11

The aesthetics of silence, withdrawal and negation in conceptual art

Jo Melvin

Introduction

This essay explores two interweaving strands of ideas that came to prominence in the late 1960s and early 1970s, which inform a discussion of works by Barry Flanagan (1941–2009) and Christine Kozlov (1945–2005). These were the newly emerging concept of publication and distribution as a site for exhibition and the attitudes identified by Susan Sontag in her 1967 essay, 'The Aesthetics of Silence' (Sontag 1967). The focus here is on Anglo-American exchanges of this period (there is no attempt to address other national or international artistic dialogues) and a generation that experienced political upheaval and unprecedented technological advancement. Protests and campaigns for equal rights took place at the same time as the Vietnam War, the Cold War and the introduction of more affordable trans-Atlantic air travel. The interconnectivity of life was scrutinised by and incorporated into art practice explicitly, seen in the attention artists gave to data analysis, information systems and documentation. Different systematic formations affected minimalist painting and sculpture, and much conceptual art emerged through a paring down of minimalism's preoccupation with geometric structures. The focus shifted to indexical networks, mapping devices, repetition and the economies of production. The Xerox copy enabled artists to take direct do-it-yourself control of the production and distribution of work, enabling them to bypass commercial galleries and cut costs. Coding systems of information networks lent themselves to

number patterns, while telegrams and postcards became a medium for making and distributing work.

Flanagan and Kozlov, absence and negation

The nuances of Flanagan and Kozlov's shared concerns have not been aired since the period, and then it was merely by inclusion in the same exhibitions or exhibitions devised around the 'new art practices'. The exhibitions they both participated in were *One Month*[1] (1969), *557,087*[2] (1969) in Seattle, which toured to Vancouver where its title changed to *955,000* (1970), and *Information*[3] at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, organised by Kynaston McShine (1935–2018). These four exhibitions provide crossover points.

Flanagan and Kozlov were students at the same time. Both likewise were expected to become dexterous in a range of skills via traditional art school teaching. In 1964 Flanagan enrolled as a full-time student of the Advanced Sculpture course at St Martin's School of Art. He became one of the number of artists emerging from St Martin's who were taught by Anthony Caro whose method of constructing sculpture out of industrial metal, steel and so on was a major influence. The move to get sculpture off the plinth was being investigated in many ways, some playful. Flanagan brought the relationship between the horizontal and vertical to the wall and the floor, invoking questions around medium – for instance, painting on the floor (a white circle) or on the ceiling (with hanging paper) or hung on the wall, is it then painting or sculpture?

Flanagan's work was shown in New York for the first time at the Theodoron Awards[4] exhibition at the Guggenheim Museum in May 1969. He was already respected in the United States by the group of artists around Seth Siegelaub (1941–2013) and Lucy R. Lippard (b. 1937). Joseph Kosuth (b. 1945) had written to *Studio International's* assistant editor, Charles Harrison (1942–2009) asking when they could expect to see Flanagan 'in New York as his arrival was anxiously awaited'.[5] Flanagan had met Lippard the previous year in London and they became friends immediately. She sent him a note to say how good the works looked in the Guggenheim; in reply he sent her the postcard announcement for 'a hole in the sea' (1969) and a copy of 'O for orange U for you : poem for the lips, jun0965' (1965) where the letters o and u were arranged alternately in a vertical line (this concrete poem will be referred to later). His vertical rather than horizontal layout of the poem's letters shows his critique of reading from left to right. It is a similar investigation to his placing

of canvases on the floor to be experienced horizontally rather than vertically. The repetition of the shapes of the letters o and u, formed in the mouth and to be uttered silently, echoes Flanagan's statement, 'sculpture is always going on', as even silent mouthing from the body's interior is sculptural.

Since his student days, Flanagan was preoccupied with language's formation and structure. This engagement took various forms; he made concrete poetry as stand-alone artworks – performances, as well as written on paper by hand, but sometimes typed. It can also be seen in his titles. Early on he began to use a system, like a type of shorthand, where he compressed words together. The titles are pragmatic. They are what they are and they reveal Flanagan's interest in 'pataphysics, begun serendipitously when a poet friend gave him a copy of the *Evergreen Review*, dedicated to 'pataphysics, defined as 'the science of imaginary solutions' by Alfred Jarry, the symbolist poet and playwright. Much of Flanagan's poetry, or rather his approach to it in the broadest sense of his practice, takes its instigation from this science of imaginary solutions. When, as an older man, he was asked who his father figure might be, his riposte was he had a perfectly good father, his anti-father was Jarry.

