

# The Scores Project

Essays on Experimental Notation  
in Music, Art, Poetry, and Dance,  
1950–1975

Edited by

Michael Gallope  
Natilee Harren  
John Hicks

Intersection 3 (1953)  
Concert for Piano and  
Orchestra (1958)  
Five Piano Pieces for  
David Tudor (1959)  
Paper Piece (1960)  
An Anthology of Chance Operations  
(1962–63)  
Drip Music (Drip Event) (1959–62),  
from Water Yam (1963)  
Three Social Projects (1963)  
We Shall Run (1963)  
The Identical Lunch (late 1960s–early '70s)  
Spatial Poem (1965–75)  
Routine (1973–75)

Morton Feldman  
John Cage  
Sylvano Bussotti  
Benjamin Patterson  
La Monte Young  
George Brecht  
Jackson Mac Low  
Yvonne Rainer  
Alison Knowles  
Mieko Shiomi  
Allan Kaprow

## The Scores Project



The Scores Project

Essays on Experimental  
Notation in Music, Art, Poetry,  
and Dance, 1950–1975

Edited by

Michael Gallope

Natilee Harren

John Hicks

Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles

This publication was created using Quire™, a multiformat publishing tool from Getty.

The free online edition of this open-access publication is available at [getty.edu/publications/scores/](https://getty.edu/publications/scores/) and includes video, audio, and zoomable illustrations. Free PDF and EPUB downloads of the book are also available.

© 2025 J. Paul Getty Trust



The text of this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License. To view a copy of this license, visit <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>. All images are reproduced with the permission of the rights holders acknowledged in captions and are expressly excluded from the CC BY-NC license covering the rest of this publication. These images may not be reproduced, copied, transmitted, or manipulated without consent from the owners, who reserve all rights.

First edition 2025

Any revisions or corrections made to this publication after the first edition date will be listed in detail in the project repository at <https://github.com/thegetty/scores>. The revisions branch of the project repository, when present, will show any changes currently under consideration but not yet published here.

Published by the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles  
Getty Publications  
1200 Getty Center Drive, Suite 500  
Los Angeles, California 90049-1682  
[getty.edu/publications/](https://getty.edu/publications/)

Adriana Romero, *Project Editor*  
Lisa Marietta, *Manuscript Editor*  
Greg Albers, *Digital Publications Manager*  
Andrew LeClair and E Roon Kang, *Design*  
Molly McGeehan, *Production*  
Karen Ehrmann and Pauline Lopez, *Image and Rights Acquisition*  
Jenny Park and Alex Hallenbeck, *Digital Assistants*

Distributed in the United States and Canada by the University of Chicago Press

Distributed outside the United States and Canada by Yale University Press, London

Type composed in U001

Printed in China

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Gallope, Michael, editor. | Harren, Natilee, editor. | Hicks, John (John Andrew), editor. | Getty Research Institute, issuing body.

Title: The scores project : essays on experimental notation in music, art, poetry, and dance, 1950–1975 / edited by Michael Gallope, Natilee Harren, and John Hicks.

Description: Los Angeles : Getty Research Institute, [2025] | Includes bibliographical references. | Summary: "A collection of essays examining experimental scores and source documents from the postwar avant-gardes, interpreted by experts on art, music, dance, and poetry" — Provided by publisher.

Identifiers: LCCN 2024032747 | ISBN 9781606069332 (paperback) | ISBN 9781606069356 (pdf) | ISBN 9781606069349 (epub)

Subjects: LCSH: Avant-garde (Aesthetics)—History—20th century. | Arts—Experimental methods—History—20th century. | Performance art—History—20th century. | Musical notation—History—20th century. | Movement notation—History—20th century.

Classification: LCC NX458 .S37 2025 | DDC 700/.41109045—dc23/eng/20240926 LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2024032747>

Every effort has been made to contact the owners and photographers of illustrations reproduced here whose names do not appear in the captions. Photographs and videos of items in the holdings of the Getty Research Institute are courtesy the Research Institute. Anyone having further information concerning copyright holders is asked to contact Getty Publications so this information can be included in future printings.

This publication was peer reviewed through a single-masked process in which the reviewers remained anonymous.

## About the Project

In the mid-twentieth century, individuals across visual art, music, poetry, theater, and dance began using experimental scores, revolutionizing artistic practice and fostering interdisciplinary collaboration. Featuring over two thousand images and audiovisual materials, *The Scores Project* is a unique digital publication that provides a comprehensive view of this historical moment through select experimental scores by George Brecht, Sylvano Bussotti, John Cage, Morton Feldman, Allan Kaprow, Alison Knowles, Jackson Mac Low, Benjamin Patterson, Yvonne Rainer, Mieko Shiomi, and La Monte Young, as well as commentaries from an interdisciplinary team of scholars, rekindling a sense of wonder at this innovative and complex period in art history.

Published to accompany the digital edition, this print book includes the introduction, complete commentaries, and a selection of images from the online publication. URLs are provided throughout—in captions and chapter openers—to encourage readers to engage with the online edition. To view the project in its entirety, please visit [getty.edu/publications/scores/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/).

## Contents

1		Introduction Michael Gallope Natilee Harren John Hicks
69	1.	Morton Feldman: <i>Intersection 3</i> (1953) Michael Gallope
81	2.	John Cage: <i>Concert for Piano and Orchestra</i> (1958) Michael Gallope Nancy Perloff
95	3.	Sylvano Bussotti: <i>Five Piano Pieces for David Tudor</i> (1959) Michael Gallope
111	4.	Benjamin Patterson: <i>Paper Piece</i> (1960) George E. Lewis
127	5.	La Monte Young, ed.: <i>An Anthology of Chance Operations</i> (1962–63) Benjamin Piekut
143	6.	George Brecht: <i>Drip Music (Drip Event)</i> (1959–62), from <i>Water Yam</i> (1963) Natilee Harren
159	7.	Jackson Mac Low: <i>Three Social Projects</i> (1963) John Hicks
173	8.	Yvonne Rainer: <i>We Shall Run</i> (1963) Julia Bryan-Wilson



191	9.	Alison Knowles: <i>The Identical Lunch</i> (late 1960s–early '70s) Emily Ruth Capper
207	10.	Mieko Shiomi: <i>Spatial Poem</i> (1965–75) Natilee Harren
225	11.	Allan Kaprow: <i>Routine</i> (1973–75) Emily Ruth Capper
245		Contributors
247		Acknowledgments

## Introduction

Michael Gallope  
Natilee Harren  
John Hicks

In the decades following World War II, the musical score emerged as a unique and powerful medium for experimental art. A new movement of visual artists, composers, poets, and performers reimagined the score — traditionally defined as the written representation of a musical composition — as a tool for structuring experimentation in the nascent fields of performance art, conceptualism, and intermedia. They drew inspiration from unconventional musical notations devised in the early to mid-1950s by the composers Earle Brown, John Cage, and Morton Feldman. The new movement's use of experimental scores spread during the 1960s through publications, festivals, concerts, classrooms, networked correspondence, exhibitions, happenings, and a renewed awareness of score-like antecedents in the charts, diagrams, sketches, and written instructions of earlier avant-gardes, from Dada and Surrealism to the Bauhaus. By the later years of the 1960s, diverse communities of artists, musicians, poets, and dancers had transformed the possibilities of the score into an ever-expanding universe of textual, symbolic, and graphic marks. They used experimental scores to stage a multitude of practices that dismantled and recast the traditional boundaries of artistic media.

Important precedents for this movement emerged during the 1950s. A number of early experimental scores were written expressly for the pianist David Tudor, a specialist performer who earned near-universal critical respect for the meticulous care he took in realizing even the most open-ended musical notations. Composers and artists who wrote scores for Tudor devised notations that reworked

and, in some cases, abandoned the Western musical staff, with its usual notes, beams, rests, meters, and key signatures. They crafted intricate diagrams, freehand drawings, and textual instructions that dramatically expanded the performer's role in interpreting a given score. To aid in his performances of such "indeterminate" works, Tudor first created in 1954 what he called a "realization": a translation of the open-ended elements of an experimental score into a personalized notation system suitable for performance. Due to the strength of Tudor's international reputation, his commitment to his collaborators' desires to experiment across disciplinary and artistic boundaries, and his famously accurate and deadpan performances of even the most outrageous stunts, the pianist, in the years until about 1961, himself served as a key agent for score-based experimentation. By virtue of his reputation and accomplishments, Tudor would help establish a broader international legitimacy for avant-garde performance. Alongside the new forms of notation, committed performers such as Tudor played a crucial role in presenting these challenging works to skeptical audiences, thereby opening new possibilities for performance in an emerging culture of indeterminate composition.

By the late 1950s, a new generation of visual and performing artists began to use experimental scores to push their practice beyond accepted conventions of genre or medium. An important catalyst for these activities was John Cage's course in experimental composition (1956–59) at the New School for Social Research. Cage's course attracted artists who did not consider themselves musicians but were inspired—and, indeed, tasked by Cage with exploring different approaches to composing time-based performance works by experimenting with the score format. In turn, Cage's students, including George Brecht and Allan Kaprow, adapted scores to hybridize and reconceptualize a number of existing artistic mediums (painting, sculpture, film, printed

text, collage, etc.), thus producing new forms of what Dick Higgins would term *intermedia*.<sup>1</sup>

Through loosely organized peer networks forged by performances, festivals, mailed ephemera, publications, and word-of-mouth transmission, the 1960s saw an international explosion of experimental scoring practices. An important incubator of these activities was Fluxus, a loosely organized experimental performance and publishing collective launched in September 1962 in Wiesbaden, West Germany, whose membership spanned Western Europe, the United States, and Japan. Compositions by Fluxus affiliates including Alison Knowles, Jackson Mac Low, Benjamin Patterson, and Mieko Shiomi conveyed instructions for participatory events, broke down professionalized cultures of performance, posed philosophical questions to audiences, and experimented with various symbols and modes of written representation. At a remove from the layered complexities of modernist poetry, the language of their scores could startle readers with straightforward instructions for specific, often mundane tasks or parody technical and bureaucratic languages of modernization. In other moments, their graphically elaborate works emphasized visual interest over readability. In the context of a gallery exhibition or publication, an experimental score could be seen as a work of visual art in its own right, independent of any realization or performance. Meanwhile, poets such as Mac Low, and dancers, including those associated with New York's Judson Dance Theater, played with scores as a way of rethinking and recalibrating their approaches to narrative, materiality, spectacle, and authorship.

Philosophically speaking, experimental scores enabled a shift in investment from the static polish of a finished work to procedures and processes—often iterative, indeterminate, or chance-derived—in a way that vastly expanded and challenged what counted as a work of art. Artists and critics of the time perceived this process-based

work as facilitating escape from the fashionable but dogmatic theory of modernism that had been forwarded by the eminent American art critic Clement Greenberg, whose theory valued the specialized autonomy of modernist abstraction against the threat of popular kitsch, and prized the rigorous separation of artistic mediums (painting, sculpture, etc.) from one another.<sup>2</sup> In retrospect, we can see artists' turn to scores in this moment as a major event that helped usher in the series of paradigm shifts later associated with the demise of Greenbergian modernism, a change that prepared the ground for more recently accepted ideas about the destabilized nature of both contemporary art (as idea and object) and the complex identity of artists in relation to their work.

Existing accounts of this period have identified the score as a widely adopted tool among avant-garde artists, but there has not previously been a comprehensive scholarly overview of the origins and development of the score as a distinct transdisciplinary artistic medium deserving of its own narrative, alongside other recognized twentieth-century genres such as collage or the readymade.<sup>3</sup> By foregrounding the role of experimental scores in the development of contemporary art and performance broadly speaking, *The Scores Project* resituates an array of historiographic debates in Western art around 1960: the aesthetic evolution of modernism into postmodernism; the relationship of postwar avant-garde movements to their prewar antecedents in Europe; differing conceptions of composition, improvisation, and indeterminacy; the increasingly porous relationships between artworks and their surrounding social worlds; and conflicting ideas of skill, authority, and authenticity.

Focused on this time period and phenomenon, *The Scores Project* presents and analyzes a selection of post-World War II scores drawn from the holdings of the Getty Research Institute (GRI). The project's custom-designed digital interface helps readers better understand

the rich historical and international contexts in play while also grasping the many ways experimental scores rewired artistic coordinates of space and time. In this way, *The Scores Project* is not merely a digitization effort; it is an interactive, critical anthology—a book, exhibition, digital research repository, and interactive dataset all in one. Eleven chapters, each focused on a particular artist or composer, reproduce curated selections of scores and related archival materials. The individuals featured are Morton Feldman, John Cage, Sylvano Bussotti, Benjamin Patterson, La Monte Young, George Brecht, Jackson Mac Low, Yvonne Rainer, Alison Knowles, Mieko Shiomi, and Allan Kaprow. Most of these figures knew one another and lived and worked in proximity to New York, with the exception of Shiomi, who was in Osaka, Japan. But they also traveled to Europe and East Asia, where their experimentations impacted and were impacted by a wider network of avant-garde figures. Chapter 5, on Young's *An Anthology of Chance Operations* (1962–63), functions as a kind of temporal hinge or gateway linking 1950s activities to the efflorescence of notation in the '60s. It includes a complete digitization of this watershed compendium of experimental notations and position statements, and it gestures outward to a broader milieu of artists engaged in the use of scores.

### Navigating *The Scores Project*

It is notoriously difficult to demonstrate the technical particulars of any of these scores when bound by the limited space of a gallery exhibition, a published book, a concert program, or by traditional audio or video documentation. With this difficulty in mind, our collaborators at Getty Publications and Getty Digital, along with the project designers Andrew LeClair and E Roon Kang, devised an interface that facilitates viewing, reading, listening, and guided engagement with over two thousand historical documents, images, films, videos, and recordings. LeClair

and Kang's custom design aims to maximize technical and historical understanding of experimental scores for a wide range of readers, both specialist and nonspecialist, who may be drawn to this material from different disciplinary orientations. Each chapter features the following: (1) a Commentary section with a scholarly essay by an expert author that narrates the score's original context and describes its key elements; (2) a click-through Score section that showcases high-resolution images of the scores; (3) a Playback section that contains time-based content in audio, video, and interactive formats, including historical realizations alongside newly commissioned performances directed by a diverse cohort of contemporary performance artists; and (4) an Archive section with a curated trove of relevant primary materials drawn largely from Special Collections at the GRI, including ephemera and 3-D imaging of related objects. These archival materials contextualize the scores and will facilitate new research by scholars and students who may be unable to travel to the GRI to access these unique items in person. All these primary materials are also collected in the book's online Object Index, where readers can fully explore their contents and filter them by different categories. Readers can also view the figures in each chapter in greater detail by following the URLs provided in the captions.

Within a single chapter, readers can inspect preparatory compositional sketches, compare recorded performances, peruse historical concert reviews, and pore over intimate correspondence between composers and performers. Framing each featured score is a scholarly commentary that situates the work historically and theoretically, provides a cohesive overview of the chapter's contents, and guides the reader in how to approach the wealth of materials included. In exploring the commentaries as well as the extended captions nested in the subsections of each chapter, users will enjoy an experience akin to peeking over the shoulder of a scholar as they examine rare archival

materials. Readers will be prompted to note details and quirks in the scores, to play back animations that help decode various notations, and to ponder the ways in which words, images, and sounds either translate or fail to translate into one another.

Readers will also be alerted to links to other chapters, artists, and scores; in this manner, the primary digital format of *The Scores Project* demonstrates the networked quality of the materials and histories it contains. By bringing these works together in one accessible interface and presenting them in a way that reduces the technical barriers that scores often present to nonspecialists, we hope to spur increased interdisciplinary collaboration and pedagogy among art historians, music scholars, literary and performance scholars, and others. Just as importantly, *The Scores Project* provides exciting new ways for the general public to access and engage with these materials. Above all, our aim is to foster a renewed sense of wonder about this innovative and historically complex moment in the history of postwar art.

In their time, experimental scores of the postwar era provoked aesthetic shifts and new alliances across a wide array of artistic disciplines, and yet historical accounts of these materials have often remained constrained by siloed conversations within the disciplines of music studies, art history, literary studies, and performance studies. As a result, the multidisciplinary history of experimental scores has remained underappreciated, its scholarship fragmented into partial accounts that tend to privilege one medium and its artistic community above others. Faced with avant-garde artists who made it their life's work to question professionalized boundaries, disciplinary rigidity on the part of scholars runs the risk of distorting the historical record or producing biased theories. Therefore, we as editors—with training in the fields of music studies (Gallope), art history (Harren), and literary studies (Hicks)—have selected for *The Scores Project* a series of works drawn from the GRI's



Special Collections that span artistic disciplines and productively trouble them along the way. New texts by Julia Bryan-Wilson, Emily Ruth Capper, George E. Lewis, Nancy Perloff, and Benjamin Piekut broaden the project's intellectual reach even further. The multitude of voices and intellectual investments represented here constitute a polyphonic ensemble and not an irreproachable canon, an outcome that was also our aim as we curated the list of artists and scores. We hope the interdisciplinary connectivity of *The Scores Project* facilitates stronger understanding of the inner workings of each score across the domains of image, word, and sound, and helps to build and model an expansive, collaborative community of scholars, readers, and performers appropriate to this formative moment in the history of experimental art-making.

In this introduction, we offer accounts of the intertwined narratives on the antecedents, creation, and reception of experimental scores. We begin with the section "Music, Scores, and Indeterminacy," which situates *The Scores Project* within global histories of musical notation and the various musical avant-gardes, paying particular attention to the distinction between indeterminacy and improvisation, especially as it relates to race. We then turn, in the section "Scoring Intermedia," to histories of visual and performance art, looking at precursors to this experimental tradition in early twentieth-century avant-gardes (including Dada and Surrealism) and in the interdisciplinary pedagogy developed at Black Mountain College and its predecessor, the Bauhaus. In the final portion, "Poetry and Experimental Scores," we discuss the score-like qualities of literature and prosody, showing how poets and literary critics referred to the musical score as a model in their longstanding debates over the relative status of a printed text compared to performed versions of a literary work.

By foregrounding the materiality, social history, and performance culture of experimental scores, *The Scores Project* refocuses attention away from well-worn

disagreements over scores, performances, and musical works in the philosophy of music.<sup>4</sup> Instead, the project draws attention to a more comparative understanding of the fine-grained social and intellectual histories of when, how, and why twentieth-century artists turned to experimental scores in the first place. In this way, the project invites readers to consider the importance of a medium that is extraordinarily versatile. Experimental scores are at once structuring and borderless; they are often conceptually specific yet emancipating for participants. As noted above, scores have helped artists shift their focus from the composition of finished works to the invention of experimental processes. They have encouraged audiences to move beyond passive reception to active interpretation, and in some cases direct participation. As a result, artistic practices have become a space to think without specific goals, to question without resolution, and to act without foreknowledge of an outcome. In these ways, scores have facilitated valuable and enduring processes for advancing experimental art.

### Music, Scores, and Indeterminacy

Tracing the word *score* back to its origins in Old English, we discover that it denotes an inscription, a mark, or a tally.<sup>5</sup> The historical meaning of the term is apt for describing how notation relates to music. A score is a media device, a visual inscription of music in graphic space, on clay tablets, with pigment, or by way of engraving or printing. It encodes, and thus transforms, dynamic musical time into a visible set of instructions for its performance. To be sure, *score* has since acquired a much more specific meaning. Since the early part of the eighteenth century, the terms *score* and *musical score* derive from the “scoring” of long bar lines down multiple staves.<sup>6</sup> The modern English usage of the word most commonly refers to a single authoritative notation that includes all the individual parts of a complete musical work.

Musical notation has not always been associated with the preservation of an elaborate musical form. As was the case for the technology of writing in Plato's dialogue *Phaedrus* (ca. 370 BCE), the purpose of musical notation was, more practically, to supplement the powers of musical memory.<sup>7</sup> Thus, it is important to note that even with the aid of musical notation, a great deal still had to be remembered or reconstructed by the performer. Most musical notation systems from throughout world history are a form of shorthand with only skeletal information about what is to be performed. For example, extant cuneiform script from Sumer circa 1400 BCE includes the names of strings and fragments of a melody; Ancient Greek notation since the sixth century BCE has symbols that indicate general melodic shapes over sung text; and there is evidence that Ancient Chinese musicians used solmization systems (in which pitches of the scale are assigned syllables, as in the solfège method in Western music) as early as the fifth century BCE and developed tablature notation around the sixth or seventh century CE. What we now recognize as modern Western notation developed out of medieval neumatic notation that initially suggested only melodic contours corresponding to a series of sung syllables rather than specific pitches or rhythms. This neumatic notation emerged in Western Europe in the ninth century CE and likely had origins in the Byzantine Empire. The gradual emergence of conventional Western musical notation — with its increasingly specific rhythms and pitches — took place over several centuries. Its dissemination and standardization were strongly intertwined with the emergence of the printing press, the attendant commercial sphere of music publishing, and the extractive and expansionist processes of Western colonialism and imperialism.<sup>8</sup>

But standardization, discursive power, and geographic diffusion over time does not mean that what is now recognized as Western musical notation became universal, nor should we accept uncritically the traditional

narratives claiming that musical notation has become more detailed and prescriptive, and thus improved, over time.<sup>9</sup> An astounding variety of notation systems based in solmization, neumatic chant, or instrumental tablature have been in use across Asia since the earliest ancient cultures. In early modern Europe, the guidelines to improvisation found in figured bass notation and partimento composition required considerable know-how beyond the specifications in the score. Moreover, since the development of the modern music industry in the early part of the twentieth century, a wide range of musical notations—from detailed to shorthand—have functioned harmoniously alongside one another.

In fact, what appeared so radically “indeterminate” for avant-garde composers during the 1950s was commonplace for a significant number of musicians outside the world of classical music. Much modern musical notation is often quite skeletal, either giving performers considerable freedoms or simply relying on their well-developed tacit knowledge and idiomatic performance practices. This characterization includes the use of lead sheets in jazz, chord charts in popular music, and certain forms of tablature (fig. 0.1). Depending on varying priorities for performance, each system indicates different elements, whether chord names, numbers that outline the harmonic voicing, notation of key rhythmic patterns, or, in the case of tablature, the physical position of the fingers.

Note as well that whereas chord charts and lead sheets are notation systems that have the weight of publishing industries behind them, the Nashville Number System (see fig. 0.1, bottom left) is one example of the ways musicians themselves, including those from a multitude of cultural traditions, make all manner of informal notations for their own use. Musicians in any number of traditions worldwide jot down basic chord charts, lyric sheets, and production notes; they number frets, develop homemade tablatures, and fill notebooks and smartphones with



Fig. 0.1a–d *Left to right:* (a) Chord chart notation for guitar; (b) Henry Purcell, “Dido’s Lament” from *Dido and Aeneas* in figured bass notation, ca. 1668; (c) Hymn tune for the text “Come Thou Fount of Every Blessing” (1758) by Robert Robinson in Nashville number system notation, nineteenth century; and (d) Thelonious Monk, *Off Minor* in lead sheet notation, 1947. © 1947 (Renewed) by Embassy Music Corporation (BMI), International Copyright Secured. All Rights Reserved, Reprinted by permission of Hal Leonard LLC ©; Courtesy of Jonathan K. Riggs. [getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/001/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/001/)

annotations about settings for buttons, knobs, and sliders on electronic instruments. In all instances, written aids, social conventions, memory, and oral tradition play a role in the production of the musical result.

By contrast, the musicians and artists featured in several chapters of *The Scores Project*—namely David Tudor, John Cage, Morton Feldman, Sylvano Bussotti, Benjamin Patterson, and La Monte Young—were all trained in the comparatively rigid twentieth-century practice of classical music performance that had its origins in a nineteenth-century European concept of the musical work. Examining this tradition, the philosopher Lydia Goehr has elaborated on the contours of the “work concept,” in which a score determines all the notes in a composition and remains a regulative ideal toward which each performance aspires.<sup>10</sup> Historically, the work concept required (1) a strong author-function for composers (akin to the auteur model in cinema); (2) a highly conventionalized notation system; and (3) a norm-bound discipline of musical performance. By midcentury, the world of classical music, with its cultural prestige rising, had all three in spades.

It was within this conservative musical context that Cage and his circle dissented.<sup>11</sup> In doing so, they followed the lead of an earlier generation of avant-gardists. The Italian Futurist Luigi Russolo, in his manifesto *L'arte dei Rumori* (1913; *The Art of Noises*), had sharply criticized the classical music tradition as “dripping with boredom stemming from familiarity,” while venerating industrial noise as worthy of aesthetic appreciation.<sup>12</sup> Russolo also devised an early form of graphic notation for a work titled *Risveglio di una Città* (1914; *Awakening of a City*) that featured glissandi over unspecified pitches that were to be played on *intonarumori*, his custom-built mechanical noisemakers (fig. 0.2).<sup>13</sup>

Noisy and dissonant music had become a trend early in the twentieth century, often inspiring unconventional or surprisingly complex notations. In the United States, Charles Ives and Leo Ornstein had been pioneers in the use of



Fig. 0.2 Luigi Russolo (Italian, 1855–1947). *Risveglio di una Città* (Awakening of a City). From *Lacerba* 2, no. 5 (1914): 72. Getty Research Institute, Jean Brown Collection, item 86-S1483.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/002/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/002/)

dissonance, tone clusters, and polyrhythms. At the center of an American scene of so-called ultra-modernists in the 1920s, Henry Cowell devised customized notations for tone clusters (1917), complex rhythms (1917), and strumming inside the piano (1925), all key elements of his novel approach to composition, which he published in his influential compendium *New Musical Resources* (1930).<sup>14</sup> During the 1920s and '30s, Edgard Varèse achieved fame for his bracing and aggressive compositions that foregrounded percussion, timbre, and the use of a siren in forms of what he described as "organized sound."<sup>15</sup> Russolo, Cowell, and Varèse, along with Arnold Schoenberg (with whom Cage studied from 1935 to 1936), would prove to be significant musical influences on Cage.<sup>16</sup>

An expanded musical palette of noise and sound, an interest in unusual notations, a sense that advanced art ought to be challenging to aesthetic norms, and (for Cowell, Varèse, and many others) Asian and other non-Western influences as exoticized correctives to a Euro-Western status quo: these represented some of the values and priorities of the early twentieth-century musical avant-garde. One could argue that in their postwar work Cage and his cohort managed to translate these priorities into a pronounced level of philosophical self-consciousness, one they began to convey to an increasingly large public audience during the 1950s and '60s through performances, print media, teaching, recordings, and television broadcasts. Cage's iconoclastic modernism, exemplified not only by his use of indeterminate notation but also by his novel embrace of chance procedures derived from the *I Ching*, was also multidisciplinary from the start; the choreographer Merce Cunningham, who began collaborating with Cage in the early 1940s, would become his touring partner throughout the 1950s and '60s.

And yet Cage's own relationship to his fellow practitioners of indeterminacy and experimental notation was particularly complex. His dramatic popularization of this



tradition of experimentalism did not, for example, enable the composer to break entirely with conservative elements of the historical and European past. George E. Lewis has detailed the ways Cage's radicalism remained bound to a "Eurological" view of indeterminacy.<sup>17</sup> This was particularly evident in Cage's distaste for jazz and abstract expressionism, which the composer considered to be corrupted by intuition and ego-driven conceptions of freedom.<sup>18</sup> In doing so, Cage, along with Feldman and Tudor, held fast to a fairly orthodox version of modernism insofar as their work self-consciously rejected mainstream and Black- and Latinx-coded genres such as jazz and popular music.<sup>19</sup> This categorical disavowal of popular genres was, moreover, not merely stylistic. Racial segregation of their artistic circles was a reality: the institutions of classical music in the 1950s were almost entirely white. In fact, Patterson, a rare Black artist in Cage's circle of the early 1960s, was denied employment as an orchestral musician in the late 1950s because of his race.<sup>20</sup> At the level of genre, the actual segregation of audiences and performers scaled upward to discursive and social norms as well; Ornette Coleman remarked that his experiments involving novel combinations of notation and improvisation failed to dislodge the persistent sense that classical music was assumed to be white whereas jazz was coded as Black.<sup>21</sup>

While Cage openly expressed antipathy toward jazz, other modernists of the period idealized and prized its powers, albeit in ways that are complex in their own right. Certainly among Black artists themselves, the emergence of jazz was understood as integral to the literature and art of the Harlem Renaissance. Among white artists in Europe, however, ambivalent and fetishistic attachment to Black culture was widespread during the 1910s and '20s, and it is explicit in the work of composers such as Claude Debussy, Maurice Ravel, and Darius Milhaud, and in modernist avant-garde movements including Futurism, cubism, sound poetry, and Surrealism.<sup>22</sup> Among the composers engaging with

experimental scores in the 1950s, Earle Brown had a pronounced interest in improvisation that stemmed from his background in jazz and popular music.<sup>23</sup> Brown's iconic experimental score, *December 1952* (1952), widely credited as an early exemplar of graphic notation, is notoriously indeterminate: It has no bar lines or axis indicating the passage of time, and it can be read with the score positioned in any direction (fig. 0.3). His open-form scores, many of which accommodated improvisation, were inspired not only by his experience with jazz but also by abstract expressionist painting, the mobile sculptures of Alexander Calder, and the mathematical tools of Joseph Schillinger's system of musical composition.

Amid these variously conflictual and contradictory attitudes toward improvisation, Lewis underscores a simple historical fact: modernist engagements with indeterminacy already had a strong track record among Black musicians well before 1960, even if this antecedent was rarely acknowledged—and was, moreover, often maligned—by Cage himself. *Blues People* (1963) by Amiri Baraka (then known as LeRoi Jones) offers a rich account of bebop, an Afro-modernist revolution in musical form developed throughout the 1940s and '50s by Black musicians such as Charlie Parker, Thelonious Monk, and Dizzy Gillespie.<sup>24</sup> Bebop musicians, in fracturing and redeveloping many of the entertainment conventions of the swing era of jazz, shared the Euro-modernist desire to use dissonance, experimentation, and indeterminacy in ways that “posed potent challenges to Western notions of structure, form, and expression.”<sup>25</sup> Bebop was distinct, however, not only for its weave of harmonically complex lead sheets and intricate improvisations but also for its associations with a resistant social mission that sought to contest racist prejudices and empower Black artists toward social and economic advancement. Cage's near-opposite commitment, in the 1950s, to performative “discipline” (rather than improvisation) was likewise indifferent to Afro-modernist

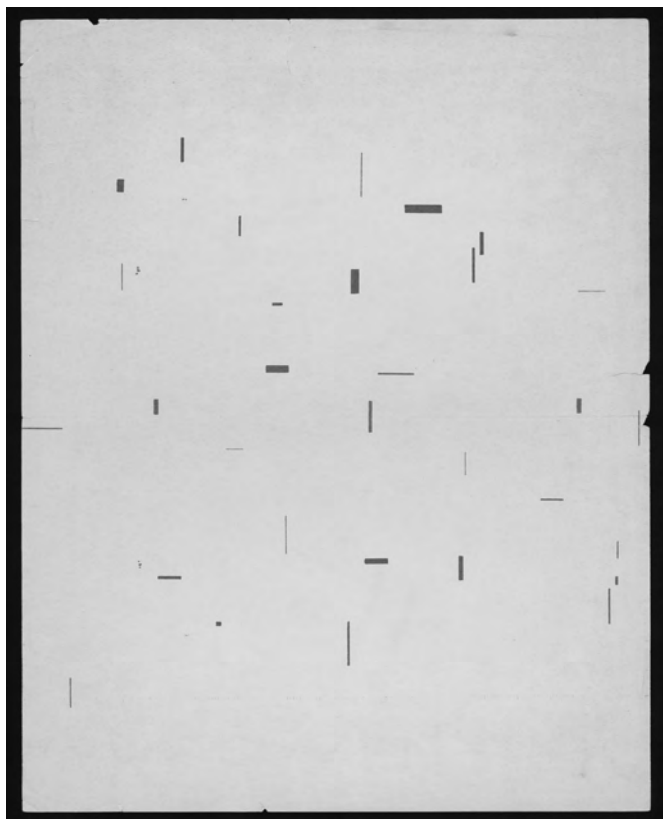


Fig. 0.3 Earle Brown (American, 1926–2002). Score for *December 1952*. From *Folio and 4 Systems*, 1952. Getty Research Institute, David Tudor Papers, 980039, box 170, folder 1. Earle Brown Estate.  
[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/301/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/301/)

social causes. As someone who was, in his own words, no fan of social protest, Cage tended to associate himself with a quiescent anarchic libertarianism. And by prioritizing the whiteness of “classical” composition alongside an exoticized fascination with Asian philosophy and Chinese calligraphy, he placed exceptional value on the design and script of printed scores, while casting the improvisational “freedoms” of Afro-modernist jazz as a disavowed other.

Yet, across the three opening chapters of *The Scores Project*, readers will find that the distinctions between improvisation and indeterminacy, or between personal expression and formalist discipline, overlap a great deal when examining — and listening to — Tudor’s practice at a granular level. A score like Feldman’s *Intersection 3* (1953), as introduced by Gallope in chapter 1, is formalist by design and in visual appearance, but it was intuitively written and is often frenetic, even jarring, in its acoustic effect, redolent of the French poet and theater director Antonin Artaud’s celebration of extreme physicality in performance. Cage’s visually stunning compendium of notations in his *Concert for Piano and Orchestra* (1958), discussed by Gallope and Nancy Perloff in chapter 2, was made according to the careful ego-attenuating formalism of chance procedures; however, Tudor’s realizations, similarly evoking Artaud in their moments of menacing atonality and abstraction, reveal intriguing personal choices and expressive flair more familiar to nineteenth-century ideals of pianistic virtuosity. Finally, Bussotti’s expressivist and highly calligraphic score for *Five Piano Pieces for David Tudor* (1959), discussed by Gallope in chapter 3, appears visually gestural but explicitly blurs the line between improvisation and indeterminacy altogether, leaving its performer in a position to construct a realization in a more careful and formalist Cagean manner.

In the 1960s and ‘70s, techniques and procedures involving indeterminacy, improvisation, iterability, and chance — all variously associated with experimental scores — were mixed, matched, and reworked in innumerable ways by

an ever-broadening circle of musicians and artists. Two compendia published during the 1960s, La Monte Young and Jackson Mac Low's *An Anthology of Chance Operations* (1962–63) and Cage and Alison Knowles's *Notations* (1969), along with the influential journal *Source: Music of the Avant-Garde* (1967–73), helped draw attention to this range of work as it developed throughout the decade.<sup>26</sup> In the wake of Tudor's many legendary performances of the 1950s, Neo-Dada artists including George Brecht, Philip Corner, Dick Higgins, Toshi Ichiyanagi, Terry Jennings, Mac Low, Pauline Oliveros, and Young wrote experimental scores for him as a pianist—many featuring only text—as if Tudor were a medium for experimentation in and of himself. Soon after, Tudor's work evolved away from realizations at the piano and toward improvisation and live electronics at a time of exceptionally high touring activity with Cage and the Merce Cunningham Dance Company in the 1960s and '70s.<sup>27</sup>

During the 1960s, score experimentation among musicians continued apace without Tudor. The inventive linear design of Cornelius Cardew's *Treatise* (1963–67) became famous in its own right, in part for being highly indeterminate for performers. Cathy Berberian, renowned as a singer with exceptional abilities in avant-garde music, wrote a work of graphic notation exploring extended vocal techniques titled *Stripsody* (1966). Also in 1960s and '70s, Pauline Oliveros developed orally transmitted guidelines for communal experiences of deep listening and sonic meditation and published them as "prose instructions or recipes."<sup>28</sup> Concurrently, the pioneering sound artist Maryanne Amacher created experimental and conceptual scores that explored the affordances of telephones and long-distance media.<sup>29</sup> And a number of Black musicians who continued to challenge the binary division between Western classical composition and improvised jazz forged their own experimental notations. Anthony Braxton, straddling the divide between composition and improvisation,

experimented with graphic scores beginning in the 1970s. The trumpeter Wadada Leo Smith, a member of the Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians, has more recently developed an exceptionally colorful and imaginative notational language imbued with personal cosmology called Ankhration, examples of which have been exhibited as art (fig. 0.4).

### Scoring Intermedia

It would be misleading, of course, to suggest that the postwar fascination with experimental scores was owed entirely to the work of musicians. In the first decades of the twentieth century, artists, poets, and performers associated with the avant-garde movements of Futurism, Dada, and Surrealism originating in Europe crafted their own experimental notations, many of which made only glancing reference to musical traditions. These artists made novel use of score-like forms: instructions, explanatory notes, diagrams, poetry intended for performance, and even invitations directed at potential participants among unsuspecting publics. Many of these innovations would prove influential to postwar developments in avant-garde performance art, conceptualism, and intermedia.

Dada notations were emblematic and perhaps the most notorious. Dada artists, internationally networked across the cities of Zürich, Cologne, Hanover, Berlin, Paris, and New York (many as émigrés), experimented widely across the domains of collage, graphics, poetry, and sculpture. Their aesthetic strategies aimed to dethrone the powers of reason, disrupt the authority of individual expression, and stage a mockery of bourgeois cultural values.<sup>30</sup> Crucially, their creative protests against the “achievements” of modernism unfolded against the backdrop of World War I.

Some Dada experiments were explicitly score-like: Marcel Duchamp’s *Erratum Musical* (1913) is a musical

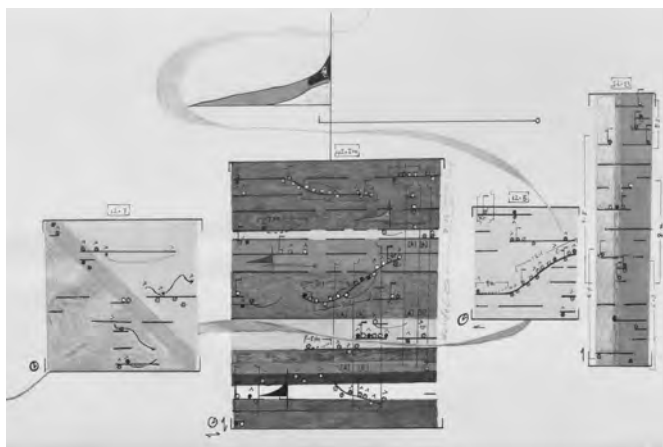


Fig. 0.4 Wadada Leo Smith (American, b. 1941). *The Dream*, a panel from *Kosmic Music* (The Ankhrasmaton Symbolic Language Art-Score), 2008, acrylic and ink on paper. Wadada Leo Smith, [www.wadadaleosmith.com](http://www.wadadaleosmith.com). [getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/004/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/004/)

composition for three voices ordered by individual notes that were printed on cards and then pulled at random from a hat. Tristan Tzara, Richard Hulsenbeck, and Marcel Janco's *L'amiral cherche une maison à louer* (1916; The admiral looks for a house to rent) is a collage-like "simultaneous poem" composed in orchestral fashion for three clashing voices. Tzara's much simpler *To Make a Dadaist Poem* (1920) instructs the reader to write a poem by stringing together individual words cut out of a newspaper and drawn sequentially from a bag. These Dada scores questioned, if not eschewed outright, the telos of a finished object. Instead, they elicited audience participation, produced variations through iteration, and decentered subjectivity in their provocative centering of chance operations.

Other Dada artists used score-like notations to direct participants to a written prototype or conceptual outline that stood as an adjunct to artworks executed as physical objects. Prominent examples include Duchamp's notorious readymades (arrived at in 1913) and his immense and perplexing *The Large Glass* (1915–23)—a nine-foot-tall window-like structure straddling the boundary between painting and sculpture—whose related notes and sketches Duchamp published in 1934 as *The Green Box*.<sup>31</sup> At a remove from the construction of actual three-dimensional objects, fellow Dadaists Marius de Zayas and Francis Picabia pioneered the use of diagrammatic machine drawings, or "mechanomorphs," that articulated skeletal forms and prototypes more fanciful than realistic. Soon after, affiliates of the Bureau of Surrealist Research in Paris, including André Breton and Artaud, prepared written instructions on gathering participants for dream séances at which audiences were inspired to reconsider the perceptual frames of everyday experience.

Sound poetry, devised in the years leading up to World War I, understood the poetic page as a format that already functioned similarly to a musical score. Poems composed by Russian Futurists tried to forge a



“transrational” language of unconscious expression (or *zaum*) that could overcome linguistic and national obstacles. Italian Futurists, for their part, made use of the sounds of the machine age and the panicked drama of war with variously incomprehensible or illogical constructions.<sup>32</sup> Following the lead of the Futurists, a number of Dada sound poets explored novelties in graphic design to lend the recitation of words a pronounced affective charge. Often published in typographically inventive layouts, their poems circulated internationally via self-published magazines such as *Dada*, *Merz*, and *291*. Prefiguring the postwar flowering of concrete poetry, these publications radicalized the visually inventive design of works such as Stéphane Mallarmé’s *Un coup de dés jamais n’abolira le hasard* (1897; A throw of the dice will never abolish chance) and Guillaume Apollinaire’s *Calligrammes* (1913–16).<sup>33</sup> In live performance, recitations of sound poetry could shift back and forth between semi-intelligible oration and raw, shockingly abstract noise as they channeled a mix of mystical and primitivist fantasies, thus establishing a precedent for later avant-gardists’ appropriative relationship to African and other non-Western arts and cultures.<sup>34</sup> Hugo Ball’s otherworldly incantations performed at the Cabaret Voltaire in Zürich in 1916 and Kurt Schwitters’s typographic score for *Ursonate* (1922–32), which prescribes tongue-twisting vocalizations, are among the best-known examples (figs. 0.5, 0.6).<sup>35</sup> Refusing traditional interpretive practices, these poems challenge the reader’s silence while seeming to invite, if not demand, some kind of commitment to performance.

After the dissolution of Dada in the early 1920s and the subsequent rise and diffusion of Surrealism internationally, a rural campus established in 1933 about eighteen miles east of Asheville, North Carolina, came to play an important role in the transmission of intermedia experimentation to postwar avant-gardes across the United States.<sup>36</sup> It was Black Mountain College, whose faculty members, most famously among them the European



Fig. 0.5 Hugo Ball performing *Karawane* at the Cabaret Voltaire, Zürich, 1916. Getty Research Institute, Jean Brown Papers, 890164, box 1, folder 52.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/005/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/005/)

**einleitung:**

Fümms bö wö tää zää Uu,  
pögiff,  
kwii Ee.

1

Oooooooooooooooooooooooooooooooooo,

6

dll rrrrrt beeeee bö,  
dll rrrrrt beeeee bö fümms bö,  
rrrrrt beeeee bö fümms bö wö,  
beeeee bö fümms bö wö tää,  
bö fümms bö wö tää zää,  
fümms bö wö tää zää Uu:

(A) 5

**erster teil:****thema 1:**

Fümms bö wö tää zää Uu,  
pögiff,  
kwii Ee.

1

**thema 2:**

Dedesnn nn rrrrrt,  
li Ee,  
mpiff tillff too,  
tillll,  
Jüü Kaa?  
(gesungen)

2

**thema 3:**

Rinnzekete bee bee nnz krt müü?  
ziiuu ennze, ziiuu rinnzkrmmüü,

3

rakete bee bee.

3a

**thema 4:**

Rrumpff tillff toooo?

4

Fig. 0.6 Kurt Schwitters (German, 1887–1948). *Ursonate*, 1922–32.  
From *Merz*, no. 24 (1932): 157. Getty Research Institute, item 85-S179.  
[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/006/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/006/)

émigrés Josef and Anni Albers, brought with them creative practices initially developed at the innovative and highly influential German Bauhaus (1913–33). In a marked departure from traditional art pedagogy focused on faithful reproduction and the acquisition of virtuosic skills, the Alberses' modernist pedagogy fused the Bauhaus's integrative approach to form and materials with a bespoke curriculum based in the progressive educational philosophy of John Dewey, which emphasized learning by doing in ways that encouraged students' individual independence, inquiry, and creativity. As a means of balancing rigor and creative experimentation, the Alberses' pedagogy made use of abstract geometric schema to examine and play with basic design principles and the elemental laws of form, inculcating in students a way of seeing and working that would translate across creative disciplines. As Josef Albers explained:

We should discover for instance that music, too, has to do with proportion and the values of line and volume; also that literature can be static and dynamic, and can have staccatos and crescendos, and poems can have color; that the play on the stage has not only dramatic climax but also an optical and an acoustical one; that there are musical qualities in all art—that every art work is built (i.e., composed), has order, consciously or unconsciously.<sup>37</sup>

This approach echoed the Bauhaus foundation courses developed by Paul Klee and Wassily Kandinsky, a curriculum further transmitted through midcentury English translations of Klee's *Pedagogical Sketchbook* (1925/1953) and Kandinsky's *Point and Line to Plane* (1926/1947), both of which distilled the creative process into a series of score-like explanatory diagrams.<sup>38</sup> From Klee's notion of form as a dynamic process (*Werden*, or becoming) that originates with a "line on a walk," to Kandinsky's visual translations of excerpts from music, dance, and architecture into concatenations of dots and arabesques, their influential

theories of form imagined distinct artistic disciplines communicating with one another via the elemental graphic language of notation.<sup>39</sup>

In the 1940s and '50s, Black Mountain College became a venue for experimental intermedia and Dada revivalism. Josef Albers launched a summer program there in 1944 that welcomed a diverse array of guest artists, writers, composers, and designers. A soon-to-be-famous generation of radical pedagogues arrived in 1948, including Cage, Merce Cunningham, Willem and Elaine de Kooning, R. Buckminster Fuller, and Louise and Richard Lippold. That summer, Cage, Cunningham, Fuller, and Elaine de Kooning staged a polarizing performance of proto-Dada works by Erik Satie, namely his one-act play *The Ruse of the Medusa* (1913), and Cage delivered lectures that explicitly opposed the Germanic attachments to formal and aesthetic organicism so often associated with Ludwig van Beethoven. Though the musical notation used in Satie's works was largely conventional and the Chinese influence of chance procedures (derived from the *I Ching*) was not yet a part of Cage's or Cunningham's vocabularies, the cross-disciplinary collaboration rejected the intellectual frameworks of Hegelian oppositions and organic unities in favor of something more absurdist and depersonalized—evocative of the Dada experimentation that had largely fallen out of fashion.

