"Frank Stella, Then and Now." In *Frank Stella: Recent Work*. Singapore: Singapore Tyler Print Institute, 2002; pp. 24-34.

Now

"The popular denigration of Formalism lasting from the '70s to the '90s probably wouldn't have been so consequential if it had been limited to critical and academic discourse. Unfortunately it spread to the practicing art world and made painting the target and foil for all the newer art activities which saw themselves as the successors of painting."

Frank Stella, "*Mr. Natural: Larry Poons*" 1999

Frank Stella's work of the 1970s and '80s formed a significant benchmark for a generation of postmodern painters coming to maturity in the 1980s that includes Peter Halley, Shirley Kaneda, Jonathan Lasker, Fabian Marcaccio, and David Reed. Instead of making a pact with a younger generation as Barnett Newman did in the 1960s when he socialized with such artists as Dan Flavin and Donald Judd, Stella has preferred the company of the abstract expressionist type of romanticism that he himself had questioned in the 1950s.[27] Invoking their ideas in recent years, he now maintains that artists must use their own feelings as a guide and find ways to incarnate them directly and cogently in works of art, which are in turn capable of conveying these highly personal distillations unambiguously to viewers irrespective of their orientation.[28] To buttress these romantic attitudes, Stella has undertaken in the past decade and a half the *Wave* series, named after chapters of Herman Melville's *Moby Dick*. Although this book was an important subject for many abstract expressionists – Jackson Pollock, for example, found Ahab's maniacal search for the white whale a fitting metaphor for his attempts to manifest Jungian archetypes in the sea of pristine canvas that confronted him – Stella came to Melville's novel indirectly through his children's interest in whales and their joint visits to marinas. More recently Stella has selected Heinrich von Kleist's romantic novellas as screens on which to project his delight in the straightforward manner the romantics sought to incarnate their feelings in their work.

We might well ask how Frank Stella, one of the most irreverent of American mid-twentieth-century painters whose early career was predicated on a dazzling ability to create continuously revitalizing *tabula rasa*, has sustained this disparity between his perceived goals and the import of his art. His fascination with Kleist provides a partial answer, since this early nineteenth-century German writer's thought

represents a parallel trajectory to Stella's, even though their lives, personalities, and psychological dispensations are remarkably different. Born in 1777, Kleist was an heir to eighteenth-century rationalism and its concomitant belief that people could foreordain their destiny. Life, however, demonstrated to this unstable and perhaps schizophrenic personality an opposing route. Mired in misfortunes and plagued by instability, Kleist personalized and also extended his reading of Kant's theories regarding the limits of human knowledge to circumscribe the enfolding of appearance and reality into a perpetual conundrum incapable of resolution that left him bereft of ultimate truth. Although he is aware of the pain of Kleist's intellectual and emotional indecisiveness, Stella has been undeterred by its drawbacks and excited about the range of formal possibilities that it affords him. Stella's own career represents a similar narrative of first appealing to the logic of preplanned and carefully administrated personal decisions before acknowledging years later in his work that life conforms neither to one's plans nor one's dreams. In addition to biographical affinities, Kleist was resurrected by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari in *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism & Schizophrenia*, which was first published in French in 1980 and translated into English in 1987. For these two theorists, Kleist's writings, together with those of Kafka and Nietzsche, epitomize the type of rhizomatic lines of flight tantamount to perpetual and non-theological becomings that they were advocating. They emphasized that with Kleist:

> *Everything with him, in his writing as in his life, becomes speed and slowness. A succession of catatonic freezes and extreme velocities, fainting spells and shooting arrows. . . .Kleist offers a wonderful explanation of how forms and persons are only appearances produced by the displacement of a center of gravity on an abstract line and by the conjunction of these lines on a plane of immanence.*[29]

Focusing on a radical and empirical immanence rather than transcendence, Deleuze and Guattari found in Kleist a literary model for their updated form of phenomenology capable of dislodging the monolithic stolidity of the see-er through permeable schizzes that make one constantly open to the outside and no longer a reliable ground for interpreting one's own experiences.