Flanagan and Kozlov met and socialised on several occasions in 1969, in New York City, London and Bern, Switzerland, for the opening of *When Attitudes Become Form*.[6] In this exhibition Flanagan presented '2 space rope sculpture 67' (1967) and the photographic documentation of his recent film 'a hole in the sea'. During the opening, Kozlov, who was not exhibiting, participated with Kasper König (b. 1943) to perform Franz Walther's 'Werksatz' (1963–9).[7]

Kozlov had studied at the School of Visual Arts in New York from 1963. There, she became friends with fellow student Kosuth who enrolled a year later and the pair would collaborate on a number of projects. American artist, Ad Reinhardt (1913–67), loomed large as a central figure for them.[8] For many of their contemporaries on both sides of the Atlantic, Reinhardt's painting, as well as his analysis of visual culture, was influential. Arguably, his practice sits outside the definition of 'abstract expressionism', which is how it is usually categorised. This is perhaps more to do with his association with those artists than a designation of his ideological concerns. His reflective, self-critical awareness of the parameters of painting in particular and cultural history in general was not part of gesture and self-expression, identifying preoccupations of the abstract expressionist. His use of humour to poke fun at Greenbergian formalism in his cartoons is a case in point. Reinhardt's now famous black paintings, shown at the Tate Gallery (as it was then called) in the

exhibition of American art, *Painting and Sculpture of a Decade, 54–64*,[9] provoked frustration and curiosity. The perceptive viewer became conscious of the processes, the physical and physiological processes of seeing. Flanagan remembered looking at the paintings, which were ostensibly black rectangular canvases, and wondered what they held in store for the viewer, beyond their apparent 'blackness'. For the eye to adjust to what it is looking at requires a time of looking, in effect for the eye to open up. During this process, he walked in front of the paintings from side to side, up close and moving back, as if the pupils in his eyes were becoming enlarged, so as to see each painting as a series of stages, of nuances and of gridded black. Reflecting in conversation with the author on this experience, Flanagan remarked that he 'felt and saw' the work as a means to demonstrate the way the eye functions, physiologically.[10] Reinhardt's lectures and statements on art held currency

Figure 11.1 Ad Reinhardt *Travel Slides* (1952–67). Video; colour, silent. Duration: 18 minutes (354 slides).

Credit: © Estate of Ad Reinhardt/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Courtesy of David Zwirner Gallery, New York/London/Hong Kong.

among the younger artists who were questioning the critical impasse created by the acceptance of and dogmatic preoccupation given to Greenbergian formalism. When speaking on art, Reinhardt rearranged conventional historical chronologies and rethought approaches to representing ideas about the shape of time and duration, suggesting a form of pattern-making more akin to musical structures than art historical narrative (see figure 11.1).[11]

In parallel with his longstanding collaborators and friends, the poet Robert Lax and theologian Thomas Merton, his artistic judgements favoured ways of thinking visually around how to represent lack, negation and absence. Shortly after the Tate's large American survey exhibition, Reinhardt had a one-person show at the Institute of Contemporary Arts[12] and this time the work was hung according to his instructions (see figure 11.2).[13]

Kozlov and Kosuth set up the Lannis Gallery, dedicated to Reinhardt.[14] This short-lived space was perhaps the first gallery project generated by students to achieve attention beyond the school's community. Siegelaub, then a young dealer pioneering strategies for exhibiting and distributing work through publications, visited regularly,

Figure 11.2 Ad Reinhardt, Installation view, Ad Reinhardt, Institute of Contemporary Art, London, 27 May – 27 June 1964.

Credit: © Estate of Ad Reinhardt/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Courtesy of David Zwirner Gallery, New York/London/Hong Kong.

and he soon started working with Kozlov and Kosuth.[15] The first exhibition, held in February 1967, was titled *Non-Anthropomorphic Art by Four Young Artists*.[16] The catalogue, designed by Kosuth along with the invitation cards, presented artists' statements in place of illustrations, demonstrating an interest in information distribution. Kozlov's statement is a methodological account of a group of individually numbered works entitled *Sound Structures* (1965) that were hand-drawn on lined paper and photocopied in negative.[17] Each presents a sequence of short lines that are numbered and drawn across the page, referencing systems for musical notation and the black-and-white notes of the piano keyboard. The *Sound Structures* suggest a way of thinking about the representation of sound as a visual concept, emphasising sound's spatial, and therefore sculptural, qualities – like notation, or a performance score or dance movement, without enactment (see figure 11.3).[18]

Susan Sontag's influential text, 'The Aesthetics of Silence', was published in *Aspen* in 1967 alongside Roland Barthes' 'The Death of the Author' (1967), translated into English for the first time. The artist and critic, Brian O'Doherty (b. 1928), was the magazine's guest editor and the