Meanwhile, in France, the writer, performer, and Surrealist affiliate Antonin Artaud had been developing an avant-garde approach to performance in Paris throughout the 1920s and '30s. His book of essays in performance theory, *Le Théâtre et son double* (1938; *The Theater and Its Double* [1958]), outlined a "Theater of Cruelty" that proposed to tear through the usual communicative media of language and representation using the blunt tool of shock, mobilized to dissolve the boundary between art and life and thereby dismantle the audience's trusted capacities of perception.<sup>40</sup> Though largely unknown in the United States

in his time, Artaud's influence over the 1960s avant-garde would become considerable. In advocating dramatic works that deemphasized dialogue, Artaud argued that the essential building blocks of theater were not the words of a text but rather the physical instructions (staging, lighting, blocking, costuming) for performers to enact. In this manner, the Theater of Cruelty outlined a score-like precedent for the emergence of nonnarrative, materially driven performance art.

The carnality of Artaud's aesthetic impacted musicians with equal power. An unhinged reading Artaud delivered in 1947 caught the attention of the French composer Pierre Boulez, who would proclaim a year later, when he published his brutally noisy *Second Sonata* (1948), that "music should be collective hysteria and magic, violently modern — along the lines of Antonin Artaud."<sup>41</sup> During the summer of 1949 in Paris, Cage met Boulez and was electrified and impressed by the extreme dissonance of the *Second Sonata*. Through Boulez, he became acquainted with Artaud's work. The subsequent winter, Cage approached Tudor and asked the pianist if he could handle the American premiere of Boulez's sonata. In preparing the fiendishly difficult score for a premiere in December of 1950, Tudor in turn learned of Artaud's importance to Boulez and taught himself French in order to read Artaud's writings.<sup>42</sup> By 1951, Tudor had met and fallen in love with the poet and year-round Black Mountain faculty member M. C. Richards, and he shared with her typescripts of Artaud's work. That fall, Cage, Tudor, and Richards were all reading Artaud, and Cage's music shifted dramatically from relatively consonant Satie-like meditations into a brutal atonality dictated by chance procedures.<sup>43</sup> Meanwhile, Richards herself began work on an English translation of Artaud's *The Theater and Its Double*.

Amid recurring conversations about Artaud, Cage returned to Black Mountain in the summer of 1952 with Cunningham, Tudor, and Richards.<sup>44</sup> Having that spring

written the score for an experimental theater piece, *Water Music* (1952), Cage sketched (reportedly in a single afternoon) the score for what is now recognized as the first “happening.” What came to be known as *Theater Piece No. 1* (1952) was conceived by Cage as a series of time brackets to be filled by the undetermined activities of its participants: Tudor, Cunningham, Richards, the poet Charles Olson, and the artist Robert Rauschenberg. Though a culture of intermedia collaboration was already established at Black Mountain, *Theater Piece No. 1* broke new ground in terms of its disordered, highly indeterminate, and unrehearsed, collage-like atmosphere.<sup>45</sup> The audience was small (fewer than fifty people), but the event became legendary: It disoriented its audience by providing an aleatoric experience that combined dance, recorded music, spoken poetry, projected images, and Rauschenberg’s *White Paintings* (1951) suspended from the ceiling.<sup>46</sup> Its intermixing of art forms addressed to the ears and the eyes sought to eliminate the boundaries between the sonic and the visual. Later that summer, in Woodstock, New York, Tudor premiered Cage’s famous silent piece, *4’33”* (1952), a union of indeterminate notation and the readymade that likewise pointed to the ways in which the performance of music contains its own sense of theatricality.

Though *Theater Piece No. 1* and *4’33”* were important antecedents for the rise of so-called Neo-Dada after 1960, the renewed interest in Dada’s spirit of negation and the embrace of nontraditional materials had other advocates in the years after the movement’s initial flourishing from 1916 to 1924.<sup>47</sup> In 1936, Alfred H. Barr of the Museum of Modern Art curated the exhibition *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism*, whose exhibition catalog featured a short essay on Dada that remained one of very few English-language sources on the movement until the late 1940s. By then, the abstract expressionist Robert Motherwell, also a member of the summer faculty at Black Mountain, had begun to independently investigate Dada as an antecedent

to the better-known work of the Surrealists.<sup>48</sup> His research culminated in the first retrospective canonization of Dada as a movement, *The Dada Painters and Poets* (1951), a publication of primary sources that revitalized interest in Dada in the postwar period. Two years later, a Dada exhibition organized at New York's Sidney Janis Gallery by Marcel Duchamp himself further contributed to Dada's renewed notoriety.<sup>49</sup> Broadly speaking, among American avant-gardes of the postwar period, Dada's anti-illusionistic, anti-egoic approaches to collage, chance, and the readymade held a unique and powerful appeal by comparison with the automatism and dream imagery of Surrealism, which remained attached to the dictates of the unconscious ego and the aesthetics of figurative representation in ways that facilitated its vulgar popularization and commercialization, especially in the U.S. context.<sup>50</sup>

Cage's aforementioned course in experimental composition at the New School, which took place from 1956 through 1959, carved out an inspiring space for a new generation of visual and performing artists to begin composing experimental scores. He introduced Black Mountain-inspired pedagogy and the negative aesthetics of the avant-garde to a cohort of emerging figures—including George Brecht, Al Hansen, Dick Higgins, and Allan Kaprow, among others—who would go on to become the protagonists of happenings and Fluxus.<sup>51</sup> Many of Cage's best-known students came to the course from nonmusical backgrounds and were interested in developing general methods for experimental composition beyond the domain of music. In response to Cage's assignments, they composed graphic and text-based scores and collectively performed them using everyday materials and dime-store objects, many of which were purchased on the way to class. Unburdened by traditional approaches to music theory and composition, the workshop-like environment encouraged in its participants a generative, boundary-expanding



disposition and collaborative spirit. The artists nurtured there came to prize a generous yet rigorous attitude toward shared experimentation, an appreciation of the aesthetic value of everyday objects and gestures, a heightened sensitivity to consciousness rooted in a loose admiration of Zen philosophy, and a commitment to concrete experience. This sensibility, imparted to a range of practices in the decade to come, opposed what leading Fluxus organizer George Maciunas called the “artificial abstraction of illusionism” characteristic of classical theater and fine arts.<sup>52</sup>

As the activities of Cage’s class branched out into numerous independent artistic practices and idioms, experimental scores became an essential tool for aesthetic innovation after modernism. Artists associated with happenings and Fluxus crafted compositions using a variety of graphic languages, including charts and tables, freely drawn diagrams, and seemingly simple text-based directives written in an imperative tone. In their view, the score was an ideal format for time-based, process-oriented, and/or interactive art forms. In its most basic sense, the score orders and organizes actions and events in time; more simply still, it can be used to conceptually frame and thus draw attention to phenomena already unfolding in everyday life.

In this new generation of avant-garde scores, the traditional linkages between composer, notation, performer, sound, and listener were reconfigured as a perpetually generative ontology of iterative forms. A compelling diagram drawn by Brecht in one of his notebooks from Cage’s class lays out these possible relations in the form of a star-shaped network (fig. 0.7). Here, the key elements of a musical performance are interwoven into a complex, nonhierarchical matrix that facilitates multidimensional experience and awareness. Crucially, among other notes, sketches, and half-completed compositions that appear in Brecht’s notebooks of the time, this diagram does not faithfully refer to Cage’s particular ideas. In fact, knowledge transmission

in Cage's classroom was not one-way. Even as he imparted emerging developments in composition to his students, he solicited feedback from them on his own works in progress and as he informed them about ongoing debates among his peers, fostering an environment of dynamic interchange.<sup>53</sup>

The text-based compositions in gnomic prose pioneered by Brecht, Young, and Yoko Ono around 1960 would become the most widespread genre of notation among Fluxus artists in particular.<sup>54</sup> Such pieces were known after Brecht's appellation as "event scores," a term that acknowledged their utility akin to musical notation but in an expanded sense—specifically embracing materials beyond sound. Complementing Brecht's, Young's, and Ono's text-based event scores were other visually divergent approaches, such as the wonkily vectored diagrams of Higgins's *Graphis* series, begun in 1958, and Maciunas's parodically rigorous charts and tables. The impact of this work was further reinforced by the activities of the far-flung network of itinerant Fluxus artists who disseminated their score-based works via touring performances and direct mailings beginning in 1962. As a performer, Tudor continued to play a central role in the dissemination of these notational experiments throughout this early period, receiving dozens of text-based scores written and/or dedicated to him from composers and artists around the world. Cage and Tudor expanded their reach outside the United States and provoked the avant-garde art and music ecologies of various international locales by giving concerts and lectures across Europe beginning in the late 1950s. In 1962 they continued this work on a trip to Japan that was arranged with the help of composer Toshi Ichianagi. In this rapidly evolving culture of the event score, works were written for, dedicated to, and sent to an intimate yet widely dispersed scene of knowing avant-garde artists and performers.

It is crucial to note, however, that the radicalism of experimental scores was not simply licensed by Cage's process-oriented radicalism; these artists drew on a much

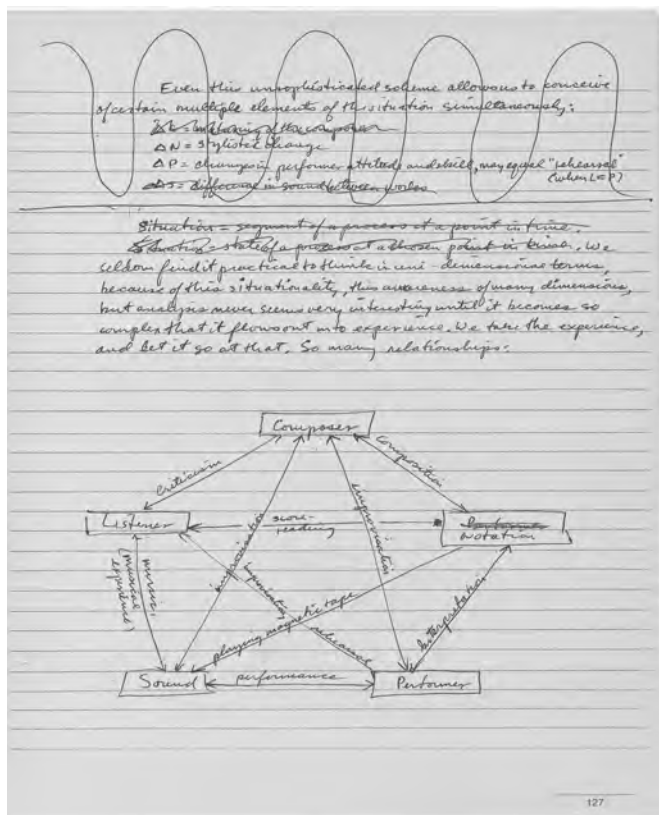


Fig. 0.7 George Brecht (American, 1926–2008). Page of notes from John Cage's course in experimental composition, July 1959. From *George Brecht Notebooks*, vol. 3, *April–August 1959*, ed. Dieter Daniels with collaboration of Hermann Braun (Cologne: Walther König, 1991), 127. Getty Research Institute, item 92-B17341. © 2022 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/007/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/007/)

broader set of cultural influences in positioning the novelty of their work. While the postwar avant-garde's veneration of the ephemeral, the ordinary, and the everyday staged a critique of modernist autonomy, their works also often relied on the unacknowledged cultural labor of those outside the privileged sphere of the art world. Avant-garde choreographers, for example, appropriated tropes from Black dance—from minstrelsy to vaudeville.<sup>55</sup> Motifs lifted from folklore and popular culture were incorporated into happenings and other performance art forms to access an authentic sense of the “vernacular” via loosely primitivist stagings of rituals that were then framed by an arguably elitist sense of aesthetic self-consciousness. More broadly, Blackness and Indigeneity were taken as fetishized otherness through the bohemian appropriations of abstract expressionism and Beat poetry, both of which were influential to this generation of avant-garde artists. A number of 1960s experimentalists—namely Young, Henry Flynt, and John Cale—abandoned notation entirely in order to investigate Afro-diasporic traditions, South Asian music and philosophy, and other vernacular modes of experimentation far outside the practice of Western classical music. The proximity and relationships between different racialized milieus of this moment—many of them disavowed or unexpectedly intertwined—deserve greater scrutiny and further scholarship.<sup>56</sup> In the dense cultural geography of New York's SoHo neighborhood, for example, Maciunas's Fluxus headquarters at 359 Canal Street was situated mere blocks from Ornette Coleman's Artist House, a ground-floor performance space at 131 Prince Street that Maciunas helped to renovate. And among Higgins's and Knowles's lesser-known collaborators was the Black jazz singer Jeanne Lee, who set the works of numerous sound poets to music and was herself featured in the premieres of Cage's *Renga* (1975–76) and *Apartment House 1776* (1976).<sup>57</sup> Readers can experience Lee's unique contributions in audio

recordings of her interpreting a Jackson Mac Low text score alongside the poet in chapter 7.

The post-1960 experimental scores included in this publication strike a balance between the textual and the visual, and their interactive, multidimensional presentation here enables us to appreciate the attention and care paid to the materiality of their published formats. Benjamin Patterson's *Paper Piece* (1960), which premiered in Cologne well before the official launch of Fluxus, is introduced in chapter 4 by George E. Lewis. Cataloging the multitude of sounds that Patterson discovered can be elicited from paper, Lewis shows the visual artist to be a pioneer of an extended technique for this unexpectedly musical material. The democratic appeal of *Paper Piece*'s wit, deskilled techniques, and spirit of curious discovery anticipates affective qualities that would characterize many later Fluxus event scores. Brecht's *Water Yam* (1963), introduced by Natilee Harren in chapter 6, is a nearly complete compendium of his corpus of event scores, printed individually on card stock and housed loosely in a box. Among the first Fluxus publications designed and produced by Maciunas, its unbound format offers endless possibilities for exploring the fascinating interrelations between the scores' conceptual propositions and enactable gestures.

The dance notations of the choreographer and filmmaker Yvonne Rainer, exemplified by her sketches for *We Shall Run* (1963), provide a glimpse into the creative use of scores by the postmodern dance community, particularly affiliates of the Judson Dance Theater. As Julia Bryan-Wilson explains in chapter 8, Rainer used line drawings she called "people plans" to map the flow of bodies through space, and she developed a personal vocabulary of textual descriptions of dancerly and non-dancerly movements as a memory aid for herself and to instruct other performers. The terse, direct language with which Rainer outlines her choreography — almost entirely free of specialized dance terminology — bears similarities to the plainspoken,

imperative tone of many text scores of the period. Such unadorned language knowingly signaled her association with the post-Cagean milieu and befitted the counter-spectacular stance articulated in her powerful “No Manifesto” of 1965, in which she said “no” to virtuosity, seduction, and make-believe.<sup>58</sup> And yet, because dance’s instrument is the body, capable of innumerable varied, precise articulations, Rainer’s scores are among the most complex included in this publication, while also remaining unable to stand alone as transmitters of the work. They are more like personal records, adjunct to the oral transmission and muscle memory of authorized *répétiteurs* through which a dance conventionally travels, their charming idiosyncrasy a far cry from Labanotation and its aspirations to systematicity.<sup>59</sup> Rainer’s diverse notations are of interest to us here precisely because their skeletal nature highlights the ineffable dimensions of embodied knowledge. By extension, they point to the ways in which performance practices persist, as Diana Taylor has argued, via ephemeral, interpersonally transmitted repertoire and textual archives, as well as digital, visual, and other means—even if, as Peggy Phelan notes, “performance’s only life is in the present.”<sup>60</sup>

If the example of Rainer’s dance sketches points to the limitations of the score as a mechanism of inscription, the late 1960s saw avant-garde artists developing score-like documentation that opened up further possibilities for the score’s look and utility. In the context of *The Scores Project*, they invite us to creatively reconsider the relationships between works and their authors, performers, and audiences. Unlike other works featured here, Alison Knowles’s *The Identical Lunch* (late 1960s–early ’70s) was habitually “performed” before it was noticed by fellow artist Philip Corner and then transcribed into a readymade event score. As Emily Ruth Capper shows in chapter 9, Knowles thus transformed a convenient lunch into a communal project of quasi-ethnographic observation in which others

were invited to revel in the changing shape of a quotidian ritual.<sup>61</sup>

For her part, Mieko Shiomi's multi-part work *Spatial Poem* (1965–75) attempted to realize the utopian promise of the event score format in its call for long-distance collaboration and openness to divergent interpretations. In chapter 10, Harren demonstrates that equally compelling is the work's recursive structure, in which documentation of prior performances is enveloped into the international publication and recirculation of the scores themselves. In chapter 11, we see how Allan Kaprow devised scored activities that invited small groups of committed participants to explore a formalist approach to seemingly ordinary social situations. Emily Ruth Capper's discussion of *Routine* (1973–75) emphasizes the foundational role of experimental pedagogy in Kaprow's work and recounts how the artist's filmed version of the activity provocatively blurs the line between score and documentation. Remarkably, Kaprow's didactic actions recorded on film function as their own score that unfolds in time. Espousing a philosophical perspective on experimental scores, Shiomi's *Spatial Poem* and Kaprow's *Routine* move beyond a score's two-dimensional paper format in ways that question the boundary between documentation and instruction.

Over the course of the 1960s and into the '70s, experimental scores invigorated a multitude of creative practices in the visual and performing arts. This development in turn contributed to the canonization of historical avant-garde precursors. A number of these artists who were trained in art history — Kaprow and Higgins in particular — worked to self-historicize and theorize their own experimental practices for audiences that lacked the proper language and knowledge to grasp the historical import of their work.<sup>62</sup> The protean intermedia aesthetic philosophy these artists articulated attempted to reconcile and synthesize numerous influences: sound poetry and collage, Dada and Surrealism, the progressive pedagogy of Black

Mountain College, abstract expressionist painting, Cage and the New York School composers (a group consisting of Feldman, Cage, Tudor, Brown, and Christian Wolff), and the newly emergent culture of mass media.<sup>63</sup> During the 1960s, Fluxus artists effectively redefined the meaning of Duchamp's readymade to include not only objects but also gestures, sounds, and events. From this perspective, event scores were understood as "temporal readymades" that could appropriate and anoint ephemeral phenomena as aesthetically significant.<sup>64</sup> Their notations became a remarkably powerful tool in transforming the artwork from an inert object into a wildly transmutable idea capable of migrating through any medium imaginable. As Higgins summarily concluded in his "Exemplativist Manifesto" (1976) with a grand gesture redolent of Jacques Derrida's concept of grammatology: "All form is a process of notation."<sup>65</sup>

Other artists keen on gaining a historical awareness of and thereby legitimating new intermedia art forms produced maps, flowcharts, and timelines detailing their avant-garde lineages. Alongside Maciunas's better-known historiographic diagrams, Nam June Paik's "Expanded Education for the Paperless Society" (1968) included a flowchart representing the history of musical notation as an antecedent to what he called "Music Graphic" (the graphic notation of something like Cage's *Concert for Piano and Orchestra*), "event and action music" (event scores by Brecht et al.), and ultimately an ethnographic "mix media music" (visually compelling, multisensory performance including opera as well as "all non-European music") (fig. 0.8).<sup>66</sup> Notably, Paik's chart is part of a manifesto arguing the urgent need for integrating multimedia technology into arts pedagogy—precisely what *The Scores Project* seeks to realize. In fact, it can be argued that the proliferation of scores in the 1960s fittingly paralleled early histories of computing and cybernetic theory. As a quasi-algorithmic conceptual tool, scores were a handily adaptable format for



playing with textual and diagrammatic codes and linkages. Others ushered the score into the terrain of social utopias. In 1969, Lawrence Halprin, the visionary landscape architect and partner to the postmodern dance pioneer Anna Halprin, published *The RSVP Cycles*, attesting to the creative power of scores understood in the broadest possible sense, from ancient mandalas and topographical maps to grocery lists and recipes.<sup>67</sup> In its capaciousness, Lawrence Halprin's catalog represents a distinct peak of the period's mania for scores as it begs the question of what graphic inscriptions, if any, do not qualify as being score-like.

Ultimately, visual and performance artists' embrace of scores as a generative tool was as consequential for the period of transition from modernism to postmodernism as was minimalism's activation of the space of the beholder and pop art's intermingling of high art with the low culture of mass media.<sup>68</sup> In the years since, artists have continued to make use of all sorts of notations—from scores, diagrams, and instructions to certificates, blueprints, drawings, and the like—though with some sense that the once revolutionary challenges to authority, autography, and polished works in favor of iterative, experimental, and open-ended practices have become accepted, even routine directions for contemporary artists. Meanwhile, for scholars and curators, the recognition of the importance of experimental scores has inspired renewed debates around the ontology, preservation, and, ironically, authenticity of ephemeral works of art in ways that knit together such diverse fields of inquiry as aesthetics, patronage, museum studies, conservation, and intellectual property law.

## Poetry and Experimental Scores

Language-based directives were certainly one of the hallmark features of the expanded forms in which experimental scores were composed and distributed after 1960. Nevertheless, from a historical perspective, it is

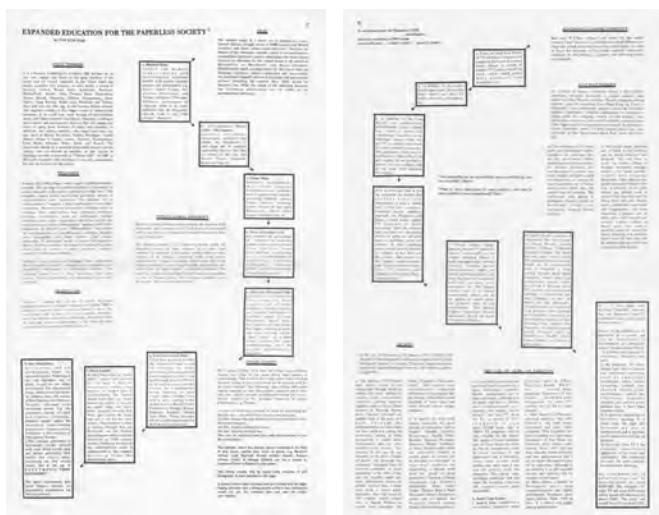


Fig. 0.8 Nam June Paik (Korean, 1932–2006). “Expanded Education for the Paperless Society,” 1968. Reproduced in *Radical Software* 1, no. 1 (1970): 7–8. © Nam June Paik Estate.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/008/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/008/)

remarkable to note that self-described poets were largely on the periphery of these aesthetic innovations. In France, at least one sympathetic tradition of poets operated in parallel to Cage and his circle. Disaffection with the increasingly doctrinaire strictures of Bretonian Surrealism led to the founding in 1948 of the *Ouvroir de Littérature Potentielle* (Oulipo). Though their work was not popularized in the United States until the 1960s, Oulipo's emphasis on the creation of *potential* literature—that is, the invention of procedures or constraints that could be employed to generate actual, finished literary works—presents us with a literary analogue to the score-based experiments featured in *The Scores Project*. This parallel notwithstanding, the avant-garde poets of the postwar era who did interact most directly with Cage and his circle's score-based experiments in the early 1950s, namely Charles Olson, M. C. Richards, and Jackson Mac Low, had a subtler, more indirect relationship to a broader history of score-like experimentation in Western poetry, a relationship that requires a bit of historical context.

Long before any modernist or avant-garde poetry, there was a common sense that the text of a written poem was analogous to a score. From the dawn of print culture up until the early twentieth century in the West, it was assumed that printed poems would be read aloud in the presence of others—and thus performed in a score-like fashion—so as to retain a sensory link to ubiquitous traditions of oral literature and folklore. This history of performing poetry in print allows us to better understand how the changing conceptions of prosody, orality, and the phenomenology of poetic rhythm paralleled cross-disciplinary score-based work in the other arts. Before the emergence of mass media, the expressive recitation of literary works was a prime source of communal entertainment for primarily middle-class audiences, much like amateur performances of musical scores. In England and the United States, the recitation of poetry was the focus of enunciation contests that were widespread in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and these contests

in turn were evidence of a vigorous debate over the proper pronunciation and rhythms of English speech. In a move that parallels the nineteenth-century emergence of parlor song and Christian hymnals intended for middle-class amateur musicians, participants in these disputes assumed that such performances of literary works ought to be achievable by any reader with sufficient literacy and education; that is, they did not require professional performers.<sup>69</sup> These debates only intensified in the early days of radio and the phonograph, and the ideas were associated with an explosion of textbooks, manuals, and theoretical treatises on poetic meter and other rhythmic effects that were considered essential to the oral delivery of a text.

A chief preoccupation of modern American poetry was the widely acknowledged “crisis of verse” / *crise de vers* that emerged from the widespread adoption of free-verse rhythms rather than the more regularly patterned structure of meter and rhyme. Some poets and critics argued that modern poets ought to renounce regular rhythms and other pleasing sonic effects of traditional versification—even to the point of becoming deliberately prosaic in their language—in order to reflect the broken or alienated conditions of modernity.<sup>70</sup> Others, however, sought to maintain continuity between the meters of earlier eras of English-language poetry and the prosodic experiments that were quickly being embraced as canonical works of high modernism in the age of the New Criticism.<sup>71</sup> The pedagogues concerned with proper enunciation reacted to the crisis of free verse in their own way. Some simply dismissed these new works outright as not poetry—conservative literary critics regularly decried any new experimental works either as nonsense or as being indistinguishable from prose—while Robert Frost infamously described free verse as “playing tennis with the net down.”<sup>72</sup> But others rushed to amend their prosodic theories by explaining how free-verse poems ought to be recited and how attending to their oral delivery remained indispensable

to understanding and experiencing these literary works.

Leading up to this moment of early modernist crisis, the musical score and the notion of the printed text as the authoritative guide to oral delivery reemerged as a model for literary scholars. The poet Sidney Lanier, in his *Science of English Verse* (1880), had sought a unified ground for the rhythms of both metrical and free-verse poetry (fig. 0.9).<sup>73</sup> For his analyses, Lanier used musical notation in place of traditional scansion (derived from the foot-based prosodies of Greek and Latin poetry), a quirkily overdetermined approach emphasizing time and rhythm over accents and stresses on syllables that would continue to be championed by Harriet Monroe, the influential editor of *Poetry* magazine in the modernist era.<sup>74</sup> Other scholars looked to phonographic recordings of exemplary recitations as a way of establishing the subtle yet perceptible regularity of free verse when read aloud by expert performers.<sup>75</sup> Aided by a robust discourse of formalization made with reference to musical scores, the focus on exemplary virtuoso performances of poems became a means of legitimating modernist experimentalism.

Meanwhile, other strains of modernism sought to revive the vernacular, ephemeral, and improvisational dimensions of oral poetry. By the 1950s, attempts to shake up the stale, insular, and self-congratulatory performance norms of the academic poetry reading were emerging from virtually all of the various schools of so-called New American Poetry, as identified in 1960 by the influential anthologist Donald Allen. (Members of these schools included the Beat poets, Black Mountain College poets, figures of the San Francisco Renaissance, and New York School poets.) Their challenges ranged from “Fresh Air” (1955), the New York School poet Kenneth Koch’s merciless satire of academic poetry culture, to the much more militant call for “poems that kill” from Amiri Baraka, founder of the Harlem-based Black Arts Repertory Theater/School.<sup>76</sup> Midcentury poets seeking emancipation from the sterility of mainstream

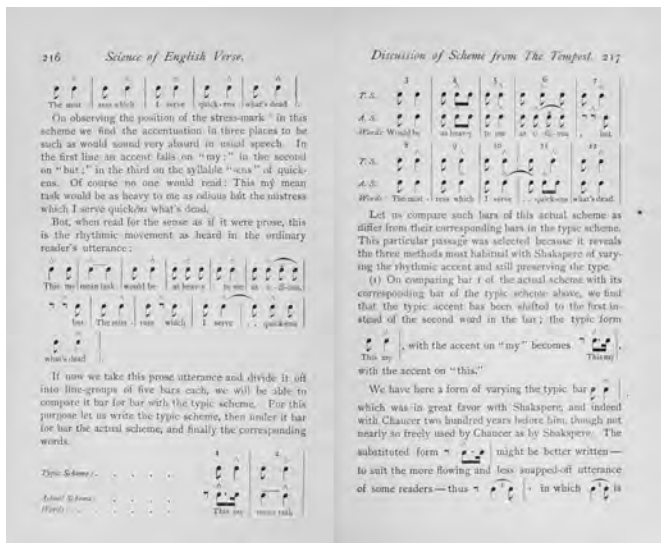


Fig. 0.9 Sidney Lanier (American, 1842–81). *The Science of English Verse* (New York: Scribner's, 1880), 216–17. Internet Archive/Trent University Library Donation.

getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/009/

recitation found models for immediacy and spontaneity in abstract expressionist painting, collage and assemblage, existentialist philosophy, psychoanalysis, jazz, the mind-expanding qualities of psychoactive drugs, and exoticizing endeavors into mysticism and spiritualism.

In this vein, Afro-modernist bebop, newly circulating in recordings at midcentury, inspired many of these poets to actively return to a form of oral literature that was presumed to bypass the mediation of writing and reach audiences more directly. The improvisational performances of Beat poets, which often entailed similarly improvised musical accompaniment and were occasionally distributed as audio recordings, further emphasized performance at the expense of a purely textualist concept of the literary work. Their innovations would in turn become a formidable influence on the musicians and poets who infused the spoken word into free jazz, the 1960s folk revival, rock music, and the New York punk movement of the 1970s. The work of Gil Scott-Heron and Patti Smith stands out as perhaps the best known and most direct channeling of the sensory immediacy of oral delivery into an incantation driven by the hypnotic intensity of jazz, blues, soul, and—for Smith—rock. Echoing elements of Scott-Heron's innovations, hip-hop artists, particularly in the wake of the genre's flowering in the 1990s, would even more radically return to the powers of prosody and voice to assert a performance-driven model of poetic expression.

Of course, these musician-poets were not necessarily interested in experimental scores; they were more directly turning to forms of oral transmission joined to the affective impact of music. Others retooled the formalist study of meter and prosody in ways that explicitly made use of experimental scores that presented temporal performance instructions in inventive visual layouts.<sup>77</sup> In a formalist vein, Charles Olson reimagined the visual display of a poem in the manner of a musical score, with the fixed-width typography of the typewritten manuscript becoming a strict temporal axis stretching evenly across the printed page. Olson's essay

“Projective Verse” (1950) described a rhythmic aspect of “open field” composition, in which the visual arrangement of the poem on the page serves as the definitive guide to performance, with the understanding that each line of verse would be equivalent in duration to one breath on the part of the reader. He writes:

It is the advantage of the typewriter that, due to its rigidity and its space precisions, it can, for a poet, indicate exactly the breath, the pauses, the suspensions even of syllables, the juxtapositions even of parts of phrases, which he intends. For the first time the poet has the stave and the bar a musician has had. For the first time he can, without the convention of rime and meter, record the listening he has done to his own speech and by that one act indicate how he would want any reader, silently or otherwise, to voice his work. It is time we picked the fruits of the experiments of Cummings, Pound, Williams, each of whom has, after his way, already used the machine as a scoring to his composing, as a script to its vocalization.<sup>78</sup>

Around the same time that Olson developed his theory of projective verse, a generation of concrete poets in Brazil and elsewhere employed typography not just for visual effects but also as a score-like guide to performers.<sup>79</sup>

Although concrete poets have long been misunderstood as working in a purely visual medium, recent scholarship has sought to recover their overlooked sonic dimensions. The Brazilian poets Haroldo and Augusto de Campos referred to their influential experiments across the nexus of word, image, and sound as *verbivocovisual*, a neologism drawn from James Joyce’s *Finnegans Wake* (1939).<sup>80</sup> Many concrete poets saw their strategies as an aesthetic counter to the increasingly ubiquitous visual language of capitalist advertising that was permeating their rapidly urbanizing cities, and some wrote poems that critically engaged popular



advertising through sonic wordplay rendered in the color palettes of iconic brands, as Décio Pignatari did in *Beba Coca Cola* (1957) (fig. 0.10). Rather than establishing a countercultural priesthood of high art, these poets sought to build their own aesthetic and cultural theories from scratch, articulating a clean, definitive break with European modernisms that had been permanently discredited by association with two world wars.<sup>81</sup> Still other concrete poets sought to reify their works by having them fabricated in heftier material forms, as did the Scottish poet and gardener Ian Hamilton Finlay, who constructed and commissioned site-specific works in wood, glass, and stone for his home, known as Little Sparta (fig. 0.11). This diversity of aims and programs for concrete poetry was recognized at the time by Fluxus affiliate Emmett Williams, who edited an impressively international and multilingual collection of concrete poetry in 1967.<sup>82</sup>

Given the range of midcentury poets working at some proximity to experimental scores, it may appear strange that the use of language by the key figures featured in *The Scores Project*—and particularly in event scores by Young, Brecht, and Mac Low, or in Cage’s lectures, which echoed Olson’s experimental concept of open-field composition—may appear so conspicuously disengaged from both the visual and the aural experiments of their poetic contemporaries. But this, too, simply requires further historical context. Many of these figures were fascinated by a certain optimism about the transparency of language that characterized midcentury discourses of cybernetics, positivism, infographics, the imperative grammar of ad agency sloganeering, or the rhetoric of protest signs.<sup>83</sup> Though these artists often took such language to provocative extremes or subjected it to forms of critique, such an exhortatory tone, previously associated with didactic and moralizing traditions, had heretofore been virtually absent from the traditional scope of lyric, modern, and avant-garde poets.<sup>84</sup> (Kaprow may be considered an



Fig. 0.10 Décio Pignatari (Brazilian, 1927–2012). *Beba Coca Cola*, 1957, screen print. From *Poesia concreta in Brasile* (Milan: Archivio della Grazia di Nuova Scrittura, 1991), n.p. Getty Research Institute, item 45-13. Estate of Décio Pignatari.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/010/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/010/)



Fig. 0.11 Ian Hamilton Finlay (Scottish, 1925–2006). *Star/Steer*, 1965, sandblasted glass in wooden base. By courtesy of the Estate of Ian Hamilton Finlay.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/011/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/011/)

exception to this functionalist trend, as his approach to rhetoric and communication was more clearly influenced by the Beat poets, particularly Allen Ginsberg.)

As a case in point, the language-based instructions that accompany Cage's score for *Concert for Piano and Orchestra* deploy a view of language as essentially functional and communicative. The purpose is simply to explain how the performer should interpret the unconventional notations in the pages that follow. If anything, Cage's use of language derives from scientific communication, symbolic logic, and informational graphics. Just as one might label the values being plotted on the x and y axes of a chart or graph, so Cage instructs the performer about the values of the parameters of his calligraphic squiggles and amoebas. Tudor's highly calculated and systematic approach to his realizations—which, in the case of his second realization of the *Concert for Piano*, ballooned into pages upon pages of preparatory work with precise ruler measurements and calculations in long division—effectively doubles down on a quantitative method for resolving the relationship between the graphic and linguistic elements of Cage's score.

And yet, if the avant-gardists in *The Scores Project* did not necessarily see their use of language as poetic, it does not mean that their claims to linguistic transparency were devoid of ontological and aesthetic richness. Even as their score language appears simple, direct, unadorned, and functional—occasionally akin to stage directions—some instructions are often so compressed that they ironically invite perplexity or confusion. As John Hicks demonstrates in chapter 7 on Mac Low's provocative postcard scores, the bracing simplicity of their language echoes some of the more conceptually oriented, koan-like event scores of Brecht, Young, and Ono, deliberately testing the limits of what is performable or even imaginable. These text-based scores, with their ambivalent and complex relation to the history of poetry and music, and their curious position between the

ideal and the material, in many ways prefigured the broader turn to language in late 1960s conceptual art.<sup>85</sup> For certain, they mark a major touchstone in the development of contemporary performance art and related intermedia practices.

## An Invitation

This publication is an invitation to explore. Experimental scores are philosophically and historically complex entities, a key reason they became so fascinating and popular during the 1960s. We hope the unified multisensory format of *The Scores Project* facilitates a comparative understanding of multiple realities and modes of existence for each score that may have been difficult if not impossible to imagine in the traditional physical spaces of an archive, gallery, or performance venue.

Certain guiding questions may facilitate comparisons: What did artists prioritize in their scores and instructions? Even though each of these scores has an author, to what extent was their authorship fundamentally collaborative? Were the works intended for specific performers, readers, or viewers? Or for unknown participants or communities? Were participants presumed to be skilled or informed in any way? Did these works rely on an existing social habitus, a socially competitive scene or clique, or institutional structures and authorities? Is extension in time given the same weight in each score? Does a recorded performance in turn affect future interpretations of a score? This is particularly the case with dance, in which filmed documentation captures many more details of bodily movement—and ultimately intellectual property—than can be preserved in dance notation and instructions. But it is also true for Kaprow, Knowles, and Shiomi, who turned documentation of an action into its own kind of score. It is true for Brecht's *Drip Music (Drip Event)* (1959–62; see chapter 6), in which a particular interpretation of the work

involving a ladder and a watering can, reiterated through repeated stagings as well as photographic and filmic documentation, helped codify a post-facto performance protocol, one Brecht himself avoided. To what extent did artists retain traditional aesthetic values of appealing design in their scores? Or of arresting, peaceful, beautiful, or disturbing sounds and images in the result? Is it possible to have a “bad” or tasteless performance of these scores? If so, how and why? Is it because we as twenty-first-century participants have ironically been seduced by the author-function and a desire to preserve a work’s historical integrity?

As we keep these questions in mind, the archival records for each of these scores provide a front-row seat to the sociohistorical context from which the works first emerged. Rather than supposing the score is some kind of urtext for the work, users can compare realizations, notes, and correspondence to understand some of the larger conceptual apparatuses and influences that went into the creation and performances of the scores. We hope users will arrive at new materials and conceptual understandings of each score by working directly from archives and historical materials to better understand the philosophical practices at play. For example, in newspaper clippings, we can trace a history of middle brow receptions of performances that is unfiltered by the idealized lens of disciplinary metanarratives. As archival correspondence shows, fraught negotiations over artists’ compensation and recognition for their creative work sometimes conflicted with their professed desires to de-commodify the art object. In turn, such material needs have raised important questions for museums and collectors today. Recent scholarship linking art history, performance studies, museum and curatorial studies, and conservation has begun to track in earnest how the score format has become an essential tool of legally compensating artists for otherwise ephemeral works.<sup>86</sup>

Considering the wealth of materials gathered in *The Scores Project*, we can ascertain how the identities and reception of these multifaceted experimental compositions shifted over time through the engagement of different communities of performers and audiences, some quite distant from the scores' original authors. Accordingly, we have included ephemera typically omitted or sidelined in traditional scholarship and arranged these materials into constellations that facilitate new understanding of the works from which they derive. In other words, *The Scores Project* reimagines the format and user experience of scholarship on interdisciplinary arts by taking cues from the art itself. Through its accessible design, far-reaching historical narrative, and abundance of exciting primary materials, this project aims to create a compelling, dynamic model for the curation and communication of performance materials to the general public.

Even so, when such rich archival materials are available, we as readers, viewers, listeners, and participants do not construct the context for experimental scores from the ground up. To every work we encounter for the first time, we bring our past experiences and understandings of all the works we have encountered previously — experiences that undoubtedly color our reception of new ones. Those with academic training may assume the role of a hypothetical, idealized “reader” of literature, “viewer” of visual art, “listener” of music, or “participant” in performances and happenings. Accompanying these idealized readers, viewers, listeners, and participants are a host of other implicit assumptions about the context or habitus in which their encounters take place: private, undisturbed reading; contemplative viewing in a white-cube gallery; listening to a high-fidelity recording or in an acoustically optimized performance space; and so on. It is these baseline assumptions that many of the scores presented in this publication willfully disrupt. Yes, this publication is an invitation to explore. But arguably it does more, as do the

scores featured within it. They invite us to rethink how one writes history or practices theory and philosophy, and they ask us to understand how artistic practice itself dislodges the familiar and, in doing so, creates new and provocative forms of life.