As an heir to the inherent and unflagging optimism of the American pragmatic tradition, Stella has reconfigured Kleist's encircling and frightening duality into closely aligned and interactive perceptual and pictorial categories. Although the following analysis by Stella focuses on the art of Caravaggio rather than the writings of Kleist, it underscores the type of thinking that has enabled him to enlist this German romantic

as a sympathetic spirit. Stella explains:

> *What the best art does is give us the best of both worlds – the perceptual and the pictorial. At the risk of sounding obtuse, I don't mean this remark as a play of opposites, the perceptual versus the pictorial. I mean that the best art gives us the ability to see and hold together different images for the purpose of acting on or resolving them. That is, it gives us the ability to make complicated and/or multiple perceptions effectively pictorial.*[30]

Kleist's indeterminacy in recent years has become a *modus operandi* for Stella, who has found in it a *raison d'être* in his recent works for ricocheting forms that spring forward and oscillate back into sometimes deep and vertiginous spaces. According to Deleuze and Guattari, "Kleist is the author who best integrated these sudden catatonic fits, swoons, suspenses, with the utmost speeds of a war machine."[31] Stella's oscillating patterns seize and momentarily suture the viewer's gaze before it abruptly breaks off, only to be captured by other arresting shapes. Thus, these discordant forms choreograph through perception the discontinuities of the contemporary world. In this manner, Kleist's German romantic uncertainty reinforces Stella's jubilant embrace of a jumbled world, spanning the old and new millennia, which approaches the sanguinity of chaos theory.

Stella's recent affirmations of abstract expressionism's heroic ploys are in large part predicated on the fact that this type of painting was a decisive role model for new art in the 1950s when he was still a student. In his *Black Paintings*, as we have seen, he managed not only to parry the many thrusts made by the abstract expressionists in the direction of sublime and transcendental art, but also to deliver with indisputable cool an irrevocable *coup de grace* to this sometimes-hyperventilated work. His in-depth knowledge of the final phase of romanticism that abstract expressionism represented enabled him to perceive with amazing acuity the exact position of its Achilles' heel. He determined that this weakness was located in the contradictions between this art's avowedly materialist concerns and transcendental pretensions. A crucial reference for Stella's early work is its understanding of the disparity between minimal form and maximal content proposed by Barnett Newman in his *zip* paintings.

A largely unacknowledged source is its appreciation of Clement Greenberg's illuminating characterization of Newman's works in one of his most seminal essays, "American Type Painting," as deductive structures whose internal shapes, i.e., *zips*, were determined by the works' governing edges. Greenberg points out:

Newman's [straight lines] especially, do not echo those of the frame, but parody it. Newman's picture becomes all frame in itself. . . .With Newman, the picture edge is repeated inside, and makes the picture, instead of merely being echoed. The limiting edges of Newman's larger canvases, we now discover, act just like the lines inside them: to divide but not to separate or enclose or bound; to delimit, but not limit.[32]

Stella reaped enormous benefits from this criticism by transforming this dependence on the overall perimeters of a painting for both its composition and content into a cogent and arresting critique. Throughout the course of this criticism he established the idea of paintings as self-sufficient objects. This reflexivity and objectivity first occurs in his *Black Paintings*; later it becomes the basis for the punched out corners of his *Aluminum Paintings*

Frank Stella
Creede II
1961

and subsequent series of shaped canvases, including his *Copper Paintings*, that almost annually in the 1960s represented new permutations and combinations of this fecund concept. In the best sense Stella's incisive thrusts at abstract expressionism represent criticism as a form of backhanded homage that intends to eradicate what it re-presents. Recently Stella continues to pay homage to the abstract expressionists in the form of his highly critical works even though he has now become openly admiring of their romantic goals.

