Yayoi Kusama, 1958–1968
Love Forever: Yayoi Kusama, 1958–1968 takes a comprehensive look at the defining decade of an artist whose recent rediscovery and renewed activity have been one of the great surprises in contemporary art. Accompanying a major retrospective held at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, the Walker Art Center, and the Museum of Contemporary Art, Tokyo, it documents every work in the show (many not seen for decades) and provides a complete exhibition history for the artwork Kusama created during those innovative years. But this comprehensive volume includes much more: Lynn Zelevansky undertakes a detailed discussion of the artistic, cultural, and psychological import of Kusama's New York period. Laura Hoptman explores the artist's important but little-known association with the European avant-garde of the sixties. Akira Tatehata investigates Kusama's artistic roots in Japan, first as a student of Nihonga-style painting and then as a self-created surrealist. And Alexandra Munroe provides an illuminating inquiry into the style and sources of the highly acclaimed fiction the artist has produced in recent years.

Once considered part of the pop, minimalist, and performance art movements, Kusama can now, by means of the groundbreaking material in this book, be seen as a truly original force with a wide-ranging influence on contemporary art. Containing 121 color and 66 black-and-white illustrations, Love Forever: Yayoi Kusama, 1958–1968 is both a fascinating monograph on an important figure and a revealing examination of the complex cultural crosscurrents underlying a crucial artistic decade.
Love Forever: Yayoi Kusama,
1958–1968

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Chassembled in part of the post-minimalist, and post-New York art movements, Kusama can now be considered a groundbreaking artist. In this work, it is seen as a truly original figure within a wide-ranging dialogue of American art. Containing 452 works and over 500 images, and while this title updates the 1999 publication, Yayoi Kusama, 1958–1968: Love Forever recognizes and includes groundbreaking research on the artist’s life and ongoing contribution to the complex and rich body of work underlying a vibrant avant-garde.
Love Forever

Los Angeles County Museum of Art
The Japan Foundation
The Museum of Modern Art, New York
This volume was published in conjunction with the exhibition of the same name. The exhibition was organized by the Los Angeles County Museum of Art and the Japan Foundation in collaboration with The Museum of Modern Art, New York. It was supported by a generous grant from the Nippon Foundation. Transportation assistance was provided by Japan Airlines.

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Exhibition itinerary

Los Angeles County Museum of Art
8 March–8 June 1998

The Museum of Modern Art, New York
9 July–22 September 1998

The Walker Art Center
13 December 1998–7 March 1999

The Museum of Contemporary Art, Tokyo
29 April–4 July 1999

Note to the reader

In Japan names are conventionally expressed family name first. However, to avoid possible confusion for Western readers, in this publication Japanese names are printed family name last.

In dates of artworks a solidus is used (1958/6, 1963) to indicate two distinct periods of work.

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Preface

The Japan Foundation is extremely pleased to present Love Forever: Yayoi Kusama, 1958–1968, an exhibition featuring the work of a quintessential contemporary Japanese artist, which will be shown at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, and the Walker Art Center, Minneapolis.

Among the Japanese exhibitions that we have organized for international art festivals, the solo exhibition of Ms. Kusama's work at the 1993 Venice Biennale had especially broad repercussions and received wide acclaim. Its great success is still fresh in the memory of many people in the art world. In the forty-year history of the Venice Biennale's Japanese pavilion, this was virtually the first solo exhibition, and this was the moment when Kusama's intense expressiveness and unleashed passion were recognized for their true value.

This exhibition focuses specifically on the variety of works that Ms. Kusama produced from 1958 to 1968, when she was based in New York, and attempts to reexamine and reestablish the significance of her work within the context of art history. In recent years Ms. Kusama has continued her creative activity with ever more energy, but the works she produced while she was establishing her personal artistic idiom continue to stand out, providing a consistent thematic background for her artwork right up to the present moment.

We are also pleased that, under other auspices, the exhibition will be held at the Museum of Contemporary Art, Tokyo, after its U.S. presentation, giving Japanese audiences their first comprehensive view of Ms. Kusama's early work.

I would like to express my deep gratitude to the collectors who have generously allowed their valuable works to be displayed in this exhibition. I would also like to express my heartfelt thanks to Lynn Zelevansky, associate curator at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, and Laura Hoptman, assistant curator at The Museum of Modern Art, New York, for their planning and vigorous promotion of this very strong show. In addition, I would like to express my appreciation to Japan Air Lines for their cooperation in transporting the artworks, and to all those who have worked hard to bring this project to fruition.

Asao Shinichiro
President, The Japan Foundation
Foreword

Against all odds and more than any postwar Japanese artist, Yayoi Kusama has influenced the form and direction of artistic production in the United States. Between 1958, when she arrived in New York, and the late 1960s, when performance began to dominate her art, she created a body of work that made a widely known and highly significant contribution to the contemporary scene. Combining aspects of surrealism and abstract expressionism with elements from minimalism and pop art, her work proved remarkably prescient of post-minimalism in the United States, a nascent trend that would not fully emerge until the late 1960s. It also set precedents for artwork produced by some of today's most influential younger artists. Yet up until very recently Kusama remained little known in the West, her vital contribution to contemporary art largely overlooked. *Love Forever: Yayoi Kusama, 1958–1968* seeks to redress this situation.

During this crucial decade Kusama showed extensively in the United States and Europe. In New York she exhibited with major painters and sculptors of the time, among them Claes Oldenburg, Robert Morris, and Andy Warhol. Abroad—together with such figures as Yves Klein and Piero Manzoni—she was regularly included in exhibitions of the Nul and Zero groups. Following her return to Japan in the early 1970s Kusama was forgotten in this country, and her return to prominence can, in no small measure, be attributed to the attention of a younger generation of artists, whose concerns have much in common with Kusama’s manner of connecting the personal and formal, the organic and the mechanical, the physical and the intellectual.

In contrast to the few recent, narrowly focused presentations of Kusama’s work, *Love Forever: Yayoi Kusama, 1958–1968* addresses the full scope of her influential activities during those years and offers an in-depth introduction to her oeuvre for the museum-going public. As well as the almost eighty paintings, collages, and sculptures from Kusama’s New York period, the exhibition includes reconstructions of three of the artist’s precedent-setting environmental installations: Aggregation: One Thousand Boats Show (1964), Infinity Mirror Room (1965), and Narcissus Garden (1966). Originally done for the Venice Biennale, Narcissus Garden marks a pivotal moment in the artist’s transition from installation to performance.

This exhibition is the result of many individuals’ tireless efforts. First, we would like to thank our coorganizers, the Japan Foundation, whose collaboration has made this project possible. We are extremely grateful to the Foundation’s president, Asao Shinichiro, and to his able staff in the arts department, including Sohei Yoshino, managing director, Hayato Ogo, director, exhibition division, and Masanobu Ito, exhibition division, all of whom worked diligently to make the idea a reality. Our sincere appreciation is also due to the Nippon Foundation, who very generously supported the exhibition’s United States tour; we would particularly like to thank Ayako Sono, chairman, and Takashi Ito, manager, planning and coordination, department of international affairs. Our thanks go as well to the Andy Warhol Foundation for their support of this
accompanying publication. Very special appreciation goes to Lynn Zelevansky, associate curator in LACMA’s modern and contemporary art department, and her colleague Laura Hoptman, assistant curator in the department of drawings at The Museum of Modern Art, New York, for conceiving and organizing this timely venture as well as for the important essays they have contributed to the catalogue. Kathy Halbreich, director of the Walker Art Center, arranged for the exhibition’s appearance there, and we are grateful for this partnership. We also appreciate the partnership of the Museum of Contemporary Art, Tokyo, and offer our thanks to its director, Yasuo Kamon, who supported the exhibition’s appearance in Japan. In the end, of course, the exhibition owes its existence to the extraordinary vision of the artist herself. On behalf of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Museum of Modern Art, and all of our colleagues in this endeavor, we would like to express our deep gratitude for her assistance in bringing this important exhibition to fruition.

Graham W. J. Beal
Director, Los Angeles County Museum of Art

Glenn D. Lowry
Director, The Museum of Modern Art, New York
From the time that she arrived in New York in 1958 until performance began to dominate her oeuvre a decade later, Yayoi Kusama produced a body of work that was undeniable in its power and remarkably prescient in its anticipation of subsequent artistic developments in the United States. She showed in museums and galleries, in this country and in Europe, along with many of the most influential painters and sculptors of the moment. Often praised in art journals and personally well connected in the art world, Kusama was a fixture on the New York scene. However, she never received the long-term critical or financial support that might have allowed her to become a lasting art-world figure there. After her return to her native Tokyo in the mid-seventies she was largely forgotten in this country. Love Forever: Yayoi Kusama, 1958–1968 situates her New York years in the context of her earlier and later development in order to help retrieve a piece of art history that, until recently, was all but lost.

Kusama challenges many deeply ingrained assumptions about creativity and art practice. Elusive but crucial contradictions and paradoxes lie at the heart of her project, and this has colored much of what has been written about her. From the sixties to the present, certain dichotomous questions have dogged her: as an artist with a history of mental illness, is she conscious or unconscious of the meaning of what she produces? Is she, in fact, mentally ill, or is she a shrewd media manipulator? Has her overarching concern been gaining publicity or confronting pressing aesthetic questions? Has she been exploitative of artistic trends or genuinely responsive to the cultural moment? Is her work, especially in its most performatory manifestations, exhibitionistic, or does it constitute a scathing critique of male sexual, social, and artistic domination? Was Kusama doubly disadvantaged in New York as a woman and an Asian, or did she use sexual provocation and a contemporary fascination with the East to her own advantage?

As this essay will demonstrate, for Kusama these are largely false dichotomies. The richness of her creative intelligence lies in its ability to embrace and subsume dualities. Since her work strives to be nothing less than all-encompassing, no contradiction exists for her between aesthetic engagement...
and publicity, or psychic disorder and emotional control, and there is no consistently discernible boundary between her self and her art. This essay charts Kusama’s development during her extremely productive New York years. In it I attempt to counter the binary oppositions that have characterized much Kusama criticism, both positive and negative, in order to reach a deeper understanding of the nature of her achievement.

Although Kusama’s visual vocabulary was, to an extent, established during her childhood and formative years in Japan, it was the active and competitive art environment of New York that catalyzed her great ambition and brought her work to maturity. When she arrived there in June 1958 (fig. 1) at the age of 29 she carried with her approximately two thousand relatively small works on paper that she had produced in Japan. Some of these watercolors and drawings utilized the polka-dot and net motifs that would remain central to her production. Occasionally these visual elements were segregated and deployed in all-over patterns that eschewed any conventional notion of composition, forecasting the radical nature of her New York canvases. Most often, however, she used them in elegant, multihued, abstract watercolors and ink drawings that are reminiscent of aspects of postwar French tachisme or abstract expressionism in the United States.

Remarkably, within only eighteen months of her arrival in New York Kusama had radically transformed her art. In October 1959 she was given a solo exhibition at the important artist-run cooperative, Brata Gallery. There she showed five white-on-white paintings nearly the size of the gallery walls. These works were so visually subtle that, on entering the space, “the initial impression was one of no-show,” critic Lucy Lippard later reported, “but on close scrutiny, a fine mesh of circular patterns was revealed.” Lippard was describing the first of Kusama’s Infinity Nets, the often exquisitely beautiful, almost monochrome (in fact, usually subtly two-toned) paintings of repetitive patterns for which she became known during her first years in the United States (cat. 1–4). The exhibition was a critical success. In Arts magazine Sidney Tillim compared one fourteen-foot painting to Jackson Pollock’s Shimmering Substance (1946) and declared, “This stunning and quietly overwhelming exhibition is likely to prove and remain the sensation of a season barely a month old.” Dore Ashton called the exhibition “a striking tour de force, but disturbing none the less in its tightly held austerity.” While Donald Judd, then better known as a critic than a sculptor, compared her paintings to “a large, fragile, but vigorously carved grill or to a massive, solid lace. The expression,” he said, “transcends the question of whether [the art] is Oriental or American. Although it is something of both, certainly of such Americans as Rothko, Still, and Newman, it is not at all a synthesis and is thoroughly independent.”

The stunning transformation that Kusama’s work underwent during her first year and a half in New York was the result of a keen sensitivity to the demands of the cultural moment. Not only did she immediately respond, with
large canvases, to the imperative to go beyond easel painting, a defining tenet of the New York school; she also prefigured the currency of repetitive form and of the monochrome which, in New York, was still largely incipient. Her canvases constituted an ideal bridge between the painterly concerns of abstract expressionism and the reduced aesthetic of minimalism, whose star was not yet ascendent. Kusama had brilliantly reconfigured her personal vocabulary to match new circumstances, a move characteristic of her development from that point on.

In contemplating the complex relation of Kusama to her time I am accepting as a given that every artwork — no matter how brilliantly individual — is mediated by the social conditions under which it is made. The cultural situation at any given moment is a deep, elaborated phenomenon in flux. We contribute to the moment but cannot see the totality of it. Nonetheless, the currency of a particular body of work seems determined in large part by the ability of an artist to choose, from the morass of possibilities, ideas and trends whose time is about to come. T. W. Adorno notes that "[t]he language of works of art is constituted, like any language, by a collective undercurrent. This goes especially for those works which public opinion labels unique, individualistic or eccentric products of creativity." Contrary to what many think, "[t]he overarching validity of art works cannot be usurped by the artist trying to choose just the right subject matter or just the right effect." There must be a genuine connection with the cultural moment for an artist to identify germinal trends and give them the form that will allow them to dominate. Only in this fashion can artists address a broad audience. In a highly original manner Kusama was intuiting, assimilating, and giving shape to important, potentially generative cultural tendencies as they were emerging.

As Adorno suggests, making these kinds of connections is largely an unconscious process over which most artists have little control. However, some appear to be more innately talented at it than others, and those who can interpret, to a degree, a moment that may or may not perfectly match their sensibility can have a modicum of success. Later I will argue that the sixties were not the period when Kusama’s oeuvre was optimally in synch with dominant cultural currents — that period appears to be the present. Nonetheless, her rare ability to understand, respond to, and reinterpret her milieu gave her a significant voice even then.

When Kusama first came to New York she was greatly impressed with the numbers of talented artists in the city. She recalls going to the top of the Empire State Building, looking down at all the activity below, and realizing that, in order to be known in New York, she had to do something truly spectacular. The white paintings, she felt, would be "like a bomb." Though this was an expression of Kusama’s hunger for publicity, her art always has served multiple purposes, and her paintings, as we have seen, also addressed certain pressing aesthetic questions of pertinence to her adopted environment. They were, in
fact, manifestations of both serious artistic goals and the desire for attention. Similarly, the Infinity Nets, while prefiguring aspects of minimalism and postminimalism, were also a response to long-standing emotional imperatives that stemmed from the hallucinations that she suffered as a child.

The complex interrelationship between Kusama’s well-known history of mental illness and her art requires careful consideration. It is crucial, in engaging this issue, neither to mythologize Kusama as a mad, visionary artist nor to pathologize her achievement. Although her work has been shaped in part by her illness, it does not follow that others with similar problems would produce similar work. In fact, Kusama challenges the stereotype of the crazy artist, a romanticized figure whose aesthetic contribution may be simultaneously elevated through immersion in the crucible of pain and denigrated through association with the art of children and other so-called primitives. The insane are generally assumed to create wholly instinctively, isolated from intellectual currents or calculations. Kusama, in contrast, has always been a “conscious producer,” who, like most artists, may use intuition as a tool but is also well aware of the intellectual relevance of what she does. Far from being an “outsider,” during her years in New York she was the consummate art-world insider (fig. 2). Her friendships with central figures such as Joseph Cornell and Donald Judd are well documented. The art historian and critic Udo Kultermann, who introduced Kusama to Europe in the important 1960 exhibition Monochrome Malerei, reports that when he first came to the United States from Germany in the sixties it was through Kusama that he met Mark Rothko, Barnett Newman, and other art-world luminaries.

Nonetheless, it is important to acknowledge that mental illness has deeply affected Kusama’s work. Her illness began in childhood with visions that included recurrent, terrifying images of repetitive and proliferating dots, nets, and flowers that threatened to overtake everything, herself included. These hallucinations, which persisted until she was ten, remain sources of inspiration for the artist even today. The Infinity Net paintings that developed from them seem to have offered Kusama a sense of control, as if by recreating the patterns she had some power over their appearance and activity. Her childhood search for a means of representing the infinite reiterations of nets, polka dots, and flowers in her visions led her to tear clothing and papers into thousands of tiny pieces, shatter windows, mirrors, and dishes with stones and hammers, and render the minuscule networks found in leaves and butterfly wings. She cut “thou-
sands of faces from magazines and collected them in a box,” an activity that she relates to a group of collages that she made in New York many years later (fig. 3). Indeed, obsessive accumulation, arguably the most consistent element in Kusama’s production, seems to be a by-product of her hallucinations.

Kusama’s illness has also helped to shape her creative process. She explains that, while others might be able to tolerate the monotonous labor long enough to complete only a square foot of one of her large canvases, her mental condition gives her the stamina and focus to cover huge surfaces with intricate, repetitive patterning. These same powers of concentration permit Kusama to produce work at a prodigious rate. She estimates that during the early fifties she made five thousand small works on paper. Since returning to Japan in the mid-seventies, not only has she created a large body of visual art, she has also published thirteen books of fiction and poetry. Kusama acknowledges that this level of production has psychic advantages, calling her work “art-medicine,” both because it allows her to gain control over her extreme anxieties and also because the activity involved is, in itself, healing. Thus, in contrast to the practice of some of New York’s most influential artists of the sixties, physical labor is at the very center of Kusama’s art.
In its mature manifestations Kusama's work has not evolved in a strictly linear fashion. She has never completely given up one medium for another, though at different times one form may dominate. Her first three years in New York were occupied primarily with painting in oils. After working exclusively in white, she made Infinity Nets in a variety of colors, usually with contrasting backgrounds (cat. 6–7, for example). The dimensions of the works vary greatly, but in the early oils there is generally a good deal of impasto, and often the size of the mesh changes in different areas of a single canvas. There are also watercolors from this period that render the motif as a fine web of delicate lines.

The years 1961 and 1962 inaugurated a period of experimentation on Kusama's part. After 1961 she seems to have moved from one art form to another in a quest to express the consuming notion of infinity. The first of her collages, made of photographs of small sections of her net paintings arranged in checkerboard patterns, dates from 1962. The same year, she created compositions from airmail and price stickers, file-folder labels, and gummed reinforcements (cat. 30–34) and made a large collage of dollar bills. Alexandra Munroe has noted the similarity between these works and Andy Warhol's silkscreen prints of money and stamps from the same time, stating that Kusama, in employing the actual object, adhered to modernist tradition. However, Kusama already had proved daring enough to defy long-established aesthetic conventions, so it is doubtful that her choice of medium was simply the result of formal concerns. This is an instance where her need for repetitive physical labor comes into play. In her collages the obsessive accumulation of actual things, reinforced by the activity of pasting each element down, draws attention to the fevered mode of their creation; they become intense and pointedly personal in a manner alien to the cool detachment of a silkscreen print.

Although Kusama did not conform to what have since become defining characteristics of pop art, in the early sixties the trend was interpreted more broadly than it is today, and her collages of airmail stickers and dollar bills, emblems of contemporary consumer culture, were often seen in that context. This relationship was reinforced by Kusama's sculptures, which she began making at the same time as the collages, using mundane household furniture and kitchen implements as their supports. It was probably in late 1961 that the artist began her first sculpture, Accumulation No. 1 (cat. 42), in which she covered the frame of an old armchair with stuffed phallic protrusions sewn from canvas. Her early objects incorporated the repetition essential to all her work and were painted monochrome white, silver, or bronze.

Shortly after completing them Kusama showed two of her earliest sculptures at Green Gallery in New York. When he was first organizing the gallery, director Richard Bellamy asked Kusama to join his stable. Although she chose not to do so, she did participate in two group shows there. In September 1962 Bellamy presented Accumulation No. 1 and Accumulation No. 2 (cat. 43) in an exhibition dominated by pop artists. Included were works by Claes Oldenburg (who had developed his own very different soft sculpture at approxi-
 multimedia the same time), George Segal, James Rosenquist, and Andy Warhol. Kusama’s sculptures, like the collages, were emphatically handmade and extremely labor-intensive, lacking the slick, unified surface that characterizes the signature pop work of artists such as Rosenquist, Warhol, and even Oldenburg. Kusama was not commenting on mass culture; she was engaging the world of objects as she perceived it, distorted in a manner simultaneously disturbing and parodic.

If Kusama’s paintings formed an elegant bridge between abstract expressionist and minimalist concerns, and her collages could be seen as handmade riffs on pop art or minimalist repetition, Accumulation No. 1 and No. 2 and the sculpture that followed make the urgent psychological issues underlying the artist’s work more visible. Gone is the ethereal beauty of the paintings and the refinement of the collages; the phallic forms are absurd, and repetition only exaggerates their alienation from the quotidian domestic artifacts that act as their supports, making the sculpture cruder, funnier, and more aggressively emotional than anything Kusama had done before. These objects dare to be laughable, ugly, and threatening.

Kusama’s sculpture had a strong and lasting impact in New York. In Lucy Lippard’s 1966 essay “Eccentric Abstraction”—also the title of an exhibition that she organized that year at Fischbach Gallery, New York—she places the artist among a group whose work presaged what would later become known as postminimalism. Lippard says that the artists in the show “have evolved a... style that has a good deal in common with [minimalism] as well as, surprisingly, with aspects of Surrealism.” She notes that “around 1960, Yayoi Kusama developed similar ideas in her phallus-studded furniture which, though unquestionably fecund, remained surrealist in spirit.”

Lippard was perceptive in making this connection. Although Kusama rejects the notion of surrealist influence on her work, she clearly reshaped aspects of that practice to her own purposes. In 1954 she experimented with decalcomania, a technique pioneered by surrealist Andre Masson and, in an early work from the fifties, she mixed traditional Japanese painting techniques with surrealist imagery. Certain works on paper from the early fifties incorporate a spiderlike vaginal form associated with Joan Miró that was also adopted by the abstract expressionist painter Arshile Gorky. In addition, whether or not they were direct influences, precedents for some of her sculptures can be found in the sexually charged art of Hans Bellmer and Meret Oppenheim.

Kusama is especially close to surrealism in the way that she engages the notion of the fetish. When surrealist writer and theoretician Georges Bataille challenged “any art lover to adore a canvas as a fetishist adores a shoe,” he used the Freudian concept of fetishism to destabilize and undermine what the surrealists saw as pervasive bourgeois values and modes of thinking in regard to high art. Freud maintained that fetishism resulted from the childhood trauma that occurs when a young boy discovers that his mother has no penis and
assumes that she has been castrated. A number of contemporary writers have objected to the way Freud casts fetishism, a by-product of the Oedipus complex and thus central to psychoanalysis, as a wholly male phenomenon, and it remains open to debate whether women can be fetishists in the classic Freudian sense. At stake is the very notion of creativity, which has been closely linked by some psychoanalysts to the mechanism of fetishism.

In Freudian theory the fetish for men becomes a substitute for the mother’s missing phallus. It functions as a vehicle of “disavowal,” allowing the fetishist subconsciously to maintain the illusion that the mother has a penis even though, on a conscious level, he knows that she does not. Although unlikely to be traumatized by the notion of castration, there is no question that women also behave fetishistically, coping with fears by imbuing objects with magical powers and engaging with them through repetitive behavior. In this regard Kusama’s art exhibits traits that are undeniably fetishistic. In psychological fetishism the ritualized use of the fetish object serves to ward off anxiety, just as the repetitive, labor-intensive work involved in making her art has assuaged the anxieties induced by Kusama’s childhood hallucinations.

The artist says that she originally created her sculptures (and later her nude performances) because she was afraid of sex in general and of male genitalia specifically. If this account seems inconsistent with Kusama’s sexualized self-portrayal in certain photographs and occasional participation in the nude performances, it is wholly consistent with her attempts to master her anxieties by engaging, and even replicating, their causes. The fetishistic reiteration of phallic forms in her sculpture simultaneously reifies and combats her fears of sexuality, just as the repetitive recreation of net patterns in her paintings both embodies and counters the terror of her hallucinations. However, in the case of the sculpture, the phallic protrusions represent the actual penis; Kusama appropriates but does not conceal the cause of her fear, whereas Freud’s male fetishist endows with meaning an object that symbolizes and so hides the source of his anxiety.

But Kusama’s art is not simply concerned with the reenactment of her visions or the expression of her fears; she makes the mechanism of fetishism visible in a wholly conscious way at the same time as she exhibits fetishistic practices. Take, for example, a staple of her sculptural vocabulary, the high-heeled shoe crammed with one or more of her stuffed phallic forms (cat. 53). She says that from the beginning these pieces represented an intentional “doubling of the fetish” and, as such, served to make her message more intense. High-heeled shoes are, of course, a cliché of male fetishism and fantasy, and Kusama uses them to exploit their significance in the larger social arena. More than any other found element, the shoes play a recurrent role in her work from the sixties: as discrete sculptures, in clusters, and in larger, more complex works. For example, in Compulsion Furniture (1966) a phallic-stuffed, bronze high heel lies amid bowls, cups, and other kitchen utensils. These have been covered with
Compulsion Furniture manifests a significant shift that had taken place in Kusama's work. By 1965 she had introduced a profusion of color into her sculpture through the use of dotted and striped fabrics. Generally she continued to employ ordinary household objects and furniture as supports and left these strongly hued sculptures unpainted. At around the same time, she began working with store mannequins (fig. 4; cat. 71), objects that fascinated the surrealists and that are also a classic part of the repertoire of fetishism. Kusama painted these figures with brightly colored Infinity Nets or covered them with stuffed phalluses, polka dots, or macaroni, and placed them in mock domestic environments inundated with color and pattern down to their pasta-laden floors. Her dystopic vision, linking sexuality and rampant gluttony, is expressed most explicitly in her mannequin environments of the mid-sixties, which are more literal and less abstract than much of her art.

Although it seems obvious today, no critic of the period mentioned the underlying subject of these works, no doubt because there was, as yet, little place in intellectual discourse for concerns specific to women. In fact, these fundamentally ephemeral installations both explore and satirize the construction of feminine identities. Filled with such paraphernalia as vanities, clothing, and hairbrushes, installations like Yayoi Kusama: Driving Image Show (see frontispiece) recall nothing so much as off-kilter dollhouses for life-size Barbies, stand-in humans subsumed by the patterns that threatened to overtake Kusama as a child. These environments are like blown-up, skewed versions of the domestic tableaux frequently created by little girls. Customarily made with doll furniture, doll clothes, and makeshift arrangements of toys that stand in for desired objects, these children's constructions are training grounds for adult life, where girls work through their relationships to the female role models prevalent in the culture at large. Mannequins, like Barbie dolls, are glamorous creatures, often displayed in chic clothing, in possession of ensemble furniture and flawless bodies. In her Food Obsession sculptures Kusama turned this ideal on its head. Dried macaroni took over the mannequin's perfect form and fashionable accoutrements. The proliferation of pasta seems to represent both excess and clawing need in the process of overtaking what was once a cool, unsellable exterior.

