vague sense of insecurity, a cosmic anguish […] feelings and intuitions that demand expression in abstract or unnaturalistic forms.'[152] These emotions of 'anguish' would have been familiar to a society in London recovering from the War, and *40,000 Years* tapped into this mood, through the idea of perceiving emotional expression through form. This creative interest in the emotional expression seen in modern and primitive arts, as Guy Brett has described more generally, presented an opportunity to 'look critically at spiritual needs in a corporate, technological civilisation; to seek a kind of psychological renewal in the primary energies of materials, colours, forms, and so on.'[153] *40,000 Years,* as such, offered a psychological and social opening for audiences through the experience of new creative forms of expression, forming part of the ICA's purpose to 'entertain and educate the

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[148] Robert Melville, 'The Exhibitions of the Institute of Contemporary Arts', in *The Studio* (April 1951) p. 99, Tate Archive, TAM 45/1.
[149] For details of the works, lenders and a full archival analysis of the exhibition see Massey, *Institute of Contemporary Arts: 1946-1968*. pp.23-31.
[150] In order to establish the ICA in a permanent building they needed a 'fund of not less than £50,000', Herbert Read, 'Preface' to *40,000 years of modern art*, p.7.
[151] Ibid, p.6.
[152] Ibid.
[153] Guy Brett, 'Unofficial Versions', in *The Myth of Primitivism: Perspectives on Art*, ed. by Susan Hiller (London: New York: Routledge, 1991), pp.113-36 (pp.113-114).

general public but also to bring that public into intimate contact with the artists, so that a new creative effort may spring from a sense of communion or mutual understanding.'[154] This was seen as part of the ICA's ambition to remove distinctions between disciplines and bring art forms together in one space in a way that was both universalist and socialist.

This exhibitionary confrontation between the arts from around the world through universal form had been a practice applied in exhibition making since 1914.[155] It followed practices of 'ethnographic surrealism', a term James Clifford has used to historicize and conceptually frame the combined emergence of the disciplines ethnography and surrealism, who in their early stages both shared a curiosity in 'the theory and practice of juxtaposition' both looking to 'provok[e] the manifestation of extraordinary realities drawn from the domains of the erotic, the exotic, and the unconscious.'[156] Following their roots in surrealist networks and previous exhibitions organized by some of the founders of the ICA at Gallery House and the Royal Academy, exploring the creative potential in the eruption of otherness, is certainly how the ICA approached *40,000 Years*. But at this point in 1949, surrealism as a movement had mostly disintegrated,[157] and instead the ICA can be seen to translate techniques of juxtaposition, and surrealist promotional techniques, into strategies for engaging audiences in the contemporary arts. Instead of promoting a movement - through bulletins, statements, juxtaposed viewpoints, and collaged displays – the ICA founders focused their mediation on creating a closer connection between art and society. As we will see, this translation of surrealist practices is important for understanding how the public's visual perception was being constructed.

In selecting a conversation between modern and primitive form, two issues emerge that are pertinent to an exploration of exhibitions and audiences. First, the ICA chose to continue from avant-garde and surrealism, the practice of focusing on form as a way to erode disciplines. Secondly, by this stage there had begun to be a formalization of art historical and anthropological disciplines that was beginning to restrict these formalist dialogues. Both of these aspects have consequences for the contradictory way that audiences and the idea of contemporaneity were constructed by the ICA. Julian

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[154] Read, 'Preface', pp.6-7
[155] Ibid, p.446. 1914 was a crucial date marking the establishment of Paul Guillaume's gallery of modern and primitive art in Paris. In New York, 'Negro statuary' was shown within the context of art in *Statuary in Wood by African Savages: The Root of Modern Art*, an exhibition of African wood carvings (November 3 – December 8 1914). In London, an exhibition of African art was held at the Chelsea Book Club in 1920, organized by Roger Fry, Clive Bell and Andre Salmon.
[156] James, *The Predicament of Culture*, p.118
[157] Although some of the members such ELT Mesens held onto the movement. Lucy Lippard dates surrealism between 1924-1945, *Surrealists on Art* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970).

Stallabrass has reflected on how in exhibitions and literature between 1918-1930, 'the savage and the prehistoric art were placed together, out of the chronological order otherwise strictly adhered to.'[158] We see this in the *40,000 Years'* catalogue in the way that the modern artists were framed for the reader contemporaneously as 'art of our time'. But while creating form was seen as a matter of 'choice' made by modern artists who were working 'within the limits of a single material or technique'.[159] For primitive artists any connection to material and technique was associated with tradition, depicting the external worlds of society and landscape, and 'seen in' a direct, organic, 'un-mediated relationship to nature.'[160] At the ICA this externalized construction of primitive arts (its static quality and traditional references) was instrumentalized into forms of modern perception. Spectatorship was therefore constructed through seeing primitive arts as 'long-ago'[161] and modern art as part of 'our' mediated present, and therefore temporally related and relevant. As a result of this education, through connections to ownership, and a shared present with modern art, the Western spectator was constructed as advanced. This history, as we can see, can be linked to this ICA exhibition in part through the central work Pablo Picasso's *Les Demoiselles D'Avignon* (1907).

At the time the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York was '*the* model of modern art presentation and patronage,'[162] and in both the style of the hang, and the selection of works in *40,000 Years*, we get glimpses of Alfred J Barr's 'abiding conviction that modern art was not a period style or chronological designation but rather an attitude of nonconformity and abiding innovation.'[163] Barr was a close friend of Lee Miller and Roland Penrose; the couple had visited Barr during their trip to America in 1946, and the museum is frequently referenced in committee minutes as a space the ICA wanted to either align to, or negate. A very direct connection to MoMA had been exhibited to visitors in the ICA's first exhibition *40 Years of Modern Art* when a photograph of the museum was hung on the wall in the gallery.[164] In *40,000 Years* this connection was signaled through the exhibition's highlight piece, *Les Demoiselles D'Avignon,* which had been loaned from MoMA, and was on its first display in the UK.[165] This work, as an example of modern art innovation, can be seen as part of the inherent contradiction at

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[158] Stallabrass, 'The Idea of the Primitive', p.98.
[159] Ibid, p.101.
[160] Ibid, p.99.
[161] Susan Hiller, 'Editor's Introduction', in *The Myth of Primitivism*, ed. by Susan Hiller (New York; London: Routledge, 1991), pp.11-13 (p.87).
[162] Ben Cranfield, '"Not Another Museum": The Search for Contemporary Connection', in *Journal of Visual Culture*, Vol.12, (2013), pp.313-331 (p.318).
[163] Richard Meyer, *What Was Contemporary Art?* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2013), p.185.
[164] 'The exhibition is part of a propaganda exercise to raise fifty thousand pounds to launch the Institute's main scheme. In the entrance there is a huge photograph of the magnificent Museum of Modern Art in New York to give the public some idea of the kind of place the Institute wants to be.' Henry Sayner, 'Why do they paint like this', review of the exhibition *40 Years of Modern Art* (1948), Tate Archive, TAM 48, 45/1.
[165] Penrose, as a good friend of both Alfred J Barr's and Picasso's, negotiated this loan.

the centre of the ICA. *40,000 Years*, as Read described, was aligned to the modern artist's rejection of 'the stylized conventionalism of the late Victorians', who preferred to find a 'new contact of sympathy with our earliest ancestors'.[166] This was an aspect of the display Eric Newton celebrated in his review, when he described how the 'exhibition [was] so completely free from representational obligation and [that the] Renaissance realism is refreshing.'[167] But this approach of removing realism or representative examples from art history had the equal effect of homogenizing disparate cultures. In addition, the 'contact of sympathy', Read described, in fact came back to developments in style – as we see in an exhibition document.[168] Whilst FHK Henrion was given free reign with the layout design, creating a playful, domestic effect, a document in the exhibition's file shows how this was guided by the committee's groupings of works through Romantic and Expressionist, Cubist, Geometrical and Abstract and Surrealist works. This shows us that although there was some freedom in form, connections to artistic movements were difficult to entirely be rid of.

The attempt to mold public attitudes towards modern art via exhibitions, whilst refusing to let go of stylistic shifts, was mirrored in the shaping of the ethnographic discipline in museums. During the twenties, ethnographic displays shared surrealism's 'abandonment of the distinction between high and low culture',[169] and offered visitors – including surrealist artists – freedom to create connections and comparisons. However, by the mid-1930s as disciplines were formalized, ethnology and art became more distinct. For instance, as James Clifford has highlighted, in 1937 under the directorship of French ethnologist Paul Rivet, the Trocadero in Paris – an inspirational collection for many surrealist artists – re-launched in a new location as the Musee de l'Homme. In the new displays the combination of 'science and public education', [170] led by the director's socialist humanist beliefs in the totality of global man, were also concerned with increasing the separation between art and ethnography. Rivet's role in creating this separation was to 'issue a formal injunction against treating artifacts aesthetically' at the Musee de l'Homme.[171] What was lost in the process of consolidating ethnography, according to Clifford, was the potential for 'disruptive and creative play' that allowed for 'disorientation'.[172] We see evidence of the jarring between the two disciplines in *40,000 Years*. Anne Massey has described how the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford loaned a Cycladic figure the Curator refused permission for its image to be included on the

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[166] Herbert Read's Opening Speech for *40,000 Years of Modern Art,* Tate archive TGA 955/1/12/10. p.1.
[167] Eric Newton, 'Primitive and Modern' in *The Times* 2/1/1949, press cuttings, Vol. 1., 'Founding of the Institute of Contemporary Arts', 1947-8, Tate Archive, TAM 48, 45/3.
[168] Exhibition Sub-committee minutes, 1948-1951, pp.1-2 (28 September 1948), Tate Archive, TGA 955/1/12/1.
[169] Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, p.139.
[170] Ibid.
[171] Michel Leiris communication with James Clifford, see James, *The Predicament of Culture*, footnote no.13, p.140.
[172] Ibid, p.140.

exhibition poster alongside a Giacometti sculpture, perhaps because from the Curator's perspective modern art had a lower cultural status than ethnographic objects.[173] Whilst at the same time, this jarring of disciplines becomes evident when Roland Penrose has to learn new taxonomic systems for classification 'from the ethnographical point of view,'[174] for the image captions. The results show the conflict by what is left absent; there is no maker name or date for 'primitive arts' and no location for the 'Art of Our Time'.[175] Although applying creative juxtapositions was associated with removing of disciplines in order to find a universal – and global – language, this simultaneously denied the temporality and authorship of non-Western objects and artworks and created confusion. This contradiction was part of how we can interpret the 'modern spectator.'

The modern spectator

In photographs taken in *40,000 Years* visitors appear to extract some hidden meaning from the displayed objects, peering inside the holes of Henry Moore sculptures, or looking up into Jean Arp's sculpture *Figure* (1938). If, as Terry Smith has suggested, contemporary art indicates not the death of styles but 'that any styles that do persist will do so as anachronism', [176] then what we see in this exhibition through its ephemera is surrealism continuing as an anachronism, particularly in relationship to the spectator and the associated emphasis on situation. Lucy Lippard wrote in 1970 that an influence of surrealism could be found in arts 'emphasis on direct experience: physiological (unconscious as well as intellectual) identification, direct confrontation and communion between artist and viewer, with the work as the "communicating vessel."'[177] What Lippard saw being translated from surrealism into later conceptual art and performative practices was importance being placed on the present 'situation'.[178] We see these ideas of the artwork or situation as a 'communicating vessel' in Read's comment that the ICA would create a 'new sense of communion'.[179] This was part of his anarchist dream to encourage 'a public' to engage in the 'process' of production, rather than passively consuming artworks or being restricted by disciplinary boundaries.

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[173] Massey, *The Independent Group*, p.26 and Massey, *Institute of Contemporary Arts: 1946-1968*, p.27; also see Roland Penrose, *Scrap book 1900-1981* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981), p.143.

[174] William Fagg wrote out the structure for Penrose to follow: 'Kind of figure with brief description; Tribe, sub-tribe, village, country; Purpose for which used; characteristics by which identified [...] ; Size [...]; History of piece (by whom and when collected in the field, subsequent owners, where and when exhibited or illustrated); where good specimens of the same can be seen,' (20 October 1948), Tate Archive, TGA 955/1/12/10 (45 of 54).

[175] *40,000 Years of Modern Art*.

[176] Smith, 'What is Contemporary Art?' p.257.

[177] Lucy Lippard, *Surrealists on art*, p.8.

[178] Ibid.

[179] Read, 'Preface', to *40,000 Years of Modern Art*, p.7

One of the ways the public was being introduced to aesthetic perception in *40,000 Years* was in the catalogue essay written by art critics Robert Melville and William Archer. This text highlights the idea of 'presence' by using what they refer to as Giorgio de Chirico's concept of 'super-normal presences,'[180] explored in the example of De Chirico's *The Child's Brain* (1914). They describe how the painting should be read as symbolic rather than representational, explaining how the notion of 'presences' are indicated within the painting; a book representing the mother, the naked figure representing the father, and the column symbolizing the phallic desire of the child.[181] This reference to 'super-real presence' was a suggestion of how to read the painting as the 'reconciliation of two distant plans,'[182] acknowledging the conscious and the unconscious, not just of the artistic process but, given the purpose of the exhibition to engage the public in the arts, in terms of the unconscious communication between the painting and the viewer's encounter of the painting in the gallery space.

The reflection on 'super-real presences', by Melville and Archer, was applied as a way to promote the apparent timelessness in form and symbol and as a point of comparison between De Chirico's technique and art from the South Pacific. The authors describe how: 'in the *malanggan* there is a similar crowding of symbolic forms within the confines of a single work, and the result is a parallel projection of a "super-normal presence". The New Ireland ancestor is the equivalent of the Chirico parent.'[183] The idea of symbolism and memory was not incorrect, but directing the focus away from 'the ancestral realm' of Pacific culture, and transposing it onto the 'rigid hierarchy' of western modern art limited the potential for related context of locality and the site of 'event'.[184] *Malanggan* is 'the generic name of a funerary ritual that culminates in the production, revelation and "death" of effigies.'[185] Although the name refers to the entire 'event', (still used in New Ireland, Papua New Guinea) *malanggan* as a result of being collected by museums from 1870 onwards are now known simply as the figures that are left-over from the event. *Malanggan* figures are carved from the 'hollowed-out trunk and roots of a mangrove-like tree and composed of superimposed figures' of fish, seagulls, birds and shells.[186] They can take weeks or even months to make with the length of time part of the process of containing memory through representation, as well as containing a way to forget and release the dead; they are 'gradually animated during the process of production.'[187] After the ceremony the figures are kept in villages until the ritual is completed, and then taken

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[180] Melville and Archer, *40, 000 Years of Modern Art*, p.33.
[181] Ibid, pp.33-35.
[182] Lippard, *Surrealists on Art,* p.70.
[183] Melville and Archer, *40, 000 Years of Modern Art*, p.35.
[184] Susanne Kuchler, 'Introduction' to *Malanggan: Art, Memory, and Sacrifice* (Oxford: Berg, 2002), pp.1-10.
[185] Ibid, p.1.
[186] Kuchler, 'Sacrifice and Calendrical Rites', in *Malanggan: Art, Memory, and Sacrifice,* pp,59-80. p.63.
[187] Ibid, p.1.

to sago forests or temples where, in scented environments, they are left to decompose. As Kuchler has demonstrated, it is in the process of rotting disintegration that, '*malanggan* figures are animated in the ritual process by absorbing this force as odour; the death and subsequent decomposition of such figures frees, but also immobilizes, this force, and keeps it at a safe distance'.[188] In decomposition olfaction becomes the vehicle that enables a 'transgressing [of] the boundary between the visible and the invisible.'[189] In Melville and Archer's comparison these relational, affective, temporal, spatial aspects, get reduced in the connection to De Chirico through 'super-real presences' because the purpose is to educate the public into the perceptive experience which is then decoded by the art critic, the curator, or informed spectator. In this process the materiality and synesthetic experience of rotting wood, the particularities of place and locality, indeed the entire process of the event – and not just the figure – remain unarticulated.

For the founders of the ICA, drawing on surrealist 'presences' was part of a curatorial strategy for showing audiences how to interpret emotional expression – and not simply decorative style – in modern art, and to bring into public consciousness the idea of a creative encounter with the artwork in the exhibition. Beth Williamson has framed this in terms of Herbert Read's focus on the theory of the present (cited in the catalogue for the ICA's 1953 exhibition *Wonder and Horror of the Human Head*) which 'removed' the 'framework [of] (the individual's relationship to the artwork) and offered [it] as a strategy for application in a broader, and ultimately more complex, curatorial space.'[190] Hence we see how the relationship between the artwork and viewer introduced the contingency of the present, or the encounter in the gallery, as part of the process of analysis, removing the distance of history whilst retaining objectivity. Yet at the same time, we encounter the problem that, as we see with the framing of *Malanggan* figures, in order to locate a 'cohesive totality'[191] and bring the viewer into this experience the potential extensions into narratives, perspectives and approaches are reduced or sanitized.

This isn't to say that plurality of perspectives were ignored: consider the discussion, 'The relation between Primitive and Modern Art', chaired by Philip James from the Arts Council, which brought to the discussion the multiple views of anthropologist E.R. Leach alongside artist Leon Underwood, psychoanalyst John Rickman and aerial surveyor

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[188] Kuchler, 'Sacrifice and Calendrical Rites', p.63.
[189] Ibid, p76.
[190] Beth Williamson, *Between Art Practice and Psychoanalysis Mid-Twentieth Century: Anton Ehrenzweig in Context* (London: Routledge, 2015), p. 67.
[191] Daniel Miller, 'Primitive Art and the Necessity of Primitivism to Art', in *The Myth of Primitivism: Perspectives on Art*, ed. by Susan Hiller, pp.50-71 (p.51).

Frederick Laws.[192] Yet although the discussion - like others - acknowledged a range of contexts into one synchronic moment, its aim was still focused on identifying formal characteristics of modern art. Readdressing this hierarchy of modern form would be one of the achievements of the Independent Group (1952-1955), whose discussions, lectures and exhibitions extended ideas of man and anthropology into a relationship with modern art and the exhibition space by incorporating ideas around design, technology, architecture, mass consumption and reproduction. We can see this shift between the two perspectives emerging through a lecture by the Psychologist and Lecturer in Art, Anton Enhrenzweig, an individual who was connected to both the old guard at ICA as well as to the Independent Group.

Ehrenzweig's lecture 'The Unconscious Meaning of Primitive and Modern Art'[193] took place in December 1949 and was presented with the intention of opening up the idea of a hidden meaning in art by reflecting back on the exhibition *40,000 Years* and its related debates and discussions. Ehrenzweig introduced the exhibition through the 'unexpected humorous effect' of its object juxtapositions, which he felt reflected how 'laughter, for instance during the psycho-analytical cure, often denotes the beginning of understanding of connections' to memories previously repressed'.[194] The reaction to the curatorial comparisons, Ehrenzweig argued 'betrayed that their unconscious identity had been grasped.'[195] Reflecting on this mix of wonder and horror in the exhibition's reception exposed cultural repression from 'external' interpretation imposed through superficial styles and techniques. Although his lecture was full of problematic assumptions concerning the subject of anxiety,[196] it helpfully presented juxtapositions being made in the exhibition in more structural terms, for instance, by considering F.H.K. Henrion's 'chaotic arrangement' of the exhibition itself, as an alternative to underlying oppression. Ehrenzweig identifies this oppression within anthropologists' reliance of scientific fact and their descriptions of primitive societies, as 'stable and conservative'; in art criticism he finds oppression in didactic approaches to stylistic developments.[197] By showing the structure of these two disciplines Ehrenzweig demonstrated how to widen this approach by looking to music. He spoke of the hidden structure of the organum (a plain Medieval

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[192] See *40,000 Years* Invitation card, Tate Archive, TGA 955/1/12/10 (3 of 54). Other events included films about the lives of Indigenous Aboriginal Australians shown with the Royal Anthropological Institute; a lecture by Julian Issacs on 'The Primitive Origins of Modern Poetry'; and poetry readings with Caribbean singer and actor Edric Connor, actress Pauline Letts and poet Geoffrey Grigson. See Massey, 'Chronology' in *Institute of Contemporary Arts 1946-1968*.

[193] Transcript of 'The Unconscious Meaning of Primitive and Modern Art', by Anton Ehrenzweig, Tate Archive, TGA 955/1/7/12.

[194] Ibid, p.1.

[195] Ibid.

[196] For example, 'Primitive and modern art are more directly expressions of unconscious urges than the more inhibited traditional art and the anxiety caused by the increased pressure of the unconscious urges is clearly expressed in their distorted forms.' Ibid, p.2.

[197] Ibid, p.2.

chant with a melody, sung by a single voice) and compositions by Arnold Schoenberg, which were criticized in their contemporary reception for their strange sound, are both musical compositions that initially sound chaotic, whilst in fact both containing the hidden structure of parallel fifths.

Ehrenzweig uses the seeming chaos of initial perception as a way to demonstrate how a new dialectic of order and chaos was part of the 'unconscious role in making and viewing art'.[198] As Beth Williamson has reflected, this involved a 'surface perception' of looking (a description shared by Stallabrass) as well as a 'depth perception', which can be seen as the sub-structure or hidden order of the work.[199] While the surface or conscious level of perception looks for coherence and perceives this encounter to be chaotic, what Ehrenzweig's gestalt-free perception demonstrated was that there was an order to chaos that could be accessed through what he referred to as 'syncretic perception'.[200] In both Schoenberg and the organum Ehrenzweig therefore found 'a "time-free" mode of depth hearing'[201] in the sense that they were both created and experienced within a synchronic moment and could be experienced through the depth of the unconscious, rather than through the ordering of time that one finds in 'surface perception.' This interpretation was shared by Melville and Archer's descriptions, and by Read's universalism, which equally emphasized presence, but by introducing into this a consideration of space, structure and temporality from music, Ehrenweig framed these as alternative approaches to ordering systems and, consequently, to processes of looking, thinking, listening and communicating. These ideas have consequences for how contemporary audiences were beginning to be communicated with by the ICA.

A contemporary public

Discussions taking place at the ICA in 1949 were part of shaping an idea of modern art for the audience, through form and in relation to physical and psychical 'presence'. These ideas were developed from surrealist notions of the 'situation', or super-reality. Thus I explored how Anton Ehrenzweig applied these ideas to ordering systems of perceived chaos and hidden order. This was directed at 'a public' as potential new members of the ICA. But the ICA, as we know, framed the function of this new Institute in terms of educating and diffusing knowledge not about modern art, but about the contemporary arts in their many forms. After the first few meetings they rejected the terms 'modern' and 'museum' due to the weight of association with both terms, and instead decided on

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[198] Williamson, *Between Art Practice and Psychoanalysis Mid-Twentieth Century: Anton Ehrenzweig in Context.* p.59.
[199] Ibid, p.59.
[200] Ibid.
[201] Ibid, p.74.

the terms 'institute' and 'contemporary'. As a consequence of this name and their approach to programming which engaged with the relationship between art and society, '[c]ontemporary art was', as Thistlewood has commented, dialectically 'to be understood as a counteraction of aesthetic decline, and a regaining of cultural, and therefore social, stability.'[202] Ben Cranfield takes this contradiction, evident in the early years of the ICA, a stage further by suggesting that the 'contradiction and tension' of the ICA, in particular the relationship between the ICA founders and the Independent Group, 'became the condition and concern of the contemporary, as an inchoate bracketing of interrelated and often incompatible desires for relevancy, technocracy and criticality.'[203] Cranfield captures this tension when he describes 'the rough texture of gestalt-free reality (be it the scratches of a film, the drips of paint, the noise of an epidiascope or the rubble of a bomb site) and the elusive promises of formal unity and post-war consensus.'[204] The public and then-members of the ICA were thus positioned as mediators in relation to these different viewpoints. One viewpoint which looked to the uncontained residues of events, whilst the other which sought a utopian idea of universality. This tension emerged publicly through the questioning of art's role in society and the function of interpretation.

At a debate organized by the ICA on 6 December 1949, the chair Julian Huxley (eugenicist, internationalist and also the first Director of UNESCO) asked an audience the following questions: 'Is Art an Essential of an Accessory to Society?' and 'What is the Social Function of Art?'[205] Was art's purpose to be educational and therapeutic, an 'outlet for the emotional reactions to everyday life', or was it to be 'an expression of some central point of view in the life of the time'?[206] The speakers considered how to account for the many ways artists were working at the time, and the lack of one 'absolute' theory of art history. This led the discussion towards the role of interpretation. Rather than teach an 'appreciation of art', which was at that time seen as part of the BBC's function,[207] the speakers considered how to encourage people to perform, create or improvise. This demonstrated, as Huxley summarized, how 'participation in the arts was obviously very important in this mechanistic age.'[208] Here, participation was seen as a form of creative interpretation and a way to bridge the existing gap between the community and the

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[202] David Thistlewood, *Herbert Read: Formlessness and Form: An Introduction to his Aesthetics* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), p.121.
[203] Ben Cranfield, '"Not Another Museum": The Search for Contemporary Connection', p.315
[204] Ibid, p.327.
[205] 'Draft Notes on Speeches Made at Forum for Discussion' (6th December, 1949), Tate Archive, TGA/955/1/7/13, p.1.
[206] Ibid.
[207] Graphic Designer Tom Eckersley commented, 'The idea should be to encourage people to want to perform themselves', ibid, p.7.
[208] Ibid, p.7.

'great creative artist'.[209] For architect Misha Black, a solution to the distance between art and the community could be found in 'second-class artists', whom he defined as architects, and those involved in film and theatre.[210] These artists, who worked 'in the materials of society', could act as 'interpreters' between the 'ordinary people' and 'great art'.[211] Many of the ICA founders shared Black's interest in how interpretation could be used as a way to locate art's function in society. As is well known, the ICA's relationship to design is a distinguishing characteristic of the organization; they regularly employed artists to translate exhibition ideas into visual form (as we see in Henrion's designs *for 40,000 Years*), but this 'interpretive' role was also considered as subservient to modern art.

However, the role of interpretation – for example, discussions, exhibition designs and screenings – that were seen at a lower level in this discussion began to have more flexibility. Whilst the term 'modern art' was itself becoming static, as the founders of the ICA had already recognized, the mediating forms of interpretation and dissemination held new potential in the way they resisted, and continue to resist, being fixed within history. We see this just three-years after *40,000 Years* when images, products, adverts, and photographs began to be used by the Independent Group to expose the hierarchical distinctions imposed by the definition of modern art they associated with the ICA founders. Their reassessment of modernism, by introducing the products and commodities of everyday life, was in some ways shared by the rejection of relational experience from so-called primitive arts. For instance, Clifford has shown how museological displays of ethnography frequently excluded the 'globalized product' and the structures 'behind the work's governing interpretation.'[212] We can see one reaction to this through Independent Group member Eduardo Paolozzi's display of mass consumption and ethnographic histories in his *Lost Magic Kingdoms* exhibition at the Museum of Mankind' (1985-87). His collaged approach to the installation, combining works from the ethnographic collections selected because they suggested '[…] the creative reuse of materials and visible processes of modification', with his own works and a variety of images, toys, parts of machines, and 'imitation fruits,'[213] demonstrated – as Lisa Maddigan Newbye has described - a move away from the 'universal aesthetic'. The exhibition arguably achieved this by creating a plethora of possible connections playing with the idea of reproduction, providing 'a provocative alternative to the universal

[209] Ibid.
[210] Ibid, p.8.
[211] Ibid, p 8.
[212] Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, p.147.
[213] Lisa Maddigan Newbye, 'Lost Magic Kingdoms: Eduardo Paolozzi's Assemblages at the Museum of Mankind', in *Eduardo Paolozzi*, ed. by Daniel F. Herrmann (London: Whitechapel Gallery, 2017), p.237.

aesthetic affinities.'[214] Paolozzi's approach coinciding with the arrival of post-colonial studies shows the shifts that would begin to take place after *40,000 Years of Modern Art*, and as we see through Clifford, mass production as contemporary commodities play an important role in re-visioning these narratives.

In the following section I return to the notion of the modern spectator and explore how these ideas of an exhibition's interpretation and participatory viewer, as discussed above, were also explored at the ICA through the film *Shapes and Forms*. This enables us to see beyond the confines of the ICA and its own exhibition history. One copy of the film belongs to the British Film Institute's (BFI) collection, where it jostles alongside other examples of artist's films. I use this archival proximity to artist film-making to develop a connection between *Shapes and Forms* and the work of contemporary artist, Elizabeth Price, as well as continuing to examine the concepts of conflict and contradiction Thistlewood and Cranfield have explored.

Animating history – *Shapes and Forms*

George Hoellering and Jacques Brunius programmed the film section of the ICA and, like other areas of the Institute, this was not restricted to one form of curation but as well as screenings, included discussions, questionnaires and a film library, to engage ICA members in research, debate and creative experiment. They showed new and old films that were connected to the 1920s avant-garde movements in France and Germany, and screened the latest young Italian cinema. They would 'encourage script-writers to write scenarios for non-commercial films and then help them to find the financial means of making them', and provide a space for creative discussion.[215] When Hoellering and Brunius began this programme they decided to complement rather than compete with the existing spaces in London for discursive, avant-garde style screenings – limited to the National Film Library and the BFI - by educating their audience in the processes of film-making, recognizing that this would be beneficial to the future of the Institute. As Hoellering suggested, 'holding discussions' would help to 'create a critical film audience, which could become a useful force in the film world'.[216] While Brunius proposed the now-familiar structure of two critics 'with opposing views' in conversation, Hoellering wanted to focus on the 'ordinary audience', believing it 'would be more valuable to persuade the ICA's own members to start to speak' because 'later ICA members could be taken *en bloc*

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[214] Ibid, p.240.
[215] J.B. Brunius, 'Suggested Activities for the Film Section of the Institute of contemporary Arts', Tate Archive, TGA 955/1/2/1, pp.1-2.
[216] Ibid.

to films.'[217] As discussed above, through the programming of the film section, ICA members were encouraged to participate, granting them an opportunity to become 'critical' – and thus the potential to act as future advocates for the ICA.

In its first year, the film programme, which was held at the Institut Francais, [218] combined experimental surrealist and Dada films, including the *Seashell and the Clergyman* (1928), by Germane Dulac; the experimental hand-drawn animations of *Dots* and *Loops* (both 1940), by Norman McLaren; documentaries on artists, such as *The World of Paul Delvaux* (1944), written by Paul Eluard and directed by Henri Stork. They also showed examples of documentaries created in museums: *Looking at Sculpture*, (1950) directed by Alexander Shaw (sponsored by the Central Office for Information and the Ministry of Education) made in the sculpture rooms at the Victoria and Albert Museum, and *Versailles Palais du Soleil* (1950) filmed in the Palace of Versailles, was written by the Palace's Chief Curator, Charles Mauricheau-Beaupré, and directed by Claudine Lenoir and Lucette Gaudard. It is with this last genre of documentary filmmaking, as interpretations of museum collections and their objects, that Hoellering's *Shapes and Forms* can be associated. It was screened on the 6th November 1950 alongside Hans Richter's experimental *Dreams That Money Can Buy* (1947), a surrealist film in which seven individuals have their dreams unlocked by the character Joe Bittner, a programming decision that would form further associations in the eyes of audiences between the exhibition and the idea of unconscious expression.[219]

Hoellering ran the Academy Cinema, and had lent the basement of the Academy Hall (next door to the cinema) to the ICA for both *40 Years of Modern Art* and *40,000 Years of Modern Art*. During the run of the exhibition Hoellering went into the galleries over three nights (assisted by Roland Penrose and his son Andrew Hoellering) and shot *Shapes and Forms*. With the help of Director of Photography David Kosky, he constructed elaborate turntables, and used dramatic lighting effects and unusual camera angles to help create a sense of fluid animation.[220] Following a collaboration on the 'folk-musical' *Hortobagy* (1936), a film that depicted the lives and animals from a rural culture in Eastern Hungary, as well as the film *Murder in the Cathedral* (1948) based on T.S. Eliot's drama of

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[217] Ibid.
[218] The first screening of the 'Gallery Cinema' took place at Dover Street on 27 October 1952 with *Miserere* a 'film based on Rouault engravings, *Between Two Worlds*, the Oxford University amateur film (this would be the first showing in London after the Press show) and *Bataille du Rail*,' shown during the exhibition *Nine Young Painters*, which included work by Richard Hamilton, Michael Andrews and Barbara Braithwaite. See 'Film Sub-Committee meeting' (22 September 1952), Tate Archive, TGA 955/1/8/1.
[219] These include dream sequences directed and written by Alexander Calder, Marcel Duchamp (scored by John Cage), Max Ernst, Ferdinand Leger, May Ray and Hans Richter.
[220] Hoellering mentions making *Shapes and Forms* in an interview with Dorothy Morland (recorded on 26.1.77). See 'Reminiscences', Tate Archive, TGA/955/1/14/5.

the same name,[221] Hoellering invited ethnomusicologist Lajtha to create a new composition (titled op.48) for *Shapes and Forms*.[222] At the time Lajtha, classified by the Communist authorities as a resistance fighter, was banned by the regime from leaving Hungary (between 1948-1962) so had to compose the music based on the time intervals, mailed to him by Hoellering, and then subsequently recorded in London. This led one critic to describe the dramatic music as 'fascinatingly irrelevant'. [223] Despite this criticism the film was also acknowledged for its role in pioneering techniques of animation. For instance, in Raymond Spottiswode's *Film and its Techniques, Shapes and Forms* was referenced as an example of new animation techniques that use 'movement of light beams over flat surfaces and over objects'.[224] In historical terms the films 'intensified observation and [...] aversion to explanation [...] eschewing narration', can also define the film as an example of '*ciné-poème*', a form of filmmaking popular just after the war that looked to poetry and the synthesizing of time and space as a way to express a universal experience.[225]

In *Shapes and Forms,* the gaze of the camera lens – animated through light, sound and motion – helps to create formal connections between the rotating objects as they appear on screen, or as they emerge from the darkness. Unlike the images of *40,000 Years*, in which visitors were shown in relation to the exhibition, in the images for *Shapes and Forms* we see that the environment, visitors and concurrent conversation have all been removed in order to accentuate aesthetic analysis. The effect echoes a comment made by Sergei Eisenstein at a similar time to the film (1947), following a visit to a museum of ancient Mayan culture in Chichén Itzá on the Yucatán Peninsula in Mexico, that 'museums are best at night'.[226] Eisenstein felt that at that time they invited a 'merging with the display' rather than 'simply viewing' – something we have already encountered with Melville and Archer's interpretations of de Chirico's painting through 'presences'.[227] Hoellering's approach to making *Shapes and Forms* was equally led by a similar deployment of the colonial, atemporal gaze, in the way it excluded the mess and chaos of the day. The physical edges and frames of works are removed and only details of

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[221] *Murder in the Cathedral*, dir. George Hoellering (Film Traders Ltd, 1948), it is a transposition of TS Elliot's play, narrates the murder of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. Hoellering also collaborated on a highly stylized film with Ludo Read (Herbert Read's wife), *Message from Canterbury* (George Hoellering, 1944).

[222] *Shapes and Forms* was produced and distributed commercially through Hoellering's company Film Traders Ltd., which, since 1941, had released a total of 30 films, predominantly documentary or educational for ministry offices such as General Post Office.

[223] *The Monthly Film Bulletin*, No.194 Vol.17 (published by the British Film Institute 164 Shaftsbury Avenue WC2 February – March 1950).

[224] Raymond Spottiswoode, *Film and its techniques* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1951), p.130.

[225] '. . . not surprising reaction to years of slaughter', Erik Barnouw, *Documentary: a history of the non-fiction film* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp.185-186.

[226] Museums at Night' in *Sergei Eisenstein, Selected Works: Volume IV: Beyond the Stars: The Memoirs of Sergei Eisenstein.* Ed. R. P. Taylor, William. London: BFI and Seagul Books. p.307

[227] Ibid.

paintings are shown; Picasso's *Les Demoiselle D'Avignon* appears, but its edges fade out into darkness. Through this filmed mediation the exhibition becomes a fragmented collage of objects from the show, projected as modern essences.

As I have discussed above, *Shapes and Forms* was one interpretation of the exhibition and that by excluding discussion, and the potential chaos of daytime, authored a colonial gaze that the modern spectator was encouraged to follow. In historical analysis, as Foucault has demonstrated, the question of interpretation defines what is being hidden, what things 'were "really" saying, in spite of themselves, the unspoken element they contain, the proliferation of thoughts, images, or fantasies that inhabit them.'[228] We see this form of interpretation within *Shapes and Forms*, as part of its reflections on what is hidden within the unconscious through the promotion of the exhibition. We also see the use of interpretation through 'secondary artists' mediating the space between so-called 'Great Art' and the public via lectures at the ICA. Applying an understanding from Foucault to these examples of perception in the archive we can begin to see how forms of interpretation, even the term itself, can become problematic in the way it suggests an ideal point of departure or arrival; such as an ideal form or moment in history, or an ideal form of spectatorship. As Foucault suggests, instead of looking for what is hidden we could question the 'mode of existence […] awaiting the moment when they might be of use once more, what it means to them to have appeared when and where they did – they and no others', [229] we might be able to locate the idea of coexistence. We can achieve this through *Shapes and Forms* by seeing the film as a 'statement' that has acquired its status by taking on the materiality of the exhibition. By looking at the conditions of its enunciation as a 'statement' and as already historical, we can reflect on the ways it might have been 'repeated'; how through 'coordination and coexistence' the film can be said to 'circulate'.[230] If we see the film itself not in terms of pointing elsewhere, to a hidden point, but of 'posing the problem of its own limits, its divisions, its transformations, the specific modes of its temporality,'[231] this allows us to address its re-appropriation.

The close analysis of objects demonstrated by the direction of *Shapes and Forms* (which excludes the colonized 'source of the projection'[232]) can be seen as a visual trope or 'statement' – one that has since been revisited by artists interested in the history of objects, and of museological and taxonomic representations. For example, a few years after *Shapes and Forms* was first shown, museological and surrealist interest in African

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[228] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, p.123.
[229] Ibid.
[230] Ibid, p.119.
[231] Ibid, p.131.
[232] Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, p.145.

sculpture was taken on by Alain Resnais and Chris Marker through their film *Les Statues Meurent Aussi (Statues Also Die)*, a documentary about the disintegration and desecration of black African art by white Europeans, who had removed the work from its sacred, animist context, and placed it in the sterile museum space.[233] Indeed, some of the objects shown in *Les Statues* were also included in *Shapes and Forms,* since both films used works that were loaned from the collection of Margaret Webster Plass, to which these objects belonged.[234] *Les Statues* pushes the limits of modern visual interpretation, just as we have seen in *Shapes and Forms*, by offering a new enunciation of historical animation. The film makes the Western interest in African sculpture visible by displaying the sculptures themselves alongside creative, technological, social and cultural contexts.[235]

Elizabeth Price's film USER GROUP DISCO offers a further re-inscription to some of the techniques found in *Shapes and Forms,* by introducing the concept of mass consumption. The film asks the viewer to consider how a museum's taxonomic systems become applied to culture – as an 'operating core' – that gives order and structure to the objects owned by a culture. In this imagined 'Hall of Sculptures', 'domestic monstrosities' have 'not been eradicated'; we see how cheap, mechanical, quickly obsolete objects become an excessive and oppositional mess to the apparent order of the museum, disrupting the latter's 'flows', with objects instead 'float[ing] in our company'.[236] Half way through the film, a pop track begins and black and white shifts into colour as whisks, spoons, records and ceramic souvenirs – both functional and non-functional objects – pirouette to A-ha's *Take on Me*. These visual and oral techniques seem to recalibrate the canonical idea of the spotlit modern icon with its religious and museological connotations, whilst also showing how technological revolutions – what the Independent Group would call 'expendable' items – are part of our contemporary condition.

The use of the revolving object as seen in *Shapes and Forms*, and the concurrent implication of revolution, can be seen as a surrealist technique. Price's re-appropriation of this technique demonstrates how it is possible to find an alternative animation of history and the life of objects. For instance, the revolving objects in Price's film seem to answer James Clifford's proposition that a blue plastic Adidas bag is 'part of the same kind of inventive cultural process as the African-looking masks that in 1907 suddenly

[233] Nora Alter, *Chris Marker* (Urbana, Ill.: Chesham: University of Illinois Press; Chesham: Combined Academic, 2006), p.167.
[234] The collection is now in the British Museum. *The Webster Plass Collection of African Art.* The catalogue of a memorial exhibition held in the King Edward VII Galleries of the British Museum, 1953. William Fagg. London.
[235] Artist Duncan Campbell's *It for Others,* 2014, is a filmic response to *Les Statues Meurent Aussi* mediating on the 'cultural imperialism and the commodification of objects.'
http://www.moma.org/visit/calendar/film_screenings/20267 [accessed 20 June 2016]. Campbell filmed replicas of the British Museum objects that had been filmed in *Les Statues.*
[236] Transcription from Elizabeth Price, USER GROUP DISCO, 2009, HD video, duration: 15 minutes, edition 1/3 + 2 Aps.

appeared attached to the pink bodies of the *Demoiselles d'Avignon*.'[237] The claim, which appears to be taken up by invading monstrosities in USER GROUP DISCO, is that the anachronistic modern vision of objects can be remediated[238] to include the mechanisms or enunciation of its own construction, as well as its utility and the social shape of the object, rather than attempting to disguise this vision within the interpretation of form as universal.

It is as a result of these revolutions in *Shapes and Forms*, a literal turning of the object in the film and in metaphorical terms representative of shifts in perspective, that we see museum codes stamped on the back. In seeing this literal museum code, the construction of the colonial gaze already present in the making of the film shows the objects genealogy beyond the frame of the film, the exhibition, and even the ICA. This exposure occurs a number of times, but to take one example, at one point we see two objects rotating on a turn table and their museum labels, understood in connection with various descriptions at the back of the catalogue, inform us that both objects are Melanesian, from the collection of J.T. Hooper.[239] One of these objects is an ancestral figure from New Ireland, carved from wood and painted white. Next to this we see a Prow figure carved in wood with pearl shell inlay, from the Solomon Islands.[240] This latter figure would have sat at the front of a war or 'headhunting' canoe 'skimming the surface of the water,'[241] on the lookout for rocks underneath. As part of their drive to pacify the Solomon Islanders, Western colonizers removed these canoes and detached the Prow figures, selling them as easily transportable commodities.[242] The hands of the figure are held under its chin, mirroring how corpses were positioned during funerals. The mother of pearl inlay around the mouth imitates the chalk that ran along the side of the boat, and was also drawn on the faces of its passengers. At the moment in the film when the figure turns, its position as an object within the system of a museum – rather than an object with the space of an exhibition – is made visible on screen. This serves to disrupt the coherence of the exhibition's unifying curatorial strategy, a purported 'universal' form, as well as destabilizing the emphasis of the film. Instead we are now pointed to the 'multitude of

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[237] Clifford, 'Ethnographic Surrealism', p.148.
[238] Paul Rabinow has described remediation as a two-part process where 'one has diagnosed or simply sensed that something is deficient and needs improvement or correction: the term also suggests that the pathway forward to achieve that desired correction is through a change of medium,' Rabinow, 'Introduction', in *Object Atlas*, p.8.
[239] Hooper was born in Wiltshire and started collecting in 1912. He set up and ran the Totems Museum in Sussex between 1957-1963.
[240] J.T. Hooper, J. T. & C. A. Burland, *The Art of Primitive Peoples* (London: Fountain Press, 1953), p.113.
[241] Yves Le Fur, *Musée du quai Branly: the collection: art from Africa, Asia, Oceania, and the Americas* (Paris: Flammarion, 2009), p.256.
[242] Daniel Miller worked at a museum in the Soloman Islands and describes how "tourist" versions of the canoe prow were reproduced as souvenirs and that these 'tend[ed] to be smaller and often employed materials which had not previously been used. The most popular of these new materials was ebony with a shiny black finish' an example of how 'the coherent image' is fact 'faced with a multitude of versions of this image.' Miller, 'Primitive Art and the Necessity of Primitivism to Art', p.63.

versions of this image',[243] to further cultural knowledge, and to the mediation of other collections, other genealogies and other temporalities.

[243] Ibid, p.66.
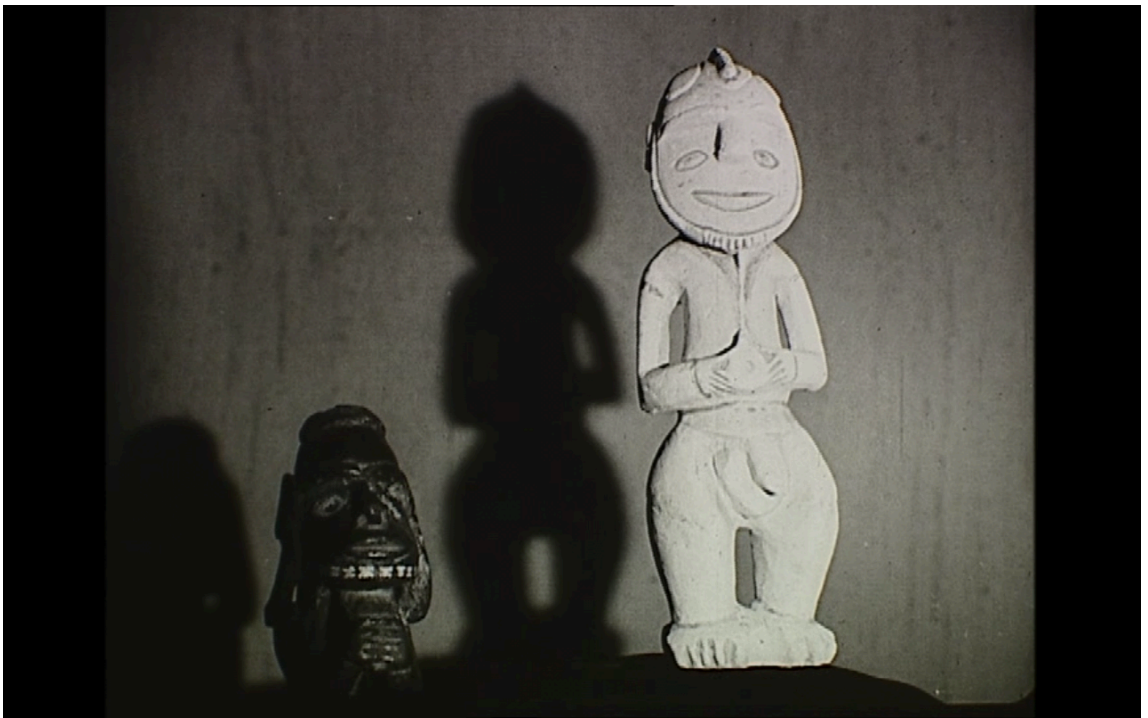
Fig 2. Still from *Shapes and Forms*, dir. by George Hoellering (1950).

What does this apparently accidental display of the objects' backs tell us about their position within the film? We might see this jarring double entendre as similar to the dislocation of Lajtha's composition to *Shapes and Films*, or to the way the music in *USER GROUP DISCO* is used to indicate a structural shift in the film from the museum's taxonomic perspective to one with monstrosities. It creates a tension between the modern perspective and contemporary perspectives that Cranfield defined as the 'rough texture of gestalt-free reality such as the noise of an epidiascope […] and the elusive promises of formal unity and post-war consensus'?[244] In a conversation between artist Antje Majewski and Sengalese artist Issa Samb, recorded as part of Clementine Deliss's *Object Atlas*, Majewski asks if the objects she regularly collects from around the world and transports in her suitcase contain something that is 'alien to us' and whether this thing, whatever it might be, is gradually eroded the more they circulate.[245] Samb tells her that it is 'necessary', first, 'to cross-examine ourselves and this attraction', and that it is then important to look at the 'entire history' of the object's circulations and 'go deeper into its meaning in relation to its place of origin, as a socialised cultural object.'[246] He thus posits that 'it is not a question of interactivity, neither is it a question of interference. It is a question of the interrelationships of living things.'[247] Samb's comments can provide insight into the concurrent perspective discovered in this shot from *Shapes and Forms*. By removing ideas of 'interactivity' and 'inference' - terms we might associate with modern avant-garde experiment and surrealism - Samb describes how we can experience objects as simultaneously contemporaneous and existing within their own logical histories. If we see the Prow figure and the ancestral figure that is screened in *Shapes and Forms*, as 'socialized cultural object[s]', [248] from out post-colonial perspective not only should the overlapping stories of cultural and individual attraction regarding the objects be seen through the collector, the ICA, the film director and by myself, but it should be recognized that this visibility is part of its on-going circulation both of the film and the exhibition – that is made visible through the mediation of history.

Chapter conclusion

If the hegemony of art and exhibition historic discourse privilege continuity, and if the exhibition itself is becoming the formative site of discourse-production, then fragments from the archive like *Shapes and Forms* can act as dispersal and redistribution of these discourses. Our visual world has never been more mediated by and layered with screens.

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[244] Cranfield, 'Not Another Museum', p.327.
[245] Antje Majewski, 'The Shell: A Conversation between Issa Samb and Antje Majewski', in *Object Atlas*, pp.239-68 (p.240).
[246] Ibid, p.241.
[247] Ibid, p.242.
[248] Ibid.

Digital applications mean that we have the ability not just to watch, but also to interact with what we view; to 'zoom in' with precise detail; to endlessly repeat and recreate. By looking at media archaeologically or, in other words, through what we experience in the present moment – as encountered in the sounds and images of screened technology – we focus less on authorship and coherence, in this case modern presence as the ideal form of interpretation, and more on relationships created through forms of media, process and production.

The exhibition *40,000 Years* was promoted as a creative exploration into how reoccurring forms in art are the 'inevitable modes in which certain phases of human experience are effectively addressed'.[249] Within this conflicts between the various approaches the ICA were grappling with in relation to interpretation and the possible function of art in society can be seen to emerge in discussions, such as the debate chaired by Julian Huxley. It can also found in the mediation of *40,000 Years*. For instance, Melville and Archer's interpretation of 'presence' framed *Malanggan* as visual and physical objects, rather than in terms of their broader sites of enunciation, which would incorporate ideas of place, locality, decomposition, olfaction, loss and memory. Their limited interpretation was the result of a parallel lack of knowledge across the disciplines of art and ethnography. However, it is within this misunderstanding that a series of 'contingent temporalities' also become accessible.

The experimental, jarring music in *Shapes and Forms*, the carpet of wires that covered the gallery floor, Ehrenzweig's outburst of laughter as a response to juxtapositions in the exhibition and hidden structure of the organum music and Schoneberg's composition, or the turning objects in *Shapes and Forms*, each bring a technological and or oral disruption to the exhibition's authorship. They perform, in Terry Smith's words as 'contingent temporalities', in the way they exist or try to work against the coherence of the exhibition, and as such against the 'othering' produced by the colonial framing of primitive arts. What we saw in Ehrenzweig's lecture was that the organum and Schoneberg compositions suggested a 'syncretic perception' in the way they could be read in 'a "time-free" mode of depth hearing,' this was an alternative to traditional, chronological or the surface based interpretations, Stallabrass reflected on. We could see these contingent temporalities, of the turning objects or chaotic sounding compositions, within historical reflection in terms of interference – as conflict or tension. But as Issa Samb implied in conversation with Antje Majewski, this suggests an inward-facing approach to interpretation from an individualized perspective, which in this instance

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[249] Herbert Read, 'Preface', p.6.

might take us back to the avant-garde interest in looking for something hidden which implies an idealized form of spectatorship. Instead a suggestion through this thesis methodology has been that we can follow Foucault and Samb's look at the exterior, 'socialized cultural objects' as 'statements in their dispersion.'[250] This becomes possible by considering *Shapes and Forms* in its location in the archive at the BFI where it forms new interrelationships with artist's film.

By extracting the contingent and understanding it with relation to an exhibition's history we can broaden the idea of ideal forms of perception and spectatorship that were connected to the founder's version of modern art and re-animate histories in the present. In this way what might have been constructed as passive, spotlit, and silenced becomes re-voiced; it begins to participate in its own history rather than being contained and constricted within it. From this point of ideal spectatorship – with its associated contemporary function in 1949 – we move to another moment, in which the audience is further incorporated into the artwork.

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[250] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, p.143.

Fig 3. Still from *Sloane Square: A Room of One's Own,* filmed by Derek Jarman and Guy Ford (1974-1976).

Chapter Two:

A pensive spectator and an intimate screen: Derek Jarman's Programme One and the ICA's Videotheque

Introduction

> To halt, to return and to repeat these images is to see cinematic meaning coming into being as an ordinary object becomes detached from its surroundings, taking on added cinematic and semiotic value. But delaying the image, extracting it from its narrative surroundings, also allows it to return to its context and to contribute something extra and unexpected, a deferred meaning, to the story's narration.[251]

In 1981 the ICA announced that their new video library would create 'a personal and intimate spectator-producer relationship'.[252] The tired space that had housed their cinema since 1968 would be restructured into two spaces: a main cinema, and a combined cinematheque and videotheque. During the day visitors could watch artists' film and video in the videotheque, where they could fast-forward, rewind and replay tapes on monitors, and choose from a huge variety of work including avant-garde films, music promos, performance documentation and television programmes.[253] In the evenings the same space became the cinematheque, transformed for screenings, discussions and performances. From our digital perspective the VHS viewing culture of the 1980s within a gallery appears as an anachronism; a technological ruin poised at the moment just before digitalization. Its analogue materiality entices us in the way the VHS tapes appear to offer something stable and in this Chapter I address the implications of the entanglement of technology and culture we find in the space of the videotheque. I consider what was meant by 'a personal and intimate spectator-producer relationship',[254] and how this was – and still is – mediated by the screen.