The deeply critical nature of Stella's work enables us to look beyond his generous regard for the abstract expressionist delineation of a heroic ethos and discern the radically different ideas that they so forcefully and eloquently set in play. With his most trenchant work, Stella has been far tougher and more in touch with his times than he consciously acknowledges. Beginning with his *Exotic Birds* in 1976, he initiates an uneasy alliance of nonalignable sign systems that he, together with German Sigmar Polke, was among the first to undertake. In these works, which are painted on industrial fabricated honeycombed aluminum, cut to form shapes placed in high relief with the effect of resembling turn-of-the-century punch-out Valentines, Stella marshaled a battery of different painting styles. Conceived in raucous and discordant colors, these paintings concede the desecrating power of graffiti at the same time that they revitalize the formative, critical power of abstract painting, which at the time had assumed the dry and academic character of a no longer vital modernist

style. As Stella noted in *Working Space*, the publication of his lectures delivered several years earlier at Harvard:

> *Painting today is trying to be deliberately messy in order to deny the fragility and limits of the surfaces available to art. This is why the creation of graffiti has become such a natural expression of the current art-making sensibility. Art wants real, durable, extensive surfaces to work on; it does not want to be limited by the refined surfaces of recent abstraction, inertly pliant and neatly cropped cotton duck.*[33]

In these works paint acts as an insult as well as an affirmation. This attitude is reinforced by the etched surfaces that mar the purity of the aluminum panels used in the *Exotic Birds* and the occasional final generous sprinklings of glitter that heighten even as they cheapen the entire enterprise, giving it a knowing and tawdry streetwise character essential to its ebullient stridency.

Stella's recent art no longer aims for the urban vernacular truth of the graffiti-like shorthand of his *Exotic Birds*. Instead, it has entered the realm of the new information highway of computer technology and plays off cyberspace with real space. Stella's introduction to this realm began unceremoniously with a desire to show his son's grade-school class how the same shape, performed in a number of the different keys offered by computer programs, can assume radically different forms. Among his first forays in this territory are photographs of his own exhaled cigar smoke taken from six distinctively different points of view that he then fed into a computer to generate both solid-state images resembling Max Bill's sculpture and schematic diagrams approximating CAT scans. Seduced by his own experiments and perhaps intrigued with the ways that the metonymic and syntagmatic sign of smoke rings can suggest his presence and at the same time herald his absence, Stella has made these spirals in both their solid-state and schematic formats a mainstay of his recent work. He has used this array of images in conjunction with a host of forms that range from the type of signs, which commercial artists refer to as "banner," to graffiti and spray painted stencils of perforated rings.

A particularly apposite example is *The Beggar Woman of Locarno* (1999). Named for a Kleist novella set in the foothills of Switzerland's Italian Alps that delineates the unfortunate narrative of a marquis and his haunted castle, this story could be considered a gothic progenitor for the twentieth-century ghost-in-the-machine rhetoric. Stella's cacophonous composition with its assertively flat forms, diagrammatically drawn three-dimensional shapes, perforated spaces, and deeply receding and undulating forms suggest the disjunctive realms and unpredictable
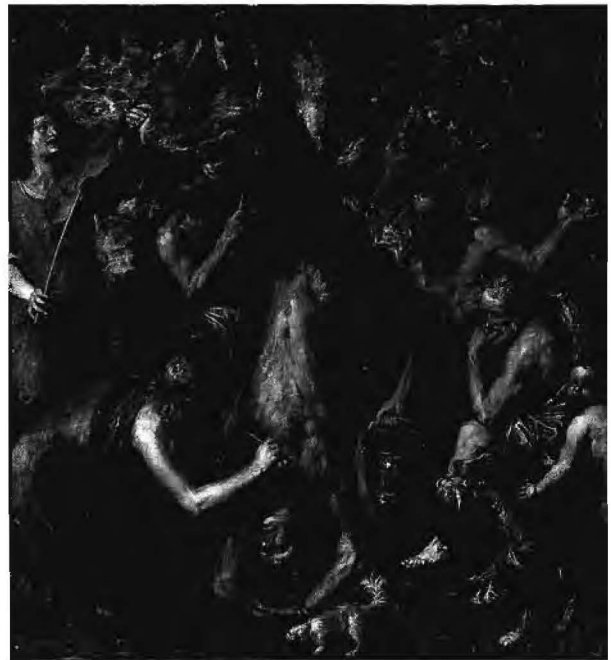
lines of flight occurring when surfing the internet. Since the star-shaped banner in the lower-right section resembles the famous light bulb and the overall color scheme of Picasso's *Guernica* – a connection Stella readily endorses – one might assume that he is in fact commenting on it. In *The Beggar Woman of Locarno*, however, the chaotic realm of recent technology has replaced the simplicity of the bare bulb in Picasso's piece. Since this reference in Picasso's painting appeared to many American painters during World War II to signify the light of Western culture at the point of burning out,[34] it is of interest to note Stella's reconfiguration of it. He presents it as only one element among others in the matrixed sea of electronic commerce that includes a wealth of disparate sign systems each jostling for attention.