Kusama says that her sculpture on this theme was an expression of the terror she felt when she imagined, passing by on a conveyor belt, the vast amount of food that a person consumes in a lifetime. Today her food-encrusted mannequins appear to comment on the illnesses of anorexia and bulimia—hardly discussed at the time—where the exaggerated, obsessive attempts to conform to a feminine ideal become physically destructive. More recently these eating disorders have been seen as rites of passage run amok and, like sexual fetishism, they act as "transitional mechanism[s] for coping with underlying unconscious conflicts."
Kusama also explored the construction of the feminine in her photo-based work. During her years in New York she commissioned many photographs depicting her artwork and frequently including herself as well. Although a series of different photographers "took" these pictures, the images were, in essence, authored by her. Rudy Burckhardt, who photographed Kusama nude in the installation Aggregation: One Thousand Boats Show (1963–64), reports that she told him exactly how to compose that picture (fig. 5).46 These photographs thus belong to the convention that wed self-portraiture and performance for the camera. This form had been pioneered by photographers in the 1800s, explored by Marcel Duchamp and Man Ray earlier in this century, and was taken up in the late sixties and seventies by artists involved in the discourse on the body, among them Vito Acconci, Eleanor Antin, and Dennis Oppenheim.47

There is little that is overtly sexual in the Burckhardt photograph. Kusama is turned away from the viewer and strikes an almost classical pose. In contrast, a well-known image taken by fashion photographer Hal Reiff in the mid-to-late sixties presents Kusama in a pose associated with old-fashioned pinups, one that entices with the promise of available sex (fig. 6). Naked, the artist lies on her stomach atop Accumulation No. 2, which has a couch as its frame. Her knees are bent, her lower legs raised, her feet, in high heels, crossed. She looks back at the viewer, her face resting in her hand. Her hair is cut in bangs, as usual, but it is longer than it had been previously, flowing down her back and across her shoulders. The hairstyle and black eyeliner recall the seductress Cleopatra as recently played, Hollywood-style, by Elizabeth Taylor. The artist is covered in polka dots, long part of her visual vocabulary. Seen in the context of the upbeat, brightly patterned, pop-derived designs that accompanied the English cultural invasion of the United States in the middle and late sixties, Kusama's dots take on a "mod" fashionability.

Kusama was known to be hungry for publicity, and that is probably how this photograph was most often understood at the time it was made.48 However, like most of her works, it accommodates contradictory meanings. Intentionally sexually provocative and openly exhibitionistic, the image also can be seen as evidence of Kusama's desire to confl ate the representational and the actual, the art and the artist. If at first sight the blatantly exploitative qualities of the picture seem to refute this interpretation, the numerous instances in which Kusama has made herself inseparable from her work support it.

This is especially evident in the collages that she created from many of the photographs that she commissioned. One group provides greater insight into her artistic goals than any other aspect of her oeuvre. Kusama wanted her work to invade and conquer the world like an epidemic. Her collages present...
fantasy environments akin to the Driving Image shows, except that their flattened spaces are so densely layered and packed with art that they would be impossible to realize in the physical world. In them her artwork seems to overwhelm the air itself. The artist serves as a pictorial element in many of these collages. In one she floats above a macaroni-strewn floor, holding against her body a dress encrusted with dried pasta (fig. 7). She is framed by a large phallic dressing-table sculpture, which in turn is framed by a net painting. In another she wears net stockings, emblems of sexuality that also mirror the pattern of the painting.

Similarly, Kusama’s desire to completely integrate herself and her work is expressed in an unmanipulated photograph that shows her standing before the same vanity-sculpture beside a mannequin that is covered from head to toe in macaroni. Kusama wears a densely patterned crocheted blouse that, in the black-and-white photograph, closely resembles the pattern on the pasta-laden mannequin and, again, net stockings. Mirror images, sister creatures, artist and mannequin gaze outward, hairbrushes in their hands (fig. 8). In the Reiff photograph she goes one step further, omitting the mannequins and sporting the polka dots herself. Her art—even her painting—was always fundamentally performatory, with the process overshadowing the product and the artist subsuming the art. The photo-works where Kusama appears wearing net stockings, a crocheted blouse, or polka dots make these concerns explicit.

It is interesting to note that Kusama seldom appeared naked in her live performances. Her nudity was usually reserved for the inanimate eye of the camera in posed photographs. Control, to the extent that she was able to exercise it, was important to her. In the Reiff photograph Kusama exerts additional control because, as a pin-up, she is available to vision but not to touch; she promises, but does not deliver. The artist substitutes performance for presence in a stereotypical representation of femininity that is a piece of theater, a
masquerade, and “masquerade,” as feminist film theorist Mary Anne Doane has pointed out, “in flaunting femininity, holds it at a distance.”

There is a degree of cruelty, as well as humor, in the way that Kusama exploits gender-based stereotypes in the Reiff image. Depicting herself not only as a pinup but also as a seductress in the mode of Hollywood’s Cleopatra, Kusama becomes, like that mythical figure, a femme fatale. This dominating and dangerous female type has been around since Eve who, lacking in moral sensitivity and will power, precipitated the Fall of Man. She is Freud’s narcissistic woman, usually very beautiful, who cares only for herself and causes great dissatisfaction in her lover. In the genre of film noir the femme fatale always gets her comeuppance, a victim of her own lust for power and enjoyment. In the meantime she ruins the lives of the men whose paths she crosses. Doane notes that the power of masquerade, for women, “lies in its potential to manufacture a distance from the image, to generate a problematic within which the image is manipulable, producible, and readable by [them].” Clearly Kusama grasped the social dynamics behind two examples of masquerade, the pinup and the femme fatale, and was able to use these modes of depiction to her own ends. In the photograph in question she acquires power in one of the few forms in which it was available to her. Such power may be facilitated by a male imperative for its own ends, but it is power nonetheless.

Kusama manipulated cultural as well as sexual stereotypes. In New York and Europe she typically donned a kimono for important openings. Assimilating the cultural biases that had been imposed upon her, she presented herself as she expected to be seen. Race complicates and also intensifies issues of female representation. For Westerners the kimono probably evoked the image of a demure and passive Asian woman, a far more acceptable and less threatening figure than the Japanese femme fatale seen in the Reiff photograph. The kimono also infused Kusama’s presence with an extra whiff of the exotic, further enhancing the special appeal that Asian women have for many Western men. At the same time, by emphasizing her own Japaneseness she could share the cachet enjoyed by Zen Buddhism and other forms of Eastern thought in intellectual circles in the United States during the fifties and sixties.

In engaging issues of gender, race, and culture in these ways Kusama was wielding a double-edged sword, and the strategy worked against her in the long run. Invoking stereotypes that imparted sexual allure and mystery may have given her some increased leverage within the male power structure. But a woman artist had to fight to be taken seriously no matter who she was, and Kusama’s masquerades provided fodder for those inclined to dismiss her efforts. There is no question that prevailing attitudes toward ethnicity and gender would have colored the reception of her work no matter how she chose to present herself, but her sexualized self-image also contributed to the way she was perceived and represented by others. Even positive reviews of her work termed her “a young Japanese” in 1961, “little Kusama” in 1964, and “a diminutive
Japanese girl with long black hair, pretty enough to decorate any environment” in 1965, progressively undermining any authority she might have accrued.

While sexuality and related concerns have always been at the center of Kusama’s endeavor, the artist Carolee Schneemann, who knew Kusama well during the sixties, confirms that she “really wasn’t a sensualist” and that, as we have seen, Kusama’s works express as much concern with negotiating power as with sexual desire. If, in the pre-feminist sixties, Kusama lacked a theoretical construction within which to frame the social issues she engaged, a recent statement shows that she has since acquired a means of verbalizing those concerns: “Except for childbearing, something men consider an act of nature, men monopolize all rights to a full life, granting women nothing but an unproductive place in society. Men believe women exist for sex only and are useful only as a sex tool. The way men look at women, collecting them like pets, forces the women to wear makeup and skimpy clothes.”68

Since Kusama’s inclination was always to adapt to what life offered, it is not surprising that her work of the sixties reflected the conditions under which it was made, without intellectualizing her plight as a woman.69 If her understanding of gender relations was largely intuitive, it was also incisive. Her response to the problem was no doubt catalyzed by the New York art world, which during the sixties was an excruciatingly difficult place for women artists. While gender bias in the arts has by no means been eradicated, conditions then were considerably worse than they are today. Schneemann recalls that, as a woman, “you had to shut up and affiliate yourself with really interesting men... You could be an artist, but you were [really] a kind of cunt-mascot. You had to be good-looking.” Schneemann had great respect and affection for Kusama’s tenacity: “She had tremendous will and never, ever accepted the hierarchical values which she entered as a stranger. She never thought Oldenburg was more important than she was, just because he was getting collectors and galleries... And she never let anyone treat her as if she wasn’t absolutely the most critical artist they could... encounter.”70 Few women were able to sustain careers in this environment. While male artists were encouraged to give full expression to their masculinity, women had to suppress their femaleness in their work to be taken seriously, and often in their lives as well.71

This was the environment that Kusama confronted in the United States. Given her sensitivity to her surroundings and the way in which her art and life intertwined, her social milieu naturally affected her sculptural work in the early sixties as it had her painting a few years earlier. It is telling, for example, that the phallic forms that made their appearance in her work three or four years after her arrival in New York are the only formal element central to her visual repertory that have no precedent in her earlier production.72 It is likely that they were, at least in part, a response to the milieu in which she found herself and the pressures that it generated.

Kusama’s reaction to the male-dominated New York art world is evident in the barbed humor of any number of her sculptures. In Traveling Life
(cat. 46) high-heeled shoes sit on the rungs of a tall ladder. Surrounded by phal- 
luses, they are poised for an upward climb. The shoes in this instance seem to 
represent Kusama and the sculpture as a whole to express the way she under- 
stood her situation: surrounded, threatened, and almost overtaken by men as 
she attempted to fight her way to the top in the New York art world.73 If in her 
photographs Kusama sometimes used her feminine allure as protection, here 
the spike heels become a defensive weapon. In Ironing Board (cat. 45) a steam 
iron sits, face down, threatening to scorch and flatten the sea of erect phalluses 
covering the surface. In numerous kitchen utensil sculptures a phallus is 
clamped in a set of tongs (cat. 52) or, severed from its base, offered to the 
viewer on a spatula or spoon (fig. 9).

Kusama's sculptural practice and her preoccupation with the idea of 
infinity found a natural outgrowth in installation work. Her first such environ- 
ment, Aggregation: One Thousand Boats Show (cat. 54), opened at the 
Gertrude Stein Gallery in New York in December 1963. The artist produced a 
poster showing her large white rowboat sculpture on a dark background and 
papered the walls with 999 copies of it (see fig. 5). A dim, narrow hallway led to 
a larger room in which the boat was spotlit, so viewers were inundated with its 
image before they encountered the object. Thus Kusama created a situation 
wherein the boat-sculpture, known and anticipated before it was seen, like a 
canonical masterpiece, became the original of all the reproductions that sur- 
rrounded it. The work was also unabashedly theatrical, a quality not especially 
prized in New York in the sixties, when even performance, defined in relation to 
minimalist sculpture or conceptual and body art, frequently rejected the enter-
taining and emotive in favor of a stripped-down, systemic approach to abstract, 
intellectual content.74

In her two mirrored installations of the period, Infinity Mirror Room— 
Phalli's Field (cat. 80) and Kusama's Peep Show (also known as Endless Love 
Show [1966; see pp. 168–69]), Kusama created fully realized, discrete environ- 
ments. In so doing, she blurred distinctions between disciplines, since these 
were undeniably architectural works, shown in a fine-art context, which she 
used for essentially theatrical purposes (fig. 10). The viewer, endlessly multi-
plied by mirrors, became part of a dramatic event. These chambers also func-
tioned as stage sets for the many photographs of herself that Kusama had taken 
within them.

In Empire of Signs, his book on the semiotics of Japanese culture, 
Roland Barthes writes, "In the West, the mirror is an essentially narcissistic 
object: man conceives a mirror only in order to look at himself in it."75 In Late 
Renaissance and Early Baroque paintings of Venus or Bathsheba, where the to-
ilette becomes a conventional theme of femininity, it is women who carry mir-
rors, symbolizing vanity.76 An obvious interpretation is that Kusama's mirrored 
rooms are explorations of voyeurism, and that the photographs taken within 
them are exercises in narcissism and vanity. But this ignores Kusama's ability to 
embed multiple meanings in her work. In these environments she took the col-
la g e principle—essential to her art since 1962 and manifest in the wallpaper of the One Thousand Boots Show—to what was for her its logical conclusion. Within these spaces images replicate themselves in a manner that gives the fullest expression to her abiding notion of infinite repetition. For Kusama accumulation and obliteration coexist; enough polka dots can annihilate the world. As Barthes also tells us, "[I]n the Orient, apparently, the mirror is empty; it is a symbol of the very emptiness of symbols... [T]he mirror intercepts only other mirrors, and this infinite reflection is emptiness itself..." In Kusama’s mirrored rooms Eastern emptiness and Western proliferation are one.

During the 1966 opening for Kusama’s Peep Show, the second of these mirrored environments and the last that she created in the West, the artist dispensed “Love Forever” buttons; three months later she offered for sale—at 1,200 lire each (then around two dollars)—the 1,500 plastic mirror balls that constituted Narcissus Garden (cat. 81), her unofficial entry to the Venice Biennale. These actions can be seen as her first public performance works. Live art was to occupy her increasingly, so that by 1968 it had become her main activity. This was a logical development, given the manner in which she previously had used photography to exploit the theatrical potential of her environmental sculpture. Despite documentary photographs and the expressionistic 1967 film Kusama’s Self-Obliteration (cat. 82), made with filmmaker Jud Yalkut (which combines footage from multiple happenings and does convey their orgiastic aspects), her time-based works are essentially lost to us.

Kusama’s performances reflected a time when long-standing suppositions about the nature of social institutions were widely challenged and art was charged with dematerializing itself. Her first public events were mounted at the Black Gate Theater in New York in June 1967. By midsummer she had moved to the streets, staging Body Festivals in Tompkins Square and Washington Square. There she painted her signature polka dots on rolls of paper and on the vagabond flower children who populated the parks. Neither before the late sixties nor since her return to Japan in the seventies has Kusama’s art been motivated by geopolitics. However, in the charged climate of those years nudity itself could be seen as a sociopolitical statement, and more pointedly ideological issues also found their way into her happenings. In 1968 she staged Naked Demonstration/Anatomic Explosion on Wall Street. In her press release for the action Kusama proclaimed, “STOCK IS A FRAUD! STOCK MEANS NOTHING TO THE WORKING MAN. STOCK IS A LOT OF CAPITALIST BULLSHIT,” and admonished people to “OBLITERATE WALL STREET MEN WITH POLKA DOT DOTS.” More consistent with Kusama’s usual concerns, in August 1969 she directed Grand Orgy to Awaken the Dead at MoMA (Otherwise Known as the Museum of Modern Art). The happening occurred in the museum’s sculpture garden, where eight naked participants stepped into the pool and mimed the poses of the sculptures around them. The event made the front page of the New York Daily News (fig. 11).
Kusama's performances were notorious. Even her most consistent supporters had, as one critic put it, the "lurking sense that there is absolutely nothing she would not do for publicity." He goes on, "There's a certain value in any artist who pushes to the extremes—he may uncover materials others may make coherent use of, whether or not he is coherent in himself. But Kusama leaves one wondering. She wouldn't be so spooky if she were entirely an artist—or entirely an exploiter. But like Andy Warhol, she is a blend of the two, combining the obsession of an artist with the ruthless cynicism of an exploiter. And there is a lurking sense that when she talks about self-destruction, she means every word of it." As Kusama’s involvement with performance increased, the coverage of her activities in the art journals lessened. More and more she found her print audience in tabloid newspapers and other kinds of magazines. There they dubbed her "The Polka-Dot Princess." James Golata, Kusama’s business manager at the time, remembers that she was annoyed at being ignored by the art press but felt that the tabloids were a good place for art, since they brought it to "the people."

Artist Mike Kelley, who included a photograph of Kusama posing with a macaroni-laden mannequin in his 1993 book The Uncanny, sees the art world’s dismissal of Kusama's performances as reflecting a pervasive disregard for the more radical manifestations of sixties counterculture. With hindsight it can be difficult to accept the romanticized excesses of that time, its utopian belief in the infallibility of the individual and the power of unmediated feelings. These and kindred assumptions are at the core of much of the cultural production of the period. Kusama’s work included. Her happenings engage and explore a constellation of attitudes that became emblematic of the time: capitalism is bad; the work ethic is oppressive; individual expression is the answer; free love will cure the world’s ills.

Although it is difficult today to grasp the exact nature of Kusama’s performances, the documentation that exists makes it clear that they constitute the bluntest and most aggressive aspect of her work. If, in the sculpture, phallic protrusions overtake domestic objects like ravenous bacteria, the performances confronted viewers with actual bodies, vulnerable in their nakedness and covered with rashlike dots that suggest infection and extreme discomfort. The film Self-Obliteration includes scenes from Kusama’s orgy-performances that seem not entirely celebratory. Like all of her work, the events were double-edged, mixing the satirical with the slightly sadistic. Group abandon left participants open to domination by the artist who, in one scene, slips a sock over someone’s penis and then dabs it with paint. Kusama thus infantilizes masculinity, robbing it of its symbolic power to dominate, a goal achieved in many of her sculptures as well. In Self-Obliteration she and Yalkut capture a feeling of hollowness that—despite the ethic of peace and love—also resonated during a period when the measure of cool was to what extent you could live in the moment, explore sensation, and make no judgments or commitments. Whether or not
Kusama meant to reveal the dark side of the sexual revolution, she was unquestionably caught up in the hippie environment and was responding to it.

It is possible that the sensitivity and responsiveness to the cultural moment that served Kusama so well during her early years in New York worked against her a decade later, when the art world’s injunction against physicality encouraged her to abandon the material manifestations of her art. Although conceptually repetitive, the performance work did not necessitate the long hours of repetitious labor that had been Kusama’s “art medicine.” In addition to being robbed of this therapeutic activity, she also inhabited a social milieu that was extremely unstable. For someone with Kusama’s anxieties this must have been a highly stressful situation.88 Never easy, life became even more emotionally and financially difficult for her during the late sixties.89

Despite the accusations of sensationalism and publicity seeking, there is no question that Kusama was as serious about her happenings as she had been about her other creative endeavors. Not only were they aesthetically consistent with the rest of her artistic project, emphasizing her usual themes of repetition and obsession as well as her engagement with the body; they were also politically important to her. Udo Kultermann is one of a number of people who remember that in the late sixties Kusama was adamantly against the Vietnam War.90 Jon Hendricks, who in the seventies was a founding member of the Guerilla Art Action Group, a performance collaborative, says that Kusama was influential for them, citing particularly her MoMA performance piece.91

Although she has not always received credit for her innovations, when Kusama departed the United States in the seventies she left a legacy that affected her own generation and is still felt today.92 Lippard surmises that of all the artists in New York during the sixties Kusama provided the most significant precedent for the obsessive, repetitive, body-oriented objects of Eva Hesse, one of the most influential postminimalists.93 In the late seventies Louise Bourgeois made sculpture with protrusions closely resembling the phallus-studded furniture that Kusama created in the middle sixties. In a 1978 performance by Bourgeois, participants wore garments very reminiscent of Kusama’s clothing-sculptures from the earlier period (fig. 12).94 Thus, even during the time when her accomplishments were eclipsed in the West, Kusama’s influence was indirectly felt through the work of two of our most powerful sculptors.

There are many reasons why Kusama was largely forgotten after her return to Japan. It was not only because she left New York before conditions for women artists had substantially improved, or because some in the art world looked askance at the performances that were her overriding concern immediately prior to her departure. It is important to recognize that only a tiny percentage of even our most successful artists are able to maintain careers in the face of the waxing and waning of aesthetic and market trends, and that a unique interweaving of professional, personal, and circumstantial factors determines the staying power of each artist of unusual talent and creative energy. Among
practical considerations, the long-term commitment of an influential gallery might have made a difference, but Kusama never had that kind of support.

Earlier I argued that the currency of a particular body of artwork seems determined in large part by the degree to which, in it, an artist gives voice to what will ultimately become dominant cultural trends as they emerge. I would also argue that the sixties were not when Kusama’s creative sensibility was optimally in synch with those trends. Between 1958 and 1968 she engaged certain key formal and conceptual concerns of her adopted artistic milieu. Before such categories were more narrowly defined, she could be seen as a minimalist because she employed the strategies of repetition and modularity or as a pop artist because she integrated elements from popular culture and everyday life. At its core, however, her art was too organic in its references, too emotional, and in some cases too crude, to fully conform to the dominant aesthetics of the period. Although it may not have been obvious during the sixties, when her affinities with developing styles would have been more prominent than the differences, Kusama’s art ultimately proved problematic in its idiosyncratic involvement with autobiography, the body, and the feminine voice. But it is those very qualities that make it especially resonant today.

Over the last twenty-five years there has been a shift in the art world from an emphasis on the notions of objective and enduring truths, associated with modernism, to a postmodern discourse that, as cultural theorist Andreas Huyssen has described it, “operates in a field of tension between tradition and innovation, conservatism and renewal, mass culture and high art, in which the second terms are no longer automatically privileged over the first; a field of tension which can no longer be grasped in categories such as progress versus reaction, left versus right, present versus past, modernism versus realism,
abstraction versus representation, avant-garde versus kitsch.\textsuperscript{96} In the seventies, feminists' close examination of representations of women in art and popular culture began a process of destabilizing notions of sexual identity. In the eighties, fueled by the AIDS epidemic, attention focused on explorations of the human body that emphasized its constantly shifting social construction and meaning.\textsuperscript{97} These developments have combined with the broader multicultural debate to sensitize art audiences in the United States to issues of sexuality, gender, and ethnicity.\textsuperscript{98}

The resulting intellectual climate has proved hospitable to Kusama, who was in many ways postmodern \textit{avant la lettre}. Her embrace of seeming dichotomies and her prescient examination of culturally prescribed identities have made her increasingly important for younger artists. Fundamentally performatory, her installations and photographs anticipate work by Janine Antoni, Matthew Barney, Yasumasa Morimura, and many others. For Kusama the body is both the vehicle and the central metaphor for the expression of emotional and, in particular, erotic experience; fragmented, absurd, and vulnerable, it is simultaneously horrific and comical. This attitude prefigures sculpture and photographs by such artists as Robert Gober, Rona Pondick, Cindy Sherman, and Kiki Smith, all of whom focus on the body or its parts as a means of examining extreme psychological states.\textsuperscript{99}

Pondick endorses the idea that Kusama's disappearance from the annals of art history in the seventies occurred because her art was too idiosyncratic and emotional to have been fully assimilated in the more doctrinaire sixties. At that time, Pondick feels, formal issues so dominated the cultural discussion that the extra-art content of a work often went unmentioned. She points out that thirty years ago Hesse was recognized less for her exploration of sexuality than for her use of unconventional materials.\textsuperscript{100} A humorous photograph from around 1968 shows Hesse lying rigidly face-up, eyes open, on an old-fashioned chaise longue, fully dressed as if ready for burial or psychoanalysis (fig. 13). She is covered with cord or rope of a type that could have been used in her sculpture. A comparison of this image with the photograph of Kusama nude on Accumulation No. 2 illustrates the point. Hesse is cloaked with and subsumed by the material nature of her art, while nonformal matters such as sexuality and identity are the main event for Kusama. In Pondick's view, Hesse's work is more controlled, more concerned with art issues: "Kusama did everything that Hesse was afraid to do," she asserts. Pondick feels that in Kusama's work there is the sense that she is not out to please anyone; she shows you how to "just do, without worrying about how it's perceived."\textsuperscript{101} Pondick's point is important. Although Kusama craved recognition, she also had an overriding need to make her own statement. Forced to choose between art-world esteem and personal expression, as she was with her performance work, personal expression prevailed.

Like Pondick, artist Polly Apfelbaum is intrigued by the obsession evident in the work, although Apfelbaum focuses more on the manner in which
Kusama uses the freedom inherent in abstraction; in particular she notes the nature of Kusama's mark and how its repetition can communicate shifting states of mind.102 Mike Kelley, on the other hand, responds to Kusama's visceral materials, the psychedelia in her imagery, and the gaudiness of her work. He "like[s] the artists of that period who thought about their actions and...their position in the world as somehow equivalent to their art production...[so that] dress and behavior...become part of the work."103 Jessica Diamond showed parts of her ongoing multidisciplinary project Tributes to Kusama in the Aperto section of the Venice Biennale in 1993104 (the same year that Kusama represented Japan in that exhibition), adopting Kusama's bright palette of the mid-sixties for wall paintings that utilize text. Far from ignoring the performance pieces, in a 1992 work Diamond highlights the phrase "stock is a fraud" from Kusama's 1968 Wall Street happening.105

The complexity of Kusama's enterprise makes her œuvre deep, rich, and unpredictable. She has been able to combine exhibitionism and apparent opportunism with deep commitment and profound meaning, sexual provocation with sexual ambivalence. During Kusama's New York years her work evidenced extraordinary material ambition even as it moved inexorably toward ephemeral-ity. Throughout the period she remained remarkably consistent. That the whole of her New York production is essentially performatory is apparent from the primacy of process that always determined the formal attributes of her two- and three-dimensional work. Kusama's vision of infinity and her desire to subsume the world around her also remained constant. As early as 1961 she exhibited a nine-by-thirty-three-foot canvas in a one-person exhibition at the Stephen Radich Gallery (fig. 20, p. 48). An early form of installation art, paintings like these represented efforts to create spaces totally defined by art, forecasting her later photocollages, installations, and mirrored rooms.

Kusama's world has been dominated by a marathon dance of production that obliterates any separation between art and life. She and her art are wedded so inextricably that it is impossible to tell where one begins and the other leaves off. In confronting the depth and breadth of her work one encounters an unusually raw form of invention. During—for better or worse—can be a by-product of true obsession, and Kusama has been daring, creating the art that she must against great odds. At another time we might have mythologized her in the manner of Vincent van Gogh and Jackson Pollock, romantic figures whose obsessive need to create was paralleled by an even stronger inclination to push emotional and physical boundaries to the edge of self-destruction. If Kusama is heroic, it is for an opposite and arguably more prosaic reason. Rather than suffering for her art, she has used it to fight psychic disintegration, and it stands as evidence of and reward for that battle. Today, in the United States, much of the art world is disenchanted with movements and trends and suspicious of grand proclamations and global theories. Kusama—offbeat, relentless, and female—may be the only kind of hero that we can accept.

Date in Bhupendra Karia, "Biographical Notes," in Yayoi Kusama: A Retrospective exh. cat., (New York: Center for International Contemporary Arts, 1989), 74. Many of the watercolors were reworked in the 1960s. Some retain elements from the early fifties; other were completely repainted or drawn over.

This Tenth Street co-op, administered by the brothers Nicholas and John Krusheniek, showed a number of influential artists early in their careers. See Selected Exhibition History.


Sidney Tillim, "In the Galleries," Arts 34, no. 1 (October 1959): 56.

Donald Judd, "Reviews and Previews: New Names This Month," Artsnews 58, no. 6 (October 1959): 17. In his original draft of the review Judd ends by saying that Kusama’s paintings “are advanced in all respects: the great frantility, the relative lack of tone, the dual economy and complexity of the structure, the importance of the single stroke, whose multiplicity is so essential here, and the color and detail as surface itself. The expression is cool and tough; its vast generality is achieved through a precision and an individuality of statement, not directly.” Draft from Donald Judd archive, Marfa, Texas. Judd eventually owned two of Kusama’s white paintings, at least one through purchase, as well as a large phallic sculpture from the 1970s, a smaller sculpture, and a painted dress from Kusama’s New York period.

During the fifties, monochrome painting, though more influential in Europe than in the U.S., had precedents in New York art. Rauschenberg’s all-white paintings of 1951 were primarily dada gestures, but his black paintings, begun the same year, were closer to Kusama’s enterprise. Jasper Johns’s first show at Castelli Gallery (January–February 1958) included Green Target, an all-white Flag, and the monochrome grey Numbers and White Numbers. Ad Reinhardt had been making monochrome canvases in blue and red since 1952; by 1954 he had reduced his palette to shades of black.