Over the course of the 1980s the expense of running the library became too costly for the ICA; it had never been intended as a permanent fixture, or even as an income-generator. The vision for the library had come out of the 1970s expansion of artist's film and video alongside a rise in the role of video to disseminate Community Arts. But in the 1980s,

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[251] Laura Mulvey, 'Delaying Cinema', in *Death 24x a second: Stillness and the Moving Image* (London: Reaktion Books, 2006), pp.150-1.
[252] Opening Programme of the ICA Cinematheque, 1981, British Artists' Film & Video Study Collection, Central Saint Martins.
[253] Ibid.
[254] Ibid.

during Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government, the video library – like many other areas of culture – was affected by extensive cuts to the arts, including the abolition of the Greater London Council (which had funded the space). As early as 1982 the Arts Council provided the ICA with bailouts to save the library.[255] At the same time as these cuts to cultural services, video and U-matic formats were quickly becoming redundant. It was a technological shift that Jeremy Walsh anticipated in an article he wrote for the ICA's 1986 *Video Library Guide*, in which he reflected on how 'instant access to any part of the recorded programme,' through chapter selection in a 'laser disc system', would mean that 'everyone will be doing it interactively' by the 1990s.[256] Yet another anachronistic medium, the laser disc was soon replaced by the DVD in 1995 and, as a result of these technological advancements coupled with the expense of running an educational resource in the 1980s, the library closed in 1992. At this point the majority of videos and U-matics in the collection were given to Central Saint Martins (CSM), forming part of what would become the British Artist Film and Video collection (launched in 2000 by David Curtis and Malcolm Le Grice). The remainder of the tapes, mostly recordings of the Institute's own programmes, along with a wide range of publicity and cataloguing material, has remained with the ICA.[257]

There were articles published in the 1980s reflecting on the arrival of the video library,[258] but it has since then remained relatively hidden in cultural history, although references to the space have been made in a number of studies concerning the moving image. One of these studies is David Curtis's *History of British Avant Garde film and video in Britain*, in which he aligns the ICA with the Arts Council's programme of touring films, and places it in the context of other libraries that opened around the same time in the UK, including at the Arnolfini Gallery in Bristol, the Midland Group in Nottingham, the Basement Group/Projects with Newcastle Polytechnic, and Sheffield Central Library.[259] Yet what remains unaddressed is the physical space of the library itself; the use of technology and the forms of spectatorship that it produced. Julia Knight and Peter Thomas's *Reaching Audiences: Distribution and Promotion of Alternative Moving Image* – like Curtis - frames the arrival of these libraries through the interest in collaborative distribution that was driven by the need for access to artist's film and video, and

[255] 'Fighting to Save a Unique Library', *Broadcast*, London (9 September 1983).

[256] Jeremy Walsh, 'Going Interactive', in *ICA Video Library Guide* (London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1986), p.19, CSM Film and Video Study Collection.

[257] Some of material at the ICA has recently been digitized and a large selection was included in a display curated by Steven Cairns, *ICA Video Library 1981 – 1993*, Fox Reading Room, ICA, London (14 February – 16 April 2017).

[258] Anthony McCall, 'ICA Cinema Gets Cinematheque', in *Arts Alert*. GLAA (April 1981); Rob La Frenais, 'Video Libraries', in *The Performance Magazine*, (March/April 1982), pp.4-7; Sue Lermon, 'Video Library', in *Times Literary Supplement* (12 March 1982); and 'New Archive Launched by ICA', in *Broadcast*, London (2 September 1983).

[259] David Curtis, *A History of Artists' Film and Video in Britain* (London: British Film Institute, 2007), pp.71-72.

considers in particular how video libraries were marketed and programmed.[260] As an archival study, one aspect that is not covered by Knight and Thomas are the details about the works that were shown in the space. As with Curtis, there is little analysis on the ways in which spectatorship was being framed at the time by institutions and theorists.

In the video library the screen of the monitor was brought into closer proximity with the gallery by the ICA (and other such libraries), and was at the same time connected to developments in education. This latter development appears to be an embarrassing area of history for moving image studies, which has largely avoided the screen for study, instead focusing on the screen as a site for aesthetic appreciation. One might therefore be inclined to look to exhibition histories or curatorial studies, yet even here references to media, film and video have avoided the particularities of the video library. Given this absence, it is clear that further study needs to be undertaken in regards to the ways technology operated in these spaces, how videos were screened and accessed and who visited the libraries. In this Chapter I will attempt to fill in some of these gaps by addressing this point in history as a shift in spectatorship and a framing of audiences. I will do so through a consideration of the continuities and discontinuities regarding the cinematic experience, and the role of technology within this shift.

From our contemporary viewpoint, despite the fact the library and its contents appear like ruins from some past cultural and technological moment, there is a parallel that can be drawn between the intimate and novel experience of an analogue viewing in 1981, and the digital translations of today. Both offered a sense of control and a self-reflective position of engagement with the present. Reflecting on this parallel my suggestion is that, since I am writing from a post-digital moment, the incorporation of technology is unavoidable – and can even be useful – to our understanding of these moments of culture in the early 1980s, including what was happening at this point of transition in terms of spectatorship, the screen and its technology. My suggestion is that we can view this present by addressing the video library as an archaeological media ruin of a 'techno-cultural' moment that reoccurs as 'a form of delayed presence, preserved in a technological memory'.[261] We can see this in two forms of translation: the technology, the library offered to transfer existing films onto video; and the related shifts in screening

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[260] Julia Knight & Peter Thomas, *Reaching Audiences: Distribution and Promotion of Alternative Moving Image* (Chicago: Univ of Chicago Press, 2011). For a background to the arrival of video libraries in the UK see Chapter Two, pp.69-98.
[261] Media archaeological awareness listens to a 'different kind of archive, not cultural-historical but cultural technological, a different kind of information about the real', Wolfgang Ernst & Jussi Parikka, *Digital Memory and the Archive* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), p. 69.

from film to video. We can understand this not just as transferal but also, in order to acknowledge the active role on technological media, in terms of remediation.[262]

We experience any moving image at the moment that it arrives on the surface of the screen. Be it as projection in a gallery, on a monitor, or on an iPhone, it circulates, is reshown, and transferred via different screening methods. As Sean Cubitt notes with film reels, when light shines through a negative, 'every frame' provides 'an imitation of whatever was before the lens when the aperture was opened'.[263] The light traces on photographic or film negatives are a material archive that has both an indexical and an iconic relationship to the film as it is projected. With video, visual and audio information are 'store[d] […] as blips of electricity, little "on" and "off" signals, little ones and zeros.'[264] The trace, or index of a video has no visual similarity to what we see on the screen; we are unknowingly witness to a process of translation between the film's magnetic tape and the cathode ray tube of the monitor. Digital media has now overtaken analogue video, and as a consequence the latter has found its place in cultural history; kept and preserved like any other relic in a museum.

Alongside remediation's of technology and the screen, by putting the control into the hands of the spectator, video libraries like the ICA's invited the spectator to venture into a 'micro-temporal' or 'textual' layer of analysis.[265] For Laura Mulvey, this control of a tape or digital film – in the pausing, fast-forwarding, rewinding and ejecting – has created a form of spectatorship that can be understood as 'pensive', in the sense that it offers the possibility of grasping cinema's 'materiality and its aesthetic attributes'.[266] Her approach is located in Raymond Bellour's idea of pensivity, the moment when a still image is seen on the cinema screen and creates a rupture of temporalities (a deixical, then, of the moving image and the now of the photograph), forcing the spectator to reflect 'on cinema'.[267] Mulvey uses this notion of stillness as a way to understand how a new relationship is established between the spectator and the film, as a result of digital film. From Bellour, she uses a deixical blending of time as a rhetorical trope and projects it onto her own historical analysis of cinema. The 'then' represents her interpretation of voyeurism and visual pleasure in the male gaze of Hollywood films from the 1970s, and the 'now' is her current mode of interpretation into 'the representations of time that can

[262] See Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney, *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009).
[263] Sean Cubitt, *Videography: Video Media as Art and Culture* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993), p.xi.
[264] Ibid.
[265] Micro-temporal is a term used by Wolfgang Ernst, see *Digital memory and the Archive,* p.17; 'textual' is a term used by Mulvey to explain the effect of digitization, see Mulvey, 'Passing Time' in *Death 24x a Second: Stillness and the Moving Image*, p.28.
[266] Mulvey, *Death 24x a Second*, p.192.
[267] Raymond Bellour, 'The Pensive Spectator' (first published in 1984), in *The Cinematic*, ed. by David Company (London: Whitechapel and MIT Press, 2007).

be discovered in the relation between movement and stillness in cinema,' enabled through digitization.[268] Using this projection of pensivity onto cinematic analysis, Mulvey sees digital control as a feminist intervention that can break a film's linear narrative, thus reclaiming control from the position of the fetish. For the purpose of this thesis her methodology offers a contingency to canonical, linear history from a feminist and a technological perspective.

What Mulvey's analysis doesn't account for, however, and what we can add to her situated approach of the then and the now, is awareness of the physical viewing space of the library as well as a historical and institutional specificity. Mulvey shows how the digital can create a delayed response – which, following Freud, she calls a 'deferred meaning' of cinema.[269] Since the video library also created this opportunity of viewing on-demand by enabling a film to be replayed in the present, my suggestion is that we can apply this analysis of pensive spectatorship onto the video library, but in a way that incorporates a critical awareness of the temporality of media. This enables us to move beyond moving image studies and exhibition histories and to mediate on history. This is an approach that challenges the fixed notion of history by reflecting the materiality of the archival fragment in this chapter. I will demonstrate this movement between a 'then' in the video library of the early 1980s, against a 'now' of the film as it exists and is screened today in CSM by addressing what these two moments of screening might mean for our production of institutional and exhibition-based histories. I approach this by taking one example from the ICA's video library.

Derek Jarman's Programme One

The intimacy and active engagement with the present that the ICA's video library advertised is, strikingly, shared by the work of, Derek Jarman, who had a number of tapes in the collection. As a filmmaker, theatre designer and painter Jarman was interested in working with the image in ways that enabled the viewer to participate creatively with what they were seeing.   The collection – now housed at CSM – includes three programmes of Jarman's Super 8 films.[270] He referred to these films, recorded in the 1970s and early 1980s on a Nizo camera, as 'home' movies and considered their

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[268] Mulvey, *Death 24x a second*, p.7.
[269] Ibid, p.150. Freud's concept of nachtraglichkeit, or afterwardness, has been explored by Jean Laplanche, see 'Notes on Afterwardness', in *Jean Laplanche: Seduction, Translation and the Drives, a Dossier,* ed. by Martin Stanton (London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1992), p.265.
[270] Super 8/Video Programme 1 includes: *Studio Bankside* (1970), *Garden of Luxor* (1972), *The Art of Mirrors* (1973), *Ula's Fete* (1974), *Sloane Square* (1975), *Gerald's Film* (1975), *Sebastian Wrap* (1975). Super 8/Video Programme 2 includes: *Journey to Avebury* (1971), *Andrew Logan Kisses the Glitterati* (1972), *Fire Island* (1974), *The Fountain* (1978), *Pontomoro and Punks at Santa Croce* (1982), *Ken's First Film* (1982). Super 8/Video Programme 3 includes: *Miss Gaby* (1971), *Tarot* (1972), *Duggie Fields* (1974), *Picnic at Ray's* (1975), *Jordan's Dance* (1977), *Psychic Rally* (1982), *Waiting for Waiting for Godot* (1982).

'personal perception' as central to his practice as an artist. They capture the people, spaces, objects and environment around him and, through his distinctive 'painterly approach to film'; [271] reveal his interests in magic, psychology, alchemy and the occult. The Super 8 films were originally projected onto the walls of the parties he held at his studio, but were eventually screened in the more public settings of the ICA and the Film Co-op. In 1982-83 Jarman and his friend and producer James McKay transferred the majority of their Super 8 films onto U-matic in the ICA's cinematheque, by projecting the films onto the walls and then re-filming them using a VHS camera. Part of the purpose of the transferal to video was to help to preserve the tapes, which were deteriorating through repeated screenings, by creating more copies. Describing this Jarman wrote in the ICA video library catalogue: 'I am no longer thinking of showing Super-8s in a film situation, but rather of videotapes which can be disseminated secretly, like my book.'[272] The transferal of the films at the same time his autobiography *Dancing Ledge* was published, both coincided with his 1984 painting exhibition *Derek Jarman – In Sheer Luxury* at the ICA. This presented the opportunity for an event and a pre-recorded programme of Super 8 films was recorded with Jarman narrating over the top and was played over three evenings in the cinematheque[273] – the very space in which they had been transferred. These films remained in the library to allow visitors the chance to see them; they subsequently became the most frequently accessed tapes in the collection.[274]

One of the reasons that I've chosen to look at these programmes is because of their relevance to this Chapter's exploration of the intimate screen and the interactive spectator. These are notions that Jarman engaged with in his use of 'superimposition'. He would layer a number of films over each other by 'shooting at between three or six frames per second', projecting these films onto a wall or a piece of card and re-filming them 'projected at the same speeds' to form, as Mike O'Pray has described, 'a strong painterly texture and pulsating rhythm'.[275] As a result, what has become embedded and subsequently historicized within each film and their transferals onto video are the layers of screening contexts, including those of the ICA. These shifts in the spectatorship we grapple with in Jarman's films appear to mirror the institutional changes with relation to the screen at the ICA.

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[271] Mike O'Pray, 'Derek Jarman: The Art of Films/Films of Art', in *Derek Jarman: A Portrait: Artist, Film-maker, Designer* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996), pp.65-75 (p.65). See also Patti Gaal Holmes, *A History of 1970s Experimental Film: Britain's Decade of Diversity (*New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015), pp.79-81.
[272] *ICA Video Library Guide* (London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1986), p.9.
[273] The screenings took place at the ICA between 8 – 26 February 1984.
[274] Author interview with Archie Tait and Alex Graham, January 2017.
[275] Mike O'Pray, 'Derek Jarman's Cinema: Eros and Thanatos', in *Afterimage*, No.12, (1985), pp.6-15 (p.9).

Each of the three ICA programmes lasts around an hour and includes six or seven films. A single video acts as an archival fragment opening up numerous temporal moments. It posits a suggestion as to when the works were filmed, when they were shown, how they were accessed, including my own experience of the film in the CSM archive, as well as any further remediation on YouTube. Each of these moments has its own 'media temporality'[276] in the sense that each one is conditioned both by time of technology as well as the cultural context in which it was or is physically screened, and historically situated in. Seeing these screenings from a cultural perspective, one witnesses shifts between the domestic setting, the studio, the gallery, the video library and the inevitable contemporary experience of the work. Technologically speaking, these video works have been translated (from Super 8, to video, to digital), and are therefore recursive and reflective of these mechanical shifts. This Chapter uses these translations of Jarman's Programme One as a starting point to consider what was at stake for the spectator or audience in the video library at the ICA in 1984. It begins with my own experience in the CSM video library, framed through Mulvey's analysis. This experience is placed in cultural context by exploring what lead to the shaping of the audiences in the ICA's video library, looking at examples from the Arts Council programmes *Film Tourers* and *South West Tours*, and the ICA's particular history of its film and television programme. I end the Chapter by highlighting how the programmatic approach of the video library is not just as 'pensive' in Mulvey's terms but – following how the library exposed its technology for visitors – as an example of a 'media-critical museum',[277] a term Wolfgang Ernst used to explore the parallel relationship between technological change and cultures of display.

Now – Study Collection, Central Saint Martins, 2015

I put Programme One into the video machine and press play; there's a black screen before *Studio Bankside* (1970) starts. After a while I hear Jarman's voice narrating the scene to the viewer: 'The studio in fact was on the site of the Globe Theatre alongside Southwark Bridge [...] All of this area has now been demolished so it's an important little film now'.[278] He tells us who was there and identifies the music, Elgar, *Sea Pictures No. 2: In Haven* (Capri) (Op. 27). Another black screen before *Garden of Luxor* (1983) starts, accompanied by Nico, *We've Got the Gold*. Jarman describes how this is an early example of superimposition, 'I got two projectors, Bolex projectors, and re-filmed them with my

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[276] Jussi Parikka, *Digital Memory and the Archive* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), pp.29-31
As Parikka explains, 'media tempor(e)alities, stem from the author's [Wolfgang Ernst's] obsession with alternative ways of writing the past, having been influenced during his course of studies by Hayden White's *Metahistory*.' p.29
[277] Ernst, 'Let There Be Irony', p.52.
[278] Derek Jarman, *Programme One*, CSM Film and Video Study Collection. Transcribed by author 2014.

Nizo camera'.[279] I pause to note down what he's saying, struggling to think through the technical translations, whilst grey lines shudder over the screen. I have to rewind the tape to return to a particular scene, and in doing so I become anxious about the physicality of the tape. Am I damaging it? Is there another copy? Who is Jarman addressing? Am I addressed in the same way that the 1984 audience was addressed? At times the audience are addressed directly, for example when Jarman suggests, 'some of you may know the people in this film', [280] by which he means to include the 1984 audience at the ICA, enfolding them into his social world. Next *Gerald's Film* appears, accompanied by what Jarman describes as 'impossibly romantic music'.[281] Gerald Incandela is seen walking through the Essex countryside; he comes across a ruined boathouse and the narrator says: 'I felt it was very sad, but on the other hand here it is on a film, of course so in a way it's still here. I'm certain by now it doesn't exist.'[282] The video ends in silence with *Gerald's Rap,* which was filmed in Sardinia in 1975. Jarman tells the audience that: '[...] everything was done in the camera or re-filming. Films like the film of Gerald were made in stop frame and then projected at 3 frames a second on very simple Bolex projectors, in fact very much like a slide show you're always pulled back to the image.'[283]

I rewind the tape and take it out of the machine. Seated on a chair in front of a monitor in the Film and Video Study Collection at CSM, I am aware of the rareness of this compilation. This is a feeling that often accompanies the environment of an institutional archive. There are other copies of each of the Super 8 films but this version, a recording made for a specific programme at the ICA, may be the only one of its kind. It was made when Jarman was transferring one medium (Super 8) onto another (U-matic, filmed using VHS camcorder). There is a sense that Jarman is aware of the role that his films might have in preserving something, a place, or people, captured in the films. When the programme was screened in 1984 it was as a prerecording made by Jarman, without an audience. It therefore becomes even harder to identify what the authentic or original experience is, and what it is that drives me to look for an originating moment; is it the moment that the Super 8's were originally recorded of the film, or the recording of the event? The one element that does locate the temporal is Jarman's voice, which acts indexically to 'mark or trace [his] physical presence'.[284] Jarman becomes the off-stage director, narrating a memory based on the pull of the images, and leading our gaze (deixically, both 'then' and 'now'), to what he sees occurring on the screen. This narration

[279] Ibid.
[280] Ibid.
[281] Ibid.
[282] Ibid.
[283] Ibid.
[284] Mulvey, 'Preface', to *Death 24x a Second*, p.9

opens the film up to the collective audience at the event, and to the multiple authors of the video library who, like me, will play the tape in a machine. Here, as we see historically, it is the screen that becomes a common space between the artist and the spectator, and between these various temporalities.

A pensive spectator

My own experience as described above is conditioned by the spectator experience constructed by the CSM study collection. Engagement is individualized; I control the tape in the machine. This offers a way to understand the effect that a temporal awareness of the tape might have had on spectatorship at the time. One way to approach this is to consider my own experience as an enactment of Laura Mulvey's 'pensive spectatorship'.[285] Mulvey has shown how the process of digitization can facilitate a feminist rereading of a work, enabled by technology, by which the still image becomes detached from its linear fictional narrative, thus allowing power relations to be reconceived. Mulvey identifies this delayed image experience as a new form of spectatorship – one that unlocks the pleasure of decipherment through a 'fetishistic form of textual analysis'.[286]   The idea comes from Bellour's notion of the distance that is created when a spectator sees a photograph on a screen. For Bellour this can be read as a point where two forms of temporality – static time and time in flux – come together and 'resist time. It isn't only that [the photographs] symbolize it, as one might believe. They in fact open up another time: a past of the past, a second, different time […] and uprooting us from the film's unfolding, situate us in relation to it.'[287] In order to disentangle these blended temporalities and the sense of the past experienced by the photograph on screen, the spectator becomes at once 'hurried' and 'pensive'.[288] The distance this creates from the fiction of the film destroys the artifice of cinema and invites the spectator to 'reflect on cinema' as a *dispositif*.[289] For Mulvey, a similar experience occurs in digital technology when, 'the pleasure and poignancy derived from the stilled image' are discovered through the pausing or taking of screenshots, a possession and control that 'leads to pleasure or poignancy derived from the fragment.'[290] Once one becomes aware of different time periods, the experience of cinema 'inflect[s] the film's sense of "pastness"' and it becomes impossible to view the film without this awareness.[291] To be

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[285] Mulvey, 'The Pensive Spectator', in *Death 24x a second*, pp.181-196.
[286] Ibid, p.166.
[287] Bellour, 'The Pensive Spectator', p.120.
[288] Ibid, p.123, spectators are 'hurried' in the sense that they follow the temporal movement of time in film but are then jolted out of this by being attracted to the photograph, which acts to break the fiction of film.
[289] Ibid, p.120.
[290] Mulvey, 'The Pensive Spectator', in *Death 24x a Second.* p.195.
[291] Ibid, p.186.

pensive, then, is an acknowledgement of this historical inflection and, for Mulvey, a translation of the fetishism of the female body from her earlier analysis reclaimed in:

'A different kind of voyeurism […] when the future looks back with greedy fascination at the past and details suddenly lose their marginal status and acquire the aura that passing time bequeaths to the most ordinary objects.'[292]

This shift takes place for Mulvey in cinema's temporal and visual construction on the screen in relation to a watching or enabling the interactive spectator.

Jarman's Super 8 films, seen within the context of the video library, lend themselves to Bellour and Mulvey's temporal engagement with pensive spectatorship in a number of ways. Firstly, through the approach Jarman took to the mediatized still image: Beatrix Ruf, Director of the Stedelijk, for instance, refers to Jarman's self-described 'home movies', made between 1970-1982/83, as 'one ongoing image, so to speak – as a flood of images that are all connected, even if they are considered individual films.'[293] Symbols, images, colours and techniques reappeared across the projection of his films, making it impossible to distinguish when they originated. Secondly, we see this through the reverberating pull of the still image that, like an old photograph prompting a memory, was an experience extended to the spectators in his studio. In his first screenings of these films at parties, Jarman stretched the projection speeds out to 18, 12, 9, 6 and 3 frames per second, creating a theatre of images that slowly shuddered on the wall whilst guests moved around, so that the guests themselves became just as much part of the projection.[294]

As we've seen, for Bellour, the photograph within a film creates a temporal distance that allows the spectator to reflect on the nature of cinema. By exposing our relationship to time through superimposition, and by stretching the duration of a single frame in the projection, in these early screenings Jarman was similarly rejecting the control of cinematic time – in his case a mode of control he associated with auteur and the avant-garde film.[295] It is this combination of filmic approach and the layering of past screenings that would become remediated into an event and tape for the ICA in the video library in the 1980s. Its recording, in what has become a historical fragment, with the haunting

[292] Ibid, p.192.
[293] Beatrix Ruf, Director of Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam in conversation with James MacKay in Mackay, *Derek Jarman Super8* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2014), p.14.
[294] For descriptions of these early screenings see MacKay, *Derek Jarman Super8* and O'Pray, *Derek Jarman: Dreams of England*.
[295] This focus on the image was also a structuring device Jarman used in his autobiographies, of which part of the purpose was to show the importance of personal and collective histories. See Jarman. *Dancing Ledge.* Quartet, 1991 and *Kicking the Pricks* (London: Vintage, 1996).

presence of Jarman as the off-stage director, is therefore inflected with a 'past-ness',[296] that has become imbued with a pensive, voyeuristic reflection on its own past screenings.

But there are limits to this use of pensive spectatorship. What I want to suggest here, and will also return to later in this Chapter, is that in their projection of time onto cinematic analysis, Mulvey and Bellour do not fully acknowledge a media agency. For one thing the length of Jarman's Programme One, Two and Three, (and others in the library) were structured by the duration of the tapes themselves, rather than by the ICA or Jarman.[297] The mode of technology also affects the actual screening experience: when I watch Jarman's tapes in CSM there is a disruption from the tape itself when raster lines scan across the screen. These tracking lines, etymologically rooted in the German for 'screen' and Latin for 'scrape', are visible signals of the physical deterioration of the tape. They are a 'technical impulse' that, as Wolfgang Ernst has suggested, stands to 'remind[s] us even more drastically of the materiality of the medium'.[298] The spectator sat in the library is not just pensive, in a culturally and personally reflective sense, but is equally aware of the physical condition of the object they are engaging with, and what we could call it's 'mediality'.[299] This is true because as I 'strain to see' what is happening, the experience 'encourages active participation not only on the level of content but on the level of media archaeology.'[300] In this case the media archaeology emerges as I try to distinguish between the layers of recordings and how it was screened then in comparison with now, equally aware of how my own interaction will affect its physical condition.

Whilst Jarman in Programme One guides our awareness towards what has come before – in this case the earlier screenings, the making process, and the people documented in the film – there are also these technical impulses that create a productive feedback between the spectator and the technology that are played out on the screen. This plays an important role in our understanding of the video library at the ICA because, by seeing the library through an assortment of media, we are able to account for the time of the recording, as well as the screening conditions and archiving equipment used by the Institute in the 1980s. Not just in aesthetic terms (for instance through the pulsating image) but as a mediality that is communicated between technology and the spectator. This approach helps us to challenge the existing discourses surrounding film screenings that led to the ICA's video library. We can place the engaged spectator by looking at

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[296] Mulvey, 'The Pensive Spectator', p.196.
[297] They were recorded onto Philips V200 with a running time of four hours on each side.
[298] Wolfgang Ernst, 'Between Real Time and Memory on Demand', in *Digital Memory and the Archive*, pp.102-112 (p.107).
[299] Ibid, p.108.
[300] Ibid, p.108.

developments of Super 8 screenings over the 1970s and consider how they have been historicized in moving image as moving towards the trajectory of the gallery.

From the studio 'into the gallery'[301]

The first screenings of Jarman's Super 8 films took place in his studio, at parties or gatherings, attended by people also featured in the films. Jarman considered these participants part of his 'social scene',[302] and saw them as the co-authors of the work. This form of co-authorship, which can also be found in the layering approach of superimposition in his films, as well as the shared experience of viewing these films at the screening parties, offered a challenge to the hierarchical structure of the avant-garde, auteur cinema. The simultaneous layering and hacking apart of history and techniques, as Jim Ellis notes, became 'extensions of [his] studio space' both regarding the environment in which they took place, and in their 'detournement of pre-existing aesthetic elements'.[303] The camera drifted through an integration of 'present or past artistic production into a superior construction of a milieu', [304] which was itself mirrored in the way the films were shown, with people drifting in and out of the projection frame, becoming part of the films screening. From 1972 onwards, people who had attended these parties began to bring them into spaces like the ICA, Arts Lab, and the Film Co-op. For instance, in June 1975 the ICA hosted *Super 8 Cinema*,[305] a screening of films from a group of filmmakers (including Jarman, Laurie Rae Chamberlain and Victor Musgrave) who had been meeting at the ICA. While in October, the same year, Gray Watson organized the *London Super-8 Group* also at the ICA, in which the 'filmmakers would be available to discuss their films.'[306] James MacKay, who had helped Jarman to transfer his tapes in 1984, provides us with an insight into what these events were like when he describes a screening at the ICA in 1974, at which Jarman arrived with two Bolex Projectors, a bag full of films, and audiocassettes for soundtracks:

> He showed around fifteen that evening, each one a gem. He introduced each work as he threaded it into the projector, and continued talking as he put on the music cassette. Rather than playing the films chronologically, he chose the

[301] David Curtis, *A History of Artists' Film and Video in Britain* (London: British Film Institute, 2007), p.37.

[302] Interview with Derek Jarman by Simon Field, *Afterimage*, Issue 12 (Autumn 1985), p.47.

[303] Jim Ellis, 'Introduction', to Derek Jarman's Angelic Conversations (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), p.5.

[304] Ibid, p.5.

[305] The full programme included: Laurie Rae Chamberlain, *Diamond Dogs*; Horatio Goni, *The Bath, Two Sisters Easting Peaches, Study for Light in an Interior, Success, Chickens*; Derek Jarman, *Garden in Luxor*; Peter Logan, *Triangle in the Country, The Olympics* 1972; Tim Cawkwell, *Summer Reels*; Joss Graham, *Painted Leaves*; Fred Drummond, *Vermin Notes*; Robin Wall, *Hy Noon*; Bruno Demattio, *Inside/Outside: News from home and Abroad*; and Victor Musgrave, *Women of Morrocco*. See CSM Film and Video Study Collection.

[306] Dated, 2 October 1975. The programme included work by Joss Graham, Cawkwell, Jarman and Demattio. See ICA files in CSM Film and Video Study Collection.

next film to build on the mood of the audience, in much the same way that a DJ
selects tracks to play to the crowd.[307]

This format of layering his own narrative and choosing music spontaneously alongside
films that, as we know, had been shown in his studio, would be repeated ten years later at
the ICA in video form. By replicating and preserving this earlier format, the ICA and
Jarman presented this 'then' of the earlier screenings with cultural importance, as a
historically 'privileged moment.'[308]

We could frame this as a shift from social space to gallery, and this is exactly the
interpretation David Curtis provides when he describes how the installation of artist's
moving image in Britain over the 1970s, of which Jarman was an important part, moved
'into the gallery'.[309] Curtis associates this move away from studio screenings as partly
connected to the wide ranging film and projection events of 'expanded cinema',[310] but
more indebted to the London Film Co-op, London Video Arts and the 'post-Caro
generation of conceptualists' and their 'shared interest in challenging the conventional
screen/spectator relationship – by opening it out – allowing the spectator to approach
the image to walk in, and around the space of the projection, and to experience the work
in different ways'.[311] These installations would take place in the 'controllable
environment of the gallerist's white cube' or in the 'Co-op's black box', thereby combining
the two different approaches that have become familiar ways of experiencing artists
film.[312] For Curtis, the early screenings at the Film Co-op and London Video Arts – like
Jarman's – are important in the way they reinvigorated film's position within the gallery,
and thus developed a discursive format that brought the filmmaker into closer proximity
with the audience.

As interest in film and video increased the discursive screening formats that had evolved
over the 1970s began to take place nationally in the Arts Council's programme,
Filmmakers on Tour (1976-1989). This programme, set up and run by Curtis himself, who
held the position of Film Officer in the Art Department at the Arts Council, aimed at
developing an audience for moving image outside of London, and it did so by encouraging

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[307] MacKay, *Derek Jarman Super 8*, p.22
[308] Mulvey, 'The Pensive Spectator', p.192.
[309] Curtis, *A History of Artists' Film and Video in Britain*, p.37.
[310] Expanded Cinema was a practice of projecting and filmmaking that took place in the 1960s and 1970s. It had different associations in America and the UK. As A.L. Rees has described in the UK and Europe it was connected with the Filmmakers Co-opertaive and 'structuralist materialist film' of the 1970s 'conceived for gallery space rather than the screen. In all of these, the projectors or monitors, the process and material, were primary signifiers in their own right, as well as channels for images.' A.L. Rees, 'Expanded Cinema and Narrative: A Troubled History', in *Expanded Cinema: Art, Performance, Film,* ed. by Duncan White A.L.Rees, Steven Ball and David Curtis (London: Tate, 2011), pp.12-21 (p.14).
[311] Ibid, pp.37-38.
[312] Ibid, p.39.

'the screening of experimental work' in film clubs, small galleries, schools and colleges and artist-run galleries.[313] To show a programme, the venues were charged £10 by the Arts Council; in exchange they would be provided with funds for 'artists to present their work to audiences' in person, with the Arts Council covering 'the speakers fee of £25 plus travel expenses'.[314] The emphasis was on engaging the audience in a conversation with the filmmaker – something we witness in Jarman's 1984 recording when he addresses a collective 'you'. However, the issue with the cultural trajectory that Curtis frames as the 'gallerist's white cube' or the 'Co-op's black box' is that we arguably find a reassertion of a 'modernist critical paradigm.' [315] The video libraries, which would emerge as part of the growing distribution of artist's film and video, sit outside of this and can be understood as offering a progressive alternative by making a connection to education. They are important because they were not an ideal form of viewing, as Marja Bijvoet commented at the time, they were often tucked away near toilets or by stairs.[316] But although they compromised how films were made to be shown they also had the purpose of creating greater access and their role as an interim space makes these shifts in technology and screening more visible.

As the start of a developing interest in the role of audiences the form of programming being offered by the Arts Council was followed a year later with the *South West Independent Film Tours* in 1977, run by artist, curator, writer and activist Mike Leggett, who saw the benefits of the Arts Council *Film Tourers,* but was critical of their 'paternalistic approach',[317] instead wanting the South West to shape their own network. The organizations including art centres, libraries, colleges, and universities across South West England would show one film per week, 'attempt[ing] to reach new and wider audiences for independent film outside the metropolis'.[318] The aim of the film tour programmes was to increase access to film and video and, according to Leggett, was most successful 'when filmmakers were prepared to actively participate in the distribution and exhibition of their work.'[319] These programmes were part of the progression towards video libraries, but as part of the development of gallery installations, they also embraced a sense of media expansion that had been in part inspired by Gene Youngblood's

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[313] Ibid, pp.68-69.

[314] Knight & Thomas, *Reaching Audiences*, p52. Filmmakers were paid £25 plus travel expenses, venues were charged £10 with the Arts Council covering shortfall. Over the early 1980s this scheme developed into 'small-scale film and video exhibitions' for tour that would eventually become separated from the Arts Council and developed into Film and Video Umbrella directed by Mike O'Pray.

[315] see Tamara Trodd, 'Introduction', to Trodd, *Screen/Space: The Projected Image in Contemporary Art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), p.15.

[316] Marja Bijvoet, 'Screening Contexts', in *Independent Media* (1989), pp3-5.

[317] Knight and Thomas, *Reaching Audiences*, p.150.

[318] Rod Stoneman, *South West Film Directory* (Exeter: South West Arts, 1980), p.124; see also, Knight and Thomas. *Reaching Audiences*, pp.150-152.

[319] Knight and Thomas, *Reaching Audiences,* p.152.

references to 'conscious expansion' and 'television on demand'[320] in *Expanded Cinema* (1970).

A critical spectator

Mike Leggett's approach to the *South West Tours* provides a useful lens for us to consider the role of technology and spectatorship. For Leggett, the programme was about engaging with the audience in a productive way by providing information and contextual material, in order to develop 'for "new" audiences a way into the artworks.'[321] This newness was implied in connection with the audiences' age (they were often college or university art students), but it was also related to new uses of technology. For Leggett, technology was shifting audience interaction in ways that could be used to reframe art history. He has since described how in his *Image Con Text* programme, developed for the *South West Tours,* the contextual material (on a video or filmmaker) encouraged audiences not to 'examine […] peculiarities' of a video of filmmakers 'style, their minimalism, the formalism,' but, in postmodern terms, to consider, 'these various activities and their relationship […] to the formulative process of arriving at a completed artifact, as a means of establishing points of similarity in methods of production, connections with other people and the way they are working at present, or the way they have worked in the past.'[322] With the new media of video what was activated in educational terms was an approach that incorporated the convergence of media that had been taking place in 1970s film installations. This was recognised by Curtis, but with Leggett we see how this technological convergence could be applied as a way rethink history by presenting a reading of *contexts*, rather than linear chronology. In other words, the physical, interactive viewing of the audience in relation to VHS technology formed a 'critical approach'; Leggett defined this as 'the situation, the event, where the film or videotape is viewed […] the point at which meaning is made or where apparent meaning is interrogated'.[323] Thus *Image Con Text* developed the notion of a relationship between the audience and the contextual material, forming a 'critical viewing', [324] and did so through a consideration of the 'situation' of the moment of screening, and an investigating into what commonality existed between the audience and the filmmaker on the screen, incorporating the screening as part of this productive process.

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[320] Gene Youngblood, *Expanded Cinema*. Introduction by R. Buckminster Fuller (London: Studio Vista, 1970), Rob Le Frenais makes these connections in his review of the Arnolfini and the ICA's video libraries in 1982.
[321] Mike Leggett retrospectively considers this as a 'practice-based research' approach, see Leggett, 'Image Con Text (1978-2003): Film/Performance/Video/Digital', in *Experimental Film and Video*, ed. by J. Hatfield (Eastleigh: John Libbey & Co Ltd, 2006), pp. 246-262.
[322] Ibid, p.251.
[323] Ibid, p.255.
[324] Rod Stoneman, *South West Film Directory* (Exeter: South West Arts, 1981).

Rod Stoneman, who took over organizing the *South West Film Tours* from Leggett, went on to set up the Arnolfini's video library in 1982. He mapped out the 'critical viewing' of film screening events, highlighting their crucial use of contextual material such as programmes, magazines, information sheets and tour posters. These events also involved the inclusion of a speaker – either a filmmaker or a cultural figure who would be able to speak on behalf of the filmmaker.[325] The approach demonstrated a concern with showing how film was not just a 'new product', but that in its 'mode of presentation' the programmes organised by *South West Film Tours* could 'propose a radically new audience activity.'[326] This criticality would be achieved by breaking down 'the relationship of producer-consumer' and opening it out to 'a common investigation between film-maker and film-watcher; thus a genuine concern on the side of the filmmaker with the conditions under which the film is seen.'[327] Programmatically, and as identified by Stoneman, this 'critical viewing' in the 1978 tour was shaped through three thematic strands: 'work on/in narrative'; 'groups, collectives and somewhat more political work', and 'developments in the avant-garde and formal film-making.'[328] Since the purpose of the screenings was to 'reach new and wider audiences for independent film', [329] these were considered to be the central themes coming out of film and video work at that time and would therefore provide a good introduction for audiences. According to Patti Gaal-Holmes, who draws on the definitions formed by A.L. Rees in his book *A History of Experimental Film and Video*, '"narrative" referred to films taking a more linear, narrative format,'[330] describing work 'in' a linear form, whilst work 'on' narrative might be considered 'personal' or 'autobiographical'.[331] The inclusion of the Berwick Film Collective developed a space for more overtly political work, whilst 'developments in the avant-garde' connected the *South West Film Tours* programme to the avant-garde history of filmmaking over the 1970s, for example in the selection of Guy Sherwin films. 'Critical viewing', in this instance, became synonymous with independent filmmaking, with subjective perspectives and opportunities for identification.

It was within these screening spaces at the London Film Makers Co-op, London Video Arts, and the film tours, as well as in the intersections between education, gallery and cinema, that an idea of 'critical viewing' on a national level was being explored through its connection to independent film. This was driven by work that had been made over the 1970s and, as Leggett points out, to a large extent by the Arts Council's response to

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[325] Knight and Thomas refer to an occasional 'retrospective' section in these events, *Reaching Audiences*, pp.151 – 152.
[326] Stoneman, *South West film directory*, p.125.
[327] Ibid, p.125.
[328] Ibid, p.126.
[329] Ibid, p.126.
[330] Gaal-Holmes, *A History of 1970s Experimental Film: Britain's Decade of Diversity*, p.23.
[331] Ibid.

this. The idea of 'critical viewing' was also equally connected to developments in technology and the desire to interpret what had arisen out of the merging of media in installations, such as in *Expanded Cinema,*[332] as well as the oscillation between the white cube and the cinematic black box. For Stoneman and Leggett, 'critical viewing' could be physically and intellectually located by creating an awareness of situation and context.

Film and television at the ICA

The ICA had been organizing similar screenings and discussions and providing contextual material for its visitors and members, but it differed in its method of bridging art forms. What we find in the ICA's approach to programming, as we will see with the cinematheque and videotheque, is that the ICA was less concerned with the need to reassert a particular avant-garde trajectory, such as independent film, which for places like the Arnolfini was key in ensuring the precedence of criticality over commerciality, and more interested in focusing on particular filmmakers and issues, or engaging and critiquing approaches of television broadcast and censorship. Integrating the ICA's model of programming, and the construction of audiences into the context of film and video programming over the 1970s into the 1980s enables us to broaden our interpretation beyond the critical in relation to independent film and to find connections with the conversational, the televisual and the multimedial.

Within the ecology of cinemas in London, the ICA's sat somewhere between an art-house cinema and a co-operative space. Their early film programme, as we saw in Chapter One, included international feature films, experimental artist and surrealist films, and films on artists and museums. These were shown at partner organizations like the Institut Francais, the Academy Cinema, or as temporary installations in the gallery at Dover Street until they moved to the Mall in 1967.[333] During this time their programme signaled an interest in making audiences aware of the various roles in a film's production cycle, it included: 'films that had been refused certificate – old films i.e. *I Vinti*, *L'Avventura* and *La Dolce Vita* – repertory programmes, not only around subjects and stars and directors, but also around writers, composers, editors and particularly cameramen and art directors'.[334] Derek Hill, who ran Soho's Essential Cinema, began running the Cinema Member's Club for the ICA in 1970, two days a week, showing international art house films, films on the cine-culture circuit and films by artists. This 'club' structure brought

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[332] *The Festival of Expanded Cinema* took place at the ICA in 1976.
[333] For interesting historical reflections on how to show film, hiring a projector, making a projector box in the 1950s, see Film Sub Committee meeting minutes (in particular 14 July 1952, 11 September 1952 and 22 September 1952), Tate Archive, TGA 955/1/8/1.
[334] *ICA Magazine*, No.2, (May-June 1968). American producer Hercules Bellville was the first cinema programme manager.

regularity to programming, and a community developed around the film screenings. This also gave the ICA freedom from restrictions placed on public cinemas.[335] In comparison to places like the National Film Theatre, the ICA didn't have the same costs, audience requirements, and so could be more responsive to social, political and cultural activities.

These characteristics of the ICA's film programme should be understood alongside the Institute's on-going engagement with broadcasting, particularly television broadcast, and its public role in communicating art to, and in relation to, and with society. In 1950, when television in Britain was still in its infancy, the ICA held discussions on the *Problematics of Film and Television*,[336] and launched a *TV Study Group* where they screened live programmes and followed them with discussions. They also introduced a television set into the Member's Room, although this was quickly removed as it disturbed the members.[337] Maeve Connolly recently argued that 'artists, curators and institutions continue to engage with television precisely for the purpose of articulating, and sometimes legitimating, contemporary art's own contested "publicness".'[338] The ICA's on-going involvement with television along with film testifies to their interests in 'publicness', as well as to questions about how art engages with society.

Almost twenty years later, in 1981 the ICA were involved, like many other art centres, community groups, film societies and programmers, in discussions that would lead to the launch of Channel 4. Led in part by ICA Director Michael Kustow (1967-1972), who expressed interest in seeing film distributed to schools and art colleges, the ICA hosted discussions on the proposed *Parallel Cinema* in 1969, led by a group of organizations and individuals who were seeking an alternative distribution circuit for film.[339] The initial meetings took place on 17 and 18 May 1969 at the ICA, and included 'independent producers, writers, directors, representatives of all the unions concerned; members of 300 universities, technical colleges and schools, and all those concerned with finding an audience for new, often radical cinema'.[340] *Parallel Cinema's* plan was to 'rent […] independent cinemas around the country', [341] and to show 35mm theatrical screenings, or 16mm non-theatrical films. By December that year the ICA had withdrawn their

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[335] At the time the Essential Cinema and the ICA's cinema were the only independent repertory cinemas in the West End.

[336] Notes of the Discussion 'A Comparison Between Television & the Film', held at 4 St James's Square SW1 at 8pm on Tuesday 10th January, 1950, Tate Archive, TGA 955/1/7/14.

[337] For references to the 'TV Study Group', led by Ewan Philips, see Management Committee Minutes, folder three (April 1950), Tate Archive, TGA 955/1/1/12.

[338] Maeve Connolly, *TV Museum: Contemporary Art and the Age of Television* (Bristol: Intellect), p.17.

[339] *Parallel Cinema* outline and letter from Michael Kustow. CSM Archive.

[340] It was attended by, amongst others, Ken Loach, Harold Pinter, Leslie Elliot and Otto Plaschkes and from these discussions a committee was formed. Parallel Cinema with representatives from Mithras Films, St Johns Oxford, Granada Television, Cambridge University and Kestel Films. See *Parallel Cinema* files. CSM archive

[341] Knight and Thomas. *Reaching Audiences*. p.72

support and the *Parallel Cinema* committee set up separately as *The Other Cinema*.[342] However, the ICA retained an institutional engagement with television broadcasting and art perhaps, as Maeve Connolly has suggested, through its 'ostensibly *public* cultural form'[343] and when Channel 4 launched (with Michael Kustow heading the arts programme) the ICA took advantage by establishing ICA TV. Through this they would co-produce programmes with Channel 4, and hold regular discussions on television programming, one of which we return to in more detail in Chapter five.

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[342] The ICA meetings were led by Michael Kustow, who was on the verge of leaving the ICA. *The Other Cinema* collapsed in 1978.
[343] Connolly. *TV Museum*, p.20.

Fig 4. ICA Videotheque catalogue (1983).

'The fast rewind/replay'

Throughout the late 1970s, the ICA brought together their cinema programme and their interest in performance art, with its qualities of 'liveness', through a number of changes that were intended to create a closer connection between the art forms/spaces and its audience. The shifts regarding the Institute's approach to spectatorship can be connected to the arrival of a new Director, Bill McAlister, in 1977, and to a new availability of public funds that were the result of changes in the production of art, as well as developments in communication technology. The 1970s had seen an increase in community arts, live art and film installation, and funding bodies like the Arts Council were addressing how to accommodate these shifts in artistic practice in institutional programming. At the same time, the video player (for Philips the VCR, and for JVC the VHS) was becoming an affordable and accessible piece of domestic equipment. In December 1980, 2.5 per cent of households in the UK owned a video player; by 1985 this had increased to 35 per cent, and by the late 1980s the UK market for VCR players was worth £300 million a year.[344] The effect these parallel techno-cultural changes had on the ICA can be seen in two policy documents: John Furse's *The Future of the ICA Cinema* (1979); and Alex Bruce's *Art and Audiences at the ICA* (1981).[345] Both played a role in the formation of the videotheque and the cinematheque and help us to understand the growing cultural significance of audiences.

In 1977, Furse was commissioned by the ICA to write a report about its Cinema Club. According to McAlister this was seen as a way to enable him to 'make the case' to the Institute's Board about the changes he believed the organization needed.[346] These included the introduction of more 'documentation of exhibits; more integration of activities; and more connection with the great debates (like the ICA's recent censorship seminars); and greater contact between artists and public.'[347] His comments at the time show a concern for historicizing the programme through documentation, as well as a level of socio-political engagement that he would subsequently channel through debates, and by engaging more closely with audiences. With this vision for the ICA in mind, in *The Future of the ICA Cinema* Furse identified how Derek Hill's Cinema Club structure had successfully allowed the ICA to programme a wide selection of international films and had managed to avoid the censorship that was imposed on public cinemas. He recommended continuing with this club format, but proposed the need for a full-time, in-

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[344] Knight and Thomas, *Reaching Audiences*, pp.106-107.
[345] John Furse, 'The Future of the ICA Cinema' (August/September 1979), Cinema Department Files, Tate Archive, TGA 955/9/8; Alex Bruce's report was published, *Art and Audiences* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1981).
[346] Author interview with Bill McAlister, August 2016.
[347] Victoria Radin, 'What is the ICA for?' In Sundayplus, *The Observer Review* (1978).

house programmer (rather than the consultancy arrangement with Hill) and a reconstruction of the cinema to include a video library:

> The inclusion of video activities within the ICA's cinema operation would considerably enhance the range and scope of the Cinema's educational and investigative drive. The implications of 'cinema' in its broadest form – encompassing TV problematics as well as those of film – could be publicly, cheaply and continuously worked upon in a small-scale enclave with video monitor facilities, and the fast rewind/replay they can provide.[348]

Furse references the success of the Arnolfini/Bristol Arts Centre 'Eye to Eye' venture launched in 1977, run by Chris Rodley and Archie Tait, 'one of the most progressive operations in the country [...]'[349] He also refers to John Hopkins and Sue Hall's 'The Fantasy Factory Arts Council Videotape Distribution Report' (May 1977), which had suggested that video libraries could be set up for £5,000.[350] This report helped to establish video libraries for spaces in Nottingham, Newcastle and Sheffield, as well as for the ICA, and also paved the way for the Arnolfini's video library, which opened in 1982 in one of their upstairs galleries with a focus on independent film.[351] To start their collections, each of these new video libraries received copies of Arts Council documentaries on artists and the arts. The Greater London Council had been an important supporter of access to video resources from the mid-1970s and, along with the Arts Council, the BFI, Philips Industries, the Leverhulme Trust, Thorn-EMI and the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, helped to support the establishment of the ICA's own collection, with a total redevelopment fund of £100,000.[352]

A second report using audience data and questionnaires by the social scientist Alex Bruce, *Art and Audiences*, was commissioned by the Arts Council in order to consider the relationship between the ICA programmes and its audiences for the time period of 1978-79. Bruce, who had already produced a research report on the Hayward Gallery, spent a year at the ICA reporting on the background of visitors; where they were from; what their interests were; how long they would spend in an exhibition; and whether there

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[348] Furse, 'The Future of the ICA Cinema', p.13.

[349] This was supported a grant from the BFI of £20,000. As Furse describes, 'Their commitment is to a "spectator's" rather than a "film maker's" or "artist's" cinema', pp.21-22.

[350] Ibid, p.16.
Although not in the report Furse has identified David Hopkins from Independent Cinema, Bristol and regional film workshops as an important influence. See the Independent Filmmakers Association report 'The Future of the UK Film Industry' (July 1978).

[351] For background on regional film libraries as well as international examples in Europe and Australia see Curtis, *A History of Artists' Film and Video in Britain*, p.72. Marja Bijvoet's, 'Screening Contexts', in *Independent Media* (1989) provides a background to American examples of video libraries.

[352] Therefore, far exceeding the previously estimated costs set out by Hall and Hokins. See 'Correspondence and papers relating to grant applications to the Greater London Council', Tate Archive, TGA 955/2/6/72.

were strong or weak correlations between audiences attending different strands of the programme. [353] The report was one of a number the Arts Council commissioned into 'the economic and social aspects of the live performing arts', including an evaluation into writers' grants, 'a study of the arts in community colleges' and 'economic studies […] on seat prices and the costs of touring companies.' [354] These reports, influenced by audience research strategies in the USA, were a way to help the Arts Council identify the needs of cultural institutions via audience analysis. To do this they drew on what they saw as the successful models for engaging with large audiences: firstly, television broadcasting and secondly, the arrival of live art in the 1970s. The ICA Management used Bruce's report in order to gain 'more knowledge' from audience responses, specifically 'to think about improving attendance and services.'[355] The report, which states that 'the most important factor is that the ICA exhibitions are seen by a wider public than at more specialized galleries,'[356] is evidence of the increasing cultural value that the Arts Council gave to audience data and response from the late 1970s.

In both reports the focus is on the collective audience. Furse in his report had emphasized how the ICA's educational reach and research capabilities could be expanded on by offering visitors regular engagement with cinema, in its broadest sense, through video technology. These proposals must be seen against the background of the Arts Council's own growing interest in 'audiences', as they adapted to changes in artistic practice and the ever-expanding capabilities of broadcast television. Within this, the ICA's vision for their video library, as set out by Furse, suggested a form of spectator engagement that is similar to critical viewing; shaped through context and situation, and also through a developing archive of resources that the spectator could 'rewind/replay'. [357] But for the ICA the video library was also one that oscillated between the notion of an archive and 'TV problematics'.[358] From our digital perspective, this is where a contradiction arises. Whilst these libraries were concerned with creating access to pluralistic, often-marginal perspectives, which were not available in the existing institutions of major galleries or broadcasters, they were also equally engaged in looking

[353] For instance, the average time in the exhibition *Berlin: a Critical View, Ugly Realism 20's – 70's* (15 Nov – 2 Jan 1978-1979) was 23 minutes, whilst the average time in *Paul Neagu* exhibition was 6.1 minutes. Bruce, *Art and Audiences*, pp.i and xxxvi.
[354] Letter from Robert Hutchinson to Harold Horowitz Research Division National Endowment for the Arts Washington 17 July 1978. As a response to decreased funding from the government, research was being developed over the 1970s into audiences in both America and the UK, this included the BBC's report in 1980 on 'The Findings of a National Survey Conducted in February/April 1979' by Brian Emmett, Irene Shaw, Nicholas Usherwood. This included reports from the Research Division National Endowment for the Arts Washington, reports by Andreassen and Belk, Greenfield and Schwarz and reports through Leverhulme Studies in the UK. 'Artists and audiences', 1 file, Arts Council, 1976-1979, ACGB 112/182.
[355] Bruce, *Art and Audiences*, p.1.
[356] Ibid, p.40.
[357] Furse, 'The Future of the ICA Cinema' (August/September 1979'), p.13.
[358] Ibid.

back to 'a privileged moment'.[359]   This combination of broadcast, distribution and circulation, with the intimate reflection offered by a replayable archive of motion, was a familiar aspect of the moving image collection within the museum.