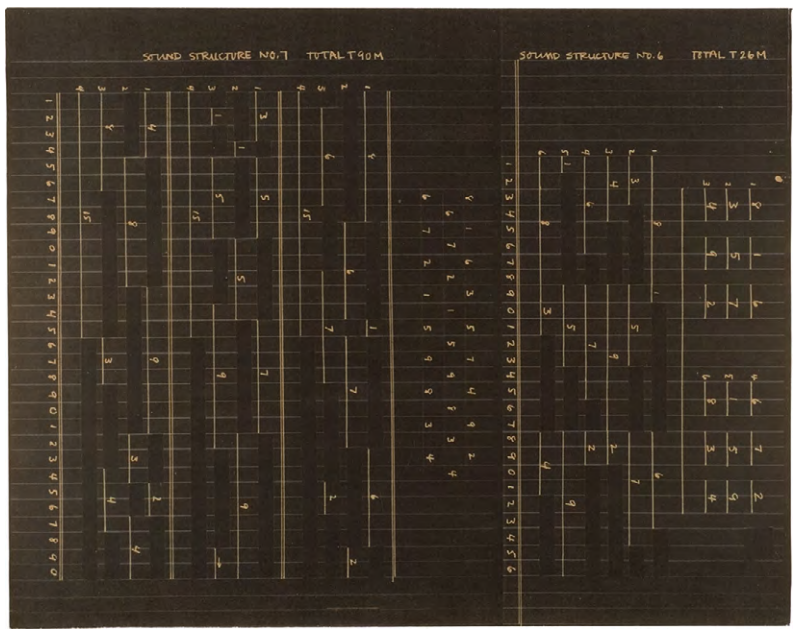

Figure 11.3 Christine Kozlov *Sound Structure No. 6, Sound Structure No. 7*, 1965. Photographic print.

Credit: © Estate of Christine Kozlov. Courtesy of Private Collection, Brussels.

issue was, in effect, an exhibition comprising various art forms: 45 rpm records, 35 mm film, art multiples and essays presented in a boxed set. The reader–viewer could unpack, peruse and display it however they wished. The essays and artworks propose a framework for the symposium and publication, *Picturing the Invisible*, and were evident in art practices emerging at the end of the 1960s and throughout the 1970s. These were prescient for what was to become a growing preoccupation with negation – a defined space of absence – in contemporary art practices. Significant to this discussion are two of Sontag's proposals. One, that the artist should cease production as 'exemplary renunciations of a vocation' (Sontag 1967, II), whereby she argued that the turn away from production undertaken by Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889–1951), Marcel Duchamp (1887–1968) and Arthur Rimbaud (1854–1891), 'doesn't negate their work. On the contrary, it imparts retroactively [*sic*], an added power and authority to what was broken off; disavowal of the work becoming a new source of its validity' (Sontag 1967, II). The other privileges the power of silence to define and to punctuate experience with meaning. She reminds us that it is 'the context and their parameters that define silence' (Sontag 1967, II).

'Silence', Sontag asserts, 'is the furthest extension of that reluctance to communicate, that ambivalence about making contact with the audience' (Sontag 1967, II), and with Kozlov, rather than an actual silence, it could be the experience for the viewer of a form of withdrawal that is more lacking than a deferral or a decision not to commit to an either/or situation. 'Silence remains, inescapably, a form of speech (in many instances, of complaint or indictment) and an element in a dialogue' (Sontag 1967, IV). Sontag points to the generative potential of silence because '[d]iscovering that one has nothing to say, one seeks a way to say that' (Sontag 1967, VI).

Just as Kozlov understood the sculptural qualities of sound in her *Sound Structures*, the experience of the inclusion of systems of notation and narration in three dimensions and constructions of spoken language were fundamental to Flanagan's concerns. Both considered how silence, denoted as a lack of sound, could be a sculptural phenomenon. This is silence as the space in-between sound, which punctuates time or measures duration between points. The inclusion of silence – to signify a gap, a lack, an absence, removal or withdrawal – extends the sculpture's fluidity as well as its parameters.

For Flanagan, sound and the absence of sound were important in his approach. He regarded sound as sculpture and its absence as much an articulation of space and an experience of how we perceive where we are

as a presence. A keen concrete poet, he participated in the *2nd International Exhibition of Experimental Poetry* at St Catherine's College, Oxford, in June 1965, where he presented 'O for orange U for you : poem for the lips', the silent performance of the lips' formation of the letters (see figure 11.4).[19]

The implication is the voice's projection of them, the throwing of these empty sounds through the mouth invoking their lack. A few years later, Flanagan placed the phrase 'No thing to say' across one of his pages in the catalogue for the Tokyo Biennale, *Between Man and Matter*, 1970[20]: each artist had been allocated three pages, for their biography, their plan for the Biennale and the third effectively as an artist's page with their own layout. This page is a collage of words, shapes and photographs. Using a rubber stamp, the words 'No' and 'thing' are placed above roughly shaped rectangles, parodying the idea of definitions of 'no thing', or nothing. These were set above an upside-down photograph of 'light on light on white on white' (1969), recently made for the exhibition *6 at the Hayward Gallery* and later titled 'Hayward 1'.[21]