I have used “cultural situation” and “cultural moment,” instead of the Marxist term “ideology,” to define the deep, complex, and dynamic workings of culture. The concept of the cultural moment should not be confused with the romantic notion of an informing temporal spirit, or “zeitgeist.”


Kusama, interview by author, Kusama’s studio, Tokyo, 29 September 1995.

See, for example, Michel Thévenez, Art Brut (New York: Rizzoli, 1976), 11. The surrealists were also guilty of such stereotyping.

Mike Kelley coined this term, which is especially apt. Kelley, interview by author, Kelley’s studio, Los Angeles, 27 March 1996.

See, for example, Karia, “Notes,” 76 and 98.
Kultermann, interview by author, Kultermann’s apartment, New York City, 17 April 1995.

Kusama often has discussed the relationship between her illness and her art. In 1975 she wrote “Struggles and Wandering of My Soul,” which begins, “It was hallucination that drove me to paint.” Unpublished typescript from Kusama archive. See also Alexandra Munroe, “Obsession, Fantasy and Outrage: The Art of Yayoi Kusama,” in Yayoi Kusama: A Retrospective, 13–14.

Kusama, interview by author, Kusama’s studio, Tokyo, 15 May 1996.

Kusama, interview by Gordon Brown for WABC radio, June 1964. Reprinted in Armando et al, eds., De nieuwe stijl (The new style), vol. 1 (Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, [1965]). Research for this exhibition has located only one photocollage of cut-out heads, though multiple works of this kind are documented in photographs of Kusama’s studio from the sixties and in a video done for Belgian television, L’Ecole de New York (Brussels: Radio Télévision Belge de la Communauté Française, 1965), where Kusama is seen amid cups and saucers, bed linen, and other household items that have been covered with these cut-outs.

Kusama, 26 September 1995 interview.

On her larger canvases Kusama usually worked on one approximately twelve-inch-square area at a time. This method resulted in the linear divisions that subtly crisscross many of the paintings of her New York period.

Kusama, 15 May 1996 interview.

Kusama, 1 October 1995 interview. Kusama has strong feelings about psychiatric care for artists. She believes that Freudian analysis was damaging for her, because it robbed her of the energy that she used for art-making. Kusama, 26 September and 1 October 1995 interviews.

I am thinking here of pop artists like Andy Warhol, who favored commercial processes like silkscreen; minimalists like Donald Judd, who commissioned industrial and other fabricators to produce their work; and, at the end of the decade, conceptual artists like Lawrence Weiner, who believed that to present the artist’s idea was sufficient, and there was no need to physically create the work.

For example, the Infinity Net oil paintings that Kusama first created in 1958 dominated her production for three years. After that, the net continued to function as an element in her visual alphabet and was adapted for different contexts. As the sixties wore on, it found its way into rapidly executed felt-pen drawings which, lacking both the complex visual texture and the intensity of the earlier paintings, became more a symbol of a process than a manifestation of the process itself; into more complex painted compositions; and onto mannequins used in installations. It eventually became a decorative motif on the clothing that Kusama designed toward the end of the decade.

Kusama, 15 May 1996 interview. She later said that she made four or five versions of this collage (Kusama, conversation with Laura Hoptman, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 18 September 1996, recounted to the author).
25 Munroe, "Obsession," 20. The artist George Segal recounted that, upon seeing Warhol’s repetitions of dollar bills, “We were amused... because this Japanese girl Yayoi Kusama was already at the Green Gallery with her repetitions of penises” (Jean Stein, Edie: An American Biography [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982], 189).

26 Today we are more inclined to read Kusama’s collages as elegant and witty puns on what was then a nascent minimalism. See, for example, Roberta Smith, “60’s Minimalism, Looking Handmade,” New York Times, 24 May 1996.

27 Donald Judd helped Kusama retrieve discarded furniture from the street for her first sculptures; he also assisted in stuffing the protrusions that cover Accumulation No. 1 (Karia, “Notes,” 79).

28 Richard Bellamy, interview by author, Oil and Steel Gallery, Long Island City, New York, 29 November 1995. Later Kusama changed her mind and asked her Washington, D.C., dealer, Beatrice Perry, and Judd to speak with Bellamy about representing her. No long-term arrangement came of this.

29 Lucy Lippard grouped Kusama with “others using popular objects in their work” in the early sixties, among them George Brecht, Dan Flavin, Robert Watts, and Robert Morris: “Yayoi Kusama anticipated Warhol’s repeated rows of soup cans, money, green stamps, and photographs with her own repeated rows of mailing stickers used non-objectively” (Lippard, “New York Pop,” in Pop Art [New York: Praeger, 1966], 75).

30 After 1962 handmade paintings and drawings were overshadowed by silkscreen as the primary medium for Warhol’s art. Similarly, after 1963 or 1964 painterly aspects disappeared from Oldenburg’s sculpture. There were, of course, exceptions— notably in the work of Jim Dine—to this trend in pop art.


32 Lippard, “Eccentric Abstraction,” 101. Lippard was a scholar of surrealism (see, for example, “Ernst and Dubuffet: A Study in Like and Unlike” in Art Journal 21, no. 4 [summer 1962] and Surrealists on Art [Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1970]). However, there is evidence that, at this time in New York’s contemporary art world, surrealism often was seen as degraded. For example, in Brian O’Doherty’s review of Kusama’s 1963–64 One Thousand Boats Show at Gertrude Stein Gallery he assures readers that Kusama’s work is no mere “surrealist caper.”

33 Kusama, interview by author, Kusama’s studio, and condominium that serves the artist as a storage facility, Tokyo, 17 May 1986.


The subject is explored, for example, by Janine Chasseguet-Smirgel, who claims that fetishism constitutes an important aspect of "the creation of a new reality in which the father and his attributes are disqualified and in which the genital level of sexuality is disavowed" (Chasseguet-Smirgel, "Reflections on Fetishism," in Creativity and Perversion [London: Free Association Press, 1985], 80).

"In the world of psychical reality, the woman still has a penis... But this penis is no longer the same as it once was. Something else has taken its place... The horror of castration sets up a sort of permanent memorial to itself by creating this substitute" (Sigmund Freud, "Fetishism," in Sexuality and the Psychology of Love [New York: Macmillan, 1963], 216).

Kusama, 26 September 1995 interview.

Kusama, 15 May 1996 interview. Kusama also said that she wanted to put the shoes everywhere, to hang them from walls if possible, underscoring her desire for intensity.

Compulsion Furniture was constructed in two parts. In the sixties a German dealer divided the sculpture and sold it as two separate works. One half entered the collection of Peter Ludwig and now belongs to the Ludwig Museum in Cologne; it is in almost perfect condition. For many years the other half was lost. Recently it surfaced, considerably damaged, and was restored. In the opinion of the curators of this exhibition it is not currently in exhibitable condition, especially when reunited with its nearly pristine former mate from the Ludwig Museum. For this reason Compulsion Furniture is not included in Love Forever: Yayoi Kusama, 1958–1968.

Chasseguet-Smirgel describes a world close to the ones Kusama constructed in her Driving Image installations: "Puppets, mannequins, waxworks automatons, dolls, painted scenery, plaster casts, dummies... All form a part of the fetishist's magic and artful universe. Lying between life and death, animated and mechanic, hybrid creatures to which habits gave birth, they all may be likened to fetishes. And as fetishes, they give us, for a while, the feeling that a world not ruled by our common laws does exist, a marvelous and uncanny world" (Chasseguet-Smirgel, 88).

Although Betty Friedan's The Feminine Mystique (New York: Norton, 1963) was published to wide notice, it marked a controversial beginning for a politicized discourse on women's issues, and the questions it raised did not yet have widespread credibility.

Kusama, 15 May 1996 interview.

Ibid. Kusama says she was unaware of these illnesses.


Rudi Burckhardt, conversation with author, Burckhardt's loft, New York City, 11 December 1995. Burckhardt thinks he may have made the first nude photographs of Kusama.

Early practitioners such as Julia Margaret Cameron (1815–79) and F. Holland Day (1864–1933), who photographed themselves and others in tableaux with religious and allegorical themes, worked without the self-consciousness that has characterized the production of artists from Duchamp and Man Ray to Cindy Sherman.
In a recent article Calvin Tomkins interprets the Reiff photograph in a manner—implicitly flattering to men—that was probably common at the time that the image was made. He mentions Alexandra Munroe's analysis of Kusama's sculpture, which sees in it an attempt to defy male dominance, and writes, "Fair enough. Let's just note, though, that in a frequently published photograph for which Kusama posed in 1966, nude save for high-heeled pumps, lying face down on a phallic-bristling couch, and looking candidly at the lens, her expression does not exactly project defiance" (Tomkins, "A Doyenne of Disturbance Returns to New York," New Yorker [7 October 1996]: 102).

In his 1964 review of Kusama's Driving Image Show at Castellane Gallery Donald Judd enumerates the many paintings, sculptures, and collages that filled the space, adding, "[T]he gallery is small, so it is jammed." Judd, "Yayoi Kusama," Arts 38, no. 10 (September 1964): 68.

Very few of these collages exist today in their original form. Some—for example, the ones for the Yayoi Kusama: Driving Image Show in New York—were used for exhibition announcements and may have been discarded by the printer.

One instance of her performing nude was Bust Out, held in 1969 in Central Park, New York (photograph in Karia, "Notes," 93). There is also an image of her almost naked, wrapped in transparent gauze-like fabric, near Trinity Church in Manhattan in 1965. She says that she intended to do a performance at the altar of the church but the priest asked her not to, so she refrained (Kusama, 17 May 1996 interview). She is also seen naked in her 1967 film Kusama's Self-Obliteration (discussed below), though it is unclear whether the situation in question was live or staged for the camera.

Today it is a commonplace that, historically, women have been the objects, not the subjects, of their representations. As Laura Mulvey argued over twenty years ago, pleasure in looking has been defined by the active male viewer, who projects his fantasy onto the passive female form, presented in a way that will match his expectations. Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," written in 1975 and first published in Screen 16, no. 3 (autumn 1975); reprinted in Constance Penley, ed., Feminism and Film Theory (New York: Routledge, 1988), 57–68. In the Reiff photograph, Kusama has styled herself to conform to a classic notion of male expectations.


Doane says that "this type of masquerade, an excess of femininity, is aligned with the femme fatale and... is necessarily regarded by men as evil incarnate" (Doane, 26).


In a photograph of the large group of participating artists taken on the occasion of the opening of Nul at the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam (fig. 14), Kusama stands in the front row, her light silk kimono glowing against everyone else’s dark attire. Kusama also appears in a kimono in a newspaper photograph on the occasion of her Driving Image Show at Galleria d’Arte del Naviglio (Corriere d’informazione, February 1–2, 1966). This picture was probably taken at her opening, because another photograph shows her wearing the same attire while standing among her works with gallery director Renato Cardazzo (Karia, “Notes,” 86). The New York art dealer Stephen Radich remembers Kusama wearing a kimono at the opening of the 1961 Whitney Biennial, in which she participated (Stephen Radich, telephone conversation with author, February 1996).

Edward Said describes how those—like Kusama during her New York years—who are regarded as “other” may see and portray themselves as the dominant culture does. He discusses “the paradox of an Arab regarding himself as an ‘Arab’ of the sort put out by Hollywood” and the idea that “the modern Orient...participates in its own Orientalizing” (Said, Orientalism [New York: Pantheon, 1978], 325).

That Kusama’s Japaneseness imparted additional intellectual credibility to her work is evident from early writings about it. In the original draft of his review of Kusama’s 1959 Brata gallery exhibition Judd claims that the Japaneseness in her work is to be found in its resemblance to the “taut openwork and repeated patterns carved at the Horyuji around the seventh century” or “to a section of Korin’s waves, constantly shifting direction within a single plane” (Judd archive, Marfa Texas). Sidney Tillim writes, “Conditioned by a tradition of not only black and white but of self-effacement, perhaps only a Japanese artist could create an art of withdrawal without the polemical emotions of Western Abstract Expressionism” (Tillim, Arts 34, no. 1 [October 1959]: 56). A writer for a Boston paper says, “Miss Kusama’s idiom is decidedly Japanese in its reticence and confinement to black and white; and she has original things to say in abstract expressionist terms... I could not help but think that her style expresses obliquely and delicately the sense of the void so germane to Buddhistic thought...” (Unsigned review in unidentified Boston paper; copy from Kusama archive). Dore Ashton calls Kusama a “prodigy of patience” and asks, “dare I say Oriental patience since Miss Kusama was born and trained in Japan?” Ashton admits that she is not “an adept of...
the philosophies this genre of painting presumably reflects" (Ashton, "Art: Tenth Street Views," New York Times [23 October 1959]). In fact Kusama was never involved with Buddhism or conscious of employing any kind of Japanese traditions. She thought of her work as decidedly Western and today seems to regard such comments as a form of ethnic stereotyping (Kusama, 26 September 1995 interview). Nevertheless, the ways in which Kusama engages notions of infinity and endless repetition do suggest the formative influence of Japanese culture in the broader sense.

Kusama says that she never thought about her situation as a woman artist in New York in the sixties (Kusama, 26 September 1995 interview).

Schneemann, 14 March 1966 interview.

Some women artists probably suppressed their femaleness in social situations as well as in their work. Others, as Carolee Schneemann suggests in the above comments, were accepted by male artists at least in part because of their physical attractiveness. Such traditional aspects of a woman's life as childbearing and -rearing were denied to all. In 1971 Lippard enumerated nine ways in which women artists were discriminated against, a number of which support Schneemann's recollections. They include "labeling women unfeminine and abnormally assertive if they persist in maintaining the value of their art or protest their treatment" and "refusing to consider a married woman or a mother an artist no matter how hard she works or what she produces" (Lippard, "Sexual Politics: Art Style," in From the Center [New York: Dutton, 1976], 31; originally published in Art in America 59, no. 5 [September 1971]: 19–20).

There is no question that polka dots were part of Kusama's visual repertoire from childhood. Because so many of her watercolors from the fifties were reworked in the sixties, it is difficult to know exactly when the net image appeared in her work. It seems likely, however, that she was using this motif in the early fifties in Japan. See, for example, plate 11 in Yayoi Kusama: A Retrospective.

Munroe also identifies the shoes with Kusama but gives the work a more benign interpretation ("Obsession," 24).


67 Lil Picard, "Kühler Wind des Nihilismus" (Cool wind of nihilism), Die Welt (5 March 1964).

68 Charlotte Willard, "In the Art Galleries: Kusama's Show," New York Post (14 November 1965): 46. That a woman wrote this only demonstrates that women journalists generally wrote the way their male counterparts did, no doubt a prerequisite for getting and keeping their jobs. The same year, an author who referred to Kusama as "a tiny Japanese girl" also said that she "conquers her evil demons, just as the aboriginal sculptor does, by transforming them into images" (Jan Gremer, "On the Cover," Art Voices [Fall 1965]: 3). The use of this sort of patronizing description only escalated when Kusama became involved with public performance.

69 Kusama says that she never thought about her situation as a woman artist in New York in the sixties (Kusama, 26 September 1995 interview).

70 Schneemann, 14 March 1966 interview.

71 Munroe also identifies the shoes with Kusama but gives the work a more benign interpretation ("Obsession," 24).

76 See, for example, RoseLee Goldberg, Performance: Live Art, 1969 to the Present (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1979), especially 92–93, regarding the Judson Dance Group, and 98–111, "Seventies Performance."


78 Anne Hollander, Seeing Through Clothes (New York: Penguin Books, 1988), 396–97. For a careful consideration of the mirror as a symbol in Western art see pages 391–418. There is hypocrisy inherent in this symbolism, since the mirror also rewards the gaze by providing a view of the other side of the naked model, thus intensifying the experience of looking. See Carol Armstrong, "Fracturing Femininity: Manet’s Before the Mirror," October, no. 74 (Fall 1995): 79.

79 Barthes, Empire, 79.

80 Beginning with her first public performance Kusama formed a partnership with Yalkut. Self-Obliteration won prizes at several international festivals of experimental film (Karia, 80).

81 Karia, 89.

82 The information about these performances is from Karia, 88–94. In the press release for the happening at MoMA, Kusama issued the invitation to "take off your clothes in good company: RENOIR, MAILLOL, GIACOMETTI, PICASSO. I positively guarantee that these characters will all be present and that all will be nude." She also provided a "sociological note": "The nude has become socially acceptable among the more permanent residents of the garden of the museum. Phalli are also à la mode, particularly the harder varieties in granite, basalt, and bronze" (Karia, 93).


85 James Golata, telephone interview by author, 3 April 1996. Golata had never been a business manager before. He had been in charge of the mail and the classified section for publisher Al Goldstein at Screw magazine, which gave Kusama a lot of coverage at the time. Golata was very sympathetic to Kusama’s work. He recalled that she had another manager before him (though he does not remember who), that the three of them talked, and that they decided together that Golata should take over.

86 Mike Kelley, The Uncanny (Arnhem, Netherlands: Gemeentemuseum Arnhem, 1993). Published to accompany an exhibition curated by Kelley at the Gemeentemuseum Arnhem, the book forms a kind of exhibition in itself. Kusama was not included in the actual show.

87 Kelley, 27 March 1996 interview. Psychedelic art is a form that Kelley feels has been repressed.
Kusama says that she was afraid for her physical well-being when she was in New York. She experienced four robberies there. She also reports that she was afraid to disrobe during her orgy-performances because she feared that the participants carried diseases (Kusama, 26 September 1995 interview).

Karia, 95-99.

Kultermann, 17 April 1995 interview.

Jon Hendricks, interview by author, Hendricks’s apartment, New York City, 17 April 1995.

It is worth noting that Kusama papered the walls of the Gertrude Stein Gallery with her boat-sculpture poster in December 1963, two years before Warhol created his Cow Wallpaper. She also showed her Infinity Mirror Room at the short-lived Castellane Gallery in November 1965, nearly a year before Lucas Samaras exhibited his Mirrored Room (or Room No. 2) at Pace. See also George Segal quote in note 25.


A Banquet/A Fashion Show of Body Parts was held at the Hamilton Gallery in New York on 21 October 1978. Such Bourgeois sculptures as Confrontation, also of 1978, are reminiscent of Kusama works from the early to mid-sixties. See Deborah Wye, Louise Bourgeois (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1982), 96–97.

In fact pop and minimalism shared characteristics. For example, Warhol used and was strongly identified with the strategies of modularity and repetition. The first of two exhibitions in which Kusama participated at Green Gallery in New York held in September 1962, was composed largely of pop artists. The same was true of The New Art, held at the Davison Art Center, Wesleyan University, in March 1964. In 1965 she was one of seven artists, most of whom were pop-associated, interviewed for a Belgian television program, L’Ecole de New York. The others were Jim Dine, Lee Bontecou, Roy Lichtenstein, Andy Warhol, Martos, and George Segal. Viewing the tape today, there is nothing jarring about Kusama’s inclusion in this group.


There are numerous theoretical constructions of “the body,” some of them contradictory. For recent art the most crucial may be the “instinctual, repressed body on which psychoanalysis is based.” For a sense of the complexity of the discussion see Michel Feher, “Introduction,” Fragments for a History of the Body, vol. 1 (New York: Zone, 1998), 11–17; the quotation is from page 11.

In a review of Kusama’s Paula Cooper Gallery exhibition Bill Arning claims that she influenced her contemporaries Warhol and Robert Ryman and, “by inexplicable osmosis, also seems to have touched current artists such as Richmond Burton, Julian Lethbridge, Fred Tomaselli, David Nyzzo, and Polly Apfelbaum.” He may be overstating the case, but his point, I believe, is how relevant she is for today (Bill Arning, “MIA Rescue,” Village Voice [4 June 1996]: 79).


Pondick, 20 March 1996 interview.

Polly Apfelbaum, telephone interview by author, 11 March 1996.

Kelley, 27 March 1996 interview.

The Aperto section of the Venice Biennale presents work by an international group of emerging artists.


This was one of a number of huge paintings that Kusama made during her time in New York (see, for example, p. 172). We have not been successful in locating any of these works; we know them only from photographs and written descriptions.
Nul, Zero! en Gasts te kijk in Amsterdam

Nulgroep: persoonlijke gevoelens vermijden blijkt fundamenteel

Verkennen van Nu: opmerkelijke verschijning bij oprichting van "Nul-Stations".

Voor de storm

Geen formule voor volkomenheid

Nul, Nul! Gezelligheid bekroond, de schildkroon met een vrije uitspraak.

Zo woorden aan het werk...
When Yayoi Kusama left Japan for the United States in 1957, her goal was to establish herself as an artist on an international level. Yet it is exclusively as part of the New York art scene that her work of the 1960s has come to be considered. Generally emphasized is her relationship to pop and minimalism, the main tendencies of American art during that decade. In point of fact, from 1960 to 1970 it was easier to see her work in Milan or Amsterdam than it was in New York. Kusama was represented in more than twenty major exhibitions in some of Europe’s most prestigious galleries and museums, along with the most important artists of the European avant-garde, among them Lucio Fontana, Piero Manzoni, Yves Klein, and the German Zero and Dutch Nul groups (fig. 14). Although Kusama was seldom mentioned in conjunction with artists associated with pop or minimal aesthetics, her presence in the European avant-garde was so significant that she appears in the vast majority of articles, catalogues, and artists’ publications chronicling the burgeoning European-based international art movement dubbed the “New Tendency.”

Throughout the fifties the European scene—in France, Italy, and the Low Countries in particular—was dominated by various strains of expressionist abstraction loosely gathered under the rubric of art informel. Despite its roots in surrealist practices like automatism, this emotionally charged gestural painting style was most often linked with American abstract expressionism. Beginning immediately after World War II, images of American popular culture had spread through a devastated Europe in the form of Hollywood films, magazines, comic books, and pop music, all part of the postwar flood of American popular culture that accompanied economic aid. Along with this mix of jazz, science fiction, cowboy movies, Marlboros, and blue jeans came ample opportunity to view the high cultural products of the New York school both in reproduction and in person. As early as 1948 the Venice Biennale displayed works by Jackson Pollock, Willem de Kooning, Mark Rothko, Clifford Still, and Franz Kline. In 1958 a massive Pollock retrospective cut a cultural swath through virtually every large European city, drawing crowds and a critical polemic against the increasing Americanization of European culture. Out of the furor rose the cry for the creation of a “nouvelle école européenne” that would erase national cultural languages and unite all European avant-gardes under one supranational banner. Proposed as an antidote to both
abstract expressionism and its European coeval, *art informel*, this New Tendency was, equally importantly, a bid to define a “caractère propre européen” in the tidal wave of Americana sweeping the continent.

Inspired by the theoretical writings of prewar hard-edge abstractionists like Piet Mondrian and postwar maverick experimenters like Lucio Fontana, diverse groups such as Zero in Germany, Nul in Amsterdam, Groupe de Recherche d’Art Visuel (GRAV) in Paris, and Azimuth, Gruppo N, and Gruppo T in Italy shared an intense involvement with the problem of developing a means of representation that acknowledged the relation of an object to the space around it without resorting to illusionism. Using a wide variety of strategies with a precision that recalled scientific investigation and anticipating the rhetoric of American minimalism, artists in these groups explored the material and visual properties of surface, color, and light in an attempt to create an art that was antimetaphoric, uniform, and empty of any reference except to itself. These strictures caused some artists to concentrate on the purely visual properties of monochrome surfaces; others, in an effort to reveal two-dimensional structure, organized geometric forms within the rigorous confines of a grid. Because they freed the painted surface or the things represented of referential relationships, monomorphism (serial repetition of a single motif) and monochromism were ideal formal strategies to reinforce the concrete nature of an artwork as an artwork and nothing else.

*Monochrome Malerei* (Monochrome painting), an exhibition held in March 1960 at the Städtisches Museum Schloss Morsbroich in Leverkusen, West Germany, and organized by its young curator Udo Kultermann, can be considered the first major international show of the New Tendency, and it was through this exhibition that Yayoi Kusama’s work was introduced to a European public. Kultermann, who first saw a reproduction of her work in a magazine review in 1960, chose to include *Composition*, a white Infinity Net from 1959, hanging it with an array of monochromes by Lucio Fontana, Yves Klein, Piero Manzoni, and members of the Zero group. Kultermann recalls having thought of Kusama’s work in a strictly American context, but the result of the show was to cement an alliance between Kusama and the European artists of the New Tendency, particularly those associated with Zero and Nul. Although she did not meet them in person until some five years later, Kusama became familiar with the work of Heinz Mack, Otto Piene, and Günther Uecker of Zero, and Nul’s Henk Peeters, as a result of her participation in *Monochrome Malerei*. Initiating a lively correspondence with Peeters (who, in addition to being an

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*Figure 14*

artist, actively organized international group exhibitions in Holland), Kusama kept in close touch with Zero and Nul activities, and her work was included in most international New Tendency exhibitions under their auspices until the breakup of Zero in 1966.

Unlike the more tightly woven manifesto groups of the time, there were no "members" of Zero, only "partners" or "adherents," who never collaborated with one another on group artworks or issued group statements but joined together solely for exhibitions. Kusama's involvement with both Zero and Nul began in 1960 with her participation in several exhibitions that followed in the wake of the success of Monochrome Malerei. In keeping with the New Tendency, Zero as a concept was loosely defined but firmly grounded in the study of the visual effect of elements presented in as close to their original state of material substance as possible. Although the Zero artists worked with widely varying materials—ranging from Mack's pieces of reflective metal serially arranged on a surface (fig. 15) to Piene's dancing beams of light to Uecker's nails deployed in varied patterns—all were concerned with separating color and "the fascinating attraction of light" from their traditional descriptive and metaphorical tasks and presenting them purely in and of themselves. The aims of Nul closely resembled those of the synonymous Zero, focused as they were on a "zero zone of pure possibility" in which "old theories and expectations of art are stripped away leaving only the 'new' to be explored." Works by the four core Nul artists—Henk Peeters, Armando, Jan Schoonhoven, and Jan Henderikse—were monochromatic and object-oriented. Using the repetitive field structure of the grid to create reliefs (fig. 16), Nul artists concentrated on presenting objects in space instead of exploring the effects of color, but they were equally opposed to the metaphorical and the illusionistic. As Henk Peeters stated simply in a 1964 letter to Kusama, "To me, a painting is a painting and not more."

The connections between Kusama's early work, particularly her monochromatic Infinity Nets and monomorphic Accumulation Furniture, and that of the Zero artists are not difficult to see. Gunther Uecker's protruding-nail reliefs and Kusama's Infinity Net paintings of the late fifties and early sixties might use diametrically opposed visual devices, but both produce a kinetic visual buzz through their accumulative, organic patterning. Kusama's looping holes
and Uecker's nails are arrayed in similar spirals that converge and overlap in an obsessive yet nonsystematic manner. More direct, however, is the connection between Kusama's Accumulation Furniture, begun in 1961, and the stools, tables, televisions, and sewing machines that Uecker used as supports for his bristling carpets of nails (fig. 17). Like the stuffed phallic forms in works like Accumulation No. 1 (cat. 42), Uecker's nails gave these domestic objects a threatening though clearly sexual frisson. In their varying patterns and situations they evoke bizarre and dangerous female pubic zones—the opposite, of course, to Kusama's phallics (fig. 18).

Vibration and dynamism as perceptual effects of light and color were key terms in the theoretical vocabulary of both Zero and NUL. The founding artists in these groups were zealous in their experiments with reflective materials and the effects of elemental phenomena like fire, water, air, and light. They created mirrored reliefs, motorized metal objects, and mobiles, and envisioned unexecutable fire gardens, walls of light, and air architecture. Wrote Mack: "A color can have several meanings. However, its virtual objectification, i.e. its intrinsic energy, is achieved when it strikes its own vibration; that is its life, its breath." Since the early fifties Kusama's paintings and works on paper had exhibited a fascination with color vibration. In an oft-repeated motif, particularly evident in her large body of work on paper, a colored orb veined with a net pattern is suspended in the depths of an otherwise unarticulated velvety black background. Perhaps dissatisfied with the subtle effect of such chiaroscuro, in the early sixties Kusama achieved a much more kinetic effect by painting over the orbs and nets of the early fifties with fluorescent paints in complementary colors. While the early drawings merely glowed, the revised ones vibrate with hallucinatory abandon, whirling crazily out of the depths of their deep black backgrounds like psychedelic meteors (cat. 14–16, for example).