Two *theques*

In borrowing the French term *theque*, the ICA would purposely associate itself with the European avant-garde and the discursive model of spectatorship that developed from film culture in the 1930s; whilst at the same time create connections to the vibrant, youthful discotheque.[360] The French suffix *theque* had been used to describe a space offering access to multiple forms of media. From the 1930s cinematheques had opened across France in small theatres, screening historically important, experimental and avant-garde film. Henri Langlois's Cinémathèque Français, for instance, opened in 1936 during a period when the owning and accessing of films by museums was expanding, and as film critics and curators were establishing the recognition of film as an art form. At New York's MoMA, film was seen 'as chronologically congruent with the rise of modernism', and in 1935 the museum's Director Alfred J. Barr appointed Iris Barry as the museum's first film curator, and after just four years MoMA had instated an 'auditorium, projection room, literary sources, periodicals'.[361] In the 1970s there was a second wave of film being curated into museum programmes. Pontus Hulton curated an extensive film programme at the Moderna Museet in Stockholm, and from there went on to take the role of the Pompidou's founding Director in 1977. The Pompidou inherited the collections of the Musée du Luxembourg, which had 'actively pursued and collected work by contemporary film and video artists, alongside the classics of the 1920s and 1930s avant-garde.'[362] In the 1970s the Pompidou expanded this by collecting film and video, developing this into a collection of new media in the 1980s. So while the initial presence of film in the gallery or museum signaled to audiences a new relationship with time – as Ian Christie has suggested, by plunging the visitor 'back into time'[363] bringing with it temporal and technical disruptions through new technologies. In the 1990s the media centre[364] – which was in many ways anticipated by the cinematheque/videotheque – shifted these spaces further towards productive relationship between audience and

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[359] Mulvey, 'The Pensive Spectator', p.192.
[360] Author interview with Alex Graham and Archie Tait, January 2017.
[361] Sybil Gordon Kantor, *Alfred H. Barr, Jr., and the Intellectual Origins of the Museum of Modern Art.* Cambridge, Mass; London: MIT Press, 2002. For background to this programme see Robert Sitton, *Lady in the Dark: Iris Barry and the Art of Film* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).
[362] For insight into Hulton's curatorial history see, Hans Ulrich Obrist, *A Brief History of Curating* (Zurich: JRP/Ringier, 2013), pp.32-50.
[363] Ian Christie, 'A disturbing presence? Scenes from the history of film in the museum', in *Film, Art, New Media: Museum without Walls?* ed. by A. Dalle Vacche (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp.241-255 (p.252).
[364] The BFI launched their mediatheque in 2007.

technology. Film was included then, not in its essential or linear form, but instead as something to be activated and 'mediatized'.[365]

Taking the European avant-garde discursive space as a model, the ICA's cinematheque visitors (both members and non-members) could come to the window of the videotheque's 'control room' during the daytime, to request the 'units' (either videos or U-matics) that they wanted to watch. At the time of opening a review by Rob Le Frenais described how the background of the control room, with all the available equipment and library of tapes, was visible to visitors.[366] Access to the library was 50p for each half hour of tape watched, 'plus Membership or Day Pass', which cost an extra 50p. Once inside visitors could watch videos or U-matics, either on their own or in groups, with earphones connected to one of three 26" monitors that were wheeled in on trolleys from the storeroom.[367] Visitors made their selection by looking through ICA published catalogues (one in 1983 and one in 1986), with accompanying essays serving 'as an information and documentation bank',[368] or by attending cinematheque events like Jarman's in 1984. To introduce audiences to the coming videotheque Alex Graham, who set up and ran the video library, programmed a regular Tuesday night video screening in the cinematheque. These events involved a focus on collectives, such as VIDA, a partnership or Terry Flaxon, Penny Dedman and Tony Cooper who made documentary video productions (screened on 15 December 1981), or he brought two producers together within one event, such as on 1 December 1981, when a screening included films by Joseph Beuys: *The Festival Tapes*, with clips Beuys of in the Richard Demarco Gallery (in 1980), that had been transferred onto video, alongside *Artworker* (1980) a BBC documentary on the work of Conrad Atkinson.[369]

In the evenings the monitor trolleys would be wheeled back to the control room, and the space was transformed with whatever equipment was required for the event – 16mm or Super 8 projection or, in the case of the Tuesday night video shows, the monitors were wheeled back into the space for the screening. These events were playful and, according to Graham, transformed the seriousness of the Film Co-Op's black and white screening events into colour.[370] For instance, for their New York season, the ICA transformed the cinematheque into a soda fountain café, and for the *Synchronisation of the Senses* John Maybury installed a suburban sitting room. Everything about the cinematheque was

[365] H-P Schwarz, *Media - art - history: Media Museum ZKM - Center for Art and Media Karlsruhe* (Munich: Prestel, 1997), p.27.
[366] Rob La Frenais, 'Video Libraries', in *Performance Magazine* (1982).
[367] ICA Videotheque Catalogue, 1983, CSM Film and Video Study Collection.
[368] Mike Finch, *Video Library Guide* (London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1986).
[369] Alex Graham's role was funded from a Leverhulme grant. A selection of the Tuesday night Video screenings he arranged can be viewed at the CSM Study Collection.
[370] Interview with Tait and Graham, January 2017.

temporary and flexible, from the variety of screens to the forty collapsible 'director' chairs. As a space it was positioned somewhere between a cinema and a gallery, with white walls and sound-insulating carpet.

The Co-Directors of the ICA Cinema, Archie Tait and Chris Rodley, who had come from working at the Arnolfini, oversaw the main cinema, the cinematheque and the Videotheque. They found with the cinematheque in particular that they were free from commercial constraints, and were not required to stick rigorously to only one area of work. Instead, they could offer - as Tait has described - 'jeopardy in experience.'[371] This interstitial framing was reflected in the opening programme of the cinematheque. In the main cinema James Scott's *Chance, History, Art…* described as 'five interviews with artists: a film originally about Surrealism', was screened while in the cinematheque they disseminated ideas around 'the ways in which the spectator perceives and understands the processes of communication' in a programme called *The Art Film: Documentary and Documentation.* This included documentaries on art and artists from the Arts Council Collection as well as the source material from *Chance, History, Art*…[372] Scott's film included interviews with artists Anne Bean (in conversation with artist John McKeon), Stuart Brisley, Rita Donagh, Jamie Reid and Jimmy Boyle, re-filmed from a monitor, interspersed with clips of film including documentary footage of Jackson Pollock's action painting, a surrealist film, and a camera roaming through the Hayward's 1979 exhibition *Dada and Surrealism*. The selection of this programme demonstrates how - as McAlister noted - forms of documentation would have a growing importance for the ICA, whilst the example of *Chance, History, Art…* within this reflected a postmodern relationship between the documentary format and the blurring of viewing situations. Imagine the spectator in the main cinema in 1981 as they watched the scenes of the Hayward exhibition in *Chance, History, Art…*; these scenes would have prompted them to recall their own experience of exhibition spaces, and perhaps to compare these with their present situation in the cinema. At the same time the film showed institutional structures of the art world to audiences through interviews with children, gallerists and directors, thus expanding the idea of who was involved in the making of exhibitions and as such moving beyond of the authorial role of the filmmaker into a newly co-productive environment.

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[371] Interview with Tait, January 2017.
[372] Cinematheque opening programme (1981).
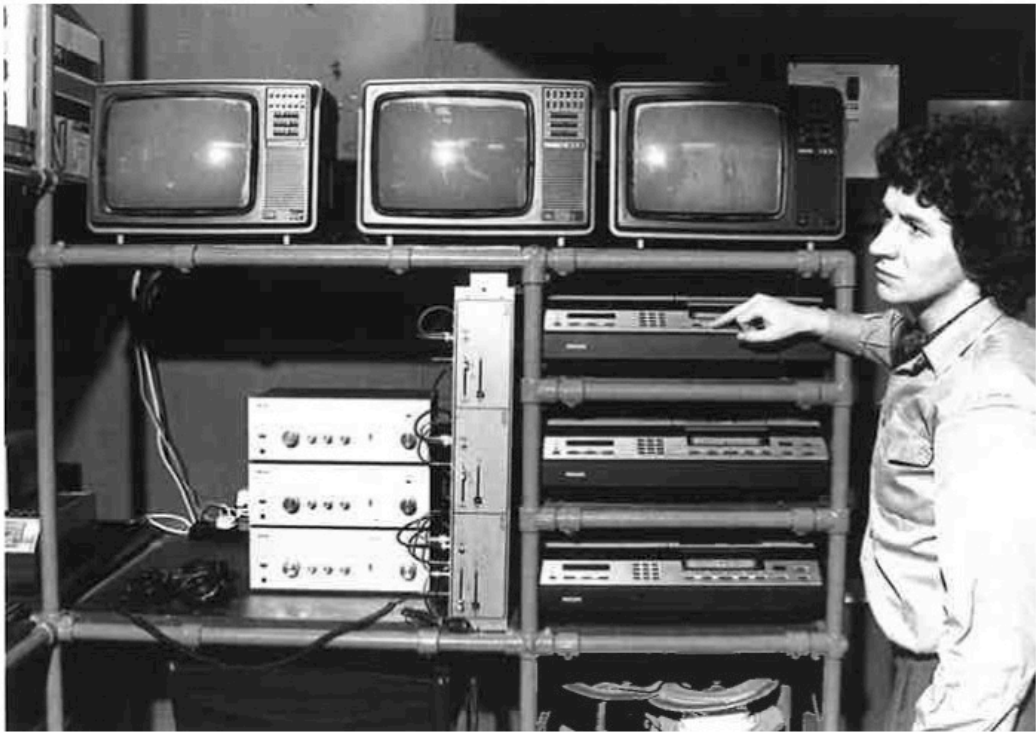
Fig 5. Photograph of the ICA Video Library (1981/2).
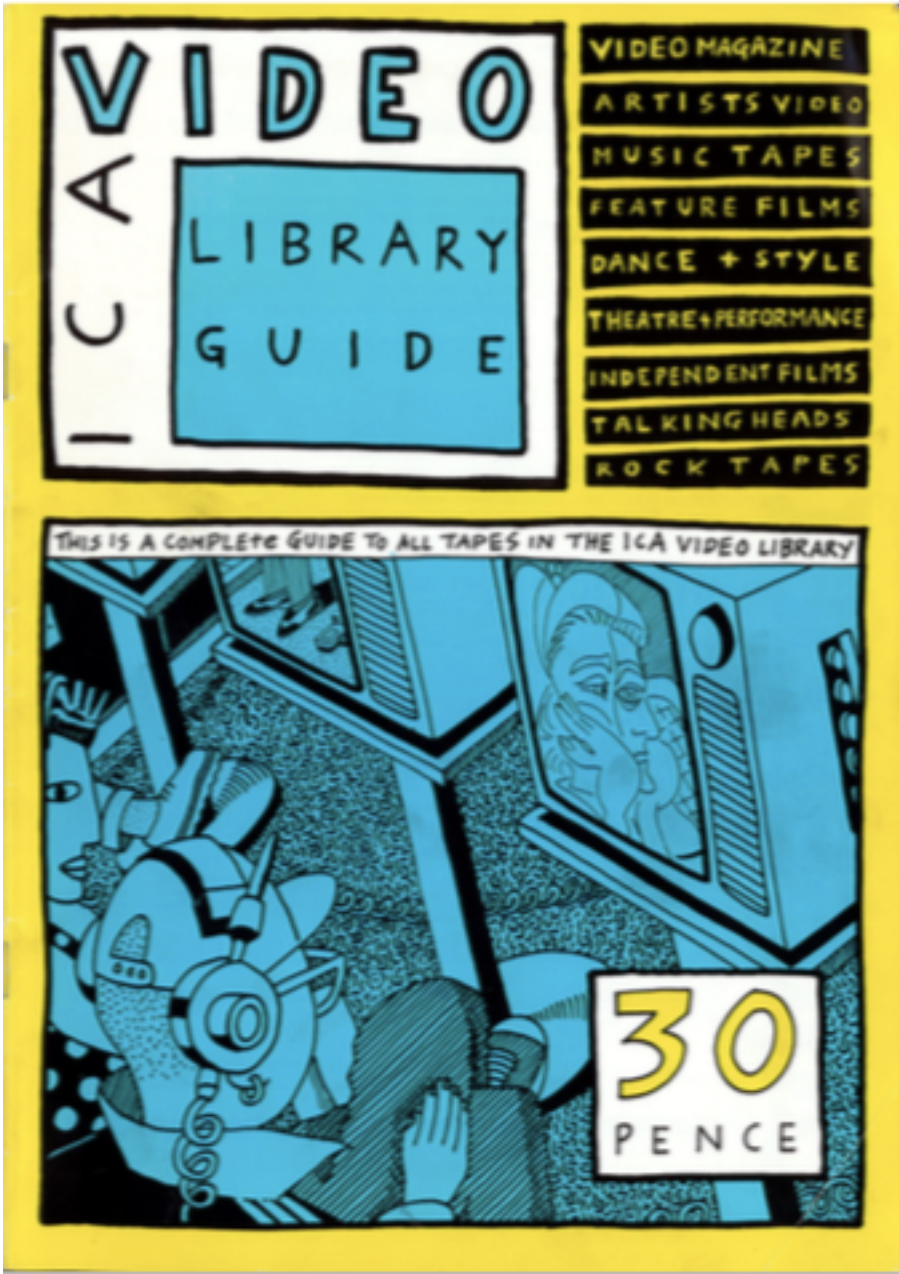
Fig 6. ICA Video Library Guide (1986)

An intimate screen

Although the ICA, following the model of the European '*theque*, appeared to define the videotheque and the cinematheque through medium specificity, in fact – as we see in their programming – what distinguished these areas was their screening contexts. One of these was an evening space that provided flexibility for 'public performance', and the other was 'a permanent viewing space' that also acted as a depository for the programme.[373] Within the videotheque, the form of spectatorship being advertised in 1981 was 'an intimate spectator and producer relationship.'[374] For practical reasons this needed to be 'in essence […] non-theatrical,' [375] because this would allow for flexibility with copyright, enabling them to show television material. As part of this exemption from copyright, the intimate screen would help break down hierarchical roles on a number of levels, with 'intimacy' suggesting the close familiarity of the domestic television screen. Not as a replacement of the cinema, but an alternative way to access the video, and film transferred onto video. It was also a place that held radical potential, in the sense that it eluded copyright controls and opened up a space to sub-cultures of community arts, feminist debates, political issues, queer identity and issues of race and representation. In relation to this term 'producer' that accompanies this intimate engagement there is the suggestion of a move away from single authorship towards co-production, where the audience's role functions in this discursive space. Rob Stoneman, who ran the Arnolfini Gallery's video library, as discussed above, framed this as 'critical viewing' and associated it with independent film. In relation to this framing the Arnolfini library was located in an upstairs gallery, creating a direct connection between the library contents and the exhibitions programme. At the ICA, however, although the programme engaged with independent film, they were also open to commercial spectacle and their intimate screen was located in a room that was adjacent to the cinema, creating associations film, as well as to television broadcasting.

Jarman 'Hovering on the Periphery'

In this multi-modal space, in which experience was mediated through 'intimacy', there was sense of shared production between audience and producer through the screen. This was in many ways shared by the intermediality of Jarman's approach to superimposition. But Jarman's relationship to the notion of the audience was also complicated, as we see in an interview with Simon Field, published in an issue of *Afterimage* to coincide with a

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[373] Ibid.
[374] Ibid.
[375] Cinema Director Archie Tate quoted in 'Fighting to Save a Unique Library', in *Broadcast*, London (9 September 1983).

'retrospective of [Jarman's] films that was currently touring the country'. [376] As well as his exhibition at the ICA, the two men discuss Barthes's *The Death of the Author*:[377] Jarman argues that the responsibility of the artist is not to deny their own presence, but rather to use their imagination regarding authority because, 'the powers that be will always invent the author. This is that vacuum and you have to fill it. If artists opt out the space will be filled by the powers that be with others.'[378] This vacuum was not an option because he did not want to be 'kept on the fringes'.[379] Instead he made a 'reapproachment' through finding in filmmaking a 'community'.[380] It was this that helped to challenge narrative authority, which he frequently found in the 1980s in the 'politicization of straight media' as well as art world institutions.[381] As Jim Ellis comments, this was 'double edged' in the way that it 'both challeng[ed] official versions of history and claim[ed] ownership of it.'[382] Ellis suggests that one way to think about this is to consider the space behind the screen, where the projection takes place, the space in front of the screen, where the spectator is positioned, and 'the role of the screen itself in mediating those two spaces'.[383] It is within this mediating space of the screen that Jarman explored the 'potential for new ways of being together,'[384] and this had an impact on the ICA's video library and the construction of producer/spectator intimacy.

Jarman, his students and colleagues, such Cerith Wyn Evans and John Maybury, were essentially given free rein in the Cinematheque,[385] helping to shape the identity of the ICA's Cinema programmes. For Jarman an important part of this was his rejection of the idea of audiences instead encouraging 'involvement'[386] in which everyone should be an artist. When it came to the pre-recorded Programmes One, Two and Three in the ICA's cinematheque in 1984, the approach to the screening, and the recording's availability in the library following the event, continued to encourage this co-authorship through collective and productive viewing. Although video lacked the aesthetic quality of film, it's potential was found for Jarman in the way it could act as a 'secret invasion' giving access to the work beyond the confines of the institutional, gallery setting. Jarman was interested in the layered moments of a work's screening in as much as it was part of its on-going creation, as a consequence any involvement with audiences was seen as part of its circulation on video as a further remediation of the work. However, when we consider

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[376] who went on to work in the Cinematheque at the ICA.
[377] Roland Barthes*, Image, Music, Text* (London: Flamingo, 1984).
[378] Interview with Derek Jarman by Simon Field, *Afterimage*, Issue 12 (Autumn 1985), p.48.
[379] Ibid, p.58.
[380] Ibid, p.49.
[381] Ibid, p.58.
[382] Jim Ellis, 'Introduction', to *Derek Jarman's Angelic Conversations* (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 2009). p.viii
[383] Ibid.
[384] Ibid, p.xiii
[385] Author interview with Tait and Graham, January 2017.
[386] Interview with Derek Jarman by Simon Field, *Afterimage*, p.50.

the screening within the wider context of the ICA's programme, the multiple-author narrative is contradicted by the autonomy of Jarman's solo exhibition.

Jarman's pre-recorded Programme screenings were organized to coincide with *Derek Jarman – In Sheer Luxury*, which ran from 3 February to 18 March 1984. In one of the upstairs galleries a new series of paintings called *GBH* were installed. These were created from newspaper cuttings, stuck together and painted gold, with a map of Britain looming out from the centre. In the connecting upstairs gallery two black transparent capes, also made from newspaper, 'with rusted iron pieces embedded in [them] like a sprinkled calligraphy', [387] were hung from the ceiling and spot lit with blue light. The capes were dedicated to the concrete poet Dom Sylvester Houedard, and were shown alongside small, framed paintings – studies for his film *Caravaggio* and also for the *GBH* series – as well as furniture made by Jarman's friend Andy Marshall, constructed from discarded timber. The title *Sheer Luxury* was taken from the ironic name Marshall gave to his council flat creating the stage of the domestic scene with the added satire of perceived flamboyance.[388] The original proposal for the exhibition at the ICA, however, suggested something different.

An un-authored exhibition proposal, presumably written by Jarman, conceived a 'Walk Through the Seventies' with 'photographs – "stills" – of Derek's Super 8 films, designs and paintings' covering the walls of the upper gallery. It would include subsections of 'Life, the Film Diaries, Film Design, Ballet Design, Painting and Sculpture and Garden Design mainly from 1970-1975' as well as Super 8s, which had already been transferred onto video, and would be shown 'simultaneously in the gallery' with live or recorded music by Simon Turner.[389] The exhibition would transform 'the original works into a new work for the gallery,' and would bring film into the gallery space.[390] The proposal suggested how using still images from his films; designs and paintings could easily transform the exhibition into a publication, as 'a Guide to the Seventies!' with 'a discussion of a period when film, design and painting were all worked together in the same spaces and how they influenced each other.'[391] In conceiving this idea for the exhibition, the Head of Exhibitions, Sandy Nairne, wrote to Jarman suggesting an exhibition of new paintings and the possibility of collaborating with Mog Johnstone, a journalist who had recently written

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[387] See, 'Hovering on the Periphery', Exhibitions section in *Building Design* (23 March, 1983). There were six *GBH* paintings, created between 1983-4, each 289.6 x 241.3 cm. *GBH* made reference to grievous bodily harm as well as to Great Britain.
[388] This was a reference to Jarman's frustration at being defined as flamboyant in the media.
[389] 'Walk Through the Seventies', Tate Archive, TGA 955/7/7/22.
[390] Ibid.
[391] Ibid.

about the rising use of heroin in London,[392] and who was in the process of completing her book on Derek Jarman's *Megalovision*.[393] The exhibition did go ahead, but it did so without the collaboration of Mog Johnstone, and moved away from the image-photography based proposal, instead taking the form of a retrospective of Jarman's new and recent paintings. So why did the change of plans for the exhibition occur, and how does it connect to our consideration of the spectator and the screen?

At the exhibition Jarman launched his autobiography *Dancing Ledge* with a performance by Michael Clark in the gallery. On the back of *Dancing Ledge* it advertised Jarman's 'return to painting'. [394] This promotion was echoed in the ICA's medium-specific division of Jarman's work and is revealing of its different departmental approaches to authorship. The plans for the earlier exhibition proposal, *A Walk through the 70s,* appeared to offer the spectator a filmic experience that is similar to Ranciere's description of *The Emancipated Spectator*.[395] In Ranciere's analysis spectatorship should not be about being active or passive, knowledgeable or ignorant, and travelling from one point to the other because these binaries are in fact 'allegories of inequality.'[396] Instead, Ranciere argued that spectatorship is our 'normal process' of reading, translating, observing, selecting, comparing and interpreting and should be understood with the idea of turns, translations and 'equal transmission.'[397] To illustrate, Ranciere described how 'the widespread use of images of all kinds in media' could call into question the association of theatre as the 'communitarian place'.[398]

These reflections by Ranciere on spectatorship made retrospectively reflecting back on the 1980s have implications on the construction of 'audiences' being promoted at the time by the ICA and other cultural institutions, as well as for Jarman's rejection of the institutional power this term audience implied. We can think about this suggestion of a communal space of spectatorship in relation to Jarman's earlier exhibition proposal – a series of images through the 1970s that appeared to be a translation of the creative processes of the Super 8 screenings. In the realized exhibition *In Sheer Luxury,* however, the visitor experience was framed by the ICA as a medium specific painting exhibition, commercially and art historically aligning the exhibition with the 'return to painting' in

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[392] Her article 'Hitting the Nerve', for *City Limits* (15-21 January 1982) on the rise of heroin use in London can be found in the archive.

[393] *Megalovision* took its title from name given to a production company formed for *Sebastian* by Derek Jarman, James Whaley, Paul Humfress and Howard Malin. The book doesn't appear to have been published. See Tony Peake, *Derek Jarman* (London: Abacus, 2001), p.317.

[394] Jarman, *Dancing Ledge*, (London: Quartet, 1991).

[395] Jacques Ranciere, *The Emancipated Spectator*, Art Forum (March 2007).

[396] Ibid, p.277.

[397] Ibid, p.280. Ranciere describes how 'emancipation is the process of verification of the equality of intelligence', p.275.

[398] Ibid, p.278.

the 1980s.[399] One the one hand this can be seen as a partial move away from shared production encapsulated by the earlier screenings and towards one of singular authorship, and therefore we could argue it presented a distance between an experience of looking and one of acting. One reviewer in *Art Monthly,* for instance, described how in the exhibition Jarman set up a distance between himself and the establishment, evident in his artistic 'control over image and reading'.[400] While in the library the 'activity' of the audience was retained with the offer for visitors to interactively play and replay Jarman's tapes. This is not to say that one was better than the other, or that the earlier exhibition proposal would have been more successful - *In Sheer Luxury* was incredibly well received - but rather that the play of authorship, the translation between a supposedly open response to an unmediated experience framed by the 'privileged medium' of painting, exposes different approaches that were both present at the time and can be understood as part of a revisioning of spectatorship, made visible through the idea of 'screening'. It wasn't necessarily about a physically active and passive audience but, as see from Ranciere, about the way access to knowledge was communicated – whether it was about attaining understanding about Jarman as a painter or about seeing his work within the space of a collection or filmmaking activity. A shift in the construction of audiences and any new controls that might be part of this is implied in the staging of a 'communitarian place'[401] in the exhibition. Although 'props' were used in the exhibition's performances the very fact that they displayed a theatrical spectacle through blue spotlights, drapes and furniture, closed off from the spectators visual, physical and interpretative sense is related to this historical moment of change in the idea of spectatorship, which incorporated a looking back to a privileged moment.

The media critical museum

The contradiction between the closed frame of the Jarman exhibition and the open invitation to the spectator in the videotheque/cinematheque is important in the way it highlights the oscillation of the ICA regarding its interest in a packaged, replayable history, and a broadcast live event. We see this, for instance, in the fluctuation of the term 'video library', suggesting an educational learning resource, which even had an archival card index system; and the media-focused, mobile 'videotheque'. This in part led from the Institute's anxiety to be contemporary, whilst also retain a sense of permanence, and

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[399] This term can be connected to the *New Spirit of Painting* exhibition at the Royal Academy in 1981, organized by Nicholas Serota, Christos Jaochimides and Norman Rosenthal. According to the text in the catalogue by Joachimides, it was programmed to show how artists were dissatisfied with the 'deliberately objective view' by 'throwing light on the condition of contemporary art' by showing the role of 'conspicuous subjectivity'. Rosenthal, Serota & Joachimides, *A New Spirit in Painting* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1981).
[400] John Roberts, 'Painting the Apocalypse', a review of Derek Jarman's exhibition at the ICA for Art Monthly in April 1984, reprinted in Afterimage, Issue 12 (Autumn 1985), p.38.
[401] Ranciere, 'The Emancipated Spectator', p.278.

there are two ways in which we see the ICA responding to this concern. From their early days, the ICA had been recording programmes, but over the 1980s this became much more formalized. In 1986 the theatre performances, talks, rock concerts and exhibitions that were sporadically recorded by video or audio, subsequently some of these became re-packaged as 'ICA Video' productions.[402] These were distributed through their in-house *Good Video Guide* (also launched in 1986), a catalogue listing available videos from a range of community-based arts and film producers that were bought predominantly by colleges and libraries.[403] That same year the ICA launched ICA TV, a production unit within the ICA, which collaborated on three programmes with Channel 4. In publishing, packaging and distributing programmes, the ICA emulated the role of a broadcaster, creating greater access to audiences beyond their own walls, in a way that 'a pensive spectator' could reflect back the cultural value of the ICA. This fetish for history became even more evident when Bill McAlister commissioned the writer and anthropologist Lyn Cole to write a publication provisionally titled *The ICA: A History of the Contemporary.* The historical reflection of this proposed book can be seen as a sign of the ICA addressing the question of how and where to locate its place within cultural history.[404] We can see at this point two aspects of the recursive programming, on the one hand this was led by technology and on the other it was driven by cultural, social and political ideologies. We can consider how these parallel techno-cultural concerns were manifested in the physical space of the videotheque.

How the videotheque appeared to visitors in the 1980s, and the kind of spectatorship that it created, is similar to what I find now in the study room at CSM. In the videotheque, one could find contextual material; a collection to search through; earphones and a monitor on which to watch the videos. The apparatus and equipment were exposed so that visitors could actively engage and interact with them. Alongside this technological environment, the collection challenged the possibility of finding an original, real event, because the videos were already 'recommencements or occultation (in one and the same gesture, *this* and *that*'[405] – or in this case, 'now' and 'then' – and the library, or videotheque, in this way reflected a Foucauldian archaeology of knowledge. However, it also went beyond this in the way that the visitors' experience was closely integrated through the dynamic relationship produced between audience and technology. Therefore, we could say that it becomes an extension of Foucault's archaeology in the way it provided archaeologies of knowledge in media or, as Wolfgang Ernst has defined

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[402] One example is the *Writers in Conversation* series. In the 1980s the recording of talks made by the ICA were given to the British Library, see http://sounds.bl.uk/Arts-literature-and-performance/ICA-talks.
[403] All of the *Good Video Guides* can be accessed at CSM Film and Video Study Collection.
[404] The book drew on archival research, interviews and literature analysis. Although the book was never published a proposal can be viewed in the ICA archive, see Tate Archive, TGA 955/2/6/27
[405] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, p.25.

media archaeology. Ernst's media archaeology is less about how stories are told and 'more about how stories are recorded, in what kind of physical media, what kind of processes and durations' placing emphasis on 'past as fact not just as story.'[406] This approach presents a challenge to cultural histories, which Ernst sees dominated by a focus on narrative, chronology and keyword searches, and instead recognizes media as participative agents. By bringing technology into consideration, '[i]mage – or sound-based retrieval of pictures and music' become equally relevant to research, 'lead[ing] to a genuinely multimedia search engine.'[407]

Within media archaeology Ernst has developed a description of 'media irony'[408] that is particularly relevant to the videotheque and the notion of audiences being produced. He draws on an ironic framing of history – through Stephen Bann's 'theory of rhetorical tropes as a prefiguration of historical imagination'[409] itself drawn from Hayden White's theory of irony, where irony is used as a lens through which to view history at a distance, and with empathy. Ernst appropriates these ironic framings by considering how technology reconciles 'the physical presence and the discursive absence of the past,'[410] a familiar experience in archival analysis particularly on the verge of digitization. He connects this to the rupture in historical discourse created by photography in the way it made the real physically present, as 'rays of light that once emanated from the real object touch the viewer when he or she regards the picture.'[411] For Ernst, this technological impact should affect our methodological approach in a way that stops it from falling back into discourse as he argues it does, for example, with Stephen Bann. Instead irony can share the Antiquarian's 'haptic taste for the mouldy'[412] and share the physical proximity and interaction with the technological medium. A tactile materiality is possible when we see 'media as co-producers of cultural context'[413], this replicates the process of photography by reproducing the real rather than representational, thus 'transfer[ring] the discursive analysis of rhetorical tropes from literature and speech to spatial visual regimes and to the technologies themselves.'[414] But does this really need to be done entirely without human presence as Ernst suggests, or could irony be used as a way to understand the relationship between technology and audience subjectivity?

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[406] As Jussi Parikka has outlined in 'Archival Media Theory: An Introduction to Wolfgang Ernst's Media Archaeology', in *Digital Memory and the Archive*, ed. by Jussi Parikka (Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), pp.1-22 (p.7).
[407] Ernst, 'Discontinuities: Does the Archive Become Metaphorical in Multimedia Space?' in *Digital Memory and the Archive*, pp. 113-40 (p.123).
[408] Ernst, 'Let There Be Irony', p.52.
[409] Ibid, p.40.
[410] Ibid, p.43.
[411] Ibid, p.47.
[412] Ibid.
[413] Ibid, p.43.
[414] Ibid, p.53.

At the start of the chapter I considered my own position as a pensive spectator of the Jarman videotape through a consideration of feminist writer Laura Mulvey, by highlighting how both the projection of time in the tape itself, and my physical control of the tape, added a layer of reflection to the work. Following this we saw that the video library, viewed from our inescapable digital perspective, reveals a 'different kind of voyeurism',[415] and that this is reflected in the activities of the ICA in the 1980s, through their interest in distributing programmes and recording institutional history. Within this, as I suggested earlier, technology played a crucial role in jolting me out of the narrative history of culture when the scratching lines of the monitor in the CSM video library exposed 'a moment of technological breakdown' in which 'the medium [became] visible.'[416] The library screen therefore enabled more than just 'pensive' spectatorship, which, as Mulvey has acknowledged, although interactive is usually a singular perspective that is often 'detached from a collective audience'.[417] In its multi-modality the library or *theque* was in fact a 'media-critical museum'; rather than hiding the apparatus, like 'any ironical museum [it] displays its own artificiality, technical fictionality and artifactuality. The museum turns out to be a creator of media-cultural construction.'[418] As such the ICA video library was media-critical by culturally incorporating and exposing technological memory and systems of operation to the spectator. Ernst's view is that this should be separated from the subjective experience otherwise it falls back onto representation, but what I hope to have demonstrated is that such an approach does not need to have a negative impact on the combination of cultural and technological analysis. In offering the possibility of the spectator-as-producer relationship, the videotheque made audiences into co-producers, and therefore by extension co-authors in the screening process. This can be seen as a method of watching and listening that retains an historical distance as well as a close proximity, and in this way it could be described as ironic. This awareness of distance and closeness should impact on methodological approaches; by integrating my own experience as one of a number of spectators, I have hoped to bring this sense of proximity together across a thirty-five-year historical gap since the videotheque first opened.

Chapter conclusion: Screenshot – one time among many

The library or videotheque introduced cine-screening to the space of the exhibition by promoting a 'dynamic' relationship with the spectators, a term borrowed from the use of

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[415] Mulvey, 'The Pensive Spectator', p.192.
[416] Ibid, p.48.
[417] Mulvey, 'The Pensive Spectator', in *Death 24x a Second*, p.190.
[418] Ernst, 'Let There Be Irony', p.52.

the Phillips 2000, which boasted an 'innovative Dynamic Track Following system'.[419] Visitors could play their chosen tapes, and via this interaction became a collective audience for the work at numerous historical points. The awareness of technological temporality played a role in shifting conceptions about art and culture from movements into moments: as Leggett described in his *Image Con Text* programme, it was not about 'examining [the] peculiarities' of art historical 'style […] minimalism' or 'the formalism' but instead concerned with reframing art by 'establishing points of similarity in methods of production' through 'connections with other people and the way they are working at present, or the way they have worked in the past.'[420] In this comment we saw how Leggett recognized how a new value was being placed on the present as part of the effect of video technology and the way it emphasized the temporal moment of watching and interacting with the screen. Within this, television offered cultural organizations a notion of publicness extending their reach beyond the siloes of the art world.

On the verge of being digitized – and therefore being further re-mediated – what now remains of the video library will become a 'dynamic archive', in the sense the collection will no longer be archives *of* motion, but archives *in* motion: 'archives that themselves are dynamic, changing forms.'[421] Ernst has suggested that in digitization, 'our relation not only to the past but to the present […] becomes truly archival'. [422] This is because film – which is representative of the macro time of historical discourse – is in the process of being replaced by the micro-temporality of data. These shifts from the linear film strip to binary data of the digital was anticipated in the electronic tape of video technology at which point preservation became understood as 'positive'[423] in the way that is was about distribution and reproduction rather than accumulation. My proposition throughout this thesis will be that such technological changes, and their associated interruptions, are relevant to our contemporary interpretations of exhibitions. Furthermore, that the concept of the dynamic archive provides a parallel by offering potential new ways to view history through objects 'in motion'.[424] The video library as a transitional space between video and digitization reveals shifts in mediation that are relevant not just from a cultural position, but media ironically also from a technological perspective.

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[419] See ICA Cinematheque Programme, 1981, British Artists' Film & Video Study Collection, Central Saint Martins.
[420] Leggett, 'Image Con Text' (1978-2003), p.251.
[421] Parikka, *What Is Media Archaeology?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012), p.120.
[422] Ernst, *Digital Memory and the Archive,*
[423] Sean Cubitt, 'To copy is then a positive term, not a negative one: it is a question of process over origin, of the ongoing nature of work brought about by its incompletion, internal and external, over the anchoring of meaning to a tired Romantic myth of the artist.' *Timeshift: on video culture* (London: Routledge, 1991), p.106.
[424] Parikka, *What Is Media Archaeology?* p.120.

Jarman stretched the screened image into a 'shudder'[425] disrupting linear narrative, whilst within this common space of screened mediation, holding onto narrative authority. Whether or not Jarman intended it to be, Programme One is now a precious object held in the archives at CSM, but individual films have been variously dispersed. One of these from Programme One, *Sloane Square*, can be found on YouTube accompanied by a Simon Turner soundtrack. The film is set in a flat Jarman stayed in over the early 1970s, and from which he was eventually evicted because his neighbours 'objected to the kind of life style that was being led in this otherwise fairly straight forward flat block' – straight being the operative word.[426] Having watched this film in the CSM video library with the haunting voiceover of Jarman recorded in 1984, where perhaps as an effect of the archive it becomes read through notions of loss of place, people and objects, does something change when I play it now on my laptop through YouTube? Visually and physically it is now possible to interact with the film outside of the institutional archive; it can be screenshot, paused, minimized, expanded, downloaded. As Bellour commented, 'as soon as you stop the film, you begin to find the time to add to photography'[427] and outside of the institutional setting the film shifts further towards the possessive spectatorship of the screenshot. At one point Jarman's camera shows empty slide folders lying on the floor, evidence of his editing process, but also reminders of the role memory and preservation at play in the indexical and iconic trace of photograph, as 'one object among many'.[428] Jarman's films already disrupted the singular perspective of history – something that is mirrored in transitions between Super 8, video, and now digitalization - and their related screening situations. By looking at the work through the lens of the ICA we can see that simultaneously the cultural framing of his work was becoming more formalized, as divisions between departments and historicizing programming began to seep in. Screenshots perform the same action of disruption to this, we take it, possess it; it is an archival fragmentation, and whatever then happens to that image will spread out the possibility for new techno-cultural narratives.

In this chapter shifts in spectatorship and an increasing role of the audience in the programming of cultural organisations in the early 1980s has been considered. This has been shown to be a construction that was informed by both culture and the arrival of new technologies, one that promoted an exploration of what it means to be reflective in screening and historical terms. In following two chapters continuing this techno-cultural

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[425] Reflecting his approach to writing, which he described as 'buried word-signs', Jarman, *Dancing Ledge*, (1991), p.129.
[426] Derek Jarman, *Programme One.* Author transcription.
[427] Bellour, 'The Pensive Spectator', p.123.
[428] Ibid.

approach I explore the interactive spectator in more depth – first through a combination of cybernetics, anthropology and a theatre of electrics between 1968-1972, addressing the idea of reception in technological and social terms; then in Chapter Four by considering the staging of participation in 1974 and the self-reflection of the exhibitionary process.

ICAsm

THE BODY AS A MEDIUM OF EXPRESSION

There is a contradiction inherent in using words at all for the theme that runs through events at the ICA until December, the theme of the Body as a Medium of Expression. For the programme's purpose is to demonstrate that there are ways other than words that we can use to communicate, ways that in this word-oriented society we neglect and underestimate. The ICA's programme plans to explore man's other resources of communication — gesture, movement, signals, non-verbal sounds - by means of both logo-centric lectures and participatory events.

In Eldridge Cleaver's *Soul on Ice* (published by Jonathan Cape Ltd.) his description of the Mind - oriented society reawakening to its own Body is fittingly entitled "Convalescence". He sees the puritan/white culture of America as Mind/Word/Machine dominated and describes the shaky beginnings of its liberation through black music – "a guided missile launched by the ghetto into the very heart of suburbia." His analysis of a society in which Mind is divorced from Body sums up one of the reasons for the ICA's programme:

"Song and dance are, perhaps, only a little less old than man himself. It is with his music and dance, the recreation through art of the rhythms suggested by and implicit in the tempo of his life and cultural environment, that man purges his soul of the tensions of daily strife and maintains his harmony in the universe. In the increasingly mechanised, automated, cybernated environment of the modern world... man's need for affirmation of his biology has become that much more intense. He feels the need for a clear definition of where his body ends and the machine begins, where man ends and the extensions of man begin. . . This is the central contradiction of the twentieth century; and it is against this backdrop that (the West)'s attempt to unite its Mind with its Body, to save its soul, is taking place."

This touches on one of the series most important themes, "body politics", reinforcing the idea that where social control is enforced - mainly by words, repressed groups will turn for self expression from Word to Body.   Stacy Marking.

SHONA SCULPTORS FROM AFRICA

With scant encouragement from the Smith regime, a new form of stone sculpture, powerful and original, has emerged from the Shonas of Rhodesia, a gentle and religious tribe of some 4 million. Their culture is deeply rooted in myth and magic, the figures are expressions of traditional religious powers, formed from essentially African tradition. But the medium of these sculptures is not part of a continuous tradition. Tribal carving has been in wood, but these figures are in the hardest stone – red, green, yellow, black serpentine and granite. Not since the 15th century have there been such carvings in stone – those found in the Victorian era among the great Zimbabwe ruins are now in the British Museum. The modern sculptures are of bird men, ancestral chiefs, horned gods and spirits. The fierce, alert spirit man – part antelope, part skeleton man – (shown L.) is by one of the outstanding sculptors of the Shona, Sylvester Mubayi.

Although the works have sold out in western exhibitions (New York; Musée Rodin, Paris) the sculptures are not intended as art objects. They are symbols of the Revered Spirits, rooted in the trees and hills of the Shona's traditional locations. The figures often echo the sculptural landscape of the country, and follow the dictates not of realism but of the rock and crystal in which they are carved.

The ICA Exhibition of Shona Sculpture, in Galleries I and II from September 8th to October 15th, contains the latest work of 20 Shona sculptors. They are all from the African Workshop School of the National Gallery of Rhodesia. It was founded and run by Frank McEwen, the Museum's Director. He will be at the Opening and Party on Friday September 8th (from 7pm. members and guests. Bar till 10.30pm). On Thursday September 14th, Frank Mc-Ewen lectures with slides, on Friday September 15th he introduces films that put the works in their traditional and artistic context.

Of the Shona he writes: "With an inherent belief in ancestor worship and the realm of the unseen, their art, their physical lives and all their culture, is related and undivided. They are not Westernised with separate faculties of the mind, nor are they frustrated spiritually or sensuously by the materialistic inroads of puritanism.
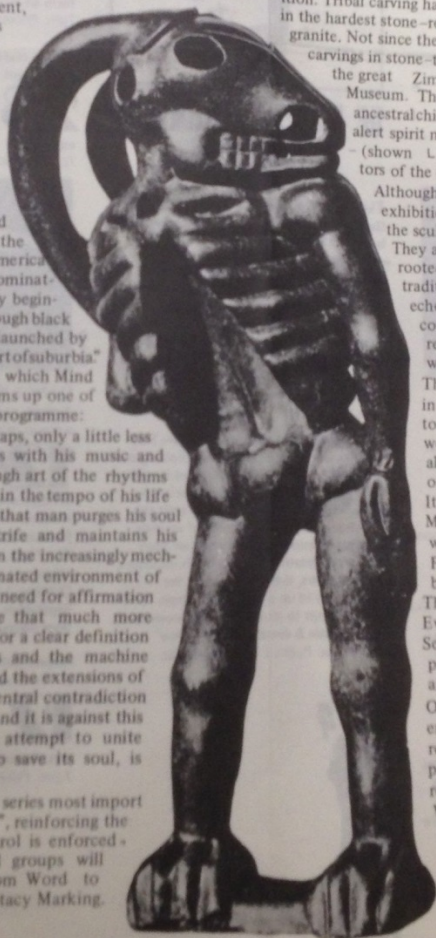
Fig 8. ICAsm (September 1972)

Chapter Three:

'Electrical diversions': *Cybernetic Serendipity* (1968) and *Electric Theatre* (1971)

ICAsm, September 1972 in Tate Archive

The ICA's bulletins, event sheets and programme booklets exist as a 'heap of the present';[429] every turn of the page unravels a month of programming where lists of events are enunciated through its design. The book of bulletins (1971-1973) shows a transition in design – in this case from a slither of a booklet to the A3 foldout referred to as 'ICAsm'. The front page of the ICAsm in September 1972 introduced *The Body as a Medium of Expression,* an event, lecture and performance programme organized by the anthropologists Jonathan Benthall and Ted Polhemus. The ICAsm also announced *Shona Sculptors from Africa,* an exhibition from the National Gallery of Rhodesia that displayed 'bird men, ancestral chiefs, horned gods and spirits' by twenty Shona sculptors, carved from 'red, green, yellow and black serpentine and granite'.[430] Between the texts describing these two programmes is a photograph of an object by the Zimbabwean sculptor Sylvester Mubayi. Turn over the page and a list of events for September 1972 spreads down across two pages, with every day in the month accounted for.

Within the description of *The Body as a Medium of Expression*, the term 'signal' was used as a way to encourage audiences to think beyond the literary and verbal forms and into 'man's other resources of communication [including] gesture, movement, signals, nonverbal sounds – by means of both logo centric lectures and participatory events'.[431] This overarching thematic - which included a performance programme with *Body Conditioning* with the artist Patricia Barclay, and Gustav Metzger's *Executive Projects* in the gallery where visitors were invited to have their picture taken in a 'Photo-Me' booth[432] - aimed to address how the corporal form of the body could be used 'as a tool for the understanding of social form'.[433] It was therefore as a way to apply in semiotic

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[429] Lawrence Alloway, 'The Complex Present', in R. Kalina, *Imagining the present: context, content, and the role of the critic* (London, Routledge, 2006), p.245.

[430] ICAsm, September 1972, designed by Giles Marking, Tate Archive, TGA 955/14/21.

[431] Ibid.

[432] The performance part of *The Body as a Medium of Expression* is largely absent from the Tate archive, other than a reference to the programme booklet it completely absent from the Penguin publication. It was however recorded briefly on a BBC programme Omnibus File, which aired on 8 October 1972. It was the first in a series of programmes compiled by Alan Yentob, brodacast monthly, each focused on a particular theme.

[433] Benthall and Polhemus, *The Body as a Medium of Expression*, 1975. p.33. John O'Neil coined the term body politics in 1972 in two articles 'Authority Knowledge and the Body Politic' and 'Violence Language and the Body Politic', both in *Sociology as a Skin Trade* in 1972 (London: Heinemann Educational). In his analysis he makes reference to Marx, Freud, Norman Brown, Jenny Rubin, Conscious Clay, Eldridge Cleaver and Frantz Fanon.

terms 'the body's role in interactional contexts as a mechanical, topographic and symbolic complex'[434]onto social systems; thus becoming the basis for the body politic. In particular in the entirely male dominated lecture programme anthropologists and sociologists played a part in bringing interactional or situational contexts to the ICA, something that coincided with developments into the study and display of computers and electronics in art exhibitions. As those involved at the time have since reflected,[435] these areas of anthropological and computer-based research can be understood now relation to the exhibition histories and its audience. For instance, as archival fragment this ICAsm highlights questions about the (viewer's) body arising out of ideas from cybernetics, and acts as a basis to consider a series of exhibits that took place at this time. A consideration of this will in turn enable me to open up ways of rethinking some of the questions concerning audience, technology, object, exhibition, institution, and archive, which I have considered in the previous two chapters. As with each preceding chapter, I address this as a contingent moment of screening mediated by the ICA.

The Body as a Medium of Expression was part of a cultural shift towards readdressing marginalized forms of communication through semiotics. At the same the exhibition *Shona Sculptures*, also promoted on the front of the ICAsm, reaffirmed the value of the unique object, describing how the sculptures had 'sold out'[436] in exhibitions in Paris and New York. It introduced the display in terms of the sculptors 'belief in ancestor worship and the realm of the unseen, their art and their physical lives.'[437] These descriptions of the Shona sculptures through economic value and 'the realm of the unseen' remind us of the familiar characterizations of so-called primitive art by art critics, we considered in Chapter One. This is not surprising since Frank McEwan, the Founding Director of the National Gallery of Rhodesia had organized the tour of this exhibition to the ICA, was a friend of the ICA co-founder Roland Penrose. McEwan set up the Rhodesian Workshop School in the National Gallery (now of Zimbabwe) when he moved to Africa in the 1950s; where he trained sculptors, exhibiting and selling their work in gallery shops in Zimbabwe as well as further afield across Africa, America and Europe. To coincide with the ICA's exhibition McEwan wrote an article in which he described the difficulty of replicating these sculptures: 'the technical challenge of carving in the hardest media has the value of uniqueness. It cannot be copied economically by fabricants of curios', making

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[434] Jonathan Benthall and Ted. Polhemus, *The Body as a Medium of Expression: essays based on a course of lectures given at the Institute of Contemporary Arts, London* (London: Allen Lane, 1975), p.8.

[435] This is explored in the forthcoming article by Jonathan Benthall, 'Technological art and Studio International's eclectic vanguardism' in *Interdisciplinary Science Reviews*, special issue entitled 'The Experimental Generation' (2017).

[436] ICAsm, September 1972, Tate Archive, TGA 955/14/21.

[437] Ibid.

them the antithesis of commodities of 'airport art'.[438] McEwan's description reflects what James Clifford referred to as 'possessive individualism' of the Western collector who separates objects from the tourist industry, selecting and cherishing them, and defining them through a notion of 'non-repeatable time'. [439] The myth created by promoting these sculptures through spirit worship, as well as in terms of communicating an evolution of Shona identity, is exposed when we consider a wider field than the binary position of 'authentic' versus 'inauthentic'.[440] Elizabeth Morton has pointed out, for instance, that it was impossible for the sculptors to respond to Shona identity since it didn't exist until the twentieth century, and many of the artists were practicing Christians who had in fact been trained in this so-called ancient style at the workshop.[441]

We can take this exhibition and its promotion as in some ways a return to modernist spectatorship found in the early programming of the ICA in Chapter One. Why in the early 1970s might there be a return to defining objects as authentic or inauthentic? It can help if we look back at the formalist approaches of modern perception. Herbert Read, for instance, interpreted Henry Moore's work away from the notion of '*reduplication*' and instead proposed that it captured '*a translation of meaning* from one material into another material', by conveying the modernist ideology of a 'truth to materials'.[442] Just as we see with McEwan, Read placed importance on the 'art of carving or cutting into relative hardness'[443] because, as Ben Cranfield has recently described, the value of sculptural work can be found in the 'record of an encounter between artist and material, full of tension, empathy, harmony and compromise.'[444] This modern encounter sits somewhat uneasily with a parallel programme that celebrated liveness through 'encounter-group sessions' and 'teach-ins', and this is in part where we find our contradiction. On the one hand, *The Body as a Medium of Expression* presented a mechanism for engagement, through its 'interactional contexts' and via an actively receptive audience, described as 'the receiver to a particular situation […].'[445] Yet as *The Body as Medium of Expression's* contemporary parallel, *Shona Sculptures* throws us back

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[438] Frank McEwan, 'Shona Art Today', in *African Arts*, vol. 15 (Summer 1972), Tate Archive, 'Papers relating to the exhibition 'Shona Sculptors of Rhodesia', 1972, Tate Archive, TGA 955/7/2/45.

[439] James Clifford, 'On Collecting Art and Culture', in *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), pp.215-251 (p.215 and p.236). The term 'possessive individualism' (p.217) is drawn from C. B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962).

[440] As Clifford demonstrates this with his use of Greimas's 'semiotic square, ibid, p.222.

[441] Elizabeth Morton, 'Frank McEwen and Joram Mariga: Patron and Artist in the Rhodesian Workshop School Setting, Zimbabwe', in *African Art and Agency in the Workshop*, ed. by Sidney Littlefield Kasfir and Till Forster, African Expressive Cultures Series (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2013), pp. 274-297 (pp.284-285).

[442] Herbert Read, *The Meaning of Art*, (London: Faber & Faber, 1931), p.151, italics in original.

[443] Ibid.

[444] Cranfield, ''A stimulation to greater effort of living': The Importance of Henry Moore's 'credible compromise' to Herbert Read's Aesthetics and Politics'. Tate Research Publications (2015), https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/henry-moore/ben-cranfield-a-stimulation-to-greater-effort-of-living-the-importance-of-henry-moores-r1151301 [accessed 16 May 2017].

[445] Benthall, 'A Prospectus as Published in *Studio International* July 1972', in *The Body as a Medium of Expression*, p.8.

to the viewer's personal encounter. It is within this contradiction, as presented by the ICAsm, that this chapter sits, providing a starting point from which to explore what was happening in the conception of the audience encounter at this time in ICA exhibitions and discursive programming.

Chapter Introduction

In the descriptions of *The Body as a Medium for Expression* the term signal is used as an attempt to remove the hierarchy imposed by linguistics on communication studies. By exploring communication, in this case drawing on the writings of sociologist Aaron V. Cicourel, the programme stressed the 'irremediable indexicality' within all forms of communication.[446] This brought into consideration how, in every communication, there is 'an inexhaustibly large substratum of tacit common experience and meanings,'[447] which can include gesture, sound and movement, and not forgetting the space in which the communication actually takes place. It was proposed in the lectures and accompanying publication that these features must all be taken into account in order to establish a, 'general theory of meaning', [448] and that we should engage in semiotic terms with all of these aspects, as the 'interactional context' of reception. In drawing on this broadening of interpretation, we can see that the emphasis of the programme at the ICA was placed not just on what happened but was also concerned with the surrounding experience of that interaction, including the people participating; I would argue that this is implied by the term reception.

The Body was not a one off programme but sat within a wider series of events, discussions and exhibitions that looked into the role of interaction and communication. So what were the consequences for exhibitions and audiences of bringing this sociological and semiotic study to the ICA? Between 1968-1972 there were a number of exhibitions and events at the ICA and elsewhere exploring concepts of electronic interaction and cybernetic behaviour. My suggestion is that at this time we can see a continuation of some of the ideas that had been developing through the Independent Group over the 1950s-60s, particularly in relation to communication and spectatorship. By considering the development of spectatorship into audience reception this chapter explores how electrical energy and anthropology played a role in the production of exhibitions and audiences.

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[446] Ibid. See Aaron V.Cicourel 'Ethnomethodoloy', vol. 12, Book. 3, pp.1563- 1605 (p.1602).
[447] Ibid.
[448] Ibid*.*

When we think of an interactive spectator and the concept of electrical energy in relation to the ICA, the exhibition *Cybernetic Serendipity: The Computer and the Arts* (1968) might well spring to mind. Curated by Jasia Reichardt, this exhibition brought together 43 composers, artists and poets, and 87 engineers, doctors, computer scientists and philosophers, and was framed as a 'landmark'[449] moment in technology and art. Since then, numerous historical responses have canonized this as a moment in exhibition making where art and technology converged. [450] Out of these reactions, two are significant for this Chapter's focus on reception. Maria Fernandez forms here analysis of Cybernetic Serendipity by connecting Riechardt's curatorial approach to her interest in science and art as an art critic and highlights the influence on Riechardt of her aunt and uncle the surrealists Stefan and Franciszka. Fernandez proposes that *Cybernetic Serendipity* can be seen as an example of Reichardt's awareness of the complicated and playful affective relations between humans and technology, now understood as post-humanism.[451] The second interpretation that will be drawn on in this Chapter is by Catherine Mason, who explored how the creative curiosity enacted in *Cybernetic Serendipity* was a continuation of a model set by the Independent Group – a view also highlighted by Charlie Gere.[452] In this Chapter I draw on these ideas of the interactive elements within Cybernetic Serendipity, and consider it as in some ways a legacy of ideas arising from out of the Independent Group. I bring this together with another ICA exhibition *Electric Theatre* (1971) – a sequential light show that advertised the spectator as an exhibit. By highlighting *Electric Theatre* in relation to *Cybernetic Serendipity* and in terms of curiosity and audience affect, I consider how both shows explore active technological and interactive agencies.