#### Notes

1. Dick Higgins, "Intermedia" (1965–66), republished with commentary by Hannah Higgins in *Leonardo* 34, no. 1 (2001): 49–54; and Dick Higgins, "Statement on Intermedia" (1966), in *Dé-coll/age* 6 (1967), ed. Wolf Vostell, reprinted in *In the Spirit of Fluxus*, ed. Elizabeth Armstrong and Joan Rothfuss, exh. cat. (Minneapolis: Walker Art Center, 1993), 172–73. See also Natilee Harren, "The Crux of Fluxus: Intermedia, Rear-Guard," in *Art Expanded, 1958–1978*, ed. Eric Crosby with Liz Glass, vol. 2 of *Living Collections Catalogue* (Minneapolis: Walker Art Center, 2015), <https://walkerart.org/collections/publications/art-expanded/crux-of-fluxus/>; and Trevor Stark, "Passionate Expanse of the Law: Intermedia and the Problem of Discipline," in *Call It Something Else: Something Else Press, Inc. 1963–1974*, by Alice Centamore and Christian Xatrec (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, 2023), 48–60.
2. Clement Greenberg, "Modernist Painting" (1960), in *The New Art: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Gregory Battcock (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1966); Leo Steinberg, "Other Criteria" (1968), in *Other Criteria: Confrontations with Twentieth-Century Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); and Rosalind Krauss and Yve-Alain Bois, *Formless: A User's Guide* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997).
3. A number of studies have laid groundwork pointing to the important role of scores in 1960s visual and performance art, including Hannah Higgins, *Fluxus Experience* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002); Liz Kotz, *Words to Be Looked At: Language in 1960s Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007); Branden Joseph, *Beyond the Dream Syndicate: Tony Conrad and the Arts after Cage* (New York: Zone Books, 2008); Julia Robinson, "From Abstraction to Model: George Brecht's Events and the Conceptual Turn in Art of the 1960s," *October* 127 (Winter 2009): 77–108; Jane McFadden, *Walter De Maria: Meaningless Work* (London: Reaktion Books, 2016); and Natilee Harren, *Fluxus Forms: Scores, Multiples, and the Eternal Network* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020).
4. See, for example, Umberto Eco, *The Open Work* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989); Richard Wollheim, *Art and Its Objects*



- (New York: Harper & Row, 1968); Nelson Goodman, *Languages of Art: An Approach to a Theory of Symbols* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1976); Roman Ingarden, *The Work of Music and the Problem of Its Identity*, trans. Adam Czerniawski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); and Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).
5. *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. "Score (n.)," <https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/2363072221>. Note as well that in German the word for a score is *Partitur*, which is of Latinate origin, deriving from *partire*, meaning to divide, partition, or share.
  6. David Charlton and Kathryn Whitney, "Score," *Grove Music Online*, 20 January 2001, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.25241>.
  7. For a detailed treatment of the integration of orality and memory with early forms of medieval musical notation, see Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005). See also Thomas Forrest Kelly, *Capturing Music: The Story of Notation* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2015); and Hannah Higgins, "Notation," *The Grid Book* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009).
  8. Standardized Western notation, made accessible by the Western publishing industry, served to reinforce biases and stereotypes held by the West's imperial and colonial plunderers, and they were thus more likely to approach the music of non-Western peoples as something to be extracted and exoticized rather than understood and appreciated on its own terms. See Glenda Goodman, "Sounds Heard, Meaning Deferred: Music Transcription as Imperial Technology," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 52, no. 1 (2018): 39–45.
  9. For an example of an ethnocentric teleology that privileges Western classical music notation as a quasi-Hegelian synthesis of past attempts, see the entry on "Notation," by Ian D. Bent et al., in *Grove Music Online*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.20114>. Bent and his coauthors position Western classical notation as an ideal synthesis of a series of historical developments. But from a global perspective, the detailed specifications of modern Western notation is but one system among many. Even within Western Europe, dynamic markings did not appear until the seventeenth century, articulation marks emerged during the nineteenth century, and both were the product of various experiments forwarded by various composers from within Europe. See David Cope, *New Music Notation* (Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt Publishing, 1976), 3.
  10. Goehr, *Imaginary Museum*.
  11. For an approach to some of the dramatic conflicts and scenes of social tension in New York-based experimental music in 1964, see Benjamin

- Piecut's take in *Experimentalism Otherwise* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).
12. Luigi Russolo, *The Art of Noises (Futurist Manifesto, 1913)*, trans. Robert Filliou, *A Great Bear Pamphlet* (New York: Something Else Press, 1967), accessible at [https://www.ubu.com/historical/gb/russolo\\_noise.pdf](https://www.ubu.com/historical/gb/russolo_noise.pdf). Filliou was a French artist associated with Fluxus alongside Dick Higgins, founder of Something Else Press, which issued this translation in chapbook form.
  13. Luigi Russolo, *Risveglio di una Città*, originally published in *Lacerba* (1 March 1914): 72–73.
  14. For a synoptic account of this period, see Carol Oja, *Making Music Modern* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003). Of note, Dick Higgins's Something Else Press (see note 12 above) reissued Cowell's *New Musical Resources* in 1969, in acknowledgment of its renewed relevance.
  15. Edgard Varèse and Chou Wen-chung, "The Liberation of Sound," *Perspectives of New Music* 5, no. 1 (1966): 11–19.
  16. Cage describes some of these influences in his famous 1937 essay, "The Future of Music: Credo," in *Silence: Lectures and Writings by John Cage* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1961), 3–6.
  17. George E. Lewis, "Improvised Music after 1950: Afrological and Eurological Perspectives," *Black Music Research Journal* 22, Supplement: Best of BMRJ (2002), 215–46.
  18. See Michael Zwerin, "A Lethal Measurement," in *John Cage: An Anthology*, ed. Richard Kostelanetz (New York: Praeger, 1970), 161–68; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press; discussed and cited in Lewis, "Improvised Music after 1950," 227–28. See also Caroline A. Jones, "Finishing School: John Cage and the Abstract Expressionist Ego," *Critical Inquiry* 19 (1993): 628–65; and Rebecca Y. Kim, "John Cage in Separate Togetherness with Jazz," *Contemporary Music Review* (2012): 63–89.
  19. Varèse himself had an ambivalent attitude toward jazz that evolved from racist disapproval to a marginal, if inconsequential, curiosity during the 1950s. In 1957, Varèse convened recording sessions of Greenwich House Music School that brought in a largely white cast of jazz improvisers, with the noted exceptions of Art Farmer and Charles Mingus. See Brigid Cohen, "Enigmas of the Third Space: Mingus and Varèse at Greenwich House, 1957," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 71, no. 1 (2018): 155–211.
  20. See Benjamin Patterson, "I'm Glad You Asked Me That Question," in *Benjamin Patterson: Born in the State of FLUX/us*, by Valerie Cassel Oliver (Houston: Contemporary Arts Museum Houston, 2010), 110; and Benjamin Patterson, oral history interview by Kathy Goncharov, 22 May

- 2009, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/interviews/oral-history-interview-benjamin-patterson-15685#transcript>. Patterson immigrated to Canada in search of work in 1957, then left in 1959 for France and Germany. He remained largely in Germany until his return to New York in 1963. He later returned to Germany, where he spent the rest of his life.
21. See, for example, David Toop's interview with Ornette Coleman in David Toop, *Exotica: Fabricated Soundscapes in a Real World* (London: Serpent's Tail, 1999), 187.
  22. At the grand register of cultural policy and transatlantic competition, jazz—much like abstract expressionist painting—was by midcentury being used to assert the artistic supremacy of New York over Paris, as well as an ideological agenda of democratic “freedom” against the Cold War threat of Communism. See Lisa Davenport, *Jazz Diplomacy: Promoting America in the Cold War Era* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2009); Danielle Fosler-Lussier, *Music in America's Cold War Diplomacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); Timothy Brennan, *Afro-Latin Music and Imperial Jazz* (Brooklyn, NY: Verso, 2008); and Jairo Moreno, “Imperial Aurality: Jazz, the Archive, and U.S. Empire,” in *Audible Empire: Music, Global Politics, Critique*, ed. Ronald Radano and Tejumola Olaniyan (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016), 135–60. For middle- to upper-class white people in the United States, jazz would also become the basis for the mimetic trope of the countercultural hipster while similarly serving as an “authentically” American inspiration for abstract expressionists and Beat poets, among many other artists and writers. For a historical account of this phenomenon, see Norman Mailer, “The White Negro,” *Dissent* (1957): 157–66.
  23. Brown started his musical life as a trumpeter and big-band arranger, and while working as a recording engineer for Capitol Records from 1955 to 1960, he crossed paths with Black musicians including Count Basie and Ray Charles. See Jason Cady, “An Overview of Earle Brown's Techniques and Media,” in *Beyond Notation: The Music of Earle Brown*, ed. Rebecca Y. Kim (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017). Brown also produced, from 1960 to 1973, a series of recordings titled Contemporary Sound Series for Time/Mainstream Records that would help expand the notoriety of the midcentury musical avant-garde. See D. J. Hoek, “Documenting the International Avant Garde: Earle Brown and the Time-Mainstream Contemporary Sound Series,” *Notes* 61, no. 2 (2004): 350–60.
  24. See LeRoi Jones [Amiri Baraka], *Blues People* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1999); Scott DeVeaux, *The Birth of Bebop: A Social and Musical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); and Eric

- Porter, *What Is This Thing Called Jazz? African American Musicians as Artists, Critics, and Activists* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).
25. Lewis, "Improvised Music after 1950," 218.
  26. La Monte Young and Jackson Mac Low, eds. (with George Maciunas, designer), *An Anthology of Chance Operations* (New York: self-published, 1963); and John Cage and Alison Knowles, eds., *Notations* (New York: Something Else Press, 1969). Beyond these primary anthologies, practical and systematic guides for the use of experimental notations have since been published. See, for example, Howard Risatti, *New Music Vocabulary: A Guide to Notational Signs for Contemporary Music* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975); and Gardner Read, *Pictographic Score Notation: A Compendium* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998).
  27. On the collaborative and improvisational practices of Cage, Tudor, Gordon Mumma, David Behrman, Ichihyanagi, and Takehisa Kosugi with the Merce Cunningham Dance Company of the 1960s and '70s, see Benjamin Piekut, "Not So Much a Program of Music as the Experience of Music," in *Merce Cunningham: CO:MM:ON Tl:ME*, ed. Fionn Meade and Joan Rothfuss (Minneapolis: Walker Art Center, 2017), 114–29. For more on Tudor's work with modular synthesizers, see You Nakai, *Reminded by the Instruments: David Tudor's Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021).
  28. Pauline Oliveros, *Deep Listening: A Composer's Sound Practice* (Lincoln, NE: iUniverse, 2005), 29.
  29. See Amy Cimini, *Wild Sound: Maryanne Amacher and the Tenses of Audible Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2022).
  30. Leah Dickerman et al., *Dada: Zurich, Berlin, Hannover, Cologne, New York, Paris* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2005); and Leah Dickerman, "Dada Gambits," *October* 105 (2003): 3–12.
  31. See Molly Nesbit, "The Language of Industry," in *The Definitively Unfinished Marcel Duchamp*, ed. Thierry De Duve (Halifax: Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1991); and David Joselit, "Dada's Diagrams," in *The Dada Seminars*, ed. Leah Dickerman and Matthew S. Witkovsky (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2005). Regarding his decision in the 1960s to agree to the re-creation in edition of a number of his readymades that had been lost or destroyed, Duchamp explained that the readymade proposed "to wipe out the idea of the original, which exists neither in music nor in poetry." Marcel Duchamp, quoted in Otto Hahn, "Passport No. G255300," *Art and Artists* 1, no. 4 (July 1966): 7.
  32. On sound poetry, see Marjorie Perloff, *The Futurist Moment: Avant-Garde, Avant-Guerre, and the Language of Rupture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985); Douglas Kahn, *Noise Water Meat* (Cambridge,

- MA: MIT Press, 2001); Marjorie Perloff and Craig Dworkin, eds., *The Sound of Poetry / The Poetry of Sound* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); and Nancy Perloff, *Explodity: Sound, Image, and Word in Russian Futurist Book Art* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2016). See also *Explodity*'s associated interactive website: <https://www.getty.edu/research/publications/explodity/index.html>.
33. Trevor Stark, *Total Expansion of the Letter: Avant-Garde Art and Language after Mallarmé* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2020). See also Willard Bohn, *Apollinaire, Visual Poetry, and Art Criticism* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1993).
  34. Ralf Burmeister, Michaela Oberhofer, and Esther Tisa Francini, eds., *Dada Africa: Dialogue with the Other*, exh. cat. (Zürich: Scheidegger und Spiess, 2016). See also Kurt Beals, "Primitivismus: The Dada Rhythms of *Rhythmus 21*," in *Hans Richters Rhythmus 21: Schlüsselfilm der Moderne*, ed. Christoph Bareither, Kurt Beals, Michael Cowan, Paul Dobryden et al. (Würzburg, Germany: Königshausen & Neumann, 2012); and Kurt Beals, *Wireless Dada: Telegraphic Poetics in the Avant-Garde* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2019).
  35. On the politics of Dada sound poetry and collage, see T. J. Demos, "Circulations: In and around Zurich Dada," *October* 105 (Summer 2003); Demos, "Zurich Dada: The Aesthetics of Exile," in Dickerman and Witkovsky, *Dada Seminars*; Hal Foster, "Dada Mime," *October* 105 (Summer 2003); Megan R. Luke, *Kurt Schwitters: Space, Image, Exile* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014); and Stark, *Total Expansion of the Letter*.
  36. Martin Duberman, *Black Mountain: An Exploration in Community* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1972); Eva Díaz, *The Experimenters: Chance and Design at Black Mountain College* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015); Helen Molesworth and Ruth Erickson, *Leap before You Look: Black Mountain College, 1933–1957* (Boston and New Haven, CT: Institute of Contemporary Art Boston in association with Yale University Press, 2015); and Eugen Blume et al., eds., *Black Mountain: An Interdisciplinary Experiment, 1933–1957* (Leipzig: Spektrum Books, 2015). For a digital archive of Black Mountain College's history, see <https://www.blackmountaincollege.org/politicsdigitalportal/>.
  37. Josef Albers, "Art as Experience," *Progressive Education* 12 (October 1935): 391–93. The title of Albers's essay is a nod to John Dewey's *Art as Experience* (1934; reprint, New York: Perigee, 1980). See also Jeffrey Saletnik, *Josef Albers, Late Modernism, and Pedagogic Form* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2022).
  38. Paul Klee, *Pedagogical Sketchbook*, trans. Sibyl Moholy-Nagy (New York: Praeger, 1953); and Wassily Kandinsky, *Point and Line to Plane*,

- trans. Howard Dearstyne and Hilla Rebay (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation / Museum of Non-Objective Painting, 1947).
39. Fabienne Eggelhöfer and Marianne Keller Tschirren, *Paul Klee: Bauhaus Master* (Madrid: Fundación Juan March, 2013), 49; Klee, *Pedagogical Sketchbook*, 16; and Kandinsky, *Point and Line to Plane*, 40–45.
  40. See Kimberly Jannarone, *Artaud and His Doubles* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010).
  41. Pierre Boulez, "Propositions," *Polyphonie*, no. 2 (1948): 65–72.
  42. For an account of the transmission of Artaud's writings through Boulez, Cage, Tudor, and M. C. Richards, see Eric Smigel, "Recital Hall of Cruelty: Antonin Artaud, David Tudor, and the 1950s Avant-Garde," *Perspectives of New Music* 45, no. 2 (2007): 171–202. On Artaud's reception in the visual arts, see Frédéric Acquaviva and Kaira Cabañas, *Specters of Artaud: Language and the Arts in the 1950s*, exh. cat. (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, 2012); and Lucy Bradnock, *No More Masterpieces: Modern Art after Artaud* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2020).
  43. Cage and Tudor also visited Black Mountain College in the summer of 1951, where Tudor performed an aggressive and dissonant (Artaud-inspired) program of fully notated piano pieces: Boulez's *Second Sonata* and excerpts from Cage's *Music of Changes* (1951). Cage first saw Robert Rauschenberg's *White Painting* [three panel] (1951) the following summer, when it was included in *Theater Piece No. 1* (1952).
  44. Following the Alberses' departure from Black Mountain in 1949, the college would subsequently come under the leadership of the poet Charles Olson, who officially became rector in 1953. For a detailed chronology, see Duberman, *Black Mountain: Exploration in Community*.
  45. In Cage's words, *Theater Piece No. 1* was also strongly influenced by Artaud: "We got the idea from Artaud that theater could take place free of a text, that if a text were in it, that it needn't determine the other actions, that sounds, that activities, and so forth, could all be free rather than tied together. . . . And this was extended on this occasion [*Theater Piece No. 1*] not only to music and dance, but to poetry and painting, and so forth, to the audience. So that the audience was not focused in one particular direction." Richard Kostelanetz, *Conversing with Cage* (New York: Limelight Editions, 1988), 110. See also Branden Joseph, "Moving Images," in *Random Order: Robert Rauschenberg and the Neo-Avant-Garde* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003).
  46. For the overlapping oral histories of Cage's otherwise undocumented *Theater Piece No. 1*, see Duberman's exhaustive *Black Mountain: Exploration in Community*, particularly chapter 12, "A New Black Mountain," 334–62, and the comprehensive accounts given in William Fetterman, *John Cage's Theatre Pieces: Notations and Performances*

(New York: Routledge, 1995), and Eva Díaz, "John Cage's Chance Protocols," in *Experimenters*.

47. See Catherine Craft, *An Audience of Artists: Dada, Neo-Dada, and the Emergence of Abstract Expressionism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 3.
48. Craft, *Audience of Artists*, 44. Annette Leddy argues that an important but underrecognized influence on Motherwell's ideas was an intense six-month visit to a group of "dissident surrealists" who were riding out World War II in Mexico City and who formulated their break with Surrealism in the journal *Dyn*. See Leddy, "The Painting Aesthetic of *Dyn*," in Annette Leddy and Donna Conwell, *Farewell to Surrealism: The Dyn Circle in Mexico*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2012), 9–34.
49. Other revelatory, canon-forming exhibitions that cemented Dada's place in narratives of twentieth-century art include *Dada: Dokumente einer Bewegung* (Düsseldorf: Kunsthalle Düsseldorf, 1958), *The Art of Assemblage* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1961), and *Dada, Surrealism, and Their Heritage* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1968).
50. Sandra Zalman, *Consuming Surrealism in America: Dissident Modernism* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015).
51. Beginning with their first retrospective accounting in a 1970 exhibition in Cologne organized by Harald Szeemann and Hanns Sohm, happenings and Fluxus have been historicized as partner movements given the proximity of the artists' social circles and aligned aesthetic and intellectual interests. However, much like the often paired movements of Dada and Surrealism, their appreciable differences are increasingly being recognized. Harald Szeemann and Hanns Sohm, eds., *Happening & Fluxus* (Cologne: Kölnischer Kunstverein, 1970).
52. George Maciunas, "Neo-Dada in Music, Theater, Poetry, Art" (1962), in Armstrong and Rothfuss, *In the Spirit of Fluxus*, 156–57.
53. Brecht's notebooks show that Cage invited critique of the ideas that eventually became his famous lectures on indeterminacy given in Darmstadt, Germany, in September 1958. See Rebecca Y. Kim, "In No Uncertain Musical Terms: The Cultural Politics of John Cage's Indeterminacy" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2008), 153–54; and Harren, *Fluxus Forms*, 60. Cage's writings from this period are collected in *Silence: Lectures and Writings by John Cage* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1961).
54. Liz Kotz, "Post-Cagean Aesthetics and the Event Score," in *Words to Be Looked At*, 59–98. On Ono's complex, and often overlooked, relationship to this historical moment, see Brigid Cohen, *Musical*

- Migration and Imperial New York: Early Cold War Scenes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2022), 179–222.
55. Brenda Dixon Gottschild, *The Black Dancing Body: A Geography from Coon to Cool* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).
  56. See Lewis, “Improvised Music after 1950.” Jeremy Grimshaw details the influence of Indian classical music on Young in *Draw a Straight Line and Follow It: The Music and Mysticism of La Monte Young* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). Recent studies charting a distinct lineage and theoretical framework for radical Black performance include Malik Gaines, *Black Performance on the Outskirts of the Left: A History of the Impossible* (New York: New York University Press, 2017), and Uri McMillan, *Embodied Avatars: Genealogies of Black Feminist Art and Performance* (New York: New York University Press, 2015). In the fields of music studies, see Paul Steinbeck, *Sound Experiments: The Music of the AACM* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2022); Ana R. Alonso-Minutti, Eduardo Herrera, and Alejandro L. Madrid, eds., *Experimentalisms in Practice: Music Perspectives from Latin America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018); Jairo Moreno, *Sounding Latin Music, Hearing the Americas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2023); William Sites, *Sun Ra’s Chicago: Afrofuturism and the City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020); and Anna Gawboy, “Theosophy and Esoteric Musical Modernism,” in *A Cultural History of Western Music*, vol. 6, *A Cultural History of Western Music in the Modern Age*, ed. William Cheng and Danielle Fosler-Lussier (London: Bloomsbury, 2024).
  57. Eric Porter, “Jeanne Lee’s Voice,” *Critical Studies in Improvisation* 2, no. 1 (2006), <https://www.criticalimprov.com/index.php/csieci/article/view/53/185>.
  58. Yvonne Rainer, *Work 1961–1973* (Halifax: Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1974), 46. See also Carrie Lambert-Beatty, *Being Watched: Yvonne Rainer and the 1960s* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008).
  59. For more on dance scores of the 1960s and approaches to preserving and reconstructing performance works, see Alison D’Amato, “Mobilizing the Score: Generative Choreographic Structures, 1960–Present” (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2015); Megan Metcalf, “Making the Museum Dance: Simone Forti’s *Huddle* (1961) and Its Acquisition by the Museum of Modern Art,” *Dance Chronicle* 45, no. 1 (February 2022): 30–56; and D’Amato’s and Metcalf’s contributions to Hanna B. Hölling, ed., *Object—Event—Performance: Art, Materiality, and Continuity since the 1960s* (New York: Bard Graduate Center, 2022). The Merce Cunningham Trust has developed multimedia “dance capsules” to record and transmit the choreographer’s repertoire (<https://www>



.mercecunningham.org/the-work/dance-capsules/); another model based on the work of Lucinda Childs is the digital publication *A Steady Pulse: Restaging Lucinda Childs, 1963–78*, ed. Bill Bissell (Philadelphia: Pew Center for Arts and Heritage, 2015), <http://danceworkbook.pcah.us/asteadypulse/>.

60. Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 16–33; and Peggy Phelan, “The Ontology of Performance: Representation without Reproduction,” in *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 146.
61. Knowles did not participate in Cage’s classes, but she absorbed detailed accounts from her partner Dick Higgins while he was enrolled. Perhaps fittingly in regard to Knowles’s ongoing engagement with food as material, her relationship with Cage developed rather through their mutual participation in the New York Mycological Society.
62. As noted earlier, Higgins released re-editions of Luigi Russolo’s *The Art of Noise*, Cowell’s *New Musical Resources*, and Richard Huelsenbeck’s *Dada Almanach* through his publishing house, Something Else Press, alongside prolific defenses of his peers’ work (see notes 12 and 14 above).
63. See Allan Kaprow, “The Legacy of Jackson Pollock” (1958), among other writings included in *Essays on the Blurring of Art and Life*, ed. Jeff Kelley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Dick Higgins, “Intermedia” (1965–66), republished with commentary by Hannah Higgins in *Leonardo* 34, no. 1 (2001): 49–54; and Dick Higgins, “Statement on Intermedia” (1966), in *Dé-coll/age* 6, ed. Wolf Vostell (1967), reprinted in Armstrong and Rothfuss, *In the Spirit of Fluxus*, 172–73.
64. This term was invented by George Maciunas to describe the event scores of George Brecht. See Brecht, letter to Maciunas, circa 1963, Hanns Sohm Archive, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart.
65. Dick Higgins, “Exemplativist Manifesto” (1976), in *A Dialectic of Centuries: Notes towards a Theory of the New Arts* (New York: Printed Editions, 1978), 159; reprinted in *Intermedia, Fluxus and the Something Else Press: Selected Writings by Dick Higgins*, ed. Steve Clay and Ken Friedman (Catskill, NY: Siglio, 2018), 250. See also Harren, *Fluxus Forms*, 1–26.
66. Nam June Paik, “Expanded Education for the Paperless Society” (1968), *Radical Software* 1, no. 1 (1970): 7–8. See also Astrit Schmidt-Burkhardt, *Maciunas’ Learning Machines: From Art History to a Chronology of Fluxus* (Berlin: Vice Versa Verlag, 2003). Harren, “Crux of Fluxus.”

67. Lawrence Halprin, *The RSVP Cycles: Creative Processes in the Human Environment* (New York: G. Braziller, 1969).
68. See Hal Foster, "The Crux of Minimalism," in *The Return of the Real: The Avant-Garde at the End of the Century* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), 35–68; and Harren, "Crux of Fluxus."
69. These debates over the correct recitation of English poetry were deeply ideological and frequently deployed in service of ethnolinguistic nationalist aims (for example, pitting "proper" English pronunciation against regional variants and dialects). On enunciation contests in the United States, see Nancy Glazener, *Literature in the Making: A History of U.S. Literary Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 95–106; and in England, see Mark S. Morrisson, "Performing the Pure Voice: Elocution, Verse Recitation, and Modernist Poetry in Prewar London," *Modernism/modernity* 3, no. 3 (1996): 25–50. On prosody as a site for debates over national culture, see Meredith Martin, "Prosody Wars," in *Meter Matters: Verse Cultures of the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Jason David Hall (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2011), 237–61; and Meredith Martin, *The Rise and Fall of Meter: Poetry and English National Culture, 1860–1930* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012). On the rise of musical literacy in the nineteenth century, see Leon Botstein, "Listening through Reading: Musical Literacy and the Concert Audience," *19th-Century Music* 16, no. 2, *Music in Its Social Contexts* (1992): 129–45.
70. On deliberately prosaic works, see, for example, Charles Reznikoff's *Testimony: The United States (1885–1915): Recitative* (1934–78), which was derived from archived courtroom transcripts; and the later work of Laura (Riding) Jackson prior to her renunciation of all her poetic works in 1938. See also John Hicks, "'A Fairer House than Prose': Verse and Its Others in American Poetry, 1850–1950" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 2012).
71. Note also Al Filreis's analysis of the Cold War context in which leftist poets of the 1930s were deliberately excluded from the canons of modernism that emerged from this 1950s version of modernism, which valued difficult, challenging poems whose political ideas — whether laudable or troubling — were obscured by the poetic impenetrability that only the heroic professional reader/interpreter could decipher. Mac Low is one of Filreis's prime examples of an explicitly leftist poet who was excluded from mainstream poetry publications as a result of his too-transparent political commitments. Alan Filreis, *Counter-Revolution of the Word: The Conservative Attack on Modern Poetry, 1945–1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 18–30 and 240–41.

72. Robert Frost, in a televised reading and discussion for Pittsburgh's WQED, quoted in *Newsweek*, 30 January 1956, p. 56.
73. Sidney Lanier, *The Science of English Verse* (New York: Scribner's, 1880). For the edition in archive.org, see <https://archive.org/embed/scienceofenglish00laniiala>.
74. Harriet Monroe, "Rhythms of English Verse," *Poetry* 3, no. 2 (November 1913): 61–68; and continued in *Poetry* 3, no. 3 (December 1913): 100–111. Full text issues of *Poetry* are available via the Modernist Journals Project: <https://modjourn.org>. Further resources on quantity are to be found under the word "quantity" in *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, in Derek Attridge, *Well-Weighed Syllables: Elizabethan Verse in Classical Metres* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1974), and in the first four chapters of John Hollander, *Vision and Resonance: Two Senses of Poetic Form* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 3–90.
75. Amy Lowell, "The Rhythms of Free Verse," *Dial* 64 (17 January 1918): 51–56. Lowell is responding to reviews of the second edition of William Morrison Patterson's *The Rhythm of Prose: An Experimental Investigation of Individual Difference in the Sense of Rhythm* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1917), in which he reverses, as a result of his work with Lowell, his earlier stance and acknowledges a difference between *vers libre* and prose.
76. Kenneth Koch, "Fresh Air" (1955), in *The New American Poetry, 1945–1960*, ed. Donald Allen (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), 229–35; and Amiri Baraka, from "Black Art," in William J. Harris, *The LeRoi Jones / Amiri Baraka Reader* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1991), 219.
77. In a more Futurist, technological approach to reconceiving the presentation of text in space and time, Robert Carlton Brown in 1930 proposed an optical reading device that would, in Jerome McGann's description, "provide the reader with the power to read in all directions and at any speed, to change type size and type-face at will, to leap forward or backward in the text: to browse, to speedread, to connect any and all parts of the text in any and all ways," and that "prophecies as well the practical emergence of computerized word processing and hypertextual fields." Jerome McGann, *Black Riders: The Visible Language of Modernism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 81–87, here 84.
78. Charles Olson, "Projective Verse" (1950) (Brooklyn, NY: Totem Press, 1959). See also the discussion of Olson's essay in Kotz, *Words to Be Looked At*, 113–14. In broader terms, Kotz (*Words to Be Looked At*, 99–135) contrasts open-field compositions with the urbane collages of

New York School poets in her discussion of John Ashbery's *The Tennis Court Oath*.

79. See the preface to Augusto de Campos, *Poetamenos* (São Paulo: Edições Invenção, 1973), where the poet explains how certain typographic features such as spacing and the use of multicolored type are intended to contribute to the compositions as visual works while also providing guidance for an oral performance of the texts.
80. See Nancy Perloff, *Explodity: Sound, Image, and Word in Russian Futurist Book Art* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2016); and the exhibition *Concrete Poetry: Words and Sounds in Graphic Space*, Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, 28 March–30 July 2017, [https://www.getty.edu/research/exhibitions\\_events/exhibitions/concrete\\_poetry/index.html](https://www.getty.edu/research/exhibitions_events/exhibitions/concrete_poetry/index.html).
81. See Aleca Le Blanc, "The Material of Form: How Concrete Artists Responded to the Second Industrial Revolution in Latin America," in Pia Gottschaller and Aleca Le Blanc, *Making Art Concrete: Works from Argentina and Brazil in the Colección Patricia Phelps de Cisneros*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2017), 1–24.
82. Emmett Williams, ed., *An Anthology of Concrete Poetry* (New York: Something Else Press, 1967).
83. Undergirding this in part was the popular mass media philosophy of Marshall McLuhan, who helped artists imagine the utopian potential of newly globalized intermedia communications uniting image, text, and sound. See Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), *The Medium Is the Massage: An Inventory of Effects* (New York: Random House, 1967), and *Verbi-Voco-Visual Explorations* (New York: Something Else Press, 1967).
84. Among modernists, one exception to this absence of the imperative mood would be the genre of the manifesto. See Mary Ann Caws, *Manifesto: A Century of Isms* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); and Lawrence Rainey, Christine Poggi, and Laura Wittman, eds., *Futurism: An Anthology* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009).
85. It is telling to observe where Lucy Lippard's *Six Years*, a genre-defining chronology of conceptual art, begins: with an event score by George Brecht. Lucy Lippard, *Six Years: The Dematerialization of the Art Object from 1966 to 1972* (New York: Praeger, 1972). See also Kotz, *Words to Be Looked At*; and Robinson, "From Abstraction to Model."
86. See, for example, Pavel Pys, "Momentary Arrest: Collecting Interdisciplinary Artworks," *Walker Reader*, 21 May 2020, <https://walkerart.org/magazine/momentary-arrest-collecting-interdisciplinary-artworks>; Metcalf, "Making the Museum Dance"; Hölling, *Object–Event–Performance*; and Hanna B. Hölling et al., eds.,

*Performance: The Ethics and the Politics of Conservation and Care*, vol. 1  
(London: Routledge, 2023).

1. Morton Feldman: *Intersection 3*  
(1953)

Michael Gallope

The score for Morton Feldman's *Intersection 3* (1953) is exemplary among Feldman's graph pieces of the 1950s, and it stands as an early instance of experimental notation among figures of the postwar avant-garde. In this composition for solo piano, Feldman distributes numbers in seven horizontal staves, each three squares tall and spanning the length of an eleven-inch-long piece of graph paper (fig. 1.1). On the horizontal axis, one graph space equals one beat at 176 beats per minute (BPM). Vertically, the notation directs the performer to play the number of notes indicated by the numbers in each box. The three rows of boxes correspond to three registers: low, medium, and high. The exact pitches are left for the performer to decide.

David Tudor gave the piece's premiere. Tudor and Feldman had first met in 1950 through their mutual acquaintances, the modernist émigrés Irma Wolpe Rademacher and Stefan Wolpe. Feldman had studied composition with Stefan, and Tudor had studied piano with Irma. Tudor's friendship with Feldman could be considered formative (at least indirectly) for nearly all the works in *The Scores Project*, for it was through Feldman that Tudor properly met John Cage. In the early 1950s, the association of Feldman, Cage, and Tudor, along with that of Earle Brown and Christian Wolff, became known as the New York School of composition, a group of independent-minded formalists interested in chance, indeterminacy, experimentalism, and graphic scores. They harbored philosophical interests that ranged from the classics of philosophy to occult theosophy, Jungian psychoanalysis, and Zen Buddhism. Not always

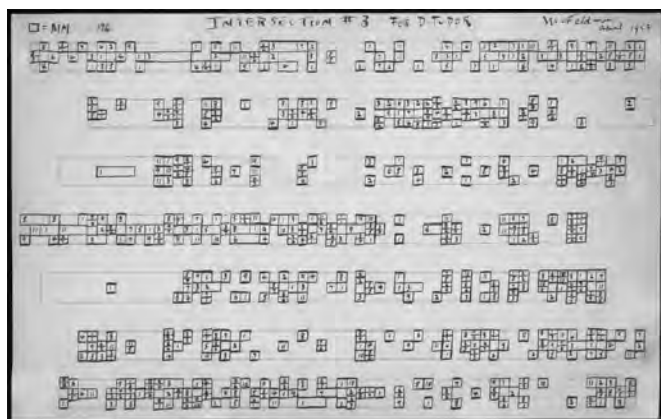


Fig. 1.1 Morton Feldman (American, 1926–87). *Intersection 3* with a dedication to David Tudor, 1953. Getty Research Institute, David Tudor Papers, 980039, box 9, folder 1. *Intersection 3* by Morton Feldman © 1962 by C.F. Peters Corporation, New York. Permission by C.F. Peters Corporation. All rights reserved.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/012/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/012/)

welcome within traditional musical institutions and social circles, they also allied themselves with figures in the avant-garde wings of the visual arts, theater, and dance. From about 1951 through the early 1960s, Tudor functioned as their iconic virtuoso, premiering nearly one hundred avant-garde compositions to great acclaim (and frequent controversy) across the United States, Europe, and Japan.

The origins of *Intersection 3* can be traced to December 1950, when Feldman first devised an early form of indeterminate graph notation during a now legendary dinner consisting solely of wild rice at Cage's "Bozza Mansion" apartment on the Lower East Side. Based on the descriptions and memories of this event, scholars now presume that the graph notation was some embryonic form of Feldman's *Projection 1* (1950) for solo cello, one of his earliest graph scores. In this score, there are three staves—the highest indicating sounds played as harmonics, the middle as pizzicato attacks, and the bottom as bowed or *arco* notes. Rhythm is read proportionally from left to right, and pitches are relatively open; Feldman implies a loose sense of register, with each horizontal line designating the lowest possible pitch (fig. 1.2).

For his premiere of *Intersection 3*, Tudor addressed the openness of the graph notation by producing his first of many "realizations"—a handwritten, personalized performance score drafted on staff paper in relatively traditional notation. In this realization, Tudor interpreted each of Feldman's boxed numbers (see fig. 1.1) as a punctuated attack and added his own grace notes and accessories. He translated the grid into traditional notation horizontally, the jumping chords spread across the page without bar lines (fig. 1.3).<sup>1</sup> In the coming years, Tudor would create many such realizations to facilitate his performance of works compositions that broke with the familiar conventions of Western musical notation.

The blistering tempo of 176 BPM makes *Intersection 3* especially challenging for performers. Tudor's hands had



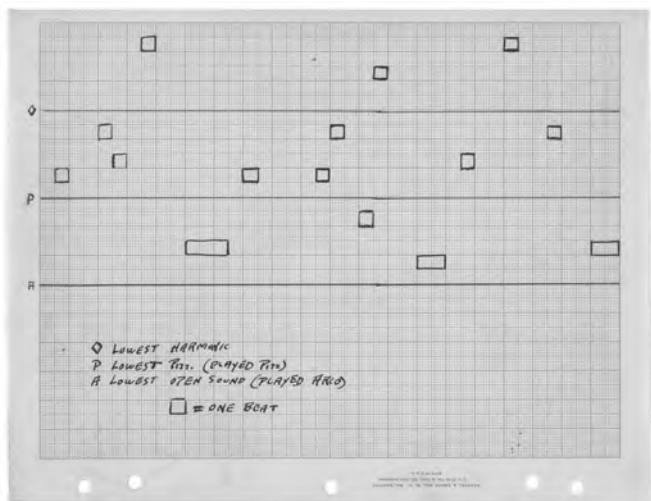


Fig. 1.2 Morton Feldman (American, 1926–87). Embryonic graph score, likely for Feldman's *Projection 1*, early 1950s. Getty Research Institute, David Tudor Papers, 980039, box 9, folder 30. *Projection 1* by Morton Feldman © 1961 by C.F. Peters Corporation, New York. Permission by C.F. Peters Corporation. All rights reserved.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/045/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/045/)



Fig. 1.3 David Tudor (American, 1926–96). Realization of Morton Feldman's *Intersection 3*, 1953. Getty Research Institute, David Tudor Papers, 980039, box 9, folder 1. *Intersection 3* by Morton Feldman © 1962 by C.F. Peters Corporation, New York. Permission by C.F. Peters Corporation. All rights reserved.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/014/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/014/)

to jump wildly across the keys in a manner than can only be called virtuosic. During the 1950s, Tudor's realization of this piece exemplified his self-proclaimed aesthetic of "non-continuity."<sup>2</sup> Each musical attack was jump-cut from the prior; no temporal or expressive linearity joined the vertical sonorities across time. Only numbers and squares, devoid of precise meaning or expressive power, guided Tudor's choreography. Given that the music has no traditionally audible syntax like tonal harmony and melody, his style of performance exhibited a paradoxical drama for the audience: never playing from memory, and always focused squarely on the notation at the piano, he demonstrated his fidelity to the score in part *because* there was no language-like or traditionally expressive connection between these sounds. Tudor's way of doing so was deadpan, unfazed; he had a flair for making the most mechanically disjointed sequence of sounds dramatic by maintaining a cool and dispassionate presence. He gave the audience numbered structures but delivered them with a magnetic stoicism.

Both Feldman and Cage had concerns about leaving things open to the performer.<sup>3</sup> If performers are given choices or multiple options, to what expectations would they be held? Would an indeterminate score enhance the performer's agency at the expense of the composer and their ideas, or of any regulative principle of discipline? This worry was real for Cage and Feldman. In the case of a 1950s lead sheet in jazz, a performer is expected to improvise variations and manipulations of the head (the original melody and harmony of the source song), but in Feldman's avant-garde works, improvisation was *not* the aim. Feldman wrote of his use of indeterminacy:

I had never thought of the graph as an art of improvisation, but more as a totally abstract sonic adventure. This realization was important because I now understood that if the performers sounded bad it was less because of their lapses of taste than

because I was still involved with passages and continuity that allowed their presence to be felt.<sup>4</sup>

It was a tension that would haunt Cage's indeterminate scores as well. A performer's taste-driven improvisation was considered dangerous; instead, the performer should remain at one with the "abstract sonic adventure" of the work. Feldman took a measure of responsibility for ensuring against improvisation. In his works, the indeterminacy should not leave space for "passages and continuity" that would allow the work to lapse into anything considered traditionally expressive. An interest in guarding against expressive improvisations was reflected in the composer's use of impersonal formalisms in his titles: projections, intersections, extensions, durations, structures, and the like.

This is why it is all the more surprising to discover that the composer's approach to composition was in fact quite nonsystematic, a quality that made him unusual among modernist composers at midcentury. In the early 1950s, composers such as Cage, Pierre Boulez, and Milton Babbitt made use of elaborate pre-compositional materials, some of which involved complex calculations, transformations, manipulations of tone rows, and matrices of numbers. By contrast, Feldman eschewed each of these methods; there are no intricate preconceived compositional procedures lying behind *Intersection 3*. Famously, Feldman claimed to be guided primarily by intuition. As Cage once affectionately remarked: "Isn't that marvelous. Isn't that wonderful. It's so beautiful, and he doesn't know how he made it."<sup>5</sup>

What influenced Feldman's intuitionism? A creature of New York's burgeoning downtown scene, in the early 1950s he became closely acquainted with an array of abstract expressionist painters. Engaging in repeated happy hours with Cage at the storied Cedar Tavern in Greenwich Village, Feldman became friends with figures such as Philip Guston, Willem de Kooning, Franz Kline, and Jackson

Pollock. The abstract expressionists were formalists, but in a way that was more or less consonant with Clement Greenberg's conception of modernism, a position that emerged in Greenberg's writings throughout the 1950s. That is, their pictures allowed paint to be paint—to let the medium speak its own *sui generis* language—while still maintaining a dialectical link to properties of the subject: expression, intuition, and so forth. In interviews and essays, Feldman's formalism emphasizes a similarly Greenbergian conception of sound. In a way that was equally indebted to the work of one of his mentors, Edgar Varèse, Feldman was interested in the materiality of letting sounds be themselves and not imposing anything too systematic on them (including narrative, tonality, expressive intentions, or any kind of harmonic or melodic "representation" of emotion).

In retrospect, Feldman saw vivid parallels between the compositional approach to the graph and Pollock's "allover" approach to painting—both of which reflected a "visual rhythmic structure." As he put it later in his career:

I realize now how much the musical ideas I had in 1951 paralleled [Pollock's] mode of working. Pollock placed his canvas on the ground and painted as he walked around it. I put sheets of graph paper on the wall; each sheet framed the same time duration and was, in effect, a visual rhythmic structure. What resembled Pollock was my "allover" approach to the time-canvas. Rather than the usual left-to-right passage across the page, the horizontal squares of the graph paper represented the tempo—with each box equal to a preestablished ictus; and the vertical squares were the instrumentation of the composition.<sup>6</sup>

Pollock and Feldman's shared "allover" aesthetic holds for the composer's traditionally notated works in a different manner, perhaps more outwardly. Many of Feldman's subsequent works were quiet, long, and built

upon delicately undulating repetitions of colorful sonorities. In particular, the composer's iconic use of a steadily quiet dynamic level—something that applies not often to *Intersection 3* but to most of his other work—could be taken as a sonic analogue to Greenbergian flatness. His colleague and friend Earle Brown described it evocatively:

It strikes me that Feldman's music is the music of an imagist. His music from the early fifties until now has—kind of—the same image as Rothko's paintings, working with different colors and orchestrations of a singular and single image.<sup>7</sup>

The viscosity of Feldman's Greenbergian formalism could have philosophical significance in echoing the midcentury fashion for non-intentionality, expression, and the rejection of all that was tainted by traditional practices of composition. Feldman, like Pollock and many others at the time, had taken up an interest in Jungian psychoanalysis. And Cage himself once described Feldman's interest in strikingly metaphysical terms as a deep unconscious flux akin to the cyclical and ephemeral temporality of nature. In his 1958 lecture "Indeterminacy," Cage imaginatively fuses the two together by describing Feldman's creativity as akin to a "dead" state or "deep sleep" devoid of the ego's intentionality:

One evening Morton Feldman said that when he composed he was dead; this recalls to me the statement of my father, an inventor, who says he does his best work when he is sound asleep. The two suggest the "deep sleep" of Indian mental practice. The ego no longer blocks action. A fluency obtains which is characteristic of nature. The seasons make the round of spring, summer, fall, and winter, interpreted in Indian thought as creation, preservation, destruction, and quiescence. Deep

sleep is comparable to quiescence. Each spring brings no matter what eventuality.<sup>8</sup>

Feldman's creative method may have been allied with a metaphysical drive toward quiescence, but the surrounding social world was loud. During performances of avant-garde works like *Intersection 3*, audiences and critics could become irate at the loss of reliability, and at the looming threat of fraudulence, at the general threat of abstract techniques, technologies, and new forms of art eliminating traditionally expressive goals and any shared criteria for judging good from bad. Scores such as *Intersection 3* (alongside the occasional explanatory program note) confronted audiences and critics with a shocking emptiness: the impersonal yet idiosyncratic language of formalism. As a result, many people publicly debated what was left of the score's normative boundaries. In the process, the thoughts expressed by these observers became much less perfunctory. Those with a conservative orientation toward music, such as the critic and musicologist Paul Henry Lang—who once described a 1960 concert by Tudor of avant-garde works as an "outrageous travesty"—could find themselves in an outright moral panic.<sup>9</sup>

This confrontational reception was far from an accidental by-product of Feldman's notational experiments. In a letter to Tudor, Feldman describes his compositional thinking around *Intersection 3* in stark terms: he writes that it embodies an Artaud-like "blackness"—"like violently boiling water in some monstrous kettle" (fig. 1.4). If by "violently boiling water" Feldman is intentionally referring to the clamor he heard in Tudor's legendary American premiere of Boulez's wildly aggressive and dissonant *Second Sonata* (1948), one certainly hears echoes of it in *Intersection 3*. Like Boulez's music, Feldman's is impersonally formalized and disciplined, almost as if one is disciplining oneself into insanity. Maintaining those tensions—violence and impersonal order fused together in the form of a prestigious

Dear David:

When M.C. came over to June's the other evening, I realized for the fiftieth time this year how much I have taken your friendship and desparately (yes desparately) needed devotion to my work. Hardly a day passes when I don't think of you in either some connection with my work which you helped make permissiable for me to do, or the humanness of just our lonely selves. Needless to say, I am just satuzaged with sentimentality as I write this short note.

The work goes on and the months ahead have exactly the same blackness as the kind of music I would like to write -- a music like violently boiling water in some monstrous kettle. But I can't seem to get the water hot enough or the kettle large enough to do it. The last INTERSECTION, which I wrote for you, is just an unrealized hint of what is to come.

This past year! I know you know some of my troubles: THE LOUDEST SECRET LIFE IN THE WORLD -- all that along with my continual nagging about a bronchial condition which is, at last, waning.

Keep well and fonest regards to M.C.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Morton", is written in dark ink at the bottom right of the letter.

Fig. 1.4 Letter from Morton Feldman to David Tudor, 15 June 1953. Getty Research Institute, David Tudor Papers, 980039, box 53, folder 7. Courtesy of the Morton Feldman Estate.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/021/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/021/)



and sober event — captures a key theme of their aesthetic. It makes plain why Tudor was so important to the history of the midcentury avant-garde. His pianism kept the ship moving, and the legitimacy of his performances steadied it in a hurricane of norm-breaking. Composers, critics, and audiences came to trust him amid the chaos.

## Notes

1. In this realization of *Intersection 3*, Tudor's interpretation of low, medium, and high is somewhat loose; his chosen pitches don't always fall within three mutually exclusive registers. He also used this realization for two commercial recordings, as well as for subsequent performances between 1954 and 1960.
2. See Antonin Artaud, "Affective Athleticism," in *The Theater and Its Double* (New York: Grove Press, 1958), 133–41.
3. Feldman's use of indeterminacy was a radical proposition when one recalls that Cage would not risk producing a thoroughly indeterminate score until his *Winter Music* (1957).
4. Morton Feldman, "Liner Notes" (1962), in *Give My Regards to Eighth Street* (Cambridge, MA: Exact Change, 2000), 6.
5. Cage, quoted in Feldman, "Liner Notes," 5.
6. Morton Feldman, "Crippled Symmetry" (1981), in *Give My Regards to Eighth Street*, 147.
7. Earle Brown, interview by Peter Dickinson, 1 July 1987, Rye, New York, in *CageTalk: Dialogues with and about John Cage*, ed. Peter Dickinson (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2006), 141.
8. John Cage, "Indeterminacy" (1958), in *Silence: Lectures and Writings by John Cage* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1961), 37.
9. Paul Henry Lang, "What Is Offered by the Electronic Age?," *New York Herald Tribune*, 10 April 1960.

2. John Cage: *Concert for Piano and Orchestra* (1958)

Michael Gallope  
Nancy Perloff

John Cage's *Concert for Piano and Orchestra* (1958) is a unique work in his oeuvre because of its association not only with the composer himself but also with David Tudor's extensive role in realizing and performing the part of the *Concert* intended for the solo pianist, which Cage titled the *Solo for Piano*. What, might we ask, is so unusual and unprecedented about the *Concert's Solo for Piano*, and how do we understand its great appeal for Tudor?