Kusama continued to use such potent visual combinations when she began working in three dimensions, most strikingly in her first installation outside her own studio. This was Driving Image (see frontispiece), which premiered in New York at the Castellane Gallery in the spring of 1964 and was
reprised in different forms, initially at the Galleria d’Arte del Naviglio in Milan in January 1966 and in April at Gallerie Thelen in Essen, West Germany. *Driving Image* was an environment walled with Infinity Net paintings, spread with a carpet of dried macaroni, filled with a myriad of objects—furniture, clothing, household items, and mannequins—all of these covered in their entirety with stuffed phalluses, dried noodles in many shapes, or net patterns or polka dots painted in fluorescent, complementary colors. The riot of repetitive pattern this created caused a visual turmoil that elided figure and ground, making individual objects difficult to discern. In the *Driving Image* environment, as one critic noted, “the separate, distinguishable things tended to dissolve in their all-over texture.”

*Kusama’s Peep Show* (subtitled *Endless Love Show*), a mirrored hexagonal room with colored lights that flashed in time to rock and roll, premiered in New York in March 1966 (see pp. 168–69), nearly a year before Lucas Samaras showed his better-known mirrored environment at Pace Gallery. That such ideas were also clearly in the air in Europe among New Tendency artists is demonstrated by the formal similarity of *Peep Show* to *Lighthox*, a mirrored room produced by Heinz Mack in 1964–65 and shown at the Schmela Gallery in Germany, and to Otto Piene’s illuminated environments. However, a crucial distinction between these Zero works and that of Kusama lies in the kind of interactivity encouraged between the viewer and the artwork. Using light and mirrors Mack and Piene create effects that are atmospheric; Piene’s *Milky Way* (fig. 19), for instance, is a retractable system of twinkling fairy lights at the City Opera house in Bonn, Germany. *Peep Show*, on the other hand, rather than encompassing its audience, turns inward. As the title announces, the subject (and as it turns out, the object) of *Peep Show* is the viewer, who cannot physically enter the space of the work; instead holes just large enough for faces are provided. When someone peeps in she is confronted with her own face reflected dozens of times, in a kind of kinetic self-portrait. This illusion is visible in a photograph of *Peep Show* taken by Peter Moore (pp. 168–69), in which

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*Figure 19*

Otte Piene’s *Milky Way*, 1965, an installation of movable lights at the City Opera House, Bonn
Kusama herself peers through an opening, her visage multiplied and remultiplied in the mirrors among the flashing lights.

Self as inscribed in art is of course precisely what the New Tendency expected the act of serial repetition to banish, but the photomontage of Kusama and her Peep Show is not just a sly jibe at mechanistic repetition and absolute objectivity. More interestingly it illustrates the fundamental difference between Kusama’s work and that of the majority of New Tendency artists. In the words of one critic, the New Tendency was “first and foremost a new concept of reality, in which the individual role of the artist is kept to a minimum.”15 In striking contrast, Kusama’s primary artwork during the sixties was herself. Signified by the net and its structural opposite, the polka dot, she is the subject most strongly evident in her paintings, sculptures, environments, and performances, and there is not one work in her oeuvre that does not carry a mark of the artist’s physical presence. So active was Kusama’s presence in her work that, as Hans Haacke observed, in hindsight it was clear that from her earliest Infinity Net paintings through the happenings of the late sixties Kusama was “headed...into the peculiar world of performance art.”16

Kusama’s description of how she produced her Infinity Nets offers a chilling picture of an artist as physically connected to the mark-making on her canvas as any action painter. “I feel as if I were driving on the highways or car-
ried on a conveyor belt without ending to my death," she reported, describing
those sessions when she would paint as much as forty to fifty hours at an unin-
terrupted stretch. "This is like continuing to drink thousands of cups of coffee
or eating thousands of feet of macaroni. This is to continue to desire and to
escape all sorts of feelings and visions until the end of my days whether I want
to or not...."17 Each Infinity Net of this period, from the smallest works on
paper to the thirty-three-foot white-on-white mural the artist made for her 1961
exhibition at the Stephen Radich Gallery in New York (fig. 20), is a map of sus-
tained campaigns of minute repetitive movements of the brush as well as a
record of the artist’s time and labor. Given Kusama’s description of her obses-
sive state of mind during their making, one might expect the surface of an
Infinity Net to have what she called a consistent pattern "repeated exactly in
monotone like the gear of a machine,"18 but examination reveals that there is no
systematic application of strokes, no repeated chains of holes. Looking like liq-
uid crochet or cells in mitosis, irregular loops grow from various nodal "centers"
on the canvas, meeting and in many cases overlapping each other in their eager
colonization of the picture plane. It is these spiraling patterns that give the
paintings depth and cause their surfaces to vibrate before the eyes. Facture
plays an important role in the warp and woof of these works, as is clear from the
easily discernible individual brushstrokes that are insistently evident even in the
rich mix of candy colors and bright whites that swirl through the Infinity Nets,
especially the early ones. Such marks emphasize the truly astonishing amount of
labor involved in the creation of such paintings, which were usually quite large,
as well as dispel any possible link to more mechanical methods of production.19

On the most superficial level Kusama’s obsessive patternings, particu-
larly as seen in reproduction, might seem to mimic the serial repetition of
Schoonhoven’s work on paper and Peeters’ collages, but in point of fact
Kusama’s technique actually undermines the kind of monomorphic serial repe-
tition found in New Tendency works. In even her most gridlike pieces—
collages made with self-adhesive stickers, mailing labels, and in a few cases,
black-and-white photographs of details of Infinity Nets or Accumulations—the
serial structure is deliberately ruined by a rupture or slippage of one or more
elements. In what seems an almost aggressive move against the inexorability of
the grid, stickers or photos are purposely misaligned, spoiling the optical plea-
sure of a more strictly repeated pattern. Like a tear in a fabric, the slipped stick-
ers in The Museum of Modern Art’s Accumulation of Stamps No. 63 (cat. 30)
apruptly remind the viewer of the process of the work’s making. The crudely
cropped edges and uneven fit of the segments of Accumulation of Nets No. 7
(cat. 36), a collage of black-and-white photo details of Infinity Net paintings,
serve a similar function. Although arranged in a grid formation that calls to
mind any number of New Tendency compositions of the late fifties and early
sixties, the edges of the collaged pieces are so awkwardly cut and pieced
together that small photo strips have been pasted in to cover the gaps between
individual squares. This deliberate irregularity within what one expects to be a
regular matrix not only frustrates the possibility of optical vibration caused by
the juxtaposition of varying net patterns but undercuts the purpose of the grid
altogether; the focus of our attention in such a work is not the repetitive nature
of its constituent parts, but rather each one's individuality.

To see a show by Kusama, wrote Donald Judd in a review of the New
York Driving Image exhibition, is to see "a result of Kusama's work, not a work
itself." Kusama's insistence on crude irregularity in artwork done by hand
shifted the emphasis away from the art object onto the act of its making and
ultimately onto its maker. This was not without its political ramifications, partic-
icularly in the art world of the mid-sixties. Kusama's rejection of mechanized seri-
ality contained a pointed critique of commercial culture, which was epitomized,
in her words, by "highly civilized America and particularly...New York." As
ambitious as Kusama was to participate in the burgeoning New York art scene,
from early on she was keenly aware of the difficulties she faced as a foreigner
and a woman "in a time when American artists developed national pride...that
did not allow them to acknowledge or to recognize what people were doing in
other cultures." For Kusama pop art, the "national style of America" then
dominant, was both the prophet and the result of nationalism, mechanization,
and commodity culture "as if paralleling the policy of the country." Kusama's
work was included in important exhibitions at places like New York's Green
Gallery—the epicenter of the pop explosion—and was considered to be within
that sphere by critics like Lucy Lippard, who included her in a definitive 1966
anthology of pop art in New York. In her letters to Henk Peeters, however,
Kusama clearly and repeatedly classified herself with the Europeans, whose
work she saw as opposed to pop. "By this American Pop art [Americans]
became exclusive of others and tend...to subdue monochrome artists and the
shows by young European artists," she wrote, referring to her own struggle for
recognition in New York as well as that of artists like Peeters.

Kusama's harsh critique of pop as a particularly American phenomenon
cannot be entirely explained by her frustration at her ultimate exclusion, if not
from the pop milieu, then from its red-hot market. A vaguely Marxist analysis of
pop's commodification of art, Kusama's opinion echoed the chorus of angry
European voices raised against American art—and pop in particular—that
reached a peak after the 1964 Venice Biennale, where the grand prize was
awarded to Robert Rauschenberg, an event that signaled to many in the Euro-
pean art world the definitive transfer of cultural power from Paris to New York.
In pop's loving portraits of Campbell's soup cans and Chevrolets it seemed both
to celebrate and to send up the desirability of an art product that could take the
form of the object/commodity or the artist/celebrity. The ambivalence of pop to
the commodities it depicted was often accepted by United States viewers. In
postwar Europe, however, there was an almost universal concern about, if not
antipathy to, the commodification of contemporary art.

Kusama's contribution to the 1966 Venice Biennale was her most
straightforward critique thus far of the mechanization and commodification of
At first glance her Narcissus Garden (fig. 21), installed at the heart of the Biennale, was a dazzlingly Zeroesque orchestration of the artificial and natural effects of light and color on reflective surfaces. Consisting of approximately 1,500 silver plastic spheres placed in rows on a lawn twenty meters square in front of the Italian Pavilion, Narcissus Garden reflected the blue sky and green lawn as well as every movement at this busiest intersection of the Biennale. On a purely visual level, this shimmering sea of color and twinkling light seemed to fit squarely within the tradition of kinetic public sculptures mobilized by wind, water, or reflected light. But, in an exhibition otherwise roundly pronounced "weak and insipid," Kusama’s "way out exhibition of mirrored balls" caused not only a visual sensation, but a scandal. In what was no doubt a nasty surprise for Renato Cardazzo, proprietor of the Galleria d'Arte del Naviglio and Kusama’s sponsor, no sooner had Narcissus Garden been put in place than the artist began hawking the individual balls to passersby (fig. 22). Horrified, the Biennale organizers had the police ask the artist to desist, which she did, but not before giving a large number of interviews to a wide range of international publications. The news stories all expressed shock at the artist’s crass reminder—in the hallowed precincts of the Biennale—of the economic underpinnings of the go-go contemporary art market. At the same time they gleefully bought into Kusama’s publicity stunt by running pictures of the artist cavorting in the sunlight among her reflective
wares, fetchingly clad in a red leotard. The media ruckus caused by this performance was clearly part of Kusama’s plan. Explaining that the wholesaling of her sculpture was a logical result of the development of contemporary art, she told an interviewer, “In the past one used brushes, colors, chisels. Today, the work of art is produced exclusively by the artist’s sensibility. One is no longer obstructed by the difficulties of the occupation. Today, the artist only has to have an idea for an object.”

Artists, she continued, should integrate themselves into economic life by making their work inexpensive and accessible enough to be bought like items in a supermarket.

By selling the elements of a kinetic experience, Kusama transformed Narcissus Garden from a New Tendency garden folly into an act of social critique against cultural nationalism, excessive commodification, and the strangulation of individual creativity. While the immediate message of Narcissus Garden might have been peculiarly European in flavor, in its unfolding as an event it stepped smartly out of line with the New Tendency. As daring as the formal experimentation was among those artists, as much as they explored the limits of materiality, finally they were trying to expand the precincts of high art but not to exceed its bounds. The larger issue of the integration of fine art into daily life—an issue that was leading toward an outright critique of art’s status as object—was not part of the New Tendency polemic. The vast majority of these artists worked within the confines of traditional two- and three-dimensional mediums. Although many New Tendency reliefs and objects incorporated unconventional, “non-art” materials, like Uecker’s nails and household objects and Mack’s mirrors, there was never any doubt of their status as art objects and their removal from daily life.

By transforming an installation of objects into a performance redolent with ironic critique, Kusama went beyond the most radical of the New Tendency investigations of dynamism, dematerialization, and the boundary between art and life. Two other artists whose works were also often included in New Tendency exhibitions but who broke through its formalistic constraints were Yves Klein and Piero Manzoni. Mavericks, they produced work ranging from two-dimensional experiments in monochromatic painting to flamboyant performances carefully documented for public distribution through photography, film, radio, and press releases. Because of its clearly performatory elements as well as its subjectivity, Kusama’s sixties practice has more in common with the work of Manzoni and Klein than with any other European—or for that matter American—artist of the time.

Manzoni’s oeuvre reflected his concerted efforts to reveal and to ridicule the commodity status of art in a newly internationalized art market. His Merda d’artista (Artist’s shit, 1961), Fiato d’artista (Artist’s breath, 1959–60), and various “artist’s fingerprints” (1960–61) made fun of the cult of the art object and the artist celebrity at the same time. What lifted Manzoni’s life project (tragically shortened by his early death) from the merely transgressive to
the frankly scandalous was his tireless promotion of himself and his products through the mass media. Generating press releases and hiring photographers to document his every highly choreographed movement, during his lifetime he appeared in newspapers and magazines, on radio and in newsreels much more often than in art publications. In a number of cases press exposure was the element that completed the artwork. The first *Consumazione dell’arte dinamica del pubblico, divorare l’arte* (Consumption of dynamic art by the public devouring art, 1960), an event in which the “audience” consumed hard-boiled eggs signed with the artist’s thumbprint, was never publicly performed but was staged for still and newsreel cameras using invited guests as stand-ins for the public. Another work completed by its photographic documentation was Manzoni’s infamous *Merda d’artista* (figs. 23–24). This project, consisting of ninety small numbered tins labeled “Merda d’artista: prodotto d’italia,” was accompanied by an extensive sequence of photos showing the artist with his “masterpiece.” In one Manzoni is in a lavatory holding a labeled can; in another he stares at a group of cans in deep, aesthetic contemplation. Although the tins of *Merda* are now most often shown on bases and under protective vitrines as straight sculpture, the photos clearly reveal the artist’s intention to parody exactly this kind of object worship. A parody also of the aura surrounding the act of artistic creation, *Merda* and its accompanying photos emphasize the inextricable link between artist, artistic process, artwork, and daily life.

Despite or because of the fact that they were purely media creations, *Consumazione* and *Merda d’artista* are two of Manzoni’s best-known works. As a result of his expert manipulation of the popular press and the general public he was often accused of being more interested in self-promotion than in making art. What this criticism did not take into account was that for Manzoni there was little difference between the two. He was among the first postwar artists to live his life as his art, with his breath, his signature, and his excrement as ironic souvenirs of a larger, more ambitious work—the artist himself. Without denigrating the importance of the artist as a producer of material things, Manzoni’s projects explored, with none of the ambivalence of the pop artist toward the commodity, the reification of the artistic personality.

Kusama’s attention-grabbing action at the Venice Biennale attracted similar accusations of excessive self-promotion, complaints that would follow

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**Figure 23**
Piero Manzoni premiering *Merda d’artista* in the bathroom at Angli shirt factory, 1961; © Piero Manzoni/Licensed by VAGA, New York, NY

**Figure 24**
Manzoni with *Merda d’artista* in his Milan studio, 1961; © Piero Manzoni/Licensed by VAGA, New York, NY
her throughout her career. "[S]he has a collection of magazine articles about herself from all over the world," wrote Neal Weaver in a 1968 feature on the artist, "and a visitor to her studio is not likely to escape until he sees them all..." As with Manzoni, this kind of criticism fails to take into account the level of parody that clearly animates Kusama's most flamboyant performatory actions. Narcissus Garden confronted two of the most exercised issues of the sixties avant-garde—the call to merge art and life and the increasing commercialization of the art market. As its title reveals, it was as much about the promotion of the artist through the media as it was about the dematerialization of a sculptural object through the selling off of its elements.

Kusama, like Manzoni, considered herself a living work of art and promoted herself as such. From early on in her career she too hired professional photographers to systematically document all aspects of her varied activities. Carefully choreographed by the artist, most of the photographs of Kusama and her work are difficult to classify as mere publicity shots; they are closer to performance documentation and/or self-portraits (fig. 25). Perhaps as a result of the success of Hans Namuth's well-known photos of Jackson Pollock in his studio, first published in Artnes in 1951 and reproduced widely in the years following (most notably in Life magazine), it was not uncommon for media-savvy artists in the early sixties to hire photographers to document them in the process of making their work. Pollock was arguably the first artist to achieve a level of international popular stardom, and this can in large measure be attributed to the distribution of Namuth's photos. Kusama's series of straight photos and photocollages can nominally be seen in this tradition. Yet it is more illuminating, perhaps, to compare them with Manzoni's series of photographs documenting himself and his work. Scholars have often commented on the fact (many with some annoyance) that it is virtually impossible to find a photograph of Kusama's work that does not include the artist. Heretofore this has been explained by her "lust for publicity," but on reexamination it becomes clear that her interactions on film with her paintings, sculptures, and environments constitute works in themselves, however ephemeral in nature. As with Narcissus Garden, the crucial, performatory element in all her work is not apparent until the photographs of the artist in action have been publicly distributed through magazines, newspapers, or other media channels.

In a large number of recently unearthed early photos she used several ingenious methods to fuse her own image with her paintings and sculptures, giving both images equal weight. A double-exposure entitled "Kusama and Her Painting" overlays images of Kusama and an Infinity Net so that the artist is engulfed and almost obliterated by a fuzzy, transparent dotted veil (fig. 26). In a
photograph of the artist in her studio, probably from the mid-1960s, Kusama sits in a Plexiglas box, completely surrounded by Infinity Net canvases (fig. 27). In a series of color photos Kusama continues the game of merging with her paintings by posing in front of them in clothing color-coordinated to their surfaces. Though they are set up like straight documentation photos, the artist’s insistent presence in front of her paintings leaves no doubt that she is an integral element.

So closely did Kusama identify herself with her work and the signature form of the Infinity Net that by the late sixties she had succeeded in transforming that motif and its topological variants, the polka dot and the phallus, into the artistic equivalent of the commercial logo. It is in this extraordinary accomplishment, more than any trace of process or manipulation of photography, that she most successfully completes the merger between artwork and artist. If Kusama’s parody of the artistic aura can be compared with the work of Piero Manzoni, her manipulation of the Infinity Net motif is related to the work of his French contemporary, Yves Klein. Klein, like Kusama, transformed an object/concept—in his case a carefully selected color, International Klein Blue (IKB)—into a franchise of the artist himself. Never merely an expression of artistic passions—like Jackson Pollock’s paint skeins, for example—IKB was for Klein coeval with the artist’s being. “A painter must paint a single masterpiece, constantly—himself,” he wrote in 1957. “He thus becomes a sort of atomic pile, a sort of generator of constant radiation who impregnates the atmosphere with his whole pictorial presence.”

Klein considered artist and artwork inextricably entwined, as did Manzoni, his sometime rival, but rather than use elements of his own body as material, he employed his chosen shade of deep and pungent blue. Klein’s “monochrome adventure” quickly grew until IKB encompassed mural-sized paintings, sculpture, installations, and in theory whole countries. In projects like Colonisation par le bleu (1958) and his proposed monochrome painting the size of France entitled Blue Revolution (1959) Klein envisioned IKB—as pigment, light, and concept—poised to take over first an art gallery and then all of France. Works like the Victoire de Samothrace (Victory of Samothrace) (fig. 28), Venus bleue (Blue Venus), and Esclave mourant (Dying slave) (all 1962) were aspects of Klein’s dream of covering all of Western culture with blue pigment. Klein’s IKB monochromes caused him to
come "face to face with my own psyche" as well as allowing him "to experience nothingness." Enveloped by 1KB, Klein reported, "I was no longer myself. I, without the 'I,' became one with life itself."37

Dubbed the "Polka-Dot Girl,"38 "Dotty,"39 and "the Polka-Dot Princess"40 by the press, Kusama was as closely identified with her motifs as Klein was with 1KB. "When this image is given freedom," she said hopefully, "it overflows the limits of time and space."41 Like Klein, who traced his color obsession to his childhood, Kusama reported that her obsession with veils of nets and dots stemmed from hallucinations experienced as a young girl. Both artists envisioned the disappearance of the physical body of the artist and the material body of the artwork. "Become one with eternity," Kusama preached in 1966. "Obliterate your personality. Become part of your environment. Forget yourself."42 This complete dematerialization, the culmination of the merger of artist and artwork, would represent the universal ascendance and recognition of the Idea.

Like Klein's and Manzoni's during their lifetimes, Kusama's work was poorly received in New York as the sixties wore on and had all but disappeared from the scene by the beginning of the seventies. To a large extent it was this difficulty with the art public in the United States that encouraged her to continue exhibiting in Europe with Zero, Nul, and other New Tendency artists well into the late sixties. If her work was commonly linked to this "new tendency" emanating from Europe, it is most particularly the experiments of Manzoni and Klein—flying the flag of the New Tendency but sharing few affinities with it—with which it most clearly belongs. That Kusama herself sensed this is evident from a letter she wrote despondently to Henk Peeters in 1972: "Pierre Manzoni [sic], Yves Klein and I had a very hard time in this country."43 Their critique of the art object as commodity, their movement toward its dematerialization, and their assertion of the artist as the crucial element in the artwork steered the debate away from the object in space to the role of the artist in society. Ultimately it was their work that cleared the way for the artist-centered and body-oriented performances and environments that began in the seventies and continue to proliferate today.

Despite Kusama's calls to "obliterate your personality. Become part of your environment. Forget yourself," the artist—like her image haunting the photographs of her work—refuses to disappear. Art—first as a projected element of the self, then as interchangeable with the self, and finally, in performance, as coincident with the self—was the means by which Kusama was determined not only not to disappear into the world but to act in it. To the benefit of us all she succeeded in that goal.

love forever
The call for a "nouvelle école européenne" was made by Georges J. Kasper in his Lausanne-based magazine *Art Actual International*. The phrase was also the title of a 1960 anthology of critical writings by and about artists, edited by Kasper and Monique Kasper Franco for the Fondation internationale pour l'art nouveau in Lausanne.

The grid, as a ready-made organizational system, allowed for the creation of a "noncompositional" field in which figure and ground were elided. This visual effect served as another defining quality of the New Tendency, as reported by Enrico Castellani in his introduction to the exhibition catalogue *Monochrome Malerei* (Leverkusen: Städtisches Museum, 1960).

Kusama was one of two American artists in the exhibition; the other was Mark Rothko (Udo Kultermann, interview by Lynn Zelevansky, New York City, 17 April 1995).

Although she began corresponding with Peeters after *Monochrome Malerei*, Kusama only met him personally in 1965 on her journey to Europe for the opening of *Nul* at the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam. It was through Peeters that she was introduced to Leo Verboen and Albert Vogel, who presented her first European solo show in May 1965 at the Internationale Galerij Orez in the Hague. Its name the word zero spelled backwards, Orez represented the artists of both the Nul and Zero groups. The gallery became Kusama’s primary agent in Northern Europe, a relationship that exists, at least nominally, today.

This correspondence lasted well into the early 1980s.


Samuel Adams Green, "Foreword," in *Group Zero*. Green was director and curator at the Philadelphia ICA.

Peeters, letter to Kusama, October 1963 (courtesy Peeters archive). As close as this and other statements seem to the rhetoric of Frank Stella and Donald Judd, Zero and Nul work resembles the work of American kinetic artists more than it does the minimalists. However, Zero and Nul did not share the interest in optically oriented effects held by New Tendency groups like the Paris-centered GRAV, led by Victor Vasarely. Interestingly, Kusama listed herself as a member of GRAV in a biography prepared by the artist for publicity purposes around 1963 (courtesy Beatrice Perry archives).

This was noted by Hans Haacke (Haacke, telephone interview by Alexandra Munroe and Reiko Tomii, 8 December 1988).

This connection was noted by a critic as early as 1966. "Kusama’s products are not an isolated phenomenon. They may be compared to Gunther Uecker’s nail-infested pieces of furniture..." (Ed Sommer, "Letter from Germany: Yayoi Kusama at the Galerie M. E. Thelen, Essen," *Art International* 10, no. 8 [October 1966]: 46).


Sommer, "Letter from Germany," 46.
14 Samaras's room measured eight by ten feet and contained a series of mirrored cubes.

15 Unsigned article in De Nieuwe Stijl, an artist-produced magazine from 1965; quoted in Janneke Wessling, Schoonhoven (Den Haag: SDU Openbaar Kunsthuis, 1990), 39.

16 Haacke, 8 December 1988 interview.


18 Ibid, 8.

19 When the artist began a short-lived scheme to manufacture and market polka-dotted and net-infested clothes, that each item was unique was the principal selling point.

20 Donald Judd, "In the Galleries," Arts 38, no. 10 (September 1964): 68.


22 Haacke, 8 December 1988 interview.

23 Kusama, letter to Henk Peeters, 9 September 1963 (courtesy Peeters archive).

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid.


27 Ibid.

28 Kusama, interview by Gordon Brown, WABC radio, June 1964; reprinted in De nieuwe stijl: Werk van de internationale avantgarde, exh. cat. (Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij Gallery, 1965). Brown was a friend of Kusama's; he also interviewed her for one of Henk Peeters' Nul exhibition catalogues.

29 It is important to note that both artists died young—Klein in June 1962 and Manzoni in February 1963. That their work was included posthumously in the majority of New Tendency exhibitions of the early to mid 1960s.

30 Mention must be made here of the connection between Kusama's work and that of Andy Warhol, whose silkscreened serial repetitions of dollar bills from 1962 closely resemble a lost collage by Kusama that incorporated real American money, and whose successful efforts of self-promotion created the category of "art star." Kusama has said that she was very aware of and interested in Warhol's activities. However, there are important differences between Warhol's project and Kusama's, and for that matter between Warhol's and those of Manzoni and Klein. Although all might have shared the strategy of ironic self-promotion, Kusama and the two Europeans had a much more active and direct critical attitude toward issues of cultural nationalism and commodification, standing in high contrast to Warhol's tongue-in-cheek "if you can't beat 'em, join 'em" stance.

31 Manzoni was filmed speaking about his work or performing a number of times by the Italian film newsmagazine Cinegiornale Sud, most probably as a result of his friendship with two of the cameramen.

32 This strategy is reminiscent of Yves Klein's famous Leap into the Void, staged for the camera and existing only as a photomontage.
33 Neal Weaver, “The Polka-Dot Girl Strikes Again, or Kusama’s Infamous Spectacular,” *After Dark* 10, no. 1 (May 1968): 46. However harsh, Weaver’s article is exceptional in that he recognizes Kusama’s “tremendous showmanship,” comparing her manipulation of the mass media with that of Andy Warhol.

34 Namuth also produced a film of Pollock at work that accompanied the artist’s posthumous retrospective as it traveled in Europe.


37 Ibid.

38 Neal Weaver, “The Polka-Dot Girl,” 43.


41 Kusama, interview by Gordon Brown, WABC Radio, June 1964.


43 Kusama, letter to Henk Peeters, 17 August 1972 (courtesy Peeters archive).
Yayoi Kusama began her career as a painter with almost no academic art education. The one exception was a period of a year and a half, starting in 1948, when she left her home town of Matsumoto to study at the Kyoto Municipal School of Arts and Crafts. She had graduated from Matsumoto First Girls' High School two years previously. Since then Kusama and her mother had quarreled fiercely and steadily, because the daughter had resolved to become an artist and her mother was dead set against the idea. It was only when the young Kusama agreed to the condition that she take lessons in traditional Japanese etiquette from a relative in Kyoto that her mother approved her move to that city.