The period these exhibitions took place has often been aligned to the period Lucy Lippard described as the 'dissolution of the autonomy of the art object'.[453] This is a historical position that media arts can in challenge. As Sarah Cook and Beryl Graham have argued, within Lippard's notion of dematerialization, the context of the artwork becomes increasingly important because it is the frame, containment and institutional structure that come to define it as an artwork.[454] Building on connections to conceptual art's

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[449] Nigel Gosling, 'Man in an automated wonderland', *The Observer,* (4 August 1968).

[450] Gere Charlie, 'Introduction', in *White Heat Cold Logic: British Computer Art 1960-1980*, ed. by Paul October Brown (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press), 2008, pp.1-7.

[451] Maria Fernandez, 'HiStory: Jasia Reichardt and Cybernetic Serendipity', in *Art Journal*, Vol. 67, No. 3 (FALL 2008), (College Art Association), pp. 6-23 (p.19).

[452] Catherine Mason, *A computer in the art room: the origins of British computer arts 1950-80* (Hindrigham: JJG, 2008), p.103.

[453] Lucy Lippard, *Six years: the dematerialization of the art object from 1966 to 1972* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1997).

[454] Cook and Graham focus on exhibitions experienced by the authors directly between 2000-2006, whilst creating historical links to the conceptual practices of the 1960s, networked and systems based art of the 1970s, telecommunication works of the 1980s, and Internet-based art of the 1990s through an exploration of participation, time and space.

exploration of process rather than product, Cook and Graham show how there are many similarities between avant-garde conceptual art practices and artworks 'after new media', which they define as, 'art that is made using electronic media technology and that displays any or all of the three behaviours of interactivity, connectivity, and computability in any combination.'[455] Although Cook and Graham focus on the period of 2000-07, their consideration of how something interacts – where and what it connects to, and how the system works in conceptual terms – can be extended to the earlier period of exhibition-making. If we take into account systems of operation and distribution, my suggestion is that we can gain a better understanding of the inter-relationships taking place within exhibitions. Throughout this Chapter I use Cook and Graham's analysis of 'interactivity, connectivity, and computability' as a way by which to consider *Electric Theatre* and *Cybernetic Serendipity*, positioning the exhibitions in relation to audience reception and technology.

The affective environment Fernandez highlights in *Cybernetic Serendipity* and the electronic materiality we will find in *Electric Theatre* bring to mind Latour's concept of 'socialising' as a way to think through where and how this interaction between the spectator and media behaviours takes place. As Latour has explained, 'in artifacts and technologies we do not find the efficiency and stubbornness of matter imprinting chains of cause and effect onto malleable humans […] The mediation, the technical translation […] resides in the bind spot in which society and matter exchange properties.'[456] What might this 'blind spot' mean for our expansion of exhibition studies? According to Latour, the way something operates or interacts and how it is mediated can be understood not through the object-subject dialectic, but by accounting for the 'object-institution;'[457] the hybrid space between humans and non-humans. In other words, it is by considering the 'object-institution' that we become aware of the relationships between 'laws, people, and customs that continue in time' within the exchange between society and matter.[458] In exhibition terms we can translate this 'blind spot' to an analysis that ensures we account for the exchange of relations between institutions involved in an exhibition; not just the ICA as the host but the institutions of artist/s, funders, and the audiences; as well as the suppliers of the technology, the materiality, and behaviors of technology. As Jane Bennett demonstrates in *Vibrant Matter,* when we remove human will or intentionality and inter-

[455] Graham and Cook, *Rethinking Curating*, p.10. The terms interactivity, connectivity and computability are drawn from Steve Dietz, 'Signal or Noise? The Network Museum', Webwalker no.20, *Art Entertainment Network* (2000); and Dietz, 'Why Have There Been No Great Net Artists?' Paper presented in the "Critical Texts" portion of the exhibition *Through the Looking Glass,* (15-30 April). Available at: http://www.afsnitp.dk/onoff/Texts/dietzwhyhavether.html. [accessed 15 September 2017].
[456] Ibid, p.190.
[457] Latour, *Pandora's Hope: essays on the reality of science studies* (Cambridge, Mass; London, Harvard University Press, 1999), p.192; institution is understood in the same way as Foucault's apparatuses.
[458] Ibid, p.192.

subjectivity, we can raise the questions about whether 'an understanding of agency as a confederation of human and nonhuman elements alter[s] established notions of moral responsibility?'[459] An answer, Bennett suggests, can be found by looking at electrons as 'actants', defined by their performances, transformations and encounters. A similar approach will be taken in this chapter in order to expand on our understanding of exchange or interaction in the exhibitions and programmes under consideration.

The Chapter therefore takes 1968-72 as a period in which spectatorship was becoming embedded into the framing of exhibitions through a combination of relationships with electrical processes and connections to semiotic studies led by anthropologists, where as a result signals and reception became a focus. One question raised in the Chapter is whether or not this led to the term 'audience'. I use this to look back at what culturally and technologically underpins the use of 'active spectatorship' in the ICA's videotheque in the previous Chapter. I draw on the idea of electrical currents as 'blind spots' in order to challenge two art historical perspectives: the art of participation, and the effects of the canonization of exhibitions. As Cook and Graham have argued, the lack of understanding about the behavior of technologies is representative of the continued separation of new media from contemporary art. This period of art and exhibitions history, with its engagement on semiotic signals through cybernetics, and its inclusion of cultural and anthropological approaches, offers the opportunity to reconnect media behaviours to exhibition making. I first introduce into studies that take this approach (including those of Shanken, Cook and Graham, and Gere) an awareness of *Electric Theatre,* which at the time of writing is completely absent from literature. I address the role of electrical energy within this exhibition, and consider what forms spectatorship was being produced. I then connect this back to *Cybernetic Serendipity* and consider both exhibitions in relation to Information Theory, and Lawrence Alloway's description of 'spectator mobility'.[460] Breakages, spectators and short-circuits became disruptive presences or agents in both *Cybernetic Serendipity* and *Electric Theatre* and these agents act as contingencies to open exhibition histories back into an exploration of media behaviours. The Chapter ends with the collision of forms, proposals and ideas in the ICAsm, and returns to the human presence in the exhibition space through the shadow of an exhibition photographer.

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[459] Ibid, p.21.
[460] Lawrence Alloway, *This is Tomorrow* (London: Whitechapel Gallery, 1956). n.pn
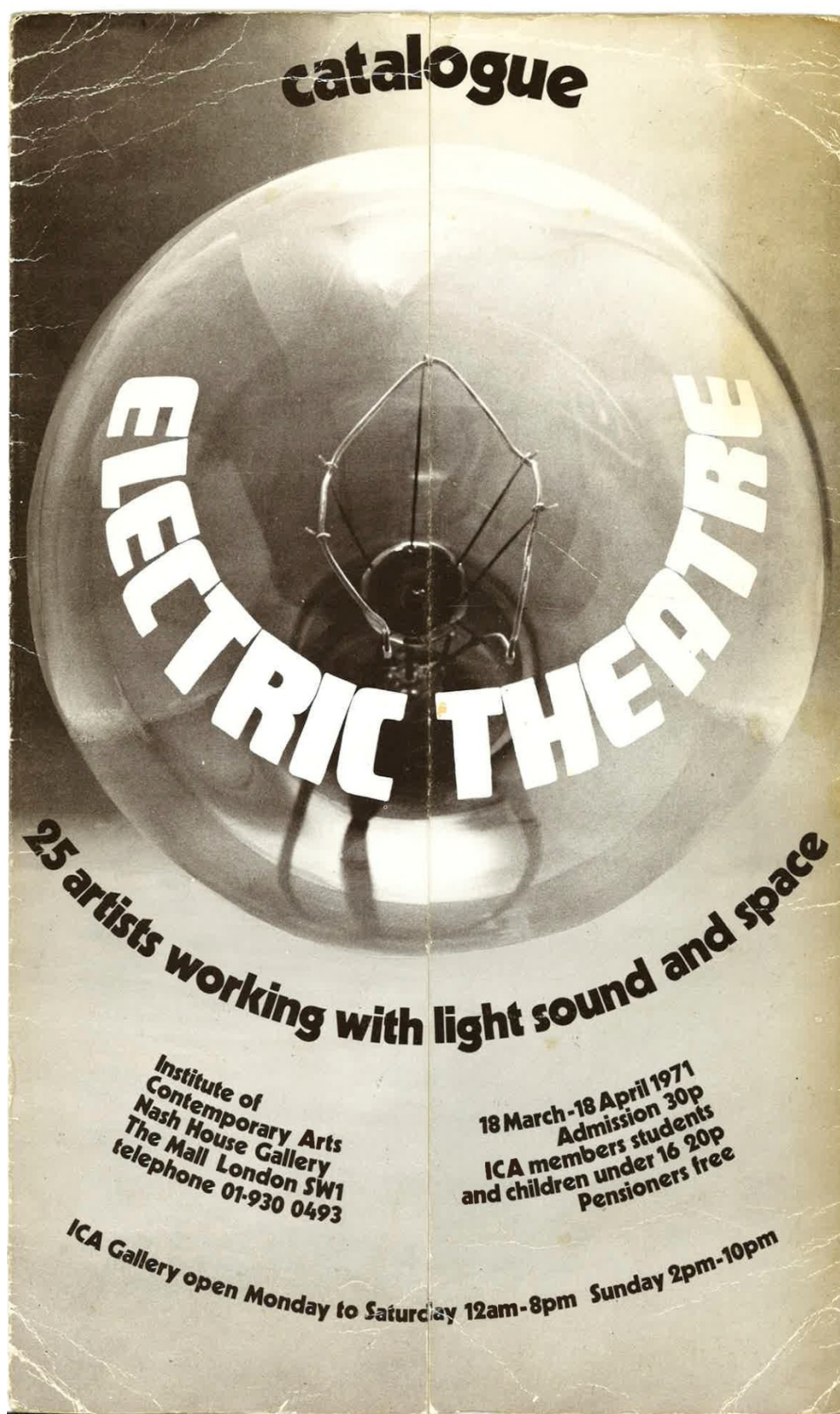
Fig 9. Exhibition catalogue, *Electric Theatre* (1971)

Electric Theatre (1971)

Electric Theatre was conceived of and organized for the ICA by light engineer and architect Michael Leonard, in consultation with the electronic engineer Michael Hughes. The exhibition included work by twenty-five artists, electronic engineers, industrial designers, architects and furniture designers, and was marketed as an exhibition in which the spectator becomes an exhibit: 'The exhibition is concerned with the interaction between the spectator and the environment, either through direct participation where elements can be controlled, or by means of switching techniques such as those of photo-electric cell or of ultrasonics.'[461] Jasia Reichardt invited Leonard to write a proposal for the ICA following an introduction by Howard Wise, the leading light and kinetic gallery in New York – and later founder of Electronic Arts Intermix.[462] A call-out for participants was sent out by the ICA titled _Electric Circus._ This earlier exhibition title referenced the New York, East Village, disco and nightclub (1967-71), set up by Jerry Brandt, Stanton J. Freeman, and included light shows, music, circus performers and experimental theatre designed by Chermayeff and Geismar. Leonard was happy with this original title, suggested by Reichardt, stressing that, 'the audience need to be creatively involved'.[463]

Leonard's inspiration for the exhibition came from his training in architecture, and Modern Dance and Dance Notation in the school of Rudolf Laban. Following this, he went on to co-found the 'Light and Sound Workshops' at Hornsey School of Art (1964-68), where he became teacher and landlord to some of Pink Floyd (who were briefly referred to as 'Leonard's Lodgers'[464]). He played organ with the band and introduced them to a technique of improvised light displays he had been developing with the 'Light and Sound Workshops'. These techniques would subsequently influence Pink Floyd's larger environmental light shows at Alexandra Palace.[465]

We can see examples of the spectral light displays that Leonard created for Pink Floyd in a film made for the BBC's programme _Tomorrow's World,_ in 1969.[466] In the film two people arrive at Leonard's house on Stanhope Gardens in Highgate to watch his light sculptures. The black and white film demonstrates the stages of creating a light sculpture.

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[461] Bulletin, April 1971 in 'Bound volume of ICA Calendar and 'ICASM' (1971-1973), Tate Archive, TGA 955/14/21.
[462] Howard Wise was a retired executive who is recognized for his role in humanizing technology, particularly through the exhibition _TV as a Creative Medium_, Howard Wise Gallery, New York (17 May – 14 June 1969). Nick Lambert has described how this exhibition: 'emphasized [the] intermedial activity in a technological environment, especially with works using closed-circuit TV cameras to create user-influenced feedback.' 'Internet art versus the institutions of art', p.14.
[463] Correspondence between Reichardt and Leonard, Tate Archive, TGA 955/7/2/24 (ii).
[464] Glenn Povey, _Echoes: the Complete History of Pink Floyd_ (Chesham: Mind Head Publishing, 2007). p14.
[465] Ibid.
[466] Tomorrow's World 'Light' episode, featuring Pink Floyd, was filmed on 12th December 1967, broadcast 17 January 1968. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iz-5o8DZeQU [accessed: 8 August, 2017].

First, 'a piece of apparatus for designing a light machine'[467] is worked on by the architect (Leonard); second, optical devices are added to change the projected patterns, with a lens controlling the image. The narrator of the *Tomorrow's World* film describes how 'the lights are controlled by relays, part of a circuit based on the logic system of a computer.'[468] The works are then demonstrated, first to the spectators in the flat, then to a notional television audience when light apparatus were used as back projections for pop band The Tremeloes' performance on the Christmas edition of *Top of the Pops* in 1969. At the end of the film the light shows are accompanied by Pink Floyd, who improvise to the movements and patterns created by light projections in Leonard's flat. Thus we witness a relationship forming between electronic music, architectural design, and techniques of staging and improvisation.

However, despite the ideological foundations in the Hornsey 'Light and Sound Workshops', Pink Floyd improvisations, and earlier associations with the New York's sub-culture nightclubs, *Electric Theatre* also stressed an individualized experience between spectator and exhibit. Unlike with *Cybernetic Serendipity* which, as we will see, allowed for some idiosyncrasies between the machines and spectators through its display in one large gallery space, *Electric Theatre* in many ways attempted to avoid uncontrolled interaction by dividing the exhibition into units of space, providing each artist with one unit. The effect was that the exhibition appeared to focus on one-to-one interaction between the spectator and the exhibit. This installation decision was driven by a reflection on different approaches to art historical displays. In a proposal, Leonard reflects that thematic exhibitions can be 'visually chaotic when seen as a whole' – referring to recent displays of Pop Art – and that artworks, 'demand isolation from their neighbours.'[469] With this as a criticism in mind, *Electric Theatre* would be 'a sequence of interdependent spaces – all concerned in one way or another with', audience encounter: 'they record it, respond to it, condition it, transform it themselves according to their involvement with the spectator.'[470] The design would reflect the sequential structure of a musical 'score', or film negatives, where each sequence 'can add up to the continuity of experience as in film, music or dance; the sequences can have pattern and structure.'[471] Part of the purpose of the exhibition was therefore to use the model of sequential structures as a way to represent, embed, reflect or transform a moment of spectatorship.

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[467] Ibid.
[468] Ibid.
[469] Michael Leonard Proposal, 'Papers relating to the exhibition *Electric Theatre'*, Dec 1969-Mar 1972, Tate Archive, TGA 955/7/2/24.
[470] Bulletin, April 1971, 'Bound volume of ICA Calendar and 'ICASM', 1971-1973, Tate Archive, TGA 955/14/21.
[471] Michael Leonard, 'Humanizing Space', 'Papers relating to the exhibition 'Electric Theatre', Dec 1969-Mar 1972, Tate Archive, TGA 955/7/2/24.

Within this, as we see in the ICA programme description, the space or 'exhibit' was given agency in the encounter.

The mediation of *Electric Theatre* shows that this interest in technological transformation was partly a desire to integrate and celebrate how the electrics functioned. Part of the purpose of the exhibition, as Leonard wrote to Reichardt, was to 'arouse interest in industry',[472] and the promotion of industrial developments in sound and lighting are evident in the many conversations between the ICA and Leonard focused on securing materials for artists, engineers and architects with which to test out the proposition of the involvement between the spectator and the environment.[473] Eighteen companies provided electronic components including bulbs, polystyrene, fibre optics, opal plastic sheeting and steel tubes – all revealing strengths at the time in manufacturing both in London, which provided the electronics, audio-visual, lighting, and the USA, which provided fibre optics.[474]

The purpose of these materials was to create a sense of 'time sharing' between the spectator and the exhibit. For example, installed at the front of the exhibition was a miniature electronic music studio – the VCS3 (Voltage Controlled Studio) – manufactured and loaned by Electronic Music Studios, run by Tristram Cary, David Cockerell and Peter Zinovieff. The studio music desktop offered the spectator ways of producing sounds and recording live performances using a keyboard, including 'an attack button, a joystick and pan controls, as well as the possibility of remote operation'.[475] Other forms of 'connectivity' in *Electric Theatre* went beyond the physical space of the Institute. With Philip Hodgett's exhibit, 125 multicoloured spherical lights were hung from the gallery ceiling, each programmed by a computer link hired from Timesharing Ltd on Great Portland Street in London. This 'computer bureaux', before computers were widely used in companies, 'offered a quality dial-up service, so that companies and individuals could run programs on a pay-per-run basis.' [476] In Hodgetts exhibit, each of the lights had an individual switch connected by telephone to Great Portland Street: by calling up, the spectator could, 'alter the programming of the computer' making the 'final behavior of the lights […] the result of a group collaboration.'[477] Playing with computing and connectivity, both of these exhibits were depicted in a BBC film of the exhibition in which

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[472] This connection to industry was something Reichardt understood from the connections she made with IBM in *Cybernetic Serendipity*.

[473] See correspondence between Liz Kerry and Michael Leonard, Tate Archive, TGA 955/7/2/24 (ii).

[474] provided by the Illionois Institute of Technology, Optics Research and the E. I. du Pont de Nemours, Delaware.

[475] VCS3 brochure, *Electronic Music Studios*. November, 1969.

[476] http://www.jamesmiller.com/timesharing001.html employee of Time Sharing Ltd.

[477] *Electric Theatre* exhibition catalogue. (London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1971).

the oscillating colours of the tubes are illuminated, and a hand reaches out to test the programming of the desktop studio.[478]

Relaying spectators

Other participants in the exhibition experimented with ways of relaying the spectators' gallery experience back to them using methods of translating this encounter into light or sound. By visualizing or replicating spectatorship in sonic form, the present moment of encounter became the medium of the exhibition. In a drawing and description of an idea proposed by the Architectural Association, student Peter Colomb described *Inter-Action* (which itself was an earlier suggestion for the exhibition's title), an exhibit in which the spectator could be filmed in the space, with his/her filmed image shown in a 'curved bank of monitors'[479] programmed in colours of orange, yellow, pink and green. Each 'vertical column' of monitors would be programmed in a 'time delay […] so that any movement will sweep across the screens with one second time delay between each column.'[480] The spectator faces a mirror and 'will see behind his image in the monitor's image of the monitors themselves'.[481] The system appeared to offer the visitor the opportunity to experience an electronic translation of their actions. It created, as we will see with other works in *Electric Theatre*, a simulation of spectatorship and captured the exhibition's focus on the spectator as exhibit – not in real time, but at a delay.

Two other works developed similar forms of translation. Bruce Lacey's *Super Shadow* was a six-foot high, eight-foot wide wall, covered in 'many hundreds of little circuits that were light sensitive,' the other with bulbs in 'little boxes […] behind white Perspex'. [482] A light was directed at the panel with circuits, and when the spectator stood in front of this panel their shadow fell across a grid of photo-receptor cells, triggering a relay that connected to the lights on the adjacent panel. Any movement by the spectator would appear in 'geometric form' on the corresponding panel, which seemed to 'take on a character of its own'.[483] Like Colomb, this screening of the spectator's actions made the experience performative in its visual and technological translation.

[478] *40 Years at the ICA: No Place Quite Like It* (BBC TV, Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1987), Documentary series tracing the controversial history of the Institute of Contemporary Arts, including film of past exhibitions at the ICA. Broadcast 21.9.1987.
[479] Tate archive, TGA 955/7/2/24 (ii)
[480] Ibid.
[481] Ibid.
[482] Bruce Lacey, 'National Life Stories: Artist's Lives' interviewed. by G. Whiteley (London: British Library, 2000). http://sounds.bl.uk/related-content/TRANSCRIPTS/021T-C0466X0099XX-ZZZZA0.pdf [accessed 10 June 2017].
[483] David Dickson, Review of 'Electric Theatre' in *New Scientist and Science Journal* (25 March 1971).

ELECTRIC THEATRE

1971
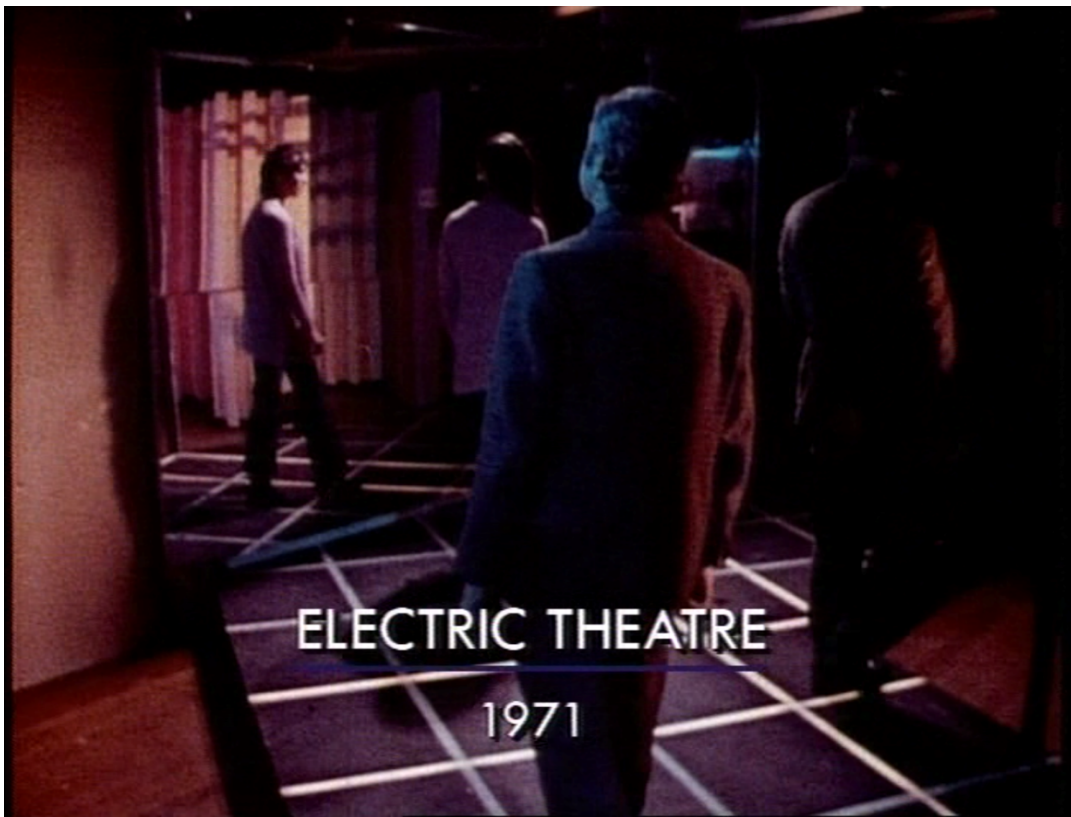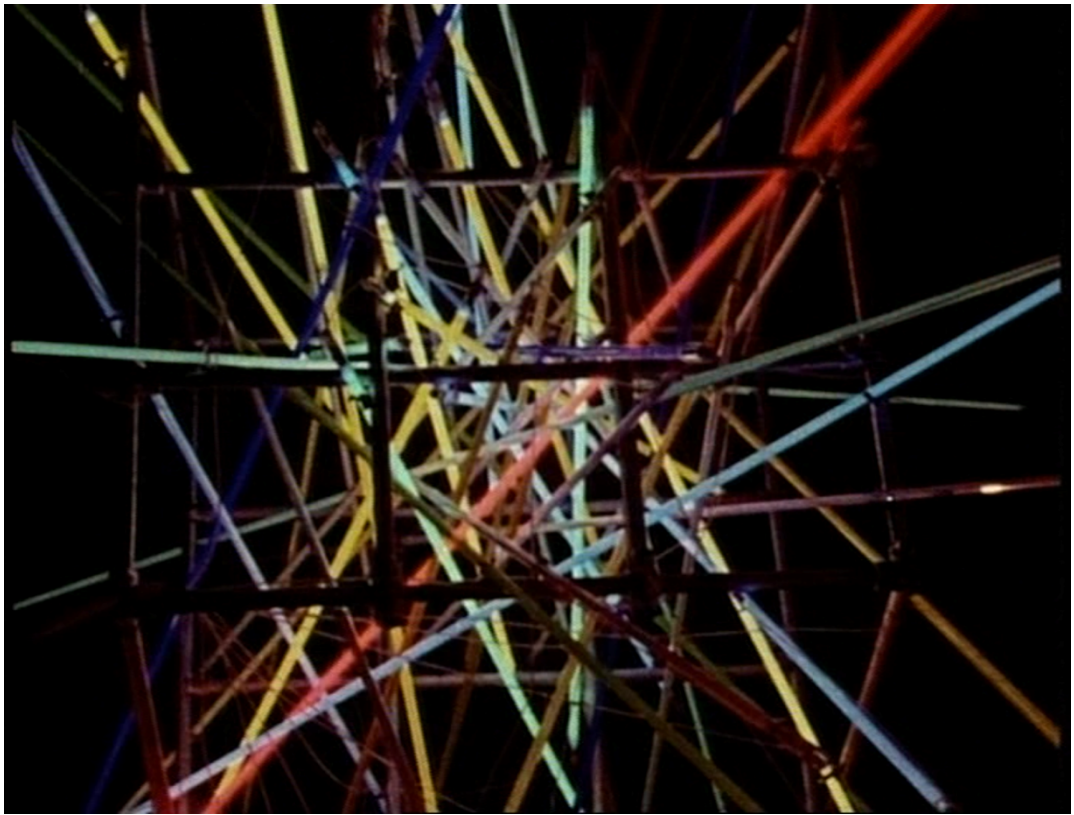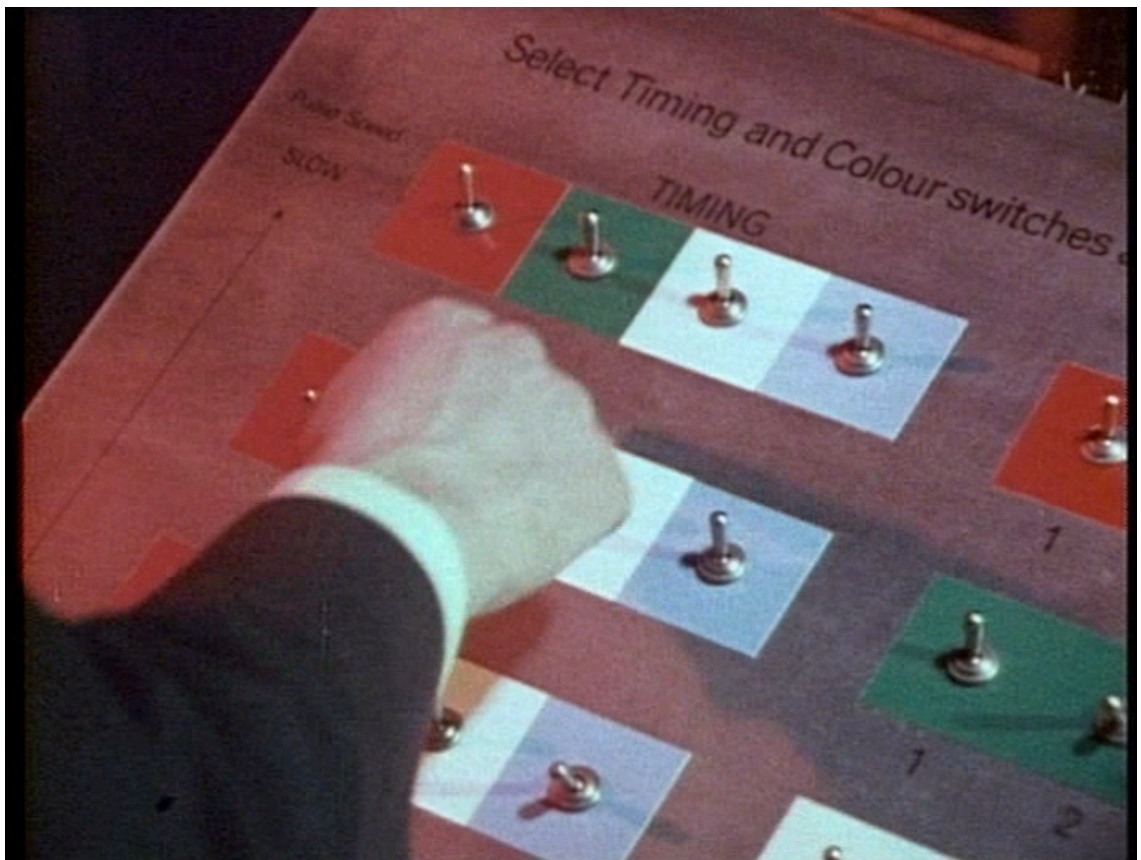
Figs 10, 11, 12. Stills from *40 Years at the ICA: No Place Quite Like It* (BBC TV, Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1987)

Steven Willat's *Visual Homeostatic Information Mesh* (1970) similarly performed in response to the actions of the spectator. The artwork was originally created for *Kinetics* (1970), an exhibition conceived and arranged by Theo Crosby at the Hayward Gallery, which was focused on 'mechanical movement'.[484] It was a development of Willat's second *Homeostat Drawing* (1969), a diagram illustration of the possible flows of information through social networks, which formed part of his interest in offering an alternative to 'our historical systems of control – where information is contained within a set hierarchy', instead presenting one in which there is 'a continually shifting, self-determining system.'[485] *Visual Homeostatic Information Mesh* developed this exploration of 'self-organising systems' (inspired by his education on Roy Ascott's radical Groundcourse[486]) into a spatial and sculptural form. It comprised of a 'mesh', which acted as a screen, simultaneously referencing the material mesh of computing screens; and five 'humps', or beacons, located at the front.[487] As spectators moved around the 'humps', their movements created a range of projections onto the screen. In the Hayward Gallery's *Kinetics* exhibition catalogue, this programming device was described in the following terms: 'the audience realize the potential and acquire the implications of the conceptual models which have been the determinants for this project, through involving them directly in cognitive processes.'[488] While quick responses were simple, for 'full operation' the audience needed to understand 'the constructs of the system'[489] in order to find the patterns that she/he was most interested in. Visitors gained this understanding through interacting with the artwork, and through watching others interact. These examples, by Lacey, Colomb and Willats, and many others in the exhibition, used the technology of electronic relay circuits or ultrasonics as a way to visually and conceptually engage and embed spectatorship as a medium – but why? What purpose did it serve? At times geometric, abstract forms represented the visitor's experience, but as we begin to see through the work of Willats, the relay also suggested a conversation between the spectator and technology. This can be seen as interactive rather than simply reactive in the way the spectators were engaging with the systems' operations.

The above examples from the exhibition demonstrate how notions of spectatorship were a medium being engaged with, in many cases by using the reactions of spectators and replaying their own experience using a time delay. As Cook and Graham have posited,

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[484] *Kinetics*, Hayward Gallery (25 September – 22 November 1970). The exhibition catalogue includes introduction by Theo Crosby, 'Articulate Energy: Kinetic Art in Transformation'; an essay by Jonathan Benthall; and 'Kinetics' an essay by Frank Popper. (London: Hayward Gallery, 1970), unpaginated.

[485] See *Electric Theatre* 1971 catalogue. N.p.n. Visual Homeostatic Information Mesh comprised of wood, plastics, resin, electronics, 210 x 195 x 135 humps and 60 x 60 x 45 long. It was made in consultation with Chris Grimshaw.

[486] Emily Pethick, 'Art Society Feedback: Stephen Willats' in *CONVERSATIONS* Mousse 27 (Originally published February-March 2011). (Available at: http://moussemagazine.it/stephen-willats-emily-pethick-2011/)

[487] *Kinetics*. Hayward Gallery, 1970, unpaginated.

[488] Ibid.

[489] Ibid.

reactive elements 'affect the audience experience in terms of choice, navigation, control, engagement, or [through] [...] time and space,'[490] therefore act as a host to human interaction. This is as opposed to 'true interactivity',[491] in which a conversation takes place between the host and the participant to a degree that what is contributed changes the content of the machine, thus becoming part of the work's realization. Although we begin to see this form of exchange through Willat's *Visual Homeostatic Information Mesh*, the majority of the exhibits in *Electric Theatre* played host to interaction. This is important because, as Cook and Graham have shown, interaction implies participation; and without true interaction, the implication is that machines and audience not fully participating, but hosting or staging. We can begin to explore this in more depth by looking at the systems used to make the works as 'blind-spot[s]'[492] in cultural interpretations.

What we find is that many of the exhibits in *Electric Theatre* used electronic relays – a type of switch that is turned on and off using an electromagnet. Relays occur when a current of electric energy is created through a coil, building a magnetic field and thus attracting an iron armature that pushes the circuit closed. This form of electronic relay was a device developed in electronic telegraph systems, telephone switching, and was then adapted for early electronic computers until it was replaced by the cheaper, more productive mechanism of the transistor. As well as an electromagnetic process for controlling and processing signals through receptors, in broader terms the relay also describes a mechanism for transmission or broadcast; it is a way of passing information on; a form of repeating, but one that incorporates an accumulation of information gathered through its transmission – like the baton passed from person to person in a relay race. Participants of *Electric Theatre* used the electrodynamics mechanism of the relay to play with the reaction and or host the interactions of the spectator, and by doing this encouraged a meditation on the idea of a present moment of communication in the space of the exhibition.

George Kubler applied electrical relays as part of his reinterpretation of things and time, as opposed to artworks and movements, blurring the distinctions between archaeology and art studies.[493]   Kubler suggested that a way to the remove the hierarchy from historical analysis and disciplinary divisions was to 'treat receivers of senders [...]

[490] Cook and Graham, *Rethinking Curating*, p.113.
[491] Rudolf Frieling, *The art of participation: 1950 to now* (New York; London: Thames & Hudson Ltd, 2008), p.35.
[492] Latour, *Pandora's Hope*, p.190.
[493] George Kubler, *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things* (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2008), p.19.

together under the heading of relays.'[494] According to Kubler's shaping of time, substantial signals are created by things that recur or 'relay' from the past, for example, 'a work of art transmits a kind of behavior by the artist, and it also serves, like a relay, as the point of departure for impulses that often attain extraordinary magnitudes in later transmission.'[495] By using the idea of the relay the suggestion was that interpretations should address an artwork across many different stages of it s circulation, in reproductions, places, collections, rather than privileging the moment of its creation or original display. This was an idea Alloway built on in his essay 'The Complex Present', in which he proposed that any revisions of the past 'originate in our own time and are hence part of the simultaneity that is the structure of the present'.[496] This simultaneous present and synchronic timeframe (from Saussure[497]), captured in the relaying transmission between sender and receiver, could be applied as a way to reflect by seeing art and culture as a cut across time, rather than as a chronology. For Alloway, it was about making visible the connections between 'high' and 'low' culture by involving the idea of 'co-existence rather than succession.'[498] This would include an understanding of how the present is materialized, networked, mediated and remediated. The relay, therefore, was one part of thinking of a plural present, which reflected a rethinking of historical progression in terms of a systematic age. This technological and semiotic reading considered the object in its various durations including its 'beginning, middle, and, or its late moments.'[499] For both Kubler and Alloway rethinking history on synchronic terms thinking about reproduction, circulation and reception was part of pluralizing the present. Channels of information inspired these ideas, however, in exhibition histories and curatorial studies these ideas of interaction have become synonymous with the art of participation.

Participation, as we explore in more depth in Chapter Four, was a term used by exhibition organizers and artists at the time, *Electric Theatre's* press release for example referred to 'direct participation' of the audience, but this has different connotations today. Since the 1970s practices of participation have been historically aligned to the semiotics of communication, to the behaviours of new technologies, as well as to a growing interest in 'process' and 'situation' from conceptual art practices. The problem however is that when culture claims participation from technology it often removes the intricacies of these mediated behaviours. Despite interpretations like those by Alloway,

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[494] Ibid, p.19.
[495] Ibid, p.18.
[496] Alloway, 'The Complex Present', in *Imagining the present*, p.241
[497] Alloway refers to Saussure's *Course in General Linguistics*, ed. by Charles Bally and Albert Sechaye in collaboration with Albert Riedlinger (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), p.140.
[498] Alloway, 'The Complex Present', p.244.
[499] Kubler, *The Shape of Time*, p.49.

Kubler and many others, who found opportunity to explore culture in relation to technology, interaction as part of participation is frequently re-disciplined within art history. The most striking example of this is Nicolas Bourriaud's proposal that artists in the 1990s were creating a 'relational aesthetic' that revisited, and revised participative art practices from the 1960s and 1970s. However, he does this, as Edward Shanken has argued, by 'oppos[ing] the use of digital technology as artistic media, while relying on it metaphorically and symbolically in his argument.'[500] This removal of technological behaviours, functions and systems, is evidence of a long-standing fear in loss to cultural and critical authority from integrating technology that Cook and Graham articulate.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s although participative technology offered creative potential, it was also aligned with a concern about losing criticality, as reviews of *Electric Theatre* demonstrate. The art critic Peter Fuller wrote that the circus of electrics signaled a larger issue with the ICA's 'indefensible, uncritical position', [501] at that time. According to Fuller, the Institute's choice of programming was a reflection of how they wanted to both please the establishment in order to get 'support and acclaim', whilst at the same time be 'investigatory and experimental.'[502] The result, he argues, was that 'the corporation produces the hardware. Ever grateful, the artist asks to be allowed to play with it a bit, and invites the spectator to join in the game.'[503] From his perspective as an art critic, the danger was that practitioners would become redundant 'as their participatory audience gets more and more bored, questions ever deeper the premises, and ultimately gets involved with an art which is getting to grips with concepts and issues of serious, critical significance.'[504] To join in became associated with the loss of authority, which Fuller believed was threatened by this form of audience involvement. Although this 'value judgment'[505] reads as a self-reflection of Fuller's anxiety about the loss of art criticism, it also provides an insight into cultural interpretations of new media art in the way it echoes concerns frequently made in reviews of exhibitions that either used or hosted interaction through technology.

As a result of the fear that participative exhibitions remove critical authority, there has been a desire by certain cultural trends to reclaim participation as 'critical' – and in doing so the debate has moved further away from the technology many of these exhibits began with. As Rudolf Frieling has reflected, this has combined with 'suspicion about the

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[500] Edward Shanken, 'Contemporary Art and New Media: Digital Divide or Hybrid Discourse?' in *A Companion to Digital Art* ed. by Christiane Paul (John Wiley & Sons Inc., 2016), p.10.
[501] Peter Fuller, 'Electric Theatre', *Arts Review* (27 March 1971), Tate Archive, TGA 955/7/2/24.
[502] Ibid.
[503] Ibid.
[504] Ibid.
[505] As Cook and Graham have described, 'the perceived "dangers" of participation are, however, not so much practical as psychological and concern some deeply held value judgements', *Rethinking Curating*, p.126.

manufacturing of community and consent [...] since the introduction of technological systems into the arts.[506] The effect has created a greater separation between disciplines of art and technology. What Edward Shanken and others[507] argue – writing from a perspective that integrates media – is that including an understanding of the participative systems and behaviours should be incorporated as part of the art historian's 'standard methodological toolkit', [508] because it provides models for writing about, curating and understanding future artworks in a way that incorporates forms of participation and readdresses the subsuming of technology by Conceptualism. Some of the exclusions of mediatic behaviour from cultural interpretations of participation can be addressed by thinking about things – technological processes, machines - as 'social actors', [509] to use Bruno Latour's phrase. For instance, when we start to consider how 'things' operate, interact, and function, and how in an exhibition they become enmeshed within spectatorship, we find that they often reveal themselves by creating their own contingent disturbances.

Within the very critical reviews of *Electric Theatre* there were multiple descriptions of an electrical kind of agency. Fuller describes *Electric Theatre's* 'lovely lights' and 'neat little systems blurting out "participatory" sounds',[510] whilst in his review, 'Making Music with a Machine', the musician Ken Cooper becomes 'a little disturbed by an impression that the artists were not people but electronic circuits'.[511] This anthropomorphizing, that also occurred in *Cybernetic Serendipity*, gestures 'towards the inadequacy of understanding' something as simply 'a machine or tool', as described in Jane Bennett's *Vibrant Matter*.[512] Tools and machines were important and industry was being celebrated and promoted, but there was also a curiosity about the sort of behaviours that could take place between visitors and electrical machines, by exhibiting or hosting conversation. Bringing into consideration the agency, the systems and the distribution of the machine helps us to open this history of participation back out to media. In the following section I therefore address in more depth the mediating agency between spectator and machine, or between machine and machine, and consider why it is that the spectator was becoming increasingly important for artists and curators at this time. To do this we return to Alloway's writing, this time his description of 'spectator mobility'[513] in the catalogue for

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[506] Frieling, *The Art of Participation*, p.36.
[507] Others include, Steve Dietz, Charle Gere, Rudolf Frieling, Cook and Graham.
[508] Edward Shanken, 'Historicizing Art and Technology: Forging a Method and Firing a Canon' in *Media Art Histories*, ed. by Oliver Grau (Cambridge MIT Press, 2007), pp.43-70.
[509] Latour, *Pandora's Hope*, p.214
[510] Peter Fuller, 'Electric Theatre', *Arts Review* (27 March 1971), Tate Archive, TGA 955/7/2/24 (I).
[511] Ken Cooper, 'Making Music with a Machine' in *Evening Post (*24 March 1971), Tate Archive, TGA 955/7/2/24 (I).
[512] Jane Bennett, *Vibrant matter: a political ecology of things* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2010), p.25.
[513] Lawrence Alloway, 'Design as a Human Activity', in *This Is Tomorrow* (London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 1956), unpaginated.

This is Tomorrow, and reflect on whether this was the start of a shift from the term spectator towards audience reception.

From a spectator to a receiver of information

In 1956, Alloway wrote in the catalogue for the Whitechapel Gallery's *This is Tomorrow* that the exhibition could provide a 'lesson in spectatorship.' [514] It comprised twelve exhibits each of which were created by collaborations between architects, painters and sculptors, designers and writers and offered an experience for exhibition visitors that would challenge traditional methods of perceiving and interpreting art. Crucially each of the exhibits was 'varied not unified' and produced through 'antagonistic co-operation', rather than an idealized notion of collaboration.[515] Inside the exhibition it was up to the spectator to read the environments in the same way they might experience the 'street outside.'[516] By doing this, Alloway notes how 'the spectator will […] receive, in addition to the overall effect, the competing messages of the dozen exhibits for, of course, the intentions of the individual groups differ from any total effect'.[517] Therefore, rather than a single curatorial and authoritative narrative, it became the 'responsibility of the spectator'[518] to receive and interpret these messages. This text is evidence of Alloway's interest in finding alternatives to academic specialism and the art historian's iconographic methodology and 'special terminology',[519] by drawing on Information Theory. In this text, Alloway and, more broadly the conception of *This is Tomorrow*, challenged the idea that art disciplines should be separate or that art exhibitions needed to be unified; there could be separation, but rather than doing this by medium or form, it could be understood through the variety of information channels that were being communicated to the spectator. Alloway's approach was part of an opening up to the possibility of shared authorship, but without replacing the authorship of each artist.

This is Tomorrow and Alloway's accompanying essay are important to our understanding of a cultural shift in notions of spectatorship because of the way they connected to the mechanisms of a new information society. As Charlie Gere has highlighted, the exhibition can be seen as one of the origins of 'digital and computer-based arts in the UK' in the way it demonstrated 'a response to advances in technology and developments in

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[514] Ibid.
[515] Ibid.
[516] Ibid.
[517] Ibid.
[518] Ibid
[519] Ibid.

communications and media' through 'collaboration'.[520] John McHale, also a member of the ICA's Independent Group and who took part in *This is Tomorrow*, in a lecture given at the ICA in 1961 (later published as 'The Plastic Parthenon') pursued this idea in his description of the 'development of works involving the spectator in creative interaction'.[521] Referencing Alloway's writing and Duchamp's 'isolation of choice', McHale considered how 'these presage electronic advances towards a more directly participative form of society.'[522] Alloway's own conception of 'spectator mobility',[523] which draws on architectural and cybernetic perspectives, gave creative and intellectual power to the visitor's actions. In McHale's article, this spectatorship – in the highly mobile age of the 1960s – becomes participative when it is combined as a 'contextual flow' with artistic strategies, commercial mass production and technological innovation. From these reflections we can begin to see how from a creative and critical perspective it was felt that processes from everyday mediated life should feed into the artwork and become part of the conceptual framing of an exhibition.

It was visualized in Group 12 of *This is Tomorrow* (edited by Alloway, Geoffrey Holroyd and Toni del Renzio), in 'the tackboard',[524] which included a series of cards with a wide range of visual images and a series of instructions for the spectator, as an interactive exhibit the tackboard offered 'a convenient method of organizing the modern visual continuum according to each individual's decision.'[525] Holroyd's meeting with the designers Charles and Ray Eames, and their playful use of the signal and receptor shown in *A Communications Primer* – an instructional film created for IBM in 1953 – inspired the design.[526] In the film design processes are shown to follow the communicative systems, signals, receptions and transmissions that form part of everyday life. Alongside clips of waves crashing on a beach, the film's voiceover comments how these waves contain messages from 'far out at sea, it can tell of winds and storms, the distance and the intensity, it can locate reefs and islands and many things, if you know the code.'[527] This is one of a number of examples used to explain how the communication of a message is the

[520] Gere, 'Introduction', in *White heat cold logic*, pp.1-2. Although I would argue that the term collaboration starts to synthesize things and we should bear in mind Alloway's reference to 'antagonistic cop-operation.'

[521] John McHale, 'The Plastic Parthenon' (First published in English in Dot Zero 3 [Spring 1967], pp.4-11) in *The Expendable Reader: Articles on Art, Architecture, Design, and Media (1951-1979)* ed. by Alex Kitnik (New York: GSAPP Books), pp.96-97.

[522] Ibid. pp.96-97.

[523] Lawrence Alloway, 'Design as a Human Activity', unpaginated.

[524] Stephen Moonie, 'Writing Pop' in *Pioneers of Pop*, ed. by Anne Massey (Newcastle: Hatton Gallery, 2017), pp.40-47.

[525] Group 12 section in the catalogue *This is Tomorrow*. For further descriptions of the display see Whitley, 'Group Twelve and Information Theory' in *Art and Pluralism*. pp.56-58; Gere, 'Art in Real Time' in *Art Time and Technology*, pp.113-138 and Stephen Moonie, 'Writing Pop'.

[526] The ICA screened *A Communication's Primer* (the same year Holroyd met the designers) on 22 March 1953, followed by a discussion led by Prof J.Z. Young.

[527] *A Communications Primer,* dir. by Charles and Ray Eames (The Eames Office, 1953), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=byyQtGb3dvA [accessed 21 November 2015]

result of 'innumerable decisions' produced through a 'feedback system'[528] a process that is shared by the binary data of the computer, which McHale and Alloway would go onto to describe in relation to participation.

Alloway's repositioning of the spectator in terms of reception and interpretation is an example of how Information Theory was at the time being applied in order to shift existing hierarchies within the arts. For Alloway, as with Charles and Ray Eames's *A Communications Primer*, it was an approach inspired by Norbert Wiener's exploration of cybernetics in *The Human Use of Human Beings: Cybernetics and Society* (1950). As Stephen Moonie has pointed out, the more accessible version of his 1948 book, *Cybernetics, or Control and Communication in the Animal and the Machine*, in which Wiener 'showed that although cybernetics had its roots in mathematics, its methods of analysing patterns, causal effects and feedback loops could be applied to the whole range of human activity: including art.'[529] Wiener's concept of cybernetics showed that the behavior of '[…] all organisms, machines and other physical systems is controlled by their communication structures both within themselves and their environment.[530] For Alloway, incorporating the organization and communication structures, and the decision-making process in design could be applied to the environment of an exhibition by exploring the psychical and physical mobility of the spectator. As we have now seen, this was an approach that was visually, spatially and conceptually explored in *This is Tomorrow,* and to an even greater extent the following year in Richard Hamilton and Victor Pasmore's collaborative artwork, *an Exhibit,* shown first at the Hatton Gallery and then at ICA in 1957.[531]

The idea of mobility was not restricted to spectator interaction but for Alloway was also a way of addressing the mobility of the artwork – what we could call its genealogy – which he interpreted as mobile in the way it was displayed in exhibitions, touring to different locations, and was represented as a reproducible image. He considered how: 'A work of art is an organization, a legible structure, consisting of at least two levels of information, one that can be translated into another medium for reproduction and one that is

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[528] Ibid.

[529] Stephen Moonie, 'Writing Pop', p.44; see also Norbert Weiner, *The Human Use of Human Beings: Cybernetics and Society* (New York: Avon Books, 1967 (1969)).

[530] As Catherine Mason has carefully summarized, 'White Heat: A Background' in *A computer in the art room: the origins of British computer arts 1950-80* (Hindrigham, JJG), p.5.

[531] Alloway's role in *an Exhibit*, included a text for the accompanying catalogue in which he described how this exhibition and artwork invited the spectator to play a game as they moved around the structure of Perspex panels, as though the environment was a maze. Elena Crippa defines this as a shift from 'an ideal spectator' to 'a dynamic exhibit', Elena Crippa. 'Designing Exhibitions, Exhibiting Participation', in *Exhibition, Design, Participation: 'An Exhibit' 1957 and Related Projects*, ed. by Elena Crippa and Lucy Steeds (London: Afterall, 2016), pp.12-76.

identified solely with the original channel.'[532] In other words, an artwork is *itself* a system; it can be an object, but it is also a field of communication and, we see this with *an Exhibit*, it is both material and semiotic. These semiotic ideas would be developed in electronic and cybernetic exhibitions as well as in Conceptual art.

Outside of Independent Group-associated exhibitions, cybernetics as a study of communication that is synonymous with interaction provides a conceptual and historical context for the interactive artworks. As Charlie Gere has posited, by drawing on this history of the relationship between cybernetics and art we can understand the acceptance and application of computer processes by art and artists.[533] We can see this influence of ideas to do with interaction and decision-making, which were associated with cybernetics and Information Theory, in a number of exhibitions from the late 1960s and 1970s. Jack Burnham's *Software*, *Information Technology: Its New Meaning for Art* (Jewish Museum, New York, 1970), included artworks that 'could fit into the category of cybernetic feedback systems in the broadest sense',[534] and, as Cook and Graham described, the approach Burnham took as curator expanded the feedback systems used in artworks into the 'the way things were done,'[535] in curatorial and institutional terms. *The Machine as Seen at the End of the Mechanical Age*, curated by Pontus Hultén (Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1969), 'anticipated the traditional machine being replaced by computer science.'[536] *New Tendencies* (Gallery for Contemporary Art, Zagreb, 1961-69) was a series of exhibitions and colloquy, which, as Christoph Klutsch has argued, 'bridged computer art with social and political implications, as well as with new philosophical and aesthetical theories on Information aesthetics'.[537] Similarly in the UK in 1968 the ICA's *Cybernetic Serendipity* aimed to 'show creative forms engendered by technology', bringing together science and the art through, 'links between the random systems' used by creative practitioners and 'the use of cybernetic devices'.[538] These oft-cited examples show how there was an interest at the time in engaging audiences of contemporary art exhibitions with considerations of the relationship between man and machine, and its associated forms of organization and control.

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[532] Alloway, 'Art and the Communications Network', in *Imagining the present: context, content, and the role of the critic* (London: Routledge), p.118.
[533] Charlie Gere, 'Introduction', in *White Heat Cold Logic*, p.7
[534] Sabeth Buchmann, 'From Systems-Oriented Art to Biopolitical Art Practice', in *Media Mutandis: A Node*, London Reader: Surveying Art, Technologies, and Politics, ed. by Jo Walsh Marina Vishmidt with Mary Anne Francis, and Lewis Sykes (London: NODE, Mute, 2006), pp.51-60 (p.55).
[535] Cook and Graham, *Rethinking Curating*, p.56.
[536] Jasia Reichardt, 'In the Beginning...' in *White Heat Cold Logic: British Computer Art 1960-1980*, ed. by Charlie Gere Paul Brown, Nicholas Lambert, and Catherine Mason (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London: The MIT Press, 2008), pp.71-82 (p.76).
[537] Christoph Klutsch, 'The Summer 1968 in London and Zagreb: Starting or End Point for Computer Art?' in *C&C '05 Proceedings of the 5th conference on Creativity & Cognition (*12-15 April 2005) (London: New York; ACM Digital Library), pp. 109-117 (p.109).
[538] Reichardt, 'In the Beginning', p.77.