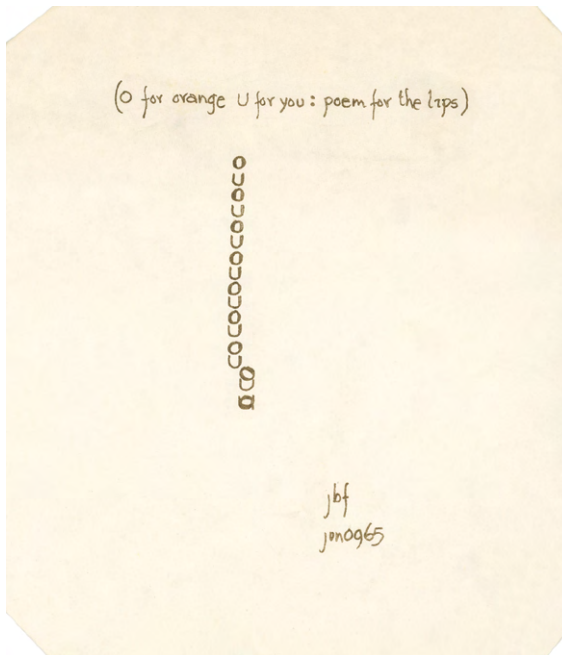

Figure 11.4 Barry Flanagan, *(O for Orange U for You : Poem for the lips) jun0965* (1965), Ink on paper, 23 cm × 20.2 cm.

Credit: © The Estate of Barry Flanagan. Courtesy of Plubronze Limited, 2020.

Also included on this page is a photograph of the artist in profile, his hand held up to his mouth, open as if speaking. The facing page bears an emblematic handwritten statement; 'eye, light, material, measurement', which occurs twice and is signed off both times with his signature. The statement proposes the elements required to constitute sculptural experience and a communication that does not depend on speech, but on speechlessness, and yet paradoxically, as the list of directives is signed and so claimed by its author, it leads to a strategic mode of experiencing the world, the eye sees and measures material through light.

As with sound, Flanagan presented light and the controls it can be subject to, including its removal, as a distinct sculptural element and identified it as a key component in many of his works. The first notable light piece was experienced at the exhibition *19:45–21:55 September 9th 1967* at Galerie Dorothea Loehr in Frankfurt. Flanagan's instructions culminated with the participants drawn from gallery goers, eating a loaf of bread, having completed a list of other actions: switching the lights on and off for 10 seconds at a time, standing in a queue, then a ring, lighting the gas, and so on. To form a line and then a ring, after being subjected to controlled light and dark, all followed by eating bread mixed with salt sounds like a curious way to precipitate aesthetic engagement (see figure 11.5).

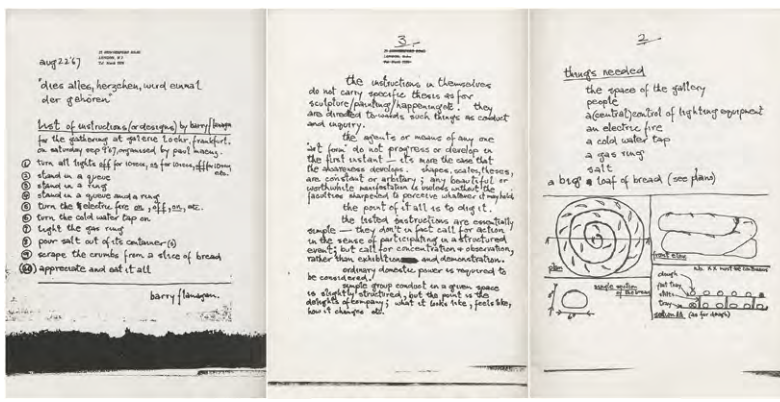

Figure 11.5 Barry Flanagan performance instructions, 'aug 22 '67 "dies alles, herzchen, wird einmal der gehören"' (1967), *19:45–21:55, September 9, 1967* organised by Paul Maenz at Galerie Dorothea Loehr, Frankfurt.

Credit: © The Estate of Barry Flanagan. Courtesy of Plubronze Limited, 2020.

However, the processes of orientation and disorientation, the recognition and subversion of identifiable systems are established strategies of aesthetic encounter, and the interplay of reversal and repetition are intrinsic to Flanagan's practice. For instance, in an artist's page in the October 1970 issue of *Studio International*, magazine readers may have puzzled over how to respond to the black advertisement facing the contents page, with white text that stated 'this advertisement will be blacked out for a fee of £2.25n.p.' (see figure 11.6).[22]

There would be nothing to stop the reader from subverting the offered transaction, to do the blackout themselves and so avoid the fee. In itself this dual and enigmatic possibility would be disconcerting for a reader who was invited to pay the artist and yet would realise the ease with which the task could be fulfilled.

For Kozlov, the student-led Lannis Gallery opened many networks and led to her participation in a number of publication exhibitions, such as Siegelaub's *One Month*[23] and Lippard's *557,087* in 1969. Lippard's was a citywide exhibition, presenting works in different places across a 50-mile radius. The catalogue was another site, with artists making work specifically for it. *One Month* existed solely as a publication. Siegelaub offered 31 artists the opportunity to create a text-based work on a single