From Kusama's perspective, student life in Kyoto was a means of getting away from her hot-tempered mother and focusing on artwork. Not surprisingly, the etiquette lessons were not foremost in her thoughts, and her attendance fell off as she devoted all her energies to art studies. She enrolled in the Nihonga department simply because her art teacher in high school had been a Nihonga painter and not out of any personal interest in the genre. Nihonga, or "Japanese painting," is not a direct evolution of traditional styles. Rather, it emerged as an idealistic and nationalistic reaction to the Japanese practice of yōga, or "Western painting," introduced into Japan in the late nineteenth century. Nihonga practice is perpetuated even today through centralized exhibitions organized like academic salons, a system that has continuously been a primary focus of the Kyoto art world. But Kusama was an outsider from the start, and she had absolutely no contact with the ideology and system of the salon.

Nevertheless, she managed to learn Nihonga technique, and this played a role of some significance in her self-formation as a painter. Linear rendering from nature is the foundation of Nihonga training, and this was the only period when Kusama, who since childhood had drawn images based on her own fantasies, would concentrate on naturalistic sketches of the exterior world. Numerous studies remain from her sketchbooks of this time in both pencil and brush-and-ink, with passages of light color; they often depict plants or monkeys. None of these studies transcend the school exercises that they were. However, they do record the cultivation of pow-
ers of observation and draftsmanship that were the basis for the next phase of Kusama’s art, an autonomous surrealism driven by inner necessity.

In an interview regarding her Kyoto period Kusama mentioned her interest in two Nihonga painters of the preceding generation, Murayama Kagaku (1888–1939) and Hayami Gyoshū (1894–1935). As she is not in the habit of discussing the work of other painters, this was an unusual acknowledgment. Kagaku and Gyoshū are highly regarded for the innovations they brought to the Nihonga tradition through deep study of classical Japanese and Chinese painting. Kusama was no doubt attracted to their work because of its modernist tendency toward extremely individualistic expression. In Kagaku’s case this was manifest in a mysterious spiritual character based on his interpretation of Buddhist philosophy. In Gyoshū’s work the sense of modernity was effected by his move from thoroughgoing naturalism to anxious illusionism (fig. 29).

Kusama’s 1948 Onions (fig. 30), a work in mineral pigments on paper (the traditional Nihonga materials) from her Kyoto period, is the earliest example of her commitment to painting. It is also her only extant representational painted work. She says that she created this Nihonga work in a spirit of competition with the close rendering of Gyoshū. Nihonga painting typically employs such flat rendering, distinct from the volumetric modeling and illusionistic depth of oil paint due to the nature of mineral pigment, which lacks the viscosity of oils. The objects Kusama fixed her eye on were not grounded in the stable structure of a still life. Because these onions hover over a ground delineated in a grid pattern and permeated by strange fluctuations they take on the appearance of a hallucinatory vision severed from reality. This grid unmistakably foreshadows Kusama’s later net paintings.

Another work done in mineral pigments on paper, Lingering Dream (1948) (fig. 31), also comes from Kusama’s student days in Kyoto. It was based on the memory of a seed-harvesting field, part of the nursery owned by her family in Matsumoto. This image of crimson earth, a green butterfly, and biomorphic foliage arguably represents Kusama’s closest approach to surrealism.
Yayô Kusama
Lingering Dream, 1948
Pigment on paper
59 × 78 ½ in. (150 x 200 cm)
Collection of the artist

Figure 32
Hayami Gyoshû
Pomegranates in Nabeshima Ware, 1921
Pigment on silk
14 ½ × 19 ⅞ in. (36.8 x 49.5 cm)
Private collection

Figure 33
Hayami Gyoshû
Fresh Fruits (Apples and Figs), 1921
Pigment and gold leaf on silk
9 ⅞ × 8 ⅛ in. (24.9 x 22.3 cm)
Private collection

illusionism. However, she says she knew nothing about this movement at the time. If indeed these images took form through a combination of skilled draftsmanship and the hallucinations of mental illness, then we must say that Kusama was an autonomous surrealist.

Similarly, considering Gyoshû’s own style and the historical and social context in which he worked, it is likely that he too had no direct knowledge of surrealism. In any case, the works to which Kusama was drawn preceded Gyoshû’s travel to Europe. His minute naturalistic rendering represented a fusion of Sung Dynasty court painting technique and a style of naturalistic representation imported from the West (figs. 32 and 33). Kusama viewed Gyoshû as an “artist who painted apparitions.” In a manner unprecedented in Nihonga painting, Gyoshû revealed an obsession with the object itself in its every detail. In Kusama’s eyes he had arrived at a personal form of surrealism through the extremity of his naturalism.

In retrospect Kusama says her schooling was a waste of time. Nevertheless, even if it was merely an exercise, this detour forced her, to her benefit, to grapple with naturalistic drawing and put her in contact with the distinctive hallucinatory vision of these two exemplars of modernist Nihonga. For a young woman whose only means of securing peace of mind was to seek refuge in the practice of drawing and painting, this classroom experience stimulated the awakening of another self that could objectively apprehend the visions produced by her illness.
It was when she returned to Matsumoto, after living in Kyoto for a year and a half, that Kusama worked with oil paint in earnest for the first time. Unfortunately, however, her family situation had not improved, and the discord with her mother again produced a climate of hostility. This was the psychologically stressful context in which she painted Accumulation of Corpses (Prisoner Surrounded by a Curtain of Depersonalization) (1950) (fig. 34). During this period she had frequent symptoms of rijin-shō, or “depersonalization syndrome,” an illness in which her perception of the outer world—including landscapes, people, and sounds—suddenly faded, submerged behind a swirling curtainlike haze. Later, after seeing a psychiatrist, Kusama would recognize in the description of rijin-shō her own form of illness. This painting was subtitled retrospectively, but the artist says that she faithfully recorded the great sense of terror she experienced at the time. In the center of the painting two small trees appear in a distant, light-filled space surrounded, like a window, by the undulant pleats of what could be reddish curtains. The folds seem also to refer to the furrows in the nursery fields around her parents’ house. The biomorphic shapes scattered through these swirling forms can be read as fragmentary figures.

To be sure, this painting expresses a sense of fear, but at the same time it is impressive for the firm structure of its composition. It achieves a vivid volumetric modeling of a sort that would be impossible using the mineral pigments of the Nihonga style. The whole composition is controlled by an organic rhythm that seems to proliferate infinitely, vibrating the picture plane and depicting great depth. Without question, this rhythm emerged from the fluctuating grid in the background of Onions.

Kusama’s childhood drawings might be regarded as the crystallization of a despairing scream, but Accumulation of Corpses goes beyond this. Perhaps the underlying motivation is the same, but the artist has absorbed the métier of painting and demonstrates a strong creative will. The 1950 canvas contains a formality of spatial organization beyond that which one would expect to find in the depiction of an imaginary landscape by a naive or outsider artist. It is not the
The indulgence of eccentricity that one senses here, but the eye of an expressive artist confronting the painted image from a detached perspective.

Accumulation of Corpses might be understood as implying the artist watching the spectacle of her own confinement. While she is absorbed with the weaving of the proliferating imagery, she also positions herself as a coolheaded observer insofar as the painterly labor itself is repetitious and disciplined.

Later she would make objective reference to labor of this kind with the term “accumulation.”

The recognition of one’s confinement in a cage of absurdity and the dispassionate observation of that confinement from a sober distance was not unique to Kusama but was shared by a number of notable artists in Japan shortly after the end of World War II. Nobuya Abe’s Starvation of 1949 (fig. 35), for example, depicts an extreme situation that can be understood as an overlay of the artist’s memory of his wretched experience of war in the South Seas and the intervening postwar years of desolation and spiritual collapse. However, Abe’s transition, in the years following this work, to surrealistic nude figure painting, such as in his Person (1951), suggests that the artist’s intention may not have been simply an indictment of the misery of war or the expression of a sense of futility. For Abe this human image, ringing with trauma, was also a target of hard objective scrutiny.

On Kawara’s earliest drawings and oil paintings similarly feature images of objectified humans. In what one might expect to be gruesome interior scenes of dissected and severed corpses in Kawara’s oil painting Butcher’s Wife (fig. 36) and drawing Smallpox (both 1952), anthropomorphic forms are treated as if they were the inert parts of a machine. This imagery is also a reflection of the suffocating postwar years of poverty, social collapse, and individual discouragement; but in these absurdist and forsaken scenes, which allow no specific narrat-
Figure 36
On Kawara
Butcher’s Wife, 1952
Oil on canvas
39 3/8 x 33 3/4 in. (100 x 86 cm)
Private collection, Tokyo

In this interpretive context, there is an antic quality, leading us to conclude that the artist stands in a position of observation even more icily detached than that of Abe.

The art critic Toshiaki Minemura discussed the early 1950s work of Kusama, Abe, Kawara, and others as follows:

Having experienced a deep sense of desolation and faithlessness occasioned by the war, they could not suppress a need to completely reject all expressive form linked to ideological bombast or embellishment. [This was a generation that], more than anything else, demanded a direct confrontation with the real existence of things and material (and moreover, the state of the work of art as thing, the human being as thing). An unexpected basso continuo can be sensed reverberating throughout their diverse work...5

This is an apt characterization of artists who, under postwar conditions, trained their stringent gaze on the object. Moreover, the basso continuo transcends generations when one recalls that Kusama had the sense of rivaling Gyoshū, as though she were her contemporary, in the way he had focused his fixed, objective gaze three decades earlier. Though similar developments were occurring in Europe and the United States, the early postwar period was a time when information about contemporary art movements elsewhere, such as informal and abstract expressionism, was very limited in Japan. Nor did the artists with this object-oriented disposition organize themselves into a movement. Minemura’s observation could be applied not only to artists who might be regarded as having approached a more or less surrealist position, but also to those practitioners, soon to form the Gutai group, who were deliberately antisurrealist in their outlook. By applying paint with their feet or by hurling pigment-covered balls at the picture surface, these artists approached the recognition of painting as, above all, material substance. Thus, the late 1940s and early 1950s can be recognized as the starting point for postwar Japanese art, presaging Gutai activities as well as such antifigural motifs as Kusama’s nets.

Kusama’s personal experience of the war and its aftermath was not as severe as it might have been. To be sure, she was mobilized along with the rest of her high-school classmates to work in a factory sewing parachutes, but living in the countryside, which did not come under bombardment, she did not have to fear for the destruction of her home in air raids, nor did she lose family members, as many of her generation did. A member of a wealthy rural household, she probably did not have to worry about lack of food during the shortages following the war. Moreover, Kyoto, where she was studying, was exceptional among large cities for having escaped bombardment.
The art of Kawara, Abe, and others, such as Masao Tsuruoka, can be fruitfully regarded in terms of its broader social context, its imagery conveying the absurd human sacrifice of the war years. But the feeling of absurdity in Kusama's work was generated largely by the inner conditions of her mental illness. There was no obvious external reason for her to represent people as sacrifices. She was neither a social realist nor did she wish to confront and convey the conditions of her time, as did contemporaries such as Kawara; Kusama was entirely absorbed in her own illusionary vision. As Alexandra Munroe has pointed out, "Whereas Abe's and Kawara's imagery is symbolic and fantastic, Kusama's is the least self-conscious and thus the most genuinely nightmarish." This is not to suggest that her work is limited in scope, but rather that it sustains a universal vision that can only be attained by severe internal solitude.

From 1951 until she left for the United States in 1957 Kusama concentrated entirely on works on paper, whether in pastel, gouache, or ink. It is noteworthy that she experimented in these drawings and watercolors with motifs clearly prototypical of those she would develop in the net/dot paintings of her early years in New York. Though they are mostly small works, these images—incorporating scattered dots and intricate, fluctuating nets—are the products of obsessive repetition that seems to proliferate beyond all bounds. These motifs were already apparent to some degree in *Onions* and *Accumulation of Corpses*, but they can be followed back even further, to two pencil drawings remaining from Kusama's elementary-school years. One of these depicts, according to the artist, a young mother, her eyes closed and her head slightly averted (fig. 37). Small dots are inscribed all over her face, clothes, and the background, as if it were snowing. In the other drawing (fig. 38) a vase of flowers in the corner of a room is similarly covered with dots; radiating weblike patterns are casually scrawled all over the walls. Both drawings go beyond the unbridled freedom of juvenilia to evoke disquieting, hallucinatory experience. It would require over
ten years, but Kusama would eventually sublimate her inner-driven and incurable obsession to accomplish large, objectified mesmeric net/dot systems.

One of the first art critics to recognize Kusama’s talent was Shūzō Takiguchi, a surrealist poet who had corresponded with André Breton and who had championed surrealism in Japan for many years. According to retrospective comments in interviews with the author, Kusama was delighted to be recognized by the most influential critic of the Japanese art world in that period, but she took no active interest in the surrealist movement itself. Aside from a few experiments with the technique of decalcomania, there is no fundamental transformation apparent in her subsequent work attributable to surrealism. Kusama’s drawings from this period, though reminiscent of the work of Klee, Miró, Wols, or early Pollock, cannot be definitively linked to direct influence. Though reproductions of Klee and Miró were available, Kusama claims to have had no interest in them. Thus we had best posit simply that the methods and explorations of this autonomous surrealist happened to be in agreement with international tendencies in the avant-garde.

Through the vibrancy of her visual hallucinations a sort of animistic feeling is evoked in the world of her drawings. This animism also seems to underlie the menacing, blatantly sexual, fetishistic, and feminist objects she created in the 1960s. It may be no more than a dangerous temptation to speculate about the possible link between such animism and the context and history of an agrarian society. The lineage of object-making by artists Shūsaku Arakawa, Tomio Miki, and Tetsumi Kudō (fig. 39) clearly suggests a key to understanding the character of Japanese fetishism, though it might well be argued that Kusama does not belong to this lineage.

In any case, having decided in the mid-1950s to go to New York, at the highest pitch of the feud with her mother, Kusama burned thousands of her drawings on the riverbank behind her house. Pacific Ocean (1959) (cat. 13) was one of the earliest of the net/dot works to be done in New York. The artist says its fluctuating all-over pattern represents the waves she saw from the window of the propeller plane in which she crossed the ocean. Having completed a self-transformation, Kusama in this painting effected a symbolic leave-taking from her period as an autonomous surrealist.
Notes

1 Yayoi Kusama, interview by author, Kusama’s studio, Tokyo, 18 December 1996.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 Yayoi Kusama, interview by author, Kusama’s studio, Tokyo, 18 March 1997.


In 1978, five years after her move back to Japan, Yayoi Kusama wrote an autobiographical novel entitled *Manhattan Suicide Addict* about her life as an artist in downtown New York during the 1960s. She produced the manuscript as she produced so much of her art, in a single spell of obsessive creation, completing the first and only draft within a mere three weeks. The book, published by a small literary press and illustrated with images of Kusama’s sixties’ art (including her Infinity Net paintings, Driving Image installations, and nude happenings), was a moderate critical success that eventually acquired cult status among Japan’s literary vanguard. *Manhattan Suicide Addict*’s publication marked the beginning of Kusama’s professional writing career. She has since issued twelve books, including novels, poetry, and short-story collections.

Kusama produced these volumes writing through the nights in her cubicle at a Tokyo hospital for the mentally ill, her voluntary residence since 1977. She has found in writing an alternative therapeutic practice to painting and sculpture; it is an outlet for the expression of “metaphysical things, the negative feelings inside of me, human pain, life and death.”

Kusama’s art and fiction are different forms of the same repetitive production of traumatic, phantasmic, and transcendental experiences that obsess her. Her prose is an incessant narration of a depersonalized self-fighting against the void of self-obliteration. Set in New York or Japan in the present time, her novels recount the adventures of a cast of multiethnic characters living at the fringes of society. Half-lunatic and destitute, many of them artists, their lives revolve around drug addiction and psychiatric illness; incest, rape, and prostitution; orphanhood, loss of a beloved, and suicide. For Kusama madness, supernatural forces, and suicide are not miserable but strangely free and gorgeous fates, signs of dignity in a debauched world. Her best-known works, *The Hustlers Grotto of Christopher Street* and *The Burning of St. Mark’s Church* combine the sordid and the hallucinatory in a fluid, imagistic prose. The renowned novelist Ryu Murakami has remarked that Kusama’s novels are reminiscent of Jean Genet’s fictions of depraved city underworlds, in the sense that “both make filth shine.” Drag queens, junkies, exiles from far-flung places—the subversive and unmoored detritus of the modern industrialized

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Kusama during performance on Brooklyn Bridge, 17 May 1968
state—carouse, hustle, castrate their lovers, and die pure deaths with haunting, carnivalesque redundancy. But unlike Genet, Kusama’s rhapsodic melodramas embrace the surreal and remain in an ambiguous world, where “spirits wander between reality and image.”

Kusama’s novels, like her painting and collages, sculpture, environments, and happenings, owe their intensity to the structure of obsessive repetition. “Her words multiply,” critic Atsushi Tanigawa has commented, “in an anxious stream of unconscious narrative.” But it is not only the repetition of a basic structural vocabulary that links Kusama’s visual art to her writing. The obsessive thematic preoccupations that figure repeatedly in all of her works are sex as a site of power abuse, hallucinatory experience as a reproduction of what Freud terms “the uncanny,” and suicidal ideation as a mode of escaping from, or rebelling against, authoritarian denials of individuality. Kusama has claimed in numerous interviews and statements over the last fifty years that such obsessions are the conditions of her disease, which stems from childhood. To counter the forces of negation that aim to obliterate the self or separate it from others, she has to exert enormous willpower to simultaneously resist and overwhelm the oppression. If Kusama’s vast artistic production is the evidence of a ferocious battle between concrete reality and the overwhelming emptiness of nonbeing, a struggle to master the images that revolt or terrify her by repeatedly recreating them under her aesthetic control, then her fiction (which until recently has not been available in English translation) offers further evidence of Kusama’s extraordinary powers to transform the disturbing illusions of the mind into enduring art. Ultimately, her production legitimizes a realm where symbolic order has exploded, leaving us, like the narrator in Manhattan Suicide Addict, in a state of suspension: “I can not give up my existence. Also I can not escape from death. This languid weight of life!”

Kusama and Trends in Contemporary Japanese Literature

When Kusama’s first literary work was published in Tokyo in the late 1970s, she was known only to a small circle within the Japanese art establishment. She had left Japan in 1957, achieved fame abroad, and quietly returned in 1973 after a fifteen-year absence to receive medical treatment and psychiatric care. Beyond a faithful following of postwar avant-garde artists and critics who recognized her stature, Kusama’s reputation in Japan was modest. Her New York activities had received little coverage in the Japanese art press and virtually no works from that period had ever been shown in Japan. It was not until 1982, when she held her first solo exhibition at a major Tokyo gallery, that Kusama gained a new audience and reestablished her position as one of Japan’s preeminent artists of the international avant-garde. It is significant, in the context of her literary career, that the majority of her early readers thus came to know her first and foremost as a writer. Her early fans—and she had hundreds—were mostly young urban Japanese who identified with Kusama’s characters freely trans-
But Kusama’s early novels attracted critical attention as well. In 1983 *The Hustlers Grotto of Christopher Street* won the prestigious literary award for new writers given by the monthly magazine *Yasei jidai*. The jury consisted of the notable novelists Masahiro Mita, Michitsuna Takahashi, Teru Miyamoto, Ryu Murakami, and Kenji Nakagami. This group, a generation or two younger than the postwar school of Japanese literature represented by such giants as Kōbō Abe, Yukio Mishima, and Kenzaburō Ōe, had emerged as the proponents of a new genre of contemporary Japanese fiction. As intellectual nihilists who came of age in the 1960s they eschewed Abe’s existentialism, Mishima’s romanticism, and Ōe’s political ideology for a more fantastic, even psychedelic style of writing. Their tales of bizarre violence, erotic obsession, and occult happenings—a kind of postmodern magic realism—were inspired in part by their attraction to an eccentric strain in early modern Japanese literature prominent in the writings of Izumi Kyōka (1873–1939).

Viewed as peripheral during his lifetime because he stood apart from the dominant naturalistic prose of the period, Kyōka had invoked folklore, superstition, and legend to create a fictive purgatory of the supernatural and grotesque. What appealed to avant-garde writers of the 1970s and 1980s was his graphic imagery, gothic decadence, and dark, premodern sensibility. Although his plots and characterizations were often unstructured or poorly developed, his haunting atmosphere of multiple realities—what the great early-modern writer Ryunosuke Akutagawa summed up as “Kyōka’s world”—profoundly influenced the emergence of the new literary genres. Nakagami and Murakami, like Kyōka, created an ambiguous domain beyond thought and knowledge as resistance to the prevailing symbolic order imposed by modernity and Westernization. It is not surprising that Kusama, who ranks Kyōka topmost among her favorite Japanese writers, emerged in Tokyo’s literary world at the height of the “Kyōka boom” and later established close association with three of her jurors—Miyamoto, Murakami, and Nakagami—who today are internationally recognized for ushering in the new Japanese fiction. It is instructive, therefore, to discuss Kusama’s literary works in the context of this development.

*The Hustlers Grotto of Christopher Street*, a story of sexual violence, hallucination, and suicide, is representative of Kusama’s own idiosyncratic production of a fictive purgatory. Like Kyōka, Kusama writes about a macabre, supernatural world haunted with strange forms of love and betrayal in a language that is equally visual, formalist, and stylized. Kyōka’s most famous story, “The Holy Man of Mount Kōya” (Kōya hijiri, 1900), recounts the tale of an itin-

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crant ascetic (the narrator) who transgresses into a spirit world where the trees rain black leeches and the ground seethes with giant snakes. There he comes upon a woman of ethereal beauty who is married to an idiot; she taunts the monk to forgo his vows. He weakens until he discovers that she is in fact a serpentine-demon with powers to transform her lovers into bats and hoary beasts of burden.

Kyōka's stories, frequently centered on the lives of prostitutes, aestheticize the violent aspect of the erotic and endow the female body with dark powers typical of Japanese premodern folklore. For Kyōka, who once remarked that "monsters are the concretization of my emotion," words themselves are bake-mono—beings of transformation—and writing is a ritualistic act in which one can "pass through reality to reach a still greater power." Kyōka, Mishima once wrote, revived the ancient linked-verse style of renga poetry, with its "leaps of association and the imagistic splendor of the Japanese language that modern Japanese literature had forgotten." Unquestionably, the risks Kusama's fiction takes with its imagery and ambiguous relations between this world and the world of apparitions can best be appreciated by positioning her work in the lineage of Kyōka's tales of the supernatural and grotesque.

The Hustlers Grotto of Christopher Street recounts an episode in the life of Yanni, a young woman from Hong Kong who briefly studied philosophy at Columbia University and now manages male prostitutes in lower Manhattan. One of her boys is Henry, an African-American college dropout and heroin addict for whom she feels some sympathy "if only because he was a 'nigger' in a racist country" and with whom she occasionally has sex. "Though Yanni, with her hip-length black hair, dark almond eyes, and feline grace, was precisely the type he claimed to be wild about, the truth is that his heart was empty to the core. Nor were Yanni's feelings for Henry anything like love. Her own heart was so full of hatred for men..." As a little girl in Hong Kong, we learn, Yanni lost her virginity to her own father, who thereafter forced himself upon her regularly. In revenge against men, "to match up young canaries with pederasts" was now "all a glorious game to her."

The novel opens on a sweltering summer day in the West Village with Henry desperate for cash to score his next fix. Yanni sets him up with a wealthy john named Robert Greenberg, who sweeps him away in a white Porsche to a country house in New Jersey and rapes him repeatedly. Henry is overcome by drug withdrawal spasms ("his flesh panting with lunacy"), and hallucinations make his surroundings heave with terrifying images of infinity and destruction: "Everything in the room begins to move in a halting, vertiginous swirl with a chock, chock like the sound of a watch, and the ceiling seems about to collapse under the weight of the sky." Flowers are decapitated, "blood spurting out and soaking into the carpet." Henry's "physiology tugs relentlessly at his senses, demanding the destruction of everything visible. There, on a bitter-tasting hilltop the light-brown color of diacetyl morphine, poppies bloom as far as the eye can see. Henry makes a mad dash for those preternatural Turkish fields, strad...
dling the horse that gallops through his veins and riding riotously through the flowers.”

Accosted again by “Bob’s slug,” Henry sees the Porsche driving “at blinding speed to the terminus” on “an illusory highway [that] twists and bucks, writhing over the surface of the earth.” The Porsche flips, its “wheels pointed toward heaven and spinning uselessly” and in the emerging background “a black well in the dark valley, long thought to be dry, fills with Bob’s white jism. The mouth of the well overflows, eroding the ruined landscape with the force of a flood, turning everything white... until there is nothing but white obliterating the scenery as far as the eye can see.” In a final fit of loathing and craving, Henry cuts off Greenberg’s penis:

Henry sees himself standing in the midst of this night-marish scene and shivers. In his accursed hand he notices something that glitters a bright sports-car silver. The semen dogging him through the night continues to flow incessantly, entwining itself around the jackknife in his hand and dripping down on the carpet.

For one moment all the stars cease to shine. And as they lose their light, Bob’s raw, warm little animal separates from his body. The unattached clump of meat rolls over the highway, bumps against a rock, and comes to a stop.

Fleeing from his crime, Henry escapes with Yanni to the top of the Empire State Building, “that gemstudded nightless castle” whose dizzying heights are engulfed in mists like a “silvery void.” In the final scene their panic is heightened by an imagined terror that “the earth’s axis has ceased to turn.” Henry feels overcome by “a thin translucent curtain cutting him off from the external world... leaving him a prisoner behind the curtain of depersonalization.” Suddenly he disappears into the white oblivion. Yanni rushes to the railing. “In the milk-colored mist a single black spot. Falling.”

Kusama’s appropriation of the American subculture of the 1960s as the setting for her fiction has been compared to the work of Ryu Murakami (b. 1952), author of the bestselling 1976 Almost Transparent Blue (Kagirinaku tômei ni chikai buru) and other novels that chronicle with surrealist precision a similarly carnivalesque world. In a shift from the introspective trend of post-war Japanese literature, Murakami narrates his fragmentary, cinematic accounts of multiracial orgies, drug-induced hallucinations, and violent but ultimately futile political subversion with deadpan detachment. Yet what he sees in his nullified, Americanized Japanese youth—and what he admires in Kusama—is an aspiration for authenticity. For both Murakami and Kusama drugs, mental illness, and the unconscious imaginary are nobler because they oppose and ultimately disrupt the strictures of symbolic order (mundane modern reality, social
formations, and statism). Murakami, who terms Kusama a "genius," has remarked that her fiction is unique for a psychological intensity that makes her descriptions of "living on the edge between a normal and very strange world so extremely real."

It is significant that the contemporary novelist most closely associated with the Kyōka revival and the new supernaturalism, Kenji Nakagami (1946–1992), was also among Kusama's greatest supporters. What impressed Nakagami, beyond her imagistic writing style, was Kusama’s commitment to exploring the taboo territories of violence, discrimination, incest, and bisexuality. His own celebrated and much-debated work is itself steeped in those very themes.

Consciously invoking Japan's traditional, loosely structured monogatari narrative form, Nakagami peoples a part-primitive, part-modern landscape with passionate criminal antiheroes motivated by impulses that maintain a deep connection with archaic animism.