In defense of enjoyment – *Cybernetic Serendipity*

It is interesting that the criticism of *Cybernetic Serendipity,* both at the time and since, has often centred on the dominance of participation and – in relation to this – its absence of criticality, or lack of political engagement. At the time Michael Blee gestured that *Cybernetic Serendipity* was a missed opportunity because it raised 'the possibility of mounting a more clearly thought-out exhibition to demonstrate the aids to creativity which advances in technology and control theory have made available.'[539] Recently, in one of the many reappraisals of the exhibition, Rainer Usselmann has concluded that 'the widespread absence of critical debate in the wake of this exhibition represents a serious omission […] point[ing] to a wider dilemma that media art needs to address in order to be taken seriously.'[540] Usselmann's comments are revealing of the judgments made by cultural historians onto technology and media practices, both at the time and subsequently. Perhaps recognizing the resistance to technology, Jasia Reichardt defended her curatorial approach at the time in her article in *Studio International,* 'Cybernetic Serendipity: Getting rid of preconceptions' (1968). She addressed Blee's comment directly by highlighting a surrealist curiosity and the agency of the machine and disagreed with the idea that participation 'should […] produce art as an end product.'[541] She argued instead that the act of interaction was not to determine a work creatively, but should instead be about pleasure: 'To me creativity does not necessarily result in art or music or poetry, and participation has very little to do with creativity but a great deal to do with enjoyment.'[542]

Enjoyment, Reichardt felt (and encouraged others to feel), arose from an experience of juxtaposed objects and, as Maria Fernandez has – I think - rightly identified, was a perspective inherited from Reichardt's artistic education with the surrealist publications of the Gaberbocchus Press and its Common Room, where discussions were held with scientists, artists, filmmakers. As well as from her experience of working with surrealist traces in the ICA since 1963. With these places and societies as inspiration and vocational education, *Cybernetic Serendipity* is affective in the ways, in which artworks could be activated, not just by the spectators, but the agency of other artworks and environmental conditions in the space. Reichardt commented that, 'until something occurs physically

[539] Michael Blee, Review of *Cybernetic Serendipity* in *Studio International* (September 1968), p.89; Blee describes the use of the computer in the *Cybernetic Serendipity* as a tool rather than with a 'creative personality in its own right.'
[540] Rainer Usselmann, 'The Dilemma of Media Art: Cybernetic Serendipity at the ICA London', in *Leonardo* Volume 36, no. Issue 5 (October 2003), pp.389-96 (p.395).
[541] Reichardt, 'Cybernetic Serendipity: Getting rid of preconceptions', in *Studio International* (November, 1968), pp.176-177 (p.177)
[542] Ibid.

within the machine's orbit, it is not fully operational. The audience in turn begin to respond to the sound and light of the moving mechanisms which they have unwittingly stimulated'[543] thus setting a scene of improvisation, in which the audience are just one of a number of socializing elements. Since the objects and exhibits had to 'live together in one area'[544] any agent in the space could make the exhibits functional, leaving them extremely vulnerable to breakages. Reichardt's aunt, Franciszka Themerson, who designed the exhibition, responded to the sensitive operations by mapping out the gallery space through the categories of movement, noise, and the internal time sequences of the objects.[545] But despite the great care that was taken works 'sensitive to light or sensitive to sound […] accordingly had to be placed in the sort of surroundings which would enable them to remain operational.'[546] What Reichardt's comments and Fernandez's recent interpretation suggest, is that although there may be a lack of critical or political debate, there was a different kind of interpretation being offered to spectators through the operations and interactions with machines. This provided an expansion beyond the boundaries of disciplines such as art and technology and showed the potential for interrelated forms of play and pleasure within communication.

Disruptive media, disruptive spectators

The technical side of exhibitions, like the ICA's *Cybernetic Serendipity* and *Electric Theatre,* were experimental and the vulnerability of the objects on display was frequently exposed. As Latour has described when a machine breaks it goes from being 'a silent and mute intermediary'[547] to an object that is clearly composed of a number of different components, each with its own material trace and function. When there is a technical glitch we become aware of the various elements that need to be fixed, and the technical expertise required, this creates a 'deviation'[548] as the programme is fixed, translated or removed. The short circuits and breakages of artworks, and the preparation that was taken to avoid too much interaction, create a collision point in the ICA's exhibition's mediation: between the Institute staging the display; the audiences who visited; the artists; and the electrical energy or cybernetic communication. It is via this point of anticipation and potential breakage – as a disruptive agency, deviation or diversion – that we can get further insight into electrical interactions within exhibition histories.

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[543] Ibid.
[544] Ibid, p.176
[545] For details about the installation see Reichardt, 'In the Beginning', p.77.
[546] Reichardt, 'Cybernetic Serendipity: Getting rid of preconceptions', p.176.
[547] Latour, *Pandora's Hope*, p.183.
[548] Ibid, p.191.

Problem areas for *Cybernetic Serendipity* included those of lighting and sound. It was a loud exhibition and the ambient sound from exhibits was impossible to control, interfering and at times breaking other machines, while musical exhibits had to be reduced to short clips. Some of the works were kept in the dark 'to prevent them from interacting with each other', [549] but as a result of the low light, visitors often tripped over. Despite these issues Reichardt notably celebrated the enthusiasm of rampaging children enjoying the 'ambience of activity.'[550] Two years later, with *Electric Theatre,* the technical processes seemed like they would be more developed, since the exhibition was organized by an architect in consultation with an electrical engineer and advertised the technical processes and materials. But they experienced just as many breakages. The blame for these was directed at unruly visitors to the extent that, as David Dickson notes in his review for the *New Scientist*, 'the spectator almost feels like an intruder'.[551] Leonard wrote angrily to the Exhibitions Assistant, Liz Kerry, that there were chaotic scenes when he visited the exhibition: 'Children were running wild on Saturday afternoon […] and using Ambrose Lloyd's floor sculpture as battering rams […] I was around at 10pm on Saturday, and a crowd of hairy people were dancing around Timothy Hunkins's drum with it switched on a full pelt. They had been attracted by the light of a number of items which had not been switched off.'[552] Unlike the open-ended potential of *Cybernetic Serendipity* there was evidently an ideal way to behave in *Electric Theatre,* and these visitors were not obeying the unspoken controls of the joysticks, manuals, programmes, buttons and projections. So, in reality the presence of the spectator was, like electrons or like technical glitches, disruptive and uncontainable.

These reflections on both *Cybernetic Serendipity* and *Electric Theatre* show a curatorial attempt to grapple with the machine, the space, and the people as actants within the exhibition and reveal how, as Jane Bennett has described, 'an actant never really acts alone […] [its] agency always depends on the collaboration, co-operation, or interactive interference of many bodies and forces.'[553] My suggestion is that rather than ignore and smooth over these interventions or impose a perspective based on historical context, that might place these events in a trajectory of the art of participation, we can use the disruptions as a point of contemporary contingency and consider them as alternative ways of historicizing exhibitions. In her book *Vibrant Materiality* Bennett suggests that anthropomorphic descriptions - similar to those found in some of the descriptions of both *Electric Theatre* and *Cybernetic Serendipity* – are an indication of the inadequacy of

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[549] Reichardt, 'In the Beginning', p.80.
[550] Reirchardt, 'Getting rid of preconceptions', p.177.
[551] David Dickson, Review of Electric Theatre, *New Scientist and Science Journal* (25 March 1971), Tate Archive, TGA 955/7/2/24.
[552] Michael Leonard letter to Liz, 'Saturday morning', Tate Archive, TGA 955/7/2/24 (ii).
[553] Jane Bennett, *Vibrant matter*, p.21.

our interpretation from humanistic perspectives when we don't acknowledge other agents.[554] Participation, likewise, is an inadequate historicization of this moment because it reduces the connectivity, interaction and computability of media into aesthetic forms. So what can be learnt from the 'non-human bodies, forces and forms'[555] beyond the machine as a tool?

Take *Electric Theatre*, for example, many of the exhibits communicated or hosted interactive behaviour. Although the curator attempted to order these the behaviours could never be contained because, as Bennett has suggested, electricity is dynamic, it is 'always on the move, always going somewhere, though where this will be is not entirely predictable.'[556] In its dynamic movements electricity responds to 'bodies it encounters and the surprising opportunities and interactions they afford.'[557] By considering encounters, referred to as 'modes', Bennett explores how each modifying or transformative affect from either a human or a non-human perspective, can enable us to 'broaden the range of places to look for sources',[558] and challenge the idea of cause and effect. For the purposes of exploring the ICA's exhibitions, programmes, and their various audiences, we can consider how encounters might incorporate the physical bodies of people in the exhibition, other artworks or conditions within the gallery space, including the 'invisible [electricity] [...] lurking in wires and batteries ready to jump out and bite us'.[559] It can therefore, by the materiality and the operations in the display itself, offer an opening up of disciplines and hopefully challenge the neat construction of exhibition histories. This is a characteristic of new media, which, as Cook and Graham have proposed, 'want[s] to throw off grand narratives of progress and development and to continue to play in the messy field of experiments.'[560] By opening up into this mess of electrical encounters we can move historicizing from cultural and symbolic readings into hybrid interpretations of socialized encounters, as Latour puts it, 'gathering things back into a bundle.'[561] Electricity is a mediator as much as the ICA and as much as the presence of the gallery visitor. But what we also we find is that during this period of 1968-1972 the hybrid exhibitions of art and technology begin to shift back to more humanistic perspectives, and become concerned with understanding the relationship between the visitor and the exhibition.

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[554] Ibid, p.25.
[555] Ibid.
[556] Ibid, p.28.
[557] Ibid, p.28. The 'encounter-prone body' is drawn from Spinoza see p.21.
[558] Ibid, p.28.
[559] Comment made by the artist Gary T Rieveschl in *Kinetics*, Hayward Gallery, London (25 September to 22 November 1970) London: Arts Council of Great Britain. n.p.n.
[560] Cook and Graham, *Rethinking Curating*, p.28.
[561] Latour, *Pandora's Hope*, p.212.

Fig 13. Installation image of *Electric Theatre,* featuring Bruce Lacey, *Supershadow (*1970) (ICA 1971)

The shadow of the audience

At the start of the chapter we saw how there was an emphasis in theoretical studies being placed on a semiotic perspective on the context or situation surrounding the artwork. This would develop into what we now understand as Conceptual art with its shift away from the object into an exploration of process. In art and technology exhibitions, like those considered above, there was an emphasis on the point of interaction between the system and its operator. According to Charlie Gere when the technological experimentations that had been explored in art exhibitions began to be taken over by computer industry, Conceptualism became the dominant art practice throughout the 1970s. This practice continued to consider ideas and language from technology but acted as 'a kind of delay in the processes of information transmission, a node at which they were interrupted and diverted [...] interrogat[ing] the structures and systems of power by which it was enabled.'[562] Before it got to this point, I would argue what we see being developed at this time in 1968-1972 was a transferal of the systems of power onto audiences.

We've seen how with Alloway this informational perspective introduced the idea of a 'reading' spectator and, as technology developed so did an understanding of the role of the audience. Electrical engineering and acoustics expert Abraham Moles in 1971 commented that 'authenticity is no longer concerned with the work of art as such, but with the relationship of the spectator to the work. It is authenticity of situation.'[563] It was a reflection made on using the functions of a computer into understand 'the processes by which creativity functions.'[564] According to Moles, incorporating the reading functions of a computer was a way to challenge the hierarchy of spectatorship, art criticism and ownership, by democratizing these positions of authority. In exhibition terms we can see this manifested in *Cybernetic Serendipity* and another of Reichardt's exhibitions *Play Orbit* (1969), an exhibition that was curated following letters written to a hundred artists 'inviting them to make a toy.'[565] Michael Punt, who had exhibited work in *Play Orbit*, has noted how the installation invited the participant to 'read' the 'collage of objects' on display.[566] This offer to 'read' and 'receive' is suggestive of the new demands being made of the spectator, whilst at the same time suggesting a freedom in the open interpretations the visitor could bring to the exhibition. A relationship was being formalized between

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[562] Gere, 'Art in Real Time', in *Art, Time, and Technology* (Oxford: Berg, 2006), pp.113-138 (p.138).
[563] Abraham A. Moles, 'Art and Cybernetics in the Supermarket', in *Cybernetics, Art and Ideas*, ed. by Jasia Reichardt (London: Studio Vista, 1971), pp.61-71 (p.61).
[564] Ibid, p.63.
[565] Jasia Reichardt, 'Non-Games', in *Studio International* (March 1968), pp.110–111 (p.111).
[566] Michael Punt, 'Play Orbit: A Play on the History of Play', in *Technoetic Arts: A Journal of Speculative Research,* vol.6 (no.2), p.140.

what was programmed and the ways in which information would be received and interpreted by an audience. It was a shift that aligned with the arrival of reception studies.

From the mid 1960s to the early 1970s, reception theory was beginning to emerge as an approach to literary criticism that considered 'the general shift in concern from the author and the work to the text and the reader.'[567] Through theorists, Hans Robert Jauss in Germany, Roland Barthes in France, and Stuart Hall in the UK, reception theory moved away from psychologizing and seeing art as a reflection of social reality, and instead considered its aesthetic response within a field of semiotic communication. This interpretation of literature drew on 'cultural, ethical, and literary (generic, stylistic, thematic) expectations of a work's readers in the historic moment of its appearance.'[568] Their focus on the object of study repositioned the individual reader, in semiotic terms, as one element in the production of social relations. The arrival of this theoretical approach shows how considerations regarding the way information was read and processed – including its various reassessments and different types of reception – contributed to a reinterpretation into the nature of communication. This was closely aligned to understanding the functions of computers as well as to anthropological research that is key to this chapter.

Exploring reception was one of the main drives behind *The Body as a Medium of Expression*, a series of lectures and a public programme organized by Jonathan Benthall exploring the 'irremediable indexicality'[569] in all communication. Part of the purpose was to move away from dominant verbal and literary forms of communication, and to look at gesture, movement, and other forms communication, such as animal sign systems, or what was referred to as the 'greasy part of speech'.[570] The programme approached this by exploring two ideas of the body: the physical body, and the 'other' body. This other body was representative of the social body and by extension the social system and society. Yet in an attempt to remove the hierarchy of literary and linguistic communication by introducing other forms of communication, such as movement, a familiar anthropological hierarchy returned. We see this in anthropologist Ted Polhemus's lecture on 'Social Bodies':

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[567] R. C. Holub, *Reception Theory: a critical introduction* (London: Methuen, 1984), p.xii.
[568] Susan Suleiman and K. Crosman, *The Reader in the Text: essays on audience and interpretation* (Princeton; Guildford, Princeton University Press, 1980), p.85.
[569] Jonathan Benthall, *The Body as a Medium of Expression*, p.8.
[570] Ibid.

> Just as the myths and theories of magic in the primitive world may be assumed to reflect the social environments within which they develop, so too the theorizing of anthropologists might be assumed to reflect their own social environments.[571]

Here there is a return to the primitive magic and mythologies we came across in the first chapter, but there is also an acknowledgement of incorporating your own contextual situation in historical analysis. This is clearly a methodology used by Alloway, Kubler, and Abraham Moles and at times by Reichardt's process of curating and writing self-reflectively about her approach to exhibitions. But there was still a separation evident in the positioning of an 'other' in the programmatic approach. Men gave all the lectures in The Body; the performance programme was kept separate, while sub-disciplines were created within the shaping of the programme. This demonstrates that within the application of semiotic forms of analysis there was reluctance to leave behind some hierarchies. Whilst *The Body* intended to broaden an understanding of communication, othering was at the same time reinstated and the humanist centred approach to culture returned. It is the human body that is the medium; just as in *Electric Theatre* it is the spectator's body that is the focus of translation and relay. Like the image of a sculpture by Sylvester Mubayi, and the descriptions by Frank McEwan, on the front of the September 1972 ICAsm, within the unraveling of spectatorship in relation to expanding technology, there was an oscillation that returned focus to the object through which spectator observation could be embedded and objectified.

The dominance of the object – or spectator as an object – can be found in the installation photographs of *Electric Theatre*. Although the exhibition promoted media and industry, the black and white photographs reveal the attempt to capture moments of transformation – something is spinning; something is lit up; something is pulsating – whatever is causing the transformation is absent, or visible as a shadow. The photographs are telling for two reasons. Firstly, they point to an anxiety that arose through interactive artworks, that they would not be accepted as art. In correspondence between Leonard and Reichardt, the term 'environment' was adopted as a term that implied more criticality than theatre, or circus.[572] Secondly, the photographs of *Electric Theatre* are indications of the effects of capturing contingency. As Jack Burnham

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[571] Ted Polhemus, 'Social Bodies', in *The Body as a Medium of Expression (*London: Allen Lane, 1975), pp.13-35 (pp.29-30).

[572] In a letter from Reichardt to Leonard after RCA students have visited the exhibition she writes: 'What I meant when I said that that show was not an intellectual one is that there was simply no ideological or programmatic basis but an environment tending towards a sensory experience. I feel that the less theories generally the better especially in view of all the pompous rubbish that has been written about light space and technology.' (21 January 1970), Tate Archive, TGA 955/7/2/24 (ii). Is this an example of what Claire Bishop described as the 'art world labor[ing] under a system that demands an individually authored object', Bishop cited in Cook and Graham, *Rethinking Curating*, p.116

reflected, in *Kinetic Art* 'time becomes the medium of expression,' [573] and as an extension of this the documentation of Kinetic or Light art – which *Electric Theatre* can be related to - becomes representative of an attempt at controlling or containing time. We see this tension of capturing the medium of time and space enacted in the *Electric Theatre* photographs and however redundant the results might be, as part of the exhibition's mediation they demonstrate a cultural desire to collect and contain and mythologize, while the agency of media played its part in resisting this.

Chapter Conclusion

In the ICA's archive we might look to play, to test, to find evidence or to seek 'valuable objectives',[574] but as George Kubler has reflected, each 'sherd' or other 'inexpressive archaeological record' such as, for example, the page of an ICAsm 'mutely testifies to the presence of the same conflicts.'[575] Here what we see are conflicts emerging between, on the one hand, an opening-up to communication systems in art exhibitions, audiences and the role of reception; and on the other hand, in some ways these systems were closed down by cultural analysis. This happened in particular with the term 'participation'. Initially its use invites the inclusion of other agents into a process of 'collaboration' or, in Alloway's words, 'antagonistic co-operation', such as information, computing processes, but this as we see in the application of participation also starts to exclude peripheral ideas, aspects and processes from the analysis. The invitation to exhibition audiences was perhaps not about participation but more to do with ideas of incorporation: incorporating computer operations; incorporating the spectator's reception; incorporating or hosting interaction. We see this for instance through the incorporation of electronic relays in *Electric Centre* a mechanism that offered artists, engineers and architects ways to explore, translate and re-present the visitors' spectatorial and audio experience in the gallery. With breakages, electrical diversions, short-circuits and glitches media became visible, and presented us with an alternative lens through which to understand this moment of screening between the exhibition and audiences.

In this Chapter I have located some connections between art exhibitions at the ICA and the shift in the way the spectator was constructed, by thinking through the incorporation of electrical agency and the cultural implications of reception. The spectator took on the role of the receiver of information, and this was part of constructing an audience. With *Electric Theatre*, the transformational effect of the spectator's presence became

[573] Jack Burnham, *Beyond Modern Sculpture: The Effects of Science and Technology on the Sculpture of this Century* (London: Allen Lane: Penguin Press, 1968), p.273.
[574] Kubler, *The Shape of Time*, p.110.
[575] Ibid.

embedded as the object of focus, explored with light displays, sounds and reflections. In *The Body as a Medium of Expression*, the focus was on recognizing various forms of communication from the centralized perspective of the human body. What happened within the making of exhibitions and programmes as a result of these investigations that combined technological developments with anthropological studies? As we have seen, the performance of the spectator and the electrical energy of cybernetic connections took centre stage but in a way that would gradually remove electrical agency. In 1974 it was the exhibition itself that became objectified as the key point of cultural reflection.

Fig 14. Video documentation of the colloquium in Berlin (ICA 1974).

Chapter Four:

'...Participation, that currently much discussed concept – especially in Germany': *Art into Society - Society into Art* (1974)

Introduction

A photograph depicts two monitors installed on a table screening the same film made of a colloquium at the artist Dieter Hacker's Produzentengalerie in Berlin, 26-27 April 1974; both films have been paused at the same moment. This image captures a scene of discussion as people crowd around the table, surrounded by recording equipment. The colloquium – a meeting or assembly for discussion – was the process chosen to organize an exhibition of German art at the ICA, called *Art into Society – Society into Art*, which ran from 30 October to 1 December, 1974. The colloquium itself was attended by the organizers Norman Rosenthal and Christos M Joachimides; the artists Joseph Beuys, Gerhard Steidl, Klaus Staeck, K.P. Brehmer, Dieter Hacker and Michael Ruetz; the translator Martin Scutt; and *Guardian* art critic Caroline Tisdall. The film we see stilled in this image was made of the colloquium and exhibition at the ICA so that visitors could see how the discussion had unfolded. It has since been lost and what we have in its place is this photograph of the event; an image staged for the readers of the exhibition catalogue.

Art into Society was a curatorial and critical reflection on *Art in the Political Struggle* (Kunstverein, Hanover, 1973), an exhibition including many of the same artists that had taken place the previous year. The doubled screen, a reworked exhibition, even its palindromic title (*Art into Society – Society into Art*), highlight a repeated process of looking back to form a dialogue with history. And whilst the film replayed the colloquium discussion to visitors to the exhibition at the ICA, its remaining indexical trace in the present is this photograph, which we could say has become 'a moment [...] extracted from the continuity of historical time.'[576] As a static, silent representation of a noisy debate, the photograph performs the function of re-presenting the political and cultural taking place, in a Benjaminian sense, freezing historical progression of the present to the past and becoming a 'monadic crystallization of the supposedly implacable progression of historical time.'[577] As Benjamin argued it is only in dialectical images that historical truth can be grasped by 'flashing up in the now of its recognizability.'[578] This photograph

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[576] Laura Mulvey, *Death 24x a Second*, p.13.
[577] Max Pensky, 'Method and Time: Benjamin's Dialectical Images', in *The Cambridge Companion to Walter Benjamin*, ed. by David Ferris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 177-98. (p.188).
[578] Benjamin, Walter, and Rolf Tiedemann, *The Arcades Project* (Cambridge, Mass. ; London: Belknap Press, 1999), 473; n9, 7.

is a dialectical image in the way it has literally paused and arrested the temporal progression of the film and by doing this it presents a doubling of interpretation that suggests the 'hell of repetition'.[579] These reflections Benjamin made of the commodity culture of the nineteenth century and the arrival of new technologies and our connection to them here is to suggest that this photograph can be seen to perform a dialectic that was present at the time of ICA exhibition, between a new voyeurism 'past-ness'[580] but one that mediates without the noisy, German, political and cultural debate. This Chapter opens up the dialectic of ideas that appears to collide in this photograph.

The exhibition offered a new curatorial model by making public the exhibition-making process, with the hope that creating an awareness of the administrative and organizational processes behind an exhibition would be a way to encourage more participation from exhibition visitors. In the catalogue for *Art into Society*, the colloquium was described by Rosenthal as an 'exercise in "mitbestimmung" – the German expression for participation, that currently much discussed concept – especially in Germany.'[581] The artists and organizers discussed the exhibition *Art in the Political Struggle*, which many of them contributed to, critiquing their own and others contributions. The format of the colloquium had been used successfully to organize the Hanover exhibition, where it was felt that the discussion had been 'cathartic' or 'therapeutic'[582] for the participants, and this was extended as a methodology for the ICA show. It was agreed that decisions concerning what and who would be included or excluded – and the reasons why – discussed at the colloquium in Berlin would then be made public in the exhibition at the ICA through the film, photographs, audio recording, a transcription, and a curator's narrative in the catalogue. This organizational approach came from a shared interest at the time in presenting 'openness' to exhibition audiences and as part of this, rather than show final or completed pieces, the included artworks were described as 'projects'[583] or 'models for artistic work'.[584] These open-ended qualities were extended out to the exhibition visitors. By inviting people to read about, listen to, and watch the processes of the exhibition's construction, alongside artworks, and in the process gain insight into each of the artists' conceptualisation, it was felt that the audience could themselves become critically active participants. As Christos Joachimides described in the essay for the catalogue: 'This exhibition poses the question of whether art should be conceived of as being a **statement**, a means of self-articulation capable also of gradually becoming an

[579] Pensky, 'Method and Time', p.191.
[580] Mulvey, 'The Pensive Spectator', p.186.
[581] Rosenthal, 'The Colloquium in Berlin April 26-17, 1974' in *Art into Society - Society into Art: Seven German Artists [*catalogue of an exhibition held at the Institute of Contemporary Arts, 30 October-24 November 1974], pp.5-10 (London: Institute of Contemporary Arts). p.5.
[582] Reflections made by Joachimides, as described by Rosenthal, 'The Colloquium in Berlin April 26-17, 1974', p.5.
[583] Term used by Dieter Hacker, as described by Rosenthal, 'The Colloquium in Berlin April 26-17, 1974', p.5.
[584] Christos M. Jochimides, 'The truth must also be beautiful' in *Art into Society - Society into Art,* pp.11-24. (p.24).

instrument of **understanding**, which could then be suitable as a political **weapon**.'[585] Being active meant in the first stages a critical understanding with the potential to extend into political engagement. Yet in the same essay Joachimides writes that the exhibition would also 'indicate the possibilities for a re-presentation of the relationship between artist and society,'[586] suggesting that this was a model of exhibition making that could be idealized and repeated.

By returning to the earlier exhibition, *Art in the Political Struggle*, what is also made visible – and is illustrated through the dialectical image of our photograph is an interest in making a cultural product that could be ready for 're-presentation'. The return that becomes visible in the image, an 'awakening […] as a form of remembrance',[587] should be seen alongside their publicizing of the creative and political processes involved in the exhibition's construction. In the process of examining these aspects, what I argue is that the exhibition in some ways became emptied of its political discussion and that this was an effect of its translation from one German context to its situation in the UK. For the German artists who took part, the idea of 'looking back' can be connected to what John-Paul Stonard calls a 'historical turn'[588] and was characteristic of this generation of artists. For the ICA, and within the British context, the aim of the show was to learn about what participation might mean for artists, audiences and exhibition-making, and how an understanding of this could bring into art a social purpose, and with it a political ambition. As part of this the exhibition organizers created substantial documentation. This was not in itself unusual; *Cybernetic Serendipity* for example was extremely well documented. But what was particular in this case was the way that part of the purpose appears to have been for the documentation to enable the exhibition to be retraced in the future. Since the exhibition emphasized the role of participation, in terms of the organizers and artists as well as the audience, the commodification of the exhibition potentially has implications for the way we understand participation more broadly in art historical terms.

Participation in contemporary art, following Umberto Eco's theory of an 'open work',[589] is most often used to refer to artworks that are produced through collaboration, where the social situation is considered more important than the physical object, and where audiences as part of this become the 'medium'. These characteristics were part of the ambitions of *Art into Society* which looked to explore participation and produce an

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[585] Ibid, emphasis in the original.
[586] Ibid.
[587] Pensky, 'Method and Time', p.188.
[588] Jean Paul Stonard, *Germany Divided: Baselitz and his Generation: from the Duerckheim Collection*. p.15.
[589] Umberto Eco, *The Open Work*, trans by Anna Cancogni (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1989).

'active' audience. So what does an examination of the exhibition add to our understanding and critique of this term? In the previous Chapter we saw how the technological interest in re-presenting the spectators' experiences through sound, light and movement embedded spectatorship into the making of an exhibit. In *Art into Society,* part of the show's purpose was to create a politicized form of active spectatorship. Might we therefore see a shift taking place in exhibitions between 1972-74, in terms of how spectatorship was conceived, and how political it should be? According to Boris Groys, a genealogy of participatory art shows that in general it is 'geared toward the goal of motivating the public to join in, to activate the social milieu in which these practices unfold.'[590] This involves 'attempts to question and transform the fundamental condition of how modern art functions – namely the radical separation of artists and their public.'[591] But within this offer of shared authorship, there is also an 'extension of authorial power'[592] in the way that the audience become embedded within the artwork and in some ways this becomes more evident over time. Since the 1960s, art that encourages participation has been motivated by an audiences' 'activation; authorship; community,'[593]and as Bishop has reflected, '[…] is inextricable from the question of political commitment.'[594] In the 1990s, art practices exploring participation became referred to by Nicolas Bourriaud as 'relational aesthetics', a term describing the 'behavioural economy of contemporary art'[595] as alternatives to capitalist systems for art. But, as Rudolf Frieling has pointed out, and as we have seen in the previous Chapter, the exclusion of 'today's networking technologies'[596] from reinterpretations of participatory art – including those by Bourriaud – has restricted the potential for a wider understanding of participation. In addition, by idealizing the extent to which the art of participation or relational aesthetics can reconcile art with the public, what often gets ignored as a result of 'administrative and curatorial anxiety', are 'simple communality or antagonistic forces.' [597] For Frieling these can be understood by including networking technologies into reinterpretations of Conceptual art. In *Art into Society* there is a framing of critically engaged audiences with the potential to lead towards political action, thus giving art a social purpose. But in the idealism of this ambition, exclusions were made, which become 'a structuring other',[598] to the exhibition's history. This was already

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[590] Boris Groys, 'A genealogy of participation', in *The Art of Participation: 1950 to Now* (New York; London: Thames & Hudson Ltd, 2008), pp.19-31 (p.19).
[591] Ibid.
[592] Ibid, p.23.
[593] Claire Bishop, 'Introduction ', in *Participation*, ed. by Claire Bishop (London: Whitechapel and The MIT Press, 2006), pp. 10-17 (p.12)
[594] Ibid, p.10.
[595] Nicolas Bourriaud, Relational Aesthetics (Dijon: Presses du réel, 2002).
[596] Rudolf Frieling, 'Towards Participation in Art' in *The art of participation: 1950 to now*, pp.33-49 (p.46).
[597] Ibid, p.48.
[598] Pollock, 'About Canons and Culture Wars', p.8.

present in the exhibition by the emphasis placed returning to *Art in the Political Struggle,* as an ideal exhibition, on which *Art and Society* could be modeled.

In addition to reflecting on the focus on audiences, in this instance by looking at the role of participation in *Art into Society*, a central concern of this thesis is the ways in which exhibitions are currently being historicized, re-visited and recreated. *Art into Society* is evidently a fascinating example of this process because, as an exhibition with a strong authorial intent, it provocatively raised the issue of exhibition making. As a historical moment in the ICA it therefore offers us the opportunity to rethink how history is told and retold through exhibitions, and to introduce into this a consideration of the role of media in this retelling, and activating of history and this is another issue that I will address in this Chapter.

The approach of the *Art into Society* organizers was in some ways a reaction to the inclusivity of open selection exhibitions (such as those taken by Jasia Reichardt[599]). As Rosenthal noted, the colloquium as a technique would 'serve as a model for possibly quite differently motivated exhibitions [...] [by which] the hazards of open exhibition and, more importantly, the apparent capriciousness of selectors can be avoided.'[600] But in the process of making this model public, the authorial status of the organizers increased. This authorial status of the curator of exhibitions became increasingly important over the 1970s and 1980s,[601] and Rosenthal and Joachimides were part of this trajectory. In his typology of large exhibitions Jean-Marc Poinsot commented that Joachimides had, in the early 1980s, replaced the autonomy of the artwork with the autonomy of the 'entire exhibition.'[602] Using the examples of exhibitions *Zeitgeist* at Martin Gropius Bau, Berlin (1982) and the Royal Academy's *The Spirit of Painting* (1981), co-curated with Rosenthal and Nicholas Serota,[603] Poinsot suggested that the negation of isolated artworks found in postmodernism – and in these respective shows – begins to reoccur in exhibition making from the mid-1980s. My suggestion is that the same authorial intent was part of *Art into Society*.

[599] *Play Orbit*, (1969) invited 100 artists and makers to design a toy and democratically included all submissions.
[600] In document in the archive, Rosenthal is more direct: '(there is in Berlin annually a rather ghastly contemporary exhibition, in status similar to the Royal Academy (the last one was opened by Willie Brandt) called the Free Berlin Art Exhibition) and on the other hand the exhibition controlled either by committee or by an individual. In the colloquium there can be a dialogue between the exhibition makers and the participants.' 'Memorandum to members of the council of the ICA', 25 Feb 1974. Tate archive, TGA 955/12/3/3.
[601] As argued by Paul O'Neill.
[602] Jean-Marc Poinsot, 'Large Exhibitions: A Sketch of a Typology' (Les Grandes Expositions: Esquisse d'une typologie' (first published, 1986) in *Thinking About Exhibitions*, ed. by Bruce W. Fergusson, Reesa Greenerg and Sandy Nairne (London: Routledge, 1994), pp.39-63 (p.59).
[603] Poinsot describes the attempt of the co-curators to 'affirm the actuality of painting by selecting from the period considered to be characteristically avant-garde', Ibid, p.53.

In this Chapter I look at how 'grand narratives' are constructed through exhibition histories by exploring how this process takes place in writing a historiography of *Art into Society*, identifying where, and in what ways, the exhibition has been referenced. I also consider this in relation to an archival display in the ICA's Reading Room in 2016 which through, photographs, documents and publications, revisited the history of *Art into Society*. These approaches to historical recovery are valuable because they furnish us with knowledge about how and why the exhibition took place, and how it has subsequently been critically and historically reflected on. However, in doing so these approaches also point to the origin of the exhibition as the 'moment of greatest perfection'.[604] As Foucault has shown, through Nietzsche's interpretation of history, there is a danger of the 'endlessly repeated play of dominations […] of certain men over others.'[605] This is something we could say appears to be happening with exhibition histories at the moment and by drawing on Foucault's approach to 'effective history' in this Chapter I reflect on the effects of the 'pursuit of the origin'.[606] As he describes, this is not to 'oppose itself to history [but to] reject the metahistorical deployment of ideal significations and indefinite teleology's', by opposing 'a search for origins'.[607] Griselda Pollock raised similar notions when she proposed a feminism that was not on fixed ideas of difference, but that was developed through active 're-viewing' and 'reworking'.[608] This, she argued, was a way to locate what 'is visible and authorized in the space of representation in order to articulate how that which, while repressed, is always present as its structuring other.'[609] For exhibition studies – a relatively new art historical canon – there is equally a desire 'to construct an effective self-identification with the hegemonic form.'[610] One way to make this visible is to witness the process of writing histories of exhibitions as it moves in and out of the canon. I attempt this to expose this by retaining the fragmentary nature of the archive material, and inserting the temporal qualities of objects, as well as occasionally myself, as part of an 'active' process of mediating on history.

It is in a metaphorical conversation between two artists in the exhibition, Gustav Metzger and Joseph Beuys that this opportunity seems to be offered. Whilst *Art into Society* was running, Beuys stayed in the gallery nearly every day from 12-8pm, with an easel and 200 blackboards. On the boards he drew out his reflections on his conversations with

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[604] Foucault, 'Nietzsche, Genealogy, history', in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. by D. F. Bouchard (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), p.143.
[605] Ibid.
[606] Ibid.
[607] Ibid, p.140.
[608] Pollock, 'About Canons and Culture Wars', p.8. 'Re-viewing is a term Pollock develops from Teresa de Lauretis's displacement of inside and outside in feminist discourse, see: *Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film, and Fiction* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987).
[609] Ibid, p.8.
[610] Ibid, p11.

visitors', and when he considered the blackboards were finished he would throw them onto the ground. Two years after the exhibition, the resulting work *Richtkräfte – Directional Forces for a New Society* - referred to by Beuys at the colloquium as a 'permanent school'[611] – was purchased by the Nationalgalerie in Berlin, where its acquisition has been used as a model conservation project. The reification of this artwork stands dialectically against Metzger's refusal to participate. As Rosenthal described in the catalogue, Metzger 'would make no artwork as such'[612] and instead contributed to the catalogue and took part in discussions during the exhibition. The difference between how these artists engaged or participated in the exhibition mirrors the play between the process of participation and the making of a model that could be represented. The remaining traces of the project echo how exhibitions can enter art history as models, or by retaining their fragmentary nature. Whilst Metzger's involvement might be seen as present in its authorship of absence and in some ways, therefore, 'dematerialised',[613] by contrast, we can see the reification of Beuys's work as increasingly removed from physical interaction with its audience.

The exhibition – a historiography

Art into Society mostly appears as a footnote to art historical literature as an example of art that relates to participation and Institutional Critique, as well as to socially engaged and community-based art practices.[614] John A. Walker has suggested this connection by locating the exhibition with the publishing of the Arts Council's new policy on *Community Arts*; [615] released in the same week *Art into Society* opened, but criticizes the exhibition as failing 'to alter the art establishment.'[616] Walker sees contradictions in Metzger's argument against a Marcusian form of 'repressive tolerance', [617] when the exhibition itself received sponsorship from 'Bowater Corporation, the Goethe Institute and the British Government.'[618] On the positive side Walker highlights how the 'show demonstrated that the politicization of art was not confined to Britain and therefore encouraged British, left-

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[611] Rosenthal, 'The colloquium in Berlin', p.9.

[612] Ibid, p.10.

[613] See Lucy Lippard, *Six Years: the Dematerialization of the Art Object from 1966 to 1972* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1997).

[614] Rudolf Frieling makes a connection to Haacke and Beuys's work in *Art into Society* through the catalogue in *The art of participation: 1950 to now*. Similarly, Beuys's work is footnoted but not addressed in any depth by Claire Bishop in *Artificial hells: participatory art and the politics of spectatorship* (London; New York: Verso Books, 2012). One of the references to socially engaged practice is made through the course established at Middlesex University by Lorraine Leeson *Art Practice and the Community.*

[615] Community Arts Working Party, 'Community arts: the report of the Community Arts Working Party June 1974' (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1974). Also referenced by Claire Bishop.

[616] Walker references Michael Daley's review 'Art into Society – Society into Art', *U Magazine* [International Arts Centre, London] Vol 1, No 2 (December 1974) unpaginated. Quoted by John Albert Walker, *Left shift: radical art in 1970s Britain* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2002), p.125.

[617] Walker, *Left Shift,* p.126.

[618] Ibid.

wing artists.'[619] This view seems to have become realized in 1976 when a special issue of *Studio International* was released, titled 'Art & Social Purpose'.[620] Edited by Richard Cork, the issue included interviews with five artists from *Art into Society* contextualizing their work and, by extension, the conception of the exhibition itself within the need expressed at the time 'to restore a sense of social purpose' and acknowledge 'art's responsibility to contact and nourish the wider audience it now ignores at its peril.'[621]

Much of the exhibition's historiography is found in literature by or about artists who were involved. Most of these texts (in the English language) focus on Beuys, Metzger and Hans Haacke, but with some exceptions. Doreen Mende's recent reappraisal of K.P. Brehmer – as part of *KP Brehmer: Real Capital – Production* (Raven Row, London, 2014) – highlighted Brehmer's interest in the ways global capitalism had infiltrated our ways of seeing. The Raven Row exhibition addressed Brehmer's emphasis on contemporaneity, stressing how process-over-content was preferable to the dangers 'museumification'[622] brings in its increased distance from history. Directly after *Art into Society* Klaus Staeck published *Der Staeck Fall* (1976), with essays, press cuttings and a chronology of the show's reception, the publication charts a German media storm that surrounded the inclusion of Staeck's political posters at the ICA.[623] Similarly Albrecht D., during and after the exhibition, self-published booklets, posters and postcards through his Reflection Press. He also released a record of his spontaneous performance with Beuys in the exhibition with Samadhi Records.[624] As well as literature by and about the artists who took part in *Art into Society* there are also references to *Art into Society* by artists who were reacting to the ideas in the exhibition, such as Rasheed Araeen's *Making Myself Visible*,[625] or artists who were tangentially involved, such as James Lee Byars who performed spontaneously at the ICA during the exhibition, and whose letters to Beuys throughout the exhibition have been subsequently published.[626] After the exhibition there have been reflections on artists who were influential to the show, in particular John Heartfield, whose impact on the *Art into Society* artists (highlighted at the time) has been retrospectively considered.[627]

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[619] Ibid.

[620] Richard Cork, 'Editorial', *Studio International*, 'Art and Social Practice' Volume 191, Number. 980 (March/April 1976), pp.94-95 (p.94).

[621] Ibid.

[622] *KP Brehmer: Real Capital-Production* (25 September - 30 November 2014) (London: Raven Row, 2014).

[623] Klaus Staeck, *Der Fall Staeck* (Gottingen: Steidl, 1976).

[624] The record cover was illustrated using photographs taken by Chris Schwarz. These performances are now accessible for free download via the artist, punk musician and friend of Albrecht D. Ralf Siemers http://spurensicherung.blogspot.co.uk/search/label/albrecht%2Fd [accessed 15 September 2017].

[625] Rasheed Araeen, *Making myself visible* (London: Kala Press, 1984).

[626] *James Lee Byars: letters to Joseph Beuys* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2000). This includes reference to the Produzentengalerie, the symposium that took place during the exhibition.

[627] David Evans and Sylvia Gohl, *Photomontage: a political weapon* (London: Fraser, 1986).

The exhibition has been historicized within a British interpretation of German art history in the Royal Academy's exhibition, *German Art in the 20th Century: Painting and Sculpture 1905-1985* (1985), curated by Rosenthal and Joachimides. In her essay within the exhibition's accompanying publication, Irit Rogoff chose to contextualize artworks from *Art into Society* as examples 'which constitute a discursive rather than iconographic tradition [in which the] role of the artist, his moral and social responsibility and his accountability have traditionally played a very major part.' [628] She draws predominantly on Beuys, considering how his constellations, visualized on blackboards, reveal a push and pull between the past and the present, as a way 'to awaken interest in the current consciousness of the spectator.'[629] They achieve this, Rogoff reflects, by interconnecting 'eternal time, historical time and personal time.'[630] Through references to *Art into Society* artists, Rogoff highlights how a shared interest in the role played by the spectator is present in the conception of the work, either by incorporating the personal time of the audience or by inviting direct action. For instance, in Hans Haacke's work the visitor was invited to read the display, or in the way artists drew on familiar visual languages, such as Klaus Staeck's posters, which visually quoted and re-appropriated the photomontage techniques of John Heartfield.[631] However, despite referencing four artists from *Art into Society* (by using the ICA the catalogue), it is striking that Rogoff does not address the exhibition itself. Likewise, in the same publication, the introductory essays by the exhibition organizers Rosenthal and Joachimides exclude any reference to the ICA exhibition, even though Rosenthal refers to and includes an image of *Richtkräfte*, the caption simply describes a 'London gallery'.[632]

Part of the reason for our interest in the framing of the form of the exhibition now – which Rogoff's text approaches by implying a discursive connection with the audience – is to do with the growing relevance of exhibition studies. We can see this appearing as a concern by acknowledging when these references to *Art into Society* were made. Rogoff's and many of the texts in this historiography, including those written by Joachimides, Poinsot, Rogoff, Araeen, Evans and Gohl, as well as Haacke's *Unfinished Business,* were written and published between 1985-87. This date marks an anniversary of the Second World War, the death of Beuys, the formalization of Institutional Critique and of postmodernism, and a time when discussions were taking place – at least in Germany –

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[628] Irit Rogoff, 'Representations of Politics', in *German art in the 20th century: painting and sculpture 1905-1985* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1985), pp.125-137 (p.125).
[629] Rogoff, 'Representations of Politics', p. 129.
[630] Ibid.
[631] Rogoff shows Staeck's political success in the distribution of the posters, *The Rich Must Get Richer*, *Vote CDU* poster sold 300,000 copies as part of regional election campaign in Heidelberg in 1972.
[632] Norman Rosenthal, 'A Will to Art in 20th Century Germany' in *German art in the 20th century: painting and sculpture 1905-1985* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1985), pp.13-20 (p.16); see Christos Joachimides, 'A Gash of Fire Across the World', in *German art in the 20th century,* pp9-12.

about how to deal methodologically with contemporary art as a part of art history.[633] In contradiction to these discursive approaches to space, curator, audiences, the exhibition in 1985 *German Art in the 20th Century*, focused much more on a romantic, spiritual, 'healing powers of the artist and the resonant cultural tradition of Germany.'[634] This exhibition, curated by Joachimides and Rosenthal, is an indication of a formal approach to curating that sits in tension with the discursive approach taken by the above historians, artists and theorists, also in the mid-1980s. Are these tensions evident in 1974 with *Art and Society*? If so, in what ways might they be present in its mediation? Part of the contradictions that we find in these two styles of exhibition making relate to the development of 'Institutional Critique'.

Dating from the student protests in 1967-68, Institutional Critique incorporated a reappraisal of art education, as well as governmental and financial structures influencing art. As an analytical and political art practice that is both modernist and dialectical in 'its aim [...] to intervene critically in the standing order of things, with an expectation that these interventions would produce actual change in the relations of power and lead to genuine reconciliation,' [635] the practice of Institutional Critique is present in *Art into Society*. In its first use in the article 'On Practice' by *Art & Language's* Mel Ramsden, the term was used as a critique mainly of the financial art systems in America. It was an attempt to find an oppositional alternative, similar to those found in feminist artworks and community arts clubs, by facilitating authenticity through a local 'tradition (community), which does not embody a commodity mode of existence.'[636] The approach that Ramsden suggested used an engagement with Marxian 'social processes'.[637] At first these ideas appear to be shared by *Art into Society's* reference to *mitbestimmung* (participation), but then a reference to Beuys's work by Ramsden suggests that the exhibition was also presented as an antithesis to the critique that Ramsden intended. He refers to Beuys's 'society as sculpture' as 'ineffectual aestheticism'[638] and points out the problems of the 'bulldozer of Official Culture',[639] also highlighted by Walker. Published by *Fox* in 1975, it is possible that Ramsden was in fact commenting directly on *Art into*

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[633] Claudia Mesch: 'Beuys' work as a field of art was not taken up by West German academia before the late 1980s. Before 1980, art was not part of the curriculum in most West Germany art history departments…Contemporary art had not been established as a field of art history, and there was major uncertainty as to how to deal with contemporary art methodologically.' *Joseph Beuys: the reader* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007), p.7.

[634] Norman Rosenthal, 'A Will to Art in 20th Century Germany', p.20.

[635] Alberro and Blake, *Institutional Critique: an anthology of artists' writings* (Cambridge, Mass; London: MIT Press, 2009), includes Haacke's statement reprinted in full. For in depth research in to this work see Hans Haacke's *Framing and Being Framed: 7 Works 1970-1975* (Halifax: N.Y.: Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design ; N.Y. U.P., 1975), pp.69-94; and *Unfinished Business* exhibition catalogue (12 December 1986 – 15 February 1987, The New Museum of Contemporary Art and Massachusetts Institute of Technology), both include English translations of the panels from *Manet-Projekt '74.*

[636] Mel Ramsden, 'On Practice', in Alberro and Blake, *Institutional Critique: an anthology of artists' writings,* p.172.

[637] Ibid.

[638] Ibid, p.174.

[639] Ibid, p.187.

Society, which was visually dominated by Beuys's 'society as sculpture' and supported by British and German governments. In one sense, it is therefore ironic that the exhibition itself has become an example of Institutional Critique. In another sense, as Andrea Fraser reflected in regards to her first use of Institutional Critique in 1985 ten years after Ramsden, although it is now an 'anachronistic artifact [...] swallowed up by the institutions it stood against [it] [...] has always been institutionalised'.[640] When we look at *Richtkräfte*, for instance, rather than Benjamin's position that the political becomes aestheticized what we in fact find is that the aesthetic of participation, and with it the administrative processes it involved including the politics of community and social purpose, has itself become instrumentalized in culture. This is something we find in the arrested image of the colloquium and in Beuy's work in the exhibition.

Not only did Beuys's *Richtkräfte* physically overtake the exhibition as the carpet of blackboards spilled out across the gallery floor, but also the extensive documentation during and after the exhibition has created a visual journey from ICA gallery to collection.[641] After the ICA, *Richtkräfte* was exhibited at Rene Block Gallery, New York (5 April – 10 May 1975), where it was 'no longer open to dialogue',[642] although visitors could still walk over the blackboards. At the International Pavilion in the 1976 Venice Biennale it was shown behind glass, to be contemplated as a finished artwork. It was then purchased in 1977 by the Nationalgalerie in Berlin, and installed on a large plinth, which Tisdall refers to as a 'dais', a low platform for a lectern or throne.[643] Photographs by Gerhard Steidl, Chris Schwarz, Gerald Incandela and others[644] have been used to illustrate the narrative from 'permanent school' to collected artwork, predominantly told by Joachimides, Steidl and Staeck, and also critiqued by Barbara Lange.[645] Tisdall, who was close to the exhibition and to Beuys, features most prominently in English-language texts and, like Joachimides's *Joseph Beuys Richtkräfte* ,[646] traces the gradual shift of the artwork away from physical interaction with audiences into the Nationalgalerie.[647] She referred to its 'final transformation' in the collection as a 'Fond – or battery of information.'[648] This was Beuys's term for the storage and transmission of energy and by

[640] Andrea Fraser, 'From the Critique of Institutions to an Institution of Critique', in *Artforum*, Vol. 44, Issue. 1. (New York: September, 2005).
[641] For example, 'Blackboard and I', *Tablet* 9 (November 1974); Caroline Tisdall, 'on German 'Art into Society' at the ICA', in *The Guardian* (1 November 1974): 'It's slightly depressing that only Beuys has come up with an alternative to presenting static material to be looked at by the visitor in the usual way.'
[642] Caroline Tisdall, *Joseph Beuys: we go this way* (London: Violette Editions, 1998), p.120.
[643] Ibid, p.132.
[644] Gerhard Steidl archive is held by Gerhard Steidl GmbH & Co. OHG, Klaus Steack with Edition Steack, Chris Schwarz's archive is with Museum of Modern Art New York, and Gerald Incandela's archive is with the artist.
[645] Klaus Staeck, and Gerhard Steidl, *Beuys Book* (Göttingen: Steidl, 2012).
[646] Christos M Joachimides, *Joseph Beuys Richtkräfte* (Berlin: Nationalgalerie Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 1977).
[647] Caroline Tisdall, *Joseph Beuys* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979); and Tisdall, *Joseph Beuys: we go this way* (London: Violette Editions, 1998).
[648] Tisdall, *Joseph Beuys: we go this way*, p.132

referring to *Richtkräfte* in this way she implies how it had become a representation and an accumulation, of its own display history. Piled up on its plinth in the gallery, when we glance at it much of the information is 'obscured'.[649] Like an institutional archive, from which the term fond is connected to, our access to the artwork is structured and structuring by the control exerted by the institution in possession of the piece – through the display and conservation systems of the collection.

Although these narratives of *Richtkräfte* enact a Foucauldian idea of genealogy in the way that they chart transformation and dispersion, they also create a fetishization of the artwork's journey into a collection, where it became contemplated. If, as Rudolf Frieling has suggested, participatory art can be defined by an 'ongoing engagement, as opposed to the provocation of an end';[650] what are the consequences of the trajectory of this artwork, and by extension the exhibition's history? My suggestion is that this authoring by Tisdall, Beuys and others about the reification of *Richtkräfte,* should be seen as part of the production of *Art into Society* and addressed in our consideration of the art of participation. For example, at the ICA the exhibition included a 'Retrospective' section of *Art in the Political Struggle*, with large-scale blow-ups of the documentation in the catalogue, as well as images of the installation, and the discussion that took place at Hanover, described by Joachimides as 'a sensual presentation of art objects'.[651] This was an alternative to showing audiences contextual information on the artists in the exhibition and instead the historical point of departure was an earlier exhibition. By including this earlier exhibition as a 'Retrospective', and potentially an ideal, the interest in searching for origins and a historical return was made visible to audiences and, as we will see, this would have broader implications for the role of politics in the exhibition.

The historiography of *Art into Society* (within English-language texts) shows how the exhibition has been connected to a series of blurry cultural terms including, Institutional Critique, the art of participation, the development – in Britain – of an interest in 'art with a social purpose',[652] and through a British interpretation of German art history. However, it is surprising given the emphasis on exhibition making that a connection between *Art into Society* and the histories of curating is lacking from these references.[653] Ben Cranfield begins to address this by contextualizing the exhibition as a point at which the ICA

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[649] Ibid, p.132.
[650] Frieling, 'Toward Participation in Art', p.40
[651] Joachimides referenced in Rosenthal, 'The Colloquium in Berlin', p.10.
[652] see *Studio International* (March/April 1968).
[653] There are for instance some interesting examples of its influence on exhibitions. Joachimides was collaborator of *13 degrees E* held 10 November-22 December 1978 at the Whitechapel Gallery. In the catalogue Whitechapel curator, Nicholas Serota references the impact of *Art into Society* as an exhibition that 'the work of artists using art as a means of social enquiry or political struggle', '13 Degrees E: Eleven Artists Working in Berlin (London: Whitechapel Art Gallery), p.5.

becomes less of 'a reflexive talking shop', [654] and more one professionalized, through the figure of the curator. Through Haacke Cranfield suggests that *Art into Society* can be read as 'an interrogation into the practice of framing – perhaps even the conceptual framing of framing by and within the gallery.'[655] This professionalization brings with it an ethical accountability in the sense that what happens through Haacke's artwork, and the exhibition as a whole, is a circulation of institutional, artistic and socio-political self-reflection. A consequence of this open questioning, as Walker also pointed out, was that it became possible for new issues and perspectives relating to identity to become visible, and this brings the audience and subjectivity into consideration.

In 1974 the spectator was invited to read, listen, walk around and discuss *Art into Society*, and to watch the colloquium that was screened on a monitor. But, with the screen at least, the spectator continued to be excluded from the event, for while they could watch the discussion (in German), they were not able to participate in the debates around its organization. Irit Rogoff recognized this in her reflections on the role of the spectator with Beuys's 'non-Modernism', a description of the way his practice widened the parameters of political representation by including 'autobiographical experience' with 'national myth',[656] as well as giving access to the personal time or consciousness of the spectator. For Beuys this meant an existential awareness in the way it could engage the individual in social and political change, but that also connected to their physical presence in the gallery space and their proximity to the artwork. In order to understand what bringing the 'time' of the spectator might mean for our interpretation of the exhibition, I want to place myself in the position of the gallery visitor. I want to understand two aspects from this historiography: the role of media and the role of the spectator. In the following section I consider, using new archive material, how the exhibition appeared to the spectator, before going into detail concerning how the dialectic in our photograph was being performed.