To begin, the *Solo for Piano* represented, at the time, Cage's most elaborate and complex use of indeterminacy in performance. As he said in his lecture "Indeterminacy," the second of three talks delivered under the title "Composition as Process" in Darmstadt, Germany, in September 1958:

A performance of a composition which is indeterminate of its performance is necessarily unique. It cannot be repeated. When performed a second time, the outcome is other than it was. Nothing is accomplished by such a performance, since that performance cannot be grasped as an object in time.<sup>1</sup>

To make compositions that reflected these ideals, Cage developed complex and visually striking notations that distanced performers from the intention-driven principles that had heretofore guided Western music. As James Pritchett has argued, the crucial principles of indeterminacy were (1) *experimental*—involving actions with unforeseen outcomes such that a performance "cannot be repeated" or "grasped as an object"; (2) *purposeless*—as in a

“purposeless process” that gives rise to “no matter what eventuality,” in which “nothing is accomplished”; and (3) *unknowing*—“by employing some operation exterior to [the performer’s] mind.”<sup>2</sup> All were central to Cage’s work after 1950, which was recognized for its experimental procedures that resulted in unique and unpredictable events, for its commitment to the “purposeless” quality of a music divorced from the aims of individual expression, and for its Zen-infused philosophy that grounded Cage’s compositional technique in the impersonal forces of nature.<sup>3</sup>

If Cage’s philosophy is well-known, it is less often remarked that Tudor played a crucial role in the development of Cage’s turn to indeterminacy. Like Tudor and Morton Feldman (see chapter 1), the first meeting of Tudor and Cage was auspicious. On 17 December 1950, in New York, Tudor gave the U.S. premiere performance of Pierre Boulez’s *Second Sonata* (1948), a technically demanding piece that extended the dissonant atonality associated with composers such as Arnold Schoenberg and Anton Webern into an aggressive, large-scale composition. As a result of this premiere, Tudor began to develop a reputation as an exceptionally talented performer of difficult modern music, a reputation that would prove significant to the notoriety of the postwar musical avant-garde. Cage, who turned pages for Tudor at the premiere, was himself electrified by the performance. The following year, Cage, feeling inspired, embarked on a monumental solo piano work for Tudor titled *Music of Changes*.<sup>4</sup> Recalling this early collaboration, Cage noted:

In all my works since 1952, I have tried to achieve what would seem interesting and vibrant to David Tudor. Whatever succeeds in the works I have done has been determined in relationship to him. . . . Tudor was present in everything I was doing. . . . At that time [1951], he was the *Music of Changes*.<sup>5</sup>



Fig. 2.1 John Cage and David Tudor in the Tōkei-ji Temple Garden, Kanazawa, Japan, 1962. Getty Research Institute, David Tudor Papers, 980039, box 160. Photographer: © Matsuzaki Kunitoshi. Courtesy of the John Cage Trust.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/133/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/133/)

Tudor learned each section of *Music of Changes* as soon as Cage completed it, thus confirming that the notation was playable. The correspondence between the two offers a vivid chronicle of their collaboration, which fostered a long-lasting friendship (fig. 2.1). A letter from Tudor to Cage in late July 1951 questions and seeks to verify numerous technical details with respect to pedaling:

A few things I would like to check: . . . what are the exact functions you had in mind for the pedals . . . ; what about the inclusion in the pedals of the graces D + A p. 5 4s. [4th system]; are the 4 16ths top p. 6 correct (I hope so!); to which group does the 2nd  $\frac{1}{2}$  pedal belong p. 7 3s. 1m., ffff or ppp-pppp . . . I have revised the pedaling considerably, we'll see how you like it.<sup>6</sup>

Cage's reply, dated 5 August 1951 (fig. 2.2), shows not only the depth of his personal attachment ("Your letter has given me much pleasure, how much exactly I cannot say as I've lost count of the number of times I've reread it") but also his technical vigilance in addressing every detailed question Tudor had posed. From Tudor's intimate yet assertive queries, one gets a sense that he was not merely a performer who was capable of serving as a dutiful interpreter but also keen on making significant musical choices of his own. In his preface to *Music of Changes*, Cage concluded that such a bond of trust had become necessary in order for Tudor to decipher the complex score he had devised: "It will be found in many places that the notation is irrational; in such instances the performer is to employ his own discretion."<sup>7</sup>

At the end of his August reply, Cage writes that a performance of *Music of Changes* should be guided by a principle of radical discontinuity: "The guiding principle for performance should be to act so that each action is itself (that means infinitely different and incomparable, single, never before or later to occur, so that each moment makes

Dear David  
Your letter has given me much pleasure; how much exactly I cannot say since I've lost count of the number of times I've perused it. And then too my pleasure was increased by the fact that I never receive the famous little *Daily Communications*; I never had a set for that; I prefer what is actually in the room — the rest seems spooky. Although I'm going at it to the contrary.  
The day before your letter arrived I finished the 2<sup>nd</sup> part of the piece (34 pages plus a system, 1655 minutes) and I was feeling lonely because working on it had been a constant thoroughness and now gone, so that I took to washing the windows (the day was bright and clear as it is also today). While washing the 3<sup>rd</sup> window I heard a knock at the door and it was an old friend and his wife, — a research physicist in cryptology. When I told him about the *I Ching*, he said he already knew about it through a Chinese friend and that its mathematics are equivalent to those of the current avant garde; that the book is having quite an influence on modern scientific research. *Mobile Diets*.  
I am sorry to say that I cannot send you the music now because it is not copied and will take me

Fig. 2.2 Letter from John Cage to David Tudor, 1951. Getty Research Institute, David Tudor Papers, 980039, box 7, folder 7. Courtesy of the John Cage Trust.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/124/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/124/)

history).<sup>8</sup> Cage's statement is emblematic of his famous turn during this same year — 1951 — to chance operations. In preparing *Music of Changes* for Tudor, Cage created a chart of various sounds (single notes, two pitches, chords, larger constellations of pitches, and silences), a set of possible durations, and a chart of different dynamic values. A coin toss determined numbers that corresponded to hexagrams in the *I Ching*, the ancient Chinese divination text that was translated into English as *Book of Changes*. Such hexagrams in turn pointed to different combinations of sounds, durations, and dynamics that Cage would then sequence together in the score.

While the compositional process was chance-based, *Music of Changes* is a fully notated score that remains relatively fixed from one performance to the next.<sup>9</sup> As his chance-derived compositions developed in the 1950s, Cage expanded upon his aesthetic of non-intentionality by inventing a wealth of more or less indeterminate musical notations. For the *Solo for Piano*, he devised visually complex “graphs” (as he called them) that gave Tudor room to interpret imaginative hand-drawn diagrams, navigate ambiguous and often convoluted instructions, choose which graphs to play and when, and, in some instances, determine what to play by using secondary calculations or realizations. Some of the graphs for *Solo for Piano* were entirely new; others Cage reworked from scores from the 1950s, including the *Music for Piano* series (1952–56), *Winter Music* (1957), and *Variations I* (1958), all of which were written for Tudor. A sheet from the score shows two of Cage's graphs for the *Solo for Piano*, each identified by a letter of the alphabet (D and Z) (fig. 2.3).

In all, the *Solo for Piano* contains eighty-four graphs distributed across sixty-three pages, with some graphs stretching over two or three pages. Cage deliberately chose this multiplicity and maximal information to diffuse his own compositional agency and to produce a highly abstract and esoteric composition devoid of traditionally expressive

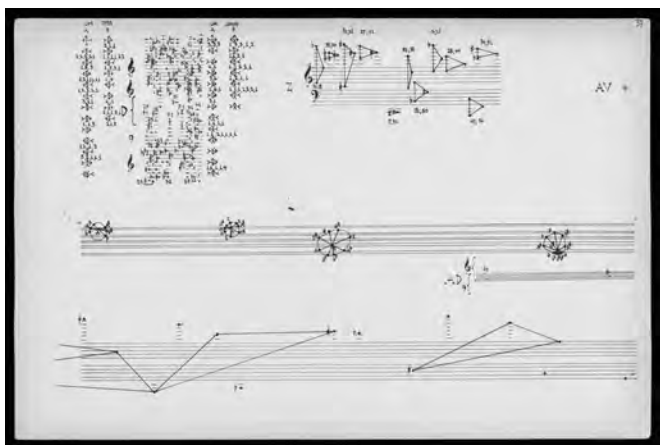


Fig. 2.3 David Tudor's copy of John Cage's *Solo for Piano* that features Graphs D and Z, from *Concert for Piano and Orchestra*, 1957–58. Getty Research Institute, David Tudor Papers, 980039, box 176, folders 1, 2. Edition Peters.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/060/#fig-060-an](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/060/#fig-060-an)



audible patterns and repetitions. The resultant stack of pages is also a complex physical object, like a thick deck of playing cards, only here the cards measure 11 by 17 inches. For this reason, the sheets are nearly impossible to view as a totality. Physically handling the score—shuffling it, recombining it, marveling at its many intricacies—these actions mirror, from a visual and tactile perspective, the indeterminacy of the work.

This indeterminacy is reflected outside the solo part as well. A traditional score reads from left to right and can be bound in a fixed order like a book, but Cage's *Concert* has no full orchestral score, only separate parts—the sixty-three pages of the *Solo for Piano*, thirteen instrumental parts, and a separate part for the conductor. Each instrumental part is twelve pages in length and features isolated note heads that indicate individual attacks, many of which are subject to extended techniques (for example, playing with open spit valves, disconnecting tuning slides, slapping keys, and singing or gurgling through an instrument). Cage left the timing open and allowed his performers to play any, all, or none of the notations in the score. Meanwhile, the conductor's part calls for, among other instructions, circling one's arms in order to keep clock time for an agreed-upon performance length. This role was first undertaken by the dancer and choreographer Merce Cunningham, who served as conductor for the premiere on 15 May 1958, at New York's Town Hall (fig. 2.4).

In a manner that mirrors his realizations for Feldman's graph-paper scores of the early 1950s (see chapter 1), Tudor devised detailed realizations of the graphs in the *Solo for Piano* for the premiere, and he invented a visual notation that mixed traditional musical notation with his own customized system (see Score section). In preparing his realizations, Tudor began by making sketches of individual graphs in pencil, then copying them as polished performance scores onto small card stock manuscript paper. Finally, he assembled sequences of the graphs that would



Fig. 2.4 Merce Cunningham conducting John Cage's *Concert for Piano and Orchestra* at Town Hall, New York, NY, 15 May 1958.  
[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/134/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/134/)

conform to agreed-upon lengths of time for a given performance. The result was a relatively conventional performance score with a determined length.

In the Playback section for this chapter are a variety of items that correspond to Tudor's realization of Cage's *Solo for Piano*. Among them is a curated selection of five of Cage's graphs—J, K, T, AY, and CE—which were chosen because they exemplified both Tudor's pianistic virtuosity and Cage's compositional and notational intricacy. In each of these items, Cage's original graph is included along with its instructions, paired with Tudor's corresponding realization for the 1958 premiere. (Tudor's realization is notable for its almost theatrical foregrounding of his pianism.) By way of a simple animation, the esoteric notations are made accessible to users who may have only a limited familiarity with traditional Western musical notation. In addition to these five curated graphs, we have included in the Playback section a flipbook that features the entire performance of Tudor's first realization. In real time as Tudor is performing, the flipbook simultaneously opens the corresponding graphs from *Solo for Piano* and from Tudor's corresponding realization.

Following the first performances of the *Concert*, Tudor produced a second and far sparser realization of the *Solo for Piano* in 1959. His process for creating this second realization was probably the most labor intensive of any for Cage's scores. Tudor culled all the single attacks from his first realization and, using a second run of chance procedures, spread them out into a vast, deserted, nearly silent, and impersonal landscape of ninety minutes. He fastidiously transcribed these various attacks into a performance score in proportional notation, a notation without traditional meter or rhythm in which a designated length of a staff in space corresponds to a particular duration (in this case, each page was equal to one minute) (fig. 2.5). The result is much less virtuosic than the first realizations. Cage and Tudor used this second realization for their

landmark recording *Indeterminacy* (1959), which featured stories read by Cage at varying speed alongside Tudor's performance of the solo.

These are two entirely different realizations of the same work — two among many other possible realizations. It is the kind of open-endedness that could easily cause philosophers to puzzle over the fundamental questions of a work's ontology. In his landmark book *Languages of Art* (1968), the philosopher Nelson Goodman cites the most indeterminate of Cage's graphs in the *Solo for Piano* to question the limits of a performer's compliance to the symbolic capacities of the musical score.<sup>10</sup> Goodman's prescriptions for notation are exacting. His analysis of graph BB states that Cage's instructions for measuring the distances of the five perpendiculars lack a precise unit and are thus too ambiguous to be properly notational. But philosophers were not the only ones to debate the work's porous and ambiguous ontology. In newspaper reviews of the *Concert*, one can find middlebrow critics grappling with the oddity of such a piece. Reviewers, not always interested in the esotericism of chance procedures, often focused on the sensory impact of Cage's works from the 1950s, associating it with violence, wrestling matches, psychosis, comedy, childlike outbursts, or even the advent of a nihilistic age.

Far from being considered controversial reviews, however, such receptions of Cage's works (including others featured in *The Scores Project*) could be read as a reflection of the powerful influence of Antonin Artaud's "Theater of Cruelty" on both Tudor and Cage during the 1950s—an avant-garde aesthetic exemplified by the non-normative, violent, and destructive carnality of life, and remembered widely for its impact on performance art at midcentury. Artaud's influence on their collaboration was significant. It came first through Tudor via his preparation for the American premiere of Boulez's *Second Sonata* (a work that was itself inspired by Artaud), and was further developed by Cage in



Fig. 2.5 David Tudor preparing his second realization of John Cage's *Solo for Piano*, 1958. Getty Research Institute, David Tudor Papers, 980039, box 158.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/131/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/131/)

the dissonant landscape of *Music of Changes*, and through the multisensory disorder of the famous 1952 “happening” at Black Mountain College that came to be known as *Theater Piece No. 1*. With this in mind, we invite readers to contemplate these reviews not as evidence of the *Concert*’s history of controversial reception but as part of an extended ontology of a multifaceted work that is as often legislated and decided by critics, audiences, and various compliant or disobedient collaborators as it would be by a philosopher. In other words, the fact that people disagreed about the music’s significance is, in our view, essential to the identity of the indeterminate work. What makes it striking and successful is that the *Concert* continued to serve as a magnet for audiences, artists, dancers, and others alike.

Beyond the newspaper reviews, we have included a variety of other materials pertinent to Cage’s *Concert*. This includes Tudor’s sketches for his realizations of each of the curated graphs as well as various sequences of the graphs for his versions of the first realization for performances of different lengths, many of which were designed to mesh structural clock time with dances by Merce Cunningham. (In particular, the *Concert* was performed between 1958 and 1960 to accompany Cunningham’s vaudevillian work *Antic Meet*.) For these performances, Tudor, like Cage, re-sequenced his existing realizations of individual graphs to meet the agreed-upon time length for Cunningham’s dances. We have also included a selection of pertinent correspondence between Tudor, Cage, and M. C. Richards, who was Tudor’s partner during the period and a translator of Artaud’s writings into English. Indeed, this reminds us that given the varied audiences of Cage’s iconic works from midcentury, the *Concert* should be read not simply toward a pious view of what constitutes a correct performance of Cage’s work but in the full richness of its provocative multiplicity, and in a way that crosses the boundaries of different media.

1. John Cage, "Indeterminacy" (1958), in *Silence: Lectures and Writings by John Cage* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1961), 39.
2. Cage, "Indeterminacy," 38–39. For Pritchett's account, see James Pritchett, *The Music of John Cage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 76–78.
3. For a critical view of Cage's claims to have channeled the forces of nature, see Benjamin Piekut, "Chance and Certainty: John Cage's Politics of Nature," *Cultural Critique*, no. 84 (2013): 134–63.
4. See, for example, Cage's letter to Boulez on the day following the premiere of *Second Sonata*, in *The Selected Letters of John Cage*, ed. Laura Kuhn (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2016), 139–41.
5. Daniel Charles, *For the Birds: John Cage in Conversation with Daniel Charles* (Boston: Marion Boyars Publishers, 1981), 178.
6. David Tudor to John Cage, late July 1951, in Martin Iddon, ed., *John Cage and David Tudor: Correspondence on Interpretation and Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 18.
7. John Cage, preface to *Music of Changes* (New York: Henmar Press, 1961).
8. John Cage to David Tudor, 1952, David Tudor Papers, 980039, box 7, folder 7, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.
9. See Pritchett, *Music of John Cage*, 108.
10. Nelson Goodman, *Languages of Art: An Approach to a Theory of Symbols* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1968), 187–90.

3. Sylvano Bussotti: *Five Piano Pieces for David Tudor* (1959)

Michael Gallope

Sylvano Bussotti's *Five Piano Pieces for David Tudor* (1959) may be better known for its visual appearance than for its sound in performance. The striking notation for *No. 4* (fig. 3.1) was reproduced in print reviews of David Tudor's performance, and two decades later it appeared at the front of the introduction to Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's encyclopedic *Mille Plateaux* (1980). Bussotti's score is wild, inventive, and highly memorable; stretched across five staves, all the usual rules and parameters appear to have been scrambled. Ink pools inexplicably in various holes created by a tangle of curved lines. With so much called into question, by what rules and expectations might this composition be adequately performed?

A precocious young composer when he wrote this score in 1959, Bussotti, like many European enthusiasts of contemporary music, was revolutionized by witnessing Tudor and John Cage promote their use of indeterminate scores at the Darmstadt Summer Course in 1958. Eschewing the high-modernist formalism associated with the more systematic procedures of the twelve-tone method, Bussotti set his imagination free and allowed the inky density of his score to explode in expressionistic directions in a way that upended the usual rules of interpretation. In the process, he deployed his talents as a visual artist in the media of drawing and painting and reimaged the score as an inventive form of visual art. He recast note heads, grace notes, accidentals, fermatas, and a handful of unconventional musical signs into imaginatively designed assemblages. The tangled, curvilinear forms at the center of



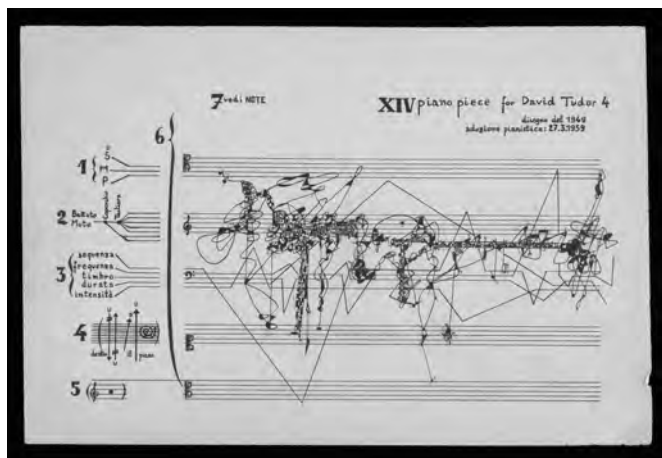


Fig. 3.1 David Tudor's personal copy of No. 4 from Sylvano Bussotti's *Five Piano Pieces for David Tudor*, with pencil annotations by Tudor, as found in loose pages from Bussotti's *Pièces de chair II*, 1958–60. Getty Research Institute, David Tudor Papers, 980039, box 174, folder 3. [getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/159/#fig-159-am](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/159/#fig-159-am)

the score for *No. 4* (see fig. 3.1) was a repurposed drawing of Bussotti's from 1949 that he then superimposed onto an array of staves. The scores for his subsequent compositions, notably his chamber opera *La Passion selon sade* (1965), aggregated musical symbols into faces, images, inventive calligraphy, and labyrinthine diagrams. His graphic scores render the conventional transparency of musical notation opaque and spur the performer to experiment to find an acceptable method of execution.

Bussotti philosophized in striking terms about these notational innovations. After traveling to Paris in 1956 to study composition, he met an important colleague of the philosopher Theodor Adorno, the young composer and critic Heinz-Klaus Metzger, who introduced him to the basics of Adorno's dialectical method of negative critique, which emphasized the importance of fracturing historical techniques and forms. Under Metzger's musical and intellectual influence, Bussotti began to describe his own compositional approach as a dialectical humanism, one that sought to preserve expression, excess, emotion, and sentimentality against the high-modernist fashions for formalism.<sup>1</sup> A second influence was Antonin Artaud, whose "Theater of Cruelty" was popular and well-known among avant-gardists of the 1950s and '60s, particularly Pierre Boulez, Tudor, and Cage.<sup>2</sup> As scholars have noted, Bussotti's expressionistic humanism also paralleled his unique relationship to his own homosexuality. Unlike other queer composers of the midcentury avant-garde who were more or less reserved about their sexuality—most famously Cage and Boulez—Bussotti was flamboyant and relatively open about his desires in ways that challenged social norms of the late 1950s.<sup>3</sup>

In line with his expressionistic and visual approach to indeterminate scores, and at a marked remove from many of Morton Feldman's and Cage's experimental scores of the 1950s, Bussotti's *Five Piano Pieces* went so far as to try to surpass formalisms. The five pieces are solo piano extracts

from *Pièces de chair II* (1958–60), a larger cycle of twenty-seven songs for piano, baritone, female voice, and other instruments.<sup>4</sup> The guidelines for decoding *Five Piano Pieces* span the traditionally determinate (*Nos. 2 and 5*) to the unusual and partially indeterminate (*No. 1*), to highly indeterminate scores that required a “realization,” or a customized performance score (*Nos. 3 and 4*). In this way, *Five Piano Pieces* ventures from determined procedures into the territory of intuition, inconsistency, and communicative immediacy through score-drawings that entice performers to compose their own work.<sup>5</sup>

As if to compensate for this indeterminacy, Bussotti dedicated these pieces to Tudor, their uniquely entrusted performer, whose reputation had been internationally established by 1959. In a letter Bussotti wrote to Tudor and included with a copy of the scores he had written for the pianist, the composer addresses Tudor as someone already taken to be an “instrumental means” in his own right.<sup>6</sup> In Bussotti’s view, Tudor was not a mere interpreter or pianist of the score. Rather, he was a unique technical mediator who could ensure ontological coherence for the work’s performance. Ronald Bogue has aptly described Bussotti’s positioning of Tudor as a post-human assemblage—a “Tudor-piano machine”—a singular being that brings together body, mind, technique, and technology (what Bussotti called a “Minotaurus of the pianistical mythology”).<sup>7</sup> For Bussotti, this meant not only that the score could be delivered to Tudor with the utmost trust but also that the work likely had to be performed by Tudor in order to be considered complete. This collaboration might be productively framed as a form of queer intimacy between composer and performer. It was also a reassertion of closure or certainty in the face of an experimental notation that is otherwise open and indeterminate. In terms coined by the philosopher Nelson Goodman, when the *allographic* iterative score becomes wildly open-ended, it may help to have an autographic, certified performance.<sup>8</sup>

Among the indeterminate scores (*Nos. 1, 3, and 4*), *No. 1* was notable for the imaginative decision to use a strange, tablature-like notation (fig. 3.2). In it, Bussotti repurposes the staff into a linear map indicating where the performer should place their fingers to touch or scrape the keys without depressing them. “MD” (*mano destra*) means right hand, and “MS” (*mano sinistra*) means left; the five lines of each staff refer to the five fingers of each hand, though, unlike traditional staff lines, these lines move up and down to indicate the motion of the fingers across the keyboard. Along the staff lines, the letters *u* and *o* indicate, respectively, attacks to be made with either the fingernail or finger pad. Most of the performance involves gliding the fingers along the surface of the keys. In accordance with Tudor’s practice at the time, his realization of this piece was a sight-reading tool to be used during performance; he essentially spaces out Bussotti’s notation so that it can be played cleanly without much preparation or any memorization. For his performance, Tudor wore fingerless gloves, an instruction Karlheinz Stockhausen would later incorporate into his glissando-heavy *Klavierstück X* (1961). On at least one occasion, Tudor’s gloves were sensationalized by the press for the supposed protection they gave the pianist’s hands, but in fact they allowed him to achieve a frictionless glide across the keys. There is also a unique indeterminacy to *No. 1* that calls into question the traditional measure of pianistic skill; according to Bussotti’s typed instructions, if certain notes are accidentally struck, the composer will accept that as a compliant performance of the work.

*No. 3* involves far more indeterminacy (fig. 3.3). In fact, Tudor later recalled that his realization of *No. 3* helped emancipate him from the use of musical notation altogether.<sup>9</sup> From Tudor’s perspective, the pianist and composer Ferruccio Busoni’s writings on the limits of musical notation were a memorable point of reference.<sup>10</sup> Its score is to be loosely read from left to right, with the vertical

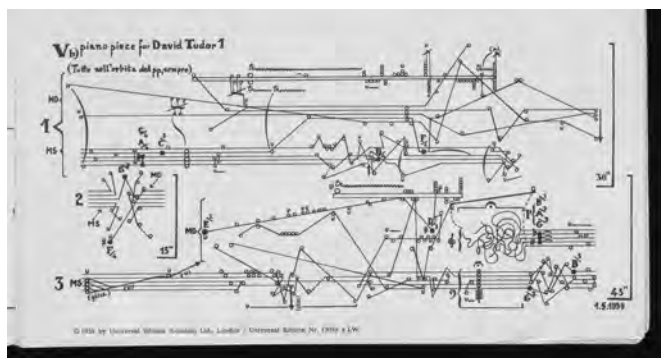


Fig. 3.2 David Tudor's personal copy of *No. 1* from Sylvano Bussotti's *Five Piano Pieces for David Tudor*, 1959. Getty Research Institute, David Tudor Papers, 980039, box 174, folder 2.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/154/#fig-154-e](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/154/#fig-154-e)

axis indicating an unspecified range of pitches on the piano, from low to high. There are some familiar symbols: a scattering of note heads, a few glissando-like arrows, about two dozen slurs that draw together coherent gestures, and a concluding fermata. But many elements are quite indeterminate: staff lines bleed and knock into one another or break down into interior fractures and shattered geometries, infecting the symbolic medium with unclear and befuddling messages.

What is striking about *No. 3* is that Tudor, who in the past was, without exception, carefully devoted to actualizing a version of what the composer specified, here quite freely made compositional decisions without much in the way of guidance from Bussotti's score. One can see in Tudor's own copy of the score that he had circled some key events in pencil (see fig. 3.3). As he loosely moves through the score from left to right, his gestures follow Bussotti's typed instructions to play slurred events as a whole, but he also allows himself the freedom to rewind the horizontal axis and play events in sequence rather than all at once. That is, when choosing what to play, a bit of jumping around on Tudor's part is expected, if not inevitable. Tudor's inventive realization of *No. 3* is a dramatic composition with some exquisite extended techniques (fig. 3.4), including the use of a glass slide on the piano strings in order to create glissandi, and the use of hands to hit the strings percussively. And yet, as inventive as it was, the practical goal of Tudor's realization was no different than it had been for scores by Feldman and Cage: to create a repeatable, straightforward score that could be sight-read. It also had an important social function in that its repeatability could serve as a backbone of credibility for audiences and critics.

At the time, Cage was exploring indeterminate notations in his *Variations I* (1958) that seemed to abandon all vestiges of traditional Western musical symbols (notes, rests, etc.) in favor of plastic transparencies that allowed performers to freely overlay patterns of lines and dots with



Fig. 3.3 David Tudor's personal copy of No. 3 from Sylvano Bussotti's *Five Piano Pieces for David Tudor*, with pencil annotations by Tudor, as found in loose pages from Bussotti's *Pièces de chair II*, 1958–60. Getty Research Institute, David Tudor Papers, 980039, box 174, folder 3.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/159/#fig-159-aw](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/159/#fig-159-aw)

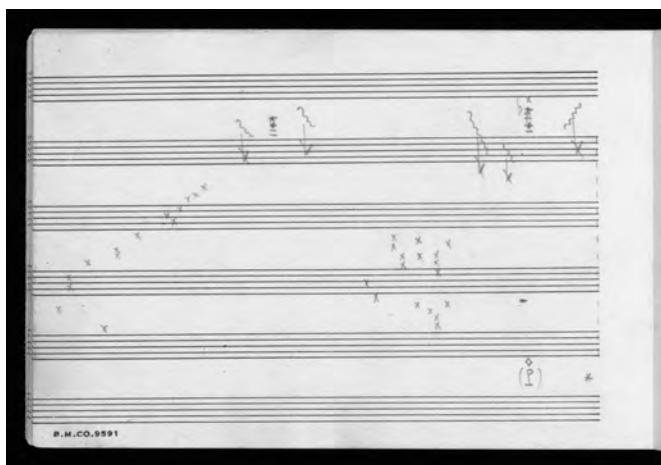


Fig. 3.4 David Tudor (American, 1926–96). Tudor’s realization of *No. 3* from Sylvano Bussotti’s *Five Piano Pieces for David Tudor*, 1959. Getty Research Institute, David Tudor Papers, 980039, box 174, folder 2. [getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/158/#fig-158-r](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/158/#fig-158-r)



only minimal instructions on how to interpret them. By challenging the authority of determinate notation, Tudor understood Busoni and Cage to be thinking along the same lines: "There is a paragraph in Busoni which speaks of notation as an evil separating musicians from music, and I think everyone should know that this is true. . . . Notation is an invention of the devil, and when I became free of it, through pieces like Cage's *Fontana Mix* and *Music Walk*, and later Bussotti's *Piano Piece for David Tudor No. 3*, it really did a lot for me."<sup>11</sup> In his realization for *No. 3*, Tudor's relationship with Bussotti's notation was almost intuitive; in assembling it, he more freely drew from extended techniques that he had begun to practice in recent years.

Of the three indeterminate scores in *Five Piano Pieces*, the most complex and challenging is *No. 4* (see fig. 3.1). Contrary to some of the existing commentary on this composition, Bussotti did not leave the realization entirely up to Tudor's discretion. Superimposed on the staves is the curvilinear drawing Bussotti had made in 1949: a mixture of dots, regions, and squiggly lines. This is the central notation of *what* one plays. The staves' five clefs indicate loose ranges of the attacks, while the second layer of five staff fragments on the far left (numbered 1 through 5) provide supplementary material about the kinds of sounds to be played. Staves 1, 2, and 4 specify various kinds of attacks (Staff 1: muted, muffled, or pizzicato; Staff 2: muted beating on the keys or the keyboard cover; and Staff 4: five kinds of glissandi in the piano—two with fingernails, two with the pads of the fingers, and one oscillating glissando). Staff 5 indicates the pitch of that staff's one attack: in an alto clef, it is A 440 (the A above middle C). Staff 3 is the most precise in its demands, asking the performer to calculate values for the parameters of each attack (sequence in time, frequency, timbre, duration, and intensity) based in measured distances between the drawing's dark spots and the angular staff lines. Cage pioneered this calculation technique in *Variations I* and the *Solo for Piano* (1958; see

chapter 2), and Bussotti had learned of it during his visit to Darmstadt in 1958 (a debt he acknowledges in his instructions). Finally, a large 6 labels a bracket that encloses the individual five clefs as a totality. Lest one think all these specifications would be an impossible headache to play accurately, Bussotti's typed instructions explain that when actually performing the piece, "the pianist is authorized to automatically perform 'what the drawing inspires,'" without worrying about specific correspondences.<sup>12</sup>

Tudor eschewed Bussotti's instruction to "automatically perform" by following the drawing intuitively. Instead, he dutifully realized Bussotti's instructions for Staff 3 through a list of calculations in a way that parallels the kinds of tables he made for scores by Cage and used this list to create a realization for *No. 4*. The penciled annotations on Tudor's copy of the score (see fig. 3.1) show two vertical lines drawn at the vertices of the "sequenza" line from Staff 3, as well as a series of check marks written over black dots, evidence of Tudor checking off "various attacks as he recorded their distance from each of the lines in Staff 3. After producing a seven-sheet-long set of values for attacks corresponding to these black dots, Tudor then recorded them on seven sheets of his customary short staff paper, producing a playable realization (fig. 3.5).

Completing this realization at one of the busiest times of his career, Tudor seemed not to have had time to finish learning it for performance.<sup>13</sup> In the live recording, likely made in 1960 at the Living Theatre in New York, Tudor is relatively loose in the timings and seems to have performed only the first four of the seven sheets he realized for *No. 4*. According to Stockhausen, Bussotti had approved the possibility of a partial performance of *No. 4* the year prior in Darmstadt.<sup>14</sup>

The Bussotti–Tudor collaboration could be said to serve as an ironic counterexample to Umberto Eco's *open work*—a concept that Eco coined in 1962 to mark the opening up of traditionally determinate forms of notation.<sup>15</sup>

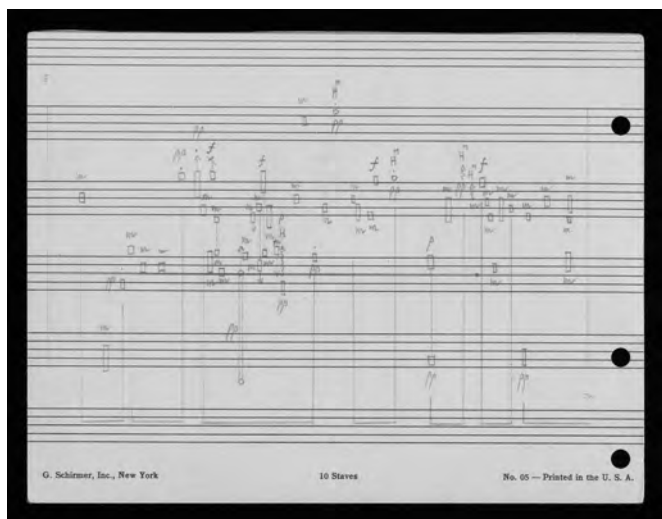


Fig. 3.5 David Tudor's realization of *No. 4* from Sylvano Bussotti's *Five Piano Pieces for David Tudor*, 1959. Getty Research Institute, David Tudor Papers, 980039, box 174, folder 2.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/157/#fig-157-f](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/157/#fig-157-f)

For it is not as though the traditional division of labor between composer, score, and performer has entirely broken down into a wide field of multiplicities and open-ended structures. Rather, it is more precise to say the ontological boundaries of Bussotti's "work" are displaced onto nonnormative spheres. The score has been transformed from normative symbolic indications into an object of visual perplexity and wonder on its own, supplemented by Bussotti's textual scaffolding. The resultant sonic performance is personally entrusted to a single performer whose job it is to stage and mysteriously decode the esoteric quasi-language of the score.

It is both a curious detail of cultural history and a philosophically rich fact that audiences reacted with puzzlement, bemusement, and distress upon witnessing Tudor's performances. One must remember that many audience members in 1959 strongly expected performers of classical music to play from notation that told the performer exactly what notes to play. What the philosopher Stanley Cavell worried in 1967 was a risk of "fraudulence" in modernist composition was a real concern.<sup>16</sup> During the premiere of *Five Piano Pieces* at Darmstadt in 1959, Stockhausen refused audience requests for repeat performances, which were purportedly made in order to challenge the legitimacy of Tudor's interpretation.<sup>17</sup> In this manner, the audiences found ways to improvise legislations of the nonnormative boundaries of the composition.

Other responses were more playful and associative. The music critic Ed Wallace, writing for the *New York World-Telegram and The Sun*, published a review of Tudor's 1960 performance of *Five Piano Pieces* at the Living Theatre in New York. The bemused review recasts the concert as the vernacular equivalent of a wrestling match. Wallace likens the violence of Tudor's extended techniques to that of a fighter exacting revenge on the domestic piano (which the critic associates with his own childhood guilt over not practicing). Wallace, somewhat enthusiastically, reproduces

the score for *No. 4* in the pages of the *World-Telegram*, with the emendations “What arrives on paper looks like a mixture of blackstrap [molasses] and soot, applied with a defective spray gun” and “Way out cats will recognize this as the piano piece written for David Tudor by Sylvano Bussotti. Beginners should remember to wear gloves.”<sup>18</sup> These spirited middlebrow responses complicate any straightforward displacement of this multiplicity onto the authority of Bussotti’s and Tudor’s personalities alone. Like the event scores that became a popular format after 1960 and would eschew the traditional coordinates of musical performance altogether, the messiness and ontological disunity of the result acquires significance in the moment of its social impact. *Five Piano Pieces* elicited often contentious and unpredictable reactions that gave it meaning, while the score functioned as the central provocateur.

We might also consider a contrasting performance by the pianist Steffen Schleiermacher.<sup>19</sup> Schleiermacher begins by pounding on the outside of the piano before moving on to the keyboard for a set of repeated tone clusters. He then strums on the wound bass strings, then returns to the keyboard to play additional clusters, this time in a more focused register. Following Bussotti’s indication via the bracket labeled “6” that the piece is to be interpreted holistically and the performer should not worry about a precise realization of individual inscriptions, the individual attacks from Schleiermacher’s hands do not correspond one-to-one to blocks of black ink. Instead, they unfold in a rougher, mimetic correspondence, as if the interior complexity of the score were a direct transduction—but not a symbolic encoding—of what was truly in the composition. Or, conversely, since the symbolic medium of notation has broken down in Bussotti’s hands, one might interpret it as an impossible goal of what might be achieved if an interpreter knew exactly what Bussotti intended to express. Alternatively, perhaps it is neither, and instead is something

more akin to a negative provocation, a death of musical literacy displayed in visual terms.

#### Notes

1. Bussotti wrote in a prefatory note to his work *Due voci* (1958) that his approach to music represented a “dialectical rebellion of the humanistic attitude in the man who writes music, against the stiff aridity of systems.” Quoted in Erik Ullman, “The Music of Sylvano Bussotti,” *Perspectives of New Music* 34, no. 2 (1996): 186–201.
2. See Antonin Artaud, *The Theater and Its Double* (New York: Grove Press, 1958). Bussotti in fact set Artaud’s texts to music several times over the course of his career. See Piero Carreras, “*La Passion Selon Sade*, Opera d’Arte Totale,” *Scenari*, 16 June 2016, <https://www.mimesis-scenari.it/2016/06/16/la-passion-selon-sade-opera-darte-totale/>.
3. See Paul Attinello, “Bussotti, Sylvano,” in *The Queer Encyclopedia of Music, Dance, and Musical Theater*, ed. Claude J. Summers (Jersey City, NJ: Cleis Press, 2004), 37–38; and David Osmond-Smith and Paul Attinello, “Gay Darmstadt: Flamboyance and Rigour at the Summer Courses for New Music,” in *Other Darmstadts*, ed. Paul Attinello, Christopher Fox, and Martin Iddon (Abingdon, U.K.: Routledge, 2007), 105–14.
4. For a larger discussion of this cycle, see Paul Attinello, “Hieroglyph, Gesture, Sign, Meaning: Bussotti’s *Pièces de chair II*,” in *Perspectives in Systematic Musicology*, ed. Roger A. Kendall and Roger W. H. Savage (Los Angeles: Department of Ethnomusicology, UCLA, 2005), 219–27.
5. Included in *The Scores Project* is Tudor’s typewritten copy of Bussotti’s original instructions in Italian for the score.
6. Sylvano Bussotti to David Tudor, 22 May 1959, David Tudor Papers, 980039, box 174, folder 3 (original in Series III), Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (hereafter cited as David Tudor Papers).
7. Ronald Bogue, “Scoring the Rhizome: Bussotti’s Musical Diagram,” *Deleuze Studies* 8, no. 4 (2014): 479. For Bussotti’s quotation, see David Tudor Papers, box 174, folder 3 (original in Series III).
8. For a discussion of the terms *autographic* and *allographic*, see Nelson Goodman, *Languages of Art: An Approach to a Theory of Symbols* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1968). This dialectic whereby artists reassert control over their work is one that perennially recurs in Cage’s career. See Benjamin Piekut, “Murder by Cello: Charlotte Moorman Meets John Cage,” in *Experimentalism Otherwise: The New York Avant-Garde and Its Limits* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 140–76; and Ryan Dohoney, “John Cage, Julius Eastman, and the Homosexual Ego,” in *Tomorrow Is the Question: New Directions in*

- Experimental Music Studies*, ed. Benjamin Piekut (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014).
9. David Tudor, in David Tudor and Victor Schonfeld, "From Piano to Electronics," *Music and Musicians* 20 (August 1972): 24–6.
  10. See Ferruccio Busoni, *Sketch of a New Aesthetic of Music*, trans. Theodore Baker (1907; repr., New York: G. Schirmer, 1911). See also Erin Knyt, "Between Composition and Transcription: Ferruccio Busoni and Musical Notation," *Twentieth-Century Music* 11, no. 1 (2014): 37–61.
  11. Tudor, "From Piano to Electronics," 24.
  12. Sylvano Bussotti, Performance notes for *Pièces de chair II*, 1958–59, pp. 11–12, David Tudor Papers, 980039, box 174, folder 3.
  13. In correspondence with his partner M. C. Richards, it is evident that Tudor, on occasion, had insufficient time to prepare compositions he was expected to play. With no reliable employment, he had to try to earn a steady income through performance alone, which was often a challenge for him during the 1950s. For Tudor's letters to M. C. Richards, see Mary Caroline Richards Papers, 960036, box 26, box 114, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. For Richards's letters to Tudor, see David Tudor Papers, box 59, folder 5–10, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.
  14. In Stockhausen's account, Tudor had asked Bussotti if a partial performance of *No. 4* would be adequate, and Bussotti agreed. See Martin Iddon, *New Music at Darmstadt: Nono, Stockhausen, Cage, and Boulez* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 243.
  15. Umberto Eco, *The Open Work*, trans. Anna Cancogni (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989).
  16. Stanley Cavell, "Music Discomposed" (1967), in *Must We Mean What We Say* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 180–212.
  17. The reviewer's testimony is available in Ernst Thomas, "Klänge für das Auge? Gefährliche Doktrinen auf den Darmstädter Ferienkursen," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (1 September 1959). For the anecdote related to the audience stirring at the Darmstadt premiere of Bussotti's *Five Piano Pieces*, see Amy Beal, *New Music, New Allies: American Experimental Music in West Germany from the Zero Hour to Reunification* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 110. For a second discussion of the reception of the Darmstadt performance, see Iddon, *New Music at Darmstadt*, 248–49.
  18. Ed Wallace, "Above Ground Test Deactivates Piano," *New York World-Telegram and The Sun*, 5 April 1960.
  19. Steffen Schleiermacher, pianist, "Four Piano Pieces for David Tudor (1959)" by Sylvano Bussotti, track 1 on *Fluxus Piano*, Musikproduktion Dabringhaus und Grimm, 2015, compact disc.

4. Benjamin Patterson: *Paper Piece* (1960)

George E. Lewis

Benjamin Patterson's *Paper Piece* (1960) is said to have begun as a letter posted to his family from Germany, where he was beginning to take part in the first pre-Fluxus experiments in performance. Over the years, the piece has become one of the most widely performed Fluxus works.<sup>1</sup>

In *Paper Piece*, performers create a variety of sounds using bags and loose sheets made of various types of paper. At a 2011 seminar at Columbia University, Patterson presented the origin story for the work:

*Paper Piece* was a reaction to another Stockhausen event (thank you Karlheinz!). As I remember, it was *Kontakte*, the premiere, for piano and two percussionists. David Tudor was the pianist, and he told me afterwards that it had something like 120 hours of rehearsal for this piece to get it all together. And I just couldn't believe that something had to be rehearsed that much and would leave me so . . . *underwhelmed*.<sup>2</sup>

Patterson's 1962 collection, *Methods and Processes*, presents a set of text pieces that have historically been grouped under the heading "event scores," a format said to have been pioneered in the early 1960s by artists including, in particular, La Monte Young, Yoko Ono, and George Brecht.<sup>3</sup> *Paper Piece* is not an event score, however, but a "text score" that functions much like a conventional score, in which notations are provided to guide performers in realizing the composer's intent.



Between 1959 and 1964, Patterson was in a period of rapid growth. *Paper Piece*, conceived at the start of that period, may be classified as an aspect of Patterson's work that focused on new techniques for acoustic instruments, as did his *Variations for Double-Bass* (1961, rev. 1962), which combines performative stances with extended string techniques (figs. 4.1, 4.2) to create a kind of early intermedia *avant la lettre de Fluxus*, and his *Duo for Voice and a String Instrument* (1961), which combines an even more extensive catalog of sounds and string techniques with intricate graphic elements (fig. 4.3).<sup>4</sup>

*Paper Piece* stands out among these works because, while it specifies sounds and techniques as Patterson's later pieces do, rather than exploring unusual playing techniques for traditional musical instruments, it instrumentalizes a commonly found material—paper—for which no extended techniques had ever been documented. Moreover, the work provides strong suggestions rather than exacting specifications as to instrumentation, duration, and performance process, and it is one of the few Patterson scores from this period that explicitly calls for improvisation: "Dynamics should be improvised within the natural borders of the approximate ppp of the 'Twist' and the fff of the 'Pop!'" (fig. 4.4).<sup>5</sup>

Patterson's earliest pieces, including *Paper Piece*, often comprised three main elements:

- (1) a set of materials, physical and/or temporal;
- (2) performance instructions and process elaboration; and
- (3) limits and ending conditions.

At the aforementioned Columbia seminar, Patterson noted the advantages of using paper in his work: "It was a material that was readily available anywhere, everywhere in the world, and it came in all types and shades, dimensions, and had a great variety of acoustic possibilities, from crystal paper, tissue paper, all the way to heavy cardboard, paper

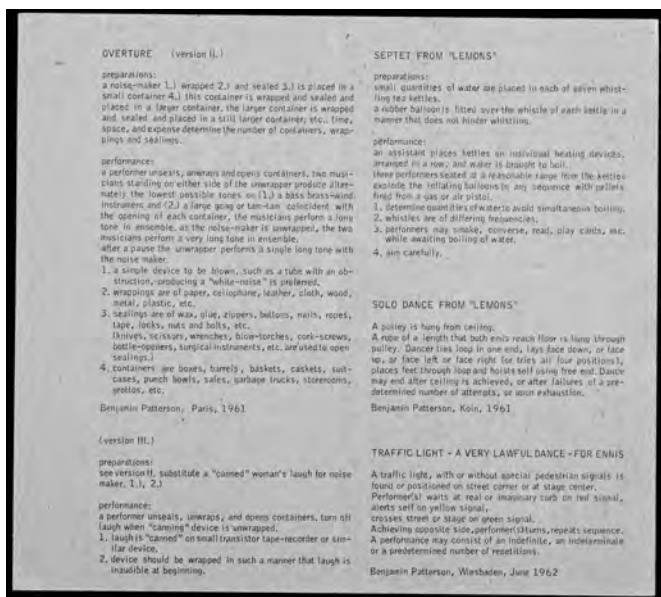


Fig. 4.1 Benjamin Patterson (American, 1934–2016). *Variations for Double-Bass*, 1961, rev. 1962. Getty Research Institute, Jean Brown Papers, 890164, box 39, folder 33. © The Estate of Benjamin Patterson. [getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/217/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/217/)



Fig. 4.2 Benjamin Patterson performing *Variations for Double-Bass*, at *Kleinen Sommerfest: Après John Cage*, Galerie Parnass, Wuppertal, West Germany, 9 June 1962. The Gilbert and Lila Silverman Fluxus Collection Gift. © The Estate of Benjamin Patterson. Digital Image © The Museum of Modern Art/Licensed by SCALA / Art Resource, NY.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/232/](https://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/232/)

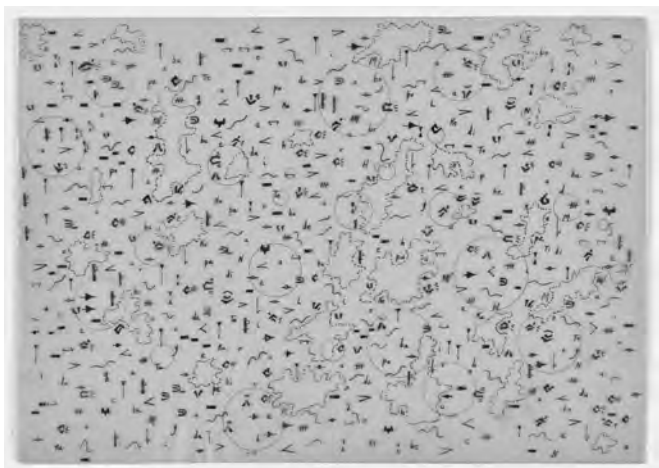


Fig. 4.3 Benjamin Patterson (American, 1934–2016). *Duo for Voice and a String Instrument*, 1961. Getty Research Institute, Jean Brown Papers, 890164, box 39, folder 32. © The Estate of Benjamin Patterson.  
[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/215/#fig-215-f](https://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/215/#fig-215-f)

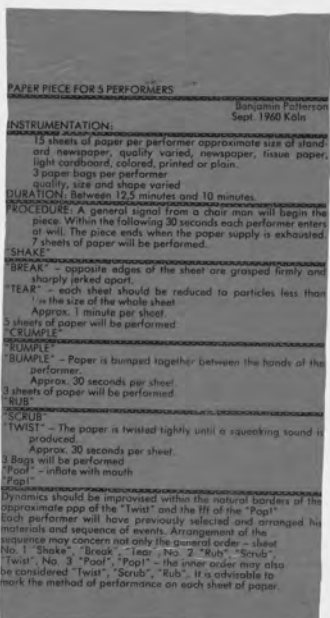


Fig. 4.4 Benjamin Patterson (American, 1934–2016). Printed score of *Paper Piece* in English, 1960. Getty Research Institute, Jean Brown Papers, 890164, box 39, folder 33. © The Estate of Benjamin Patterson.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/197/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/197/)

bags, and so forth.” The number and types of materials are precisely given in the score, but some room is left for performer choice and foraging. Thus, a performance of the work could be considered site-specific, as it might depend on the kinds of paper available in a given area.