Among his best-known tales are the 1976 "Snake Lust" (Jain), a medieval ghost story recast in a contemporary buraku (outcaste ghetto), in which a boy and his girlfriend murder the boy's parents; and the 1984 "The Moon and the Immortal" (Tsuki to fushi), based on Kyōka's "The Holy Man of Mount Koya," the story of an ascetic who willfully pursues "somewhere on that mountain bathed by the dead-still sun . . . an entryway to and the abode of the supernatural." But where Kyōka's monk escapes the demonic forces of the lustful snake-woman, Nakagami's merges with the creature in a violent, erotic struggle and is transfigured into a monstrous being, part human and part animal, half female and half male, doomed to endless wandering and suffering. In Nakagami’s and Kusama’s fiction, sexual obsession is both brutal and transcendent. The difference is that Nakagami incorporates an ecstatic communion with natural phenomenon (the protagonist would, "given water, become soaked with it."), whereas Kusama’s submission to the sublime is elicited by the opposite emotion—a loathing of and revolt against the sexual act.

Nakagami and Kusama share an outsider status in Japanese society that informs their respective work and forged their friendship from 1983 until Nakagami’s early death by cancer in 1992. His legacy as a child of the buraku branded him, despite modern laws against discrimination, as a descendent of the Edo-period subclass of "untouchables"—so called because of their association with "impure" occupations such as handling human and animal corpses. Traditionally illiterate, the burakumin were neither written about nor able to write for themselves, and until Nakagami their ethnic narrative scarcely had been represented in the Japanese literary canon. Kusama, who was born to the upper class in rural Nagano Prefecture, has also struggled to claim her subjective self from Japan’s rigid social hierarchies. As a woman avant-garde artist and a psychiatric patient most of her adult life, she (like Nakagami) writes from the point of view of the oppressed "other." In each case this otherness is symbolized by imaginary forces that transgress and disrupt phenomenal realism.
Kusama’s version of a Kyoka-like snake tale, *Between Heaven and Earth*, is told from the side of the enchantress, O-Chu, an idiot woman who lives in the mountain groves; the snake-demon, a local policeman who pursues her, is a masculine, not feminine, sexual force of destruction. The story is narrated by her illegitimate daughter, Chi, who is repeatedly subjected to watching the policeman rape her mother on the forest floor. In silent panic Chi sees the leaves at his feet change from “a net of dry, dead veins” into “a scalelike, intertwining pattern of spots. And between the spots arises an ominous pair of small unblinking eyes.” Soon the entire ground and the trunks of the surrounding trees are writhing skyward, an accumulation of reptilian slugs—“columns of phalluses.” Again and again Kusama describes the lives of misfit females whose spectacular obsessions with phallocentric animism are the conduit for transcendence into another world. Hallucinatory experience is not disabling but rather emancipatory; it opens consciousness up to realms beyond banal and cruel existence.

Kusama’s literary style can also be understood through her lifelong association with surrealism. Surrealism’s essential preoccupation with the processes of the unconscious mind, its practice of automatism, and its dedication to what Paul Klee called the “instinct [which] drives us downward, deep down to the primal source” have consistently provided a critical framework for the appreciation of Kusama’s visual art, from her early biomorphic watercolors to her later psychosexual sculptures. The critic most responsible for introducing Kusama’s art in this context was the surrealist poet Shūzō Takiguchi (1903–79). Takiguchi, whom the militarists arrested in 1941 for his affiliation with André Breton and the French surrealists, emerged in the postwar era as the most influential critic of the Japanese avant-garde. A humanist, modernist, and prolific writer, Takiguchi articulated modern art and literature as the moral cultivation and improvised expression of an artist’s psychic nature, the supremacy of spirit and imagination over ideology and statism of any kind. For Takiguchi art was not an illustration, representation, or imitation of reality but rather a practice both formative and transformative.

Surrealism in prewar Japan implied a veiled critique of the totalitarian state; fantasy (genso) was encoded with social and political subversion. Postwar avant-garde artists in Japan, responding to prevailing academicism and the thir-
ties' legacy of fascist art and ideology, privileged children's art, naive art, art of the mentally ill, and other "amateurs who painted and sculpted as if outside of time." Kusama's outrage against authoritarianism was informed by this radical stance, which imparted urgency to works like her Driving Image series and her antiterror happenings of the 1960s. In her fiction as well Kusama sets fantasy (in the form of hallucinations from drugs or madness) in opposition to outside systems of phallocentric and abusive authority.

Takiguchi's support of Kusama in the early 1950s helped to establish her identity as an avant-garde artist conceptually linked through surrealism to her other artistic self— that of a mentally-ill patient producing exceptional "psychoanalytic art." For her second one-person show at the Matsumoto Civic Hall in 1952 he wrote: "Her drawings flow unceasingly as if a dam had broken. An artist, whatever his expression is, has to reveal signs of his own instinctive urges in drawing. Visionary forms of imagery should not be a fabrication but the symbolic appearance of such deep emotion. Here, an artist's breath becomes the natural flow which may be called her handwriting." Twenty-five years later, when she published her first novel, *Manhattan Suicide Addict*, she asked Takiguchi to contribute the afterword. Entitled "My Nymph through Eternity" (Yosei yo eien ni), his reminiscence of their long friendship concludes with a "literary and even poetic evocation" wherein he passes on his literary mantle: "Lingering in the crevices of illusion, the interstices of a vast void, this nymph emerges casting looks upon the world infinitely sharper than I myself..."27

**Fictional Themes and Kusama's Narrative Production**

Since Kusama first emerged as a self-described "independent" in Tokyo's contemporary art establishment in the early 1950s, she has claimed in numerous statements and interviews that her work is related to her mental problems. In her 1975 manifesto "Struggles and Wandering of My Soul" she describes a life of recurring hallucinations that drove her to paint and generated what she identified as her unique practice of "obsessional art." She was compelled to give form to her visions, as if the act of creation would give her mastery over the terrors that repeatedly threatened to dissolve her being. Her path of obsessional art, she suggests, has saved her from total despair and probable suicide; it has also certified her originality in the midst of the dominant contemporary art modes, which she disdains. "My motivation [for art]," she wrote, "was far from artistic, but primitive and instinctive."29

In a sense, her 1975 manifesto provided a story line for the autobiographical fiction she embarked on two years later, when she was permanently installed at a psychiatric hospital renowned for art therapy. Recurring themes of sex, death, and madness defy throughout her fiction any normative orders of rationality or realism. By Kusama's accounts, for her the practice of writing is similar to that of making art, in that she becomes consumed by a single work, completes it in a compulsive rush, and rarely returns to rework it once it is...
"out." From a psychoanalytic perspective, Kusama’s practice entails a loss of distinction between subject and object; as the unconscious imaginary assumes powers to distort objective reality, the symbolic order breaks down. Her creations survive, it could be argued, as documents of this transgressive experience.

Yet Kusama is not simply notating her madness; she is inventing an art to represent and reproduce it. Ultimately, her obsession is not focused on single images but rather on the repetitive production of a fantastic narrative that stars herself as object and subject, author and protagonist, artist and artwork. While the themes of her narrative are fixed, the degree and position of her subjectivity are constantly shifting—from psychotic crises to self-conscious sociopolitical critique to Warholesque self-promotion. That the artist has produced a vast photographic archive of herself posing beside and performing in and with her work suggests subtly shifting boundaries similar to those in Roland Barthes’ description of the Japanese Bunraku puppet theater, wherein the manipulators, clothed in black, are part of the performance. Bunraku, Barthes writes, "separates action from gesture: it shows the gesture, lets the action be seen, exhibits simultaneously the art and the labor, reserving for each its own writing." This is connected, he continues, to the "alienation effect" that Bertolt Brecht had sought:

That distance, regarded among us as impossible, useless, or absurd, and eagerly abandoned, though Brecht very specifically located it at the center of his revolutionary dramaturgy...that distance is made explicable by Bunraku, which allows us to see how it can function: by the discontinuity of the codes, by this caesura imposed on the various features of representation, so that the copy elaborated on the stage is not destroyed but somehow broken, striated, withdrawn from that metonymic contagion of voice and gesture, body and soul, which entraps our [Western] actors.

Kusama thus writes fiction as a manipulator blatantly free of disguise. Her stories reveal a fixation on sexual abuse, a fascination with the idea of self-obliteration (jiko shūnetsu), and an identification with rijin-shō. Literally "separate-person symptom," this illness connotes being parted like a prisoner (shujin) from social and temporal reality; it is a "curtain of separation" wherein the boundary dissolves between the real and the nonreal (hi-genjitsu). In the English translations Kusama has authorized, rijin-shō is rendered as "depersonalization," which further suggests being deprived of individual character, rendered impersonal, a nonbeing. Henry's reaction to being raped in The Hustlers Grotto of Christopher Street is precisely this sensation, whose terror then provokes him to self-obliteration through suicide. In Kusama’s world sexual abuse is predicated on the abuser depersonalizing the object of abuse. The forced secrecy of such traumatic experience, the need to escape achieved by numbing one’s con-
sciousness to what is taking place, the hopeless battle against figures of authority who deny the reality of the experience, the humiliation that later turns to disassociated outrage—these are the factors that throughout Kusama’s novels determine her characters’ fates.

The 1988 Woodstock Phallus Cutter offers one of the most graphic illustrations of Kusama’s narrative repetitions. Once again, it is told from a child’s point of view: Emily is a ten-year-old girl who likes to paint. Her father, an artist and teacher at New York’s Art Students League, who has exhibited at the Whitney and The Museum of Modern Art, is also a womanizer and a child molester. The book begins with his rape of Emily in the woods. Her hysterical mother passes time by breaking stacks of dishes, and her older brother regularly commits incest with Emily as well. In the midst of having sex with her father, Emily has an attack of rijin-shō and cuts off his penis with a pair of scissors. With this, she becomes obsessed with acquiring penises and aspires to obtain a collection of 456 of them by castrating the doctor who amassed it. While fleeing incarceration for her crime, Emily commits suicide.

Thus her first response is to negate reality through the numbing separation of rijin-shō. Next she stages her silent outrage by appropriating the object of abuse. Finally, she transforms the aggressive act of being depersonalized into a transcendental state of nonbeing; through self-oblation she becomes, in Buddhist terms, one with infinite voidness. Critic Akira Asada has commented that castration for Kusama entails a double strategy: she not only attacks masculinity directly, but by recreating and multiplying penises into humorous or inert forms she succeeds in robbing them of their threat, a technique frequently employed in her sculptural work as well. The fantastic improbability of Kusama’s fiction, like her sculptures and environments, is at the same time laughable and disturbing. Yet the power of her language gives the sordidness of her subject matter the dreamlike quality of another realm of being.

The anxiety and panic that rule Kusama’s characters and fill her narratives with such frenzy are not, however, the product of imagination only. The true subject of Kusama’s fiction is trauma. In the Freudian interpretation trauma results from violent events in the subject’s personal history that are repressed and thus impossible to reconstruct or verify. The need to reproduce the traumatic experience, the manifestation of the repressed, is what Freud calls the “compulsion to repeat,” which frequently manifests itself in the realm of the spectral or phantasmic—either as a recurring dream or as the “uncanny.” An uncanny effect is produced when the distinction between imagi-
nation and reality is effaced, when something that should be regarded as imagi-
nary appears before us in reality. This psychical reality, Freud posits, is that
memory/event that has become alien through the process of repression coming
to light as ghostly material being.35

Invariably the subject in the imaginary scene is the protagonist, and her
fantasy represents the fulfillment of an unconscious wish. By this reading,
Kusama’s recurring hallucinations would be the repetitive replaying of a traum-
atic childhood experience in the form of the Freudian uncanny. As early as
1964 she stated of her phallus-encrusted furniture, “My Aggregation Sculpture
is a logical development of everything I have done since I was a child. It arises
from a deep, driving compulsion to realize in visible form the repetitive image
inside of me.”36 It appears that as Kusama grew more familiar through psychi-
atric treatment with the formal symptoms of her illness and more analytically
aware of its childhood sources, her art became to a greater and greater extent
the literal working-out of her disorders. Like Genet, who once remarked, “To
create is always to speak about childhood,”37 Kusama has created a fiction draw-
ing on the deepest sources of the self.38

Literary critic and psychoanalyst Julia Kristeva has postulated that for
many avant-garde artists of the twentieth century art has been a confrontation
with psychosis, with the breakdown of the symbolic function:

It’s necessary to see how all great works of art...are, to
be brief, masterful sublimations of those crises of subjec-
tivity which are known, in another connection, as psy-
chotic crises. That has nothing to do with the freedom of
expression of some vague kind of subjectivity which
would have been there beforehand. It is, very simply,
through the work and the play of signs, a crisis of subjec-
tivity which is the basis for all creation, one which takes
as its very precondition the possibility of survival.39

Kusama’s art and literature certainly arise from her privileged if disturbed
access to unconscious and possibly supernatural realms of being. But the cre-
ation of her art requires not only surrender to madness but also triumph over it;
trauma must be substantially transformed before it can communicate to others
as beauty and meaning. Kusama’s genius lies in her ability to work both from
the inside out and from the outside in. When her symptoms dominate, she
retreats from the world; when she controls her symptoms and uses them for her
visual vocabulary, she emerges as a great artist. As critics have finally come to
appreciate, hers is an art “not of displaced energy, but of energy itself.”40 The
uneartly brilliance of her art, both visual and verbal, is produced by this “dou-
ble exposure,” as if she reflected both sides of an impassable threshold.
Notes

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1. Yayoi Kusama, Manhattan jisatsu misui jōshihan (Tokyo: Kosakusha, 1978). Kazue Kobata, the editor who acquired Kusama's first novel, confirms that the manuscript was produced within three weeks of the publisher's formal expression of interest in Kusama's proposed chronicle. Kobata, interview by author, Tokyo, 21 May 1996.

2. In addition to Manhattan Suicide Addict (see note 1) her publications are: Kurisutofu danshokutsu (The hustlers grotto of Christopher Street) (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1983; reissued by Jiritsu Shobo in 1989 with the stories “Rijin katen no shuten” (Prisoner behind a curtain of depersonalization) and “Shishū ukehina” (Death smell acacia)); Senjo Marutaka kyōkai engū (The burning of St. Mark's church) [Tokyo: Parco Shuppan, 1985]; Ten to chi no aida/Between Heaven and Earth [Tokyo: Jiritsu Shobo, 1988], also includes “Onna no sono” (Women’s meadow); Wadōso to tokku inari giri (Woodstock phallic cutter) [Tokyo: Peyotora Kōbō, 1988]; Shishū. Kokusō suzuri (Collected poems: Such sorrows) [Tokyo: Jiritsu Shobo, 1999]; Shinjū Sakurazaka (Double suicide at Sakurazaka) [Tokyo: Jiritsu Shobo, 1989];


6. Tanigawa, interview by author, Tokyo, 22 May 1996.

7. Kusama, Manhattan Suicide Addict, trans. quoted in Yayoi Kusama: Recent Works.

8. Kusama's solo exhibition at Tokyo's prestigious Fuji Television Gallery featured nine large paintings from 1959-61, three objects covered with stuffed protrusions from the 1960s and 1970s, and nine paintings and nine objects completed during the previous three years. The show, organized by gallery president Shunm Harunono, was reviewed in major art journals, television features, and the popular press. Prior to this large semi-retrospective Kusama had had ten small solo exhibitions in Japan since 1975.


Kyōka quoted in ibid., 171.

Ibid., 174.

Mishima quoted in ibid., 7.


Murakami, 21 May 1996 interview.


Cornyetz, "Mystic Writing Pad," 231.

Ibid., 243.

Murakami, Akira Asada, and the artist herself have confirmed to me in conversation that Kusama and Nakagami were friends with great mutual admiration.


Kusama became aware of herself as an artist producing "psychoanalytic art" in the early 1950s, when her work was noticed by Dr. Shiho Nishimaru, an eminent professor of psychiatry at Shinshu University in Nagano Prefecture. It appears that he saw one or both of Kusama's solo shows at Matsumoto Civic Hall in 1952 and subsequently introduced her work at a meeting of the Japanese Psychiatry Association. Another widely respected psychiatrist, Ryuzaburo Shiokawa, also took great interest in Kusama's work. See Munroe, "Obsession," 16, and Bhupendra Karia, "Biographical Notes," in Yayoi Kusama: A Retrospective, 70-71.


"Waga tamashii no henrei ni to takakai" (Struggles and wandering of my soul), Geijutsu sekai (Art and life) (November 1975).

Ibid., 1.


Ibid., 54—55.

"I was under a spell," Kusama remarked around 1966 concerning working on her Infinity Nets paintings. "I thought of the nets that I painted over my canvases as curtains which separated me from people and reality... When I looked at the walls, ceiling, floor, and furniture I found that they too were covered with nets" (Kusama, incomplete typescript, c. 1966; Kusama archive). See also Munroe, "Obsession," 17—20.

Akira Asada, interview by author, Tokyo, 23 May 1996.


In numerous interviews and other statements Kusama has attributed her imagery and artistic compulsions to her unhappy childhood growing up in a conservative, fragmented, and authoritarian family under a fascist wartime regime, all of which conspired against creativity and individuality. It appears that Kusama's father largely abandoned the family and carried on conspicuous affairs, inciting her mother to jealous rages. Kusama’s mother looms in her memory as a domineering presence. She seems to have been a demanding disciplinarian, a prudish moralist, and an unrelenting critic of what she deemed Kusama’s unacceptable behavior. She opposed Kusama’s artistic leanings and according to the artist they fought constantly. Kusama has confirmed that during these years rape and incest were common occurrences in the countryside where she grew up (Kusama, interview by the author, Tokyo, 6 April 1997). During the 1930s totalitarian ideology infiltrated more and more of civilian life, sometimes resulting in violent suppression of liberal tendencies and individualism. The right-wing police state routinely crushed oppositional activity and exercised widespread censorship. Japan’s Fifteen Year War, ending so disastrously in 1945, entailed a rhetoric of nationalism and a mechanism of terror that to young Kusama were utterly oppressive. She has remarked of the war, “It killed my mind” (Munroe, “Obsession,” 12–14).
Oil on canvas
91 ½ x 142 ½ in. (232.4 x 362 cm)
Shizuoka Prefectural Museum of Art
No. D., 1959
Oil on canvas
35 1/8 x 28 1/2 in. (90.2 x 72.4 cm)
Collection of the Donald Judd estate
[8]  
No. D., 1959  
Oil on canvas  
35 7/8 x 28 1/2 in. (90.2 x 72.4 cm)  
Collection of the Donald Judd estate

[9]  
No. A.B., 1959  
Oil on canvas  
82 7/8 x 163 in. (210 x 41.4 cm)  
Toyota Municipal Museum of Art
Interminable Net, 1959
Oil on canvas
52 1/4 x 49 1/2 in. (133.4 x 125.7 cm)
Collection of Michael and Gabrielle Boyd
Pacific Ocean, 1960
Oil on canvas
72 x 72 in. (183 x 183 cm)
Museum of Contemporary Art, Tokyo
[6]
Yellow Net, 1960
Oil on canvas
94 1/4 x 116 in. (240 x 294.6 cm)
Collection of Frank Stella
No. P.Z., 1960
Oil on canvas
106 x 70 in. (269.2 x 177.8 cm)
Nagano Prefectual Shinano Art Museum
No. F.C.H., 1960
Oil on canvas
30 x 26 in. (76.2 x 66 cm)
Collection of Linda and Ronald F. Daitz
No. Red B.C.F., 1960
Oil on canvas
28 3/4 x 23 3/4 in. (72 x 60.3 cm)
Collection of Julie and Barry Smooke, Los Angeles
No. T.W.2, 1961
Oil on canvas
69 x 49½ in. (175.3 x 125.7 cm)
Collection of Agnes Gund
No Green No. 1, 1961
Oil on canvas
70 x 49 ¼ in. (177.8 x 124.6 cm)
The Baltimore Museum of Art;
Edith Ferry Hooper Bequest Fund
No. 62 A.A.A. 1962
Mixed mediums on canvas
70 x 78 in. (178 x 202 cm)
Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery, the University of Texas at Austin; gift of the Center for International Contemporary Arts; Emmanuel and Charlotte Levine Collection, 1992
Pacific Ocean, 1959
Ink, watercolor on paper
29 1/2 x 23 1/2 in. (75.9 x 60.6 cm)
Keiji Anzai
Nets and Red No. 3, 1958/c. 1963
Pastel on paper with synthetic netting
11 x 8 1/2 in. (27.9 x 21.6 cm)
Private collection
Flower, 1950s/c. 1963
Watercolor, pastel on paper
15 3/4 x 13 3/4 in. (40 x 33.7 cm)
The Museum of Modern Art, New York; purchased with funds provided by Sheldon H. Solow
[16]  
Nets and Sun, 1953/63  
Gouache, pastel on paper  
15 x 12 3/4 in. (38.1 x 32.4 cm)  
Collection of Richard Castellane;  
courtesy D'Amelio Terras Gallery, New York

[17]  
Seeds, 1953 c. 1963  
Gouache on paper  
13 x 11 3/4 in. (33 x 29 cm)  
Collection of the artist
Flower, 1950s/62
Gouache on paper
12 x 12 in. (30.5 x 30.5 cm)
Collection of the artist

Flower, 1950s/62
Gouache on paper
13 ¼ x 11 ¾ in. (35 x 30 cm)
Collection of the artist
[20]
A Flower with Nets, 1952/c. 1963
Gouache on paper
13 3/8 x 11 3/4 in. (34 x 29.8 cm)
Collection of the artist

[21]
Nets Flower No. Q. 121, 1953/64
Gouache on paper
13 3/4 x 11 3/4 in. (33.5 x 29.7 cm)
Collection of the artist
Net Obsession, 1950s-63
Gouache on paper
15 x 13 3/4 in. (38 x 34 cm)
Collection of the artist
Nets, 1956/64
Gouache on paper
13 x 10 ½ in. (33 x 27 cm)
Collection of the artist
[24]
Flower, 1950s/64
Gouache on paper
13 1/4 x 11 3/4 in. (33.4 x 30 cm)
Collection of the artist

[25]
Flower, 1950s/64
Gouache on paper
13 1/4 x 11 3/4 in. (33.4 x 30 cm)
Collection of the artist
Flower P.P., 1954/64
Gouache on paper
14¾ x 12½ in. (36.6 x 31.8 cm)
Collection of the artist

Flower A.3, 1954/63
Gouache, pastel on paper
13 x 11¼ in. (33 x 29.2 cm)
Collection of Richard Castellane
[28]
Ground, 1950/63
Gouache, pastel on paper
11 1/2 x 8 1/4 in. (28.6 x 22.2 cm)
Collection of Richard Castellane

[29]
M.A.M. Egg, 1954/63
Gouache, pastel on paper
11 1/4 x 13 1/4 in. (28.3 x 33.7 cm)
Collection of Richard Castellane
Accumulation of Stamps No. 63, 1962
Collage, watercolor on paper
23 3/4 x 29 in. (60.3 x 73.6 cm)
The Museum of Modern Art, New York;
gift of Philip Johnson
Accumulation No. 15 A, 1962
Collage on paper
20⅛ x 25⅜ in. (51.5 x 65.5 cm)
Collection of Henk Peeters
Airmail Stickers, 1962
Collage on canvas
71 ½ x 67 ½ in. (181.6 x 171.4 cm)
The Whitney Museum of American Art,
New York; gift of Hanford Yang
Airmail No. Q.Z., 1963
Collage on paper
9 3/4 x 10 1/4 in. (25.3 x 26.7 cm)
Collection of Eileen and Michael Cohen
Accumulation of Spaces No. B.T., 1963
Collage on paper
19⅛ x 25⅛ in. (49.5 x 64.8 cm)
The Walker Art Center, Minneapolis;
T. B. Walker Acquisition Fund, 1996
Accumulation of Nets, 1962
Photocollage
23 3/8 x 28 3/8 in. (59.4 x 71.4 cm)
The Los Angeles County Museum of Art; purchased with funds provided by the Ralph M. Parsons Discretionary Fund, Blake Byrne, Tony and Gale Ganz, Sharleen Cooper Cohen, Stanley and Elyse Grinstein, and Linda and Jerry Janger
Accumulation of Nets No. 7, 1962
Photocollage
29 x 24 1/4 in. (73.7 x 62.2 cm)
The Museum of Modern Art, New York;
gift of Agnes Gund
Compulsion Furniture (Accumulation), c. 1964
Photocollage, paint
8 x 9 1/4 in. (20.4 x 23.1 cm)
Collection of Christopher D'Amelio, New York
Love Forever Collage, 1966
Photocollage
14 x 11 in. (35.6 x 28 cm)
Beatrice Perry Family Collection
Self-Obliteration, 1967
Black-and-white photograph, ink
7 3/8 x 9 1/2 in. (18.2 x 24 cm)
Ota Fine Arts
Self-Obliteration (Net Obsession Series),
c. 1966
Photocollage
8 x 10 in. (20.3 x 25.4 cm)
Ota Fine Arts
Accumulation No. 1, 1962
Sewn stuffed fabric, paint, fringe on chair frame
37 x 39 x 43 in. (94 x 99.1 x 109.2 cm)
Beatrice Perry Family Collection
Accumulation No. 2, 1962
Sewn stuffed fabric, paint on sofa frame
35 x 88 x 40¼ in. (88.9 x 223.5 x 102.2 cm)
Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College; gift of Mr. and Mrs. Harry L. Tepper
[44]  
_My Flower Bed_, 1962  
Stuffed cotton gloves, bedsprings, paint  
98 1/2 x 98 1/2 x 98 1/2 in. (250.2 x 250.2 x 250.2 cm)  
Musée national d'art moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou

[45]  
_Ironing Board_, 1963  
Sewn stuffed fabric, iron, ironing board, paint  
44 x 56 x 27 1/2 in. (111.8 x 142.2 x 69.9 cm)  
Storm King Art Center; gift of Hanford Yang
[47]  
Untitled, 1963  
Sewn stuffed fabric, suitcase, folding table, paint  
39 x 32 x 30 in. (99.1 x 81.3 x 76.2 cm)  
Des Moines Art Center Permanent Collections; gift of Hanford Yang

[46]  
Traveling Life, 1964  
Sewn stuffed fabric, women's shoes, wooden step ladder  
97 3/4 x 32 1/4 x 59 1/2 in. (248 x 82 x 151 cm)  
The National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto
Bronze Coat, c. 1962
Sewn stuffed fabric, raincoat, clotheshanger
42 x 35 x 3 in. (106.7 x 88.9 x 7.6 cm)
Collection of Ikkan Sanada, New York
Suit, c. 1962
Sewn stuffed fabric, jacket, skirt, clotheshanger, paint
40 x 30 x 4 in. (101.6 x 76.2 x 10.2 cm)
Collection of Richard Castellano; courtesy D'Amelio Terras Gallery, New York
Untitled Accumulation, 1963
Sewn stuffed fabric, wooden chair, paint
34 x 16 x 16 in. (86.4 x 40.6 x 40.6 cm)
Toyota Municipal Museum of Art