Revisiting *Art into Society* – a personal reflection on new archives

According to Gregor Muir, ICA Director from 2011-16, it was after buying a vinyl recording of Beuys and Albrecht D.'s performance during *Art into Society*, that they decided to stage a display of archival material from *Art into Society* in their Reading Room

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[654] Ben Cranfield, 'Between Anarchy and Technology: Key Experiments from the Archive of the Institute of Contemporary Arts, London, 1947-1969', (University of London, Birkbeck College, 2009), p.326.

[655] Ibid, p.326. Similarly, Martha Buskirk draws on Manet-PROJEKT '74 as an example of the interrelationship between the Conceptual artist and the museum's adoption of authorship and site specificity by looking at how this critique emerged 'once exhibitions began to be organized by inviting artists to work in a particular space' and where, as a consequence, 'attention to the museum's collection followed.' Martha Buskirk, *The Contingent Object of Contemporary Art* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press, 2005), p.171.

[656] Rogoff, 'Representations of Politics', p.129.

in 2016. I had been writing about the exhibition for this Chapter, and decided to simultaneously write to the ICA in an attempt to make contact with Norman Rosenthal. As a consequence of our combined interest in this moment, I was invited to work on a display about *Art into Society* with ICA Curator, Juliette Desorgues. The existing files on *Art into Society* at the Tate are limited to the organization of the exhibition, and the marketing and publicity of the wider German programme. So it's exciting when we visit Rosenthal to record an interview, and are offered access to his personal archive, which includes letters, plans, correspondence, publications and photographic contact sheets for the display. Whilst the historiography to date, as we have seen, has been dominated by Beuys, these images – which until the archive display at the ICA had not been shown in public - 'screen' the exhibition through contact. They are filled with people, over 24 days there were 9,000 visitors, with 600 people attending public discussion with the artists.[657]

I am aware that my involvement in creating an exhibition about an exhibition is evidence of avaricious desire. As Foucault commented, '[h]istorians take unusual pains to erase the elements in their work which reveal their grounding in a particular time and place.'[658] But what would happen if we don't remove this subjectivity and instead – as Lisa Tickner has suggested in her own analysis of an exhibition's history – show the 'fusion of horizons' by acknowledging how the 'work reaches into the present and comes alive for us through our own investments in the past.' [659] In extending the existing framework of the exhibition in a way that recognizes the 'position discourse takes place in',[660] my suggestion is that we can question the canon of exhibitions and of participation. I propose to show what is screened, by reconstructing how the exhibition looked to the spectator in 1974.

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[657] *Art into Society* 'Press Notice' in Tate Archive, TGA 955/7/8/102. Many of the people who attende art students who saw this as an opportunity to meet and talk with Joseph Beuys. Mark Francis and John Stezaker are two artists who can be seen in the photographs, Lorraine Leeson also remembers attending.
[658] Foucault, 'Nietzsche, Genealogy, History', p.156.
[659] Lisa Tickner, *Modern Life & Modern Subjects: British art in the early twentieth century* (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2000), p.212.
[660] Ibid.
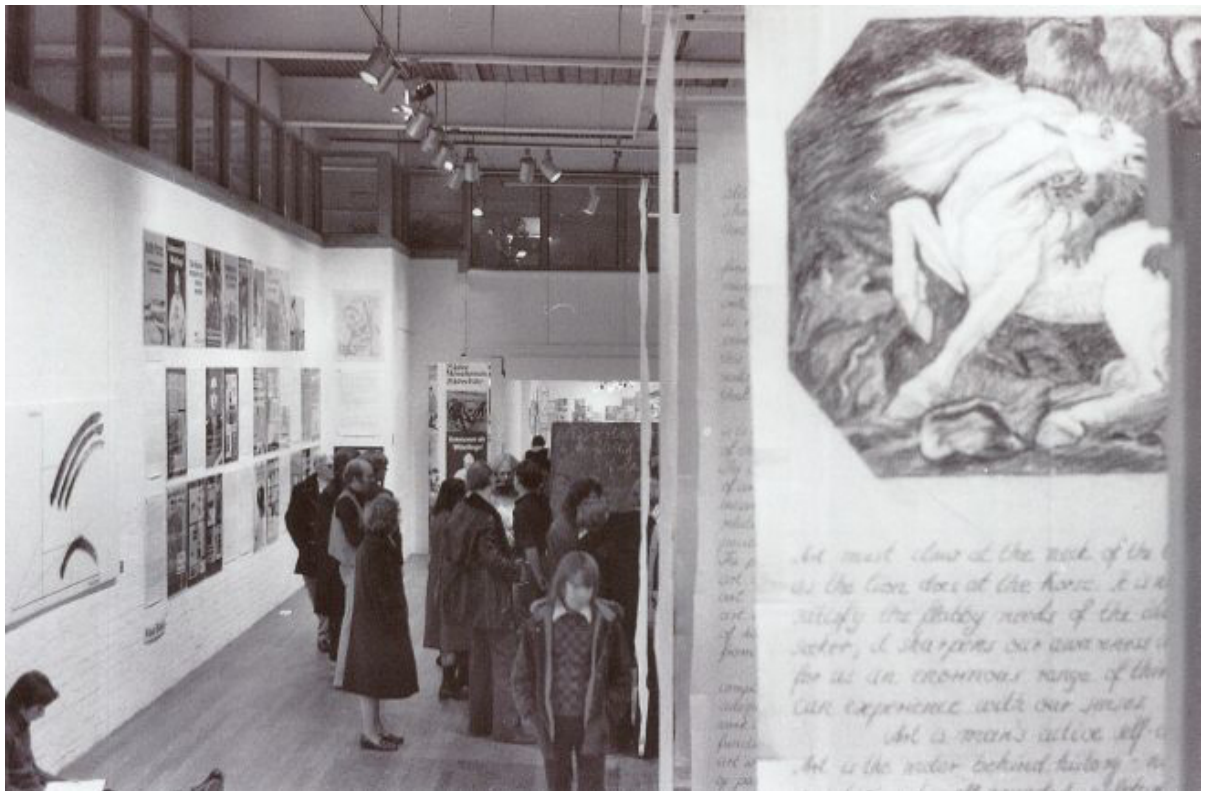
Figs 15-16. Installation images of *Art into Society - Society into Art* (ICA 1974). Left: photo by Martin Scutt, Archive Martin Scutt. Right: photo by Gerald Incandela, Norman Rosenthal Archive.

From the contact sheets in Rosenthal's archive it appears that as the spectator entered the exhibition they were confronted by a poster, designed by Dieter Hacker, announcing the title of the exhibition. This outside space also included photographs by Michael Reutz, a student of Sinology at the Free University of Berlin, who had photographed the student protests and lectures with Rudi Dutschke and Herbert Marcuse in the late 1960s. A selection of these images from the protests, along with photographs of the liberation army in Guinea-Bissau, was displayed in a grid on the Concourse. According to the organizers, these images acted 'as a counterpoint and as background to the contribution of the artists,'[661] and situated the exhibition within this political context.

Going down the steps into the gallery the first work you came across – on the left hand wall – was *Realkapital-Produktion* (Real Capital-Production) (1974) by K.P. Brehmer. Three panels of this work depicted graphical diagrams, painted in thick brush strokes, charting the relationship between labour, at times referring to the annual production in units of combine manufacturing (on the vertical axis); with the Marxist idea of Real Capital (on the horizontal axis); alongside a fourth explanation panel. The data for the paintings was drawn from Joan Robinson's *The Accumulation of Capital* (1969), whose approach blended economics with politics through description, rather than mathematics or differential equations.[662] Inspired by Keynes and Kalecki (via Marx), Robinson replaced static analysis with a dynamic system of 'real economy in motion'[663] by looking at short period analysis, rather than a more traditional historical study. Quoting from Robinson, and drawing on her approach to dynamic economics, Brehmer deliberately obscured the data, scribbling over the top of it, and leading the focus instead on the mediating language of painting, emphasizing how 'the "encoded" viewer sees only mediated reality'.[664] Brehmer's approach to adopting the visual language of the abstract painting gesture, a style familiar to gallery visitors, as well as referencing the language of corporate diagrams, illustrates his desire to modify 'creativity' through techniques of 'imitation', and as a challenge to bourgeois culture and its obsession with the origin of creativity.[665] It was way of encouraging spectators to perceive how in the 'art sphere [...] reality lies less in an object than in viewing this encounter from different positions',[666] by showing how these viewpoints mediate.

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[661] Rosenthal, 'The colloquium in Berlin', p.8

[662] Joan Robinson, *The Accumulation of Capital* (Third edition. Edn.; Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

[663] Bill Gibson, *Joan Robinson's economics: a centennial celebration* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2005), p107.

[664] KP Brehmer, unpublished project notes, n.d. in 'Kp Brehmer: Real Capital-Production (25 September - 30 November 2014)', ed. by Raven Row (London: Raven Row, 2014), unpaginated.

[665] Albrecht D. artist statement in *Art into Society – Society into Art,* p.62

[666] KP Brehmer, 'Interview', by Georg Jappe (London: Studio International March/April 1976), pp. 141-43.

This layering visual languages, which Brehmer has referred to as their 'quotation-character'[667] continued along the same wall, where visitors found Staeck's posters pasted from floor to ceiling and on circular columns.[668] A few of these were created for UK audiences, such as, *For Wider Streets – Vote Conservative*, in which a large Bentley squeezes down a narrow terraced street in Britain, whilst the majority of the posters commented on the right-wing Christian Democratic Party in West Germany, particularly targeting its leader Franz-Josef Strauss.[669] In one work, Strauss (the son of a butcher) is pictured as a butcher alongside the words *Entmannt Alle Wustlinge*! (Butcher All Libertines). The poster, which became the focus of Staeck's publication *Der Fall Staeck,* 'provoked a full-blown debate in the West German parliament and media about the freedom of artistic expression within a democracy.'[670] The challenge that posters like this presented to right-wing politics was developed in the way Staeck created and distributed his posters. All of the posters were published and sold cheaply through Edition Tangente (now online as Edition Staeck) through which they could be made accessible for protesters, youth groups, trade unions, and workers, and in this distribution the posters gained new meanings and new contexts.[671] As Staeck saw it, part of his challenge with the political poster was to remove its 'aura'. He achieved through its cheap and accessible distribution, in the way they were displayed (often on the street), but also in the way they were produced. Rather than using an original work, from which other posters could be made (as you find with montage), Staeck described how he produced his posters within the printer, using a process of offset printing. With this technique there was no original with which to compare the others, meaning that they were all produced with equal value. He described this process in technocratic terms, when 'an idea [is] […] discussed with the printer.'[672] The description of technology removing aura demonstrates his interest in the printing machine's agency within the democratic process of artistic production. Steack's approach to making therefore acknowledged, and drew creatively from, the production and distribution system of the machine.

Like Staeck, Albrecht D.'s distribution method – via his self-initiated Reflection Press – ensured his posters, postcards and pamphlets would be 'available to groups working in the political field as well as to those fighting a lone battle.'[673] At the back of the gallery,

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[667] Ibid, p.142.
[668] Along with the posters, Staeck displayed his postcards, which were sold by the ICA bookshop.
[669] Franz Josef Strauss was chairman of the right-wing Christian Social Union and held positions as the minister-president of the state of Bavaria.
[670] Evans and Gohl, *Photomontage: a political weapon*, p.9
[671] Klaus Staeck statement in *Art into Society,* p.88. The posters are still available on http://www.edition-staeck.de/ [accessed on 30 May 2016]
[672] Klaus Staeck, 'Interview', by Georg Jappe, translated by Barbara Flynn (London: Studio International, March/April 1976), pp. 137-40 (p.137).
[673] Albrecht D., statement in *Art into Society – Society into Art*, p.43.

Albrecht D.'s booklets and postcards were displayed along with 'wall-newspapers'.[674] This display, reflecting a studio environment, included a table and chair that could be moved around to allow visitors to sit and read the detail on the wall. The 'wall-newspapers' was a process he became familiar with growing up in East Germany, they comprised a 'puzzle' of found text, images, maps and his own findings from 'third world groups',[675] threaded together to form an A4 foldout. The main 'wall-newspaper' in *Art into Society* was *A working report on the origins of the Sahel documentation*, in which he drew attention to gaps in the causes, origins and long-term solutions in the press around the deforestation of the Sahel area of West Africa.[676] Through gathered material, rather than mainstream media, Albrecht D. illustrated how the causes of deforestation were a result of the French Colonial period, which had introduced monocultures (groundnuts and cotton) and livestock (cattle, goats, sheep, donkeys), ignoring the local approach of letting the land lie fallow for long periods between cultivation.[677] The effect of these changes was impoverished soil and an increased desertification in the Sahara region. Albrecht D.'s self-published ephemera and 'wall-newspapers' introduced the exhibition spectator to the importance of the personal, and with it ideas of identity. As he stated in the exhibition catalogue, he wanted to: 'ensure the spectator is confronted over a longer period of time with my presentation of the problem, and the space remains for him to fill in with his own thoughts on the matter.'[678] It was a proposition to the gallery visitor to do further research and actively engage with ecological issues through art.

Sharing this back area of the gallery was Haacke's *Manet-Projekt '74.* On the end wall was a framed reproduction of Édouard Manet's *Bunch of Asparagus* (1880), a work owned by the collection at the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum in Cologne, and on the adjacent wall were hung ten framed panels presenting the 'social and economic position of the various owners of the painting and the prices paid for it.'[679] This was the second display of the work that year. It had originally been proposed for PROJEKT '74 (July/August 1974), an exhibition showing work from the 1970s with the slogan 'Art Remains Art', at the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, but after this proposal was rejected by the panel and museum, it was shown in an alternative venue of Galerie Paul Maenz in Cologne (4-31 July, 1974). The framed 'CV's', as Haacke referred to them, which were essentially biographies about the previous owners of the Manet painting began with Charles Ephrussi, who had acquired the painting from the artist for 800 francs in 1880 and concluded with Hermann

[674] Ibid.
[675] Ibid.
[676] Ibid, p.42
[677] Ibid.
[678] Ibid, p.44.
[679] Hans Haacke, *Framing and Being Framed*, p.71.

J. Abs, who had 'handed over'[680] the painting to the museum on a permanent loan in 1968. Haacke's work was rejected from *PROJEKT '74* because the biographic details made visible Abs's role in the economic affairs of the Third Reich, as both chief of the Foreign Division and member of the executive committee for the Nazi-controlled Deutsche Reichsbank.[681] According to the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum's Director, Horst Keller, the work exposed Abs's 'social and economic standing'[682] when, as Keller believed, a museum 'knows nothing about economic power.' He suggested that rather than engage with politics a city and museum should be receptive to philanthropic donations. The display of this work was seen as an offer to visitors to question the controlling structures of institutions. This work has come to align the ICA's exhibition to Institutional Critique in large part because the extensive reflections of *Manet-Projekt '74* are often accompanied by Haacke's statement reprinted from the ICA catalogue.[683]

In the middle of the gallery the visitor found Beuys's three easels, sometimes with blackboards on them, with a Eurasian staff hanging off the top. Visitors knew that Beuys was in the gallery if his fur coat was hanging from a peg on the wall. As I noted earlier, this event is captured in sequential photographs on the contact sheets. Close to this area of the gallery, there was a name label for Gustav Metzger. His contribution, limited to the catalogue, included a manifesto calling on artists to withdraw from the art world during the period of 1977-80, by which time his utopian hope was that the existing 'production, distribution and consumption of art' would be replaced by 'more equitable forms for marketing, exhibiting, and publicizing art.' [684]

At the front of the gallery, hanging from the ceiling, was a constructed environment by Hacker titled *Art must claw at the neck of the bourgeois as the lion does at the horse,* an analogy to the George Stubbs painting *Horse Attacked by a Lion* (1765). The work involved an essay that was written out onto hand-painted cotton banners, with a different chapter on each banner. The essay analyzed art's ideal revolutionary political role in which '[a]rt is man's active self-determination'.[685] To accompany this theatrical installation, in the catalogue Hacker wrote about his Produzentengalerie as an example of the ways that individuals could challenge consumer society. The gallery, which had been the host for the colloquium, offered an alternative to what he saw as the separations

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[680] The terminology 'handed over' is taken from the translation of one of the panels in 'Manet-Projekt '74' and can be found in Haacke, *Framing and Being Framed,* p.88.
[681] Ibid, p.90.
[682] The letter from Dr Horst Keller, Director of Cologne Wallraf-Richartz-Museum to Hans Haacke in *Framing and Being Framed,* pp71-72.
[683] Rosenthal, 'Memorandum to members of the council of the ICA' (25 Feb 1974), Tate Archive, TGA 955/12/3/3.
[684] Gustav Metzger artist statement in *Art into Society*, p.79.
[685] Dieter Hacker artist statement in *Art into Society,* p.73.

between art and the public by engaging his audience with 'folk art', art by amateurs, and by encouraging people to '[d]o it yourself! No-one else will.'[686]

The process of mapping out the exhibition space accumulates knowledge for the purposes of constructing an archival exhibition, and enables me to relay this knowledge to visitors of the ICA in 2016. But in doing this – like the ICA - I fall into a trap, that Foucault warned against of pursuing origins. The ICA display in 2016 exposes a desire to be part of the canon, as Griselda Pollock stated, because the 'phallic logic […] offers us only the prospect of safety in sameness.'[687] The ICA is led to this sameness by connecting a mythological path to Beuys, whose anniversary coincided with the display in 2016, as well as to the canon of participative art, to the practice of research-based exhibitions, as well as to the originating moment of Institutional Critique. But beyond this circulation of sameness, within the archival detail of the artworks that have been less reflected on in the historiography there is a suggestion of another possible alternative connection through the role of media. Joachimides articulated how part of the ambition of the show was to foreground the importance of scrutinizing the 'artistic media' as a way to make art 'utilisable by all those who require them for political struggle.'[688] The photographs provide us with a new understanding of how this has become manifested. They introduce Brehmer's interest in quoting the mediating languages of painting and economics, Staeck's interest in the agency of the machine as a system of production to remove the idea of aura, and Albrecht D.'s proposition for audiences to conduct research and look for ecological links beyond the control of mainstream media. These works begin to touch social practice and participation, but by externalizing the systems of mediation in the making process.

In one or way or another all of the works propose an activation of the audience in a way we would now associate with the art of participation. By looking at the organization and context of the programme by the ICA, through the funding provided by the British Government and the Goethe Institute, we can understand what was meant by participation in political terms and how this was promoted, instrumentalized and materialized by the ICA.

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[686] Ibid.
[687] Pollock, 'About canons and culture wars', p.11.
[688] Joachimides, 'The truth must also be beautyful', p.24.

The German Programme

Art into Society was the main event in the ICA's German Programme, and the largest part of a London-wide *German Facets* season organized and part-funded by the Goethe Institute. The season's aim was to promote West German culture in Britain – as Director of the Goethe Institute, Klaus Schulz wrote, it would offer 'information and discussion [of] [...] artistic and political life in the Federal Republic of Germany'.[689] The German Programme at the ICA was a cultural initiative connected to Britain's entry into the European Economic Community in 1973 thanks to the Rippon Fund, initiated by the Foreign Office and named after the Conservative MP Geoffrey Rippon, to support and promote cultural exchange within Europe.[690] The French Programme was the first of the Rippon-funded programmes to take place at the ICA (organized and managed by Jonathan Benthall), introducing Structuralist theory through lectures with Derrida (8 March 1973) and Foucault (31 March 1973).[691] This was succeeded by the German Programme, which shifted a theoretic focus towards the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt, and the 'Anti-Authoritarian Movement'[692] of the late 1960s in Germany. As one part of the London-wide *German Facets* programme, *Art into Society* was framed through Schulz's description that the events would not focus on the 'finished product, already seen, approved and established, but rather the things in the process of evolving and being discussed in Britain just as much as in Germany.'[693] This move away from the 'finished product', combined with the 'Anti-Authoritarian Movement,' demonstrates the interest in creating proximity between the artist as an expressive individual and the audience. Schulz's statement, 'we should like the artists to be present',[694] from the perspective of the Goethe Institut an organization that was seen as a middleman between artists and bureaucracy, was channeled through *Art into Society* into a British context where it was manifested in talks, events and the physical presence of artists in the gallery.

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[689] German Programme booklet, Tate Archive, TGA 955/13/7/5. The programme included *Six From Germany,* an exhibition of contemporary art selected by Robert Kudeilka at the Serpentine Gallery, *From Picasso to Lichtenstein, Masterpieces from the Museum of 20th Century Art*, *Dusseldorf* at Tate Gallery and political and social lectures at the London School of Economics.

[690] In addition to £10,000 from the Foreign Office; £5,000 was also received from Bowater Corporation, through the ICA's connection with Michael Horseman; £686 from the Goethe Institute; and £300 from the German Embassy which specifically funded the Spielstrasse, a play-street in the theatre space. 'File containing organizational papers' (1974), Tate Archive, TGA TGA 955/12/3/3.

[691] A text in the ICA bulletin by Jean Marie Benoist titled 'The Loom of Language' frames the programme: 'The emphasis is now on the plurality of meaning, polysemy, where William Empson in *Seven Types of Ambiguity* has already pointed out many years ago. The quest for formal patterns is thus accompanied by an interpretative activity that respects the richness of the discourse under study.' ICA events booklet March 1973, 'Bound volume of ICA Calendar and 'ICASM'' (1971-73), Tate Archive, TGA 955/14/21.

[692] ICA Calendar, November 1974, 'Bound volume of 'ICASM', ICA Calendar and ICA Quarterly', (1974-1976), Tate Archive, TGA 955/14/22.

[693] German Programme booklet, Tate Archive, TGA 955/13/7/5.

[694] Ibid.

In the UK, closer proximity between the artist and the audience can be associated with an increasing interest in art's social purpose, something that is reflected in the types of exhibition the Arts Council began to champion at that time. The same week *Art into Society* opened, the Arts Council closed their 'Experimental Projects Committee' – due to the high volume of applications it was receiving – and replaced it with the department of 'Community Arts'.[695] This new committee were defined 'by their *attitude* towards the place of their activities in the life of society', within which their 'primary concern [was] their impact on a community and their relationship with it'.[696] At the same time, and in the wake of 1968 student protests, there was an increasing interest in exhibiting artworks involving participation. At Edinburgh College of Art, for example, Richard Demarco's staged *Strategy: Get Arts* (1971),[697] an exhibition that addressed art education 'as an object', stressing the importance of artistic freedom 'as a powerful defender of truth inherent in fairy tales'.[698] In the same year, *Inno 70 – Art and Economics* (1970-1971) was held at the Hayward Gallery, presenting an assessment of Artist Placement Group's (APG) first five years of activity. A central part of *Inno* was 'The Sculpture', a three-day discussion (in June 1971) around a table in the exhibition, between APG artists and industrialists, and their German equivalents. 'The Sculpture' was displayed behind a see-through plastic sheet, which Bishop has argued closed off engagement with the spectator, but this could equally have been exhibited in this way in order to communicate how the discussion was still in development, and therefore remained incomplete. These exhibitions have been referred to as part of the 'educational turn' or the 'social turn' in art, because of the way discursive interventions, that had previously been peripheral or hidden, became objectified in the exhibition as a focus for audiences. Bishop has argued that this is evidence of the instrumentalization of participation, represented by 'The Sculpture' in Inno, and in the Community Arts report, which turned 'activists into quasi employees'[699] of the state. According to Bishop this was in fact about showing the public what they were missing by not taking part in high culture. These are aspects we find in *Art into Society*, but it was also about demonstrating new models for their creative involvement, and there is a risk in Bishop's analysis that detail becomes decontextualized. *Art into Society,* for example, was conceived through the concept of

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[695] Community Arts Working Party., *Community Arts: The Report of the Community Arts Working Party*, June 1974 (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1974), p.38.

[696] 'Community arts: the report of the Community Arts Working Party June 1974', London: Arts Council of Great Britain. Claire Bishop has interpreted the result of this new department as activists to quasi employees of the state '…what came to define community arts was less an artistic agenda than a behavioural attitude or moral position'. *Artificial Hells*, p188.

[697] This was the first exhibition of Beuys in the UK, see 'Strategy, Get Arts: Edinburgh International Festival 1970 [Arranged by the Städtische Kunsthalle in Düsseldorf and the Richard Demarco Gallery, Edinburgh]', ed. by Edinburgh College of Art (Edinburgh: 23 August - 12 September 1970).

[698] Richard Demarco, 'Richard Demarco: Reflections on "Strategy: Get Arts" Plus an Anthology of Reaction from the Press', in *Pages International Magazine of the Arts* (Winter 1970), 9-10 (p.9).

[699] Bishop, *Artificial Hells*, pp.178-179.

catharsis and this has very different cultural and political associations in Germany than it did in the UK.

In the 1960s artists in 'eastern and western sectors of Berlin, developed related strategies [and] [...] art mediums, in directing their art toward a rating or mnemonic function.'[700] This critical approach to history in Germany, which John Paul Stonard has referred to as a 'historical turn', was particular to the generation of German artists who exhibited at the ICA. Implicated, but not involved in the Third Reich, they were trying to make sense, both creatively and politically, of their own national history by applying art history's 'subject matter [and] [...] techniques with strong national associations'.[701] By drawing on past social forms artists were developing a conversation with their own social, educational and iconographic history. Claudia Mesch refers to this as a 'commemorating or mnemonic function',[702] and describes how it is suggestive of the cathartic process that many German artists were encountering as they struggled to creatively process their national history. Often approaching this through performance or found object assemblage, they created 'a kind of unified artistic return to a specifically German avant-garde, Berlin Dada.'[703] As well as a mnemonic function within artworks, this reflecting back on history also became a practice adopted by cultural production as a way to challenge a nationalist construction of German culture. As Heinrich Böll wrote in Staeck's *Der Staeck Fall*, 'anyone who ever did any "German" cultural work will know [about] [...] overcoming certain psychological difficulties in relation the German history of 1933-45'.[704] For artists, and exhibition organizers, creating work in dialogue with their history and/or critiquing their own and others approach within a closed circle – such as a colloquium – was one solution. This format would provide 'solidarity in producers of culture', [705] rather than the solely individual expression against an, 'entirely leveled, perfectly smooth round picture' of German culture.

To achieve this access to truth, *Art into Society* used a 'closed'[706] colloquium focused on 'a critical analysis of the 1973 Hanover exhibition. The discussion began with individual opinions concerning 'outside criticism of the exhibition', followed by views of the participants at the colloquium on their own and others' contributions. They were then

[700] John-Paul Stonard, *Fault Lines: Art in Germany 1945-1955* (London: Ridinghouse, 2007), p.15.
[701] Ibid, p15.
[702] Claudia Mesch, 'Marking the Postwar City: Toward a Mnemonic Modern Art', in *Modern Art at the Berlin Wall: Demarcating Culture in the Cold War Germanys (*London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2008), p.47.
[703] Ibid, p.53.
[704] Heinrich Boll, 'How to Whip up an Issue', in *Der Fall Staeck*, translated by Sonke Faltien (Göttingen: Steidl, 1976), pp. 9-12.
[705] Lothar Romain, 'Little Perspective/Expectation of Unity', in *Der Staeck Fall* (Göttingen: Steidl, 1975), pp. 13-14.
[706] Joachimides, 'The truth must also be beautyful', p.12.

asked to 'criticize in retrospect [...] [their] own contribution.'[707] This reflective space was in part commemorative, enabling an opportunity for the problems of politics and culture to be addressed through the 'common concept'[708] of an exhibition, and was achieved in a way that invited awareness of how the audience engaged with the artworks, and therefore how they engaged collective audiences with political, artistic and social issues. Joachimides's essay for the ICA catalogue, poignantly titled 'The truth must also be beautyful' (sic) suggested that the cathartic process of the colloquium could locate the artistic impulse and expose 'the exhibition practices of institutions [through a] collective evolvement of an exhibition'. [709] It is telling that for the Hanover exhibition the point of discussion had been the struggle between German culture and politics; and for the ICA colloquium it was conceived in terms of 'developing the social and, thus by extension, the political language and context of art.'[710] What the colloquium participants wanted to repeat from Hanover was the idea of an active exhibition. They wanted to show how the artist could be active in society and create 'active stimulation' in the audience, either through their presence at events or by utilizing the artistic production in some way.

Creating an active exhibition was contrasted with *Kunst und Politik* (Art and Politics) (Kunstverein, Karlsruhe, 1970), which, through its inclusion of 'political iconography', the colloquium participants felt had made the 'recipient merely passive onlookers.' [711] By contrast, an active exhibition was defined as one that included political art, not as social realism or an advertisement for political opinion, but as one that aspired to having 'as direct a relationship to society as possible in the field of visual art'.[712] It would therefore attempt what had been left unfulfilled in Director of the Kunstverein, Georg Bussman's proposal in *Kunst und Politk*: 'that the [political] discussion could be successfully spread from the theoretician's sector, the sector of those professionally involved, i.e. to extend it from an elite to the recipient's sector.'[713] Making public the administration of the exhibition, as well as making visible for audiences an artist's thinking and making processes could provoke 'recipients' to consider a wider political debate outside of the exhibition. There was as a consequence not just a professionalization in the ICA of the figure of the curator, as Ben Cranfield has identified,[714] but more so perhaps a professionalization of audiences and spectatorship.

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[707] Rosenthal, 'The Colloquium in Berlin', p.6.
[708] Joachimides, 'The truth must also be beautyful', p13.
[709] Ibid, p.12.
[710] Rosenthal, 'The Colloquium in Berlin', p.7.
[711] Rosenthal, 'The Colloquium in Berlin', p.7.
[712] Joachimides, 'The truth must also be beautyful', p.43.
[713] *Kunst und Politik* (31 May - 16 August 1970), Badischer Kunstverein (Karlruhe) (ed.), Karlsruhe: Badischer Kunstverein, 1970.
[714] Cranfield, 'Between Anarchy and Technology', p.326.

As we see in the exhibition photographs, in a direct way many of the 'possibilities for action'[715] encouraged spectators to be productive in the way they read material on display or in the catalogue (Metzger and Albrecht D.), by reading as part of the process to decode the mediating languages of painting, economics and institutions, as we find with Haacke and Brehmer. Rogoff, for instance, described Haacke's work as a juxtaposition of the 'objective information and subjective decorative modes,'[716] between which the spectator had to navigate. Visitors could participate in Beuys' *Richtkräfte*, or were encouraged to 'do it themselves'[717] by Hacker. For Ruetz, direct contact with society could be realized through 'concerned photography',[718] in which he positioned himself as an active participant in the very protests that he was documenting. The exhibition visitors were informed about economics and art, institutional structures, ecological effects, conflicts in Northern Ireland, and politics in Germany in a way that brought various languages of mediation into consideration – from education, to art history, a collectors living room, a studio space and protest. But with this idea of an active audience, as we know from Ranciere, there is also the hierarchical suggestion that if the audience is not actively engaged then they are negatively seen as passively looking rather than acting or participating. Since this binary of passive and active was so central to the conception of *Art into Society* it exposes 'stultifying pedagogues [...] between two positions]' and demonstrates, as Ranciere has pointed out, that it is '[...] precisely the attempt at suppressing the distance [between passive and active] that constitutes the distance itself'.[719]

Ideas of 'truth' and artistic 'impulse' are associated with a redundant modern avant-garde belief in the veracity of the object. But these ideas of truth and impulse, for Joachimides, were reconnected in 1974 to an importance of individual expression in the relation between politics and art. He associated this with various strands of thought, from Dadaists involving themselves critically with history, and in relation to this Walter Benjamin's reflections on these shock techniques of Dada as a way to avoid the object of contemplation.[720] Joachimides also explored the approach in relation to Brecht's liquidation of aesthetics and this is particularly relevant to this reflection on the role of the exhibition audience. Brecht saw in *Epic Theatre* a 'cooling out' or 'freezing'[721] (*einfrosten*) of feelings in art that could be politically effective, rather than simply

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[715] Dieter Hacker, quoted by Rosenthal in 'The Colloquium in Berlin', p.8.
[716] Rogoff, 'Representations of Politics', p.135.
[717] Dieter Hacker artist pages in *Art into Society*, p.73.
[718] Michael Reutz artist pages; a separate unpaginated insert to *Art into Society*.
[719] Ranciere, 'The Emancipation of the Spectator', p.277
[720] Joachimides cites Benjamin twice in his essay, 'The truth must also be beautyful' both times referencing 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', pp.13 and 24.
[721] Roswitha Mueller, *Bertolt Brecht and the Theory of Media* (Lincoln, Neb; London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), p.5.

prompting aesthetic questions. Brecht looked to expose the illusionism that led theatregoers into a 'state of rapture[722]' and to refunctionalize the apparatus of theatre in a way that activated the audience by bringing together pleasure and productivity, 'entertainment and information.'[723] He suggested that: 'No longer a mass of consumers, the audience must be *literarisiert*, that is, informed and trained especially for the theatrical event in order to be productive.'[724] *Art into Society* on an organizational level employed this idea of refunctionalization from *Epic Theatre* by translating the techniques into a development of a critical attitude in audiences accessed by making public the processes of exhibition making. As a result, Brecht's theatrical scene is one that we can replace with the exhibition, where artistic strategies ranged from destroying the art system altogether, to showing economic and political structures behind collections, or to a staging of education.

Within the exhibition what we could call a Brechtian 'cooling out' necessarily involved avoiding audience identifications with singular subjects or characters, since this would inevitably arouse feelings. A ritualistic effect of the objective world we saw in Chapter One, through the oscillating moments created by shapes and light, offering a 'blossoming of an inner unconscious world'.[725] In *Art into Society* contemplation and subjective identification was avoided through Brechtian distancing techniques by showing the apparatus.[726] We see this quite literally, for instance, in the way photographs reveal the recording apparatus used during the colloquium. It is perhaps what Lynda Morris was referring to when she described the exhibition as 'unappetising […] professional and considered […] [the] exhibition acted as a platform for […] the catalogue.'[727] One of the issues Morris picks up on can be understood as the kinds of artwork on display, as well as the removal of a German political context in London and instead forming a reflection to the exhibition making process. A second and related issue is the construction of an active and critical audience since this perspective, as Ranciere argued, reinforces inequality between the hierarchical knowledge of the artist and curator to the ignorant audience. Rather than be directed by artist, curator, or the ideal exhibition, we can apply Ranciere's proposed rethinking of distance in terms of a personal learning experience of 'progressive instruction.'[728] My suggestion is that the active and the related self-reflection within *Art into Society*, constructed audiences in a contradictory way, this complicates

[722] Bertolt Brecht, 'Short Organon for the Theatre', in *Brecht on Theatre* (Third Edition), ed. by Steve Giles and Tom Kuhn Marc Silberman (London; New Delhi; New York; Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2015), pp. 229-64 (p.237).
[723] Ibid, p.237.
[724] Mueller, *Bertolt Brecht*, pp.24-25.
[725] Introduction to *Shapes and Forms*.
[726] Mueller, 'Brecht used the term apparatus as a broad category to include every aspect of the means of cultural production, from the actual technological equipment to promotion agencies, as well as the class that is in possession of the means of production. Thus the terminology itself points up the connection between culture and politics.' p.15
[727] Lynda Morris, 'Art into Society', Studio International, reprinted in *Der Fall Staeck*, p.200.
[728] Ranciere, 'The Emancipated Spectator,' p.275

our understanding of the art of participation more broadly and is something that is captured in the photograph we started the Chapter with.

The documentation of a film made of the colloquium was offered as an artwork for sale to a musuem. In a document written for the ICA Council by Rosenthal before his research trip to Germany in 1973, he described two main aspects of the exhibition. Whilst the second was 'political', the first was a focus on 'the multi-media aspect of post war German art' which had 'been much more thorough and successful in Germany than in England.' [729] In West Germany television networks and directors privileged film and video art as it was 'in keeping with the West German enthusiasm for – if not fetishism of – the 'newness' of media technology as a cornerstone of the 'Wirtschaftswunder', the economic miracle of Germany's recovery in the 1950's, driven, as Claudia Mesch has shown, by the 'counter force of East Germany'.[730] During the Cold War in Europe it was impossible to block television signals; as a result contemporary and modern art programmes were seen as a way to communicate cultural ideology across the Iron Curtain.[731] This multimedia aspect that had become associated with German artists was enticing for the ICA and would be manifested in the exploration of media by the artists as well as through the extensive documentation of the colloquium. By creating the ability to replay the discussion to the audience in the gallery in the exhibition, the organizers could increase the circulation of the colloquium conversation and its potential educative reach. The film would form part of the exhibitions interpretation, providing access to the 'truthful' motivations behind the exhibition as a whole, but it also had a potential commodity value. In a memorandum written by Rosenthal it was suggested that the film could be sold: 'a video is being made from film shot during the colloquium. It will be shown during the exhibition. After the exhibition it should be possible to sell the film to a museum or similar institution. It will have English commentary'.[732] The film's focus was, therefore, not just discursive insight, but it had value as a 'materially valuable art-object'.[733] As a consequence the photograph from the start mediates a stage of participation – silently, and at a distance from the active audience – thus inflecting how we read the exhibition historically. It presented one directed view and did not show, for instance, what was excluded.

Through this archival detail we have been considering and its relation to the German and British contexts we can begin to question why the art of participation has become such

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[729] 'Memorandum from Norman Rosenthal for the ICA Council' (13 December, 1973). Archive Norman Rosenthal.
[730] Mesch, *Modern art at the Berlin Wall*, p.229
[731] Ibid, p.206.
[732] Rosenthal, 'Report to the ICA Council', in 'File containing organisational papers' (1974), TGA 955/12/3/3.
[733] Curtis, *A history of artists' film and video in Britain*. p.60. At the time the Tate had only just begun to acquire films and this connection between the film as a form of interpretation would not have been unusual at the time since at this point film, video and photography acquisitions at the Tate came through the Education department.

an idealized form of art practice when, as we see here, it was also connected to notions of truth and artistic impulse. Contradictions come when we see that the interpretive video was also a potential artwork, or in the way the exhibition was itself a reflection back on the distance between intention and realization of artworks in *Art in the Political Struggle*. As a consequence of the translation from one exhibition to another, from Germany to Britain, political struggles relevant in Germany held different interpretations in the British context. These considerations indicate aspects that are embodied in the role of participation in this show – as well as to its developing discourse in relation to exhibition making. Highlighting exclusions then from the exhibition helps us to open the notion of participation back up to other potential connections.

And others

Two artists who took part in *Art in the Political Struggle* were either excluded or decided not to participate in the ICA show. One of these artists was Siegfried Neuenhausen's whose *Pay us a visit at your conveyor belt!* was an installation of mannequins holding protest placards, appearing like the staging of a worker's strike. In the German press it was considered as 'spectacular', and at the colloquium the participants described it as a 'rhetorical "set-piece" with little behind it.' [734] The other artist was Wolf Vostell who exhibited *Mania* in Hanover – an artwork that consisted of a pine tree surrounded by the rotting brain of an animal. Vostell was invited to participate in *Art into Society* but withdrew, according to Rosenthal, when his demands made over the telephone were rejected by the colloquium.[735] Vostell's demands remain unclear, and the reasons for excluding both of these artists appear minimal. But, as Bruce Fergusson has pointed out, absences from exhibitions like these are 'powerfully ideological and structural in their limited admissions.'[736] What we can read into these admissions is a desire to move away from spectacular visualizations or environments towards works that, as Rogoff has described, were more 'discursive [than] iconographic.'[737] The artists excluded would be replaced for the British context with Ruetz and Metzger, one of whom refused to participate in the traditional sense, and the other who was defined as a photographer rather than an artist and thus excluded from the list of seven participating artists and with his work marginalized to the Concourse and placed in an interpretive context.

These changes between the Hanover and London exhibition, of removing the spectacular and materially visceral, are perhaps evidence of the Brechtian avoidance of identification,

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[734] Rosenthal, 'The colloquium in Berlin', p.7.
[735] Rosenthal, 'The colloquium in Berlin', p.7. Vostell was in Bremen at the time.
[736] Ferguson, 'Exhibition Rhetorics: Material Speech and Utter Sense', p.178
[737] Rogoff, 'Representations of Politics', p.125.

that Joachimides aligned the exhibition to, and a questioning of this approach appeared to be something that was highlighted by artists who participated in London, beyond the institutional frame. A symposium with *Art into Society* artists and organizers took place the day after the opening, at which objections were raised regarding the exclusions and misrepresentations. Stuart Brisley performed a protest, reading out a list of artists who were involved in social and political issues in London but excluded from the ICA's programmes, asking why 'London gave the opportunity for a public platform to German artists before English artists?' [738] As he has since reflected, reading out the list was a reaction to the obsession at the time with individuality and his aim to was to reverse this by using 'the self to project notions about [groups] [...] rather than individuals'[739] – an open action that we could say is truly participative. Rasheed Araeen was also at the symposium, and objected to the ICA's use of the term 'international' in its promotion of the exhibition. He saw this as 'the Euro-American situation'[740] of art and politics, an imperialist term that, as a legacy from colonialism, both excluded and dominated the Third World. He argued that what should be recognized was how European and American history had been built on the foundations laid by black workers.[741] Araeen pointed out that the artists in the exhibition were not working individually, but were representatives of so-called official German culture. As an alternative he proposed to insert his work into the exhibition by writing a letter titled 'Conspiracy for Silence' (signed, 'A Black Artist from the Third World').[742] He sent one copy to Tisdall at *The Guardian*, frustrated by her exclusion of his comments from her review of the symposium, and one to Rosenthal, asking for it to be included in the exhibition. Both letters were ignored, and a further silenced Araeen distributed his statement in *AMPN9*, February 1975, and posted 1,500 copies to people in the art world.

Noting these exclusions underlines the problem of idealizing a show like *Art into Society* in terms of its possessing the purity of 'origin'. Both Brisley and Araeen highlighted in different ways how the desire to find a shared approach to cultural production, in fact contained a return to notions of the individual, and to national identity. This was an 'inherent paradox of Beuys's collaborative and participatory political practice', as Frieling has noted, in the way it was 'ultimately driven by the artist's persona',[743] where making a passive audience active created 'a gap [...] between the perception of an artistic experience as inherently open and the proclaimed activation of that process.'[744] The

[738] Lynda Morris, *Art into Society: Society into Art* review, Studio International (Jan/Feb 1975).
[739] William Furlong, *Audio Arts: Discourse and Practice in Contemporary Art* (London: Academy Editions, 1994), p.59.
[740] Rasheed Araeen, *Making Myself Visible*, p.67.
[741] Ibid, p.67.
[742] See *Making Myself Visible*, 'Conspiracy for Silence' is reprinted in full, p.67.
[743] Frieling, 'Toward Participation in Art', p.41
[744] Ibid, p.44.

interruptions of Brisley and Araeen, can therefore be read as an example of Frieling's description of 'the audience's frustration, anger, or disinterest'[745] at the didacticism of the organisers and Beuys (the dominant artwork in the exhibition) in the way they make present aspects that are clear in the exhibition, such as the lack of critique of the hosting institution, and an unquestioning approach to funding agendas. The response to their interaction is equally telling. The silence that Araeen identified is still retained; there is no reference to Araeen or Brisley in relation to *Art into Society* in the ICA archives, although their involvement has since been recorded, historicized and distributed outside of the exhibition's history. Showing their participation in the exhibition demonstrates, as Pollock has pointed out, how 'that which is repressed is always present as a structuring other.'[746] The same process of idealizing origins is evident in the mythology surrounding Beuys's work and can be played out through a metaphorical dialogue with Metzger.

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[745] Ibid.
[746] Pollock, 'About Canons and Culture Wars', p.8.

Fig 17. Stuart Brisley at the ICA conference (1 November 1974). Photo by Gerald Incandela, Norman Rosenthal Archive.

Fig 18. Discussions between Beuys and Metzger in *Art into Society – Society into Art* (ICA 1974). Photo by Gerald Incandela, Norman Rosenthal Archive.

Beuys and Metzger

After the exhibition, the Nationalgalerie in Berlin bought *Richtkräfte* for 190,000 DM from Rene Block Gallery in New York, where it now holds the 'aura' of participation. Its reification is not something that happened post-exhibition but was in fact present at the time, and points to the central dialectic in the exhibition that can be found in a metaphorical dialogue between Metzger and Beuys. Beuys's approach was, to use Rogoff's phrase, neither modern or postmodern but 'non-Modern' in the way it demonstrated 'a refraining from invention in favour of exploring anew the common personal and national experience.'[747] As part of this, Beuys's aim was to expand the category of art by looking backwards as well as forwards and, as part of this, valuing the audience as co-producers of work. For Metzger, any participation in the exhibition was in order to destroy the art system, and he called on others to do the same. The ideologies of both artists shared a concern with activating the audience, but their approaches differed, with Metzger taking an anti-hermeneutic approach, and Beuys taking one of excessive presence, thus revealing a dialectic that is reflective of the tensions in the exhibition.

In refusing to include 'an art work as such', [748] the effect of Metzger's contribution was the visibility it brought to the presence and voice of the artist. He could often be found in the exhibition talking with the audience or other artists. Alongside his physical presence he contributed to the catalogue, as noted above, in which he wrote a statement calling on people to exit the art world between 1977-80.[749] During this time they could replace making art with spending time on 'numerous historical, aesthetic and social issues facing art.'[750] His contribution demonstrated how this might work: he spent two months in the summer leading up to the exhibition in the Victoria and Albert Museum library, compiling and writing an extensive art dealer bibliography that included over 180 books, journals, magazine articles and essays. Grouped by category, this work mirrored the social scene of the international art market, and included biographies of dealers with marketable titles such as 'The LSD of Art' (1970), 'The Art Game' (1967), 'A tour of a boiling market in beauty: the fabulous prices, the biggest spenders, the "laws" they obey' (1955).[751] He made a suggestive link between this literature and political art questions, and comparative data on the increase in nuclear warheads per city between the USA and USSR. These destructive warheads are reflected on through an examination of Van Gogh's *Self Portrait with Bandaged Ear* (1889), illustrating the moment after he removed his ear,

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[747] Rogoff, 'Representations of Politics', p.130.
[748] Rosenthal, 'The colloquium in Berlin', p.10.
[749] By positioning the call in the future he also resisted the work being immediately historicized.
[750] Metzger artist statement in *Art into Society*, p.79.
[751] For the full 'Art Dealer Bibliography', see Metzger's artist pages in *Art into Society*, pp.82-85.

and Chris Burden's *SHOOT* (1971), documentation of the moment just before the artist was shot in the arm by a friend. When combined, these two examples from art history, both depicting representations of self-destruction, create a proposition for destruction as a creative act.

Andrew Wilson has framed this approach by Metzger as 'a presentation of a subject that eludes representation together with a strategy for political action and belief – one that fights orders of representation.'[752] Rather than representing his ideas or actions through an artwork, Metzger in this instance chose what Rob Flint has called a Modernist approach to 'now-ness', [753] along the lines of Charles Baudelaire's crisis of experience. Metzger – like the illustrator Constantin Guys who Baudelaire saw as the epitome of modern life – acts as an 'observer of, and commentator on, contemporary life.'[754] Instead of containment he presents contingency through a gathering of material, from nuclear bomb data, to art historical images and library research. In doing this Metzger smashes representation, instead offering in his own words, 'thousands of dialectical pin-pricks whose cumulative impact could be revolutionary'.[755] By refusing to provide an object for representation in *Art into Society* (as, in simple terms, there was no object to document, only his name label on the wall), Metzger provided his physical presence and information as the alternative.

In a direct sense, Metzger's call to action failed; only one person, Stewart Home, took up the utopian challenge as a kind of homage. But perhaps this wasn't a literal call, but a proposition to the art world to imagine what it might look like without its existing institutional structures.[756] By highlighting this, and in the ways that the work has been reprinted, published and referenced (although always within the existing art system), it was successful. What this alternative distribution, as well as Metzger's own refusal to provide an object therefore enables us to see, are the problems in the hermeneutic study of exhibitions – by revealing what is left unsaid. In highlighting the importance of data and the idea of absence, Metzger's proposition can remind us of these other silences we have been reflecting on, Araeen, Brisley; the spatial separation of Ruetz; the exclusions of Vostell and Neuenhausen; and the complete absence of female artists. These are not marginal aspects, but can act as the structuring other to the exhibition's story and its

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[752] This is an opinion that is shared by Justin Hoffman who writes specifically about his pages in the ICA catalogue: 'Metzger did not want his catalogue contribution to be a cure-all: he wanted to stimulate a general discussion on the situation of artists in the art system', Andrew Wilson, 'Gustav Metzger: A Thinking against Thinking' in *Gustav Metzger: Retrospectives,* ed. by Ian Cole (3; Oxford: Museum of Modern Art Papers, 1999), p.73.

[753] In 1948 in Antwerp Gustav Metzger read Baudelaire, Huysmans and Nietzsche. Andrew Wilson, 'Gustav Metzger: A Thinking against Thinking', p.73.

[754] Rob Flint, 'Metzger's Techno Landscape', in *Gustav Metzger: Retrospectives*.

[755] Gustav Metzger, *Auto-Destructive Art*, pp.6-7.

[756] Stewart Home's strike took place between 1990-1993 see: *The Art Strike Handbook and Art Strike Papers* (London: Sabotage, 1989).

relationship to participation. If we take Metzger's refusal and the challenge it offered to the contextualization of history, we can use it as a way to consider the dialectic of product and process in the exhibition and consider how it participates in the present moment. For example, in my research for the *Art into Society* display at the ICA, although I read Metzger's contribution in the catalogue, I can visit *Richtkräfte* at the Hamburger Bahnhof in Berlin.

Hamburger Bahnhof

I walk through a number of galleries on the ground floor of the Hamburger Bahnhof, past installations and earlier examples of Beuys's work, to reach *Richtkräfte*. The 'environment', as it is described, stands in the middle of the room on a plinth or 'dais'. The installation includes blackboards, three easels, and Beuys's Eurasian staff. As I walk around the object I can see references on the blackboards to Ireland; Derry is drawn as 'the Brain of Europe'. Other visible topics include a 'social organism', 'show your wound' and 'searching for a field character'.[757] Around the outside of the plinth are two text panels; one provides the details of the work and the other, written by Tisdall and titled 'Directional Forces for a New Society' (1979), describes the work's trajectory, from its roots at the ICA as a 'stage' for action, its transformations in New York where it became an 'environment' with the staged action completed, its position behind glass at the Venice Biennale, and finally as an artwork with 'museum status' at the Nationalgalerie.[758] This text is accompanied by a video made in 1977, of *Richtkrafte*'s first installation at the Hamburger Bahnhof, showing Beuys working with the museum curators and technicians to install the artwork. These interpretative materials make us question whether we are looking at the work's genealogy from the ICA, or whether it has a new moment of origin at the Hamburger Bahnhof in 1977.

The various transformations of *Richtkräfte*, between 1974-77, told by Joachimides, Tisdall and others – and crucially led by Beuys – emphasize and disperse the idea of the original moment by highlighting display changes, additions and removals, as well as the shifting relationship to the spectator. These therefore suggest – as Foucault commented on genealogy – that '[w]hat is found at the historical beginning of things is not the inviolable identity of their origin; it is the dissension of other things. It is disparity.'[759] In the display at the Nationalgalerie there is an emphasis on its arrival at the museum and

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[757] For photographs and analysis of the individual blackboards see Barbara Lange, *Joseph Beuys: Richtkräfte Einer Neuen Gesellschaft* (Berlin: Reimer, 1999).
[758] Tisdall, 'Directional Forces for a New Society' (1979), gallery label in the Hamburger Banhhof, seen by the author December 2015.
[759] Foucault, 'Nietzsche, Genealogy, History', p.142.

screened alongside the work. Tisdall's gallery text reinforces this, it refers to this arrival as its 'final transformation',[760] a notion supported by the documentary video, recorded for potential future historical recovery. These forms of mediation create a new mythology around the work's moment of re-institionalization at the museum. Here interpretation focuses on 'the hidden meaning in an origin', [761] rather than just a 'series of interpretations', which might have been possible – for instance – by including a range of reception materials to demonstrate the position of the spectator in relation to the work. The stage, environment, artwork or sculpture, has become contained in its own genealogy; as something constantly associated with the work.[762] If participation can be measured by 'the extent to which a work generates an ongoing engagement, as opposed to the provocation of an end',[763] as Frieling has suggested, then in some ways this work is no longer participative. Instead it becomes emblematic of the objectification of participation and social practice. But, just as we find in the archive or with audience frustration with participative artworks, which Frieling argues occurs when art becomes more didactic. There are, however, elements in the space that still provide forms of active participation.