The score calls for the following materials:

15 sheets of paper per performer approximate size of standard newspaper, . . . tissue paper, light cardboard, colored, printed or plain.

3 paper bags per performer  
quality, size and shape varied<sup>6</sup>

The score evinces a decided preference for diversity of paper (“quality varied”), which would in turn produce a corresponding diversity of timbres. That said, the actual temporal/structural course of the development of timbre is left to the performer.

As the number of sheets and bags to be used is strictly delineated, so are the particular techniques, for which descriptions and nomenclature are provided, as in this example:

“BREAK” - opposite edges of the sheet are grasped firmly and sharply jerked apart<sup>7</sup>

The score offers some practical advice, suggesting a process of preparation in which the performance method for each piece of paper is selected in advance and written on the sheet. However, the composer also allows for interpretive liberties, allowing the sequence of sounds to be varied within each performance. The example Patterson gives is a simple retrograde: RUB, SCRUB, TWIST could become TWIST, SCRUB, RUB:

Each performer will have previously selected and arranged his materials and sequence of events. Arrangement of sequence may concern not only the general order - sheet No. 1 “Shake”, “Break”, “Tear”,

No. 2 "Rub", "Scrub", "Twist", No. 3 "Poof", "Pop!"  
- the inner order may also be considered "Twist",  
"Scrub", "Rub".<sup>8</sup>

While the poetics of *Methods and Processes* were still to come, *Paper Piece* was an early example of Patterson taking an onomatopoetic approach to describing the kinds of sounds he was after. One can imagine the descriptions themselves forming a kind of short text-sound work:

SHAKE BREAK TEAR  
CRUMPLE RUMPLE BUMPLE  
RUB SCRUB TWIST  
POOF POP!

Even though some instructions allowed for flexibility, certain sounds were expected by the composer, as with the direction TWIST ("The paper is twisted tightly until a squeaking sound is produced").<sup>9</sup> Since there was no existing tradition of paper-handling in music, these techniques had to be invented by the composer.

"The explosive pops blowing out paper bags are enough to be always quite audible," Patterson told the Columbia students. "Cardboard boxes are very good, and cardboard tubes, very good for 'muscular' performances."<sup>10</sup>

In addition to directions for creating certain sounds, the score also sets forth expectations of visual content:

"TEAR" - each sheet should be reduced to particles less than 1/10 size of the whole sheet<sup>11</sup>

The above instruction also bears implications regarding duration, since it takes some time to tear a piece of paper into very small pieces. The suggested overall duration of the piece is from ten to twelve and a half minutes, but the score also pragmatically proposes that the piece end when the paper supply is exhausted. In practice, however, the piece ends when the performer wants it to end.

At Columbia, Patterson noted that in performance, the score usually served as a point of departure for what was to follow: "Most of the performances started out more or less like that, but then they quickly took on their own character, which is just fine with me, which is what should happen."<sup>12</sup> Indeed, through improvisation, performers of *Paper Piece* explore the *sound* of sociality, intention, and consensus. Following the curator-theorist Nicolas Bourriaud, one can view this as a form of "relational art" — a type of work that proposes "moments of sociability."<sup>13</sup> In Bourriaud's terms, *Paper Piece* operates "like a relational device containing a certain degree of randomness, or a machine provoking and managing individual and group encounters."<sup>14</sup> Thus, the overarching effect of *Paper Piece* is of an emergent sound sculpture composed of physicality, relationality, conviviality, and the creation of community, like that of an arts and crafts workshop. Agency and control are shared among the experiencers, the work, and the artists themselves. Writing in 1964, Patterson declared, "I demanded of an experiencer (not a passive viewer or listener) to act in the position of performer, interpreter and even as creator in the event."<sup>15</sup>

It is also significant that *Paper Piece* welcomes nonspecialist performers; in fact, no "specialists" in paper performance existed when it was conceived, and thus the work could not imply a need for conventional displays of virtuosity. That it could be performed by "anyone" is an aspect of Patterson's work that later carried over into the pieces in *Methods and Processes*. In the Columbia seminar, Patterson recalled that his determined goal for *Paper Piece* was to create complex new music that anyone could perform: "There must be some other way to create a work that could have a certain amount of acoustic complexity, but could be performed by practically anyone with a sensitive ear at least, and without thirty years of study of the piano, violin, or whatever."<sup>16</sup>



A similar intent marked the methods of the pianist and composer Cecil Taylor's use of letter notation.<sup>17</sup> In rehearsals, Taylor dictated note names and melodic direction to the performers, for example, "start on B-flat, up to D, down to G-flat." Taylor's notational strategy allowed complex structures to be realized by a mixed cohort of players, from the highly classically trained to autodidact players with almost no relationship to Western notation.<sup>18</sup>

*Paper Piece* pushes the envelope even further. As Patterson has noted, "My pieces, as they appear on paper, have neither material nor abstract value . . . they can only achieve value in performance, and then only the personal value that the participant himself perceives about his own behavior and/or that of the society during and/or after the experience. In fact, any piece is just this: a person, who, consciously, does this or that. Everybody can do it."<sup>19</sup>

The level of precision of the notation in *Paper Piece* contrasts markedly with the indeterminacy of the result, which itself is telling in that many listeners could not discern the difference between precisely notated contemporary music scores of the 1950s and works for similar instrumentation composed according to chance operations, or even improvised. In this sense, does *Paper Piece*—whose score dutifully specifies the sizes, colors, types, qualities, and quantities of paper to be used, and the procedures for producing the sounds—present a humorous sendup of *Kontakte* and other works like it? As the musicologist Robert P. Morgan remarked on what was already happening in the mid-1950s:

Stockhausen, Boulez, and their serialist colleagues had come to realize that the more precisely musical events were predetermined, the more random and haphazard they tended to sound. Since the nature of European serialism was to treat all musical elements as equal, the result often appeared to be a collection of disparate events with no perceptible effect upon,

or connection with, one another. Any single event tended to sound “arbitrary” and could thus just as well be replaced by another.<sup>20</sup>

On the first evening of the Festum Fluxorum Fluxus at the Staatliche Kunstakademie Düsseldorf in 1962, in response to the Kunstakademie faculty member and festival organizer Joseph Beuys, who had requested that some kind of manifesto regarding Fluxus be presented at the festival, the sounds of crumpling and tearing, apparently emanating from behind an onstage paper screen, announced the commencement of a performance of *Paper Piece*.<sup>21</sup> At some point, sheets of paper containing a text were dumped onto the heads of the audience. The authorship of this text was later attributed to Fluxus cofounder George Maciunas that became known as “The Fluxus Manifesto,” which read in part:

Purge the world of bourgeois sickness,  
“intellectual,” professional & commercialized  
culture, PURGE the world of dead art, imitation,  
artificial art, abstract art, illusionistic art,  
mathematical art, — PURGE THE WORLD OF  
“EUROPANISM!” [. . .] PROMOTE A  
REVOLUTIONARY FLOOD AND TIDE IN ART,  
Promote living art, anti-art, promote NON ART  
REALITY to be fully grasped by all peoples, not only  
critics, dilettantes and professionals. [. . .] FUSE the  
cadres of cultural, social & political revolutionaries  
into united front & action.<sup>22</sup>

In Owen’s account of the Düsseldorf event, the performance ended “as the paper screen was gradually torn to shreds, leaving a paper-strewn stage.”<sup>23</sup> One could easily imagine copies of the manifesto being crumpled, rumpled, and bunched in an implicitly satiric distancing from the very idea of “manifesto.” At the Columbia seminar, Patterson observed that something like this “happened at the very first

performance, without even trying to do it. At every performance after that, paper drifted off into the audience off the stage by accident and everybody joined in. So it's now the big audience piece in which everybody participates, even though it may start on the stage."<sup>24</sup>

One account of the origin of *Paper Piece* dates it to 1959: "Benjamin Patterson, then visiting Germany to explore developments in experimental music, writes a letter to his family and offers a score, *Paper Piece*, as a Christmas gift and activity."<sup>25</sup> This account is not sourced, unfortunately, and it is at variance with Patterson's account of the origins of the work, which he says was in response to the 1960 premiere of Stockhausen's *Kontakte*.<sup>26</sup>

Regardless of why or for whom the piece was originally created, it has proved attractive to all types of audiences. Sheila O'Shea, an innovative music teacher at the School at Columbia University, a private elementary and middle school in New York affiliated with the university, discovered that even her youngest students responded to the piece. In 2018, O'Shea introduced her elementary-age students to the performance of instructional art and had them create their own text scores in the spirit of Fluxus. She said the students found performing *Paper Piece* "really refreshing and a release. . . . The words 'fun' and 'freeing' and 'release' came up many times."<sup>27</sup>

Reading O'Shea's account, it seems that this performance by her students, like most presentations of the piece, quickly developed into sheer joy and laughter. In comparing the student performance with the 1962 Düsseldorf event, it is interesting to remember that while a number of activities in *Paper Piece* are precisely specified, nothing in the score mentions the possibility of tossing about the bits of the torn paper, and yet that is what happened in both of these cases. This now traditional part of the performance seems to have come about as an inevitable outgrowth of simply tearing up paper, an act similar in intent

to the practice children have of building towers and then knocking them down.

As O'Shea observed,

There is a sense of transgression. . . . People are allowed to tear up things and they don't have to put them back together again. It is almost like having permission to be bold, but not in a bad way—in a humorous and engaging way that hurts no one. There is an innocence and fun to it that the kids relate to, and they all felt a profound sense of respect for the project. They felt different inside and they all wanted the chance to do it again. Their eyes were bright and they looked enlivened. They thanked me for introducing them to art forms that they would never usually encounter and said that the experience changed how they look at art and what they view as art.<sup>28</sup>

The Düsseldorf performance rendered literally palpable the differences between *Paper Piece* and its negative image, *Kontakte*. The latter, as well as any other work that might require something like the fabled 120 hours of rehearsal, was clearly not intended to be consigned to the dustbin of history, given how much practice it took to perform it. Stockhausen, composer of *Kontakte*, and so many other composers of works from this era drew on the traditions of *Werktreue* in the hope that their creations would one day enter the museum of musical works, which, in this moment, before the philosophy of Lydia Goehr, had not yet become imaginary.<sup>29</sup> In the sharpest contrast to this aesthetic, as Patterson told his Columbia audience in 2011, "there is no definitive version" of *Paper Piece*.<sup>30</sup>

Thus, as the saxophonist and composer Eric Dolphy remarked in the concluding sonic epigraph of his celebrated 1964 album *Last Date*: "When you hear music, after it's over, it's gone in the air. You can never capture it again."<sup>31</sup> Dolphy's pithy but potent comment makes common cause

with the deepest intent of *Paper Piece* and, indeed, Fluxus itself. As Patterson said on a 2002 recording of “Fluxus stories”:

An important part of Fluxus—early Fluxus, let’s say—was that the manifestation of the art should be immaterial. That’s why it became music or performance or events, or—“happenings” were a bit suspicious, but events were clear there. So it was something that you experience, and that was it. You couldn’t take it away.<sup>32</sup>

#### Notes

1. Valerie Cassel Oliver, ed., *Radical Presence: Black Performance in Contemporary Art* (Houston: Contemporary Arts Museum Houston, 2013), 121.
2. Benjamin Patterson, “Lecture at Columbia University,” video recording, 20 March 2011, private collection of George E. Lewis. For a similar account from Patterson about the origins of *Paper Piece*, see Kathy Goncharov and Benjamin Patterson, “Oral History Interview with Benjamin Patterson, 2009 May 22,” Smithsonian Archives of American Art, <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/interviews/oral-history-interview-benjamin-patterson-15685>, accessed 21 May 2024.
3. Benjamin Patterson, *Methods and Processes* (Paris: self-published, 1962). For a historical and analytical account of the emergence and poetics of event scores, see Liz Kotz, “Post-Cagean Aesthetics and the ‘Event’ Score,” *October* 95 (Winter 2001): 55–89.
4. Dick Higgins, “Statement on Intermedia” (1966), in *Dé-coll/age 6*, ed. Wolf Vostell (Frankfurt: Typos Verlag; New York: Something Else Press, 1967), available online at <https://www.artpool.hu/Fluxus/Higgins/intermedia2.html>. In 1964 Dick Higgins remembered that even before meeting Patterson, he suspected that he was Black: “Actually Patterson’s way of using periodic repeats and the blues feeling that this produced being so ingrained and natural struck me so much that when he first sent me a copy of methods and processes I wrote to him and guessed he was a negro.” Quoted in Sally Banes, *Greenwich Village, 1963: Avant-Garde Performance and the Effervescent Body* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), 206. Along related lines, Patterson’s emphasis on diversity of timbres and techniques recalls the composer Olly Wilson’s 1992 theorization of the “heterogeneous sound ideal” in Black music: “The desirable musical sound texture is one that contains a combination

- of diverse timbres [and a] fundamental bias for contrast of color — heterogeneity of sound rather than similarity of color or homogeneity.” Olly Wilson, “The Heterogeneous Sound Ideal in Afrodiasporic Music,” in *Signifying, Sanctifyin’, and Slam Dunking: A Reader in African American Expressive Culture*, ed. Gena Dagel Caponi (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 160.
5. Benjamin Patterson, *Paper Piece* (Cologne: self-published, 1959–60). The dynamic directions *ppp* and *fff* are abbreviations for *pianississimo* and *fortississimo*, which mean “very, very soft” and “very, very loud,” respectively. Jean Brown Papers, 890164, box 39, folder 33, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.
  6. Patterson, *Paper Piece*.
  7. Patterson, *Paper Piece*.
  8. Patterson, *Paper Piece*.
  9. Patterson, *Paper Piece*.
  10. Patterson, “Lecture at Columbia.”
  11. Patterson, *Paper Piece*.
  12. Patterson, “Lecture at Columbia.”
  13. Nicolas Bourriaud, *Relational Aesthetics* (Dijon: Les Presses du Reel, 2002), 33.
  14. Bourriaud, *Relational Aesthetics*, 30.
  15. Benjamin Patterson, “Bekenntnis,” in *Happenings, Fluxus, Pop Art, Nouveau Réalisme: Eine Dokumentation*, ed. Jürgen Becker and Wolf Vostell (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1965), 241. Translation by the author.
  16. Patterson, “Lecture at Columbia.”
  17. See Matthew Goodheart, “Freedom and Individuality in the Music of Cecil Taylor” (MA thesis, Mills College, 1996), 38.
  18. Goodheart, “Freedom and Individuality,” 38–39.
  19. Patterson, “Bekenntnis,” 245. Translation from the German by the author.
  20. Robert P. Morgan, *Twentieth-Century Music: A History of Musical Style in Modern Europe and America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991), 371.
  21. See Owen Smith, “Developing a Fluxable Forum: Early Performance and Publishing,” in *The Fluxus Reader*, ed. Ken Friedman (Chichester, West Sussex: Academy Editions, 1998), 3–21.
  22. Quoted in Smith, “Developing a Fluxable Forum,” 3–4. An image of “The Fluxus Manifesto” (1963) is available on the Museum of Modern Art’s website: <https://www.moma.org/collection/works/127947>.
  23. Smith, “Developing a Fluxable Forum,” 4.
  24. Patterson, “Lecture at Columbia.”
  25. Oliver, *Radical Presence*, 121.
  26. Patterson, “Lecture at Columbia University.” Most accounts of the premiere of the work date it to 1960 in Cologne. See “Karlheinz

- Stockhausen: Biography" (Stockhausen-Verlag, 2013), [http://www.karlheinzstockhausen.org/karlheinz\\_stockhausen\\_short\\_biography\\_english.htm](http://www.karlheinzstockhausen.org/karlheinz_stockhausen_short_biography_english.htm).
27. Sheila O'Shea, personal communication with the author, 15 March 2018.
  28. O'Shea, personal communication.
  29. The reference is to the discussion of *Werktreue*, or fealty to the original intent of notated compositions, in Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).
  30. Patterson, "Lecture at Columbia."
  31. Eric Dolphy, final track on the album *Last Date*, [1965] 2008.
  32. Ben Patterson, *Ben Patterson Tells Fluxus Stories (from 1962 to 2002)*, ? Records 7, 2002, compact disc.

5. La Monte Young, ed.:  
*An Anthology of Chance  
Operations* (1962–63)

Benjamin Piekut

In 1960, La Monte Young was in his third year of graduate study in composition at University of California at Berkeley, where he represented a strange hybrid of beatnik counterculture and establishment credibility. That fall, he moved to New York City on a pre-doctoral fellowship intending to study experimental music composition with John Cage at the New School for Social Research. Instead, he found Richard Maxfield, who was filling in for Cage with a course on electronic music, which Young took.<sup>1</sup>

Twenty-five years old, Young arrived on a multiyear wave of West Coast transplants that included the dancers Yvonne Rainer, Trisha Brown, and Simone Forti; musicians Terry Jennings and Joseph Byrd; artists Robert Morris and Walter De Maria; and poet Diane Wakoski.<sup>2</sup> As a *macher* of the highest order, Young knew how to win friends and influence people. Within months, he was at the center of a hopping interdisciplinary arts scene that was composed of musicians, artists, dancers, and writers who were extending Cage's aesthetic strategies. Populating one corner were the alums of Cage's New School courses of 1956–59, who included George Brecht, Dick Higgins, Alison Knowles, Allan Kaprow, Jackson Mac Low, and many others. Another of those alums, Robert Ellis Dunn, had begun teaching Cage's curriculum in 1960 to dancers at Merce Cunningham's studio, then located above the Living Theatre. Such figures as Forti, Rainer, Steve Paxton, Judith Dunn, David Gordon, Trisha Brown, Elaine Summers, and Deborah Hay participated in these classes, and they would, in 1962, form the Judson Dance Theater. Many of these dancers also



continued to perform for the companies of Aileen Passloff and James Waring, for whom Maxfield provided musical scores. Maxfield would become fast friends with Young, who had begun to outline a strong musical aesthetic around static, complex sonic textures that invite focused listening experiences over long durations. Jennings, Terry Riley (who would pass through New York a few years later), and Dennis Johnson (who had stayed in California) shared this aesthetic, as well as Young's experience with and commitment to various forms of improvised music, chief among them African American and South Asian variants. (The bumping salon centered on Amiri Baraka's Cooper Square loft and the Five Spot Café had fewer overlaps with this white avant-garde, though collaborations and exchanges did occur.)

Young's other side — conceptual, anti-art, obsessed with the new — found common cause with such individuals as Morris, De Maria, and Henry Flynt. They sought to distinguish themselves from the older crowd, but those forerunners could still be found at their concerts, openings, and parties: not just Cage and Cunningham but also the composer Earle Brown, Cunningham dancer Carolyn Brown, pianist David Tudor (who would soon begin performing Young's work in Europe), artist Robert Rauschenberg (who would involve himself with Judson Dance Theater a few years later), and composer Toshi Ichiyanagi.

All these cliques bounced off one another at events in downtown New York. In a letter to Anna Halprin in California, Forti wrote, "N.Y. is full of little 'movements' who hate each other and who consider each other's work worthless."<sup>3</sup> But they showed up and took in concerts that Young organized at Yoko Ono and Toshi Ichiyanagi's loft on Chambers Street, where Forti, Flynt, Jennings, Byrd, Mac Low, Maxfield, Morris, Dennis Lindberg, and Young himself presented their work from December 1960 to June 1961. They showed up at the Reuben Gallery, where Brecht presented his "events" and Kaprow and Robert Whitman

produced some of their big “happenings,” and where Forti debuted *Rollers* and *See-Saw* in late 1960.<sup>4</sup> And they showed up at AG Gallery on Madison Avenue, where co-owners Almus Salcius and George Maciunas produced several series of concerts and readings in 1961. Their corny “modern art” taste was roundly criticized at the time—“ghastly,” as Cage put it in a letter to Tudor—but Maciunas, in particular, came around quick to the new sensibility.<sup>5</sup> From May to July 1961, AG Gallery had presented works, readings, and entire evenings by Cage, Higgins, Mac Low, Ichiyanagi, Byrd, Young, Flynt, De Maria, Morris, Baraka, Diane di Prima, and the artist Ray Johnson.

Amid all this hustle and bustle, Chester Anderson, the San Francisco poet who edited the small zine *Beatitude*, invited Young to guest edit a special New York version of the journal that Anderson was calling *Beatitude East*. The composer subsequently spent late 1960 and early 1961 gathering materials from his extensive contacts, many of whom are named above. He had also written to some poets he had met during his visit to the international summer course in new music at Darmstadt in 1959: Emmett Williams, Dieter Roth (a.k.a. Diter Rot), and Claus Bremer.<sup>6</sup> The manuscript he assembled became *AN ANTHOLOGY of chance operations concept art anti-art indeterminacy improvisation meaningless work natural disasters plans of action stories diagrams music poetry essays dance constructions mathematics compositions*.

But by late spring of 1961, *Beatitude* had gone belly up, and Anderson had disappeared with the materials. He finally returned the collection that June, when Young and Mac Low were at AG Gallery having their photographs taken for promotional materials. Upon hearing Mac Low’s account of the ill-fated magazine issue, Maciunas offered to publish the book himself. That September, Maciunas designed the distinctive cover and front matter (figs. 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3), as well as the individual title pages for each artist entry. (Note how almost every name on an artist title page retains its

original position on the page listing all of the contributors [figs. 5.4, 5.5]).

By then, Mac Low had joined the production team, typing up many of the contributions, correcting negatives, and handling communications with the printer. Maciunas, meanwhile, had left the country to take a design job with the U.S. military in Wiesbaden, West Germany, so Mac Low and Young hustled to find funds. They held two benefit concerts in early 1962 featuring many of the contributors to the volume; these events took place at the Living Theatre, whose Sixth Avenue premises had been recently redesigned by the architect and patron Paul Williams. (Williams was also the planner of the Gate Hill Cooperative outside of Stony Point, New York, where Cage, Tudor, M. C. Richards, and several others lived during the 1950s and 60s; Cage dedicated *Williams Mix* [1951–53] to him). Williams eventually paid the outstanding printing bill for *An Anthology*, but he asked that copyright on the final publication be held by both Young and Mac Low, to which condition Maciunas agreed. In the end, therefore, we say that Young edited it, Maciunas designed it, and Young and Mac Low copublished it. *An Anthology* was finally released in an edition of between seven hundred and nine hundred copies on the second weekend of May 1963.

As its full title suggests, the book contains a haphazard miscellany. There is notated music for conventional recital performance—even if that music is indeterminate in nature—by Byrd, Jennings, Ichiyangi, and Christian Wolff. Terry Riley contributed a lovely work of graphic notation titled *Concert for Two Pianists and Tape Recorders* (1960) (fig. 5.6, view online), though he does not include instructions for interpretation. And there is some poetry from Mac Low, Claus Bremer, and Emmett Williams, whose *Cellar Song for Five Voices* (ca. 1960) (fig. 5.7, view online) was clearly intended for performance and was in fact presented at one of the benefit concerts in early 1962. There are even some more-or-less conventional essays on topics of

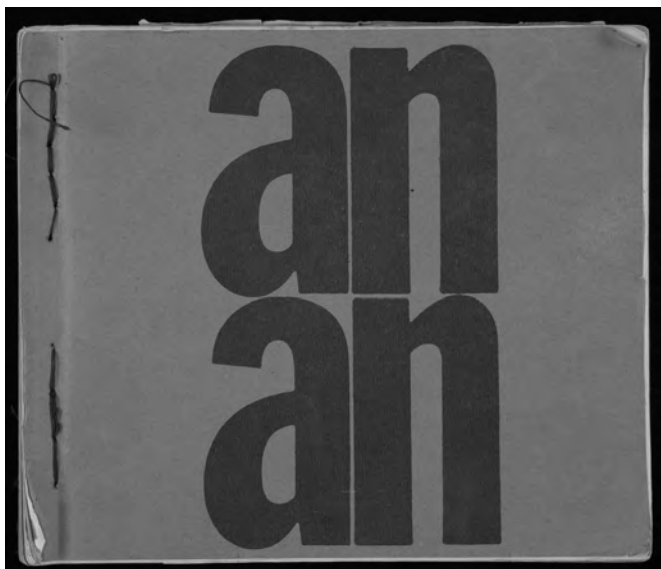


Fig. 5.1 Jackson Mac Low (American, 1922–2004); George Maciunas (Lithuanian American, 1931–78); La Monte Young (American, b. 1935). Pages from *AN ANTHOLOGY of chance operations, concept art anti-art indeterminacy improvisation meaningless work natural disasters plans of action stories diagrams music poetry essays dance constructions mathematics compositions*, 1962, offset printed. Getty Research Institute, item 94-B19099. © Estate of Jackson Mac Low.  
[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/238/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/238/)



Figs. 5.2, 5.3 Jackson Mac Low (American, 1922–2004); George Maciunas (Lithuanian American, 1931–78); La Monte Young (American, b. 1935). Pages from *AN ANTHOLOGY of chance operations, concept art anti-art indeterminacy improvisation meaningless work natural disasters plans of action stories diagrams music poetry essays dance constructions mathematics compositions*, 1962, offset printed. Getty Research Institute, item 94-B19099. © Estate of Jackson Mac Low.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/238/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/238/)



interest at the time, such as Nam June Paik's rather elliptical text on fixed and open form and Flynt's foundational essay "Concept Art," in which he outlined a field of inquiry where structure could be cleaved from aesthetic "crutches" like music and isolated as its own site of play and invention. "'Concept art' is first of all an art of which the material is 'concepts,' as the material of for ex[ample] music is sound," he wrote. "Since 'concepts' are closely bound up with language, concept art is a kind of art of which the material is language."

Maxfield's thoughtful essays on electronic music resonated with the other concerns of *An Anthology's* contributors. In "Composers, Performance and Publication," he noted how, by working directly with new electronic tools, composers had no further need of "obsolete symbols on score paper." As Liz Kotz and others have observed, this departure from specialized musical notation and toward other notational strategies—namely text scores but also magnetic tape—opened up musical strategies to artists working outside the discipline.<sup>7</sup> Elsewhere during this period, Maxfield explicitly linked the aesthetic problems posed by tape recording with sculpture, which presented similar combinations of fixed media and fluid perception.<sup>8</sup> In "Music, Electronic and Performed," he wrote, "Even when an art object is completely fixed the aesthetic experience it induces is never the same on two different occasions."

If these chapters largely remain in their own lanes, most of the other contributions support Branden Joseph's contention that working across disciplines was the primary marker of being "advanced" after Cage.<sup>9</sup> For example, in Yoko Ono's contribution, *To George, Poem No. 18, October 29, 1961* (1961), the line between drawing and poetry is obscured: the poem's Japanese and English text has been almost completely covered up by a black ink wash. Likewise, Ichiyanagi's *Mudai #1 for La Monte Young, Dec. 1960* (1960) (fig. 5.8, view online) offers a few calligraphic marks across its blank page.

Among the more senior contributors, Earle Brown provided Young several spreads from *Twenty-Five Pages* (1953) and two from *Folio and 4 Systems* (1954), including the sublime graphic *December 1952* (fig. 5.9, view online), which, in its early departure from conventional music notation, opened up a route to the myriad uses of the score format that can be found elsewhere in *An Anthology*.

Even Cage's *45' for a Speaker* (1954) (fig. 5.10, view online) represents an early example of post-disciplinary performance that is rarely noted as such. Is it music, an expository lecture, or a monologue? The work relishes in this ambiguity about category.

A cluster of Cage's students from the New School courses contributed text scores and events to the volume. In fact, the score for Brecht's first large event, *Motor Vehicle Sundown (Event)* (1960), appears in *An Anthology*, along with two more text pieces by him for performers who respond sonically to standard playing cards distributed by a dealer. The little section of *An Anthology* titled "Paragraphs, Quotations and Lists" he includes after these text scores reiterates the Neo-Dada project of joining art and life. The two pieces by Higgins are similar to Brecht's text scores, with a set of common items and a series of directions for how to manipulate them. In his own section (at nineteen pages, the longest in the publication), Mac Low included chance-derived poetry and prose, as well as scores for textual performances.

Three of Walter De Maria's text scores distinguish themselves by producing objects rather than events—boxes or a column, for example (more about this in a moment). A fourth piece, *Beach Crawl* (1960), lays out a precise process for a group performance at the seashore that ends with participants shouting, "Well, that's new, isn't it?" This fixation on novelty extended to De Maria's essay "Meaningless Work," which reveals an interest—strongly shared at the time with Flynt—for new modalities of



experience that could not be reduced to art, music, labor, or entertainment.

The collection has achieved historical significance for a few reasons. The first is its presentation of work that would later be construed as representative of musical minimalism, sculptural minimalism, postmodern dance, sound poetry, event scores, Fluxus, graphic notation, concept art, and even a certain strain of electronic music. The document is dense with history. It is also an uncertain textual object: What are you supposed to do with it? As Liz Kotz has documented, Maciunas spent much of 1962 trying to convince Young and Mac Low to produce the book with handmade, artisanal touches, like covers made of canvas or cardboard. The pair refused his innovative ideas. "You may want a book that will disappear as rapidly as an Allen [*sic*] Kaprow environment," wrote Mac Low to Maciunas in early 1962. "We want one that will last awhile at least to be at least a semi-permanent record of our work."<sup>10</sup> Mac Low may have longed for permanence, but that didn't require fixity; as Maciunas realized, a book could do more than record and preserve. Dieter Roth's *black page with holes* (1961), unfortunately absent from the Getty Research Institute's 1962 copy, exemplifies this tension. A detachable sheet of white card stock (black stock turned out to be expensive and hard to find) with ten holes of two sizes, it is intended to be placed over any page of text. The words peeping through the holes then become a kind of found poetry. Ultimately, the piece is a work of book art as well as a technology for reading *any* book and transforming it into new poetic texts.

Maciunas's role in the publication should not be overstated. His distinctive typographic style stamps the book with an easily recognized graphic identity, but it was Young who organized the contents. Maciunas did slip in a characteristic typographical intervention in the form of his (unattributed) piece *Ding Dong*, the title of which he inserted in the table of contents between the names Dennis Johnson and Ray Johnson.<sup>11</sup>

The text consists of a single two-beat phrase — DING DONG — repeated relentlessly across the left-hand page, margin to margin, and arranging itself into vertical columns, or stripes (fig. 5.11, view online). Its status as proto-Fluxus is indicated not only by the droll humor and textual ambiguity (is it an instruction or a record of past action?) but also by the blank seriality of its iterative form. The *ding* and the *dong*, trading fours forever, might proliferate across a series of identical printings, or they might generate (or name) countless ringing events. In other words, the repetition of the text captures both the multiplicity of the commodity form and the singularity of performances that might escape it.

In fact, seriality is one of the most overdetermined points of tangle in the years around 1960. For the Maciunas-led offramp headed toward Fluxus, the creation of identical items in a series took the form of the multiple, or objects and boxes (Fluxboxes) filled with trinkets and distributed in small editions. As Natilee Harren has persuasively argued, the iterative logic of the score, which creates endless repetitions of the same relations in the form of events, found its sculptural corollary in Fluxus multiples. These latter are objects that you treat like scores: You handle them, you participate with them, you activate them in small private concerts.<sup>12</sup>

Although Fluxus multiples were handmade objects with little uniformity, they aspired to a condition of industrialized, mechanical duplication and administration. This aspiration was clear in light of Maciunas's fascination with bureaucratic information management and its symbols, such as the filing card, the mailing label, and the taxonomic shelving system, as well as his evident belief in the powers of centralized planning, modern automation, and industrial prefabrication. For example, in his contribution to Flynt's 1965 pamphlet *Communists Must Give Revolutionary Leadership in Culture* (fig. 5.12), Maciunas included plans for

a “Soviet prefabricated building system” using calcium silicate insulation foam panels bonded to enamel.

Ultimately, as Harren argues, Maciunas’s slapdash forays into industrial production felt lowbrow compared with the cool sophistication of minimalist sculpture or high-gloss pop multiples.<sup>13</sup> The modular logic of the series, however, spans these distinct aesthetic formations. If Maciunas took the series in one direction, Young took it in another, one more characteristic of what would later be called minimalism. “A minimalist work is not diminutive, and it is not underdetermined or open to ambient events. It saturates the field with uniformity or monotony,” writes Flynt. “The audience has to supply the psychological modulations.”<sup>14</sup> In the short text called “Blank Form” (which is among the materials that Robert Morris removed from the final publication of *An Anthology* but that appear in the Getty Research Institute’s copy, which is a unique bound proof), Morris sketched a related project: “Art is primarily a situation in which one assumes an attitude of reacting to some of one’s awareness as art.”<sup>15</sup>

A fitting example, composed by Young in April 1960 but titled and premiered in 1961, is *Arabic Numeral (Any Integer) to H. F.*, commonly known as *X for Henry Flynt*. The piece directs its performer to make any single, very loud sound—in the handwritten copy that can be found in the David Tudor Papers (box 14, folder 9), a piano cluster is indicated—and to repeat it for a certain predetermined number of iterations (which is the “Arabic numeral” in the title).<sup>16</sup> Young requests an interval of between one and two seconds to separate the iterations, using a relatively short silence between sounds. As one commentator has pointed out, the piece demands uniformity but desires the variety that creeps in with fatigue and error.<sup>17</sup> Suppose a pianist plans *6000 for Henry Flynt*, beginning with a massive, two-armed cluster on the keyboard, played as loud as possible. By repetition number 400, she will have grown very tired. By number 3,000, she will be exhausted and barely able to carry



on; her “as loud as possible” will have grown quieter. Once fatigue sets in, the pianist will begin dropping notes in the cluster. Should the next repetition match the previous imperfection, or should it attempt to return to the opening sound that was supposed to be repeated uniformly? These questions and conundrums can only be produced through the performance itself, in which the instructions laid out in the text score meet reality in the hands, ears, and body, fostering heightened awareness, assessment, and adjustment in real time. (One might call that improvisation.)

A similar arrangement of continuous pressure and small adjustment is proposed in the early version of *Slant Board* that Simone Forti contributed to *An Anthology* (wherein it appears as an untitled dance construction).<sup>18</sup> Premiered in early 1961 at Ono’s loft, the construction was a large geometric plywood form of the type that would soon characterize the early minimalist sculptures of Forti’s husband, Robert Morris, who had built it for her following her construction plans. It was an eight-by-eight-foot platform, raised to a 45-degree angle, from which hung a few knotted ropes. Forti’s instructions direct three dancers to move across the platform, picking up and dropping ropes as necessary to adjust their balance and support. In a manner similar to that for *X for Henry Flynt*, *Slant Board* assigns a basic task to its performers, who then employ that high-pressure monotony (a 45-degree angle is not easy) to develop microscopic attention to the fine details of their bodies’ responses. This dynamic is extended into a collaborative scenario in Forti’s other dance construction for *An Anthology*, the earliest statement of her well-known group dance *Huddle* (1961).

Young himself contributed fourteen word pieces to the publication. Three of them, all from 1960, continue the proto-minimalist direction discussed above. *Composition 1960 #7*, the only one using musical notation, directs its performer to sound a dyad of B and F-sharp “for a long time.” Another, *Composition 1960 #10 to Bob Morris*, generalizes

#7 into a meta-rule that dispenses with specialized notation; it reads, "Draw a straight line and follow it." Finally, *Composition 1960 #9* consists of an unlined index card with a single, heavy, straight line drawn across it. The title and directions on how to orient the card correctly are printed on the outside of an enclosing envelope that is itself pasted onto a page of *An Anthology*. This trio of little pieces exemplifies yet again the theme of inscriptive play across the publication: musical becomes typographic becomes graphic.

Young's other word scores constitute a set of investigations into the limits and requirements of music as a formalized activity. Do you need an audience? An audible sound? A performer? A composer? Is the piano sufficient to qualify the event as music? What about one's own distant memory of a sound? Can one frame natural phenomena as music? What about an imagined sound, one not present here? Can music exist in the subjunctive? This spirit of relentless questioning and expansion is threaded throughout *An Anthology*.

#### Notes

1. See Jeremy Grimshaw, *Draw a Straight Line and Follow It: The Music and Mysticism of La Monte Young* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).
2. The description of Young's New School colleagues draws on the following: Henry Flynt, "La Monte Young in New York, 1960–62," in *Sound and Light: La Monte Young and Marian Zazeela*, ed. William Duckworth and Richard Fleming (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1996), 44–97; Jackson Mac Low, "How Maciunas Met the New York Avant Garde," in *Fluxus: Today and Yesterday* (Art and Design Profile 28), ed. Johan Pijnappel (London: Academy Editions, 1993); and Liz Kotz, "Poetry Machines," in *+/- 1961: Founding the Expanded Arts*, ed. Julia Robinson and Christian Xatrec (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, 2013), 50–67.
3. Simone Forti to Anna Halprin, n.d. [early 1961], Anna Halprin Papers, box 1, folder 54, Museum of Performance + Design, San Francisco.
4. See Virginia B. Spivey, "The Minimal Presence of Simone Forti," *Woman's Art Journal* 30, no. 1 (2009): 11–18.

5. John Cage to David Tudor, n.d. [Summer 1961], David Tudor Papers, 980039, box 52, folder 3, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.
6. Kotz, "Poetry Machines," 65n8. Young's correspondence indicates that he had also asked David Tudor and Hans Helms for materials. Young to David Tudor, n.d. [1961], David Tudor Papers, 980039, box 61, folder 2, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.
7. Liz Kotz, *Words to Be Looked At: Language in 1960s Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007).
8. Richard Maxfield to Peter Yates, 3 October 1961, Peter Yates Papers, box 13, folder 6, Mandeville Special Collections, University of California, San Diego.
9. Branden W. Joseph, *Beyond the Dream Syndicate: Tony Conrad and the Arts after Cage* (New York: Zone Books, 2008). See also Carrie Lambert, "More or Less Minimalism: Six Notes on Performance and Visual Art in the 1960s," in *A Minimal Future? Art as Object 1958–1968*, ed. Ann Goldstein and Lisa Gabrielle Mark (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004), 103–9.
10. Jackson Mac Low, quoted in Kotz, "Poetry Machines," 51.
11. Flynt, "La Monte Young in New York," 64.
12. Natilee Harren, *Fluxus Forms: Scores, Multiples, and the Eternal Network* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020), 138.
13. As Kotz notes about the multiple, "It risks turning Minimalism into a toy, something that one would pick up and play with." Liz Kotz, "Make an Object to Be Lost: Multiples and Minimalism," in *The Small Utopia: Ars Multiplicata* (Milan: Prada Foundation, 2012), 181–89.
14. Flynt, "La Monte Young in New York," 67–68.
15. La Monte Young, Jackson Mac Low, and George Maciunas, *AN ANTHOLOGY of chance operations, concept art anti-art indeterminacy improvisation meaningless work natural disasters plans of action stories diagrams music poetry essays dance constructions mathematics compositions* (New York: self-published, 1962), n.p.
16. Toshi Ichinyanagi premiered the work on 14 May 1961, at Carnegie Recital Hall; David Tudor subsequently performed it at the Darmstadt Summer Course later that year.
17. Cornelius Cardew, "On the Role of Instructions in the Performance of Indeterminate Music" (1965), in *Treatise Handbook* (New York: Edition Peters, 1971).
18. For the final version of the score, see Simone Forti, *Handbook in Motion* (Halifax: Press of the Nova Scotia School of Design, 1974).

6. George Brecht: *Drip Music (Drip Event)* (1959–62), from *Water Yam* (1963)

Natilee Harren

In 1959, in the wake of nearly a decade of postwar experimentation with new forms of musical notation, the American visual artist George Brecht began to develop a genre of text-based performance instruction he called the “event score.” Having turned his creative energies away from abstract expressionist painting and, correspondingly, his intellectual focus away from the work of Jackson Pollock and toward that of John Cage, Brecht joined Cage’s experimental composition course at the New School for Social Research in the summers of 1958 and 1959 (fig. 6.1). His notebooks from the time, selections of which are included in the Archive section of this chapter, provide an illuminating chronicle of this period.

In the first pages of Brecht’s notebook from the summer 1958 class, he records Cage’s description of “events in sound-space,” which proposed that the practice of experimental composition entailed an expanded notion of music including all manner of multisensorial phenomena.<sup>1</sup> With this definition in place, Cage’s class became an important crucible for emerging intermedia practices. There, new musical thinking was further developed by a younger generation of composers, poets, and visual artists including Brecht, Allan Kaprow, Jackson Mac Low, Al Hansen, Dick Higgins, Toshi Ichiyanagi, Richard Maxfield, and Yoko Ono. Honed under Cage’s influence, Brecht’s event score became a major genre within Fluxus, the international artist collective founded in 1962 by George Maciunas. Brecht’s scores were frequently performed at Fluxus concerts, and hundreds of Fluxus scores were written following his model.

.....





Fig. 6.1 Students in John Cage's experimental composition class, New School for Social Research, New York, NY, summer 1958. From Al Hansen, *A Primer of Happenings & Time-Space Art* (New York: Something Else Press, 1965), 101.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/556/](https://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/556/)

While Brecht's event scores were particularly influential and broadly circulated, they were not singular; La Monte Young and Ono also composed text scores beginning in the early 1960s.<sup>2</sup> Due to the event score's incredible flexibility and potential for transmission across disciplines and practices, the format has remained a useful tool for myriad conceptual, performative, and process-oriented practices from the 1960s to the present.

Among the dozens of event scores Brecht composed between 1959 and 1963, his *Drip Music (Drip Event)* (1959–62) remains among the best known and is therefore highlighted in this chapter as paradigmatic of the genre (fig. 6.2). *Drip Music* was performed regularly during the first Fluxus concert tour in Europe in 1962 and 1963 and became known mainly through the interpretations of others, since Brecht did not travel to participate in any of those concerts. Beginning with realizations of the piece by Dick Higgins in Copenhagen (fig. 6.3) and George Maciunas in Düsseldorf (fig. 6.4), a performance convention developed wherein a single performer climbs a ladder and pours water from a pitcher into a vessel (the sound sometimes amplified by a contact microphone) placed on the floor below. This version of the piece continues to be performed today, as this chapter's Playback section shows.

Yet there have been many other versions too, including several offered by Brecht, which suggests that the artist wanted to keep the work perpetually open for rethinking. At Rutgers University in spring 1963, Brecht himself stood at floor level and performed his drip in a modest, undramatic way (fig. 6.5), and in the 1970s he created a dripping faucet sculpture for the garden of the German collector and multiples publisher Wolfgang Feelisch. In contrast with Cage, who preferred his scores to be performed by approved collaborators such as David Tudor and who notoriously clashed with uncooperative performers, Brecht said of his scores, "It's implicit in the scores that any realisation is feasible . . . . Any and every. I

DRIP MUSIC (DRIP EVENT)

For single or multiple performance.

A source of dripping water and an empty vessel are arranged so that the water falls into the vessel.

Second version: Dripping.

G. Brecht  
(1959–62)

Fig. 6.2 George Brecht (American, 1926–2008). *Drip Music (Drip Event)*, 1959–62, offset print. Getty Research Institute, Jean Brown Papers, 890164, box 127 (contained within the compendium *Water Yam*). © 2022 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn.  
[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/346/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/346/)



Fig. 6.3 Dick Higgins performing George Brecht's *Drip Music (Drip Event)* at Fluxus–Musik og Anti Musik det Instrumentale Teater, Nikolai Kirke, Copenhagen, 25 November 1962, gelatin silver print. Getty Research Institute, The Kitchen Videos and Records, item K2001845. Photographed by Poul Hansen for Dagbladet AKTUELT newspaper. The Gilbert and Lila Silverman Fluxus Collection Gift, 2008. © 2023 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / VG Bild-Kunst, Germany. Image © The Museum of Modern Art/Licensed by SCALA / Art Resource, NY.  
[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/359/](https://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/359/)



Fig. 6.4 George Maciunas performing George Brecht's *Drip Music (Drip Event)* at Festum Fluxorum, Kunstakademie Düsseldorf, Düsseldorf, 2 February 1963. Photograph by Manfred Leve.  
[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/360/](https://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/360/)

wouldn't refuse any realisations."<sup>3</sup> Brecht's own interpretations of *Drip Music* are not to be taken as master examples to copy, and they do not exhaust the score's possibilities for interpretation. Rather, the primary text that is *Drip Music* instigates the endless deferral of the work's meaning, in an aesthetic gesture that anticipates postmodern critiques of the author and of the metaphysics of presence articulated by cultural theorists including Michel Foucault, Roland Barthes, and Umberto Eco. Individual performances of an event score participate in an ongoing revelation of the score's proposed form — actions and objects joined in a certain spatiotemporal arrangement — that remains always partially latent or potential.