Untitled, 1963
Sewn stuffed fabric, wooden stool, paint
46 x 19 x 19 ¼ in. (116.8 x 48.3 x 49.5 cm)
Des Moines Art Center Permanent Collections; gift of Hanford Yang
Untitled, 1963
Sewn stuffed fabric, metal baking pan, metal tongs, paint
12 x 18 x 18 in. (30.5 x 45.7 x 45.7 cm)
Collection of Helen Lewis and Marvin Meyer
Untitled Accumulation, 1963
Sewn stuffed fabric, ten pairs of women's shoes, paint
Variable dimensions
Anzai Art Office Inc.
Aggregation: One Thousand Boats Show, 1964
Sewn stuffed fabric, wooden rowboat, paint [As a full-scale installation Aggregation: 
One Thousand Boats Show includes 999 posters depicting the rowboat (see fig. 5).]
104 3/8 x 51 1/2 x 23 1/2 in. (265 x 130 x 60 cm)
Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam
Chair, 1965
Sewn stuffed fabric, wooden chair, paint
35 1/2 x 31 1/4 x 23 1/2 in. (90 x 80 x 85 cm)
Toyota Municipal Museum of Art
Baby Carriage, c. 1964–66
Sewn stuffed fabric, baby carriage, stuffed toy kangaroos, paint
38 x 23¼ x 40 in. (96.5 x 59 x 101.7 cm)
The Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College;
gift of Mr. and Mrs. Harry L. Tepper
Flower Shirt, 1964
Shirt, artificial flowers, clotheshanger, paint
31 7/8 x 41 3/4 in. (81 x 105 cm)
Gallery HAM
Silver Dress, c. 1964
Dress, artificial flowers, clotheshanger, paint
45 3/4 x 22 3/4 x 7 3/4 in. (115 x 57 x 20 cm)
Museum Moderner Kunst, Stiftung Ludwig, Vienna
Phallic Bottle Tray, 1965
Sewn stuffed fabric, bottles, cup, metal tray, paint
13 3/4 x 13 3/4 x 12 1/2 in. (34 x 34 x 31 cm)
Collection of Caroline de Westenholz
Macaroni Handbag, 1965
Handbag, macaroni, paint
13 3/4 x 13 x 5 3/4 in. (34 x 33 x 15 cm)
Collection of Henk Peeters
Macaroni Shirt, 1965
Shirt, macaroni, clotheshanger, paint
33 1/8 x 59 1/4 in. (84 x 152 cm)
Collection of Caroline de Westenholz
Macaroni Coat, 1963
Coat, macaroni, clotheshanger, paint
46 1/2 x 31 1/2 x 4 3/4 in. (118 x 80 x 12 cm)
Itabashi Art Museum
[63]
Macaroni Pants, c. 1963
Shorts, macaroni, clotheshanger, paint
19 3/4 x 18 3/4 in. (50 x 48 cm)
Collection of Albert-Udo Stappert

[64]
Macaroni Suitcase, 1965
Suitcase, macaroni, paint
14 3/4 x 21 1/4 x 6 3/4 in. (37 x 54 x 16 cm)
Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Virgilio Gianni
Infinity Net A., 1965
Oil on canvas
52 x 49 3/4 in. (132 x 126 cm)
Collection of the artist
Infinity Net B., 1965
Oil on canvas
52 x 49 1/4 in. (132 x 126 cm)
Collection of the artist
Infinity Net C., 1965
Oil on canvas
51 1/2 x 50 in. (131 x 127 cm)
Collection of the artist
Infinity Net, 1965
Oil on canvas
60 x 52 in. (152 x 132 cm)
Collection of Daisuke Miyatsu,
courtesy Ota Fine Arts
[69]  
Untitled, 1966  
Mannequin, paint  
41\(\frac{3}{4}\) x 20\(\frac{3}{4}\) x 15 in. (105 x 51 x 38 cm)  
Collection of Udo Kultermann

[70]  
Untitled, 1966  
Wooden stool, paint  
17 \(\frac{3}{4}\) x 13\(\frac{3}{4}\) x 13\(\frac{3}{4}\) in. (45 x 35 x 35 cm)  
Collection of Udo Kultermann
Untitled, c. 1966
Mannequin, wig, shoes, paint
H: 66 1/2 in. (169 cm)
Galleria d'Arte del Naviglio, Milan
Still Life, 1966

Bottle, fabric, wire, book, paint

Bottle: 10 1/5 x 2 3/5 in. (26.5 x 7 cm); flower: 22 2/5 x 8 2/5 x 4 in. (58 x 22 x 10 cm);
book: 7 1/5 x 10 3/5 x 1 in. (19 x 27.7 x 2.4 cm)

Städtisches Museum Abteiberg Mönchengladbach
Untitled, 1966
Bottle, paper, wire, paint
16 1/2 x 9 x 7 3/4 in. (42.5 x 23 x 20 cm)
Collection of Albert-Udo Stappert
[74]
Step ladder, 1966
Wooden step ladder, paint
98 3/4 x 23 1/4 in. (250 x 60 cm); depth variable
Gallery HAM

[75]
Suitcase, 1966
Suitcase, paint
18 1/4 x 27 1/4 x 7 1/4 in. (46 x 70 x 19 cm)
Gallery HAM
Valise, 1965–66
Sewn stuffed fabric, fabric-covered valise
16 x 25 x 18 in. (40.6 x 63.5 x 45.7 cm)
Beatrice Perry Family Collection
Dustpan, 1965
Sewn stuffed fabric, fabric-covered dustpan
8 x 12 x 11 1/2 in. (20.3 x 30.5 x 29.2 cm)
Private collection;
courtesy D’Amelio Terras Gallery
Red Stripes, 1965
Sewn stuffed fabric on wood
27⅜ x 32⅜ x 7⅛ in. (70 x 83 x 20 cm)
Collection Becht, Naarden, Netherlands
Blue Spots, 1965
Sewn stuffed fabric on wood
32 9/16 x 27 3/4 x 5 7/8 in. (83 x 70 x 13 cm)
Collection Becht, Naarden, Netherlands
Installation view, *Infinity Mirror Room—Phalli’s Field (or Floor Show)*, 1965
(no longer extant); reconstructed 1998
Sewn stuffed fabric, plywood, mirrors
98 ½ x 196 ¾ x 196 ½ in. (2.5 x 5 x 5 m)
Installation view, Narcissus Garden, 1966
(no longer extant); reconstructed 1998
1,500 plastic mirror balls
Each ball 7 3/8 in. (20 cm) dia.
Kusama’s Self-Obliteration, 1967
Eight stills from 16mm color film
Artistic direction, Yayoi Kusama; cinematography and editing, Jud Yalkut
23 min.
Collection of Jud Yalkut
14th Street Happening, 1966
Performance documented with color slides
by Eikō Hosoe
Collection of the artist
Walking Piece, c. 1966
Performance documented with color slides
Collection of the artist
This chronology details Yayoi Kusama's exhibition activity from 1957 to 1968, during the time she lived in the United States. It also lists subsequent exhibitions of work made during that period.

Titles of exhibitions, opening dates, and works included have been provided whenever available. In the case of group exhibitions, other participating artists are listed when known. Pieces, especially works on paper, have occasionally been reworked by Kusama; dates and titles have sometimes been changed or added later, making the exact identification or dating of certain works a challenge. Catalogue numbers are given at the first mention of items appearing in *Love Forever: Yayoi Kusama, 1958–1968*. Thereafter these are marked with an asterisk.

### 1957

8 December
Kusama's first solo exhibition in the United States opens at Zoe Dusanne Gallery, Seattle. She shows approximately sixty watercolors, including two large works entitled *Laughing Bones* and *Old Animal* (*Japanese Woman Painter to Hold Seattle Exhibit,* *Mansfield*, 12 November 1957).

### 1958

14 November

13 December
Group exhibition, *Japanese Prints from the Eighteenth Century to the Contemporary/Paintings and Woodblock Prints by Artists in America Working in the Oriental Spirit*, Mrs. Samuel Sloshberg's private collection, Sloshberg residence, Brookline, Massachusetts. Two Kusamas, *The Sea* (n.d.), oil on canvas, and *Pacific Ocean at Twilight* (n.d.), watercolor on paper, are included. The works were acquired from New York art dealer/bookseller E. Weyhe Inc. (*Center for International Contemporary Arts* archive, Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery, University of Texas at Austin).

### 1959

7 April

3 June

9 October
Solo exhibition, *Brata Gallery*, New York. Kusama shows five large white net paintings. The exhibition receives overwhelmingly positive reviews in nationally circulated art magazines, from well-known critics such as Dore Ashton, Sidney Tillim, and Donald Judd. Tillim writes, "Here is an 'Impressionism' true to the abstract aesthetic in which there is no center of interest... Having labored for ten years over many 'tests' to arrive at this moment, Miss Kusama would seem to possess the required patience and, ultimately, the flexibility to extend one of the most promising new talents to appear on the New York scene in years" (*Tillim*, "In the Galleries: Yayoi Kusama," *Arts* 34, no. 1 [October 1959]: 56).

23 November
Solo exhibition, *Recent Paintings by Yayoi Kusama*, *Nova Gallery*, Boston. A review in the *Boston Herald* by Robert Taylor mentions ten white-on-black net paintings as well as a number of watercolors. One of the paintings is No. A B (1958; cat. 3). The painter and theorist Gyorgy Kepes visits this exhibition.
15 December

1960

February
Group exhibition, Brata Gallery, New York City. Exhibition travels to Gallery One, Baltimore.

18 March
Group exhibition, *Monochrome Malerei*, Stiftesbas Museum, Leverkusen, West Germany. Introducing Kusama’s work to Europe and bringing together for the first time a diverse group of international artists and artists’ groups because of their common interest in monochrome painting and sculpture, *Monochrome Malerei* exhibits members of the German Zero group (Heinz Mack, Otto Piene, Günther Uecker), the Italian Azimuth (Enrico Castellani, Pero Manzoni), and the French Nouveaux Réalistes (Yves Klein). After this exhibition these groups would show together frequently throughout the sixties under the umbrella terms New Tendency and New Style. Kusama shows Composition (1959), a large white canvas. She and Mark Rothko are the only New York-based artists exhibited.

26 March
Group exhibition, *Contemporary Paintings in a Modern House (The First Tour of Private Art Collections and Artists' Studios)*, Washington, D.C., a project sponsored by the Women’s Committee of the Corcoran Gallery of Art. Kusama shows No. F.C.H. (1960: cat. 8) and Untitled (red-on-white net; n.d.) at the Georgetown residence of Mr. and Mrs. H. Gates Lloyd (Lynn Zelevansky; notes from interview with Beatrice Perry, 23 July 1996). Works by Jean Arp, Georges Braque, Arshile Gorky, Morris Graves, Paul Klee, and Joan Miró are also shown.

19 April
Solo exhibition, Gres Gallery, Washington, D.C. The exhibition includes several Infinity Net canvases and smaller net studies. Beatrice Perry, the gallery’s founder and director, recalls meeting Kusama for the first time when the artist walked into the gallery and introduced herself and her work (Perry, 23 July interview).

27 September

25 October
Group exhibition, *Painting, Sculpture, and Drawings from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Patrick B. McGinnis*, De Cordova Museum, Lincoln, Massachusetts. On display is *Pacific Ocean* (1960), a painting commissioned by Mrs. McGinnis for her Boston apartment. The couple later commissions other works from Kusama, including a red bed-stand, for their Staten Island home (Perry, 23 July interview).

15 November
Group exhibition, *Japanese Abstraction*, Gres Gallery, Washington, D.C. Other artists include Yoko Ono, and Kusama, all based in New York, as well as Toshinobu Ono and Tadahisa Yamaguchi, based in Japan. All works in the exhibition are oil on canvas.

4 December
Group exhibition, *Japan-America Women Artists Exchange Exhibition in Commemoration of the Centennial of the Japan-U.S. Amity Treaty*, Riverside Museum, New York (the show is also scheduled to travel to Japan). Kusama shows one work. The show’s organizer, the National Association of Women Artists, was founded in 1898 to provide professional American women artists with a venue for showing their work. The organization still exists, headquartered in New York City.

18 December
7 October
Group exhibition, Avantgarde 61, Städtisches Museum, Trier, West Germany. Kusama shows an Infinity Net painting. The exhibition also includes work by the Zero and Nul groups as well as Castellani, Gianni Colombo, Lucio Fontana, Klein, Francesco Lo Savio, and Manzoni.

26 October

21 November
Two-person exhibition, Yayoi Kusama: Watercolors (with Franco Assietto), Gres Gallery, Washington D.C.

1962
January

9 March
Group exhibition, Tentoonstelling Nul, Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam. Organized by Henk Peeters, the show includes artists from the Nul, Zero, Azimuth, and Nouveau Réalistes groups and affiliates from other parts of Europe, among them Arman, Fontana, Hans Haacke, and Manzoni. Kusama, the only participant from the United States, shows the paintings 7 Q (1960).
Selected Exhibition History

Installation views by Rudolph Burckhardt of group exhibition at Green Gallery, New York, 1962; visible are Kusama’s Accumulation No. 1 and Accumulation No. 2.
Selected Exhibition History

1963
8 January

5 May
Group exhibition, Panorama van de nieuwere trends, Gallery Amstel, Amsterdam. Along with New Tendency artists Klein, Manzoni, Peeters, Rot, and Uecker this show includes work by Julio Le Parc, founder of the Paris-based Groupe de Recherche d'Art Visuel (grav).

8 October

10 November
Two-person exhibition, Kusama/Onoato, Zani Gallery, Buffalo. Kusama shows seven watercolors and gouaches, one pastel, No. A. (1963), and the oils No. 91 (1960) and Black Net (1961).

17 December
Solo exhibition, Aggregation: One Thousand Boots Show (cat. 54), Gertrude Stein Gallery, New York. Kusama's first room-sized installation consists of a rowboat filled with white protrusions in a room whose walls are covered with black-and-white reproductions of the boat sculpture. The anteroom is darkened to maximize the dramatic effect. Critic Brian O'Doherty described the installation: "Around the spot-lit boat, the aggre-
Installation view, Driving Image Show, Castellane Gallery, New York, 1964
Selected Exhibition History

Poster announcing Driving Image Show, 1964

30 April
Group exhibition, Around Travel, PVI Gallery, New York. Includes work by Arman, Chryssa, Marcel Duchamp, Kaprow, and others. Kusama’s name does not appear on the invitation, but Travelling Life (1964; cat. 46), a phallus-covered stepladder festooned with high-heeled shoes, is in the exhibition.

Ten-Guest Table (no longer extant), 1963

2 June

7 August
Group exhibition, Mikro Zero/Nul/ Mikro niuwe realisme, Galerie Delta, Rotterdam. Kusama is represented by a work (probably a collage) identified as Accumulation (1962) along with macaroni-covered shoes. Other artists participating include Arman, Christo, Fontana, Haacke, Klein, Manzoni, George Rieky, Daniel Spoerri, and Jean Tinguely. The two-part exhibition divides Nul artists from the so-called Neoverené Réalistes. Kusama is listed as a Nul/Zero artist. The exhibition travels to the Rhedens Lyceum, Velp, Holland, and on 31 August opens at Galerie Amstel 47, Amsterdam.

October
Group exhibition, International Gallery Prague. This exhibition is curated by Albert Vogel, co-owner of Internationale Galerie Orez in the Hague, which later represents Kusama’s work in Europe.

30 October
Group exhibition, Group Zero, the Institute of Contemporary Art, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. This survey, organized by Zero member Piene, is one of the first exhibitions in the United States to focus on the contemporary European avant-garde. Kusama shows three oils: The West (1960), No. Green No. 1 (1961; cat. 11), and No. T.W. 3° (1961), as well as No. B. 3 (1962), a large relief made from egg cartons. The show travels to the Washington Gallery of Modern Art, Washington, D.C., opening 9 January 1965.

N.d.
Group exhibition, Galerie J., Paris

1965

16 January
Group exhibition, Abstact 65, Galerie Abstact, Bern. Includes 120 artists affiliated with New Tendency groups such as Zero, Nul, Arte Programmatica, Anti-Peinture, gra1v, and Recherche Continueille.

love forever

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17 February
The documentary L’Ecole de New York, produced by Radio Télévision de la Communauté Française de Belgique, airs on Belgian national television. The program focuses on New York artists and includes extensive interviews and footage of studio and gallery visits. In addition to Kusama, the artists profiled are Lee Bontecou, Dine, Lichtenstein, Marisol, Segal, and Warhol.

8 April
Group exhibition, De nieuwe stijl: Werk van de internationale avant-garde. Galerie de Bezige Bij, Amsterdam. The show is organized in conjunction with the Nul 1965 exhibition at the Stedelijk Museum and includes artists from the same groups. Both exhibitions coincide with the publication of the first issue of De Nieuwe Stijl: Werk van de Internationale Avant-Garde, edited by Armando, Peeters, Hans Sleutelaar, Cornelis Bastiaan Vaandrager, and Hans Verhagen. The cover of the magazine features Kusama standing amid her work. Prominently featured in the photographs are a protrusion-covered armchair, probably Accumulation No. 3 (1962), and a large white egg-carton relief, probably No. 8.3 (1962), owned by Beatrice Perry. (Armando et al., De Nieuwe Stijl, exh. cat. Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 1965).

9 April
Group exhibition, en wagenhonderd eiff en zestig (Nul nineteen sixty-five), Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam. This show includes, in addition to members of the Nul and Zero groups, participants from the Italian Gruppo T and the Japanese Gutai (“concrete”) group. Kusama’s Aggregation: One Thousand Boats Show” (1963), listed as Aggregation—Rowboat in the catalogue, is exhibited in its own gallery, with black-and-white images of the boat covering the floor and walls. Kusama donates the piece to the museum after the exhibition.

21 April
Group exhibition, New Eyes, Chrysler Museum of Art, Provincetown. Kusama’s Ten-Guest Table (1963) and Macaroni Overcoat (1964) are exhibited.

May
Solo exhibition, Internationale Galerij Orez, the Hague. Works exhibited include two phallic protrusion pieces, Blue Spots (cat. 79) and Red Stripes (cat. 78); a phallic Accumulation sculpture, Chair (cat. 55); Macaroni Handbag (cat. 60); Macaroni Overcoat; Phallic Bottle Tray (cat. 59); an altered mannequin, Phallic Girl; two orange-dotted mannequin sculptures; and a green-dotted mannequin (all 1965) (Caroline de Westenholz, letter to Julie Joyce, 12 September 1996). Founded by Leo Verboon and Albert Vogel, the gallery’s name is the word “zero” spelled backwards; it concentrates on Zero, Nul, and other New Tendency artists. As thanks for his help with the exhibition and for promoting her art in Europe, Kusama gives Peeters a high-heeled shoe sculpture (letter to Henk Peeters from Yayoi Kusama, 1965).
4 May
Group exhibition, Zero Aranguardia, curated by artist-designer Nanda Vigo, Galleria del Cavallino, Venice. Among the twenty-eight participants are Fontana, Hanke, Klein, and Poesters. This gallery is owned and managed by the Milanese gallerist Renato Cardazzo, who also owns the Galleria d’Arte del Naviglio in Milan, a prestigious outlet for work by many of the most important artists of the European avant-garde.

26 May
Group exhibition, Recent Acquisitions, Whitney Museum of American Art, New York. Kusama’s largest collage, Airmail Stickers (1962, cat. 32), a gift to the museum from architect Hanford Yang, is shown along with a Dine sketch of toothbrushes, Frank Gallo’s Swimmer, Mike Todd’s T-21, and Warhol’s Rose Box.

June
Group exhibition, Zero Aranguardia, Galleria il Punto, Turin. This may have been another venue for the exhibition that opened at Galleria del Cavallino on 4 May. The exhibition includes My Flower Bed (1962; cat. 44), Kitchen Utensils (1963), a number of stuffed shoes (1964), and the phallus-covered Baby Carriage (c. 1964-66; cat. 56), as well as Kusama’s environmental sculpture Infinity Mirror Room—Phalli’s Field (1965; cat. 80) (“Floor Show,” Arts 40, no. 2 [December 1965]: 18). Baby Carriage is made with red-and-off-white striped material, but shortly after the exhibition Kusama adds three toy kangaroos to the carriage interior and spraypaints the entire piece silver (Martha Buskirk, letter to Lynn Zelevansky, 10 September 1996). Half of the exhibition consists of Infinity Mirror Room, in which mirrored walls and ceiling reflect a floor of protrusions covered in red spots of different sizes. Critical reaction to the exhibition focuses on the bizarre and obsessive qualities of Kusama’s oeuvre. One critic writes, “Stylistically, Miss Kusama may indeed be an original. Spiritually, however, she is one with the ingenious fanatic who constructs an Eiffel Tower of toothpicks, carves the Lord’s Prayer on a pinhead, or meticulously paints a full page of legible neoscript” (Jay Jacobs, “In the Galleries,” Arts 40 [January 1966]: 10).

July
Two-person exhibition, Yayoi Kusama and Clifford Lo Fontaine, Castellane Gallery, New York.

10 October
Group exhibition, White on White, De Cordova Museum, Lincoln, Massachusetts. Kusama shows Accumulation No. 1” (1962). Also on exhibit are monochrome works by Josef Albers, Arp, Chryssa, Fontana, Jasper Johns, Louise Nevelson, Poesters, Piene, Tapies, and Wesselman, among others.

15 October
Group exhibition, Japanese artists abroad: Europe and America, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo. Kusama is represented by a few phallus-covered domestic objects.

3 November
Solo exhibition, Floor Show, Castellane Gallery, New York. This includes My Flower Bed (1962; cat. 44), Kitchen Utensils (1963), a number of stuffed shoes (1964), and the phallus-covered Baby Carriage (c. 1964-66; cat. 56), as well as Kusama’s environmental sculpture Infinity Mirror Room—Phalli’s Field (1965; cat. 80) (“Floor Show,” Arts 40, no. 2 [December 1965]: 18). Baby Carriage is made with red-and-off-white striped material, but shortly after the exhibition Kusama adds three toy kangaroos to the carriage interior and spraypaints the entire piece silver (Martha Buskirk, letter to Lynn Zelevansky, 10 September 1996). Half of the exhibition consists of Infinity Mirror Room, in which mirrored walls and ceiling reflect a floor of protrusions covered in red spots of different sizes. Critical reaction to the exhibition focuses on the bizarre and obsessive qualities of Kusama’s oeuvre. One critic writes, “Stylistically, Miss Kusama may indeed be an original. Spiritually, however, she is one with the ingenious fanatic who constructs an Eiffel Tower of toothpicks, carves the Lord’s Prayer on a pinhead, or meticulously paints a full page of legible neoscript” (Jay Jacobs, “In the Galleries,” Arts 40 [January 1966]: 10).

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1966 26 January
Solo exhibition, *Yayoi Kusama: Driving Image Show*, Galleria d'Arte del Naviglio, Milan. The exhibition includes thirty large sculptures shipped from New York as well as eight new works that Kusama makes during a two-month period working in artist Lucio Fontana's Milan studio. A macaroni-strewn environment houses polka-dotted mannequins, furniture, and accessories (including books, bottles, a vase, a mirror, and a place-setting). Macaroni-covered pieces include a dress, shirt, and handbag. Also included are some Accumulation pieces, such as *Compulsion Furniture* (1966), one of the works created in Italy. This consists of two planks joined to form a table, which is covered with brightly colored and patterned fabrics and strewn with domestic objects. (Unbeknownst to the artist *Compulsion Furniture* is later divided in half by an art dealer in search of greater profits. Half is acquired by the collector Peter Ludwig and enters the collection of the Museum Ludwig, Cologne. The other portion surfaces in Germany years later and is purchased by a Japanese dealer.) Kusama, eager to show her work in England, arranges for Galleria d'Arte del Naviglio to send the exhibition to London. The works are held by British customs due to a longshoremen's strike until March 1967, when Albert Vogel and Leo Verboon of Galerij Orez purchase them and bring them to Holland. It is during this stay in Milan that Claudio Cardazzo of Galleria d'Arte del Naviglio suggests that Kusama present a proposal for an outdoor installation at the upcoming Venice Biennale.

18 March
Solo exhibition, *Kusama's Peep Show* (also titled *Endless Love Show*), Castellane Gallery, New York. This exhibition contains neither paintings nor sculpture but rather a single multimedia installation. It consists of a mirror-lined hexagonal room with a mirrored ceiling embedded with small red, white, blue, and green bulbs flashing on and off in sequence. During the opening, music by the Beatles is played, and Kusama distributes "Love Forever" buttons to visitors. "My *Endless Love Show* of 1966 combined ideas of mechanization, repetition, obsession, compulsion, dizziness, and unrealizable, interminable love," writes Kusama in a promotional brochure. "I also called it my 'Peep Show' because spectators could see what was inside the room but never touch it" (archive of Bichard Castellane).
15 April
Group exhibition, Zero op Zee, Internationale Galerij Orez, the Hague. Artists exhibit preparatory sketches for a festival at the pier of Scheveningen planned for August 1965. The organizing group, Exploitatief Maatschappij Scheveningen, headed by Reinier Zwolsman, cancels the festival due to the potential for stormy weather. The entire pier was to have become an ephemeral Zero installation, with “smoke paintings, food sculptures for hungry seagulls, foam islands floating in the sea, mills, fireworks, etc. Armando was to reinforce the sound of the sea with giant loudspeakers, Jan Henderikse would send out boats to fish for art, and a... Klein project was to be executed posthumously (a climactic room without a roof into which no rain would enter), Kusama wanted to do [Peep Show]...” (Caroline de Westerholz, letter to Julie Joyce, 12 September 1966). The catalogue of unfulfilled projects includes a photograph of Kusama reclining in her Floor Show installation as well as a sketch of Kusama’s Peep Show. Additional participants in the exhibition are: Colombo, Fontana, Haacke, Mack, Peeters, Piene, Schoonhoven, Uecker, and members of the Gutai group (Forum voor architectuur en daarmee verbonden kunsten 20 [June 1967]).

29 April
Solo exhibition, Galerie M. E. Thelen, Essen, West Germany. This exhibition includes many pieces from the Driving Image exhibition in Milan earlier in the year as well as new works created during Kusama’s stay at an artists’ colony in Hallumshof near Essen. A critic places her work squarely in the realm of optical art, calling it an “exercise in the semantics of monosurfacing and multiplied elements” (Ed Sommer, “Letter from Germany,” Art International 10 [20 October 1966]: 46–48).

14 June
Group exhibition, 33rd Venice Biennale. During a two-month stay in Milan in late 1965 and early 1966, Kusama plans an outdoor installation for the Biennale. She creates an environmental piece, Nenuraisu Garden (cat. 81), composed of fifteen hundred mirrored plastic balls strewn across a grassy lawn. Kusama personally hawks the spheres at 1,200 lire (or $2.00) each as a comment on art-world commercialism, until her interactive performance is stopped by the Biennale authorities, who object to her selling art in the manner of “hot dogs or ice cream cones” (unattributed quote, Karia, 87). Lucio Fontana lends Kusama money to fabricate this installation; in return Kusama gives him a phallus-covered vase as a sculpture. Standing among the spheres, wearing a gold kimono with a red obi, she hands out flyers printed with glowing commentary on her creative abilities by Herbert Read, written two years earlier for the Driving Image Show at Castellane Gallery, New York: “I discovered Kusama’s art in Washington several years ago, and at once felt that I was in the presence of an original talent. Those early paintings, without beginning, without end, without form, without definition, seemed to actualize the infinity of space. Now, with perfect consistency, she creates forms that proliferate like mycelium and seal the consciousness in their white integument. It is an autonomous art, the most authentic type of super reality. This image of strange beauty presses on our organs of perception with terrifying persistence” (Kusama, personal archive, transcription of original flyer from Venice Biennale).

28 June
Group exhibition, The Object Transformed, The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Kusama exhibits Handbag and Draw (both 1964), each covered with macaroni and painted silver. Other works in the show include Moret Oppenheim’s Object, a fur-lined cup, saucer, and spoon (1936); Robert Rauschenberg’s Bed, a painted assemblage (1955); several objects by Man Ray; John’s scalp-metal Roof (1957); and an untitled sculpture by Samaras (1962).
**Selected Exhibition History**

**Summer**  

23 October  
Group exhibition, *Total Realism*, Galerie Potsdamer, in conjunction with Galerij Orez, the Hague. Kusama exhibits the egg-carton relief No. B. 3 (1962), macaroni-covered clothing, and a large phallic sofa. Others participating are Michel Cardena, Hans J. Spesshardt, and Gerard Verdijk. Kusama is featured on the cover of the brochure, kneeling beside her Venice Biennale Narcissus Garden installation.