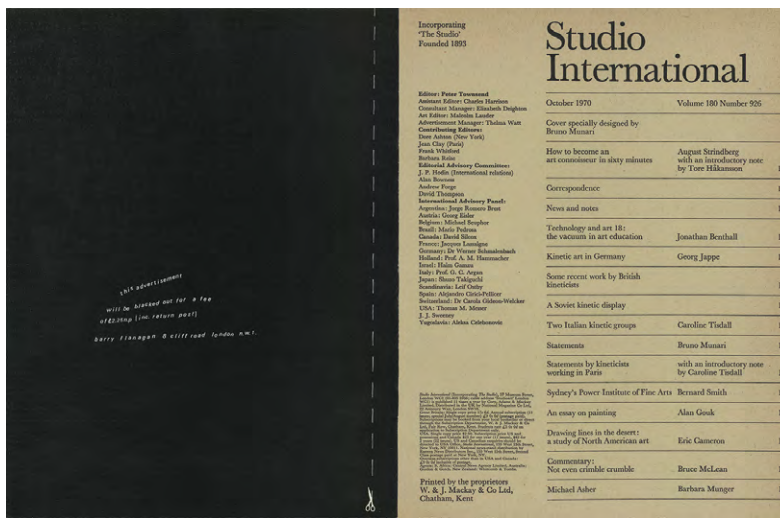

Figure 11.6 Barry Flanagan, *Black Ad* (1970), Studio International vol. 180, no. 926, July/August 1970, shown here to indicate its position in the magazine.

Credit: © The Estate of Barry Flanagan. Courtesy of Plubronze Limited, 2020.

page, one for each day of the month. Kozlov was the only woman included. The book-exhibition was distributed via Siegelaub's worldwide mailing list. The first page reproduced the invitation letter he had mailed to each artist, including Flanagan. Seven artists did not submit work: their date pages are blank in the calendar. Kozlov's date was 19 March 1969. Her submission described a continuous recording, 'from 12am to 12am, a looped tape, duration one hour, sound recorded 24 hours with the actual amount of sound on the tape, 1 hour'. This conceptual work proposes the parameters for her work 'Information No Theory' (1970), included in the 1970 exhibition *Conceptual Art and Conceptual Aspects*.[24] The insertion of the word 'No' in the title is important, given Kozlov's concern with withdrawal. It is a pragmatic and practical negation that pokes fun at the attention given to 'information theory' at the time – typified by Robert Ash's popular book of the same name (Ash 1965). Flanagan's contribution for 11 March returned Siegelaub's invitation letter with annotations on copyright, ownership and circulation of the material requested.

In 1970 Charles Harrison, writing in *Studio International*, gave a tentative explanation for this emerging tendency with the remark that, 'some withdrawals are more effective than most engagements' (Harrison 1970). His article opened with a series of quotations by artists concerning negativity. Reinhardt claimed purity could be achieved through negation: 'You can only make absolute statements negatively.' Flanagan questioned: 'Is it that the only useful thing a sculptor can do, being a three-dimensional thinker and therefore one hopes a responsible thinker, is to assert himself twice as hard in a negative way?' Kozlov, the only woman artist referenced in the article, was actually misquoted, a fact that reflects the socio-economic dynamics of the period, then on the brink of the feminist movement. Harrison misremembered the title of Kozlov's work, which was a phrase used as one of the statements to identify withdrawal's power: '270 blank sheets of paper to represent 270 days of concepts rejected' (1968).[25] His version, 'A stack of several hundred blank sheets of paper – one for each day on which a concept was rejected', suggests the manner in which the idea of the work had lodged in his mind. The tentative phrasing of his article's title as 'notes', may suggest Kozlov's influence as much as the ways the various artists he was interested in were tackling absence, loss or negation, in other words 'invisible things'. They sought ways to focus on lack, making removal a form of action. Harrison's intention in writing had been to engage with the conceptual processes of producing this kind of work and to write in a manner that mirrored the procedural staking of an idea, demarcating territory, while allowing its uncertainty.

In various ways, Christine Kozlov's work is a barometer of her times, yet she continues to be underexposed. She was a central figure in the formation of early conceptual art practices in 1960s New York, being involved in a network of collaboration and friendships. Kozlov's work was based on a systematic participation in and drawing back from these networks until the early 1970s when she decided to stop actively making art. Kozlov did not position herself within the feminist discourse, although her practice drew attention to strategies for withdrawal, and disappearance. This strategy could be interpreted as a form of passive resistance to the more submissive role expected by female artists who were assumed to be 'pleased' if their work was considered to be on a par with that of their male colleagues by being selected for an exhibition. More compelling and subversive is the possibility that to declare a production predicated on either an apparent removal of something redacted, or by simply not having anything there in the first place gives a power to silence. This is alluded to in Sontag's perhaps slightly ironic assertion on how it is that 'Wittgenstein, with his scrupulous avoidance of the psychological issue, doesn't ask why, when, and in what circumstances someone would want to put into words "everything that can be thought" (even if he could), or even to utter (whether clearly or not) "everything that could be said"' (Sontag 1967, XII). Wittgenstein's famous quotation became a mantra for some younger artists in the 1960s. His writing was referenced frequently, for instance by Kosuth, as a rationale for non-figuration to precipitate the mode of an artwork's focus on the slippery ellipsis of grappling with meaning: 'everything that can be thought at all can be thought clearly. Everything that can be said at all can be said clearly' (Wittgenstein [1921] 1993, 26), necessarily suggests its counter position; not everything that can be thought can be said.