As seen in *Drip Music*, Brecht's event scores are typically brief texts written in generic, open-ended language that facilitates vast possibilities for performance and experience through its precise *imprecision* and careful attention to material relations and processes. The Brechtian event score describes a flexible structure that can accommodate an extraordinary range of content while maintaining the sparest continuity of identity. It forms the basis of a work that is, as Brecht described, "left as open as it could be and still have some shape."<sup>4</sup> Individual performances of an event score may look or sound very different from one to the next, yet one can observe a morphological continuity of activity across realizations, pointing to Fluxus's radical rethinking of aesthetic form in terms of a mobile structure that exceeds the apparently visual and exists at the level of performed relations and processes.

Remarkably, the language of Brecht's event scores can suggest a performative response that is quite internal or passive and at times merely observational. Maciunas called the scores "temporal readymades," with the understanding that they often simply reframe preexisting phenomena as worthy of aesthetic appreciation.<sup>5</sup> Accordingly, the art historian Julia Robinson has argued that Brecht's scores



Fig. 6.5 George Brecht performing *Three Aqueous Events / Drip Music (Drip Event)* at *Happenings, Events, and Advanced Musics*, at Douglass College, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ, 6 April 1963. Photograph by Peter Moore; © Northwestern University.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/362/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/362/)

provide an indexical “interpretive matrix” that mediates our relationship to quotidian phenomena, whether performed or found, thus radically transforming our experience of the everyday.<sup>6</sup> For example, *Drip Music* inverts ordinary associations in that, as Brecht noted, “the score calls attention to the fact that water dripping can be very beautiful—many people find a dripping faucet very annoying, they get very nervous. It’s nice to hear it in an appreciative way.”<sup>7</sup> Recurring references across his scores to common objects (such as suitcases, tables, and combs) and activities (such as moving objects from one place to another and turning things on and off, all of which you can explore in the full edition of *Water Yam* included in this chapter) amplify the possibility for artistic events to be discovered coincidentally in one’s immediate surroundings.

Of note, Brecht was professionally trained as a research chemist and developed several patents for women’s tampons while working in the personal-products division of Johnson & Johnson. Deeply interested in quantum mechanics, he carried into his creative practice the viewpoint from physics that our environment is always in a state of flux. It should come as no surprise, then, that Brecht’s event scores are invested in the extraordinary effects of close attention paid to ordinary objects and actions. As his self-referential composition *Event Score* (1965) (fig. 6.6) suggests, such acts of careful observation can even extend into the realm of dreams or the unconscious.

Historically, Brecht’s *Drip Music* marks a hinge moment within the longer twentieth-century narrative presented in *The Scores Project*. *Drip Music* is emblematic of the 1960s aesthetic paradigm shift from modernism to postmodernism in its recoding of the strategies of Marcel Duchamp, Jackson Pollock, and John Cage—three major sources for Brecht and his peers as they began to develop new, experimental practices. Following Duchamp, the event score expands the notion of the readymade to include

## EVENT SCORE

Arrange or discover an event score and then realize it.

- If the score is arrived at while awake, then make a dream realization, that is, note all dreams until a realization of the score has been discovered in a dream.
- If the score is dreamed, then make a waking realization, that is, search in your waking life for whatever dream or part of a dream constitutes the score.

George Brecht

Fig. 6.6 George Brecht (American, 1926–2008). *Event Score*, August 1965, offset print. Getty Research Institute, Jean Brown Papers, 890164, box 3, folder 34. © 2022 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/345/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/345/)



multisensorial events that unfold through space and time. From Pollock, the relationship between the painter and his drip is recast from an indexical, autographic signature into an infinitely renewable procedure that can be materialized in any context, by anyone, and which enables form to emerge via automatic processes. (In 1962, Brecht claimed Pollock's drip paintings of 1947–51 as performances of *Drip Music's* radically simplified "Second version: Dripping," a move that foreshadowed other retroactively designated or readymade Fluxus performances, such as Alison Knowles's *Identical Lunch* [late 1960s–early '70s], a habitual meal reframed as a performance piece that is featured in chapter 9.) In the work of Cage, Brecht found new strategies for deploying chance procedures, which he elaborated in the crucial essay "Chance-Imagery," written in 1957 and published in 1966.<sup>8</sup> In fact, Brecht's gesture of sending an early draft of the essay to Cage facilitated his first meeting with Cage and Tudor in 1956; they stopped by Brecht's home in New Jersey while on a mushroom-hunting trip. Relevant here, Cage had already proposed water as an ideal indeterminate material in his compositions *Water Music* (1952) and *Water Walk* (1959), the former of which was performed by Tudor in Darmstadt in the late 1950s and then again alongside some of Brecht's early scores at Mary Bauermeister's atelier in Cologne in 1960.

In addition to Cagean indeterminacy, Brecht's notebooks of the period reflect his thinking through Earle Brown's plays with notational ambiguity in graphic scores such as *December 1952* (1952). Arguably, Brecht's event scores combined both ideas: they produced an *indeterminate* outcome arising from the *ambiguous*, open-ended qualities of written text. Brecht's quotidian, democratic notational language thus avoided the various technical limitations introduced by both Cage's and Brown's intimidatingly complicated musical graphics. As Brecht argued in 1959:

The “virtu” of virtuosity must now mean behavior out of one’s life-experience; it cannot be delimited toward physical [or readerly] skill. The listener responding to this sound out of his own experience, adds a new element to the system: composer/ notation/performer/sound/listener, and, for himself, defines the sound as music. For the virtuoso listener all sound may be music.<sup>9</sup>

In terms of distribution, Brecht’s event scores were in many ways a rather private, intimate format. Initially quite diverse in their graphic and material presentation, the artist hand-wrote or typed his scores on pieces of paper and mailed them to other artists, imagining individual works as “little enlightenments I wanted to communicate to my friends who would know what to do with them.”<sup>10</sup> As the Archive section of this chapter shows, Brecht’s scores circulated within music, poetry, and experimental performance circles well before their association with Fluxus. Moreover, ephemera included here show that Brecht wanted his works published in literary magazines and newspapers such as *Kulchur* and *The Village Voice* at the same time that they appeared on the concert programs of alternative venues like the Living Theatre. At the request of Cage, who had witnessed the development of the Brechtian event score (including a 1959 performance of Brecht’s *Time-Table Music* (1959) at Grand Central Station), Brecht sent some of his compositions to Tudor, after which they quickly found an international audience in the avant-garde music world. Tudor performed Brecht’s *Candle-Piece for Radios* (1959) and *Card-Piece for Voice* (1959) at Bauermeister’s atelier in 1960 (fig. 6.7). The following year, Tudor presented the composer’s *Incidental Music* (1961) at the Internationale Ferienkurse für Neue Musik in Darmstadt and at the Sogetsu Art Center in Tokyo. Brecht’s correspondence with Tudor, the composer Toshi Ichianagi, poet M. C. Richards, theater and dance critic Jill Johnston, and Maciunas — examples of

which are included in this chapter — reveals the scores' rich, multidisciplinary reception.

From 1962, Brecht's compositions appeared regularly on Fluxus programs and in publications spearheaded by Maciunas, who undertook the design and production of an anthology of Brecht's scores among the other anthologies of Fluxus works he was diligently preparing. The result of Maciunas and Brecht's collaboration was *Water Yam*, a small container in wood or cardboard (depending on the edition or individual copy) that encloses some seventy to one hundred (again, depending on the example) of Brecht's scores, printed on loose cards of varying sizes (fig. 6.8). The publication's portable, unbound design — which you can browse or filter by keyword in an interactive digital edition included in this chapter — accelerates the already active engagement of readers as they order, rearrange, and identify correlations between the scores, perhaps even further distributing the cards as individual works. What's more, the container's materiality, dimensions, and label, as well as its specific contents, varied across individual copies of *Water Yam* as editions were sporadically compiled in batches over the years. The collaborative process whereby Brecht's event scores are interpreted and performed beyond the artist's oversight thus threaded through the process of the production and distribution of the scores themselves, not only as part of the Fluxus publishing program directed by Maciunas but also beyond.

As a notational format positioned between music, poetry, performance, and visual art, the event score proved to be profoundly generative for artists seeking new modes of working beyond established disciplinary or medium specializations from the 1960s onward. Many pathways can be traced through the aftermath of Brecht's event scores and related forms of neo-avant-garde notation: postminimalism's concern with process; conceptual art's engagements with language and the framing of experience;



Fig. 6.7 Manfred Leve, Benjamin Patterson, Hans G. Helms, Ursula Kagel, Khris Helms, David Tudor, and others performing George Brecht's *Card-Piece for Voice* (1959) as part of the "Contre-Festival," organized during the IGMM-Weltmusikfestes, Atelier Mary Bauermeister, Cologne, Germany, 15 June 1960. Getty Research Institute, David Tudor Papers, 980039, box 159. Courtesy of the Manfred Leve Estate.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/237/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/237/)



Fig. 6.8 George Brecht (American, 1926–2008). *Water Yam*, 1963, wooden box with label containing ninety-one scores printed on various sizes and colors of card stock. Getty Research Institute, Jean Brown Papers, 890164, box 127. © 2022 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/348/](https://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/348/)

works made all or in part by delegated production; participatory practices that rely on basic instructions that yield varying results; and the do-it-yourself ethic pervasive within the larger postwar counterculture. The diversity of the event score's legacy should come as no surprise if we take seriously the words of Cornelius Cardew, a friend to Brecht during his time in London in the late 1960s, who once wrote that *Water Yam* is best understood as "a course of study, and following on that, a teaching instrument."<sup>11</sup> Arguably, it still contains many lessons for us today.

#### Notes

1. George Brecht, notebook of late June 1958, reprinted as *George Brecht—Notebooks*, vol. 1, *June–September 1958*, ed. Dieter Daniels and Hermann Braun (Cologne: Walther König, 1991), 4.
2. Liz Kotz, "Post-Cagean Aesthetics and the Event Score," in *Words to Be Looked At: Language in 1960s Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007), 59–98.
3. Michael Nyman, "An Interview with George Brecht" (1976), in Henry Martin, *An Introduction to George Brecht's Book of the Tumbler on Fire* (Milan: Multhipla Edizioni, 1978), 108. On a notable controversy regarding the performance of Cage's work, see Benjamin Piekut, "When Orchestras Attack! John Cage Meets the New York Philharmonic," in *Experimentalism Otherwise: The New York Avant-Garde and Its Limits* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 20–64.
4. Nyman, "Interview with George Brecht," 110.
5. George Brecht, quoting George Maciunas in a letter to Brecht, early 1963, George Maciunas Correspondence, Hanns Sohm Archive, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Stuttgart, Germany.
6. Julia Robinson, "From Abstraction to Model: In the Event of George Brecht & the Conceptual Turn in the Art of the 1960s" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2008), 111–13. See also Julia Robinson, "From Abstraction to Model: George Brecht's Events and the Conceptual Turn in Art of the 1960s," *October* 127 (Winter 2009): 77–108; and Julia Robinson, *George Brecht: Events; A Heterospective* (Cologne: Walther König, 2005).
7. Nyman, "Interview with George Brecht," 110.
8. George Brecht, "Chance-Imagery," A Great Bear Pamphlet (New York: Something Else Press, 1966), republished in 2004 on UbuWeb, [https://www.ubu.com/historical/gb/brecht\\_chance.pdf](https://www.ubu.com/historical/gb/brecht_chance.pdf).

9. George Brecht, *George Brecht—Notebooks*, vol. 3, *April–August 1959*, ed. Dieter Daniels and Hermann Braun (Cologne: Walther König, 1991), 123.
10. George Brecht, “The Origin of ‘Events’” (August 1970), in *Happening & Fluxus*, ed. Harald Szeemann and Hanns Sohm (Cologne: Kölnischer Kunstverein, 1970), n.p.
11. Cornelius Cardew, concert program notes for *Events by George Brecht: Selections from “Water YAM,”* Royal Court Theatre, London, 22 November 1970.

7. Jackson Mac Low: *Three Social Projects* (1963)

John Hicks

At around 2:30 in the afternoon on Monday, 29 April 1963, the poet and performer Jackson Mac Low mailed four postcards to the double bassist and composer Benjamin Patterson. That evening, he sent two more—one postmarked 6:00 p.m. and the sixth and final postmarked 7:30. Earlier that day, Mac Low had sent copies of three of the six postcards by airmail to an address in Paris shared by the Romanian-born Swiss artist and writer Daniel Spoerri, the American concrete poet Emmett Williams, and the French artist and poet Robert Filliou (fig. 7.1).

Each postcard was a plain, unlined index card, on the back of which were typed, in all caps, titles and texts of short compositions that are difficult to categorize. The works bear a resemblance to a number of different genres, from mail art to lyric poetry, music, and drama, with each category offering a different context in which the works might be interpreted or realized in performance. Mac Low was best known as a poet, and the ragged right-hand margin of the typewritten texts do have the recognizable shape of thin-column free verse. (For comparison, A. R. Ammons's *Tape for the Turn of the Year* [1965], composed on adding-machine tape, was begun later in 1963.)<sup>1</sup> But the simple diction, syntax, and crudely direct instructional phrasing make it quite difficult to identify Mac Low's pieces as short lyric poems. Indeed, the language of the postcards does not resemble that of Mac Low's explicitly poetic texts—which since the mid-1950s had been composed using elaborate, chance-based procedures—or that of any other avant-garde poets of his generation. Instead, Patterson and the other





Fig. 7.1 Map showing locations relevant to the creation and distribution of Jackson Mac Low's postcard scores, spring 1963.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/404/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/404/)

recipients probably would have recognized the format of the postcards as belonging to what is now known as the event score. These short instructional texts had been circulating among artists associated with the Neo-Dadaist group that had in 1961 been given the name Fluxus by the group's instigator, the Lithuanian-born American artist George Maciunas.<sup>2</sup> Mac Low himself later recalled that the Fluxus event scores had two main models:

La Monte [Young]'s *Compositions 1960*: musical and performance works whose scores . . . were short descriptive paragraphs (eventually published in *An Anthology*) and George Brecht's card pieces, composed from 1959 to '62 and —beginning sometime in '61 —mailed to friends [later collected in the *Water Yam* box]. . . . Brecht's most characteristic card pieces are extremely laconic and "demonstrative" rather than descriptive.<sup>3</sup>

Although Mac Low and Patterson had gotten to know each other following Patterson's return to New York from Germany, Mac Low had never met the Paris-based artists to whom he also mailed the postcards. Spoerri, Williams, and Filliou most likely knew of Mac Low through the selection of his works included in *An Anthology of Chance Operations* (1962–63) (fig. 7.2); or by his reputation as one of the composers featured in the famous Chambers Street concert series organized by La Monte Young in 1961 (fig. 7.3).

As the program for the concert at 112 Chambers Street suggests, in describing his art as consisting of "poetry, music, and theatre works," Mac Low was a legitimate polymath: in addition to being a poet, Mac Low had been writing music since childhood, going through a twelve-tone phase and then eventually experimenting with Cagean chance operations, both in music and in textual works.<sup>4</sup> He had been hired as a composer by director Judith Malina to write the musical accompaniment for the Living



Fig. 7.2 Jackson Mac Low (American, 1922–2004; George Maciunas (Lithuanian American, 1931–78); La Monte Young (American, b. 1935). Pages from Mac Low's contribution to a unique copy of *AN ANTHOLOGY of chance operations, concept art anti-art indeterminacy improvisation meaningless work natural disasters plans of action stories diagrams music poetry essays dance constructions mathematics compositions*, 1962, offset printed. Getty Research Institute, Jean Brown Collection, item 94-B19099. Courtesy of the Estate of Jackson Mac Low.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/238/#fig-238-an](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/238/#fig-238-an)

POETRY, MUSIC & THEATRE WORKS

JACKSON MAC LOW

TWO PERFORMANCES

Saturday, 6 April 1961: 8:30 p.m. (sharp) to Midnight  
Sunday, 9 April 1961: 3:00 (sharp) to 6:30 p.m.  
at Yoko Ono's Studio

112 Chambers St. -- top floor

1. from 5 BIBLICAL POEMS.....December 1954/January 1955  
5.2.3.6.5., the 3rd biblical poem (solo)  
21.23.29., the 5th biblical poem (for 3 simultaneous voices)  
the 1st biblical play
2. RUSH HOUR (solo poem-realization of lost piano piece).....January 1955
3. 4 REAWAKENING PIECES (for solo piano).....October 1955
4. DONA RITA, JOSEPH TWYLAO.....(solo poem).....Winter 1958
5. PEAKS & LAMAS (poem: simultaneous version).....Spring 1953/ Autumn 1959
6. SADE SUIT (poem in 13 parts: simultaneous version).....Summer 1959
7. SEPTEMBER PACE (solo poem).....September 1959

10' intermission

8. VERDUNOUS SANGUINARIA, a play for 4 people.....January/ February 1961
9. AN ODE TO IRIS FROM THE I CHING.....(solo poem).....FEBRUARY 1960
10. NIGHT WALK, for VW (long solo poem).....February 1960  
\*The Holy Grail: LaMonte Young    The Tale of Night: Diane Wakoski  
Edward Eggleston: J. Mac Low    Catherine: Simone Morris

10' intermission

11. Group of solo poems from STANZAS FOR IRIS LEZAK.....May/September 1960
12. A PIECE FOR SARTI DIENES.....December 1960  
sounds by: Joseph Byrd, Robert Dunn, Tochi Ichiyonagi,  
J. Mac Low, Simone Morris, Shimon Tamari, LaMonte Young
13. Group of ASYMMETRIES (solo poems).....September 1960/March 1961
14. ASYMMETRIES (simultaneous version: 7 methods).....September 1960/March 1961

10' intermission

15. AN ASYMMETRY FOR LAMONTE YOUNG (solo: LaMonte Young).....January 1961
16. PW FOR SIMONE MORRIS (piano: JML; voice & actions: Simone Morris) January 1961
17. THANKS, a simultaneity for people (everyone present) Dec. 1960/February 1961
18. A SERMON (solo sermon).....September 1960
19. A PIECE FOR RECORDER, RIGHT HAND MOVING.....February 1961  
recorderists: C.V.J. Anderson, J. Mac Low, Shimon Tamari
20. GATHA.....(simultaneity).....February/March 1961  
Readers in simultaneities: C.V.J. Anderson, Joseph Byrd, Robert Dunn,  
Spencer Roist, Joao Kelly, Robert Kelly, Iris Lezak, JML, Simone Morris,  
John Perreault, Shimon Tamari, Diane Wakoski, LaMonte Young

\$1.00 donation — It may be necessary to sit on the floor

This is #5 in the series presented by LaMonte Young. #6 will be Richard Maxfield (April 29 & 30). Other evenings will include music: George Brecht, John Cage, Walter DeMaria, Lucia Dlugoszewski, Robert Dunn, Dick Higgins, Dennis Johnson, Toshio Mayuzumi, Terry Riley, David Tudor, Christian Wolff, LaMonte Young, poetry: David Degner, Hans Helms, Terry Jennings, Yoko Ono, Diane Wakoski, James Waring, machinery: Bob Morris, something else: Bob Morris, Simone Morris, others to be arranged — No public announcements. Send names for mailing list to: LaMonte Young, Apartment 1-G, 119 Bank Street, New York 14, New York

Fig. 7.3 Program for *Poetry, Music, and Theatre Works: Jackson Mac Low*, the fifth concert in the series organized by La Monte Young at Yoko Ono's studio, 112 Chambers Street, New York, NY, 8–9 April 1961. Getty Research Institute, Jean Brown Papers, 890164, box 32, folder 6.  
[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/275/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/275/)

Theatre's 1954 staging of W. H. Auden's poem *The Age of Anxiety* (1947), and the Living Theatre also staged Mac Low's own work *The Marrying Maiden: A Play of Changes* (1960), with a musical setting by John Cage, which ran for forty-seven performances during 1960 and 1961.<sup>5</sup>

By the time he made and sent the April 1963 postcards, Mac Low's works had been produced as plays in theaters, as music in concert venues, as poetry readings, and as published texts. In published form, Mac Low's texts included explanations of the procedures used to produce them and/or performance instructions (which themselves frequently involved chance operations, performer choice, or both). The postcard scores, however, were not accompanied by any procedural notes, nor did they announce themselves as belonging to any one specific performance context. As a result of this ambiguity, how we understand the concept of the score can produce profound impacts on how we understand what Mac Low may have envisioned his colleagues, and future performers, might do with these works.

The postcard Mac Low mailed to Patterson at 7:30 p.m. on 29 April, his final installment for the day, presents an instance of the event score as a private, contemplative exercise or an inward task of concentration and discipline, with little if any room left for spectatorship other than a thinking reader: *Light Rhythms for Henry Flynt* (29 February 1963) contains a series of instructions for what presumably must be an individual performer, to be realized in the rear car of a subway train. It gives the reader-performer the difficult task of concentrating on the rhythmic appearance of the tunnel lights being passed by the moving train rather than the loud, percussive sounds and the felt rhythms (bumping and swaying) produced by the train's movement along the tracks.

In the first postcard sent to Patterson, Mac Low attempts to combine the hallmarks of both the models cited above—Brecht's abstract, conceptual titles, and Young's

interest in either droning or repetitive structures that continue for long periods of time. The score for *Architecture (for GB)*—the GB being Brecht’s initials—which is dated 28 April 1963, the day before it was mailed to Patterson, contains the following instructions:

Look at a wall  
Memorize it  
Go away and wait a week  
Build a wall just like it  
Go away and wait a week  
Tear the new wall down  
Go away and wait a week

The instructional text then loops through this sequence three more times (to the bottom of the card), followed by “&c,” so that, in theory, the sequence should be repeated ad infinitum, or at least a large number of times. For a sense of the scale of repetition that these artists were interested in, one might look to Young’s *X for Henry Flynt* (April 1960), a.k.a. *Arabic Numeral (Any Integer) to H. F.*, which calls for a single chord to be sounded at regular intervals for a number of times to be decided prior to each performance (see chapter 5). Young’s score for this work, which he sent to the pianist David Tudor in hopes of having him perform it, provides 1,688 and 2,219 as examples of integers that might be selected.<sup>6</sup> Or, one might look to the epic eighteen-hour-and-forty-minute performance of 840 consecutive renditions of Erik Satie’s *Vexations* (ca. 1893–94) organized by John Cage and presented on 9–10 September 1963 at the Pocket Theatre in New York.

In this frame of reference, and in light of Patterson’s own compositions utilizing everyday materials, such as *Paper Piece* (1960; see chapter 4), Patterson might have viewed Mac Low’s *Architecture* as a *musical* composition—the sounds resulting from the acts of looking at, memorizing, building, and tearing down a wall, with specified intervals or rests between each “movement.” Note, however, that even

just the rest intervals that are to be performed during the four rounds of instructions that appear before the “&c.” would require a minimum of twelve *weeks* to perform. A larger number of repetitions could easily require years or even decades to be performed, perhaps even exceeding the life expectancy of any one individual.

Most readers, myself included, will likely engage with the work more figuratively — as a prompt for some kind of meditation or reflection — rather than attempt a performance of it. If we read “Architecture” as a poetic or literary work, for instance, we may see in it an allusion to the story of Bodhidharma, the monk who is said to have brought Chan Buddhism to China in the fifth or sixth century CE after a ten-year-long meditation in front of a wall. The thin, ragged column of text has the look of a poem, after all, and the repetition might even be seen as a playful reintroduction of rhyme in a free-verse context.

But whereas a postcard containing the typewritten text of “Architecture” the poem could be considered a finished piece on its own, the same postcard containing Mac Low’s *Architecture* the musical work has the intermediate status of a score. The work itself is only realized in a given performance. Likewise, *Architecture* might be considered a dramatic composition for the theater: the script for a play containing no dialogue, only mise-en-scène and stage directions. The script may be printed out, but the work itself must be realized in a performance. This dramatic/theatrical work, too, would have a powerfully resonant context within the midcentury avant-garde and within Mac Low’s specific artistic network: Antonin Artaud’s proposals for the “Theater of Cruelty” genre in his collection of essays *Le Théâtre et son double* (1938) were an important influence on Mac Low’s collaborators Judith Malina and Julian Beck of the Living Theatre. Artaud’s ideas would come to wider renown through M. C. Richards’s English translation, published in 1958.<sup>7</sup> Arguing that the mere performance of dialogue is not sufficient to distinguish theatrical works from

novels or other printed works that can be read aloud, Artaud called for spectacles that would “put an end to the subjugation of the theater to the text” and instead foreground “all the means of expression utilizable on the stage, such as music, dance, plastic arts, pantomime, mimicry, gesticulation, intonation, architecture, lighting, and scenery.”<sup>8</sup>

Another postcard score, *Schedule (for George Brecht)* (1963), has a repetitive structure that mirrors that of *Architecture* but creates challenges for the performer from an entirely different angle. In two narrow columns, the text of the score repeats sixteen iterations of the following instructions: “Sleep awhile / Wake up / Do something,” followed by an ellipsis. If *Architecture* appears to require the concentration of a Buddhist saint, *Schedule* seems designed to expose the polar opposite of virtuosic difficulty, namely that of extreme ease of realization. Rather than presenting difficulties that are nearly impossible to overcome, the score of *Schedule* is ineluctable: it is so effortless to realize that it is, in effect, impossible *not* to perform the work short of falling into a coma or dying. Under normal living conditions, an ideal performance is virtually effortless, whether one intends one’s daily activities to be part of the work or not. Indeed, it may not even be possible to *intentionally* begin a performance of this work, given that the instructions start with the largely involuntary act of sleeping.<sup>9</sup>

In composing texts that explore these extreme poles of performability — from impossible difficulty to inescapable ease — Mac Low seems to be intentionally provoking his colleagues to confront whether the practical concerns of real-world performances should or should not be considered as an essential component of the still-emerging genre of the event score. In short, does it matter whether a score can be performed in the real world, or are Fluxus event scores, at the end of the day, little more than playful thought experiments? These questions and distinctions become



most pressing, however, in Mac Low's three *Social Project* scores:

*Social Project 1*: Find a way to end unemployment /  
or / find a way for people to live without employment  
/ make whichever one you find work

*Social Project 2*: Find a way to end war / make it work

*Social Project 3*: Find a way to produce everything  
everybody needs and to get it to them / make it work

Are these pieces not, in effect, impossible to perform, or are they possible only to attempt? Much like the other postcards, the *Social Projects* seem designed to dramatically expose the outer edges of our conception of performance. But even supposing that one of the *Social Project* scores were to be successfully performed, further problems remain for conceiving of them as performance works. The piece could never be performed again because the preexisting state of affairs (war, hunger, need) would have been eradicated and would no longer be available as materials/media with which the artists could perform the work (similar to any work that requires the complete exhaustion of some limited resource). However far-fetched an initial realization might be for one of these works, the impossibility of a second performance seems to run counter to one of the most minimal criteria for the definition of a "score": namely, that the score be capable of generating multiple performances, allowing for divergent interpretations to emerge over time and extend the possibilities of the work with each new performance or realization.

This collision of practical and conceptual concerns regarding the nature of the performance score would likely have been extremely relevant to Mac Low's artistic colleagues, who were busy preparing inventive new performances of Fluxus event scores for the festivals that were planned for the summer of 1963 in the United States and Europe. As a historical matter, though, there was an

even more immediate point of reference for Patterson and the other recipients of Mac Low's postcards: the two-page, single-spaced, all-caps response that Mac Low had mailed just four days earlier, on 25 April 1963, to all of the Fluxus "members" who had received Maciunas's *Fluxus News — Policy Letter, no. 6* (dated 6 April 1963), which contained proposals for "Fluxus Propaganda" activities that Maciunas had drafted with Henry Flynt. Flynt's and Maciunas's proposed protest actions were explicitly Marxist-Leninist, and in some cases they were violent expressions of anti-art agitprop (for example, calling in bomb threats to cultural institutions in order to divert audiences to Fluxus events) that were incompatible with Mac Low's long-held pacifist and anarchist beliefs.<sup>10</sup> The proposed actions also clashed with Mac Low's sense of individualism, which led him to resist being named as a member of any particular political group, even those with which he largely agreed.<sup>11</sup>

In his 25 April letter, Mac Low writes:

I INSIST THAT ALL CULTURAL ACTIVITIES BE TRULY BENEVOLENT & POSITIVE & DONE IN A SPIRIT OF LOVE RATHER THAN ONE OF SCORNFUL CONTEMPT OR HATRED OR POLEMIC. I WD NOT, EXCEPT IN CERTAIN EXCEPTIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES, BOTHER TO ATTACK &/OR DEFILE WRONG TYPES OF CULTURAL ACTIVITY. I WD RATHER CARRY ON THE RIGHT KINDS OF CULTURAL ACTIVITY (OR ANY OTHER ACTIVITY, FOR THAT MATTER) & BY DOGGED PERSEVERANCE DO ALL I CAN TO REPLACE THE NEGATIVE BY THE POSITIVE, TRUSTING THAT ANY STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION IS A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION & THAT BY ENOUGH SUCH STEPS WE WILL BE ABLE TO SUPERSEDE AN UNDESIRABLE SITUATION BY A DESIRABLE ONE. WE WON'T BE ABLE TO DO THIS BY MAKING IT HARDER FOR THE ORDINARY WORKER TO MAKE

## HIS LIVING OR TO GET ABOUT THE CITY OR TO COMMUNICATE.

Those who received his letter of protest to *Policy Letter, no. 6* likely would have seen his *Social Project* postcard texts in light of this dispute—perhaps even as a restatement of his arguments in a format uniquely tailored to the Fluxus members he hoped to persuade. That is, instead of a two-page, all-caps rant, which Maciunas would refer to as one of the “hysterical outbursts . . . from people who failed to read the attached sheet [to *Policy Letter, no. 6*],”<sup>12</sup> Mac Low presents his objections in the form of a Fluxus event score. In doing so, he calls on his interlocutors to articulate more clearly the ethical stances and theories of social change that were being implicitly invoked in this newly expanded model of artistic performance.

Viewed as a group, the six postcards Mac Low mailed to Patterson in April 1963 explore several axes along which the idea of the score was expanding: as public or collective performance, private reflection, political action, an art form of the everyday, an orientation towards process, and a tool for artistic collaboration. At the same time, these scores maintain their connection to existing genres and performance contexts such as mail art, protest art, poetry, music, and theater. Nonetheless, their richness derives less from the pure potentiality of all these possible modes than from the need to make and commit to choices among them along the way to a realization: to find a way and make it work.

### Notes

The author wishes to thank to Benjamin Bishop, Alexis Briley, Aaron Hodges, and Sarah Senk for their feedback on earlier versions of this essay.

1. For an image of Ammons’s manuscript for this work, see Archie Ammons Papers, #14-12-2665, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections,

2. Patterson's own self-published *Methods and Processes* (Paris, 1962) was an important early collection of such scores, along with George Brecht's *Water Yam* (1963) and Yoko Ono's *Grapefruit* (1964).
3. Nicholas Zurbrugg, "Jackson Mac Low Interviewed by Nicholas Zurbrugg" (16 January 1991), *Crayon* 1 (1997): 277–78. Mac Low notes that "all of Young's 1960 compositions and Brecht's card pieces were written long before Fluxus was 'founded' by Maciunas," 288.
4. Zurbrugg, "Jackson Mac Low Interviewed by Nicholas Zurbrugg," 264–65.
5. Mac Low's script consists of an "action pack" of approximately fourteen hundred playing cards containing single-line instructions for the play's nine performers. Cards are distributed to the actors by a silent "dice player" who also manipulates the playback of Cage's tape-loop score. See Jackson Mac Low, *Representative Works: 1938–1985* (New York: Roof, 1986), 44–51. For Cage's tape-loop score and a nine-minute recording, see John Cage, *Music for "The Marrying Maiden"* (New York: Henmar Press, 1960), Edition Peters nos. 6737 (score) and 6737a (tape).
6. For the version of *X for Henry Flynt* that Young sent to Tudor, see David Tudor Papers, 980039, box 14, folder 9, and the recording in box 34A, item R325, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.
7. Antonin Artaud, *The Theater and Its Double*, trans. Mary Caroline Richards (New York: Grove, 1958). For further discussion in this volume of Artaud and of Richards's translation of *The Theater and Its Double*, see the "Music, Scores, and Indeterminacy" and "Scoring Intermedia" sections of the introduction, and the commentaries by Michael Gallope and Nancy Perloff in chapter 2 and Gallope in chapter 3.
8. Artaud, *Theater and Its Double*, 89, 40.
9. The notion of an involuntary or unintended presentation of a performance score will be taken up again in chapter 9 on Alison Knowles's *Identical Lunch*.
10. Mac Low's commitment to pacifist anarchism dates back at least to the early 1940s, when he published a series of interviews with conscientious objectors who were imprisoned for refusing to serve in the U.S. armed forces during World War II. For Mac Low's anarchist writings and political activism, see Louis Cabri, "'Rebus Effort Remove Government': Jackson Mac Low, Why? / Resistance, Anarcho-pacifism," *Crayon* 1 (1997): 45–68; Andrew Cornell, *Unruly Equality: U.S. Anarchism in the 20th Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016), 163, 183–87; and Al Filreis, "Adjustment and Its Discontents: Aleatory Art vs. Cold War Deradicalization," in *1960: When Art and Literature Confronted the Memory of World War II and Remade the Modern* (New York: Columbia

- University Press, 2021), 131–63. For more on the dispute between Mac Low and Maciunas regarding art/anti-art/art engagé, see Cuauhtémoc Medina, “The ‘Kulturbolschewiken’ I: Fluxus, the Abolition of Art, the Soviet Union, and ‘Pure Amusement,’” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 48 (2005): 179–92; and Cuauhtémoc Medina, “The ‘Kulturbolschewiken’ II: Fluxus, Khrushchev, and the ‘Concretist Society,’” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 49–50 (2006): 231–43. See also Dick Higgins, *Intermedia, Fluxus, and the Something Else Press*, ed. Steve Clay and Ken Friedman (Catskill, NY: Siglio, 2018).
11. Jackson Mac Low’s papers at the University of California at San Diego contain a collage of newspaper clippings about a protest action that Mac Low participated in on 15 June 1955, which vividly illustrates his sense of political individualism. The state of New York had ordered a mandatory air-raid drill in which the public was instructed to practice what to do in the event of a hypothetical five-megaton hydrogen bomb attack. Mac Low was among a group of pacifist protesters who gathered outside in a Manhattan park near New York City Hall, arguing that such preparatory drills only served the purpose of normalizing and accepting as inevitable the idea of thermonuclear conflict. They further argued that the drill coerced the public into acting as though a conflict involving such destructive weapons would be survivable and called for an end to nuclear weapons testing and other activities intended to prepare for, rather than prevent, war.  

Approximately thirty protesters were arrested for refusing to take shelter during the exercise, including the well-known activists Dorothy Day, Ammon Hennacy, and Bayard Rustin. Mac Low’s individualist anarchist politics are evident in the article by Malcolm Logan for the *New York World-Telegram* and *The Sun*: “The demonstrators were members of The Catholic Workers, the War Resisters League, and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, plus one man, Jackson MacLow, 32, who said he was not a member of any of these groups.” See the collage of newspaper clippings documenting Jackson Mac Low’s arrest—along with Dorothy Day of the Catholic Worker, Bayard Rustin of the War Resisters League, and others—for refusing to participate in a nationwide mandatory air-raid drill, ca. June 1955, UC San Diego Special Collections and Archives, Jackson Mac Low Papers, MSS 180, box 32, folder 4.
  12. George Maciunas, addendum to *Fluxus News—Policy Letter*, no. 6 (1963), reprinted in *FLUXUS etc. Addenda I*, ed. Jon Hendricks (New York: Ink &, 1983), 159.

8. Yvonne Rainer: *We Shall Run*  
(1963)

Julia Bryan-Wilson

Despite a wealth of critical writing about the photographic documentation of the choreographer Yvonne Rainer's influential performances, surprisingly little attention has been paid to the range and complexity of her dance scores.<sup>1</sup> In fact, the term "score" itself has been inconsistently applied to the diverse set of notations she employed to transcribe sequences of bodily actions onto the page (including typed instructions, hand-drawn directional arrows, stick-figure drawings, penciled text on graph paper, gridded boxes listing numbers of steps, and color-coded lines); these have also been called, by Rainer and others, "floorplans," "people plans," "sketches," "diagrams," "charts," "patterns," and "designs."<sup>2</sup>

Throughout the 1960s, Rainer experimented with how best to capture gestures on the page. As the proliferating terms for her notational practices suggest, she never landed upon any standardized system. For Rainer, and for others involved in dance in the United States in that decade, the score operated as a tool or device that could cycle between several tenses: in one sense, it was forward-looking, functioning as a motor of composition as it suggested, ordered, and systematized motions to be performed. Rainer's scores were also backward-facing, used retrospectively to record and preserve what had already occurred so that (reorienting once again toward the future) her dances might be remembered and repeated. An early mention of Rainer's score-making dates from her formative summer in 1960 at Anna Halprin's Northern California experimental dance workshop, where Rainer immersed

herself in “short projects and assignments involving objects, tasks, fragmented speech or vocal sounds,” resulting in a score titled *Sonata for Screen Door, Flashlight, and Dancer* (1960), the soundtrack of which was created using a squeaky door hinge.<sup>3</sup> Halprin, for her part, had a conflicted relationship to scores, noting they could be used to “generate creativity” but also cautioning that “translating a movement experience into a series of words on the page is so contrary to the kinesthetic experience.”<sup>4</sup>

In New York in the fall of 1960, as part of Robert Dunn’s dance composition course conducted at the Merce Cunningham Studio, Rainer pored over John Cage’s musical scores and used them as springboards for her own chance-based operations. Dunn’s assignments circulated around his conviction that the score, understood capaciously as a set of written parameters or guidelines to be interpreted, opened up new possibilities for indeterminacy and could spark evolving vocabularies for movement. As he told the dance historian Sally Banes: “Graphic notation is a way of inventing the dance. It is part of the conception of the dance.”<sup>5</sup> Within the context of Dunn’s workshop, Rainer tested out scores such as *Watering Place* (ca. 1960), in which two concentric circles, bisected by spoke-like radiating lines, appear to spatialize routes traveled across the floor from an aerial perspective. At the bottom of the page are further instructions regarding pace and carriage, for example “taut,” “relaxed,” and “slow” (fig. 8.1).

For her breakthrough solo *Three Satie Spoons* (1961), Rainer worked off of both Cage’s *Fontana Mix* (1958) and Erik Satie’s *Trois Gymnopédies* (1888) to produce a multimodal script that included granular textual descriptions of activities—beginning with “index fingers touch cheeks, then stretch mouth, right finger releases mouth”—together with schematic stick figures showing the arrangement of limbs and torso and with color-coded lines indicating movement phrases (fig. 8.2). She used a similar scoring strategy for a solo dance, *The Bells*, composed the

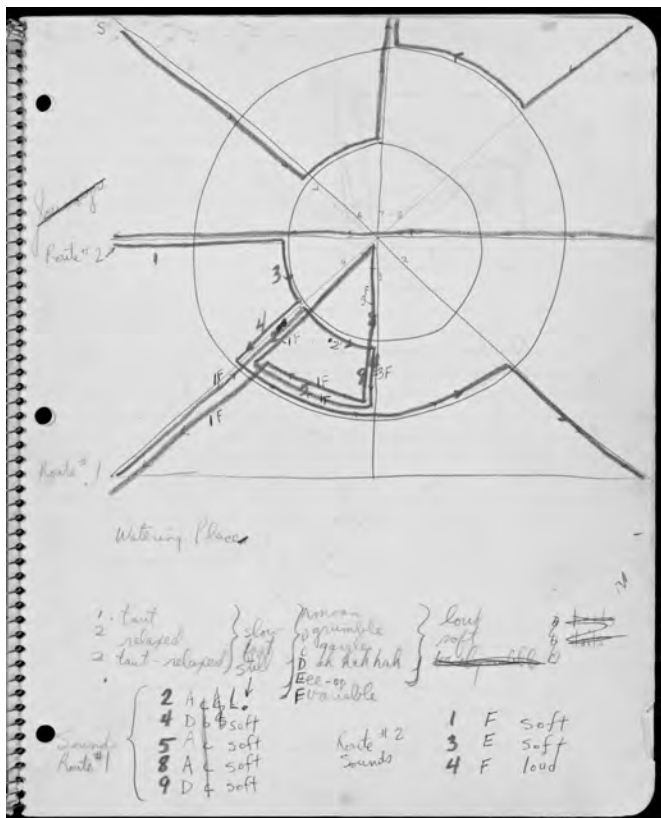


Fig. 8.1 Yvonne Rainer (American, b. 1934). Notebook page related to *Watering Place*, ca. 1960. Getty Research Institute, Yvonne Rainer Papers, 2006.M.24, box 1, folder 2. Used with Permission. © Yvonne Rainer. [getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/448/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/448/)



same year (fig. 8.3). Recruiting many representational genres in these early notebooks that span the conceptual and the denotative, she used text, cardinal direction initials, numbers, drawings, and parallel lines to signal orientations, poses, and temporal units; the drawings with abstracted lines are arresting in their own right as visual objects. On other pages, she cataloged body parts (arms, hands, legs, feet) and listed accompanying action verbs—ones recognizably drawn from the repertoire of everyday life rather than ones that require specialized dance expertise—such as, for hands, “rubbing/clapping/trembling/touching/sliding” (figs. 8.4, 8.5).

This recruitment of found motion did not mean, however, that Rainer was not concerned with subtle details and controlled execution; in fact, it was quite the contrary. “Emphasis [is] on precision of movement and following of rules rather than humor,” she wrote in her notes and draft instructions from 1962.<sup>6</sup> These examples demonstrate how Rainer understood the score as a formal container that could strip dance of its overly expressive and narrative qualities. Indeed, dance scores in the 1960s were understood to have both practical and political implications. As Deborah Jowitt has commented: “Those with no access to studio space could bring in a dance in the form of instructions to be interpreted on the spot. But, more important, scores could undermine habit, artifice, premeditation and present both choreographers and performers in the role of problem-solvers. A score could push art-by-inspiration out of the picture and still foster an individual approach.”<sup>7</sup> Eliminating the demand for virtuosity was viewed as a way to allow for different kinds of movement enacted by many types of bodies.