This painting's allusion to cyberspace is underscored in the mediations involved in its original conception and subsequent replication. Stella initially created the collage that he named *The Beggar Woman of Locarno* by cutting up some of his proofed prints from Ken Tyler's workshop. Then he instructed his assistants to make a painted copy of it – a process that took them six months – thus creating two major works that are progressively distanced from the efforts of his own hand. *The Beggar Woman of Locarno* in its collaged and painted formats incorporates commercial imagery, computer generated notations, and remnants of the artist's own prints, making it a series of footnotes, references, and displaced signs. In the process it becomes a composite of absences that contradictorily result in the powerful presence of both works.

Titian *(c.1488- 1576)*
The Flaying of Marsyas
1570- 1575

In *Working Space*, which recapitulates his Harvard lectures, Stella looks closely at differences between Renaissance and Baroque painting that he regarded as analogous to the complex spaces occurring in his most recent work. His analysis of Titian's late painting, *Flaying of Marsyas* (c. 1570-76, State Museum, Kromeriz, Czech Republic), which is central to his lectures, is illustrative of his thinking. Stella began by pointing out that:
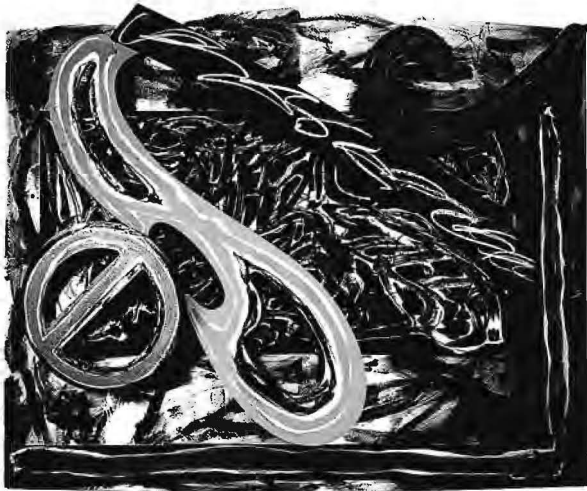
He [Titian] clearly meant for us to understand the perils faced in a lifetime committed to the making of art. For the professionals who were to follow him, he warned that the artist's gifted touch would violate, perhaps irreparably,

any surface that it graced. He showed that the articulation of surface could be as destructive as it is creative, that a blurred, pulsating surface often announces the exhaustion of space.[35]

Looked at in terms of Stella's early development and its affinities with the contemporaneous hegemony of Greenberg's formalist system of aesthetics that are predicated on an orthodoxy of painting as a self-defining and self-limiting genre that must be coupled with a flat surface to achieve its maximum effect, such a statement is indeed surprising. In his analysis of Titian's painting, Stella analogizes its brutally desecrated surfaces with the flaying of Marsyas' skin to effect overlapping poetic and structural metaphors. Apropos Titian, he adds:

Frank Stella
Bonin Night Heron
from *Exotic Bird Series*
1976-1977

He shows us [in this painting] a concern for the future which points out all the brutality and vulnerability inherent in the endeavor of painting. Yet in front of the Flaying of Marsyas we want to believe that beauty of presentation overcomes the cruelty of revelation.[36]

Although Stella has been criticized for regarding this brutality metaphorically and formally instead of iconographically, his insistence on viewing it in this manner is indicative of the force with which he has had to extricate himself from his earlier approach and rethink the possibilities of space. "The skin of a defeated artist," Stella explains in gristly detail, referring ostensibly to Marsyas but also to the process of effecting a permeable painterly surface,"is scored and peeled away, his body is openly violated to reveal the anatomy of pictorial creation rather than the details of human suffering."[37]

Once the invisible barricade formed by the window in Italian Renaissance painting and the inviolable picture plane of Greenbergian formalism is punctured and peeled away, a new understanding follows. In *Working Space* Stella looks to the past to sanction the new order that he had already initiated in the 1970s in his own work, first tentatively in the *Polish Villages* and then with more gusto in the *Exotic Birds*. He retroactively attributes the model for this new approach to the heightened realism of Caravaggio's new projective space. Although he does not mention Caravaggio's use of human scale, he assumes it to constitute an important role in the process of moving space away from the Renaissance perspectival

recession by advancing it into the viewer's realm. According to Stella, Baroque realism achieves a new dimensionality, which we might equate with theater in the round rather than the traditional proscenium stage.

Stella elaborates by using the image of the decapitated Goliath in *David and Goliath* (1610, Galleria Borghese, Rome), which is reputed to be a self-portrait of Caravaggio, as a heightened pictorial metaphor of the permeability of the pictorial surface that can move forward as well as recede. The advanced position of the giant's head appearing in the guise of the artist's visage no doubt symbolizes for Stella the enormity of Caravaggio's accomplishment as well as his own. Figuratively speaking, both of them have decapitated inherited concepts of good painting in order to bring about new awareness. Stella states with measured eloquence:

Caravaggio *(1573-1610)*
David with the Head of Goliath

In Titian's Flaying of Marsyas this concept is an implicit overture; in Caravaggio's David and Goliath it is an explicit declaration. There is no mistaking the message of young David's display of the older warrior's head. To see this painting only on the level of a victory of good over evil, or the eventual triumph of Christianity over paganism, is to ignore the message the artist sends about his personality, his craft, and their common endurance. . . . By offering us the elevated, protruding head of Goliath, Caravaggio freed the encrusted pictorial space that Titian was beginning to pierce at the end of his life. . . . If we imagine a single Renaissance vanishing point moving toward us, encircling the condensed pictorial experience of the past, we can see it transformed at the limits of our focused recognition into Caravaggio's face. As we register this perception, we see Goliath's head (Caravaggio's pictorial will, as it were) pass by us as an exploded point about to disperse itself into a continuum of movable pictorial space, going beyond us to create the space of our pictorial present and future.[38]

Goliath in the guise of traditional illusionism is forcefully and brutally excised from Caravaggio's work in order to engage pictorial space with real space. Although this conjunction is nowhere qualified by Stella as phenomenological, it is indicative of this philosophical view, particularly in its Merleau-Pontian phase. It is important, at

this point in our discussion however, to register Stella's claim that he never read any of the phenomenologists including Maurice Merleau-Ponty.[39]   But we should also make note of his early and long friendship with Michael Fried, who first read Merleau-Ponty in the 1950s during his year abroad in Paris. A decade later Fried made full use of phenomenology in the polarities informing his renowned essay "Art and Objecthood."[40]   Fried's differentiation between pictorial and literal spaces in art may well have anticipated Stella's perceptual and pictorial categories referred to above. This critic distinguishes between looking at objects and at art in the following section of "Art and Objecthood":