The fact that in 1967 Sontag draws attention to the negative effect on our psychological wellbeing brought on by a push to reveal what may more readily have been passed over, or set aside – which blurs the private and intimate with the public in the notion 'everything that can be said …' back to the daily bustle of 'an overpopulated world being connected by global electronic communication and jet travel at a pace too rapid and violent for an organically sound person to assimilate without shock, people are also suffering from a revulsion at any further proliferation of speech and images' (Sontag 1967, XIII) – more than 50 years later, during the Covid-19 lockdown the prescience of these words becomes even more salient.

> Articulating, pronouncing, announcing in language determines the status of an event. This articulation takes place in time, a voice speaking which points to the 'before' and to what comes 'after' an utterance: silence.
>
> (Sontag 1967, XIII)

Kozlov set out to represent 'nothing', to reject concepts and to consider the parameters of silence. Her work points to the margins, to a liminal space where perceptions are in the process of becoming defined. Carl Andre (b. 1935), who was a friend of hers, remarked that he made art 'because it is not there' and climbed mountains 'because they were' (Andre and Sharp 1970). Andre sent Kozlov a postcard in 1975 on which he wrote, 'Sculpture is fat silence'.[26] In the context of considering Kozlov's work as sculpture, this is an important statement. The idea of creating something because it is 'not there' is a way of thinking about practice; to make artwork that denotes what is 'not there' is to provide a framework for nothing; it tautologically articulates an idea of nothing, making it become something.

A prime example of Kozlov's tactical approach is her index card contribution to Lucy Lippard's exhibition in Seattle, *557,087* (1969). This and the Vancouver show *955,000* (1970) were named after the official population figure of each city at the time they took place. Lippard asked artists to submit either proposals or instructions for the realisation of their works on index cards. These became the publication. The cards included writing by Lippard, cited statements by philosophers, a list of participating artists and information about the exhibition. The reader could order the cards as they wished. Kozlov's card is devoid of an obvious statement, instruction or proposal. Written in capitals by hand, precisely replicating typeface, it simply states her name followed by 're: Seattle Show, September, 1969 catalogue card cc: R. Barthelme, O. Kawara and J. Kosuth'.[27] In Lippard's planning files for the exhibition she lists artists alongside the titles of their work and in Kozlov's case her name appears with a gap beside it and the word 'nothing' alongside her name.[28] Once again, Kozlov's nomination empowers 'nothing' and the act negation as productive. Taking a cue from the 'cc' – carbon copy – on Kozlov's card, it is pertinent to observe that there is one blank card in the catalogue, presumably Barthelme's contribution as all the other artists' submissions are clearly identifiable.

Kozlov's work consistently addresses difficult and even slippery problems on what constitutes art and art practice. This ambiguity is in part created by the working situation that she chose to follow. Her friends

and colleagues recall that she withdrew from pronouncements and the rumbustious interaction required for successful art world careers – for example, the influential gallerist Paul Maenz wrote to Kosuth and Kozlov inviting them both to be affiliated with his new gallery in Cologne, but Kozlov did not pursue the offer.[29] Her removal from the growing professionalisation of artists was perhaps even some form of mockery of the art world conventions. Early on, she took the decision not to push herself forward into the milieu of artists jostling for position and career. Lippard referred to Kozlov's 'social/conceptual withdrawal',[30] and in 1970 described her as 'a specialist in the reduction of complex intentions to rejection' and placing her alongside artists exploring 'nothing', from Duchamp and Francis Picabia (1879–1953) to Yves Klein (1928–62) and Robert Barry (b. 1936).[31]

Kozlov's elusive practice addresses ethical problems that continue to require consideration, and the contradiction between artistic exposure and recognition is something that her work raises through manifestations of negation – and, it must be noted, this approach is also humorous. Despite her tactics that caused frustration etc., Kozlov's work attracted attention outside the USA – the connections between like-minded artists in Europe and the UK were particularly facilitated through publication networks. In 1969 Konrad Fischer (1939–96), then a young dealer with a gallery in Düsseldorf, invited Kozlov to participate in *Konzeption/Conception* at the Städtisches Museum Leverkusen,[32] which included many artists from her circle. In common with other younger curators, Lippard, Siegelaub and Yusuke Nakahara (1931–2011), Fischer saw the exhibition publication as a site for artists. Interestingly, however, Kozlov is not present in the catalogue. This absence is significant: she responded to Fischer's request with a Deutsche Bundespost telegram (see figure 11.7) which read,

> I will send you a series of cables during the exhibition these will supply you with information about the amount of concepts that I have rejected during that time this cable and the ones following will constitute the work.[33]

The following year Kozlov represented herself through an inventory of her work. She submitted the list for the exhibition catalogues of *Information*[34] and later Lippard's *c. 7,500* (1973–74).[35] The *Information* catalogue takes the form of an artist's book. Alongside Kozlov's list is a photostat of a Western Union telegram sent to Kynaston McShine on 16 April 1970, which states:

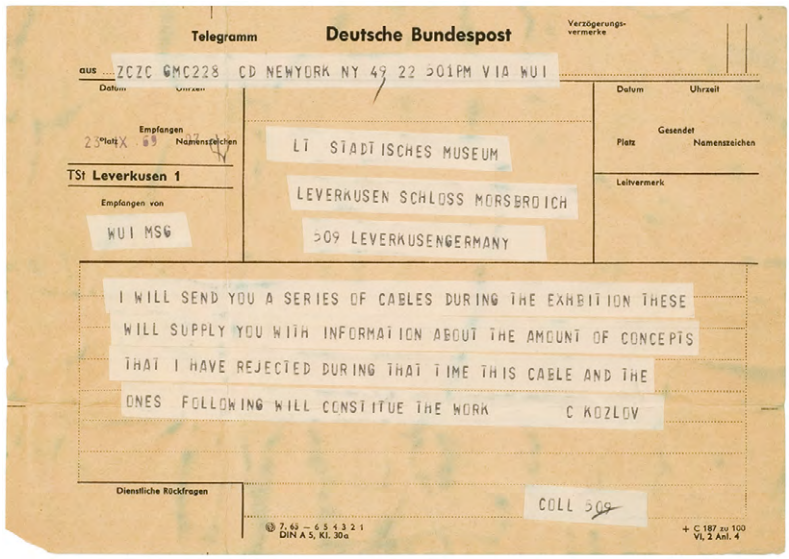

Figure 11.7 Christine Kozlov, Untitled ['I will send you a series of cables during the exhibition …'], 1969 telegram addressed to Konrad Fischer.

Credit: Photographer unknown. Courtesy of Collection Eric Fabre, Brussels.

> Particulars related to the information not contained herein constitute the form of this action.[36]

Notes

1 *One Month*, organised by Seth Siegelaub (also referred to as *March 1969*).
2 557,*087,* Seattle Art Museum Pavilion, Seattle, 5 September–5 October 1969; *955,000,* The Vancouver Art Gallery, Vancouver, 13 January–8 February 1970, organised by Lucy R. Lippard.
3 *Information,* Museum of Modern Art, New York, 2 July–20 September 1970.
4 *Nine Young Artists: The Theodoron Awards,* Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 23 May–29 June 1969.
5 Charles Harrison personal papers, letter dated 3 March 1969. Tate Gallery Archive TGA 200826.
6 *Live in Your Head: When Attitudes Become Form (Works – Concepts – Processes – Situations – Information)*, Kunsthalle Bern, Bern, 22 March–27 A pril 1969, curated by Harald Szeemann.
7 Photographic documentation shows Christine Kozlov and Kasper König performing Franz Walther's 'Werksatz', in *When Attitudes Become Form: Bern 1969/Venice 2013*, Progetto Prada Arte, Milan, 2013, p. 177. The performers were invited by the artist, not the curator, Harald Szeemann.
8 Joseph Kosuth and Christine Kozlov. 'Ad Reinhardt: Evolution into darkness – the art of an informal formalist; negativity, purity, and the clearness of ambiguity'. Unpublished typescript, School of Visual Arts, New York, May 1966. Lucy R. Lippard papers, Joseph Kosuth File 1 (c. 1960s–c. 1970s), Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