This method of providing stripped-down instructions so that others, including those not familiar with the specialized vocabularies of dance, might follow along, has continued within Rainer’s practice. In March 2020, she adapted her piece *Terrain*, from 1963, into a dance titled

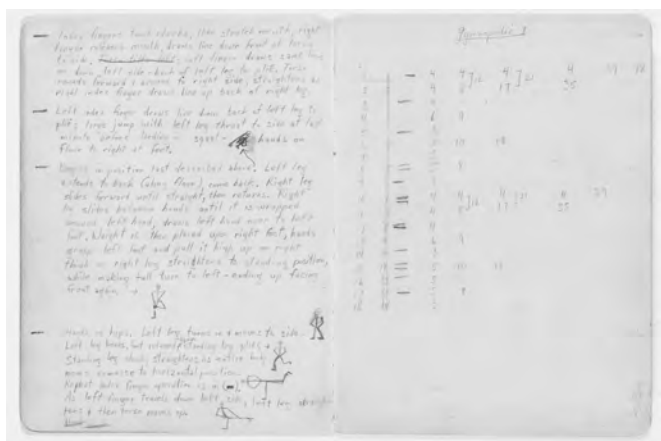


Fig. 8.2 Yvonne Rainer (American, b. 1934). Notebook sketches for *Three Satie Spoons*, 1961. Getty Research Institute, Yvonne Rainer Papers, 2006.M.24, box 1, folder 4. Used with Permission. © Yvonne Rainer. [getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/470/#fig-470-d](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/470/#fig-470-d)

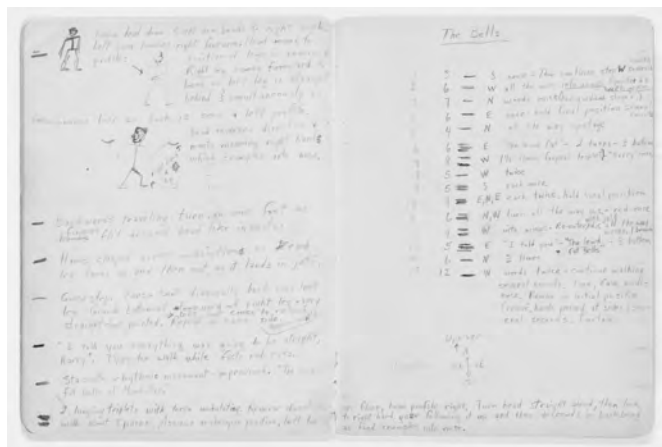


Fig. 8.3 Yvonne Rainer (American, b. 1934). Notebook sketch for *The Bells*, 1961. Getty Research Institute, Yvonne Rainer Papers, 2006.M.24, box 1, folder 4. Used with Permission. © Yvonne Rainer.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/470/#fig-470-e](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/470/#fig-470-e)

ARMS	HANDS
1 arm curved	rubbing - flat or fist
down - front - over side	clapping - " "
2 arms curved - d f o s	trembling - " "
1 arm straight - d f o s	touching - " "
2 arms straight - d f o s	sliding - " "
all gestures + all positions	opening + closing
in other movements	twiddling
waving arm or arms - d f o s	fingers touching
pushing arm or arms - d f o s	
hands on hips - or 1 hand	ELBOWS
hands on shoulders - or 1 hand	lifting falling
hands on head - or 1 hand	circling
arms folded	trembling
behind head	LOWER ARM
behind body	(top + bottom)
	see HANDS +
	somewhat ARMS

Fig. 8.4 Yvonne Rainer (American, b. 1934). Notes on arms, hands, legs, and feet, from Rainer's dance scripts notebook, ca. 1962. Getty Research Institute, Yvonne Rainer Papers, 2006.M.24, box 30, folder 10. Used with Permission. © Yvonne Rainer.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/466/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/466/)

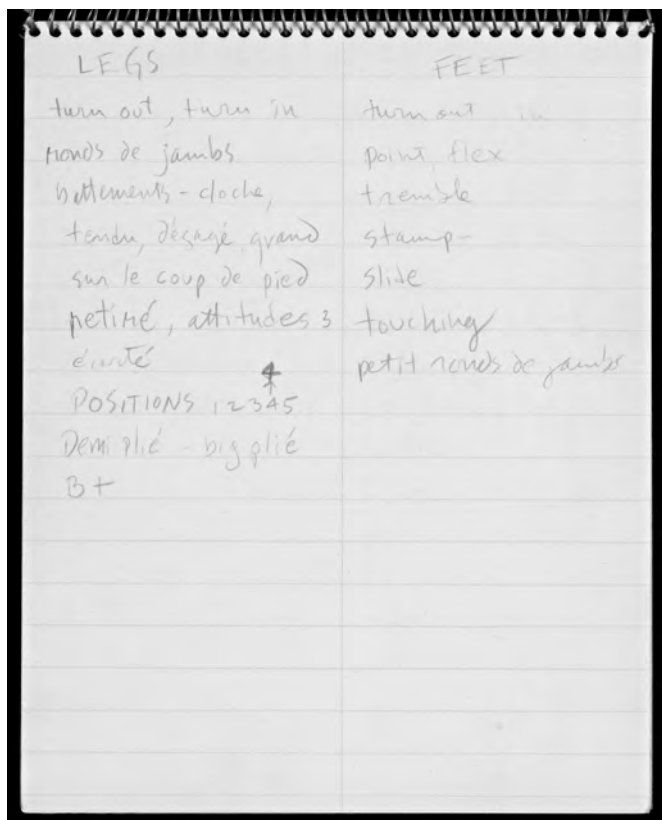


Fig. 8.5 Yvonne Rainer (American, b. 1934). Notes on arms, hands, legs, and feet, from Rainer's dance scripts notebook, ca. 1962. Getty Research Institute, Yvonne Rainer Papers, 2006.M.24, box 30, folder 10. Used with Permission. © Yvonne Rainer.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/466/#fig-466-b](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/466/#fig-466-b)

*Passing and Jostling While Confined to a Small Apartment*, which appeared in the *New York Times* as a series of written prompts and photographs for readers to enact, as a means to enliven the claustrophobic early days of the COVID-19 lockdown.<sup>8</sup> These “rules,” as she called them, and which she emphasized must be “clear and strict,” included directions with variables such as “the walker can choose to bump, lightly, into the standing person; that’s ‘jostling,’ and it can free the standing person to get back in motion.” Performers were welcome to follow the rules in endless permutations provided they adhere to the dance’s parameters.

Rainer’s initial exploration of ordinary movements reached a kind of apex with *We Shall Run*, which premiered at the gym of New York’s Judson Memorial Church. In this dance, twelve performers—a mix of both trained and untrained dancers, all referred to in Rainer’s program notes as “runners”—first stand for about five minutes, then commence jogging with their arms at waist level in choreographed formations that cluster, splinter off, and regroup (fig. 8.6).<sup>9</sup> The protracted stillness of the long opening minutes is contrasted by the later brisk, even cadence as the runners swarm in a mass, break apart, and gather again within constantly rearranging energetic patterns. In photographic documentation of a performance from 1965, their non-dancerly, pedestrian motions are emphasized by their sporting of bare feet and street clothes, including Alex Hay in a suit and tie, Sally Gross in a printed dress, and Deborah Hay in a T-shirt and sweatpants. *We Shall Run* is accompanied by a recording of the “Tuba mirum” passage of Hector Berlioz’s *Requiem* (1837), a swelling bombastic chorus that was meant as an ironic contrast to the laconic presentation of bodies. Yet, as Carrie Lambert-Beatty has observed, “Despite the simplicity of the jogging motion it deploys, *We Shall Run* is so complex as to perversely resemble the requiem’s interwoven melodies, repeating lines of text, and groupings of voices and

instruments.”<sup>10</sup> The organizational elements of *We Shall Run* are, in fact, notoriously complicated; though it is composed of only one basic step, this does not eliminate its difficulty. Lucinda Childs recalled that it was “hard to keep it in my head,” and Tony Holder created his own flip-card score to help him remember the sequence.<sup>11</sup>

Rainer’s pencil-on-paper scores for *We Shall Run* emphasize rather than reduce this difficulty. Using arrows, lines, and numbers, she turns the page into an analogue of the gym floor; she diagrams, via foot-track vectors pictured from above, how the dance sends bodies across space (figs. 8.7, 8.8, and 8.9). Such a movement map does not, however, convey other specific instructions: timing, how arms and hands should be positioned, or where the gaze should be directed. *We Shall Run* is an example of Rainer’s scores at their most graphically dynamic, with its assured draftsmanship of looping curlicues set against more geometric angles and neatly parallel channels fanning out like fingers on a splayed hand. A scrawled tangle of lines—a mistake seemingly crossed out in haste—is redrawn just below as a careful spiral (see fig. 8.8). Certain clear shorthands that appear here recur across other scores, such as the small letters *DS*, indicating downstage.

It is worth stressing that Rainer’s scores are by and large not autonomous or transparent; most cannot be picked up and performed correctly on the basis of what is on the page alone. While her written instructions or rules for game-like pieces such as *Passing and Jostling* can effectively convey her dances, the sketches, charts, and maps are usually not technical drawings that can be used as faithful guides by themselves. For Rainer, such barely denotative jottings indicate that the score functioned conceptually as a broad methodology rather than as a narrowly pedagogical or utilitarian aid. The floorplans for *We Shall Run* and a later, related dance—the “running” section of Rainer’s *Trio B* (1968), which uses similar arrows and numbers to indicate how many steps to take in any one direction—retain a large



Fig. 8.6 Yvonne Rainer (American, b. 1934). *We Shall Run* (1963), performed at the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, CT, 7 March 1965. *From left*: Rainer, Deborah Hay, Robert Rauschenberg, Robert Morris, Sally Gross, Joseph Schlichter, Tony Holder, and Alex Hay. Getty Research Institute, Yvonne Rainer Papers, 2006.M.24, box 69. Used with Permission. © Yvonne Rainer.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/446/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/446/)



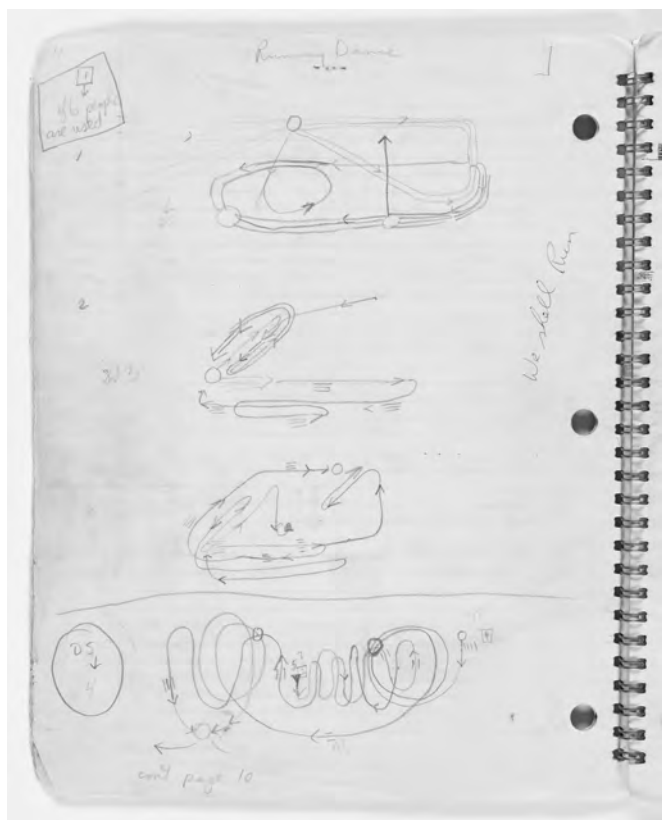


Fig. 8.7 Yvonne Rainer (American, b. 1934). Notebook sketch related to *We Shall Run*, ca. 1963. Getty Research Institute, Yvonne Rainer Papers, 2006.M.24, box 1, folder 5. Used with Permission. © Yvonne Rainer.  
[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/436/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/436/)

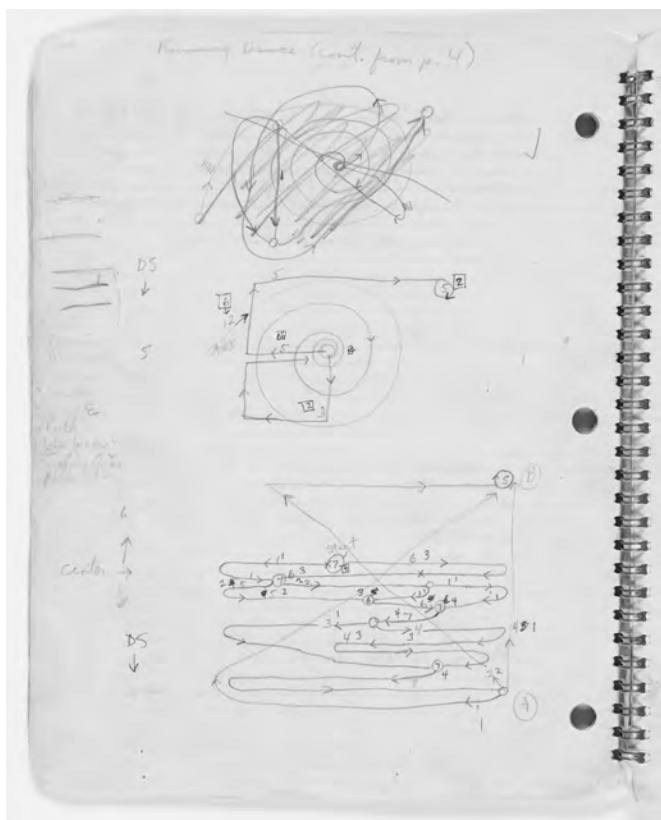


Fig. 8.8 Yvonne Rainer (American, b. 1934). Notebook sketch related to *We Shall Run*, ca. 1963. Getty Research Institute, Yvonne Rainer Papers, 2006.M.24, box 1, folder 5. Used with Permission. © Yvonne Rainer. [getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/436/#fig-436-b](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/436/#fig-436-b)



measure of ambiguity and uncertainty, if not actual illegibility with regard to how their procedures or directives might be adequately followed. How can the four elements of durational dance (space, time, force, and shape) be comprehensively translated onto a two-dimensional surface? These notations must be supplemented by moving-image documentation, oral instruction, or other bodily modes of transmission, as well as refined in rehearsals. Because of this they do not as readily circulate to be performed by others as do those scores that can be replicated and distributed with relative ease (such as musical notes on paper). Though Rainer has stated that “in some cases, the scores are indecipherable; in other cases, they will produce the dance accurately,” far fewer of her scores belong in the latter category, in part because she never adheres to any consistent scoring structure.<sup>12</sup>

In this, Rainer is hardly unique. As the dance historian Mark Franko states, there is no single, widely embraced notational system for contemporary dance.<sup>13</sup> Even the Laban system (a standardized vocabulary for notating human movement that has been used to document dance since 1940 by the Dance Notation Bureau) has been viewed as insufficient; Merce Cunningham called it “out of whack,” dismissing it as “symbol syndrome.”<sup>14</sup> Rainer, like Halprin and Cunningham before her, has expressed skepticism regarding notation for reconstructing her dances, not least because of the deficits of Labanotation for her iconic dance *Trio A* (1966).<sup>15</sup> In part because the contemporary dance sphere has not regularized its scoring practices, it has infrequently interfaced with the legal apparatus of copyright or with the publication networks that distribute musical scores. “Dance notations have no precise cultural status,” remarks Laurence Louppe, having “never been the object of official interest, and even less of institutional interest.”<sup>16</sup> Yet, when assessing the many forms that Rainer’s notations take, their improvised and makeshift quality stands out as a strength rather than a

weakness. She was experimenting not only with moving bodies but also with nimbly creating new methods of transmission as she turned to the page for choreographing, communicating, and archiving gestures. The flexibility of her scoring practices meant that Rainer was able to test out the limits of indeterminacy in her compositions, since certain freedoms might be permitted within set parameters while others might be disallowed.

Rainer's scores—be they patterns, lists, drawings, or maps—make apparent the fundamental frictions involved in charting motion onto the page. As she played with different methods for chronicling action, she underlined how variable the use of the score could be in post-Cagean dance. In doing so, she revealed that the model of the textual score might have been fruitful for 1960s choreographers not despite but *because of* the fact that it was in some ways a bad fit for dance. Its inadequacies fueled more innovation.

#### Notes

1. See Carrie Lambert-Beatty's writings about the challenges of representing Rainer's dances, especially in her seminal monographic study, *Being Watched: Yvonne Rainer and the 1960s* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008).
2. For instance, "pattern" is used to describe the pencil-and-paper version of *We Shall Run* in Elise Archias, *The Concrete Body: Yvonne Rainer, Carolee Schneemann, Vito Acconci* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016), 54. Peter Eleey calls a very similar plan (for the first part of *Trio B*, ca. 1968) a "sketch" in "If You Couldn't See Me," in Philip Bither, *Trisha Brown: So That the Audience Does Not Know Whether I Have Stopped Dancing* (Minneapolis: Walker Art Center, 2008), caption for fig. 7. Lambert-Beatty refers to the graph-paper intervals of *Parts of Some Sextets* (1965) as both a "chart" and a "score" in *Being Watched*, 87–88. In her compendium *Yvonne Rainer: Work 1961–73* (Halifax: Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1974), the artist interchangeably deploys many of these terms.
3. Yvonne Rainer, *Feelings Are Facts: A Life* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006), 193.

4. Anna Halprin, "Scores" (1969), in *Moving toward Life: Five Decades of Transformational Dance*, ed. Rachel Kaplan (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1995), 49–50.
5. Robert Dunn, quoted in Sally Banes, *Democracy's Body: Judson Dance Theater, 1962–1964* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), 7.
6. Yvonne Rainer Papers, 1871–2013, bulk 1959–2013, 2006.M.24, box 30, folder 11, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.
7. Deborah Jowitt, *Time and the Dancing Image* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 317.
8. Brian Seibert, "A D.I.Y. Dance for Your Home, from Yvonne Rainer," *New York Times*, 24 March 2020.
9. Published accounts differ as to the exact cast of dancers who participated in the premiere of *We Shall Run*. Banes's *Democracy's Body*, Rainer's *Work 1961–73*, and the published program (reproduced on page 1 of Ana Janevski and Thomas J. Lax, *Judson Dance Theater: The Work Is Never Done* [New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2018]) offer slightly varying lists. A set of costume descriptions, held in Rainer's papers at the Getty Research Institute and reproduced in the Archive section of this chapter, suggests this set of runners: Trisha Brown, Lucinda Childs, Philip Corner, June Ekman, Malcolm Goldstein, Sally Gross, Ruth Emerson, Alex Hay, Deborah Hay, Tony Holder, John Worden, and Arlene Rothlein. Later iterations, such as the version performed at the Wadsworth Atheneum in 1965 (see fig. 8.6), had different casts that included Rainer, Robert Rauschenberg, and Robert Morris.
10. Carrie Lambert-Beatty, "More or Less Minimalism: Six Notes on Performance and Visual Art in the 1960s," in *A Minimal Future? Art as Object 1958–1968*, ed. Ann Goldstein (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press / LA MOCA, 2004), 109.
11. Banes, *Democracy's Body*, 87.
12. Interview with Yvonne Rainer in *In Terms of Performance*, ed. Shannon Jackson and Paula Marincola (Philadelphia: Pew Center for Arts & Heritage, 2016), <http://intermsofperformance.site/interviews/yvonne-rainer>.
13. Mark Franko, "Writing for the Body: Notation, Reconstruction, and Reinvention in Dance," *Common Knowledge* 17, no. 2 (2011): 321–34.
14. Ann Hutchinson Guest, *Labanotation: The System of Analyzing and Recording Movement* (New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1954); and Merce Cunningham, *Changes* (New York: Something Else Press, 1968), n.p.
15. Yvonne Rainer, "Trio A: Genealogy, Documentation, Notation," *Dance Research Journal* 41, no. 2 (2009): 12–18. In 2008, I learned *Trio A* from Rainer in lessons that focused on oral directions, hands-on demonstrations, and the building of muscle memory through practice. Though I did watch moving-image recordings of her performing the dance

for reference, at no point did she consult written documents or scores.  
See Julia Bryan-Wilson, "Practicing *Trio A*," *October* 140 (Spring 2012):  
54–74.

16. Laurence Louppe, ed., *Traces of Dance: Drawings and Notations of Choreographers*, trans. Brian Holmes (Paris: Editions Dis Voir, 1994), 5.

9. Alison Knowles: *The Identical Lunch* (late 1960s–early '70s)

Emily Ruth Capper

Alison Knowles is the only woman among the founding members of Fluxus. With a background in painting and printmaking, Knowles graduated from Pratt Institute in Brooklyn in 1956, where she studied with the abstract expressionist painter Adolph Gottlieb and the German émigré illustrator and painter Richard Lindner.<sup>1</sup> Her study of the visual arts left an imprint on her later work. Lindner, for example, directed his students to draw urban street scenes from life, an assignment that might be seen to reverberate in Knowles's sustained interest in social observation.<sup>2</sup> After graduation, Knowles studied briefly at Syracuse University with the famed Black Mountain College instructor Josef Albers.<sup>3</sup> Although she was an uneasy fit for Albers's occasionally strict approach to pedagogy, Knowles's mature work builds upon the pragmatic aspect of his experimentalism. In an echo of Albers's material studies, many of her works explore the manifold possibilities of ordinary and accessible materials, and Knowles's goal of overcoming habitual perception through rigorous acts of attention is broadly consistent with Albers's philosophy of visual education.<sup>4</sup>

Though Knowles started out as a painter, she pushed the medium beyond its customary bounds by exploring the practice of silkscreen printing on canvas.<sup>5</sup> In 1960, she met Dick Higgins, who would become her lifelong partner.<sup>6</sup> Trained in literature and music, Higgins had taken John Cage's influential experimental composition course at the New School for Social Research in the summer of 1958, alongside George Brecht and Allan Kaprow (fig. 9.1).



Knowles came to know Cage's work through Higgins and, in turn, became interested in chance procedures, which she adapted for use in her paintings, for instance by tossing coins and consulting the *I Ching*, the ancient Chinese book of divination, when deciding where to place colors.<sup>7</sup>

The inaugural Fluxus concert tour to Europe in 1962 marked a key turning point in her career. She had joined the tour as a committed performer of her friends' event scores, but the pressure cooker of the nightly concerts inspired her to become a composer in her own right. As she recalled in 1985: "We knew there were a few hundred people showing up each night, so we got it together, often just before the performance. It was under this duress and excitement that I started to write my own. I started with 'Make a Salad.'"<sup>8</sup> First published under the title #2—*Proposition (October, 1962)*, the score for *Make a Salad* led to a premiere performance in which she did exactly that, chopping lettuce, cucumbers, and carrots and mixing these ingredients with blue cheese in a large pickle barrel (figs. 9.2, 9.3).<sup>9</sup> In subsequent decades, experimental scores became a fundamental component of her practice: Knowles wrote new scores while repeatedly reworking and reinterpreting a few of her iconic early scores (principally *Make a Salad* and *The Identical Lunch*).

One novel axis of Knowles's work can be found in her distinctive use of materials and social rituals. While other Fluxus artists incorporated food into their event scores, Knowles explored particular foods at length while foregrounding the attendant rituals of preparing and serving them. For example, in an echo of the midcentury fashion for anthropological universals, she produced a series of works that playfully cataloged the many uses and meanings of a single ingredient: the bean. Her celebrated Fluxus multiple *The Bean Rolls* (1963) featured dried beans rattling around in a repurposed tea tin alongside more than a dozen rolls of paper, with quotes taken from her library research on the significance of beans across a number of world cultures (fig.



Fig. 9.1 Dick Higgins and Jackson Mac Low participating in John Cage's experimental composition class, New School for Social Research, New York, NY, summer 1958. Photo: Harvey Y. Gross. Harvey Y. Gross/John Cage Trust.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/558/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/558/)

#2 —

**Proposition (October, 1962)**

Make a salad.

Premiered October 21st, 1962 at Institute for Contemporary Arts in London.

Fig. 9.2 Alison Knowles (American, b. 1933). Score for #2—*Proposition (October, 1962) (Make a Salad)*. From Alison Knowles, *By Alison Knowles, A Great Bear Pamphlet* (New York: Something Else Press, 1965), 2. Getty Research Institute, item 94-B22032. © Alison Knowles.  
[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/475/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/475/)



Fig. 9.3 Alison Knowles performing #2—*Proposition (October, 1962) (Make a Salad)*, at Festival of Misfits, Institute of Contemporary Arts, London, 24 October 1962, gelatin silver print. The Gilbert and Lila Silverman Fluxus Collection Gift. Digital Image © The Museum of Modern Art/Licensed by SCALA / Art Resource, NY; © Alison Knowles. [getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/476/](https://www.getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/476/)

9.4).<sup>10</sup> The focus on beans grew out of her experience cooking inexpensive and nutritious meals, often for large groups of people, but she also took inspiration from Cage's encyclopedic knowledge of mushrooms.<sup>11</sup>

In *Make a Salad* (1962) and subsequent event scores, Knowles focused on cooking and eating as social processes. Others in her milieu, namely Cage and David Tudor, were similarly interested in cooking, particularly with Asian recipes and ingredients, but never considered this activity part of their formal creative practices.<sup>12</sup> In crafting her scores, Knowles tinkered with the form of the recipe—with its list of accessible tools and ingredients and its direct and instrumental use of language—and explored the possibility that the event score and the recipe might be virtually coextensive forms.<sup>13</sup> In *Make a Salad* and its companion piece, *Make a Soup* (1964), however, the recipe is reduced to an indeterminate skeleton, because Knowles does not list any particular ingredients or actions. Whereas the typical recipe takes for granted a definite outcome and assumed criteria for good and bad results, Knowles's scores intentionally generate variation and even perplexity. She included the score for *The Identical Lunch* (late 1960s–early 70s) in her *Journal of the Identical Lunch* (1971), a compendium of materials related to varied dimensions of the work as it was performed and realized. As with other books she produced, Knowles regarded it not as mere documentation but as an independent work.<sup>14</sup>

Knowles's *Identical Lunch* is one of the more difficult artworks in *The Scores Project* to describe, since it reorders the elements of score, realization, and documentation in novel ways. The nearly mythic story of its genesis is an important part of the work, so I will recount its broad outlines here. In 1965, Knowles and Higgins moved from their industrial SoHo loft to a large brownstone in Chelsea at 238 West 22nd Street.<sup>15</sup> They lived on the first floor with their twin daughters while Higgins operated Something Else Press on the second floor and Knowles shared a studio with



Fig. 9.4 Alison Knowles (American, b. 1933). *Bear Rolls from Fluxkit*, 1965, metal tin with offset label, containing nine beans and fourteen offset scrolls. Museum of Modern Art, item 2182.2008.10. The Gilbert and Lila Silverman Fluxus Collection Gift. Digital Image © The Museum of Modern Art / Licensed by SCALA / Art Resource, NY; © Alison Knowles. [getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/477/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/477/)

the Fluxus composer Philip Corner on the top floor.<sup>16</sup> Sometime in 1967, when her daughters were toddlers, Knowles developed the habit of getting out of the house for lunch. She would walk a few blocks to a bustling neighborhood diner called Riss Restaurant and repeatedly order the same meal: “a tunafish sandwich on wheat toast with lettuce and butter, no mayo and a large glass of buttermilk.”<sup>17</sup> Knowles notes that this lunch, while ordinary, was the diner’s best offering. Ordering the same thing as a matter of routine also saved her time and energy, freeing her mind to think of other things. Knowles herself called it “a convenience and time-saver.”<sup>18</sup>

Corner, who was her frequent lunch companion in those days, prompted a transformation of the ontology of the lunch from an unconscious habit to a highly self-conscious performance. One day in 1968, he pointed out that her order resembled an event score. In a test of Corner’s thesis, Knowles began to document her daily lunch performances in what she called her “Journal of the Identical Lunch.” She subsequently published excerpts from this journal in an experimental literary magazine, *The Outsider*, in which she also set down the first formal version of the score, which reads: “a tunafish sandwich on wheat toast with lettuce and butter, no mayo and a large glass of buttermilk was and is eaten many days of each week at the same place at about the same time.”<sup>19</sup> Over the next few years, Knowles disseminated the score among a network of friends. In turn, she asked them to realize *The Identical Lunch* and share documentation of these realizations, which she compiled in 1971 as *Journal of the Identical Lunch*. This publication, which was in a sense collaborative, inspired further realizations, such as Philip Corner’s 1973 book, George Maciunas’s symphony version, and other versions by Knowles herself.

The complex ontology of Knowles’s score for *The Identical Lunch* is crystallized in the form of its single sentence, particularly in its use of multiple tenses and

temporalities. She employs both the past and present tense when she writes that “a tunafish sandwich . . . was and is eaten.” In her *Journal of the Identical Lunch*, Knowles adds the future tense, asserting that, “New Lunches will include many other people and their own performances.”<sup>20</sup> Knowles thereby makes explicit the often implicit temporality of the score, which exists in the present and intends future action but also conjures a speculative history of past performance. As discussed in chapter 11, Allan Kaprow’s “activity booklets” similarly condense multiple temporalities of the score through his use of documentary photographs that are posed and framed to be prescriptive and future-oriented.

Consonant with Knowles’s use of the past tense in the score, she devotes most of her *Journal* to a rich variety of documentation of various performances: We flip through Riss receipts, hand-drawn diagrams, documentary photographs, and correspondence on index cards. Emerging from this material diversity is a polyphony of individual voices, with each performer-documentarian describing a unique scene or experience of the lunch. Such variation underscores a fundamental Cagean conceit of the work: that the identical in name is hardly identical in reality, and even less so when taking account of an individual’s experience of it.

Several performer-documentarians in Knowles’s *Journal* exhibit an unsettlingly detailed mode of attention, applying the technique of formalist close looking to the point of absurdity and even grotesquery. Knowles herself charts minute changes in the water content of the tuna she is served, detecting a consistent weekly cycle, though refraining from drawing any conclusions (such as those one might expect from, say, a Department of Health inspector). The precise meaning of the cycle, hence the purpose of her diligent effort, remains suspended and open to further interpretation.

In the artist Tom Wasmuth’s documentation, a formalist exercise in close looking veers beyond the lunch



itself to the diner's custodian, whom he marks with an ethnic stereotype, and then to the diner's floor. Wasmuth's hand-drawn diagram of a tiled floor at another establishment (the "White Diamond") almost resembles an art historian's sketch of an ancient Roman marble floor in its precision and apparent seriousness of purpose (fig. 9.5). Meanwhile, the writer and musician Lynn Lonidier experiments with a perversely close analysis of an employee's appearance, noting "the wrinkled flesh puckering from the waitress's arms."<sup>21</sup> Knowles herself records precise dates and uses somewhat obscure code names for regular customers and workers, for example "N" for herself, "F" for someone she calls "The Dog-woman," and "E" for "Flo, afternoon waitress."<sup>22</sup> And Higgins, with a touch of noir, refers to himself the consumer as a "suspect" observed in the third person: "at 12:52 ½ suspect completed the consumption of the sandwich."<sup>23</sup>

The *Journal's* sometimes humorously detailed observations can convey a feeling of ambivalence about the ritual itself. Lonidier describes her aversion to eating the lunch by using the term "nausea," and she is not the only performer-documentarian in Knowles's *Journal* to do so. In the postwar period, a can of tuna was an ambivalent object for economic and political reasons: It was a paradigmatic product of consumer society, and as such a totem of industrial capitalism's fundamental contradictions. It was affordable, relatively nutritious, and easy to prepare, thus capable of liberating working mothers—a demographic that included Knowles herself—from some degree of household drudgery. On the other hand, the mass-produced cans of processed meat could seem unnatural, formless, smelly, unappetizing, and more fit for cats than people. The glass of buttermilk Knowles orders is a similarly ambivalent object when viewed in its historical context. In their *Journal*, Knowles records having increasing difficulty obtaining it at Riss, presumably due to low demand. The obsolescence of buttermilk as a popular beverage at the time may explain



Fig. 9.5 Tom Wasmuth (American, b. 1941). Diagram, 24 June 1969. From Alison Knowles's *Journal of the Identical Lunch* (San Francisco: Nova Broadcast Press, 1971), 35. Getty Research Institute, Jean Brown Collection, item 91-B35085. Courtesy of Nova Broadcast Press. © Alison Knowles.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/478/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/478/)

Knowles's decision to add "or a cup of soup" as a possible alternative in all but the first iteration of the score.

With this sociohistorical context in mind, Knowles's transformation of the habitual lunch through conscious attention and reflection takes on added complexity. In the many interviews Knowles has given since the 1970s, she has sometimes described *The Identical Lunch* as a call to find meaning in the most ordinary things through a meditative practice of what we might now call mindfulness.<sup>24</sup> In these instances, she suggests that any favorite lunch will do, because it is the quality of disciplined attention that matters most. She has also occasionally allowed that there may be a politically progressive dimension to her use of food, since preparing and serving staples like salads, beans, and tuna has been the province of women and low-paid workers and thus systemically undervalued if not simply ignored. One could argue that framing such labor as art can help to make it visible. Alongside these committed gestures in *The Identical Lunch*, we can still detect an ambivalent energy in Knowles's 1970s-era realizations. In this way, the ordinariness of the lunch maintains at least a measure of negativity and thus preserves, in a playful manner, a reflection on alienation under modern capitalism.

Teasing out one feminist dimension of *The Identical Lunch*, the art historian Nicole L. Woods sees Knowles's work in the diner as a means of negotiating "her labour as an artist and her labour as a mother."<sup>25</sup> Indeed, as a mother of toddlers in the 1960s, Knowles took her place as a domestic worker alongside other workers on their lunch breaks. In 2000, Knowles herself noted, with regard to *Make a Salad*, that she "was the only woman in the original Fluxus group, so the piece had a dynamic feminist twist as well."<sup>26</sup> In a foregrounding of care work, Knowles developed a distinct strain of realizations of *The Identical Lunch* in which she began to prepare and serve the meal herself, such that the original setting of the Riss diner recedes into the background. For the 1969 New Year's Eve Flux-Feast at the

Fluxhouse Cooperative in SoHo, Knowles created a makeshift diner of her own in the manner of a “happening.”<sup>27</sup> Inside a translucent enclosure made of shower curtains, Knowles prepared and served the identical lunch to individual participants.<sup>28</sup> Here, the quasi-ethnographic dimension of *The Identical Lunch* persisted: Knowles took Polaroids of the participants eating lunch, some of which she transferred to silkscreen and printed on canvas.

In tandem with Knowles’s rising status in the history of art, *The Identical Lunch* has achieved iconic status, not unlike Cage’s *4’33”* (1952). In part, this is because universities and art museums have leveraged the work’s participatory and functional dimensions to engage with students and patrons. In 2011, participants could sign up to eat an *Identical Lunch* in the Museum of Modern Art’s café, with the artist herself in attendance.<sup>29</sup> Later, in 2013, at the Smart Museum at the University of Chicago, a version of the original *Identical Lunch* (buttermilk included) was added to the museum café’s menu. Regarding visits to colleges and universities, Knowles noted: “I would definitely propose that my audience have *The Identical Lunch* with me when I was through with my talk. And sometimes they could do that—they’d make us 50 identical lunches. Of course I couldn’t always get a kitchen to make it, and I didn’t enjoy eating it in front of my audience and not having them have any.”<sup>30</sup> In the gig economy of contemporary art, the meanings of *The Identical Lunch* have shifted from an observation-based working-class lunch to an iconic, highly recognizable performance. These newer meanings multiply and ramify further in the ongoing reception and interpretation of Knowles’s *Identical Lunch*, which range from new modes of cooking-as-world-making, to reflections on the twenty-first-century equivalent of tuna and the commodity character of food.

1. Alison Knowles, "Curriculum Vitae," in *Indigo Island: Art Works by Alison Knowles* (Saarbrücken, Germany: Stadtgalerie Saarbrücken, 1994), 117.
2. Hannah B. Higgins, "Love's Labor's Lost and Found: A Meditation on Fluxus, Family, and Something Else," *Art Journal* 69, nos. 1–2 (May 2010): 13. Knowles herself said, "For me the real world is the right place to start from, whether you are making art, a performance, music, or dinner." Alison Knowles, interview by Linda M. Montano, in Linda M. Montano, *Performance Artists Talking in the Eighties: Sex, Food, Money/Fame, Ritual/Death* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 173.
3. Higgins, "Love's Labor's Lost and Found," 12. Higgins does not say when Knowles studied with Albers, but it was likely during the summer of 1957, when Albers served as Visiting Instructor in Pictorial Design at Syracuse University's School of Art. See the Josef and Anni Albers Foundation Chronology, <https://www.albersfoundation.org/alberses/chronology/>.
4. Eva Díaz, *The Experimenters: Chance and Design at Black Mountain College* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015); and Jeffrey Saletnik, *Josef Albers, Late Modernism, and Pedagogic Form* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2022).
5. Díaz, *Experimenters*, 13. Dick Higgins identifies Knowles as "a silk-screen cameraman by trade" in his "Publisher's Foreword" to *The Four Suits: Benjamin Patterson, Philip Corner, Alison Knowles, and Tomas Schmit* (New York: Something Else Press, 1965), xii. He continues, "and so it was natural that she should be about the first to do the kind of multiple overlay silk screen printing that was later associated with Rauschenberg, Warhol, etc" (xii).
6. Knowles and Higgins's daughter Hannah B. Higgins establishes that her parents met in 1960 in "Eleven Snapshots of Dick Higgins," in *Intermedia, Fluxus and the Something Else Press: Selected Writings by Dick Higgins*, ed. Steve Clay and Ken Friedman (Catskill, NY: Siglio, 2018), 335. She also writes, "They married (1960), divorced (1970), became neighbors (1975), and remarried (1985) in an open manner, and lived a complex life ever after." Higgins, "Love's Labor's Lost and Found," 14.
7. Nicole L. Woods writes that "Knowles's paintings in the late 1950s . . . used the *I-Ching* for color placement," although she does not specify exactly how. Nicole L. Woods, "Object/Poems: Alison Knowles's Feminist Archite(x)ture," *XTRA* 15, no. 1 (2012): 16. Little is known about Knowles's early paintings, probably because the artist burned most of them once she became involved with Fluxus, according to Higgins, "Love's Labor's Lost and Found," 13.

8. Alison Knowles, quoted in Estera Milman, "Road Shows, Street Events, and Fluxus People: A Conversation with Alison Knowles" (1985), *Visible Language* 26, nos. 1–2 (1992): 98.
9. Nicole L. Woods notes that, while *Make a Salad* was first published and listed as #2 in Knowles's first book of scores, the ordering was Dick Higgins's mistake. Nicole L. Woods, "Taste Economies: Alison Knowles, Gordon Matta-Clark and the Intersection of Food, Time and Performance," *Performance Research: A Journal of the Performing Arts* 19, no. 3 (2014): 157. On the ingredients, see Mari Dumett, "Alison Knowles: Ritual and Routine," in *Corporate Imaginations: Fluxus Strategies for Living* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 282.
10. Knowles, in Montano, *Performance Artists Talking in the Eighties*, 174.
11. Knowles cited the New York Mycological Society, cofounded by Cage in 1962, as an important influence. Knowles, "Curriculum Vitae," 117.
12. See David Tudor, Recipes for Rum Coconut, Milk au Diable, Lime Pickle, and Buttermilk, ca. 1960s, David Tudor Papers, 980039, box 39, folders 1–2, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.
13. On cooking as meditation, see Montano, *Performance Artists Talking in the Eighties*, 175. On the score as recipe, see Milman, "Road Shows," 104; and Dumett, "Alison Knowles: Ritual and Routine," 281. Knowles makes explicit the latent connection we might observe in the Getty Research Institute's David Tudor archive between his secondary realizations and his hand-copied recipes (see chapter 2).
14. On Knowles's creative approach to the form of the book, see Julia Robinson, "The Sculpture of Indeterminacy: Alison Knowles's Beans and Variations," *Art Journal* 63, no. 4 (2004): 96–115.
15. Knowles publishes her exact address in Alison Knowles, *By Alison Knowles, A Great Bear Pamphlet* (New York: Something Else Press, 1965), 15.
16. Alison Knowles and Hannah B. Higgins, "Notes toward Indigo Island: A Conversation between Alison Knowles and Hannah Higgins," in Knowles, 100; and Dumett, "Alison Knowles: Ritual and Routine," 279.
17. Alison Knowles, "The Identical Lunch," *The Outsider* 2, nos. 4–5 (1968/69): 182.
18. Knowles, "Identical Lunch," 182.
19. Knowles, "Identical Lunch," 182.
20. Alison Knowles, *Journal of the Identical Lunch* (San Francisco: Nova Broadcast Press, 1971), inside front cover.
21. Knowles, *Journal of the Identical Lunch* (1971), 2.
22. Knowles, *Journal of the Identical Lunch* (1971), 10.
23. Higgins, quoted in Knowles, *Journal of the Identical Lunch* (1971), 5.
24. See, for example, Allie Wist, "When a Tuna Fish Sandwich Becomes a Work of Art: An Interview with 'The Identical Lunch' artist Alison

- Knowles about Tuna Sandwiches, Performance Art, and How Our Daily Rituals Can Be Vehicles for Inspiration," *Saveur*, 14 March 2018, <https://www.saveur.com/interview-identical-lunch-alison-knowles>.
25. Woods, "Taste Economies," 159.
  26. Knowles, quoted in Montano, *Performance Artists Talking in the Eighties*, 173.
  27. George Maciunas, "Invitation to Participate in New Years Eve's Flux-Feast" (1969), reprinted in Emmett Williams and Ann Noel, *Mr. Fluxus: A Collective Portrait of George Maciunas* (New York: Random House, 1998), 163; and Dumett, "Alison Knowles: Ritual and Routine," 302.
  28. Knowles recalled in 2008: "I got a shower curtain and I isolated a little space in the corner of the room and then I invited particular people to come and I served them a lunch. I had a toaster in there, and I'd mixed up the tuna fish and I had the lettuce. They'd sit down and eat the lunch there and I'd take a Polaroid of them eating and then they could talk to me about whatever." Alison Knowles, in discussion with Jessica Lynne Santone, 22 October 2008, in Jessica Lynne Santone, "Circulating the Event: The Social Life of Performance Documentation, 1965–1975" (PhD diss., McGill University, 2010), 102.
  29. "The Museum of Modern Art's Performance Exhibition Series Continues in January 2011 with Eclectic Group of Performances," press release, 20 December 2010, [https://assets.moma.org/documents/moma\\_press-release\\_387221.pdf](https://assets.moma.org/documents/moma_press-release_387221.pdf).
  30. Wist, "When a Tuna Fish Sandwich Becomes a Work of Art," n.p.

10. Mieko Shiomi: *Spatial Poem*  
(1965–75)

Natilee Harren

“Write a word (or words) on the enclosed card and place it somewhere.”

With this simple instruction, titled *Spatial Poem No. 1 (Word Event)* and sent out to an international mailing list of over a hundred Fluxus affiliates, Mieko (née Chieko) Shiomi launched her *Spatial Poem* project in 1965. Ultimately, *Spatial Poem* encompassed nine scores composed across a decade of Shiomi’s practice and engaged more than 230 collaborators who reported their realizations of the artist’s instructions back to her by mail from twenty-six different countries (fig. 10.1). *Spatial Poem* is an apt emblem and metaphor of the global network of intermedial, experimental notation practices that began to formalize in the mid-1960s and continued to expand into the 1970s and beyond. Its structure integrated the composition, execution, and documentation of individual scores and their performance into a single holistic project of a performative-conceptual nature. Shiomi’s project was rare among experimental notation practices of the time for its attempt to actually gather and compare diverse realizations.

Incredibly ambitious in scope by the time it concluded, *Spatial Poem*’s origins were urgently practical. In spring 1965, after a busy season rushing between avant-garde events at various concert halls and artist lofts in New York, Shiomi grew concerned with the limitations of space and time that hampered the full integration of her artistic community. As a response to the “inconvenience of communication,”<sup>1</sup> as the artist put it, Shiomi suggested to leading Fluxus organizer George Maciunas “a do-it-yourself

.....



List of the participants in SPATIAL POEM (No. 1-4)

Acc Space Co.	Dick Higgins	Serge Oldenburg
Karen Ahlberg	Michael Horowitz	Robin Page
Yukio Akatsuka	Sylvester Houedard	Nam June Paik
Kuniharu Akiyama	Alice Hutchins	Marsha Paltudan
Dietrich Albrecht	Peter Hutchinson	Noel Parant
Eric Andersen	Iestair Janosak	Sara Parker
Tony Andersen	Ray Johnson	Betty Parsons
Gabor Attalai	Dianne Jo Jones	Ben Patterson
Ay-o	Joe Jones	Knud Pedersen
Iare Bak	Hans-Werner Kalkmann	Achille Perilli
Lawrence W. Baldwin	Ezra Kaplan	Geza Pernockzy
Jeff Berner	Philip Kaplan	Bern Porter
Syente Bodin	Allan Kaprow	Donald Richie
Robert Bozzi	Kirby M. Koshay	Peter T. Van Riper
George Brecht	Michael Kirby	Dieter Rot
Bazon Brock	W. B. Kirchgaesser	Gerhard Ruhn
Stanley Brown	Per Kirksey	Phillip L. Ryan
Carolyn Brown	Kitsuno Katsue	Takako Saito
Steve Burgees	Dusan Klinea	Winthrop Sargeant
John Cage	Bengt Af Klintberg	S. D. Sauerbier
Lolya Calas	Alison Knowles	Tomus Schmit
Neke Carson	Jiri Hynok Kocman	Maruta Schmit
Paolo Castaldi	Arthur Koepcke	Wim T. Schippers
Jindrich Chalupsky	Jiri Kolar	Caroline Schneemann
N. Chatterji	Takahisa Kosugi	Paul Sharita
Christo	Stanley Kunitz	John J. Sharkey
Philip Corner	Vytautas Landsbergis	Mieko Shiom
Herman Damen	D. Lauffer	Michael Smith
Robert De Havilland	Norma Ledatiko	Daniel Spoerri
Willem De Ridder	F. Lieberman	Marianne Staffeldt
George Drofa	Gyorgy Ligeti	Petr Stembera
Robert Filliou	Carla Lisa	Michelle Stuart
Albert M. Fine	Bernd Loebach	Francoise Sullivan
Irwin Flumiger	Cherashim Luca	Shuzo Tachiguchi
Bill Fortinberry	George Maciunas	Paul Thek
Ken Friedman	Jackson Mac Low	Endre Tot
Pierre Garnier	Walter Marchetti	Horst Tress
Michael Gibbs	Herberta Masarykova	Michael Tylick
Ludwig Gosselwitz	Yutaka Matsuzawa	James Urban
Bonumila Groegerova	William Mayur	Jiri Valoch
Klaus Groh	David F. Mayur	Ben Vautier
Anne Halprin	Barry McCallion	Wolf Vostell
Daria Halprin	Cavan McCarthy	Branko Vuceljevic
Ian Hamilton Finlay	Clement Headmore	Bob Watts
Richard Hamilton	Jonas Meiras	Mike Weaver
Paul Rauemann	Pierre Mercure	Peter Weibel
Renark Nave	Miroslav Miletic	Tom Wesselmann
Nyor Hayashi	David R. Milton	David Whitney
Bernard Heidieck	Aiko Miyawaki	Jean-Pierre Wilhelm
Lee Harlin	Peter Moore	John Willenbacher
Betty Henderson	Barbara Moore	Carolyn Wisewell
Siel Hendricks	Victor Musgrave	Yoshie Yoshida
Joef Hendricks	S. Nicod	La Monte Young
Levi Det Hampson	Ladislav Novak	Adja Tunkers
Juan Hidalgo	Brian O'Donerty	M. Zazoula
	Makoto Onaka	

Many thanks for beautiful reports !  
Please look forward to the book of whole poems after  
completion of this series.  
As for special issues of each event, please refer to  
George Maciunas' POB 150 Canal St. Sta. New York 10013

MIKO SHIOMI  
334-0201 1-24-38  
SAKURAI MINOD  
OSAKA JAPAN

Fig. 10.1 Mieko (Chieko) Shiom (Japanese, b. 1938). List of participants in *Spatial Poem* (Nos. 1-4), ca. 1972, offset print. Getty Research Institute, Jean Brown Papers, 890164, box 47, folder 3. Used by permission of Mieko Shiom.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/515/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/515/)

work that takes place on the whole earth as its stage, on which many people living away from me can interpret the event in their own ways and send me their reports.”<sup>2</sup> Enthusiastic about the idea, Maciunas offered to contribute his design acumen to the project’s documentation. The fascinating dialogue between the two artists is captured in the Archive section of this chapter; it includes Shiomi’s sensitive warnings to Maciunas about his increasingly “autocratic” management of Fluxus affairs.