> What is at stake in this conflict is whether the paintings or objects in question are experienced as paintings or as objects: and what decides their identity as painting is their confronting of the demand that they hold as shapes. Otherwise they are experienced as nothing more than objects. This can be summed up by saying that modernist painting has come to find it imperative that it defeat or suspend its own objecthood, and that the crucial factor in this undertaking is shape, but shape that must belong to painting – it must be pictorial, not, or not merely, literal. Whereas literalist art stakes everything on shape as a given property of objects, if not, indeed, as a kind of object in its own right. It aspires, not to defeat or suspend its own objecthood, but on the contrary to discover and project objecthood as such.[41]

Fried's enthusiasm for Merleau-Ponty's thought enabled him in this article to distinguish between modernist and minimalist attitudes toward paintings and ordinary objects. His initial and sustained interest in Merleau-Ponty no doubt resulted in conversations with Stella that focused on phenomenological issues even if they were not labeled as such. Stella's keen interest in the interrelationships between actual and pictorial space that accounts for his affiliations with both the minimalist and color field camps in the '60s and that implicates the physical body of the see-er with what is actually seen is a fundamental aspect of Merleau-Pontian phenomenology. Moreover, the physicality involved in looking at projective elements jutting out from the traditional modernist picture plane and dispersing it that has been crucial for Stella's art of the past three decades is likewise phenomenological.

Whether the work is conceived in three dimensions or in two, Stella puts his viewers through the traces, making them work so that perception becomes apperception. The complexity of his enormous mural *Michael Kohlhaas* is an example. Although the source for this piece might be the *picaresque*, tragic, and particularly involved narrative of Kleist's extended novella, the sheer scale of Stella's work, the

interplay it undertakes between reality and illusion, and the performative activity it demands of viewers who must traverse its extended length in order to survey its themes, repetition of motifs, and multiplication of dizzying spaces, are all strategies dependent on phenomenology's physicality.

In conclusion, we might ask if it matters whether Frank Stella is subscribing to romantic or phenomenological concepts in his recent art and whether meaning is a literary overlay or if it actually is found in the conjunction of these works and viewers' responses to them. Our brief exploration of phenomenology enables us to answer the last part of this question in the affirmative. Stella's personalization of phenomenology in his contemporary work, which deals with the complexities of illusionistic and real space as well as matrixed and actual space is of paramount importance since it reinforces a dominant *épisteme* of our age. It involves the relativity of seeing and understanding, which are necessarily perspectival and which are crucial for the development of meaning. As Merleau-Ponty has pointed out, understanding is dependent on both the orientations of the person looking and the material seen, on physical as well as mental conditions. In this manner the authority of the external world is partially undermined, and the role of the individual, while certainly not drawing near the autonomy of nineteenth-century bourgeois individualism, is inscribed in the world, partially determined by it, and also a crucial factor in its meaning. What Stella's work enacts is an occasion for viewers to exercise aesthetically the roles that phenomenology and the matrix have outlined for them both philosophically and mechanically by understanding how aspects of our chaotic and information-rich world can be both beautiful and exciting. This approach goes far beyond its seeming instrumentality by making the complexities of modern viewing both accessible and rewarding. Important in themselves and not simply representatives of the present world order, Stella's works necessitate the ongoing negotiation of phenomenological inquiries that are tantamount to confronting the chaos of the world at the turn of the millennium and formulating one's responses concerning its significance.

1 Brenda Richardson, *Frank Stella: The Black Painting* (Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art, 1976), p. 4.
2 Ibid., p. 145.
3 "Questions to Stella and Judd: Interview by Bruce Glaser, Edited by Lucy R. Lippard" in Gregory Battcock, ed., *Minimal Art: A Critical Anthology* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1968), p. 158.
4 William S. Rubin, "Younger American painters," *Art International* 4, no. 1 (January 1960): 25-30.
5 William S. Rubin, *Frank Stella* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1970), pp. 44-45.
6 Richardson, *Frank Stella: The Black Paintings*.
7 Ibid., p. 39.
8 Ibid.