9 *Painting and Sculpture of a Decade, 54–64,* The Tate Gallery, London, 22 April–28 June 1964.
10 Flanagan in conversation with Jo Melvin, 14 November 2008.
11 Ad Reinhardt lecture sound files and slides, Ad Reinhardt Archive, David Zwirner Gallery, New York.
12 *Ad Reinhardt*, Institute of Contemporary Arts, London, 27 May–27 June 1964. Charles Harrison was a postgraduate student at the Courtauld Institute at the time. He did not recall seeing the Reinhardt exhibition, in conversation with the author (28 March 2008), but shortly afterwards he became attentive to the concerns of Reinhardt's practice.
13 Ad Reinhardt Archive, David Zwirner Gallery, New York, ICA London correspondence.
14 The Lannis Gallery, in premises rented by Kosuth's cousin, Lannis Spencer, later renamed Museum of Normal Art.
15 Siegelaub's signature is in the sign-in book for the Lannis Gallery (Joseph Kosuth Archive, NYC). Kosuth and Kozlov changed its name later that year to the Museum of Normal Art but used the same sign-in book. Siegelaub's signature indicates his presence at several exhibitions (Joseph Kozlov Archive, NYC).
16 *Non-Anthropomorphic Art by Four Young Artists*, Lannis Gallery, New York, opened 19 February 1967 (end date not listed), organised by Joseph Kosuth and Christine Kozlov and included their work with those of fellow students Michael Rinaldi and Ernest Rossi. Kozlov Archive, London. Lippard papers, Kosuth File, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
17 Kozlov referred to these as *Audio Structures*. 'Compositions for audio structures', *Non-Anthropomorphic Art*, Lannis Gallery, New York, 1967 (not paginated). Christine Kozlov Archive, London.
18 Kozlov made numerous drawings on graph paper using Tipp-Ex to erase the lines of geometric shapes in serial repetitions of form. She applied the same process to music manuscript stave paper. Christine Kozlov Archive, London.
19 Barry Flanagan Archive, London, Barbara Reise Archive, Tate, London and Lucy R. Lippard, Smithsonian, Archives of American Art.
20 *Between Man and Matter*, sponsored by Mainichi Newspapers, Metropolitan Art Gallery, Tokyo, 10–30 May; Municipal Art Museum, Kyoto, 6–28 June; Aichi Prefectural Art Gallery, Nagoya, 15–26 July. Yusuke Nakahara, the curator, spent two years planning, visiting studios and exhibitions in Europe, the USA and Japan. The exhibitions he cited as precedents were *When Attitudes Become Form*, Bern Kunsthalle, *Op Losse Schroeven*, Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, and *Anti-Illusion: Procedures/Materials*, Whitney Museum of American Art, New York.
21 *6 at the Hayward Gallery*, Hayward Gallery, London, 13 November–21 December 1969. The installation comprised various elements, about a hundred lengths of rope each between three and seven feet long covered the floor, a white painted dado around the wall, one vertical light projection and in one of the corners 'light on light on sacks' (1969).
22 *Studio International*, October 1970, vol. 180, no. 926, p. xix.
23 *One Month (March 1969)*, exists in book form. Barry Flanagan Archive, London.
24 *Conceptual Art and Conceptual Aspects,* New York Cultural Center, New York, 10 April–25 August 1970, organised by director Donald Karshan, ghost curated by Ian Burn and Joseph Kosuth. This was first institutional exhibition to focus solely on conceptual art. A telegram announcing the exhibition was made as a poster and distributed across billboards in the city. It is illustrated in Ann Stephen's 'The New York art strike', *On Looking at Looking*, pp. 132–55, p. 132.[2006]
25 Kozlov's work had been included in *Number Seven*, Paula Cooper Gallery, New York, 18 May–17 June 1969, curated by Lucy R. Lippard.
26 Carl Andre. Postcard to Kozlov, October 1975 [postmark not clear], Christine Kozlov Archive, London.
27 Kozlov, '557,087' (1969), index card catalogue, Seattle, 1969. Copied in, alongside Kosuth, are fellow artists and exhibitors Rick (Frederick) Barthelme (b. 1943) and On Kawara (1932–2014).
28 Lucy R. Lippard lists, Seattle planning files, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
29 Letter dated 24 September 1970, Joseph Kosuth File 1, Series 1, Galerie Paul Maenz Köln records, Special Collections and Visual Resources, The J. Paul Getty Trust.
30 Lucy R. Lippard, email to author, 21 May 2015.
31 Lucy R. Lippard, unpublished review of *Idea Structures,* Camden Town, London, 24 June–19 July 1970, organised by Charles Harrison, in Lucy R. Lippard, *Six Years*, p. 172. See also Lucy R. Lippard papers, Charles Harrison correspondence file, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

32 *Konzeption / Conception,* Städtisches Museum Leverkusen, 24 October–23 November 1969, curated by Konrad Fischer.
33 *Konzeption / Conception*, Städtisches Museum Leverkusen, 24 October–23 November 1969. Telegram sent to Konrad Fischer.
34 Kozlov, *Information*, exhibition catalogue, MoMA, New York, 1970, p. 70.
35 *c. 7,500,* Gallery A-402, The California Institute of the Arts (CalArts), Valencia, California, 14–18 May 1973, curated by Lucy R. Lippard. Touring North America to February 1974.
36 Christine Kozlov Archive, London. Kozlov sent the same text in a telegram to Athena Spear for the exhibition *Art in the Mind* at Allen Art Museum, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, 17 April–12 May 1970.

References

Andre, Carl and Willoughby Sharp. 1970. 'Interview: Carl Andre', *Avalanche* Fall, 1 (1970): 18–27.
Ash, Robert B. 1965. *Information Theory*. New York: Interscience Publishers.
Barthes, Roland. 1967. 'The death of the author', *Aspen 5+6 (The Minimalism Issue)* (Fall/Winter 1967) New York: Roaring Fork Press.
Harrison, Charles. 1970. 'Notes towards art work', *Studio International* 179(919): 42–3.
Lippard, Lucy R. (1973) 1997. *Six Years: The dematerialization of the art object from 1966 to 1972: a cross-reference book of information on some esthetic boundaries*. Praeger: New York. Reprint, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press.
Sontag, Susan. 1967. 'The aesthetics of silence', *Aspen 5+6 (The Minimalism Issue)* (Fall/Winter 1967) New York: Roaring Fork Press.
Stephen, Ann. 2006. *On Looking at Looking: The art and politics of Ian Burn*. Carlton Victoria: Miegunyah Press, Melbourne University Publishing.
Wittgenstein, Ludwig. (1921) 1993. *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*. Trans. D.F. Pears and B. F. McGuinness. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.