Richtkräfte was publicly conserved in 2013. At this point, as with all areas of the museum, a hygrothermograph was installed in the gallery for conservational purposes. The hygrothermograph is a sensor-based information platform that continually charts fluctuations in the gallery environment relating to humidity, temperature, light and vibration. Based on the 'ideal' conditions of the artwork; stable with little fluctuation, any 'stresses it encounters'[764] will be sent to an IT platform alerting the museum conservators. The hygrothermograph presents an interesting parallel to Beuys's blackboards. Where the blackboard was used as an institutional and commemorative form of education, the hygrothermograph is a system employed by the institution. Both the hygrothermograph and *Richtkräfte* use diagrams as a system to chart interaction and distribute power '[...] non-discursively and in various forms across society'.[765] The diagram becomes 'a way of understanding visually the flow of signals in a structural way.'[766] But in *Richtkräfte* the diagrams retained their authorial position, led and quite literally directed by Beuys, with their sub-title *Directional Forces for a New Society*. In the hygrothermograph, a system records the environment that surrounds and encompasses

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[760] Tisdall, 'Directional Forces for a New Society' (1979), gallery label.
[761] Foucault, 'Nietzsche, Genealogy, History', p.151.
[762] Beuys anticipated that the artwork could be collected by a museum by sending technicians out to buy hairspray to fix the blackboards.
[763] Frieling, 'Toward Participation in Art', p.40.
[764] The Hamburger Bahnhof uses the Artguardian system: http://artguardian.com/en/ [accessed 20 June 2015]
[765] Jussi Parikka, 'Archives in Media Theory: Material Media Archaeology and Digital Humanities', in *Understanding Digital Humanities*, ed. by David M. Berry (Hampshire; New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), pp. 84-104 (p.99).
[766] Ibid.

the artwork where spectator interaction is hosted and charted, but in a fully distributed sense that sits outside of individualized experience.

Conclusion: the video screen

Showing the making of the exhibition and the conceptualization of 'projects' to audiences in *Art into Society* was a way to make them aware of potential 'models' for their own position as a political subject; it was part of a professionalization of the spectator. But the outcome of this was also driven by the desire to create a representable product. This is found in the historical commemoration of *Richtkräfte* since 1974, the inclusion of a 'Retrospective' section about the Hanover exhibition in *Art into Society*, as well as in the offer to sell the film of the colloquium to a museum, and it is from this edited film that we located the dialectical image that was examined at the start. This image freezes the temporality of the film, framing the colloquium, and reflecting tensions within the exhibition. As we find with Benjamin's dialectical image, the photograph of the colloquium appears to be both '"of" the commodity' and when it is removed from its historical context it 'now represents [the] hope and the expressive quality of the commodity itself, in a reversed context.'[767] It's doubling shows the cycle of repetitions from commodity capitalism that reappear throughout the exhibition. In the filmed discussion it is the arrangement and organization that were valued, but the image 'stages' the discussion for the purposes of the display. This offers contradictions to the art of participation that have been considered throughout this Chapter. In reference to selected traces of *Art into Society,* Rogoff suggested that artworks like these demonstrate something 'discursive as opposed to an iconographic tradition'.[768] This is true in many ways, particularly in relation to politically activating the spectator, and to the approach the organizers of *Art into Society* took to create an active exhibition. But once we see the artworks in relation to the subjective 'time' of the spectator and the exhibition, it is evident that there was also a new iconography being produced out of this relational process. In the staging of participation – as we find in the colloquium photograph – there was an invitation to identify with a new hegemonic form, which took the shape of exhibition making.

As Benjamin found in the 'trash of history'[769] it is the silent details – the complete absence of women other than Caroline Tisdall; the ICA's problematic use of the term 'international'; the marginalizing of photography; the exclusion of certain artists over

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[767] Pensky, 'Method and time: Benjamin's dialectical images', p.187.
[768] Rogoff, 'Representations of Politics', p.125.
[769] Benjamin, *Arcades*, 461; n2, 6 and n2, 7.

others; the refusal to participate, that become *Art into Society's* 'structuring other'.[770] For example, artists who have been less referenced in the exhibition's historiography, including Albrecht D., Ruetz, Staeck, Hacker and Brehmer, present us with a more mediatized experience. Staeck drew on the agency of the machine in his visual description of art history, Brehmer drew *over* the mediating languages of both abstract painting and economics, and Albrecht D. offered a relationship through alternative forms of distribution as a comment on mainstream media. As Joachimides has noted, there was a catharsis in the colloquium for participants that could only come from a 'scrutiny of [their] own artistic media'.[771] This had particular relevance for the German artists who took part, and was something that artists in Britain were beginning to engage with. To understand this the gallery visitor was required to read mediated languages, or at least actively engage with finding out more about them.

The spectators watched participation on the screen, they participated in the mediatized reading processes in the exhibition, and through this there was potential for them to become socially and politically active. But in many ways these offerings were still given at a distance of moving the binary of passive to active spectatorship. What is missing from this 'allegory of inequality', and what becomes clear through Ranciere and by considering the absences mentioned above, is the gap of personal or subjective narratives, as Ranciere puts it, 'spectators who are active interpreters, who render their own translation, who appropriate a story for themselves, and who ultimately make their own story out of it.'[772] I have tried to show how the presence of myself as the historian and mediating nature of history is one way to find, as Foucault articulated, 'the kind of dissociating view that is capable of decomposing self',[773] here through the hygrothermograph in the Hamburger Bahnhof, or in the screening of the exhibition's 'emblematic' images. This plays between the tensions as interior and exterior to the cultural narrative – not as an ideal, but by showing the process of historicizing within the making of exhibitions. It is an approach that as we will see in the final Chapter, in 1986 was not so much 'effective' as *affective* as there is the idea of decomposition is tied to an increasing awareness of audience subjectivity.

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[770] Pollock, 'About canons and culture wars', p.8.
[771] Joachimides, 'The truth must also be beautyful', p.24.
[772] Ranciere, 'The Emancipated Spectator', p.280.
[773] Foucault, 'Nietzsche, Genealogy, History', p.153.

Fig 19. Helen Chadwick, test piece for *Wall of the City of Palms* (ICA 1985)

Chapter Five:

Turning towards the subject:
Helen Chadwick's 'Black bags of goo' (1986)

> 'There is a fracture. I can no longer overlook the photographic surface. I become
> aware that the photographic process comes in between, that it intervenes, that it
> stands in the middle. In the middle … the mediate… the medium… the signifier…
> the means… mediation. I become aware that the window, as it were, frames,
> constructs, the view seen. Quietly I ask myself: as the spectator am I also
> framed?'[774]

<u>Introduction</u>

The exclusion of artists, subjects and, at times, individuals from *Art into Society - Society into Art* and my own inability to identify with the artworks in the exhibition, by the 1980s was an exclusion we can see being readdressed through programmes at the ICA. For the *Art into Society* artists and organizers questions of cultural identity had arisen through a dialectical opening up and resisting of national German identity as well as in relation to the social conscience of art. In the 1980s thinking beyond the Cartesian ontology of the Self and the Other was led by an interest in reflecting on identity in relation to the social as well as personal constructions of the self. In discussions and exhibitions, as well as their subsequent dispersal, the ICA played an important role in the concept of identity in cultural studies, humanities and social sciences, bringing pluralist approaches to audiences. At one ICA event in 1986, the conference *Identity: the real me*, Homi Bhaba reflected on the '… vanishing point' between two notions of identity: '…the philosophical tradition of identity as the process of self-reflection in the mirror of (human) nature: and the anthropological view of the difference of human identity as located in the division of Nature/Culture.'[775] Bhaba demonstrated how in postcolonial theory 'identity returns as a persistent questioning of the frame, the space of representation, where the image – missing person, invisible eye, Oriental stereotype – is confronted with its difference, its

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[774] Yve Lomax, 'Re-visions', in *Re-visions: Fringe interference in British photography in the 1980s*, ed. by P. Buchler. Published to accompany the exhibition at Cambridge Darkroom (13 July to 25 August 1985), unpaginated.
[775] Homi Bhaba, 'Identity', in *Identity: the real me*, ed. by L. Appignanesi (London: Institute of Contemporary Art, 1987). p.5.

Other.' [776] According to Bhaba, the binary, which he aligns to conceptions of origins and accumulation and the voyeuristic desire for a 'fixity of sexual difference and the fetishistic desire for racist stereotypes', can be re-thought through doubling and ambivalence. Drawing on the semiotic play of the signifier in the space of representation he describes how we can instead articulate how, 'uncertainty or undecidability [...] circulates through the processes of language and identification.'[777]

Through this thesis my approach has been to locate techno-cultural moments, not entirely believing Ernst's proposition that 'signal processing will replace discourse and cultural semiotics in the age of (new) media,' but recognizing that 'signal processing' should at least be incorporated into the ways in which we read history.[778] The risk however in this technological approach is that issues central to identity studies, referred to by Zielinkski as the 'sovereignty of the flesh,'[779] could be ignored. This Chapter confronts this problem by reconciling a desire not to 'reviv[e] the strong subject,'[780] that some media theorists argue cultural studies is directed towards, with the problematic of excluding 'the subject' - or as Stuart Hall puts it 'the process of subjectification'[781] - that was so important to post-colonial, feminism, gender studies and 'racialized subjectivity'[782] at this moment of the 1980s. Bhaba's ideas discussed at the ICA in 1986 suggested identity could be considered through ambivalence, doubling and articulations, and this is key to how I approach this complexity in this Chapter in which I combine the discursive approach of media with the subjectivity in cultural studies. As Stuart Hall summarized: 'precisely because identities are constructed within, not outside, discourse, we need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies.'[783] One way to do this I propose is to consider the 'play of specific modalities of power'[784] both within and outside of the ICA's mediation at this time.

In the previous Chapter I explored the effects of being drawn into the hidden origins of an exhibition's history, which I argued was a dominant narrative in *Art into Society*, and that this was screened to audiences and myself in the photograph of the paused monitors. I

[776] Ibid, p.5. Bhaba introduces this idea through two examples from literature, Adil Jussawalla's *Missing Person* (Bombay: Clearing House, 1976); and Jim Meiling's 'Strangers in a Hostile Landscape,' in *Watchers and Seekers*, ed. by Cobham and Collins, (London: The Women's Press, 1987) pp.126-7.
[777] Ibid, p.7.
[778] Wolfgang Ernst, 'Let There Be Irony: Cultural History and Media Archaeology in Parallel Lines', p.39.
[779] Siegfried Zielinski, 'Preface', to *[... After the Media]: News from the Slow-Fading Twentieth Century*, translated by Gloria translator Custance (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), p.1. His use of flesh is a reference to *Mute* magazine's *Anthology of Cultural Politics After the Net: Proud to be Flesh*, 2009.
[780] Ibid.
[781] Stuart Hall, 'Introduction: Who Needs 'Identity'?', in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. by Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay (London; California; New Delhi: SAGE Publications, 2003 (first published 1996)), pp.1-17 (p.2).
[782] Ibid, p.5.
[783] Hall, p.4.
[784] Ibid.

offered an alternative in the excluded role of media and in the silencing of artists in the exhibition's historiography and subsequent archiving. Here, in the 1980s questions of identity taking place at this historical moment of cultural history are explored through the use of technology and through one artists play with an exhibition's mediation. My proposal is not to ignore the reasons *why* identity was questioned, debated and critiqued in the 1980s, but to recalibrate the concept of identity in terms of identifications, drawing on Hall's suggestion that identifications are '...a process of articulation, a suturing, an over-determination not a subsumption.'[785] I address identifications as 'never completed - always in "process"'[786] thinking through the use of technology, media and materiality in programming at the ICA in 1986 and 1987 alongside historically congruent theoretical concerns. My aim is to consider the limits of viewing moments in cultural history as singular and fixed to their historic point because, as Stuart Hall and David Bailey recognized looking back at this moment:

> 'It is perfectly possible that what is politically progressive and opens up new discursive opportunities in the 1970s and 1980s can become a form of closure - and have a repressive value - by the time it is installed as the dominant genre [...] It will run out of steam; it will become a style; people will use it not because it opens up anything but because they are being spoken by it, and at that point, you need another shift.' [787]

What Bailey & Hall identified in 1992 are the effects of historicizing to a particular point in time ideas of identity and subjectivity when they are in fact something always in process. My suggestion is that in this instance we can relocate these ideas coming out of the ICA with somatic and technological identifications in a way that ensures we retain the idea of identifications and subjectivity 'in process'.

In this final Chapter I return to the historical point the thesis began with in the early 1980s, to consider how the Institute was itself becoming a historical object of reflection. As we considered in Chapter One, Director of the ICA Bill McAlister in the 1980s introduced plans to ensure the ICA's memories were conserved and accessible for the future. He secured funding from the Gulbenkian Foundation and Pilgrim Trust, which enabled the ICA to support an archivist, Jane Attala, and researcher, Anne Massey, to

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[785] Ibid, p.3. This is an approach shared by Lawrence Grossberg, 'Thus, my project is not to escape the discourse of identity but to relocate it, to rearticulate it by placing it within the larger context of modern formations of power.' Grossberg,. 'Identity and Cultural Studies - Is That All There Is?' in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, pp.87-107 (p.88).
[786] Ibid, p.3.
[787] David A. Bailey and Stuart Hall ed., 'Critical Decade: Black British Photography in the 80s', in special issue, Ten.8 2 (Spring 1992), p.15.

work on cataloging the archive.[788] The V&A and the Tate were invited to make proposals to acquire the archive. After McAlister left, in 1990, whilst the organization was under the directorship of Mik Flood, the ICA archive (1947-1987) was purchased by the Tate in 1994 for £80,000.[789] At the point when the archive arrived at the Tate - like any purchase of an artwork by a museum that is acquired based on its relevance to the collections policy - the ICA's history became a representative example of British contemporary arts institutions and was framed with start and end dates of 1946 and 1987. I would argue that this moment of acquisition and relocation within another institution signifies a point at which the ICA became canonized in art history and reframed by this historical time period. It's particularly significant that this cut-off date of 1987 (which was very likely an arbitrary decision based on what material could be available at the point of acquisition) has so frequently appeared as an important date for the development of exhibition histories.   In the previous Chapter, for instance, many of the texts referencing Institutional Critique or that would come to form part of the key exhibition histories anthology - *Thinking About Exhibitions* - were published as papers on or around 1987/88. This was before the term curator was used, or before contemporary art became the dominant term to describe recent and current artistic practice. As such we can perhaps see that these ideas of historical reflection were not happening in isolation but were part of a broader recursiveness developing in cultural theory and programming.[790] There are also important connections to be made between the increased interest in memory from theoretical and cultural perspectives and the parallel rise of portable and domestic technology in the 1980s and this Chapter brings some of these ideas together by taking the historical moment of 1987, which marks the end point of the ICA archive at Tate; and 1986, the year *Identity: the real me* was programmed, and the year Helen Chadwick's *Of Mutability* was exhibited*.

In 1985 Helen Chadwick approached the Director of Exhibitions at the ICA Declan McGonagle (1980-1986) with her proposal for *Of Mutability*.[791] She was interested in the upstairs Nash rooms, since they suited her interest in architecture, Bavarian churches and Rococo style. In one room *The Oval Court* was shown, a blue Formica platform raised on 225mm above the gallery floor,[792] covered in blue toned photocopies made from Chadwick's body, live and dead animals, fruit, drapes, lace and other collected objects.

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[788] Ingrid Swenson arrived later to work on the archive.

[789] See Management Archive, in the Management file dated from 1977, ICA archive at the ICA. The ICA appear to have been persuaded that the Tate would be the best location for the archive after Nicholas Serota became director.

[790] For insight to interest in memory in cultural studies see, Kerwin Lee Klein, 'On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse', in *Representations*, No. 69 (2000), pp.127-50.

[791] During the exhibition James Lingwood replaced Delcan McGonagle in managing exhibitions, who was then replaced by Andrea Schleiker.

[792] The entire installation of *The Oval Court* was 600 x 600 x 32 mm. See gallery plan and letter from Philip Stanley to Mr George Porter of Tate Access Floors (3 February 1986), Tate Archive, TGA 955/7/7/59 folder 1 of 2.

Balanced on the top of this platform were golden spheres made from turned plywood and finished in gesso, gold size and gold leaf. Surrounding the walls of the gallery were y twisting Salomonic columns[793] drawn in blue using computer-aided design (CAD). At the top of the columns, peering down like gargoyles, were enlarged photo-booth self-portraits of Chadwick weeping.

In the second adjacent upstairs gallery, visitors encountered *Carcass,* a spot lit glass column[794] filled with the left overs of objects that appear in *Oval Court,* and a compost collected over six months from Chadwick's neighbours' houses on Beck Road, East London. Open at the top, the smell of rotting kitchen and garden waste leaked out into the gallery. When the ICA tried to move *Carcass* – following complaints about the smell – the structure collapsed, oozing out onto the gallery floor. It was cleared up and removed by ICA staff. What the ICA saw as necessary, Chadwick saw as destruction and following its display at the ICA when the exhibition toured to the Ikon Gallery, Birmingham, Harris Museum, Preston, Kunstverein, Freiburg and the Third Eye Centre, Glasgow,[795] it did so – reluctantly on Chadwick's part - with a replacement of *Carcass* in the form of video and photographic documentation. Since then the exhibition *Of Mutability* has remained prominent in visual culture in large part because, nominated for her 'striking use of mixed media' and as a 'work of engendering and decay,'[796] it led to Chadwick being the first woman to win the Turner Prize in 1987. In the same year V&A photography curator Mark Haworth Booth purchased a number of artworks exhibited in the ICA exhibition including: *The Oval Court,*[797] test prints for the artwork that would go into the education collection; *Vanitas* (1985), a Venetian glass mirror engraved with crying eyes, installed on the wall at the ICA; and *One Flesh* (1985), a collage not exhibited at the ICA but acquired as an accompanying work to more complex installations.[798] *Carcass* destroyed in the ICA exhibition has more recently been re-constructed for an exhibition at Tate

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[793] Solomonic columns or Salomónica, 'is a column of twisted barley-sugar form, of a kind supposed to have been used in Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem [...] Such columns were much used in Spanish and Portuguese Baroque architecture.' Edward Lucie-Smith, *The Thames & Hudson Dictionary of Art Terms* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2003), p.60.

[794] The 10mm toughened float glass that made up the column was 2286 (h) x 600 (w) x 622 (d) mm. The was a design overseen by architect Philip Stanley, see installation plan, Tate Archive, TGA 955/7/7/59 folder 1 of 2.

[795] After the ICA 27 May – 29 June 1986, *Of Mutability* toured to: Ikon, Birmingham 26 July – 28 August 1986; Harris Museum, Preston 6 October – 1 November 1986; Freiburger Kunstverein, 29 November – 4 January 1987, Third Eye Centre, Glasgow 21 February – 23 March 1987, Bluecoat, Liverpool April – May 1987, Tate Archive, TGA 955/7/7/59 folder 2 of 2.

[796] *The Turner Prize 1987* / Tate Gallery & Patrons of New Art. Catalogue of the exhibition of work by artists shortlisted for the 1987 Turner Prize: Patrick Caulfield; Helen Chadwick; Richard Deacon; Richard Long; Declan McGonagle; Thérese Oulton (London: Tate Gallery, 1987), pp.10-11. Coincidentally, the same year Declan McGonagle was also nominated for the Turner Prize, 'for making the Orchard Gallery, in Derry Ulster, an international centre for the artist', pp.16-17.

[797] *The Oval Court* was shown in 1989 for the *Photography Now* exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum and in the *Helen Chadwick* exhibition at the Barbican in 2004. See *Helen Chadwick*, ed. by Mark Sladen (London: Barbican Art Gallery; Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 2004); *Photography Now*, ed. by Mark Haworth-Booth (London: Nishen in association with the Victoria & Albert Museum, 1989).

[798] In size and installation requirements *One Flesh* would be a more flexible work for the V&A collection. Both *Vanitas* and *Oval Court* require complex installation specifications.

Liverpool revisiting Raymond Williams *Keywords* (1976),[799] where it became curatorially framed as a reference to Williams's exploration of 'Materialism'.

These traces from *Of Mutability* appear in an array of locations: the ICA's archive at Tate; in the V&A archives; on a video made by Channel 4 and the ICA of Chadwick making the work and installing the exhibition; as well as in two self-portraits made within the exhibition *Vanity* and *Ruin* (both 1986); and in art historical publications. I use these various fragments and their discursive locations as a lens through which to recalibrate questions of identity, not fixed to this historical moment but as a series of identifications contingent on the moment of historical analysis. I approach this by thinking through the material and technological processes that Chadwick used, which as we will see were themselves used as a challenge to the fixing of history and gender.   The Chapter incorporates my interaction with these dispersed traces of the exhibition, starting from a handprint study now in the Tate archive, to consider, tensions between the artist and the institute and how these were and are made visible as processes of mediation. By looking at Chadwick's approach to materials and processes what emerges is an interest in the role of the audience. This is materialized by Chadwick's screening of her own desire and in the way she invites the viewer's desire into this space through a play with processes of mirroring. This in some ways has a contradictory relationship with the reframing of art and exhibitions from feminist perspectives that were taking place at this time. But I suggest here that with the concept of female desire and pleasure Chadwick was working to challenge the binaries of nature versus culture, male versus female, by proposing gender as '[...] leaky fluid, dissipative + viscous sensibility.'[800]

Her approach echoes shifts taking place towards gender studies and posthumanism. Donna Haraway's *Cyborg Manifesto,*[801] for instance, was published in 1984 and Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble*, which demonstrated how identities operate through exclusion, was published in 1990. Chadwick's approach shares ideas explored in both of these texts. The fragments from *Of Mutability*, Chadwick's internalizing of technological and organic processes, and the different locations and environments the fragments are accessed now (or not as we find with *Carcass*), become mirror to the conflicts at the time. On the one

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[799] *Keywords* (28 February – 11 May 2014) was curated by Gavin Delahunty and Grant Watson and included artworks from 1976-1996, with a particular focus on the 1980s as a period 'marked by oppositional politics in Britain' and 'the emergence of identity as a subject pertinent to both political and artistic practice', p.ii Watson and Delahunty, *Keywords* (Liverpool: Tate, 2014).

[800] HMI Box 19 (Chadwick Lecture Notes) – Handwritten notes for a lecture 'Trophies to Ambivalence: to the value of a doubtful status' Glarus – 1.7.95. Referenced in Walker, 'Body and Self', in *Constructing Identities: Between Art and Architecture*, p.60.

[801] See Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (first published 1990) (New York: Routledge, 1990); and Donna Haraway, 'A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, technology and socialist-feminism in the late twentieth century' (first published in 1984) in *The Haraway Reader*, ed. by D. J. Haraway (New York; London: Routledge, 2004).

hand, as Homi Bhaba captured in his reflection on 'accumulation,' there was evidently a need to collect as a way to reflect back on recent history – which we find in the artworks acquired by the V&A and the ICA's archive at Tate - but what accompanies this is a canonization that invites the question about what is excluded and how this historical process takes place. On the other hand, the 'doubling and ambivalence' that are echoed in the materials and processes Chadwick used at the time; compost, the photocopy machine, ICA Video, and the way these more distributive forms are accessed offers an alternative reading.

'the Photocopy Fetish'[802] nose against the glass

'Photocopies as electrons!
Take chance as in photocopies
'arrested moment' of automatic / mechanical image
… self as particle'[803]

Inside the *Of Mutability* exhibition file in the Tate Archive (within a folder relating to the exhibition catalogue), there is a photocopied sheet of handprints that have been repeated multiple times in brown ink.[804] Both of Chadwick's palms would have been pressed against the glass of the machine and scanned to create the original image; this has then been enlarged and replicated in order to form a pattern. Although there is only one sheet in the archive, it forms part of a larger work called *The Wall of the City of Palms*, first exhibited in *Four Walls* (20 March-12 April 1985) at Camerawork gallery in London.[805] The exhibition was organized as part of the East End Festival, with Chadwick's work filling one wall and the other three walls covered with installations by artists Hannah Collins, Keith Frake and Tony Sniden. All works had '[…] an architectural sense, using image and details derived from structures in the area. Created for the gallery space, the works use[d] projection, photography, photocopy and sound.'[806]   On the back of the photocopy, written in reverse, is a passage from the New Testament, Isaiah 49-16: 'See, I have engraved you on the palms of my hands; your walls are ever before me.'[807] These

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[802] Terrence Maloon, 'The Photocopy Fetish', in *Artifact* (1978).
[803] Helen Chadwick's Notebook in Henry Moore Archives, 2003.19/E/7.52.1 cited in Walker, *Helen Chadwick: constructing identities between art and architecture*, p.56
[804] Helen Chadwick, Tate archive, TGA 955/7/7/59, 1 of 2.
[805] *Camerawork* on Roman Road in East London, was founded in 1975 as a darkroom and gallery space. From 1975 to 1985 the Camerawork magazine published essays on 'the use of the visual image within popular culture, initiating a critical reading of photography and a new consideration of issues of representation in the meida.' photography, published between 1975-1985. It was previously known as the Half Moon Workshop. For a comprehensive background see Evans, *The Camerawork essays: context and meaning in photography* (London: Rivers Oram, 1997), p.11.
[806] Camerawork 31 Spring 1985, p.33, *Four Walls* took place between 20 March – 12 April. The same year *The Wall of the City of Palms* was also included in the group exhibition *Out of Hand* at Warehouse Gallery in London.
[807] Helen Chadwick, Tate archive, TGA 955/7/7/59, 1 of 2.

walls referenced in the Book of Isaiah are frequently interpreted as a reference to the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and this appears to be the architectural as well as metaphoric connection Chadwick was making. Whilst at the same time she was also forming associations to the interpretation that Isaiah covered his hands with tattoos of the towers and walls of Jerusalem.[808] In referencing Jerusalem, as the art historian Stephen Walker has pointed out, Chadwick combines the city's architectural past with its utopic connections to Eden,[809] and, Chadwick draws on this mythology to present an alternative through nature and technology as a way to put into doubt the idea of utopia and the very idea of origins.[810] This challenge using nature, is also aligned to Eve and in *The Oval Court,* as we'll see, the origin of Jerusalem from Eden became inverted when the heavens were shown as a 'fallen sky'[811] created using everyday technological processes of photocopying and CAD.

This page of handprints, a possible example of Chadwick's work for the ICA's exhibition catalogue, was not used in the end but provides us with an example of an early test by Chadwick into the NP270 Canon Copier, a three colour (with black, blue and brown ink) digital photocopy machine that was advertised at the time on the London Underground. With it Chadwick develops the markings described in the Book of Isaiah, but she reverses the engraving from an incision onto the body by using her own body to mark the page, with the light of the photocopier as the technological engraver. It was a technique that for Chadwick demonstrated how doubling and mirroring, could be used as a way to put into question binary formulations. In the process she inverts the hegemony of Eden, destroyed by female desire, by first understanding and then translating the mirroring process of photocopying. Marina Warner described this in the exhibition catalogue for *Of Mutability*: 'by using an actual glass, the productive reflector of the photocopier. The images she produces reach towards the state of simulacra, because they do not imitate corporeal reality but copy it directly off her body and other forms.'[812] Through the idea of female desire, as we'll see, the audience were literally being reflected back into this process.

The photocopy machine uses 'a special metal or photoconductive surface' that is 'made sensitive to light by the application of an electrostatic charge'.[813] Light is shone onto the

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[808] A connection could also be made to Jerusalem through the solomonic columns in *Of Mutability*, which are thought to be derived from the Temple of Solomon, the first temple located in Jerusalem.
[809] Walker, *Helen Chadwick: Constructing Identities Between Art and Architecture*, p.106. In her notes Chadwick often combined 'Eden + Jerusalem'.
[810] Ibid, p.107.
[811] Marina Warner, 'In the Garden of Delights: Helen Chadwick's *Of Mutability*', in *Of Mutability* (London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1986), unpaginated.
[812] Ibid.
[813] *Electroworks* (Rochester, NY: International Museum of Photography, 1979), p.5.

document placed on the glass and reflected off the white areas onto a drum belt below. These light areas neutralize electrical charges while the dark areas (the areas that do not reflect light); leave positive charges on the drum. The toner then 'clings…to the charged area of the image'.[814] Photocopying, used by artists from the 1960s onwards, was a way of producing an instant image made in a way that artists could control themselves by simply pressing the button. Once created, the image could be used immediately and instantly reproduced.[815] These quick results and the sense of self-control photocopying enabled was an appealing way for artists to communicate their own or another's identity, because the process allowed the individual making the work to be in control of its mediation. Photocopies therefore enabled in product and process a do-it-yourself mentality and offered a similar self-control. This shares similarities to the self-control provided by video for feminist artists in the 1970s and 1980s. As artist and critic Catherine Elwes has commented, video offered 'immediate feedback' or playback and could 'act as a mirror in which the artist could enter into a dialogue with the self she encountered everyday.'[816] Photocopying similarly offered a self-reflective autonomy.

Chadwick's use of photocopying was a form of self-portraiture. Through the lens of the ICA this can be seen as inspiration from her work the artist Laurie Rae Chamberlain and his exhibition at the ICA in 1979.[817] In 1978 Chamberlain, an artist who had been producing album covers for bands *Adam Ant*, *This Heat* and *The Flying Lizard,* and designing books for Derek Jarman, produced the exhibition *STP (x)* Six Talented People at the ICA.[818] The exhibition consisted of six portraits of: Jordan from Jarman's film *Jubilee*; Christine Care, a French fashion designer; art critic Susie Slack; Marynka, described as an artist's model; Mrs X.N.Tesla Chamberlain's alter ego; and Helen Chadwick. All of the portraits were made, as a reviewer for Time Out described, by pressing '…parts of their bodies directly against the machine's scanner'.[819] In this instance the use of a photocopy machine offered Chamberlain creative independence to create portraits of – as the exhibition title indicated – people rather than women. In doing this the photocopy process was being applied as a challenge to the frame of gender. The exhibition and the portraits therefore muddled the question about who was being framed. There was also a question raised about whose portraits they were, although Laurie Rae Chamberlain was

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[814] Ibid.

[815] See John A. Walker, 'Copy This! A Historical Perspective On the Use of the Photocopier in Art', in *Times Higher Education Supplement* (7 July 1989), p.16.

[816] Catherine Elwes, 'The Pursuit of the Personal in British Video Art' (first published in *Diverse Practices: A Critical Reader on British Video Art* 1996), Video Loupe: A Collection of Essays by and About the Video Maker and Critic, Catherine Elwes (London: KT, 2000), pp137-150 (p.139).

[817] Laurie Rae Chamberlain designed Derek Jarman's book, *Caravaggio: The Complete Film Script and Commentaries* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986).

[818] The X referring to Xeroxed as well as XTC or ecstasy. An original title for the exhibition had been All Women or Six Women, Tate Archive, TGA 955/7/5/13.

[819] 'relevant investigation into the fetishistic nature of representation', Terrence Maloon, 'The Photocopy Fetish'.

the creator, the roles of the sitters in making their images remains purposefully ambiguous.

Taking part in the exhibition Chadwick encountered photocopying as an approach to self-portraiture in the service of de-gendering identity. There were of course many artists working with photocopying at this time, but there are many striking similarities between Chadwick's work at the ICA in 1986 and the portrait of Chadwick made by Chamberlain for *XTP*. In this portrait, unpublished since 1978, her face peers from within a velvet coffin surrounded by furs. The luxurious textures in the image – furs, feathers, velvet, and gilt – have all become flattened through the photocopying process, creating a containment that transforms the various textures into a single surface. At the bottom of the image is a small gilded frame, while a second gold frame surrounds the entire portrait. The scanning mechanism of a photocopy machine, used by Chamberlain, and later by Chadwick, and the smooth encompassing surface it created, evokes a new tactility that, through Laura U Marks, we could refer to as a 'haptic visuality'; in the way it creates 'a flow between sensuous closeness and symbolic distance.'[820] Look at our image of handprints by Chadwick, which brings this 'sensuous closeness'[821] in the way it requires the viewer, the critic or writer to refer to the memory of physical touch in looking at the image and then to combine this haptic interpretation with the 'symbolic distance' of traditional cultural analysis. Marks helps us to capture how this haptic form of 'embodied' analysis takes place, as though bringing your 'nose-against-the-glass.'[822] In this way it is a form of analysis that tries, 'to move along the surface of the object, rather than attempting to penetrate or "interpret" it', as the grand narrative might.[823] Amelia Jones, building on this interpretation in relation to the screen, has described how 'haptic visuality', is for this reason a 'feminine' rather than 'penetatory and perspectival perspective', because, 'the viewer is encouraged to engage with the surface of the image as having substance – as if it could be touched "haptically" – rather than writing about it from a cool historical distance.'[824] The interpretations of scanning, the glance, the use of pattern, and the concept of a 'caressing gaze'[825] as methodological process, appear to be mirrored in the scanning light of the photocopy machine and can perhaps help us to understand the de-gendering taking place Laurie Rae Chamberlain's portraits, for

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[820] Haptics as a feminist visual strategy was developed by Marks in relation to the art historian and curator of textiles, Alois Riegl, for background see, *Late Roman Art Industry* (1985) and Deleuze and Guttari's 'smooth space' in *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* 1987. Laura U Marks, *Touch: Sensuous Theory and Multisensory Media (*Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), p.xiii and pp.4-7.
[821] Ibid, p.xiii
[822] Ibid, p.xv
[823] Ibid, p.xiii
[824] Amelia Jones. 'Screen Eroticisms: Exploring Female Desire in the Work of Carolee Schneemann and Pipilotti Rist', in *Screen/Space: The Projected Image in Contemporary Art*, ed. by Tamara Trodd (Manchester: University of Manchester, 2011), p.133. Although Marks sees this as a 'feminist visual strategy, an underground visual tradition in general rather than a feminine form of perception', Marks, *Touch*: *sensuous theory and multisensory media,* p.7.
[825] Marks, *Touch*, p.6.

example, in the flattening of tactile materials, the symbolically moving frame of representation. Likewise, in the scanned patterns created by Chadwick's handprints, they create a perspective that leads the viewer to look down and focus attention on the patterns in the palms of their own hands.

Fig 20. Laurie Rae Chamberlain, portrait of Helen Chadwick (ICA 1978).

It was from this introduction to photocopying in relation to questions of gendered identity by Chamberlain, alongside an influence from artists, such as Jo Spence, that Chadwick would go on to 'offer herself to the machine', as Warner put it, pressing the button, and becoming subject, object and photographer, showing the audience that 'unlike a pin-up, she is in charge of her image.' [826] Intermingling her body with fish and animal carcasses, textiles, and live maggots as a way to break down binary constructions. At the time this was aligned to postmodernism and to shifts taking place in photography. This was a framing that would be reified when a selection of works from *Of Mutability* were acquired by the V&A's photography collection. One of these works, *The Oval Court,* is located in numerous crates and individual boxes in the V&A's storage and the Prints & Drawings Study Room and individual elements can be unboxed and viewed one piece at a time. This collecting and storing prioritizes preservation and reconstruction in a way that avoids archival cross-contamination. On the other hand, simply through its title, *Of Mutability,* the inclusion in *Carcass* of a dynamically, composting tower and through digitally produced images, the exhibition was also about challenging any idea of static reflection by inserting both organic and technological processes as mechanisms of cross-fertilization. In the following section of the Chapter we test out the limits of interpretations by photography and postmodernism by suggesting that Chadwick's work offers something more expansive through a play between her own and the audiences' desire, through reflection and technological and material processes. This, I will suggest, has implications for a broader shift in the relationship between audiences and exhibitions.

The Oval Court

The approach of repetition and doubling that we see in the handprint was then applied in spatial terms by Chadwick in the way she translated the reflective process from photocopying into the way the viewer accessed subjective desire in *Of Mutability* at the ICA. According to Chadwick the desire being shown to visitors in the exhibition was her own desire, she was subject and object, and visitors could only access this by looking at their own reflection in *Vanitas*, a hand-held vanity mirror attached to the wall.[827] *The Oval Court* consisted of a series of photocopies in blue ink of a variety of live and dead objects. It took the shape of a 'tapered ovoid' as Warner described, 'in the same proportions as the artist's hand' with the golden 'spheres […] declin[ing] stereometrically in scale with her fingers.'[828] Surrounding this 'fallen Eden' were Salomonic columns on

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[826] Warner, 'In the garden of delights', unpaginated.
[827] See Tom Evans, 'A Mirror to Yourself', in *Creative Camera,* Issue 6 (June 1986), p18.
[828] Ibid.

the gallery walls made using CAD. This technology offered 'an interface for […] mixing + translation',[829] in the way within it an image is converted from a series of patterns or components that are then reunified to form a composite image. The image is made or composed by either a nodal process, where it is mapped out through its procedures, or layered and composed through a timeline (the function still used in Photoshop's timeline of layers). Despite the fact that at the time digital imaging was a painfully slow process Chadwick taught herself, filling a whole notebook with CAD code.[830] She wanted to learn and apply digital technologies like CAD so that it could be used as a way to 'break down the coherence and underlying logic of the "coherent image."'[831] As Stephen Walker has highlighted, for Chadwick the composite image, in technique, process and conceptualization, offered an alternative to the very idea of a coherent image, this stood in broad terms for 'the traditional role of the image in the production, mediation and experience of the world.'[832] CAD as a technology that produces a composite image through a mapping of layers or nodal processes, as Walker puts it, offered the 'potential mixing of information'.[833] It was by integrating these dynamic processes from technology (which are structured and structuring) alongside the organic processes of compost (in *Carcass*), that Chadwick was able to explore how the 'self becomes a particle'.[834] In other words, she suggested how seeing the self in scientific terms, through particles, atoms or electrons, or a mapped layering of digital procedures, could challenge the philosophical assumption in fixed concepts of the body, the self and identity. Translations through technology into matter and particles could offer a fluidity in which these boundaries, like those of gender, could be transgressed. It is this challenge to coherence that can be extended out into the way we understand exhibition histories and the role the audience plays within them.

At the time questions to coherence and representation in relation to photography and spectatorship were associated with postmodernism and involved bringing the spectator's role into re-conceptualizations. In his 'Allegorical Impulse' (1980) Craig Owens, drawing on Walter Benjamin's approach to correspondences, described how 'allegory concerns itself, then, with projection – either spatial or temporal or both - of structure as sequence.' [835] Metaphor becomes metonymic; in the way that one thing is substituted and read through another, creating the double or metonymic reading as a form of visual analysis. In *Of Mutability,* an allegorical impulse can be found in the way the mirror image

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[829] Walker, *Helen Chadwick: constructing identities between art and architecture*, p.200.
[830] Ibid.
[831] Ibid, p.202.
[832] Ibid, p.200.
[833] Ibid, p.200.
[834] Ibid, p.56.
[835] Craig Owens, 'The Allegorical Impulse: Toward a Theory of Postmodernism', in *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology* (first published, 1980) (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), p.320.

and spectatorship becomes a structuring device as it is expanded out into the architecture of the gallery, creating a 'meta-history' of reflection; and Chadwick was certainly interested in the idea of allegory.[836] These connections between Chadwick's exhibition, post-modern ideas of fragment and allegory were reinforced by another exhibition Chadwick had work in the year before *Of Mutability*. In an exhibition called *Re-visions* organized by Pavel Büchler at the Cambridge Darkroom, Chadwick's work was framed within developing approaches to photography defined by Büchler as, 'fringe interference'.[837] This term, borrowed from Victor Burgin, was used by Büchler as a way to illustrate the rippling encounters he saw taking place between documentary photography, mass media, theory and language, on the edges of the mainstream and suggested that these interferences could be found in the photography on display in the exhibition. In *Re-vision,* a gap between modernism and post-modernism was explored in the ways artists approached viewer experience, either by inviting the 'viewer to enter the game' or by offering 'visual pleasure, humour, a story, pretty picture.'[838] In the catalogue Yve Lomax describes how artists in the exhibition used various layers of communication between the artwork and the viewer's experience – whether irony, narrative, biography or spectacle – to question the possibility of a 'complete story, the full history…a grand narrative.'[839] What was questioned and discredited, as Yve Lomax describes, was the role of representation in offering a complete or coherent story and a replacement was found in affect. Lomax finds this break in the loop of representations when she imagines cutting the image in order to locate the 'Real' beneath it. In the process she discovers that there is no 'Real', only further representations, that 'the situation appears open ended.' [840] She frames this circulation of images as, 'the line in the middle, the mediate, the narrative', in other words, mediation is the repetitive process of representations.

In Lomax's questioning of 'objective discourse' she comes to the conclusion that photographs, videos, television and other forms of representational media, '…are not "windows on the world" (even though they may play at being such windows); they don't picture the world; they form involvements,' with other media and with the spectators.[841] The term involvements, rooted in the Deleuzian concept of the 'occupation of a domain

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[836] Following her exhibition at the ICA, Chadwick spent two months at Birmingham Museum & Art Gallery where she made a photograph-screenprint in response to a small oil painting in the collection by Johann Georg Platzer, borrowing the name for her own work 'Allegory of Misrule' (1720 – 1761). Chadwick's response to the painting was to layer slide projected images of the painting with an atomic explosion and photocopies of dead animals for the museum's collection. http://www.bmagic.org.uk/objects/1987P64 [accessed 1 August 2017].

[837] Pavel Büchler, 'Introduction', to *Re-visions: Fringe Interference in British photography in the 1980s*, catalogue published to accompany exhibition held at the Cambridge Darkroom (13 July – 25 August 1985), ed. by Pavel Büchler, unpaginated.
The term 'fringe interference' was used by Victor Burgin in an interview with Rosetta Brooks to describe the encounters between different art forms. See 'Rosetta Brooks talks with Victor Burgin', ZG, No.1 (1981).

[838] Ibid, unpaginated.

[839] Yve Lomax, 'Re-visions', in *Re-visions: Fringe interference in British photography in the 1980s*.

[840] Ibid.

[841] Ibid.

and the operation of a system of signs',[842] shares some similarities to Chadwick's use of composite images, in the way Chadwick also involves the spectator's desire through a play with reflection. Both Lomax and Chadwick question a coherent narrative by involving representational media and the viewer, and we see this coming together in the idea of mediation. This implies how audiences were being structurally and conceptually incorporated within an exhibition's mediation at this time, which in turn raises a question, about who was in control of that mediation.

Exhibiting desire: *Vanity*, 1986

If it is the Institute that usually frames the mediation of an exhibition, what is at stake in an image where the artist takes back control and re-frames the exhibition within and alongside her own reflection? This is exactly what happens in the self-portrait *Vanity* (1986). Made in *Of Mutability*, Chadwick sits against the draped gallery walls holding an oval mirror. She gazes into her reflection, while the viewer looking at the portrait follows Chadwick's gaze also into the mirror where the exhibition and *The Oval Court* are reflected. Gazing at herself whilst revealing her naked body was problematic for some artist colleagues as Mary Horlock and Mark Sladen have both considered, in the way it 'perpetuat[ed] the objectification of women'[843] appearing to screen desire from the dominant 'male gaze' and involved the audience in a reaffirmation of this masculine form of spectatorship. Laura Mulvey's theory of the 'male gaze', from 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema' in 1971, argued that the way the cinema screen acts as a mirror, framing the female figure and allowing the spectator a 'temporary loss of ego'.[844] The gaze encompasses the voyeuristic pleasure of looking at the other, '. . . while simultaneously', a narcissistic pleasure is directed at the self, 'reinforcing the ego'.[845] Instead of looking back and addressing the audience and confronting this hegemonic gaze, Chadwick seems to silently dive into this frame of desire. The image invites the viewer to take pleasure from her body as a spectacle and therefore to some reiterated 'Woman as Image', a hegemony feminists had fought against. But in offering pleasure through desire in a play of spectatorship in the exhibition, Chadwick can in fact be seen to address two forms of 'exhibitionary complex'.[846]

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[842] Deleuze, cited in Lomax, 'Re-visions', unpaginated.
[843] Unfortunately, neither Mark Sladen or Mary Horlock are specific about who it was that made these criticisms, see Sladen, 'A Red Mirror', p.18 and Horlock, 'Between a Rock and a Soft Place', p.36. But in an interview Helen Chadwick commented, 'I was nearly massacred in the mid-'80s for presenting the female body naked [...] I made a conscious decision in 1988 not to represent my body. It immediately declares female gender and I wanted to be more deft.' See, 'Helen Chadwick Talking to Iain Gale', in *Modern Painters*, Vol. 7, Number 3 (Autumn 1994), 106-08 (p.108).
[844] Laura Mulvey, *Visual and Other Pleasures* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p.836.
[845] Ibid, p.836.
[846] Mulvey, *Visual and Other Pleasures*, p837.

In *Vanity* we begin to question what in fact the exhibit is; is it the female image, the exhibition, the ICA, or the viewer, and can it be all of these things? In 'The Exhibitionary Complex', Tony Bennett applied Foucault's conception of the ordering and disciplining of society as part of 'technologies of the self'[847] onto the way exhibitions and museums use similar techniques to render society 'as a spectacle'.[848] In Mulvey's 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema', it is the dominating control of the 'male gaze' from Hollywood cinema that constructs the female image as a fetish. Positioned within the 'male gaze', the spectators watching the cinema screen project their 'repressed identity onto the performer', associate themselves with 'exhibitionism' and become aligned with the exhibit.[849] We can see a layering of both of these ideas in *Vanity* (as well as in *Of Mutability* more broadly). From the feminist perspective, the screen of the photograph acts as a point of intersection where the male gaze and the spectator's gaze meet through pleasure and spectacle of the female nude. Whilst an exhibitionary complex is present in the use of technology, architecture and photography, through which Chadwick can be seen to test out how 'technologies of the self' are culturally constructed in relation to female desire. As a result, what is exposed in *Vanity* is a doubling of the idea of the 'exhibit' bringing the male gaze and the hegemonic construction of the exhibition together. Rather than negating this by gazing back or addressing the gaze verbally, her solution to the concept of the spectacle - both in terms of the female body and the exhibition - and perhaps the body of the institution - was to use the mirror to double the gaze in a way that made it redundant, 'intermingling' identifications between herself, the audience and the exhibition. Any defiance comes from her own possession of pleasure – as the exhibit (the female body and the exhibition) – that the viewer is constructed within, but also excluded from.

The self-portrait (staged within the exhibition) introduces Chadwick's challenge to institutional mediation and to the role she saw the viewer playing within this space. She commented that she was '…interested in creating juxtapositions around the body to create a "field", a space, in which you might divine something about your own perceptions of desire and the erotic. They are more mirror than symbol.'[850] However, despite this, anger was directed at *Vanity* from feminists who saw this work as a setback. This criticism was accompanied by a belief that Chadwick had sidelined female, performance and time-based work when she was a selector for the *Hayward Annual III*

[847] Foucault, *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault* (L. H.Martin, H.Gutman, P. Hutton, Eds.) (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988).
[848] Tony Bennett, 'The Exhibitionary Complex', in *new formations* (Spring, 1988), pp.73-102 (p.98 and 78).
[849] Mulvey, *Visual and Other Pleasures*, p.836.
[850] H. & N. P. James, *Helen Chadwick: of mutability* (London: Cv Publications, 2005), pp.4-5.

exhibition in 1979.[851] In 1978, the all-female selection panel for *Hayward Annual II* resulted in an exhibition with seven men and sixteen women, this was a 'major breach into official culture on behalf of women' which raised 'questions about women's place in contemporary art institutions and practices and about the relationship between feminist art practices and both art by women and official art in general.'[852]   But in the 1979 *Hayward Annual*, for which Chadwick was one of the selectors, there were twenty-three men and just two women. Although she did include Genesis P-Orridge,[853] and six female performance artists they were relegated to the 'ancillary programme'.[854] This decision is of course questionable at a time when the adequate representation of women in exhibitions was being fiercely fought for, but we can also consider how the approach she took was indebted to the feminist artworks, exhibitions and manifestos that came before it, including her own, and perhaps, as Mary Horlock has argued, 'her [Chadwick's] art is better understood as an attempt to dissolve gender distinctions.'[855] Chadwick described how she 'was looking for a vocabulary for desire', [856] drawing inspiration from art history, mythology, architecture, religion, and her own sense of enclosure physically and socially as a woman. This suggests her position was outside feminist ideologies whilst also indebted to its developments. She achieved this, as Richard Cork picked up on, by taking back control, creating 'carefully mediated' artworks. [857] Her control of mediation is exactly what we find in *Of Mutability* and in *Vanity*, and can be seen historically as part of the cumulative effect of the Women's Movement over the 1970s and 1980s and part of a broader cultural shift towards gender studies.[858] By looking at *Of Mutability* within a trajectory of feminist exhibitions at the ICA, we can open up the processes and ideas Chadwick explored and consider how to locate her work in cultural terms. With this context in mind, we return to the 'staging' of the body in relation to the audience within interpretations of the screen.

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[851] *Hayward Annual 1979: Current British art Selected by Helen Chadwick ... (et al.).* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1979).
[852] Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, 'Fifteen years of feminist action', in *Framing Feminism: Art and the Women's Movement 1970-85* (London: Pandora, 1987), 3-78 (p.23).
[853] The other artists Chadwick selected were Bruce McLean, Tony Sniden and Jim Whiting. *Hayward Annual 1979,* pp.12-35. She describes how she 'looked away from art that concentrates itself within one traditional field of activity, and [chose] artists who work in many spheres and media'. She also describes how the artists are changing: 'He can exist as originator, engineer, technician, performer.' *Hayward Annual*, p.12.
[854] The ancillary programme included Bobby Baker, Anne Bean/Peter Davey, Ian Bourn, Cosey Fanni Tutti, Roberta M Graham, Charlie Hooker, Elaine Shemilt/David Dully, and Silvia Ziranek. Hayward Annual, ibid, pp.136-143.
[855] Horlock, 'Between a Rock and a Soft Place', p.33.
[856] See Waldemar Januzczak, 'Invading your space', in The Guardian (18 November 1987), the same quote can be found in Emma Cocker, 'Interview with Helen Chadwick', in *Helen Chadwick* exhibition catalogue, Ferens Art Gallery (Kingston upon Hull, 1998), p.2.
[857] Richard Cork, 'Contesting Alienation', in *Of Mutability* (London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1986), unpaginated.
Richard Cork focuses on her interest in enclosure and aligns the ICA exhibition to her performance works: *In the Kitchen* (1976), *The Institution* (1981), *There's absolutely nothing to worry about* (1978), *Train of Thought* (1978), *Institution* (1981), *Growing Up* (1983) and *Ego Geometria Sum* (1985).
[858] This is an argument Horlock makes in 'Between a Rock and a Soft Place', in *Helen Chadwick.*

In 1980, the ICA programmed a *Women's Season,* with three exhibitions of work by women artists: *Women's Images of Men* (4 October-26 October); *About Time* (30 October-9 November 1980), which together offered visitors 'the opportunity of identification with and consideration of another's perceptions';[859] and *Issue: Social Strategies by Women Artists* (14 November-21 December 1980), curated by Lucy Lippard, focusing through a range of issues on the relationship of feminist art to social change.[860] All three reasserted the feminist statement, 'the personal is political', in the way the exhibitions considered subjective, personal and collective experience as a valid activity in 'raising consciousness' and creating political meaning.[861]

The most relevant of the exhibitions from the *Women's Season* to our analysis about the screen and the audience is *About Time*, which Chadwick along with Mona Hatoum and Shirley Cameron had unsuccessfully submitted a proposal to.[862] Although Chadwick's work was rejected, the fact that she submitted a proposal suggests she was sympathetic to the selectors' call for work that 'indicated the artist's awareness of a woman's particular experience within patriarchy'.[863] It was felt at the time that time-based media, described in the ICA programme as Third Area (film, audio performance or video), offered the ability to communicate how, 'experience is constructed; through mass media, family education, advertising, consumerism, fashion, domestic labour and styles of art.'[864] Sally Potter has since reflected how one of the challenges for the female artist as a performer was in '…dismantling Woman as Image by using the potential of performance to constitute different relations between woman and audience.'[865] In the gallery the artist could form a direct relationship to the audience by making public their personal experience and opening up the opportunity for the audience to read 'the work from the position of female subjectivity.'[866] Unlike static objects, being able to address subjectivity through performance and/or through video, lighting and recorded voice, helped the

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[859] Catherine Elwes, 'Lighting a Candle', in *Women's Images of Men*, ed. by Sarah Kent and Jaqueline Morreau (London: Pandora, 1990), pp. 13-26 (p.24).

[860] *About time: video, performance and installation by 21 women artists* (London: ICA, 1980); Lucy Lippard, *Issue: social strategies by women artists: an exhibition* (London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1980); *Women's images of men* (London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1980).

[861] Eleanor Robert has recently summarized that: 'The phrase "the personal is political" had been in oral circulation since at least the late 1960s. American feminist activist Carol Hanisch accredits Shulamith Firestone and Anne Koedt with presenting "The Personal Is Political" as the title of an essay by Hanisch which they published as editors of the anthology Notes from the Second Year: Women's Liberation in 1970, which may be the first instance of its published usage. See Carol Hanisch, *The Personal Is Political: The Women's Liberation Movement* with a new introduction, <http://www.carolhanisch.org/CHwritings/PIP.html> [accessed 24 April 2013].' *Third Area: A Feminist Reading of Performance at London's Institute of Contemporary Arts in the 1970s* (unpublished Ph.D Queen Mary University, 2016), p.55.

[862] There is no record of the proposal in the Tate archives, although Roberts suggests her exclusion was due to the fact that she already had a high profile in the arts in London so there less need to give her the opportunity.

[863] 'Introduction', to *About Time: Video, Performance and Installation by 21 Women Artists (*London: ICA, 1980). The selectors of the exhibition were Catherine Elwes, Sally Potter and Rose Garrard.

[864] Ibid.

[865] Sally Potter cited by Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, *Framing Feminism: Art and the Women's Movement 1970-85* (London: Pandora, 1987), p.40.

[866] Elwes, 'The Pursuit of the Personal in British Video Art', p.140.

artist avoid becoming a spectacle, because their presence and perspective was being directly articulated and therefore helped to destroy any illusion constructed by the male gaze.

What connected the different approaches to this question in the exhibition was temporality, which Catherine Elwes identified when she wrote that 'duration becomes the key to a fundamental shift in our reading of the women's body.'[867] This comment was prompted by Jayne Parker's video, *Almost Out*, in which over 90 minutes the viewer watches the naked artist and her mother having a long conversation. The immediately desirable body of the young artist in the eyes of the viewer, over the long duration of the tape, transforms into feelings of 'ancient and deeply sensual longings' represented by the mother's body.[868] The length of the video becomes a point of mediation (as opposed to immediacy). It enables the viewer to reassess their initial impression, to shift from content and think about and assess their own subjective presumptions. The importance of time-based media, demonstrated through duration in *Almost Out*, or through voicing and reclaiming the image as Potter described, was part of the feminist aim to take control in temporal terms away from the patriarchal '"masculine" ability to organize time and space.'[869] The Third Area therefore aligned temporal mediums, such as video, performance and audio recordings, with areas of culture marginalized by patriarchy. In *About Time*, this challenge was being made through performances, of short and long duration, videos and installations – taking control of temporality by expanding it into female subjectivity.