Shiomi launched *Word Event* in New York and orchestrated the remaining eight poems from her home in Okayama and later from Osaka, cities far from Tokyo, the center of the Japanese avant-garde. Tied to these provincial sites due to caregiving responsibilities, she found that “the mailbox outside was a marvelous window open toward the world.”<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, Shiomi understood the liberating potential of reframing the everyday through the notion of the event. “We have a ton of obligations, and tasks, and many, many trivial things,” she has said. “But when you look at things as an event, your mind is free from that kind of task. It’s very free and released.”<sup>4</sup> Shiomi has identified her practice as being rooted in the experience of loss and having to make do with very little, a sanguine outlook undeniably linked to her experience during World War II Japan, specifically the trauma of her childhood possessions being destroyed in a 1945 air raid.

When Shiomi first turned to writing text scores as a young artist in the early 1960s, she initially referred to them as “action poems.” These pieces—including *Mirror Piece*, *Wind Music*, and *Shadow Piece* (all 1963)—encouraged a poetically flexible interpretation of language that might reframe and transform the reader’s experience of everyday phenomena, particularly in the natural world. Shiomi began this work following her musicology studies at Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music (also known as Geidai, now called Tokyo University of the Arts), where she wrote a thesis on the twelve-tone technique of Anton Webern and

performed works by Arnold Schoenberg. Crucially during that time, she formed the groundbreaking Group Ongaku (Group Music, ca. 1959–62) with peers Takehisa Kosugi, Shūkō Mizuno, Mikio Tojima, Yumiko Tanno, Gen'ichi Tsuge, and Yasunao Tone in order to probe the boundaries of music through collective improvisation. Shiomi's formative work with Group Ongaku laid the foundation for her individual exploration of the dynamics between the singular event and its simultaneous occurrence with other events. In an essay published in the September 1960 issue of *Nijisseiki buyō* (Twentieth-Century Dance), featuring a number of statements by Group Ongaku members, Shiomi advocated a practice of "sonic collage," which embraces the chance dialogue created by simultaneous yet independently derived sounds.<sup>5</sup> In March 1962, she presented her new experimental practice in a solo concert at Okayama Cultural Center Hall, including works realized from graphic scores along with examples of what she considered "action music": walking around the stage, piling up matchboxes, and saying numbers at random.

As Shiomi's trajectory illustrates, transpacific conversations between American and Japanese figures in the postwar experimental music, performance, and intermedial visual art worlds that *The Scores Project* highlights were virtually immediate, thereby troubling the idea that aesthetic innovations could be traced to any one center. Following signal encounters with the artists Toshi Ichijanagi and Nam June Paik, Shiomi became involved in Fluxus in 1963. When she first met Paik, at a concert at Tokyo's Sogetsu Hall in 1963, he proclaimed that she was already a Fluxus artist. Indeed, Maciunas was by that time familiar with her work, as Ichijanagi (who had recently returned to Japan after seven years in New York, some of which were spent studying with John Cage) had sent several of Shiomi's scores to Maciunas in January 1962, before the official launch of Fluxus. In the same period of Shiomi's first meeting with Paik, she visited Yoko Ono's apartment in

Tokyo, where she encountered scores by George Brecht, and began to think of her evolving notational language in relation to the Fluxus concept of the event.

Another important moment of exchange that Shiomi likely witnessed during this period was *An Exhibition of World Graphic Scores*, mounted in November 1962 by Ichiyanagi and Kuniharu Akiyama at Tokyo's Minami Gallery on the occasion of Cage and David Tudor's first visit to Japan. By December 1963, Maciunas had in hand Shiomi's complete works and was planning a Fluxus edition. Encouraged by Akiyama and Maciunas, with whom Shiomi was now in regular contact, she traveled with Shigeko Kubota on a tourist visa to New York City in the summer of 1964 to immerse herself in the Fluxus milieu. Her complete works were ultimately published by Fluxus that year under the name Chieko Shiomi (she had yet to take on the name Mieko) and the title *Events and Games* (1964).

Shiomi's *Spatial Poem* series adapted concepts from her early action poems, relating simple actions to highly subjective notions of time and space. Through nine different instructions, interpreters were invited to think about and respond to concepts and actions of direction, falling, shadows, opening, orbiting, sound, wind, and disappearance. Although the scores clearly relate to the genre of Fluxus events, Shiomi hewed to the conceptual framework of poetry, drawing from a longstanding investment in literature that had preceded her advanced studies in music. Additionally, she requested that participants' reports include the specific place and/or time of the action's completion. Anticipating this framework was Shiomi's score *Direction Music for Fingers* (1964), which she performed in New York as part of a solo presentation in October 1964 at Washington Square Gallery, coinciding with a yearlong "Perpetual Fluxfest" (figs. 10.2, 10.3).

The piece not only was a response to her growing concerns about the abiding spatiotemporal limitations on creative activity but also anticipated her discovery of a

### Direction music for fingers

One person to be fixed, who should have main experience of this piece.

He takes position near the center of open area.

Other ten performers come to him and each one place finger cover onto a finger of the person's hands.

Each performer makes choice the direction to which finger is to extended, and write it down on the card to show him for example

the direction of some person

the direction of the south pole

the direction of the highest place

the direction from which some sound can be heard  
etc.

Each one pull the string which is attached to the finger cover's top, toward his direction and fix it to a right place. Each direction may be told to the audience by voice.

Sept. 1964

C. Shiomi

Fig. 10.2 Mieko (Chieko) Shiomi (Japanese, b. 1938). *Direction Music for Fingers*, September 1964, photocopy of handwritten score on lined paper. Getty Research Institute, Jean Brown Papers, 890164, box 47, folder 3. Used by permission of Mieko Shiomi.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/516/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/516/)



Fig. 10.3 Mieko Shiomi (left, arms raised) performing *Direction Music for Fingers* at Washington Square Gallery (Allan Kaprow is at right, foreground), New York, NY, 30 October 1964. Photograph by Peter Moore; © Northwestern University.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/517/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/517/)

broader solution to this problem in *Spatial Poem*. For *Direction Music for Fingers*, Shiomi invited participants to write a real or imagined location on a card and then attach the card to a string, the other end of which was tied to one of her fingers. The participant then affixed the card to a point reaching toward the chosen location. Peter Moore's photograph of the event shows Allan Kaprow consulting a map of Manhattan while Shiomi, arms raised, sits at the center of a new, provisional spatial network (see fig. 10.3). Taking up again the notion of direction for *Spatial Poem No. 2 (Direction Event)* (1965), she explained her poetic intent in a letter to Maciunas: "I meant 'direction' not only direction on compass[:] in this poem it is rather the state of consciousness of the relation between yourself and [the] outside world" (fig. 10.4).<sup>6</sup>

Mostly from afar, Shiomi collaborated with Maciunas to create records of the first four *Spatial Poem* events in the form of object editions in line with the aesthetics of ongoing Fluxus publishing endeavors. Each edition plays cleverly with the given poem's concept, inviting quasi-performative engagement as the reader inspects it. We are invited to delicately maneuver tiny paper flags (fig. 10.5), unfurl an enormous paper map (fig. 10.6), let fall the pages of a wacky calendar (fig. 10.7), and gently thread a roll of microfilm through a handheld viewer (fig. 10.8). Like many Fluxus affiliates, Shiomi sometimes protested Maciunas's overbearing designs, but, in general, the two artists sustained a productive long-distance collaboration until Maciunas's chronic illness made this impossible. (Shiomi had wanted him ultimately to design collective reports for all nine poems.)

*Spatial Poem* transforms the utopian ideal of the indeterminate or open-form work's potential for infinite possibility into a carefully documented program that has been preserved for later cross-examination. Indeed for Shiomi, the opportunity to compare multifarious interpretations is the most compelling aspect of composing

Dear George

Thank you for sending me new publications.

I already mailed out 10 boxes. When I wanted to start making flags, I found that they don't have necessary stuff, paper cement (glue), 1.5 inch or 2 inch straight pins. Could you send me them or shall I send you the printed cards?

If you prefer me to make, please send me paper cement with thinner, 1 lb. of 1.5 inch straight pins (I brought back 1 lb. of 1.5 inch and 2 inch pins) and smallest size of silver stars (200 pieces). I bought them at the stationary section of the souvenir shop on 5th Ave, around 32 - 36 St. west side. I am sorry that I have to trouble you about this. If you prefer to make in New York, I will send the cards, but I must tell you that it is a big job --- maybe I'd better take care of them. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

I liked your performance of Spatial Poem No.2 very much.

That was marvelous. I was walking towards the sounds which were out of distance to reach my ears. I meant "direction" not only direction on compass, in this poem it is rather the state of consciousness of the relation between yourself and outside world. I've got about 40 reports so far, and found that most poems took it the direction on compass, though some are very interesting. As the mail are still coming, I will wait a little more and after straight them out, I will send them to you. I would like to trust you the design of it. I found the specialist of sword and armor. But he said that he cannot recommend the repairing stuffs unless he saw it. and it is difficult for normal people to repair it. Besides if he take care of it completely, it will cost about 300 dollars. If you really want to fix it, you'd better to bring it with you when you come to Japan --- any way, sorry to tell, it would not be so easy task.

H. Masarykova gave me a letter. When are you visiting Europe?

Sincerely *Chieko*

Fig. 10.4 Letter from Mieko (Chieko) Shiomi to George Maciunas, ca. 1965, photocopy of typewritten text on paper. Getty Research Institute, Jean Brown Papers, 890164, box 31, folder 30. Used by permission of Mieko Shiomi.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/536/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/536/)





Fig. 10.5 Mieko (Chieko) Shiomi (Japanese, b. 1938); George Maciunas (Lithuanian American, 1931–78). Object edition of *Spatial Poem No. 1 (Word Event)*, 1965, clear plastic box with hinged lid and cork-covered bottom with paper-flag pins. Getty Research Institute, Jean Brown Papers, 890164, box 225. Used by permission of Mieko Shiomi and Billie Maciunas. [getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/525/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/525/)

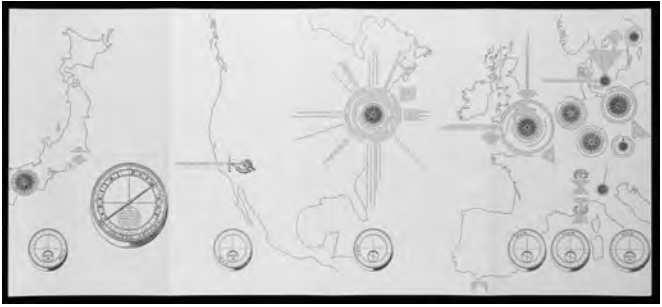


Fig. 10.6 Mieko (Chieko) Shiomi (Japanese, b. 1938); George Maciunas (Lithuanian American, 1931–78). Object edition of *Spatial Poem No. 2 (Direction Event)*, 1966, offset print. Getty Research Institute, Jean Brown Papers, 890164, flat file 37\*\* . Used by permission of Mieko Shiomi and Billie Maciunas.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/526/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/526/)



Fig. 10.7 Mieko (Chieko) Shiomi (Japanese, b. 1938); George Maciunas (Lithuanian American, 1931–78). Object edition of *Spatial Poem No. 3 (a fluxcalender)*, 1968, two sets of printed calendar pages (14 × 10.8 cm), one housed loose inside a wood box with a hinged lid and metal clasp, the other bolted into book form on a strap of leather. Getty Research Institute, Jean Brown Papers, 890164, box 223. Used by permission of Mieko Shiomi and Billie Maciunas.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/527/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/527/)

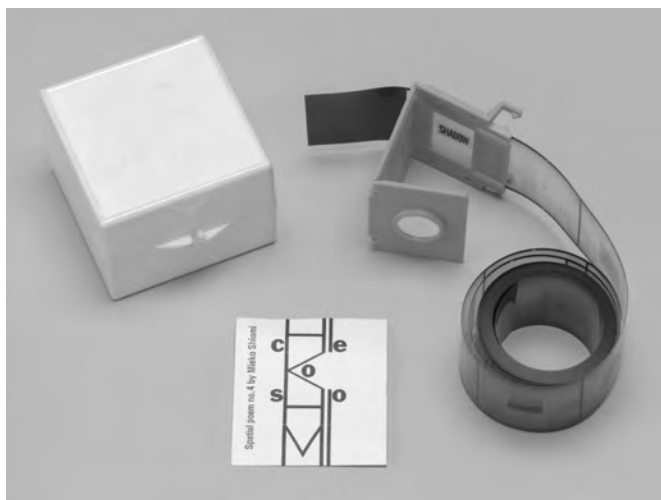


Fig. 10.8 Mieko (Chieko) Shiomi (Japanese, b. 1938); George Maciunas (Lithuanian American, 1931–78). Object edition of *Spatial Poem No. 4 (a fluxmovie)*, 1973, white plastic box with a hinged lid containing a roll of microfilm mounted on a miniature green plastic viewer. Getty Research Institute, Jean Brown Papers, 890164, box 219. Digital Image® The Museum of Modern Art/Licensed by SCALA / Art Resource, NY. The Gilbert and Lila Silverman Fluxus Collection Gift. © 2024 Mieko Shiomi. [getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/528/](https://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/528/)

open-ended scores. In 1973 she reflected, “The reports returned by various people are very diverse and full of individuality — some poetic, some realistic or cynical, some artificial, some spontaneous, etc. When they are all collected together, they present a fantastic panorama of human attitudes.”<sup>7</sup> The resources included in this chapter enable you to compare reports sent to Shiomi by dozens of wide-ranging figures, some of whom are not typically associated with Fluxus: John Baldessari, Stanley Brouwn, Carolyn Brown, Christo, Ian Hamilton Finlay, Allen Ginsberg, Daria Halprin, Richard Hamilton, Sylvester Houédard, Douglas Huebler, Ray Johnson, Vytautas Landsbergis, György Ligeti, Jonas Mekas, Brian O’Doherty, Robin Page, Betty Parsons, Carolee Schneemann, Paul Thek, Peter Van Riper, Tom Wesselmann, Robert Whitman, Jean-Pierre Wilhelm, La Monte Young, and Marian Zazeela, among many others.

Through *Spatial Poem*, Shiomi acted as the conductor of a worldwide action-music composition, illuminating in intimate detail an international social network of likeminded artists allied in a search for sympathetic collaborators and audiences with whom to share their vanguard work. Although *Spatial Poem* is sometimes characterized as a form of mail art, Shiomi did not consider it so, since her focus was on the simultaneity of actions performed rather than her administration of the project. More notable, perhaps, is the way *Spatial Poem* adopts as its very method the Fluxus notion of intermedia, or rather (as the artist has more recently described it) “transmedia” — an artistic practice in which “the original concept is carried into subsequent works even though the form of expression is different each time.”<sup>8</sup>

After completing the final piece, *Spatial Poem No. 9*, appropriately titled *Disappearing Event* (1975), Shiomi self-published an artist’s book chronicling the vast array of responses she had received over the years. The book’s cover



Fig. 10.9 Mieko (Chieko) Shiomi (Japanese, b. 1938). Cover of *Complete Works: Spatial Poem* (Osaka, Japan: self-published, 1976), artist's book. Getty Research Institute, item 91-B36111. Used by permission of Mieko Shiomi.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/530/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/530/)



and a related promotional postcard feature the titles of each event arrayed alongside a graphically abstracted photograph of the Earth closely resembling the famous “Blue Marble” image taken by the crew of Apollo 17 in 1972, acknowledging that *Spatial Poem* had indeed unfolded alongside an expanding global ecological consciousness among artists and intellectuals of the period (figs. 10.9, 10.10). Imagining the Fluxus network in parallel with our solar system, Shiomi has remarked, “I have been at the position of Pluto. But living in a remote place enabled me to see the outline of Fluxus rather clearly.”<sup>9</sup> The experience of reading through Shiomi’s compilation of *Spatial Poem* scores recalls George Brecht’s conviction that an event score may be either performed or simply observed or imagined. Impressively, the works guaranteed *both* outcomes: first, in the actual performances conducted by members of Shiomi’s network, and second, in our mental visualization of each performance as we read the gathered reports.

Concluding in 1975, *Spatial Poem* may be understood as an emblematic final bookend to more than two decades of collective experimentations with performance notations. For the artist, however, its audience was potentially much greater. “I would like to think,” Shiomi has written, that “the collective anonymous poem can be preserved as a monument for the people of the 30th century—if we survive that long.”<sup>10</sup>

#### Notes

1. Mieko Shiomi, “Mieko Shiomi,” *Art and Artists* 8, no. 7 (1973): 42.
2. Mieko Shiomi, quoted in Kakinuma Toshie and Takeuchi Nao, “Oral History Interview with Shiomi Mieko,” 1 December 2014, trans. Reiko Tomii, Archival Research Center, Kyoto University of Arts, [https://www.kcua.ac.jp/arc/ar/shiomi\\_eg\\_1/](https://www.kcua.ac.jp/arc/ar/shiomi_eg_1/).
3. Mieko Shiomi, quoted in Michelle Elligott, “Interview with Artist Mieko Shiomi: Chapter 3,” 27 October 2011, Post: Notes on Modern & Contemporary Art around the Globe, website of the Contemporary and Modern Art Perspectives (C-MAP) program at the Museum of Modern



- Art, New York, [https://post.at.moma.org/content\\_items/22-interview-with-shiomi-mieko](https://post.at.moma.org/content_items/22-interview-with-shiomi-mieko).
4. Mieko Shiomi, quoted in Sally Kawamura, "Appreciating the Incidental: Mieko Shiomi's 'Events,'" *Women & Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory* 19, no. 3 (November 2009): 313.
  5. Chieko [Mieko] Shiomi, "Onkyō no obu je no sokkyōteki korāju: Onkyō to no taiwa" (The Improvisational Collage of Sound Objects: A Dialog of Sound), *Nijisseiki buyō* 5 (1 September 1960): 17–23, cited in William Marotti, "Challenge to Music: The Music Group's Sonic Politics," in *Tomorrow Is the Question: New Directions in Experimental Music Studies*, ed. Benjamin Piekut (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014), 126.
  6. Mieko Shiomi to George Maciunas, ca. 1965, Jean Brown Papers, 1916–1995 (bulk 1958–1985), 890164 and 2016.M.14, box 31, folder 30, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.
  7. Shiomi, "Mieko Shiomi," 44.
  8. Mieko Shiomi, "Intermedia/Transmedia," transcript of a lecture given at the Museum of Contemporary Art, Tokyo, 29 April 2012, trans. Midori Yoshimoto, Post: Notes on Art in a Global Context, website of the C-MAP program (see note 3 above), <https://post.moma.org/intermedia-transmedia/>.
  9. Mieko Shiomi, quoted in Alison Knowles et al., "An Evening with Fluxus Women: A Roundtable Discussion," *Women & Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory* 19, no. 3 (November 2009): 370.
  10. Shiomi, "Mieko Shiomi," 44.

11. Allan Kaprow: *Routine*  
(1973–75)

Emily Ruth Capper

Between 1958 and 1959, around the same time George Brecht devised his first event scores (see chapter 6), Allan Kaprow developed the “happening.” Kaprow had started out as a painter and then, in the tradition of Cubism and Dada, began to affix everyday materials to his paintings. Inspired by a wide range of sources, from Jackson Pollock’s mural-size paintings to lowbrow funhouses, Kaprow’s work rapidly increased in scale from collages to three-dimensional assemblages to, finally, room-size installations he called “environments.”<sup>1</sup> Kaprow constructed his environments out of a signature array of everyday objects (for instance, plastic drop cloths, holiday lights, tinfoil, mirrors). In his later happenings, he incorporated human participants and gave them various actions, tasks, and games to perform.

While Kaprow staged several early happenings in art galleries, he soon decided that the physical, psychological, and social coordinates of the gallery impeded the sort of participation he desired from viewers. He thus began to work in a way we would now call site-specific, meaning that he created happenings for specific non-art locations and structures. Another major shift in the poetics of the happening occurred around 1965, when Kaprow decided to “eliminate the audience” (as he put it) by working exclusively with small groups of committed participants to realize a given happening over two or more days.<sup>2</sup> Kaprow fostered such intimacy in order to differentiate the happening from both traditional theater and youth culture (light shows, rock concerts, promotional stunts) and their purportedly more passive forms of spectatorship. In part, he was responding

to the fact that, during the later 1960s, the word “happening” was becoming synonymous with spectacular events, whereas before 1965 it meant simply “occurrence.” For this reason, Kaprow largely abandoned the use of the word “happening” by the 1970s and turned instead to what he called “activities” for the rest of his career.<sup>3</sup>

Kaprow developed a notation practice to support his work with happenings and activities. Like Brecht, he was profoundly influenced by John Cage’s experimental composition course at the New School for Social Research (fig. 11.1). By the time Kaprow started the course in late 1957, he had already experimented with sound in his assemblages and environments, notably via noise-making toys, which he hid in the corners of the Hansa Gallery’s ceiling molding.<sup>4</sup> Frustrated by the mechanical repetition of his sonic environment, Kaprow enrolled in Cage’s class with the intention of learning how to make audiotape collages.<sup>5</sup> Although Kaprow learned *musique concrète* techniques from Cage (fig. 11.2), he found Cage’s deeper philosophical lessons about indeterminacy even more productive. Cage taught that the experimental score and its performance are at once interdependent and incommensurate: where the score is abstract, the performance is concrete; where the score is fixed, every performance is different. Cage also demonstrated these ideas in a fun and participatory way in a classroom that Kaprow likened to “a playground.”<sup>6</sup> Each week, Cage asked students to compose a short score in response to a prompt that often involved chance procedures and nontraditional instruments like radios, which he had used in some of his own compositions. The students would perform their scores for Cage during class and discuss the results, reflecting on what they had experienced.<sup>7</sup>

Kaprow’s activities can be seen to revisit the unrehearsed performances and philosophical discussions that flourished in Cage’s classroom. Of his activities, *Routine* is a prime example. Commissioned by Oregon’s Portland Center for the Visual Arts (PCVA) in April 1973,



Fig. 11.1 Students in John Cage's experimental composition class, New School for Social Research, New York, NY, summer 1958. From Al Hansen, *A Primer of Happenings & Time-Space Art* (New York: Something Else Press, 1965), 100.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/557/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/557/)

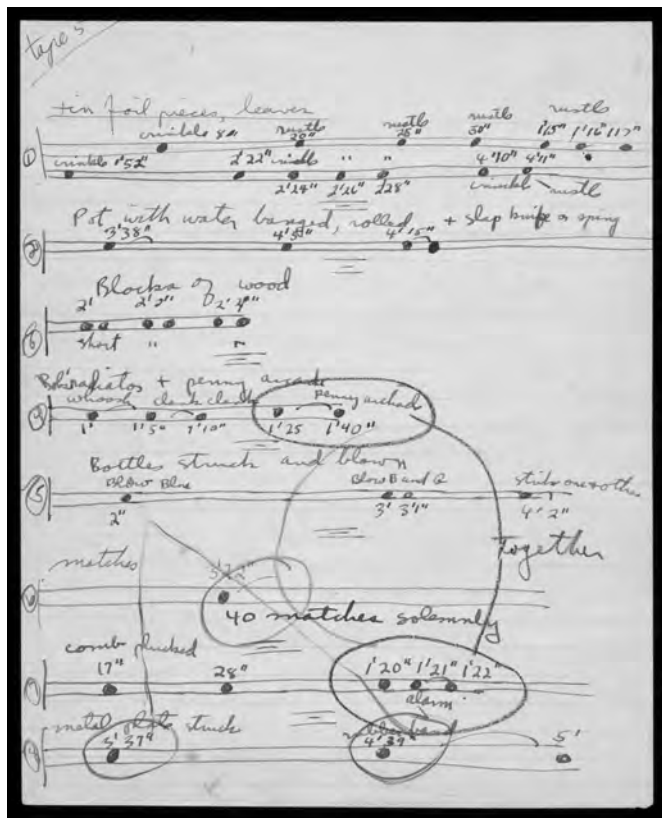


Fig. 11.2 Allan Kaprow (American, 1927–2006). *Tape Score*, 1957. Getty Research Institute, Allan Kaprow Papers, 980063, box 4, folder 7.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/579/#fig-579-h](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/579/#fig-579-h)

*Routine* encompasses several interlocking elements. In the fall of that year, Kaprow composed the score, which he referred to as the “program.”<sup>8</sup> During a three-day residency at the PCVA in December, he realized the program with twenty or so different pairs of participants. The realizations took place on a Saturday afternoon and were bookended by what he called a “briefing” on Friday evening and a “review” on Saturday evening. In the remaining available time on Friday and Sunday, Kaprow also produced a version of *Routine* in the form of a short instructional film. Finally, two years later, Kaprow published *Routine* as an “activity booklet” that included the program, photographs, and an accompanying essay.

Over the course of *Routine*’s five parts, Kaprow uses ordinary objects to isolate and scramble visual and aural communication channels. In parts 1, 3, and 5, the two participants look at each other in mirrors; in parts 2, 4, and 5, they speak over the phone. In each part, participants alternate and repeat routine gestures and phrases to the point of illegibility, inaudibility, or exhaustion and interact with each other in both intimate and socially awkward ways. Over the course of each part, communication becomes more and more difficult as the various tasks become further abstracted, inducing moments of self-conscious reflection.

The program is composed of ordinary language that has been repurposed in highly formal ways. The blocks of text are centered, symmetrical, and generously framed by blank space. Most importantly, Kaprow writes in the continuous present tense rather than the imperative. This is unusual for instructions and, to some extent, lends the program a self-contained, poetic quality. At the same time, however, many of the notations are indeterminate and thus require considerable interpretive work to be realized, as, for example, in the beginning of part 4 (fig. 11.3). Here, the instruction reads “saying something” —but saying what, exactly? This is for the performer to decide. Kaprow’s intense focus on the form of the phone call, seemingly at the

expense of its content or message, invites comparison to Brecht's earlier *Three Telephone Events* (1961), an event score that Kaprow particularly liked (fig. 11.4).

Kaprow eventually concluded that his experimental scores should not circulate independently of a structured pedagogical context, a conceit distinguishing his practice from that of Brecht and other Fluxus artists.<sup>9</sup> It may also reflect his long career as a university professor.<sup>10</sup> Kaprow argued, "An unfamiliar genre like this one does not speak for itself. Explaining, reading, thinking, doing, feeling, reviewing, and thinking again are commingled."<sup>11</sup> To this end, he introduced *Routine* with a "briefing" in the form of a short lecture that broke down the formal structure of the activity and sketched out various ways to interpret it. Here, Kaprow translated philosophical questions into vernacular terms and made the activity sound both intellectually worthwhile and fun. It was with a certain seriousness of purpose, then, that the participants in *Routine* spread out across Portland to realize the program in their own ways (fig. 11.5). After the realizations had occurred, Kaprow reconvened the participants at the PCVA for a "review"—a seminar-style discussion during which participants analyzed their experiences. He would ask: Did your experience of *Routine* conform to your expectations? How did your experience differ from your partner's? Questions such as these enabled Kaprow to gather crucial feedback and to measure, however informally, the program's ability to inspire diverse realizations while maintaining a unified purposiveness.

Kaprow's commitment to framing his activities pedagogically posed certain challenges, particularly with regard to publication. The typed program alone did not, in Kaprow's view, offer enough guidance, so he developed two novel publication formats: the activity booklet and what we might call the "activity film." The activity booklets invariably open with a short essay that condenses the functions of Kaprow's "briefing" and "review." In the essay, Kaprow

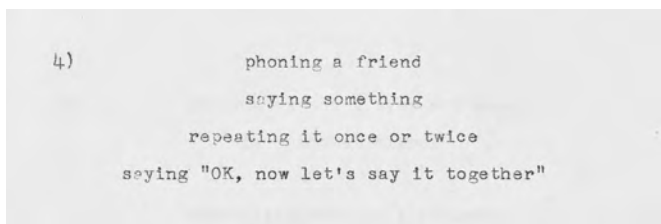


Fig. 11.3 Allan Kaprow (American, 1927–2006). Detail of part 4 of the printed program for *Routine*, 1973. Getty Research Institute, Allan Kaprow Papers, 980063, box 24, folder 9.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/561/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/561/)



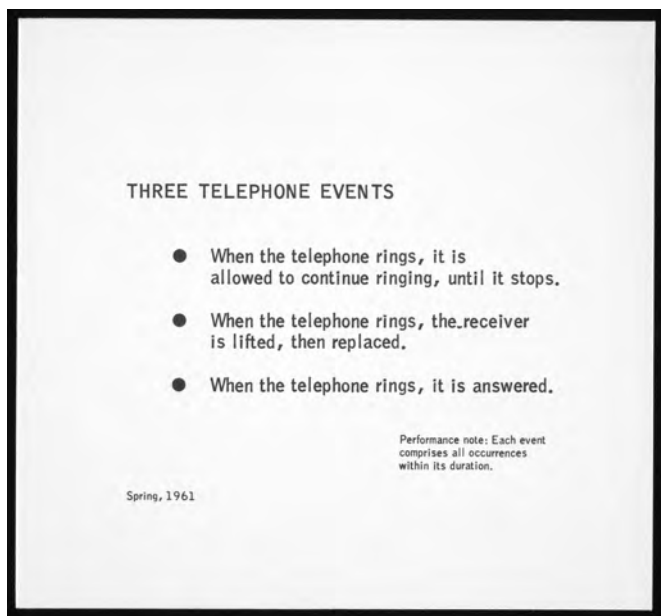


Fig. 11.4 George Brecht (American, 1926–2008). *Three Telephone Events*, spring 1961. From *Water Yam* (1963), wooden box with label, containing ninety-one scores printed on various sizes and colors of card stock. Getty Research Institute, Jean Brown Papers, 890164, box 127. © 2022 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn. [getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/562/](https://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/562/)

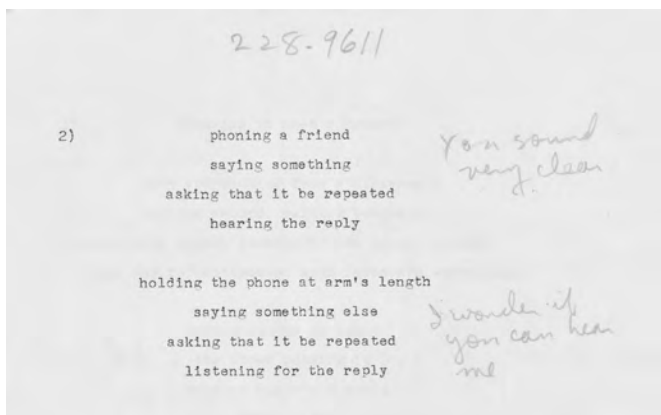


Fig. 11.5 Allan Kaprow (American, 1927–2006). Detail of page 2 of the program for *Routine*, with notes handwritten by a participant during Kaprow's residency at the Portland Center for the Visual Arts, Portland, OR, December 1973. Getty Research Institute, Allan Kaprow Papers, 980063, box 24, folder 9.  
[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/563/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/563/)

clarifies the key concepts that animate the program and summarizes the range of realizations that have already occurred. But even this was not enough to reel in the distant reader. In order to provoke a physical response, Kaprow enlists the mimetic magic of photographic media. As he explains at the start of the *Routine* activity booklet:

The photos here do not document ROUTINE. They fictionalize it. They were made and assembled to illustrate a framework of moves upon which an action or set of actions could be based. They function somewhere between the artifice of a Hollywood movie and an instruction manual.<sup>12</sup>

Where most artists in Kaprow's milieu used photography to document performances, Kaprow used the medium to inspire new ones. To this end, he developed a diagrammatic approach that began by sketching out the basic photographic compositions in advance. More than a mere guide, these sketches yielded photographs that retain a strong graphic quality: individual faces are deliberately obscured in favor of clear postures and spatial relationships. For example, on the first page of the activity booklet, the man's shadow is a stick figure come to life or, rather, a living person made into a stick figure (figs. 11.6, 11.7). Sometimes Kaprow took the photographs for his activity booklets, but more often he directed an art student to do it; in this case it was Alvin Comiter, a student at the California Institute of the Arts. Nevertheless, Kaprow dictated the style as well as the *mise-en-scène*, in the manner of a film director guiding a cinematographer.

The PCVA gave Kaprow a modest budget for documentation. But instead of filming the Saturday realizations as one might expect, the artist kept those private. He had determined that the presence of a camera altered the experience of performance in profound ways that had to be carefully accounted for.<sup>13</sup> He used the funds to produce an instructional film, complete with copious

## ROUTINE

- 1) standing somewhere —  
facing a friend holding a large mirror  
trying to catch one's reflection  
signalling to tilt the mirror variously  
until the reflection is caught  
both moving apart a few steps  
repeating process  
moving apart again and again  
repeating process  
until it's no longer possible  
to see oneself

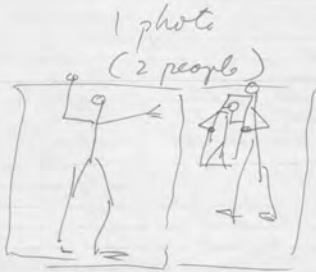


Fig. 11.6 Allan Kaprow (American, 1927–2006). Drawing on the handwritten draft of the program for *Routine*, 1973. Getty Research Institute, Allan Kaprow Papers, 980063, box 24, folder 9. Image © Alvin Comiter.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/564/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/564/)



**1**

**standing somewhere  
facing a friend holding a large mirror**

**trying to catch one's reflection**

**signalling to tilt the mirror variously  
until the reflection is caught**

Fig. 11.7 Allan Kaprow (American, 1927–2006). Detail of page 3 of the activity booklet for *Routine*, 1975. Getty Research Institute, Allan Kaprow Papers, 980063, box 24, folder 9.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/565/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/565/)

voiceovers, intertitles, and semi-rehearsed performances (fig. 11.8). Like the sort of industrial film it mimics rhetorically, the activity film *Routine* was made cheaply and quickly, and to carry out his vision Kaprow engaged the technical expertise of young people, including the aspiring documentary filmmaker Michael Sullivan (fig. 11.9).<sup>14</sup>

The activity film for *Routine* follows the pattern of the genre of the activity booklet in many ways. The compositions and gestures, for instance, tend to look somewhat abstract, thanks in part to the readymade geometries of the locations themselves, like the white lines of a parking lot (fig. 11.10). Further, the shot-reverse-shot editing is easy to follow, in part because it is a familiar element of classic Hollywood film grammar. In this context, Kaprow's numerous activities for couples that entail an exaggerated series of miscommunications and awkward entanglements curiously evoke the plot of a romantic comedy, albeit a drastically simplified one.

Kaprow's films and videos of the 1970s were experiments (figs. 11.11, 11.12, 11.13, and 11.14). He was clear about their intended function: to serve as animated versions of indeterminate scores rather than as documentations of performances. Indeed, he stated this intention directly through his opening voiceovers. But Kaprow was not entirely sure that any film could function as an indeterminate score, since participants might be tempted to simply mimic what they saw on screen, thus foreclosing the creative aspect of realization in the Cagean tradition. Thus, in characteristic fashion, Kaprow devised a further experiment in 1976. He directed a group of friends, along with his then wife, Vaughan Rachel, to try out one of his instructional videotapes as an experimental score for an activity. After the group performed the activity, Kaprow convened a review session at which he asked them about their experiences using the instructional videotape. Kaprow recorded this review session on audiotape, and as it unspools we hear his friends criticize his videotape score,



Fig. 11.8 Allan Kaprow filming performers Sue Johnson (left) and David Hauck for the film version of *Routine*, 1973. Getty Research Institute, Allan Kaprow Papers, 980063, box 24, folder 9.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/566/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/566/)



Fig. 11.9 Michael Sullivan (front, center) and the crew for the activity film for *Routine* (1973), photographed at the Portland Center for the Visual Arts, 1973. Getty Research Institute, Allan Kaprow Papers, 980063, box 24, folder 9.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/567/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/567/)





Fig. 11.10 Allan Kaprow (American, 1927–2006). Film still from *Routine*, 1973, 1 film reel: 16mm, SD, b&w. Getty Research Institute, Allan Kaprow Papers, 980063, box 99, F46.

[getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/568/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/568/)



Fig. 11.11 Allan Kaprow (American, 1927–2006). *Routine*, 1973, 1 film reel: 16mm, SD, b&w. Getty Research Institute, Allan Kaprow Papers, 980063, box 99, F46. [getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/574/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/574/)



Fig. 11.12 Allan Kaprow (American, 1927–2006). *Warm-ups*, 1975, 1 film reel: 16mm, SD, color. Getty Research Institute, Allan Kaprow Papers, 980063, box 99, F47. [getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/570/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/570/)



Fig. 11.13 Allan Kaprow (American, 1927–2006). *Comfort Zones*, 1975, 1 film reel: 16mm, SD, b&w. Produced by Galería Vandrés, SA., Madrid, Spain. Photographed and edited by David Seaton, with performers Esther Llordén and Mario Costas. Getty Research Institute, Allan Kaprow Papers, 980063, box 99, F48. [getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/575/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/575/)



Fig. 11.14 Allan Kaprow (American, 1927–2006). *7 Kinds of Sympathy*, 1976, U-matic videocassette, SD, color, ¾-inch tape. Produced by Peter Kirby and Anna Canepa Video Distribution, with performers Julie Steiny and Bryan Jones. Getty Research Institute, Allan Kaprow Papers, 980063, box 91, V37. [getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/576/](http://getty.edu/publications/scores/object-index/576/)

describing it as idealized, didactic, or otherwise misleading. While many artists might find this reaction deflating, Kaprow sounds energized. For him, the score form was at least in part a tool for generating meaningful debate and self-critique. The process of realization would ideally generate further new forms, which is precisely what we hear later on the audiotaped review when one of his friends proposes that Kaprow make an almost absurdly recursive instructional videotape explaining how to use his instructional videotapes. Such glimmers of self-reflection were perennially Kaprow's aim as he brought both participants and pedagogical techniques into the center of his artworks.

#### Notes

1. Allan Kaprow, "The Legacy of Jackson Pollock" (1958), in *Essays on the Blurring of Art and Life*, ed. Jeff Kelley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 1–9; and Allan Kaprow, *Assemblages, Environments, and Happenings* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1966), 157–65.
2. Allan Kaprow, "Nontheatrical Performance" (1976), in *Essays on the Blurring of Art and Life*, 173.
3. Kaprow explains: "My choice of the word 'Happening' was intended to neutralize art and to suggest the possibility of a consciousness and mode of action unencumbered by associations with either any art or other profession. Once I saw that it acquired stereotypical meanings which only got in the way of that consciousness, I adopted Michael Kirby's word 'Activity' as an alternative." Allan Kaprow, "Easy Activity," in *Art Studies for an Editor: 25 Essays in Memory of Milton S. Fox* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1975), 177. Michael Kirby was a drama professor at New York University and editor of *Happenings: An Illustrated Anthology* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1965).
4. Allan Kaprow, interview by Joan Marter and Joseph Jacobs, in *Off Limits: Rutgers University and the Avant-Garde, 1957–63*, ed. Joan Marter (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1999), 132.
5. Kaprow recalled, "I went to John [Cage] to find out how I could use tapes, because I figured tapes could contain a lot more sound on them, that I could do much more with them because I heard a lot of his work, and everybody was doing pre-electronic music in those days, calling it *musique concrète*, which was in the mid-fifties." Allan Kaprow, oral history interview by Moira Roth, 5 and 18 February 1981, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 22.

6. Allan Kaprow, in conversation with Gordon Mumma, James Tenney, Christian Wolff, Alvin Curran, and Maryanne Amacher, in "Cage's Influence: A Panel Discussion," in *Writings through John Cage's Music, Poetry, and Art*, ed. David W. Bernstein and Christopher Hatch (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 171.
7. Cage recalled about his New School course: "One thing I insisted upon in the class, I said, 'Don't bring any work to the class that you can't do. If you can't do it here, don't bring it here.'" John Cage, oral history interview, 2 May 1974, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/interviews/oral-history-interview-john-cage-12442>. For the broad outlines of Cage's class, see Joseph Jacobs, "Crashing New York à la John Cage," in Marter, *Off Limits*, 65–99; and Bruce Altshuler, "The Cage Class," in *FluxAttitudes*, ed. Cornelia Lauf and Susan Hapgood (Buffalo, NY: Hallwalls Contemporary Arts Center, 1991), 17–23.
8. Kaprow called his scores "programs" after 1968 in order to foster associations with computing and modern communications systems, rather than with fine art. See Allan Kaprow, interview by Richard Schechner, *The Drama Review* 12, no. 3 (1968): 153; and Allan Kaprow, "Education of the Un-Artist, Part I" (1971), in *Essays on the Blurring of Art and Life*, 106.
9. Kaprow collaborated with many Fluxus artists over the years, but he did not identify as a Fluxus artist himself. According to his account, this was because he could not get along with George Maciunas. Allan Kaprow, "Maestro Maciunas" (1996), in *Essays on the Blurring of Art and Life*, 243–46.
10. Kaprow earned a master's degree in art history from Columbia University in 1952 and held academic posts at the following institutions: Rutgers University, 1952–61; Stony Brook University, 1961–68; the California Institute of the Arts, 1969–74; and University of California at San Diego, 1974–92.
11. Kaprow, "Nontheatrical Performance," 167.
12. Allan Kaprow, *Routine* activity booklet, 1975, Allan Kaprow Papers, 980063, box 24, folder 9, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.
13. On Kaprow's complex uses of photography in happenings, see Judith F. Rodenbeck, "Foil," in *Radical Prototypes: Allan Kaprow and the Invention of Happenings* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011), 223–40. On this topic in relation to *Routine*, see Judith F. Rodenbeck, "Various Small Ethnofictions of Coastal California," in *The Uses of Photography: Art, Politics, and the Reinvention of a Medium*, ed. Jill Dawsey (San Diego: Museum of Contemporary Art San Diego, 2016), 103–6.
14. Brian Marquard, "Michael Sullivan; at 67, producer for 'Frontline,'" *Boston Globe*, 28 June 2013, <https://www.bostonglobe.com/metro/>

2013/06/27/michael-sullivan-marblehead-frontline-producer-projects  
-included-the-mormons-and-kind-hearted-woman/  
gsv1MiSnWgjxyJYJ0vkE8H/story.html.

## Contributors

Julia Bryan-Wilson is professor of art history and gender studies at Columbia University. Her most recent book is *Louise Nevelson's Sculpture: Drag, Color, Join, Face* (Yale University Press, 2023).

Emily Ruth Capper is assistant professor in the Department of Art History at the University of Minnesota.

Michael Gallope is professor of Department of Cultural Studies and Comparative Literature at the University of Minnesota. His most recent book is *The Musician as Philosopher: New York's Vernacular Avant-Garde, 1958–1978* (University of Chicago Press, 2024).

Natilee Harren is associate professor of modern and contemporary art history and critical studies at the University of Houston School of Art and the author of *Fluxus Forms: Scores, Multiples, and the Eternal Network* (University of Chicago Press, 2020).

John Hicks is a lecturer in the Department of Cultural Studies and Comparative Literature at the University of Minnesota.

George E. Lewis is the Edwin H. Case Professor of American Music at Columbia University. He is the author of *A Power Stronger Than Itself: The AACM and American Experimental Music* (University of Chicago Press, 2008)

Nancy Perloff is curator of modern and contemporary collections at the Getty Research Institute. She is the author of *Concrete Poetry: A 21st-Century Anthology* (Reaktion, 2023).

Benjamin Piekut is professor and chair of the Department of Music at Cornell University.

## Acknowledgments

A project of this scope and ambition could not have come to fruition without the dedication and brilliance of many people whose outstanding collaborative efforts have been crucial at every stage. The editors would like to acknowledge the early contributions of Getty Research Institute Publications staff Michele Ciaccio, Janelle Gatchalian, and especially Gail Feigenbaum, who first hatched the idea of featuring experimental scores in a multimedia digital format. We remain in awe of the herculean imaging efforts of Ted Walbye, Peter Dueker, Taylor Branham, Sophie Chen-Iveson, Michael Smith, Johana Herrera, Steve DeFurio, and many others over the years. Our thanks also to Victoria Barry, Audrey Warne, Dina Murokh, Chloe Millhauser, and Kate Justement for the hours they spent tracking down and cataloging the project's rich trove of objects in preparation for imaging. Likewise, Karen Ehrmann and Pauline Lopez acquired images and permissions with admirable professionalism and grace. We thank manuscript editor Lisa Marietta for her indefatigable attention to detail, Molly McGeehan for her important role in the project's production, and digital assistants Jenny Park and Alex Hallenbeck for their decisive contributions. The project was supported by additional research assistance from Kathryn Huether, Zach Rottman, and Anna Smith, along with expert guidance from Sarah Cooper, Megan Metcalf, Marcia Reed, Nancy Perloff, Emily Ruth Capper, and Tashi Wada. Following Eric Gardner's early prototyping and design work, which helped set us on the right path, project designers Andrew LeClair and E Roon Kang of 908A crafted a smart and



rigorous design that packages these complex intermedial texts and objects in a remarkably elegant way, for which we are grateful.

We are appreciative of additional funding provided by the National Endowment for the Humanities–Mellon Fellowship in Digital Publication, the National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Stipend, the McKnight Foundation, the College of Liberal Arts at the University of Minnesota, and the Kathrine G. McGovern College of the Arts and Division of Research at the University of Houston.

Two team members in particular deserve extended praise. We are deeply thankful for the efforts of project editor Adriana Romero, whose keen eye on the project in its final stages have enabled the content to shine. Our appreciation and admiration for digital publications manager Greg Albers, who has guided and championed this project from beginning to end, is beyond measure. Greg brought an extraordinary combination of vision, optimism, good nature, savvy, intelligence, and pragmatism to this project, which established the foundation on which all other collaborations became possible. Lastly, we express our profound gratitude to the artists and contributors for generously sharing their archives and expertise, and for the patience and faith that they and our families invested in this project over its extended development.