9   Caroline A. Jones, *Machine in the Studio: Constructing the Postwar American Artist* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), pp. 148 and 147.

10 Anna C. Chave, "Minimalism and the Rhetoric of Power" 64, no. 5 (January 1990): 48. Cf. also Caroline Jones, *Machine in the Studio*, p. 117. Jones refers to Stella's "glamorous suit" in a photograph made by Hollis Frampton as well as his "sartorial splendor – and his rhetoric about 'executive artists.'"

11 Jones, p. 116.

12 Elaine de Kooning, "Subject: What, How or Who?" *Art News* 54, no. 2 (April 1955): 26, 28.

13 Fairfield Porter, "Tradition and Originality," *The Nation*, 29 April, 1961, repr. In Downes, ed., in *Art in Its Own Terms*, pp. 121-4.

14 Richardson, p. 79 reproduces the drawing with notes for this lecture.

15 Lawrence Alloway notes, "Until this time most of the artist's works had been untitled. At the insistence of friends, Rauschenberg quite literally chose a 'name' – Charlene – for this painting." Cf: Lawrence Alloway, *Robert Rauschenberg* (Washington, D.C.: National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, 1976), p. 78.

16 Harold Rosenberg, *The Tradition of the New* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1965).

17 Richardson, p. 46.

18 Cited in Jones, p. 120, who notes that the quotation was taken from transcripts of Frank Stella interviewed by Alan Solomon for (W)NET, 1966, take 5 (typescript p. 5).

19 Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, ed. Randal Johnson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

20 Jones, p. 119, referring to Stella's interview with her, 18 July, 1990.

21 "Questions to Stella and Judd" in Battcock, p. 157.

22 Ibid., p. 158.

23 Donald Judd, "Specific Objects," *Arts Yearbook* 8 (1965): 74-82.

24 Robert Morris, "Notes on Sculpture, Part I," *Artforum* 4, no. 6 (February 1966)): 42-4, and "Notes on Sculpture, Part II," *Artforum* 5, no. 2 (October 1966): 20-3.

25 Mel Bochner, "In the Galleries: Frank Stella," *Arts Magazine* 40, no. 7 (May 1966): 61, and Lucy Lippard, "Excerpts: Olitski, Criticism and Rejective Art, Stella," in Lucy Lippard, *Changing: Essays in Art Criticism* (New York: Dutton, 1968)), p. 210.   For an excellent discussion of Stella's position in relation to the polarization of '60s art in the United States between minimalism and color field painting, cf. James Meyer, *Minimalism: Art and Polemics in the Sixties* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 119-127.

26 Originally published in the June 1967 issue of *Artforum*, Michael Fried's "Art and Objecthood" was reprinted in Gregory Battcock, ed., *Minimal Art: A Critical Anthology* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1968), pp. 12-23.

27 The substantial part of "Now" was published as "Frank Stella: Matrixed and Real Space" in *Frank Stella: Recent Work* (Philadelphia: Locks Gallery, 2000).

28 Frank Stella, interview with author, New York City, 30 September, 2000.

29 Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), p. 268.

30 Frank Stella, "Grimm's Ecstasy" (1991) in Bonnie Clearwater, *Frank Stella at Two Thousand: Changing the Rules*, Museum of Contemporary Art, North Miami, 19 December, 1999 – March 12, 2000, p. 68.

31 Deleuze and Guattari, p. 400.

32 Clement Greenberg, "American-Type' Painting," (1955 and 1958) in *Art and Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961), 226 and 227.

33 Frank Stella, *Working Space* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1986), p. 51.

34 Robert Motherwell, interview with author, Greenwich, Connecticut, 7 December, 1975.

35 *Working Space*, p. 102.

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid., p. 103.

39 Stella, interview with author.

40 Fried, pp. 116-47.

41 Ibid., p. 120.