In *Framing Feminism* the exhibition *About Time* is considered by Griselda Pollock as one of a number of important feminist exhibitions and art practices that were taking place between 1970 and 1985 during which time there was 'an explosion of political energy, accompanied by a growth in political movements.'[870] Pollock frames this time period by the Women's Movement and the exhibition *Difference: on Representation and Sexuality* (1984) curated by Kate Linker at New Museum, New York (which toured to the ICA, London in 1985). According to Pollock, this exhibition 'registered and underscored the impact of feminism's radical presence in the art world of the mid-1980s ... a mixed exhibition dominated none the less by feminist work by women while demonstrating the necessity for both men and women to confront the issues of sexuality and representation.'[871] What I want to show is that Pollock's location of the shift in 1985 has

[867] Ibid, p141.
[868] Ibid.
[869] Elwes, 'In Real Time: An Account of Feminism and Video', in *Video Loupe* (London: KT Press, 2000), p.13.
[870] Pollock and Parker, *Framing Feminism*.
[871] Pollock and Parker, *Framing Feminism*, p.3 and then p.72.

relevance for our understanding of control of mediation explored by Chadwick in her ICA show and its particular play with the desire of the spectator.

We see from Pollock that in *Difference: on Representation and Sexuality* gender issues were being addressed through the dual concerns of sexuality and difference in visual representation. In the 1980s this came from a blurring between art and digital technologies through which the gendered subject 'structures and is structured by the activities of looking, knowing, desiring and finding pleasure.'[872] Considering a movement between sexuality and difference through desire Pollock has argued that artistic practices were moving beyond the distortion of reality through 'content' and looking instead at a, 'continuous production of sexual difference',[873] described by Lisa Tickner in the *Difference* exhibition catalogue as 'subjectivity *in process*.'[874] Five years prior to this, in *About Time,* for the artists and organizers, the concern had been to open up interpretation and creativity by creating consciousness of female subjectivity and the experience of women in a patriarchal society. In exhibitions like *Difference: on Representation and Sexuality* the discussion began to unfix identity by addressing processes of subjectivity in artistic and mediated representations. This was part of a shift towards thinking of identifications as continually in flux and this is in many ways what we find in Chadwick's blurring between binaries of self and spectator, nature and artifice in the handprint, or the spectator and the exhibition. What we find are identifications that involve both an opening up into and resisting the other and these were ideas being reflected in the wider ICA programme.

At the time of Chadwick's exhibition, questions of identity and subjectivity were being raised in the broader programme at the ICA. In the autumn (1986) the ICA scheduled *Identikit*, 'a major autumn season at the ICA dealing with identity and the sense of self',[875] with the exhibition *Out of Bounds* by Susan Hiller,[876] an opera based on Oliver Sacks' case study of memory loss, *The Man Who Mistook His Wife for a Hat,* written by Michael Nyman and directed by Christopher Rawlence and the conference, *Identity: the real me,* where writers, philosophers, scientists, psychologists, social theorists and historians were asked to address 'the notion of the "real me."'[877] In the introduction to the conference (detailed in the resulting *Documents* publication), Lisa Appignanesi frames the conference in terms of a reaction to the erosion of the self and subjectivity from

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[872] Ibid*,* p.72.
[873] Kate Linker, 'Foreword', in *Difference: on representation and sexuality*, ed. by K. Linker (New York: New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1984).
[874] Lisa Tickner, 'Sexuality and/in Representation: Five British Artists', in *Difference: on representation and sexuality*, p.28.
[875] ICA Programme (September, 1986), Tate Archive, TGA 955/14/27.
[876] Susan Hiller, *Out of Bounds* exhibition (22 October – 22 November 1986).
[877] Lisa Appignanesi, 'Preface', to *Identity: the real me* (London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1986), p.2.

recent 'discourses' in post-structuralism, and gendered debates, which had the effect of 'decentre(ing) the self into a variety of more or less minimal selves'.[878] Ideas shared by exhibitions like *Re-visions*. The contributors to the conference responded by considering the ways in which subjectivity functions in art and philosophy. For Stuart Hall this was addressed by framing his personal displaced identity; for James Lingwood, ideas of identity were visualized through questions of representations of the self in self-portraiture in art history, and for many others it was about writing from a position of subjective reflection, even if – as A S Byatt writes – this was a challenge. Byatt tells the audience at the conference: 'I spent most of my formative years as a writer, and indeed a literary critic, attempting to expunge the presence of the self'.[879] The subjective perspectives these talks introduced – answering the question of a 'real me' - demonstrate a growing awareness in how the audience were related to and engaged with. In being asked to listen to lectures rooted in subjective experience audiences would inevitably consider how their own subjectivity might have relevance to cultural and theoretical interpretations. Terry Eagleton described this approach in the publication as representative of a 'turn towards the subject,'[880] in the way it brought together a psychoanalytic understanding with discursive approaches. As a consequence of critics, artists and writers including their own experience and identity, the audience's point of view was also brought into consideration. This success from feminism introduced a new ethical awareness that would have consequences for the construction of contemporary art exhibitions in relationship to audiences.[881]

In the middle of this Chadwick, as we have seen, was breaking down the coherent view of an exhibition by inviting in her play with desire, pleasure and spectacle. The subjectivity Chadwick was making available in the exhibition was located in the role of desire with the space of the screen, the surface of the photocopier, the digitized images of columns and the photograph *Vanity*. As we have considered earlier and will return to here, this was part of a visual strategy that is inherited from feminist approaches but also connects to ecology and posthumanism. In her essay 'Screen Eroticism', looking closely at Carolee Schneeman's *Fuses* (1964-67) and Pipilotti Rist's *Pimple Porno* (1994), Amelia Jones considered how the technology of screens 'hinges between self and other' rather than as 'final sites where a body solidifies into a subjectivity.'[882] Interpreting her selected artworks through this point of mediation enables Jones to throw light on agency from feminist, and wider social perspectives, by locating a female erotic power in the

[878] Ibid.
[879] A. S Byatt, 'Identity and the Writer', in *Identity: the real me*, pp.23-26 (p.23).
[880] Terry Eagleton, 'The Politics of Subjectivity', in *Identity: the real me*, pp.47-48 (p.47).
[881] For instance in 'Relational Aesthetics' or the rise of socially engaged practice.
[882] Jones, 'Screen Eroticisms', p.128.

audience's (including her own) embodied experience of the bodies on screen, in a way that – just like Chadwick – incorporates the screening technology within a methodological approach to interpretation. The way bodies appear on screen in *Fuses* and *Pimple Porno*, enables as Jones describes erotic embodied reading because of the way gaps remain to be filled in by the imagination or memory of the spectator. What is communicated on screen is erotic in the sense that it requires the memory of physical sight and touch, and, as Jones demonstrates, proposes an interpretation that equally reflects a continual shifting between the boundaries of subjectivity and the use of technology and the screen.

Jones's approach to writing about the screen ensures that the interpretation avoids solidifying onto a particular historical point. This is highly evocative of Chadwick's play with the desire of the spectator. Within the exhibition at the ICA the visitors were invited to think about their own subjective desire through a mirror installed on the gallery wall, whilst at the same time, to reflect on Chadwick's desire imposed on the space of the exhibition. The experience of looking at the indistinguishable close up shots of her body squashed against the glass of the photocopier in *Oval Court* shares similarities to the way that, as Amelia Jones watches the screen of *Pimple Porno* in bed with her partner, she considers how it reveals the 'appearance of the bodies and their particular relationship to the screens', suggesting to her 'identificatory responses'.[883] The viewers in Chadwick's exhibition were similarly led into a somatic embodied reading, moving between seeing the whole space of the exhibition, looking down onto the blue pool of photocopies in *The Oval Court*, and then to the close-up details of her body or other inanimate objects. Audience perception takes on a scanning process that mirrors the technology of the photocopy machine. The invitation for 'identificatory responses' from visitors was therefore a feminist visual strategy because it prompted the 'reader' to question the nature of coherence through pattern and process, but it also went beyond this, as Chadwick described shortly after the exhibition:

'Viewer as spectator, engaged in poetic space of identification.
Between proj./screen move in to scrutinize surface material + image,
Move back to construe the image object: between these 2 processes we are held in place,
witnessing event where light meets matter.'[884]

In this viewing process the visitors experience shifts into various forms of identification as, in Laura U Mark's words, they become '...susceptible to contact with the other'.[885] This

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[883] Ibid.
[884] Helen Chadwick, Filofax after 9 February 1987, before 4 December 1987, Henry Moore Archives.

blurring of identifications with the spectator enabled Chadwick to extend the cultural construction of the female body into a relational identification with multiple others, of animal, mineral and vegetable and amongst various processes of compost, photocopying and the coordinates of vector images in CAD, and present us with a media ecological gaze. It is particularly captured in her comment 'the self as particle.'[886] What is screened in *Of Mutablity* is desire traditionally associated with the female body, but by embodying that scene, with the products of dead animals, photocopies of lace and her body, and by acknowledging their productive processes, Chadwick made the 'female image' redundant and, as Marina Warner suggested, 'downgrad[ed] vision [...] passing beyond spectacle to engage all the faculties, to quicken the sense of smell and of touch', we read it in an embodied way.[887] From our current post-digital perspective the doubling Warner writes about can now be interpreted as a remediation of spectacle. Chadwick anticipated how spectacle and the construct of the exhibition could be used for 'her own subversive ends', blending, as Mark Sladen has described, the 'visceral, gorgeous, repellent and seductive materials', in a way that created a conception of the self in atomized terms.[888]

[885] Marks, 'Video Haptics', in *Touch: sensuous theory and multisensory media*, p.19.
[886] Helen Chadwick Notebook in Henry Moore Archives, 2003.19/E/7.52.1 cited by Walker, *Helen Chadwick: constructing identities between art and architecture*, p.56.
[887] Marina Warner, 'Preface', in *Helen Chadwick* (London: Barbican Art Gallery; Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 2004), pp.9-12 (p.10-11).
[888] Mark Sladen, 'A Red Mirror', in *Helen Chadwick* (2004), p.28.

Fig 21. Helen Chadwick, *Carcass* (ICA 1986)

A composting archive

The fragments we have encountered so far in this Chapter, from the photocopied handprints in the Tate archive folders, *The Oval Court* now in separate boxes at the V&A museum and the self-portrait *Vanity*, now in the National Portrait Gallery and frequently reproduced online as well as in numerous publications, are all located in physical collections, the archive and museums, and as such become associated with culture in its traditional, static sense. On literally the other side of the exhibition, however, there was an alternative; compost, something that is live, continually decomposing, and equally generative. *Carcass* offered sensory expansion for the visitor to the exhibition *Of Mutability,* by presenting living waste. Whilst from today's historical perspective this composting and decomposing tower offers a way of rereading culture, not just in the way it was live, but in the way it burst out into the gallery. An argument between ICA Director Bill McAlister and Chadwick followed about its spillage, both passing blame onto the other for the cause of its destruction.[889] The tower collapsed on 17 June 1986, McAlister argued that this was inevitable given the faults with the design, while Chadwick saw 'its removal and destruction', as the result of 'a catalogue of errors' made by the ICA including ignoring leaks, using plastic wedges (which resist bonding), and by trying to move the loaded structure causing the seal of the glass case to split and its contents to empty onto the floor.[890] The smell, its collapse, and this conflict between the ICA and the artist, offer a rupture into the exhibition narrative and consequently an alternative reading beyond the photographic, institutional and post-modern. The 'spoiling of the exhibition',[891] as Chadwick put it, as a contemporary contingency help us to question the ways in which we understand and recall cultural history, this is true not only in terms of how the object performed in the exhibition but in the way we experience it now on film.

Carcass was composed, as Steve White the gallery manager described, of 'black bags of goo.'[892] Visually it echoed a geological slice in the way it revealed layers of liquids and waste, like an abstract record of human life. A 'geology', as media archaeologist Jussi A Parikka has described is a material slice through time; it 'is an excavation into the earth and its secrets that affords a view not only to the now-moment that unfolds into a future potential of exploitation but also to the past buried under our feet' where 'depth becomes

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[889] See correspondence between Bill McAlister and Helen Chadwick in 'Correspondence relating to the Visual Arts', Tate Archive, TGA 955/2/6/46.
[890] Letter from Helen Chadwick to Bill McAlister (28 June 1986), Tate Archive, TGA 955/2/6/46.
[891] Ibid.
[892] Steve White note titled, 'Mick and Mick', in Helen Chadwick files, Tate Archive, TGA 955/7/7/59. File 1 of 2.

time'.[893] Compost, layered in a similar way is like a domestic version of geology. It is connected to the Latin, composite and componere, meaning 'something put together'.[894] By relating to compost *Carcass* brings the dual connections of artistic ideas of composition whilst also referring to 'decayed organic material used as a fertilizer for growing plants'.[895] In combination these etymological roots that we find in *Carcass* suggest part of its purpose was in order to rethink cultural structure in ecological terms – just as we saw in digital terms with the use of CAD composite images. As Bruno Latour has suggested, composition 'carries with it the pungent but ecologically correct smell of "compost," itself due to the active "decomposition" of many invisible agents.'[896] So instead of construction, which Latour connects to the 'three ingredients of Modernism', critique, nature and progress, a composition is 'built from utterly heterogeneous parts that will never make a whole, but at best a fragile, revisable, and diverse composite material.'[897] Therefore, rather than 'impose and decry',[898] as Donna Haraway has also questioned, can we think about composition and decomposition? It seems that Chadwick in describing her images as composite rather than coherent, as well as with this tower of compost made from a combination of the detritus from *The Oval Court* her neighbors waste, was inviting the audience to consider how the 'webbed ecosystems [are] made of variously configured, historically dynamic contact zones.'[899] In this way the pungent 'goo' of *Carcass* performed a cross fertilization within an exhibition that had itself been constructed around mutability and behind glass it made the active process visible and odorous for the gallery visitor.

The different ways *Carcass* operated in the exhibition and how it has subsequently been mediated are reflective of different approaches to cultural history, as Latour identified in his comparison of construction and composition. For Curator Carolyn Christov Bakargiev, drawing on Latour and Haraway how the traditional archive employs a rational system as a way to avoid cross-contamination, its survival depends on ensuring preservation through containment; whilst by contrast, a compost heap lives on symbiotic interactions. When we position the compost of *Carcass* alongside the archive and its associated ideas of containment, it can be seen as a challenge to archival ordering because it is, in material terms, 'constantly in tension with the operations of framing.'[900] This division between the exhibition becomes more visible from a historical perspective and, I propose, should be

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[893] Jussi Parikka, *A Geology of Media* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015), p.13.
[894] Oxford English Dictionary https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/compost [accessed 20 September 2017].
[895] Ibid.
[896] Bruno Latour, 'An Attempt at a "Compositionist Manifesto": A prologue from an avatar', in *New Literary History* no.41 (2010), pp.471-490 (p.474)
[897] Ibid.
[898] Donna J Haraway, 'Companions in Conversation: Donna J Haraway and Cary Wolfe', in *Manifestly Haraway* (Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 2016). p.289.
[899] Ibid, pp.249-250.
[900] Parikka, 'Materiality', in *A Geology of Media*, p.13.

addressed as a challenge to historical coherence. While the archival fragments at Tate and the artworks at V&A and in the National Portrait Gallery we could say have been contained and 'accumulated' by cultural history, at the same time half of the exhibition seeped out into the gallery, further escaping being fixed in cultural analysis. Therefore, even though *Carcass* was already conceived as a play on composition and decomposition, and a doubling of containment and un-containment (it was a glass tower but open at the top), when its liquid burst out a further expansion of uncontainment became possible. It is this spillage and destruction, as a feminist strategy, that offers a contemporary contingency to the historical interpretation of the exhibition.

Its spreading is shared by our screened access to *Carcass* now, which is easily found on a film made by ICA TV for Channel 4.[901] In the 1980s the ICA formalized its relationships with publishers, broadcasters and other educational distributors,[902] and launched an in-house production company, ICA Television and ICA Video with the 'primary function' of 'suppl[ing] television programmes to the Channel Four Company.'[903] This would have two strands: '"one-off" items taken at periodic intervals from the ICA's repertoire' providing access to the 'Eighties movement' in contemporary culture and helping the channel compete with BBC2;[904] and others, where the ICA could approach Channel 4 to produce a regular series.[905] Led by Director of Talks Lisa Appignanesi, it was part of Director Bill McAlister's broader strategy to ensure on the one hand that the ICA's memories were conserved and accessible for the future in a permanent archive, with audio and audio-visual recordings offering a recordable, replayable trace, while on the other gaining a wider distribution and audience for the ICA. The programme to launch 'ICA Television' included: a film about the artist Sol Le Witt; a film directed by Christopher Rawlence of the opera *The Man Who Mistook His Wife for a Hat*; and, also directed by Rawlence, a film documenting the making of Chadwick's exhibition. In this film we see Chadwick piling maggots onto the screen of the Canon photocopier, in a studio using CAD, topping up *Carcass* from a ladder and emptying the black sacks of compost outside the ICA.

After *Carcass* burst open and was removed, although Chadwick argued to have the work reinstated, an alternative solution was proposed for the galleries involved in the

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[901] *Of Mutability* (DVD) (London: ICA Television Productions for Channel Four, 1987).
[902] This includes the Writers Talks series, collaborations with publishers that led to the Documents series of publications, both initiatives were led by Lisa Appignanesi.
[903] 'Discussion document titled 'ICA Television versus Television Arts', between ICA Ventures, Iain Bruce and Michael Jackson, Tate Archive, TGA 955/11/1.
[904] Letter and thoughts on proposed collaboration between ICA and C4 'Towards the ICA and Television' from Genevieve Davey to Bill McAlister (Silent Partnerships) (14 March 1984), Tate Archive, TGA 955/11/1.
[905] Letter from Iain Bruce and Michael Jackson (Associates Film Productions) to Bill McAlister (10 December 1980), Tate Archive, TGA 955/11/1. Although this never happened because Channel 4 increasingly produced their own programmes rather than collaborate as they had originally set out to do.

exhibition tour. They would show a monitor with videoed documentation of *Carcass*, three photographs of *Carcass* and a convex mirror.[906] This remediation of the exhibition, in order to avoid the potential of another collapse of live, smelling, waste, hints at de-sensitizing the audiences experience of the artwork. If *Carcass* allowed multi-sensory responses from audiences, what was the effect of this new multi-screened version, and what does it tell us about the relationship between the audience and the exhibition? We get insight from Chadwick's perspective into this remediation through her second exhibition based self-portrait, which captures and stages this new installation. In *Ruin* Chadwick has positioned herself naked sat on a bench in front of a plinth with a monitor screening footage of *Carcass.* She looks away with her arm symbolically resting on a skull. As the second self-portrait made in and of *Of Mutability* it becomes a partner work to *Vanity,* in which as we saw above, the spectators gaze followed Chadwick's convex mirror into the exhibition and the ICA*.* If in *Vanity* the object of the gaze is the exhibition and Chadwick, in *Ruin* the object remains Chadwick but has also shifted away from the exhibition towards the gaze of a Sony cube monitor paused on an image of the tower's bubbling insides. There is a mediated distance between the audience and the exhibition, but what does the distance represent?

Both *Vanity* and *Ruin* use doubling as a way to invite the spectator to view something internal, accessed in one by the mirror and the other through the screen. In both cases this is tied to the artist's female body, placed in a relation to questions of an internalized experience of history. In the process what gets exposed is the external role of representation by the Institute. Both works move between interior and exterior positions, not as 'final sites', but – as we see with Amelia Jones - where the images act as a screen, opening up opportunities for identificatory responses, by acting as '…hinges between the self and other'.[907] In this case the hinge point, the point of mediation, is between the artist, the Institute and its audience. If in *Vanity* the Rococo lightness, with drapes, textiles, feathers and golden spheres demonstrated, as Chadwick commented, that 'the greater the decoration, the greater the sense of transience';[908] this was described in the press release as 'sentience caught in the mirror, yet of imaginary depth and the infinite fathomless space of pleasure.'[909] Then the darkness and the paused image of *Ruin* suggest 'austerity implies endurance' and what was mutable in this newly

[906] See letter from Helen Chadwick to the ICA listing the insurance values, Tate Archive, TGA 955/7/7/59 folder 2 of 2. The additional work *Allegory of Misrule* was also included at Ikon Gallery along with a viewing platform for the public to look down onto the installation of *The Oval Court.* Letter from Helen Chadwick to Vivienne Bennett, Curator at Harris Museum (30 August 1986), Tate Archive, TGA 955/7/7/59 folder 2 of 2.
[907] Jones, 'Screen Eroticisms', p.128.
[908] Chadwick cited in Warner, 'In the Garden of Delights', unpaginated.
[909] ICA Press Release, Tate Archive, TGA 955/7/7/59, folder 1 of 2.

remediated version, is a reflection of Chadwick staging the removal of olfaction and the growing importance at the ICA in screened distribution.

Chapter conclusion

Let's look back for a moment at *Shapes and Forms,* the film we started with, made in the underground basement of the Academy Cinema in 1949. This film brought connotations of archaeological burrowing into the earth where spotlights and turntables projected a secret life onto inanimate objects. Here the disruption to modernist concepts of universality came through the contingency of rotating objects that exposed the colonial structures behind their display and revealed a sanitization of the Prow figurehead and the ancestral figure. With Chadwick's exhibition the insides of the glass column seeped out, a contingency that mirrors her resistance to cultural mediation. While the film, broadcast on Channel 4 also spread out in its distribution to new public audiences beyond the space of the gallery.

This chapter has attempted to demonstrate a power play between the mediation by the ICA and remediation by Chadwick. This is in many ways captured as we have seen in her two self-portraits. In the first, desire is seen as the 'hinge' between Chadwick and the audience. An approach echoed, as we saw historically, in the development of gender studies in artistic practice and exhibition making, where the role of difference and desire was integrated into processes of identification, drawing on the media and the arts. Chadwick's control of the mediation by literally holding a mirror up as a point of reflection, can be associated through temporality to feminist discussions in the sense that Chadwick was creating distance from the (im)mediate response by staging her body alongside the staging of the exhibition and as a consequence tying her image to the exhibition's history. It was also exhibited and contextualized as part of a reintroduction of subjectivity, after a dominant preference for, as Byatt described, 'explanations that remove autonomy.'[910] As a consequence of this approach, at this point ICA audiences were being invited to reflect on the critical relevance of subjectivity and therefore bring into consideration their own and others identities. The second self-portrait demonstrated that in some ways the control of the exhibition was taken back from Chadwick, by the institute and other galleries on the tour in this newly screened form. Being invited to identify with the screened artwork rather than in a bodily, somatic sense is an indication of the growing relationship between subjectivity, identity and identifications, the media and exhibitions are so entangled that they require an

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[910] Byatt, 'Identity and the Writer', in *Identity: the real me*, p.23.

interpretation to address the layers of their composition. It demonstrates, like the files at the V&A and Tate, the continual containment of culture and how looking to the complexities, the processes of photocopying, CAD, and living compost, that were used, thought through and applied by Chadwick, can be a way to open these ideas back up into broader interpretations. By giving this consideration to contingency, we can be a truly contemporary in our study of exhibitions.

Thesis Conclusion

In her introduction to *Exhibition* Lucy Steeds suggests that the study of the 'exhibition form' should consider 'multiple agencies responsible for exhibitions'. [911] These include contributions by artists and curators and their traces, as well as 'the work of those concerned with other dimensions, aspects such as design or interpretation materials and more broadly the role of the institutional or alternative context […] visitor agency – and the agency of secondary audiences, gaining access through historical study […].'[912] It is these 'multiple agencies' that this project has aimed to consider, proposing that we question the effects of studying the 'exhibition form' by adding complexity from narratives of mediation that address not just the exhibition but intersections between audiences, media, and subjective responses. To achieve this I have offered an alternative methodology that performs an 'active re-reading and reworking',[913] drawing on studies of electronic and digital media, as well as on feminist approaches to screening, spectatorship and exhibition cultures. As I set out in the introduction, Griselda Pollock's approach to 'multiple occupancy' as a space in which there is productive potential has been influential. In this case the canon of exhibitions has been explored alongside other agencies that exist within representations. The proposition has been that by positioning difference as a productively 'structuring other'[914] we actively unfix histories and, as Amelia Jones demonstrated, screen moments, objects and fragments in affective terms. This enables us to explore the way histories are performed, watched, and interacted with, as well as how they mediate in the present.

The decades I have primarily focused on here, the 1970s and 1980s, are significant for the development of exhibition histories as this thesis demonstrates because it was during this time that the practice of curating and the accompanying authority of the curator and institution became increasingly valued in cultural programming and art historical analysis. The interest in the exhibition form, which Steeds identified, has evolved from a post-structuralist 'exploration of the relationships among artistic production, gallery and spectator'[915] by artists and art critics in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Brian O'Doherty's essay in *Artforum* 'Notes on the Gallery Space' (1976), as James Voorhies points out, was a key 'part of the general discourse - exhibitions, publications, and critical writings – from which institutional critique emerged.'[916] O'Doherty and others now associated with Institutional Critique shared 'a desire to engage the spectator' by establishing, what

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[911] Lucy Steeds, 'Introduction', in *Exhibition* (London; Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2014), pp.13-14.
[912] Ibid.
[913] Pollock, 'About Canons and Culture Wars', p.8.
[914] Ibid.
[915] James Voorhies, 'The Rise of the Exhibition as Form' in *Objecthood: The Exhibition as a Critical Form since 1968* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2017), p.41.
[916] Ibid.

Voorhies defines as, the 'exhibition as a critical form.'[917] This critique into the institutional structures of the exhibition, artist, curator, and art began to take further pedagogical form in the 1990s, particularly in relation to Bourriaud's theory of relational aesthetics. Reflections on social practice and the role of the spectator were incorporated into curating courses as well as New Institutionalism, the practice of redefining the art institution by exploring the 'impact on the shaping of knowledge and perspectives derived from art and exhibitions.'[918] One of the effects of this critical trajectory, however, is that our questioning often returns to individual authority, Altshuler for instance suggested 'canonical curators'[919] should forms part of an exhibition canon, and this has consequences for what becomes excluded in the process. Bourriaud for example, wrote in 2001 that one of the successes of *Relational Aesthetics* was 'that it was a "kick start" to contemporary aesthetics, beyond the fascination with communication and new technologies then being talked about incessantly, and above all, beyond the grids of reading (Fluxus, in particular) into which these artists' works were being placed.'[920] Bourriaud's relegation of communication and new technologies indicates how cultural critique also imposes new forms of hierarchy.

This thesis contributes understanding into how, as a consequence of studying the 'exhibition form', the figure of the curator, institution and artist emerges with increased authority. By exploring the dialogues between authorial positions and multiple agencies that resist this frame the examples in this thesis have demonstrated how the position of authority was often already present in an exhibition or programme. In Chapter Four Beuys and Metzger were particularly useful examples as protagonists who interpreted artistic and institutional authority in different ways. One was a dominant artist in the exhibition space at the time and in subsequent historical traces emphasizing a modernist artistic impulse, while the other was present by their absence. Metzger's proposition for cultural destruction at the time was mirrored in way the traces of his project mediate historically. His approach offered readers/receivers - then and now - a fragmentation of ideas rather than a single object. While Beuys looked for art historical permanence in the traditional sense by having his work acquired by a collection, Metzger's legacy in the exhibition frames as the ghostly presence of his name label on the gallery wall. The dialectic of Beuys and Metzger captures two ideas of temporality that are an inherent part of the condition of contemporaneity in art, which Terry Smith described as a 'thirst

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[917] Voorhies, 'Introduction' to *Objecthood*, pp.1-19, (p.10).
[918] Voorhies, 'On New Institutions' in *Objecthood*, pp.71-138, (p.72).
[919] Altshuler, 'A Canon of Exhibitions', p.9.
[920] Bourriaud, *Postproduction: Culture as Screenplay: How Art Reprograms the World* (New York: Lukas & Sternberg, 2005), pp.7-8.

of situatedness',[921] and Peter Osborne saw as the 'historical-ontological condition(s)' of postconceptual art.[922] This interest in temporality is connected to analogue technology and the arrival of digitization but it is also tied to challenges set against institutions. Artworks and exhibitions associated with Institutional Critique, such as the projects by Metzger and Beuys, were about 'not becoming an institution, of always maintaining a state of flux in a kind of engagement established among spectator, institution, and art.'[923] But a of the consequences of these approaches is that they have also become institutions, and one of the findings of this thesis has been to propose a new methodology for challenging curatorial, institutional or artistic authority.

The theoretical texts drawn on in this thesis show that an increased analysis and critique of the exhibition was taking place in the mid 1980s. Poinsot, in 1984, critiqued exhibitions where artworks were instrumentalized by a curator's 'discourse of verity', describing these as 'mythifying machines'.[924] His criticisms about exhibitions that replaced existing aesthetic criteria with new symbolic value were focused on examples taking place between 1969-1984. In 1988 Bennett argued that the state[925] made 'populations governable'[926] by their manipulation of spectacle. He explored this by creating a parallel between the institution of the exhibition, with its 'complex of disciplinary and power relations', and Foucault's 'carceral archipelago', arguing that in culture these power relations function by framing the 'exhibition as institution', and in creating an 'exhibitionary complex'. [927] By writing about artworks that were 'discursive rather than iconographic' from the ICA exhibition *Art into Society* in the catalogue for *German Art in the 20th Century: Painting and Sculpture 1905-1985* Rogoff brought the reader's attention - in 1985 - to the space of the exhibition without actually addressing it directly.[928] From an understanding of these artworks she considered how the consciousness of the spectator was engaged when they were required to 'read' the space. Written between 1984-1988, and applied in this thesis, these examples demonstrate the ways in which the exhibition was beginning to be interpreted as a form that facilitates discursive practice, as an institution, or an opportunity for institutional critique, and as a means of imposing new symbolic value through curatorial authority that might lead to Altshuler's 'exhibitionary canon'. Each of the essays in some way questions the authority of the exhibition either via the curator, art history, or in terms of its systems of

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[921] Terry Smith, 'Taking Time', p.198.
[922] Osborne, *Anywhere or Not at All: Philosophy of Contemporary Art*, p.85.
[923] James makes these comments with reference to Charles Esche's article, 'Can Everything Be Temporary? Art, Institutions, and Fluidity,' in *Objecthood*. p.222.
[924] Poinsot, 'Large Exhibitions: A Sketch of a Typology', p.59.
[925] '...merely a convenient shorthand for an array of government agencies', Bennett, 'The Exhibitionary Complex', p.108.
[926] Ibid, p.109.
[927] Ibid, p.82.
[928] Irit Rogoff, 'Representations of Politics', p.125.

representation and spectacle. At different points they have enabled me to explore in historical terms how and when the exhibition was being engaged with, and to consider how this has effected and informed current approaches to the historical analysis of exhibitions.

Somewhat differently to these examples but as important is Leggett's programme *Image – Con - Text* from 1981, referenced in Chapter Three. This brought into the analysis an example not about the 'exhibition form' in the traditional field of the visual arts, but from wider approaches to public programming.[929] The description of a programme, organized to accompany artist's film and video tours travelling around South West England in the early 1980s, illustrated how a productive crossover could take place by incorporating the dynamics of the screen, technology and new audiences. Leggett explored how an understanding of VHS technology and contextual material (such as the ephemeral material of programmes, pamphlets, posters, books, and various recordings) could inform approaches to programming. He suggested that in combination ephemera and technology brought awareness to context and viewing situations and that this could help move the position of reflection away from linear art historical coherence. By incorporating this example from histories of the moving image, and others from a range of disciplines such as Reception Theory, my intention has been to extend the disciplinary boundaries that often accompany the 'exhibition form'. I have suggested that examples from a wider range of disciplines can be productively brought together through objects, fragments, moments and approaches in a way that would allow us to address mediation in its broadest sense. Going forward my aim is to contribute to this crossover between disciplines and methodologies and to expand the historical understanding of public programming by publishing in a variety of fields.

Many of the moments or fragments selected in the thesis have - to date - not yet received adequate historical analysis. The primary research into private and public archives during the project has contributed the first comprehensive study of: the ICA's Video Library; George Hoellering's film *Shapes and Forms*; the exhibitions *Electric Theatre*; and *Art into Society*. Where exhibitions have been historicized as having significance and therefore already exist to some extent within a canon of exhibitions - such as, *40,000 Years of Modern Art*, *Cybernetic Serendipity* and Helen Chadwick's *Of Mutability* - I have tried to interrogate how the aura of the exhibition impacts on our historical perceptions. In writing about these more familiar examples I have taken an approach that offers what

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[929] This is an approach echoed by James Voorhies who interprets the email, website and publishing organisation eflux as an example of the 'exhibition as critical form'.

Irit Rogoff referred to as an alternative 'reading strategy,'[930] through a re-exploration of the screen as a common ground between audience and exhibition. When we consider *Shapes and Forms*, for example, as a mediation of *40,000 Years*, the exhibition and film begin to 'nudge each other in ways that might loosen and open them up to other ways of being'.[931] This broadens the exhibition's mediation out from the notional modern spectator, associated with its moment in history, into new productive relationships with contemporary artworks. The rotating malanggan*,* as we considered through Issa Saamb's comment on recognizing 'socialized cultural objects', helped me to open up how we understand not just the figurative objects they are framed as by the lens of the film camera, but to address the surrounding locality, environmental connections to olfaction and decomposition, the process of making the object, involving remembering as well as forgetting.

The selection of these examples was structured by the conditions of the archive. Although I began by seeking examples of important artworks or exhibitions in an art history context, I quickly found that the archive kept resisting any definitive answers. This was partly an effect of the archive, which expands out and confuses when we look for coherent narratives, as Foucault commented:

> 'Far from being that which unifies everything that has been said in the great confused murmur of a discourse, far from being only that which ensures that we exist in the midst of preserved discourse, it is that which differentiates discourses in their multiple existence and specifies them in their own duration.'[932]

The archive offers us these 'differentiated discourses' and a 'non-coherence' of 'statements in their dispersion'[933], this is true both theoretically and pragmatically. For example, the dispersed ICA archive came to show when the Institute's history had been given priority. From the 1970s onwards the archiving processes at the ICA became much less consistently maintained than the earlier periods. Prior to their move in 1967, the administrative files were relatively well documented and filed, following standards established early on by the ICA this was a process that was helped by the leadership of Dorothy Morland.[934] In their new location on the Mall the Institute appeared, from my

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[930] Irit Rogoff, 'Turning' (First Published in E-Flux Journal No.0, 2008)', in *Curating and the Educational Turn*, ed. by Paul O'Neill and Mick Wilson (Amsterdam: Open Editions/de Appel, 2010), pp. 32-46 (p.33).
[931] Ibid, p.33.
[932] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, p.127
[933] Ibid*.*
[934] Morland donated her archives to the Tate, these are often more comprehensive than the original sale from the ICA and shows the value she gave to archiving.

historical perspective, to be more uncertain as they continually readdressed how the organization should be resourced and structured. In addition, between 1968-1973 there was a quick succession of four Directors,[935] and departments were regularly redefined. The confusion at the time remains in the archival files. One of the results, in contrast to the earlier period, appears to be an institutional instability and this is reflected in the dispersal of its archives; when individuals left the ICA they often took programming files with them. Later on, department files were given or sold to other collections and archives, spreading the ICA's history into new organizations and disciplines where the files overlapped with alternative histories and offer us potential new narratives.

The fragmented archive of the ICA can be seen as creatively and critically productive because its structure leads us to question what Foucault referred to as the 'great mythical book of history'.[936] These archival conditions are not just found at the ICA but are representative of other non-collecting organizations, which like the ICA, can offer a 'density of discursive practices, systems that establish statements as events (with their worn conditions and domain of appearance) and things (with their own possibility and field of use).'[937] Arts organisations like The Collective in Edinburgh, Modern Art Oxford, or the KHOJ in Delhi, were started in order to connect art with its public. When we think about and historically research organizations like these through their archives, our questioning can locate overlapping and dispersed connections that help us to broaden out narratives from containment by disciplines. As Patricia Falguieres has reflected, how we analyse institutions, is not about 'confirm[ing] an ideal continuity […], but rather in order to measure the extent of breaks, bifurcations, rearrangements and reinvestments that have affected all institutions over the long course of history.'[938] One way to find these 'breaks' I have found is through disruptions in technology. My suggestion has been that in appealing to media-based theory we can move away from the idea of definitive answers and instead look to destabilize and interrogate authoritative narratives. My intention has been to contribute to exhibition studies by showing how methodologies of media theories and feminist approaches can help us to question the contained authoritative narratives cultural history so often slips into.

The thesis has demonstrated that it is possible to find 'breaks' in cultural history, and more specifically in exhibition studies, by drawing on media archaeology because as a methodology, as Jussi Parrika and Wolfgang Ernst point out, it shows us the

[935] Desmond Morris (1967-68), Michael Kustow (1968-1970), Peter Cook (1970-1973), Ted Little (1973-1977).
[936] Foucault, Neitzche, Genealogy, History', p.146.
[937] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, p128.
[938] Patricia Falguières, 'Institut,ion, Invention, Possibility', in *How Institutions Think: Between Contemporary Art and Curatorial Discourse,* ed. by Paul O'Neill, Lucy Steeds, and Mick Wilson (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2017), pp.28-37, (p.34).

'*dis*continuity'[939] between cultural timekeeping and autonomous time-based media. Ernst has described how after the arrival of photography, the connection to the real in the negative proved that there 'are only disconnected discrete units.'[940] This is something Leggett also recognized with his *Image-Con-Text* programme. In its transparent connection to the real moment of documentation, the medium and technology of photography disrupted earlier ideas of cultural and linear coherence. In the process, Ernst reflects, 'the detached scientific observer is the camera [and as a result] past, archive, and history fall apart, as disparate registers and semiotic regimes.'[941] We have seen through theories of contemporary art that the shift to photography is key to how artists express the conditions of contemporaneity and what I have proposed is that media archaeology can contribute to this understanding because it demonstrates how the technology of the camera can be used as historical methodology. Ernst captures this in his comment that media archaeology as an 'academic practice [...] is applied epistemology: it does not leave technological expertise to engineering and computing sciences alone but learns and teaches how to create sparks of knowledge from objects in order to translate this into discourse.'[942] By learning and incorporating an understanding of technological processes, the media archaeologist questions the position of cultural authority by finding points of discontinuity. It has shown me how to explore and apply the technology of photocopying, computer-aided-design, or a consideration of translations a film from Super 8, to VHS, to Youtube as narratives of mediation. It has also been a starting point for extending the disruption from temporal media into ecological discontinuity where, as Carolyn Christov Bakargiev suggested, the exhibition can be seen not as critical, or as aesthetic and reified, but as compost with symbiotic potential.[943]

The Video Library was an important moment in my research, where technological interaction both caused and enabled a disruption, at the time of viewing and for my historical analysis. It demonstrated how media is only fully experienced when it is operational. In being present on the screen, regardless of when something was originally created, our relationship and experience of the past becomes revisable, editable, and controllable. Laura Mulvey brought this to our attention when she suggested that digitization transforms the position of voyeur, associated with the male gaze, into a curious spectator who, informed by feminism, 'decipher(s) the screen.'[944] This curious

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[939] This is located in Foucault's theory of discontinuities, rather than reconciling differences. Jussi Parikka, 'Media Archaeology as a Transatlantic Bridge', in *Digital Memory and the Archive*, p.24.

[940] Ernst, 'Let There Be Irony', p.53.

[941] Ibid, p.49.

[942] Interview with Wolfgang Ernst: https://manifold.umn.edu/read/an-interview-with-wolfgang-ernst/section/58758806-8a16-472a-bb4e-b1cac71e036b

[943] Carolyn Christov Bakargiev, *Leverhulme Lecture II | Worlding: From the Archive to the Compost*: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F8Jl8xvdHKM (3 March 2014) [accessed 10 September 2017].

[944] Mulvey, The Pensive Spectator', p.191.

desire to decipher the screen and the performing 'presence effect'[945] of temporal media can and should affect how we write about the past. Although research might be led by nostalgia, particularly for anachronistic analogue forms, or a searching of continuity in the archive, the temporality of media rejects this voyeurism by becoming present the moment you put the tape into the machine and press play. Then glitches on screen, the tracking raster lines, or the muffled background noises in the audio recording, can be incorporated as a challenge to historical structures by showing us that the technological medium is tangible. These technological sounds might seem 'extraneous' but through media archaeological analysis they can be seen as 'a qualitative equivalent to technical interference' and an expression of media 'tempor(e)alities'.[946] This 'technological ear of the medium'[947] can, as I have shown, be interpreted in the programmatic histories of the ICA and other institutional histories as disruptors against the linear progression of cultural history. Noise occasionally erupted like an outburst of laughter,[948] or added something improvisatory, like the 'neat little systems blurting out "participatory" sounds' in *Electric Theatre*.[949] Listening to media combines two forms of programming, 'autonomous time-based media', and the cultural programming of the institution; and writing about both performs a discontinuity between the two. This agency in historical analysis is important because it integrates an understanding of the digital in relation to culture, a viewpoint now impossible to ignore.

There is some crossover between contemporary art and media archaeology, led by Jussi A Parikka, Siegfried Zielinski and Lev Manovich,[950] but arts programming and historical research could benefit from further collaboration. Likewise, media archaeology would benefit from engaging in a wider range of artistic practices. My suggestion with this thesis has been to show that a dialogue between the disciplines of exhibition studies and media archaeology could be productive; and the lens of the ICA, which appears to illuminate the pre-history of the digital, has helped to demonstrate this. If we look back to the Independent Group for a moment, what we find is that they explored the effects on art, products, images and ideas when they are channeled through technologies, and systems of commodification. They considered how a new form of aura is produced, not as an index to the original, but as a trace that gains iconic status from its multiple and

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[945] Vivian Sobchack, 'Afterword: Media Archaeology and Re-presencing the Past', p.329.

[946] Ernst, 'Let there be Irony', p.31.

[947] Parikka, 'Media Archaeology as a Transatlantic Bridge', p.27.

[948] I'm thinking here of the burst of laughter we found in Ehrenzweig's interpretation of responses to *40,000 Years*. Transcript of 'The Unconscious Meaning of Primitive and Modern Art', by Anton Ehrenzweig, Tate Archive, TGA 955/1/7/12.

[949] Peter Fuller, 'Electric Theatre', *Arts Review* (27 March 1971), Tate Archive, TGA 955/7/2/24 (I).

[950] The recent publication series *The Contemporary Condition*, published by Sternberg Press, in partnership with Aarhus University and ARoS Aarhus Art Museum (from 2016), for example, brings the conditions of contemporaneity found in arts in dialogue with to media theorists, publications in this series have been authored by Terry Smith, Jussi A Parikka, and Wolfgang Ernst.

various circulations. John McHale's reflections in 1959 on the 'constant re-creation and renewal of [...] images [in a] highly mobile and plastic environ'[951] are strikingly relevant to our current post-digital, post-internet society, where our relationship to history appears, not as a glance back, but in a constant layering of screens. The Independent Group engaged with a new aura that was being created in consumption, aesthetics and technology by addressing the role, behavior, systems and operations of technology, as well as the spectator in their making of exhibitions and events. Rather than see our current time in terms of historical progression to some more advanced point, we can see historical moments like this as similar attempts by artists, institutions and writers, to form relationships with contemporary systems of communication. One of the aims of this thesis has been to contribute how this could work by showing that not just exhibitions but artistic and technological experiments, forms of publishing and marketing can provide inspiration for exploring the dynamics between art, media, history and society.

The ICA provides this lens because the programming so often engaged in a dialogue between notions on contemporaneity, art and technology. As the relationship between art and technology is addressed – not more so than before – but currently in terms of a crossover between digital technologies and the humanities, a variety of approaches should be considered. It would be useful to explore this engagement, not just with the ICA, but also with other organisations, collectives and pedagogic approaches. The recent increase in Digital Humanities departments in universities would be one area to consider.[952] Another would be to address what impact specialist digital curators in art organisations with have on curating and education.[953] This relationship to the digital extends to public collections and will no doubt have an effect on our historical methodologies. For a long time, led by Pip Laurenson, Head of Collection Care Research, Tate has been committed to addressing the conservation of media art. As part of this a new research initiative *Reshaping the Collectible: When Artworks Live in Museums*, [954] funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation has launched developing an object-based approach to conservation. The life of six artworks will be researched as they transition through the various departments at Tate. The project aims to broaden understanding of these artworks beyond the visual arts by drawing on anthropological, philosophical and scientific research. The similarity to my own case study methodology is striking and demonstrates how object-based analysis can be transformed by new media artworks

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[951] McHale, 'The Plastic Parthenon', p.93.
[952] Building on the work of Lev Manovich.
[953] The Serpentine Gallery, MoMA, SFMOMA, all have dedicated digital curators.
[954] This is part of *Media Matters* a collaborative project between the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art (SFMOMA) and Tate focused on collecting and conserving media artworks. It also comes as the result of the *Media in Transition* (Tate Modern, 18–20 November 2015). See http://mattersinmediaart.org/ [accessed 5 May 2018].

because their interactive behaviours allow us to look, operate and re-perform them as we address ecological, environmental and technological temporalities. This gives us the potential to think in expansive ways about forms of mediation and cross-disciplinarity. Although welcome, Tate's project is focused on knowledge surrounding its own collection and is still focused on the preservation of artworks. My thesis offers into this an alternative a transferrable methodology, by demonstrating how not just artworks but fragments, films, or programme bulletins, can be used as ways into dialogues between technology, theory, and culture because, as Kubler pointed out, any sherd or other archaeological find, 'mutely testifies to the presence of the same conflicts.'[955]

Throughout the thesis threads of interaction, spectatorship, audiences and the public have been used as ways to interrogate the ICA as an institution. By using the term 'audience' in the title, I wanted to investigate where constructions of reception emerged in programmatic and theoretical contexts. I also wanted to specifically raise a question about why the term was being increasingly used by the Arts Council and the ICA over the 1970s and 1980s. Research with archives provides access to this information by showing how recipients of exhibitions or programmes were defined at different points in time. I questioned what informed these choices, to what extent the mediation was led by technology, funding, and/or artistic concepts? What were the institutional motivations for engaging with the public and what becomes subsumed in these terms? In 1949, we know that Herbert Read referred to 'the Public' in his letter to the *Times*; with *Electric Theatre* in 1971 the 'spectator' became another exhibit in a performance of electronic relays; in 1974, the organisers of *Art into Society* avoided 'spectator' or 'audience', instead using the term 'visitor'; and with the arrival of the Video Library or Videotheque in 1982, visitors were conceived explicitly as an 'arts audience'. We learnt how these terms have theoretical parallels in a range of disciplines from linguistics, anthropology, technology, cultural policy, and to theories of the moving image. I have kept a fluctuation of terms (audience, spectator and the public) in order to avoid the idea that there is a trajectory of an ideal and to reflect how the ICA regularly moved between different constructions. One of the consequences has been that a more comprehensive study into the construction of audiences or the public in both virtual and physical contexts would be useful. Audience engagement as a field of research is currently separated by medium, it can be explored in terms of film, television and broadcasting, performance, theatre, music, and to a lesser degree, exhibition studies, but there are very few examples of where constructions of audiences intersect between these fields of research.[956] I have shown how research into cross-disciplinary programming of arts organizations can provide access to exploring

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[955] Kubler, The Shape of Time, p.110.
[956] Ian Christie, *Audiences* is one exception to this.

this. My intention going forward is to build on Maeve Connolly's reflections on the application of television's 'publicness'[957] by arts institutions and to demonstrate how research with programmatic organisations questioning the motivations for audience/public/spectator engagement, can open up our understanding in broader terms.

The presence of the audience, spectator or visitor alongside technology acted as disruptors against the coherence of cultural narratives. Through forms of interaction - either those that existed at the time (in technological and cultural terms), or my own interaction - it became possible to interrogate the dominant frame of the ICA from the position of the other, the visitor, the interloper, the researcher or the media within the exhibition. The response by the ICA, theorists or art critics when it was believed there was too much interaction, either from the public or invading machines is telling, it reveals a reoccurring fear that the overuse of interaction and the presence of new media will be accompanied by a loss of criticality.[958] In Chapter Three we saw how interaction challenged cultural authority by the criticisms directed at *Cybernetic Serendipity* and Reichardt at the time and subsequently. We also saw this in the negative descriptions of *Electric Theatre* that arguably led to its absence from any historical studies until now. Although this is not a direct result of these electronic/cybernetic experiments, it is helpful to understand this reaction, as discussed in the Fourth Chapter. A few years later in 1974 we saw an engagement with exhibition visitors through the frame of participation. In the British context this is aligned to the redefinition of the Experimental Arts Committee as Community Arts by the Arts Council in 1974, a response to changes in artistic practice and the popularity of the Experimental Art Committee. From the German context inspiration came from taking approach to organizing exhibitions through colloquia, enabling a cathartic discussion of national, individual and collective experiences. What *Art into Society* showed is than rather being experimental and radical; the ICA was in fact responsive to currents in international art exhibitions. Within these two national contexts what was equally present was a repositioning of individual authority and this is what Rasheed Araeen highlighted at the symposium when questioned the international and political credentials of the ICA when they aligned themselves to the authoritative, colonial position of Anglo-America. Araeen's examination of the ICA's identification with the established order - like Brisley's list of political artists, like the spilling tower of compost, the interacting hygrothermograph, rotating malanggan, or the contradictory description of Shona Sculptures – inform us of

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[957] Maeve Connolly, *TV Museum: Contemporary Art and the Age of Television*, p.17.
[958] Interactive engagement with the spectator is a characteristic associated with new media art, as Cook and Graham posited, new media art can be defined by 'the three behaviours of interactivity, connectivity, and computability in any combination.' *Rethinking Curating*, p.10

what is and was obscured by the lens of the institution, and how interaction at the time and subsequently gives us access to wider perspectives.

A similar narrative between collective interaction and positions of artistic and curatorial authority was evident in the Video Library. Although VHS technology created an important opportunity to widen distribution, and the apparatus in the library created co-authorship by handing over temporal control to visitors, what we also found was that beneath this rhetoric of challenging institutional power, the guiding authority of an individual was still present. Jarman's voice acted as the off-stage director to the audience experience of his video compilation, while Jarman's exhibition of film stills was remediated into the more traditional, art historical form of a painting retrospective. The motivations for reaffirming individual authority emerge when we reflect on the particular social and economic factors. By exploring the reaction to participation and interaction by programmers, critics and historians, even the defensiveness at times from media based analysis in,[959] we can become more aware of the authoritative positions adopted by organisations like the ICA and can rethink these by reintroducing interactivity.

The thesis has contributed primary research into a growing history of twentieth century centres, galleries and institutes that are founded on the notion of contemporaneity in arts.[960] These non-collecting organisations - like the ICA - provide us with knowledge about contemporary art history, the development of critical and creative practices, as well as insight into the construction of cultural policy, or sources of funding. Unlike museums with permanent collections, non-collecting arts organizations rely on their public profile, the idea of being pioneering, and evidence of this in their ephemeral traces. However, the impermanence created by relying on ephemera produces anxiety that can result in the institution trying to re-possess histories it previously authored. It was evident that the ICA had at various points reflected back on its own history, including at the time of my own research.[961] This historical agenda has the risk that in the process of looking back the same selections and exclusions from earlier periods become repeated. But the purpose of understanding institutions like the ICA is not necessarily to prove

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[959] Cook and Graham highlight the difference between interaction and reaction.

[960] Recent projects include Nicholas Alfrey's research with the Nottingham Midland Group and Midland Art and Community Centre (1943-1987), Anjalie Dalal-Clayton's PhD Bluecoat Coming into View: Black British Artists and Exhibition Cultures 1976-2010; Hilary Floe's thesis on Modern Art Oxford; Eleanor Roberts PhD on performance at the ICA 1968-1980; and Alex Massouras PhD on The Emerging Artist and London's Art Institutions 1949-1988. All took part in the group *Not Another Museum,* convened by Dr. Ben Cranfield and Dr. Isobel Whitelegg.

[961] Led by Director Gregor Muir, exhibitions, talks, a publication, and an archiving programme over the last few years have revisited moments from the ICA's history, these include *Cybernetic Serendipity: A Documentation*, Institute of Contemporary Arts (14 Oct 2014 – 30 Nov 2014); *Fluorescent Chrysanthemum*, Institute of Contemporary Arts (4 Oct 2016 – 27 Nov 2016); *ICA Video Library: 1981–1993*, Institute of Contemporary Arts (14 Feb 2017 – 16 Apr 2017); Talk, 'The Legacy of Helen Chadwick at Institute of Contemporary Arts' (9 Mar 2016).

their relevance, 'not in order to confirm an ideal continuity'[962], but the opportunity to expand our understanding of programming through new dialogues with technology and wider forms of materiality. This is possible by looking at, listening to, embodying, and deconstructing the multiple functions and dispersions from these spaces. Agencies that might seem peripheral - technology, the screen, systems of operation - can be ways into subjective, temporal, and technological narratives of mediation. Bridging programmes and other forms of mediation help us to disrupt the formalization of disciplines and the reification of the 'exhibition form'. The practice of looking for coherence, universalism, or models of the exhibition, is always structured by the 'others' of temporality, electrical diversions and disruptive visitors, and these disruptions importantly complicate and re-socialize histories helping them to spill them out as a happy mess of techno-cultural confusion.

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[962], Patricia Falguières, 'Institution, Invention, Possibility', p.34.

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