20 December  
Group exhibition, *Inner and Outer Space*, the Moderna Museet, Stockholm. Curated by Pontus Hulten and including more than fifty international artists, the exhibition attempts to define technological, hard-edge abstraction from Russian constructivism to New Tendency. Kusama’s *Aggregation: One Thousand Boats Show* (1964), from the Stedelijk Museum, is included along with work by Castellani, Piero Dorazio, Fontana, Sam Francis, Judd, Barnett Newman, Kenneth Noland, Ad Reinhardt, Rothko, and Frank Stella.

1967  
16–18 June  
Performance, *Self-Obliteration: An Audio-Visual-Light Performance*, the Black Gate Theater, New York. This is the first in a two-year series of public happenings, some of them staged at her own studio, which Kusama will call Body Festivals. A press release announces that “during the course of the happening Kusama will obliterate her environment, live in bikini models and herself. All will be asked to wear polka dots for a polka dot dance party” (press release for Self-Obliteration, June 1967). She calls the environment *Love Room*; it contains mannequins and walls covered with polka dots that glow under black light. As part of the performance the audience paints polka dots on each other with fluorescent paint. In a subsequent Body Festival Kusama distributes paddles with balls dipped in fluorescent paint to attendees. In the darkness the theater is filled with luminous balls darting through the air (Laura Hoptman and Lynn Zelevansky, interview with Yayoi Kusama, 10 May 1997). Live music is provided by Joe Jones and the Tone Deals. In press releases and posters generated for these events Kusama lists herself as director of the Happening Poster Corporation.

July–August  
Kusama stages Body Festivals in Tompkins Square Park and Washington Square Park, New York. Kusama and Japanese artist Minoru Araki paint polka dots on paper and on willing participants on weekend afternoons. Kusama prints flyers and sends out press releases to publicize the happenings. The flyers are covered with polka dots and sometimes feature a cartoon drawing of Kusama as she appears in a Hal Reiff photograph, reclining on her sofa sculpture, *Accumulation No. 2* (1962). They also contain slogans such as “Please the Body” (6 August), “50% is Illusion and 50% is Reality” (13 August), and “Learn, Unlearn, Relearn” (20 August).

1–2 September  
IP

Kusama stages her first European Body Festival, 1967; artist Jan Schoonhoven is at left

3 November

Shortly after the opening Kusama stages the earliest of her European Body Festivals. At the first, one of her canvases is the Nul artist Schoonhoven. She holds other highly visible happenings throughout the month in Holland, and the Dutch press gleefully follows her activities.

1968

January–February
Multiple screenings of the film *Kusama’s Self-Obliteration* (cat. 82) take place at venues in New York. Kusama had been collaborating with filmmaker Jud Yalkut since the summer of 1967 to record her happenings throughout New York. The resulting film wins prizes at the Fourth International Experimental Film Competition at Knokke-le-Zoute, Belgium, the Ann Arbor Film Festival, and the Second Maryland Film Festival. *Kusama’s Self-Obliteration* begins with Kusama in Woodstock, New York, painting polka dots on a horse, a field, and a pond (by dipping a paint-loaded brush into the water), then shifts to a montage of polka-dot orgy-happenings in studios. The instrumental soundtrack features music by Group Image.

6 April
Group exhibition, “Three Blind Mice” de Collecties: Visser, Peeters, Becht, Stedelijk van Abbeemuseum, Eindhoven, Netherlands. Agnes and Frits Becht, longtime collectors of modern and contemporary art, exhibit several pieces by Kusama including *Blue Spots,” Chair,” and Red Stripes,”* (all 1965). Among the other artists in the show are Christo, Dine, Flavin, Fontana, Morris, Oldenburg, Segal, Tetsuani Kudô, Warhol, and Wesselman. On 13 June the exhibition opens in Aint Piedérdij, Ghenst.

27 April

9 June
Solo exhibition, Galerie Mickeloy, Loenersloot, Holland. Kusama shows thirty-seven pieces including sculptures made using coats, jackets, dresses, pants, and shoes, as well as kitchen utensils and various reliefs in many colors. Most of the works are probably from her January 1966 exhibition in Milan (exhibition checklist courtesy Henry Rusché, Galerie A, Amsterdam).

July–November
Kusama’s next series of happenings, the Anatomic Explosions, begins in July with an event late Sunday morning, 14 July, at the New York Stock Exchange. In all of the Anatomic Explosions Kusama, clothed, directs four nude, polka-dot-covered men and women, who dance in locations throughout the city, usually only for a brief time until policemen break up the activity. On 17 July Kusama and her dancers perform at the Statue of Liberty, on 9 August they appear at St. Mark’s Church, and on 11 August they dance at the Alice in Wonderland statue in Central Park. In the fall Kusama stages events at the United Nations Building, at the headquarters of the United Federation of Teachers, on Wall Street, and, on 3 November, at the Board of Elections headquarters. On 17 November the last happening in the series occurs on the subway.

Each is publicized heavily with flyers...
and press releases. The press release for the Statue of Liberty event reads: "...take it off, liberty!... Nudism is the one thing that doesn’t cost anything. Clothes cost money. Property costs money. Taxes cost money. Stocks cost money. Only the dollar costs less. Let’s protect the dollar by economizing! Let’s tighten our belts! Let’s throw away our belts! Let the pants fall where they may!... Forget yourself and become one with nature! Obliterate yourself with polka dots!" (Yayoi Kusama, press release for “Naked Event at the Statue of Liberty,” July 1968). Kusama continues to perform Anatomic Explosions in various public places around the city. She also organizes similar “sey happenings” in studios and other spaces such as the Avanti Galleries and Nirvana Head-shop, all in New York.

Performance at the Board of Elections, New York, 3 November 1968; photograph by Fred W. McDarrah

October
Solo exhibition, Galerie Lichter, Frankfurt. The exhibition includes a suitcase painted with an Infinity Net and striped and dotted Accumulation sculptures ("E Su Questa Pietra Fondente La Sua Chiesa" [On this rock she has founded her church], Men: attualità e politica e cultura e costume 3, no. 46 [November 1968]).

6 October
Group exhibition, Soft and Apparently Soft Sculpture, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and New York. The exhibition, organized by critic Lucy Lippard for the American Federation of the Arts, also includes work by Louise Bourgeois, Eva Hesse, Paul Kaltenbach, Morris, Bruce Nauman, Oldenburg, Richard Serra, Keith Sonnier, Jackie Winsor, and others. The exhibition travels to venues across the country over the course of approximately one year.
25 November
Kusama presides over *Homosexual Wedding* at the Church of Self-Obliteration, a large loft at 31-33 Walker Street, New York. Wedding invitations and press releases proclaim that Kusama, the “High Priestess of the Polka Dots,” will perform the ceremony. Falcon McKendall and John deVries, the couple, share a single wedding gown designed for them by Kusama. This creation is the first of her many designs for “natural” clothing for both men and women. In the press release Kusama declares that “the purpose of this marriage is to bring out into the open what has hitherto been concealed... Love can now be free, but to make it completely free, it must be liberated from all sexual frustrations imposed by society...” (Yayoi Kusama, press release for *Homosexual Wedding*, November 1968).

6–7 December
Kusama stages naked happenings at the Fillmore East rock music palace on New York City’s Lower East Side, sharing billing with Fleetwood Mac, Country Joe and the Fish, and the Joshua Light Show.

1969
6 April
Kusama and artist Louis Abolafia launch his campaign for mayor of New York, running on the “Love and Nudity” platform, in Central Park’s Sheep Meadow on Easter Sunday. Both appear covered in polka dots; Kusama wears only a bra and veil, which she removes later in the happening. Several in the crowd sport Kusama’s multiple-occupant “orgy dress.”

28 April
Kusama opens a fashion boutique at 404 Sixth Avenue, New York. Her “nude, see-through, and mod” garments include a dress called the Silver Squid, with two holes cut into the front for the breasts. The boutique doubles as the New Village Studio, offering models and private studios for body painting and photography.

24 August
Kusama directs *Grand Orgy to Awaken the Dead at moma (Otherwise Known as the Museum of Modern Art)—Featuring Their Usual Display of Nudes*, a happening featuring eight nude participants striking artistic poses in the fountain of the museum’s sculpture garden. Her press release reads, in part, “At the Museum you can take off your clothes in good company: REMBRANDT, boB, giACOMetti, PICASSO.” The spectacle receives front-page coverage in the next day’s *Daily News*, which reports that for twenty minutes moma security officers were unable to coax the performers out of the pool (see fig. 11). Kusama called the museum the “Mausoleum of Modern Art,” saying, “What is modern there?... Van Gogh, Cezanne, those other ghosts, all are dead or dying. While the dead show dead artists, living artists die” ([New York] *Daily News* [25 August 1969]: 4). Kusama continues to organize orgies, happenings, and performances-cum-parties in studios throughout the year.

1970
24 April
Group exhibition, *Zero-Unexecuted*, Institute of the History of Arts, University of Amsterdam. Features the maquettes and drawings of projects for the canceled Zero-op-Zee festival, scheduled for August 1965. The catalogue features Kusama’s plans for a version of her *Peep Show* (see pg. 180) (Henk Peeters, letter to Julie Joyce, June 1996).

1971
12–17 November
Kusama’s *Self-Obliteration* is featured at the first annual New York Erotic Film Festival.

1975
Kusama is now living in Japan.

24 January
Group exhibition, *Contemporary Art from the College Collection*, Jaffe-Friede Gallery, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH. Includes Accumulation No. 2° (1962); the phallic-covered couch acquired the year before as a gift of New Jersey collectors Mr. and Mrs. Harry L. Tepper.
1976  20 December
Group exhibition, Tenth Street Days: The Co-ops of the 50s, takes place at several New York galleries. Kusama is included as a former Brata Gallery artist.

1977  10 March
Group exhibition, Improbable Furniture, Institute of Contemporary Art, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. The exhibition, which includes Accumulation No. 2 (1962), travels to the Museum of Contemporary Art, La Jolla (opening May 20), and to the Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago (opening July 23).

1978  8 December
Group exhibition, Acquisitions 1974-1978, Jaffe-Friede, Strass, and Barrows Galleries, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH. Accumulation No. 2 (1962) is shown.

1979  16 November
Group exhibition, Weich und Plastisch/Soft Art, Kunsthaus, Zurich. Includes Kusama’s Accumulation No. 2° (1962), half of Compulsion Furniture (1966), probably the portion in the Museum Ludwig’s collection, and a reconstruction based on Kusama’s Peep Show (1966). Additional artists with works on view include Hesse, Kaprow, Kudô, and Manzoni.

1980  24 April
Group exhibition, International Moderns from the Permanent Collection, the Chrysler Museum, Norfolk, Virginia. The shoes and bottles from Kusama’s Ten-Guest Table (1963) are shown along with twenty-four works by other artists, including Shitashu Arakawa, Salvador Dalí, Ralph (Rafael Montañez) Ortiz, Robert Smithson, and Victor Vasarely.

14 August
Solo exhibition, Tokyo Department Store, Nagano, Japan. Kusama shows several pieces begun in New York and completed in Japan (Kusama, 10 May interview).

1981  March
Group exhibition, Two Decades of Contemporary Japanese Art, Kodosha Gallery, Ichinoseki. Kusama is one of thirty artists represented.

4 December
Group exhibition, The 1960s—A Decade of Change in Contemporary Art, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo. Included are Not Accumulation (1955), Accumulation of Stamps No. 63 (1962, cat. 30), and a model based on her 1965 Infinity Mirror Room. The exhibition travels to the National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto, on 10 February 1982.

1982  16 March
First solo exhibition containing older work at Fuji Television Gallery, Tokyo, includes nine large paintings from 1959 to 1961 and three objects covered with stuffed protrusions, some from the 1960s and 1970s, in addition to more recent work. Also includes a work based on Kusama’s Peep Show (1966).

9 December
Solo exhibition, Yayoi Kusama, Galleria d’Arte del Naviglio, Milan. The catalogue features a photograph of Kusama lying in her Narcissus Garden at the Venice Biennale.

1983  17 February
Solo exhibition, Jardin de Luseine, Tokyo. Includes several unidentified works dated to the 1960s.

6 June
Solo exhibition, Yayoi Kusama: 1950–1976, Galerie Ornis, The Hague. The exhibition, organized in conjunction with the Holland Festival, includes forty-two of Kusama’s works. From her New York period are Macaroni Handbag, Macaroni Shirt, Macaroni Trousers, Phallic Bottle Tray, Phallic Girl, two orange-dotted mannequin sculptures, a green-dotted mannequin, and an untitled red-and-white protrusion piece in an acrylic box (all 1965), and other macaroni-covered clothing, including sweaters and shoes (Caroline de Westenholz, letter to Julie Joyce, 12 September 1996).
22 October

20 November

1984
16 March

20 September

1985
8 December

1986
31 March
Solo exhibition, *Yayoi Kusama*, Musée Municipal, Dole, France. Although the exhibition focuses on works from the 1960s, two earlier works are featured: the eight-panel *Infinity Nets O.P. 13* (1961) and *Shoes* (1963). It travels to Musée des beaux arts de Caen, opening 13 December.

11 December

1987
3 March
Solo exhibition, *Kitsakyushu Municipal Museum of Art*, Fukuoka, Japan. This retrospective spans forty years and includes seventy-nine works, many attributed to the late fifties and early sixties, as well as two small-scale models based on the 1965 *Infinity Mirror Room (Mirrored Room Love Forever No. 2)* and *Mirrored Room Love Forever No. 3*.

3 April
Group exhibition, *Zauber der Medusa: Europäische Meisterwerke*, Kunsthalle, Vienna. The show includes Silver *Dress* (1966), a dress covered with plastic flowers and spray paint. Among the other contemporary artists are Arman, Frank Gehry, and Kudel; historical artists include Aubrey Beardsley, Hans Bellmer, William Blake, Albrecht Dürer, Eugène Delacroix, and Max Ernst. The exhibition is held in conjunction with the Wiener Festwochen 1987.

love forever
Selected Exhibition History

23 September
Group exhibition, Collection Agnes et Frits Becht, Centre regional d'art contemporain Midi-Pyrenees, Lagere, France. Includes Airmail Accumulation (1961), Untitled (rectangular sticker collage, 1962), Blue Spots, Chair, Coca Cola Bottle, and Red Stripes (all 1965).

1988
10 September
Group exhibition, Gruppe Zero, Galerie Schoeller, Dusseldorf. Also includes works by Arman, Fontana, Klein, Mack, Mannoni, Peeters, Piene, Uecker, and others.

1990
30 June
Solo exhibition, In Context: Yayoi Kusama, Soul-Burning Flashes, Museum of Modern Art, Oxford. This exhibition features Kusama's work from the 1970s and 1980s but also includes the painting Infinity Nets A.B.Q. (1961) and a group of nine acrylic-on-canvas works identified as "infinity net paintings," improbably dated 1943–50. (Although the net motif can be traced to certain early watercolors, Kusama's true Infinity Nets, in oil and occasionally acrylic, began during her New York years.)
1992
21 September

1993
22 April
Group exhibition, Highroads of the 60s, Galerie Delta, Rotterdam. Includes works by Arman, Christo, Ad Dekkers, Kudo, Luther, Munzoni, and Schoonhoven. Kusama’s Accumulation Shoe (1966) is displayed in a Jugendstil copper case owned by gallery director Hans Sonnenberg. The exhibition announcement features the Reiff photograph of Kusama lying naked on Accumulation No. 2 (1962).

June
Solo exhibition, Galleria Cardazzo, Venice, Italy. This small show contains a few older works.

15 June
Solo exhibition, Yayoi Kusama, Japanese Pavilion, 45th Venice Biennale. This is in effect the first time an individual artist is featured in the Japanese pavilion. (Though photographer Kishin Shinoyama exhibited alone in 1976, that exhibition, because of its design by architect Arata Isozaki, had the character of a collaboration between the two.) The show includes twenty of Kusama’s early works, among them Yellow Net (1960) and My Flower Bed (1962). In the exhibition catalogue, Akira Tatchata, Tama Art University professor and the Japanese commissioner for the Biennale, writes that “Kusama’s achievement is wide-ranging and unique, and it can be approached from many different directions. She has been seen as a pioneer at the forefront of the postwar avant-garde. Her work has been seen as reflective of political and social realities and reevaluated in terms of feminist and formalist criteria... The pure light that appeared to her in the nineties provides images of another world which can only be described as disquieting and mysterious and intensely fascinating” (Akira Tatchata, “Magnificent Obsession,” catalogue for the 45th Venice Biennale, 12).

1994
5 February

9 April
Group exhibition, When the Body Becomes Art, Ebishibi Art Museum, Tokyo. Kusama’s works include Macaroni Coat (1963). Other participating artists include Arakawa, Reiko Ike-mura, and Jiro Yoshihara.

22 April
Solo exhibition, Yayoi Kusama, Shimano Art Museum, Nagano Prefecture. This retrospective includes the net paintings No. A.B. (1950), No. B. White (1959), Pacific Ocean (1959), Accumulation (1960), No. B.B. (1960), No. P.Z. (1960; cat. 7), and No. X (1960); the sculptures My Flower Bed (1962) and Flower Shirt (1964; cat. 57); the white-protrusion-covered Untitled Accumulation (1983; cat. 50) and Traveling Life (1984); the red net-covered Stepladder (1965; cat. 74); and Sentries (1966; cat. 75); and Self-Obliteration (1965), an original painting for a poster advertising a screening of the film.

love forever
Selected Exhibition History

18 June
Group exhibition, Against All Odds: The Healing Powers of Art, Ueno Royal Museum, Tokyo. Kusama shows Infinity Net A (cat. 65), Infinity Net B (cat. 66), and Infinity Net C (cat. 67) (all 1965). The exhibition travels to the Hakone Open-Air Museum (opening 13 July).

16 November
Solo exhibition, Infinity of Space and Light in the 1950s and 1960s: Yayoi Kusama from the Collection of Richard Castellane, Esquire, Picker Art Gallery, Colgate University. Twenty-seven works are shown, including Suit (1962; cat. 49), Silver Coat (1962), two multicolored Infinity Net paintings from 1967, small collages, and other works on paper.

1995
17 February

22 February
Group exhibition, New York Art Fair, Seventh Regiment Armory, New York. Untitled, a red net painting from 1961, is shown by Paula Cooper Gallery.

4 March
Group exhibition, More Four: Ronald Feldman Fine Art, New York. Includes three works by Kusama: Yellow Net* (1960); Untitled (protrusion-covered baking pan with spoon, painted silver, 1967), and a photo-collage on oating with felt-tip marker, Accumulation of Faces No. 2 (1962). Other artists shown are Morton Bartlett, David Clarkson, Nancy Davidson, Luci DeBella, James Fisher, Carl Fudge, Rico Gaston, Barbara Gellweil, Robert Meese, Bruce Pearson, Steven Salzman, Peter Soriano, Lawrence Stone, and Gordon Voitkov.

17 May
Group exhibition, Human Figures, Ota Fine Arts, Tokyo. Includes an untitled protrusion-stuffed shoe sculpture painted gold, from the early 1960s.
3 May

The exhibition is named “Best Gallery Show of the 1995-96 Season” by the United States chapter of the International Association of Art Critics.

22 May
Group exhibition, L’informe: Mode d’emploi, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. This massive exhibition is organized by art historians Rostand Krauss and Yves-Alain Bois, inspired by surrealist writer Georges Bataille’s notion of the “formless.” The informe is an anti-systematic approach to art-making opposed to the formalistic precepts of high modernism; it includes (though is not limited to) notions of abjection, inversion, and entropy. This show explores the concept as manifest in art throughout the twentieth century. The “Pulse” portion of the exhibition includes Kusama’s sculpture My Flower Bed* (1962), shown with works by Bellmer, Jacques-André Boiffard, Brasai, André Breton, Duchamp, Alberto Giacometti, Hesse, Morris, Nauman, Man Ray, Serra, and others.

23 May
Solo exhibition, Yayoi Kusama: Ten Paintings from the ‘60s to the Present, Ota Fine Arts, Tokyo. Included in the exhibition is the oil painting Infinity Net (1965).

4 June

21 September
Group exhibition, Art/Fashion, Forte Belvedere, Florence. The exhibition, which is part of the first Florence Biennale, Il tempo e la moda, explores the interconnection of art and fashion. Kusama’s Flower Overcoat (1964), owned by Harry Ruhe, is shown along with collaborations between contemporary artists and fashion designers, and clothing by Vito Acconci, Sonia Delaunay, Man Ray, Warhol, and many others.

1997

17 January
Solo exhibition, Recent Work and Paintings from the New York Years, Baumgartner Galleries Inc., Washington D.C. This show, which focuses primarily on work from the 1980s and 1990s, also features the oil-on-canvas Paeide Grecan (1993), No. B (1959), and No. A (1960).
25 January
Group exhibition, *Drawing the Line* (and **Crossing It**), Peter Blum Gallery, New York. This show of drawings and works on paper features Kusama’s *Flower* (1950s–1963), *River* (1963), a gouache; an untitled gouache-and-charcoal work (n.d.); and an untitled gouache created before she came to the United States (n.d.). The exhibition also includes works by Bourgeois, Francesco Clemente, Helmut Federle, Simon Frost, Alex Katz, Eric Marden, Joseph Marioni, Martin, David Rabinovitch, Robert Ryman, and Karin Sande.

8 February

12 March
Group exhibition, *Art Fashion*, Guggenheim Museum SoHo, New York. This exhibition is a version of one component of the first Florence Biennale (see 21 September 1996 entry). Kusama’s *Suit* and *Silver Coat* (both c. 1962) are exhibited.

10 May

11 June
Solo exhibition, *Yayoi Kusama: Obsession* (and **Victory**), the Arts Club of Chicago. Includes the oil-on-Masonite painting *Net No. 2 Yellow* (1960), the oil-on-canvas Untitled (1960), and an untitled oil and collage on canvas.

8 July
Solo exhibition, *Kusama’s Kusama*, Ota Fine Arts, Tokyo. This retrospective includes the oil No. N. 2 (1961), a protrusion-stuffed wine bottle sculpture painted white (1961), and an installation of a painted table, chair, and mannequin entitled *Self-Obliteration* (1967–74).

20 July
Group exhibition, *Floating Images of Women in Art History*, Tochigi Prefectural Art Museum. The show includes Kusama’s *Infinity Nets* (1965) as well as works by Kiki Smith and Warhol, among others.

3 September
Solo exhibition, *Yayoi Kusama: Recent Work*, Margo Leavin Gallery, Los Angeles. Features mostly recent pieces, but also includes the black-ink-on-colored-paper works *Lips and Feet* (both 1964).

1998
8 February
Acknowledgments

The realization of an exhibition such as this one, which examines matters contemporary with the lifetimes of many of us but also requires extensive art-historical research, would be impossible without the help of numerous individuals. We have been extremely fortunate in the support and assistance that we have received.

First we would like to thank the lenders, public and private, who have generously agreed to part with significant works for the extent of the tour so that Yayoi Kusama’s achievement can be represented in the richest and most accurate way. They are individually acknowledged elsewhere in this publication, and we are grateful to them all.

When she lived in the West Kusama lacked the means to catalogue and track her work. During the three years of planning for this exhibition, recognition of her contribution has grown steadily, and many of the works in the show have recently changed hands. Consequently, locating her art from this period has been a complex process that required the goodwill and cooperation of a variety of people. In the United States Alexandra Munroe, curator of the 1989 retrospective at the Center for International Contemporary Arts (CICA) in New York and a contributor to this book, was helpful at the crucial beginning stages of this project, as was Barbara Bertozzi. We also depended on information generously shared by Reiko Tomii, who researched the chronology for the CICA catalogue; our annotated exhibition history builds on the findings of that document. We would like to thank Kusama’s early supporters in New York, including Richard Castellane, Udo Kultermann, and Beatrice Perry, who have been extremely generous with their time, remembering vitally important details and evoking the spirit of the era; they have also graciously lent key works to the exhibition. In addition, Richard and Miles Bellamy, Rudolph Burchhardt, James Golata, Jon Hendricks, art supervisor Peter Ballantine and conservator Bettina Landegrode of the Donald Judd estate, Barbara Moore, Carolee Schneemann, Gertrude Stein, Jud Yalkut, and Hanford Yang shared important recollections and significant archival materials. Polly Apfelbaum, Mike Kelley, and Rona Pondick courteously submitted to interviews regarding Kusama’s impact on contemporary art. Ralph Rugoff kindly provided information on Jessica Diamond. Martha Buskirk helped with research on a particular work. Judy Spence kindly and graciously read manuscripts and gave comments. We also appreciate the help of Machiko Oyama, our first contact at the Nippon Foundation. Paula Cooper of Paula Cooper Gallery, New York, and Peter Miller of Robert Miller Gallery, New York, have been very helpful to this effort, as have Christopher D’Amelio of D’Amelio Terras Gallery, New York, and Frank Born of Frank Born Fine Arts, San Francisco.

In Europe we are extremely grateful to Henk Peeters and Caroline de Westenholz, both of whom shared memories, lent works, and connected us with other Kusama collectors. Similarly, Renato Cardazzo of Galleria d’Arte del Naviglio, Milan, Dr. and Mrs. Virgilio Gianni (also lenders to the exhibition), Heinz Mack and Günther Uecker, Otto Piene, Harry Ruhé of Galerie A, Amsterdam,
Leo Verboen of Gallery Orez, the Hague, and Nanda Vigo shared their memories of Kusama's activities in Europe in the sixties. Mr. and Mrs. Giobatta Meneguzzo of the Casa Bianca in Malo Vicenza, Helmut Dudé, and Mr. and Mrs. Helmut Klinker opened their collections and gave kind hospitality during our research. We also appreciate the help of Michela Scotti.

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At the Los Angeles County Museum of Art we thank Andrea Rich, president and CEO, for her encouragement. Graham W. J. Beal, LACMA's director, traveled to Japan in support of this exhibition and has our deep appreciation. Stephanie Barron, in her capacity as senior curator of modern and contemporary art, strongly endorsed the endeavor from its inception three years ago, when few people in Los Angeles knew Kusama's work. Robert Singer, curator of Japanese art and indispensable guide to all things Japanese, played a vital role in this project and has our sincere thanks. Beverley Sabo, coordinator, exhibition programs, capably and with understanding oversaw the budget for the show. We much appreciate the efforts of Renee Montgomery, assistant director, collection management, and Sandy Davis, assistant registrar. Thomas Frick edited the catalogue with skill and intelligence; Peter Brenner, supervisor of photographic services, ably oversaw photography for both the publication and the exhibition; Jim Drobka, head graphic designer, was responsible for the excellent exhibition graphics; Sandy Bell designed this vibrant and exciting publication, which communicates the energy and spirit of Kusama’s work; Rachel Ware Zooi was instrumental in coordinating production; Bernard Kester designed the exhibition itself with a sensitivity and flexibility that are rare; and Jeff Haskin oversaw the reconstruction of Narcissus Garden.

Working closely with the curators Jill Martinez has, for the last nine months, been the tireless and extremely efficient curatorial assistant for this exhibition as well as an invaluable aide. Kristine Kuramitsu compiled the exhibition history and did much of the library research for this exhibition and publication without any possibility of financial reward, and we are extremely grateful to
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At The Museum of Modern Art our thanks are due to Glenn D. Lowry, director, and Jennifer Russell, deputy director of exhibitions and collections, for making the exhibition possible at MoMA. Margit Rowell, chief curator, department of drawings; Kirk Varnedoe, chief curator, department of painting and sculpture; and Robert Storr, curator, department of painting and sculpture, enthusiastically supported this exhibition from its inception. Jerome Neuner, director of exhibition design and production; Eleni Cocordas, associate coordinator, exhibition program; Stephanie Ruta, office of the registrar; and Rebecca Stokes, department of development, exhibited their professional expertise in producing the best possible version of the exhibition for MoMA. Mikki Yoda, curator at the Hakone Open Air Museum in Tokyo and an intern in MoMA's department of drawings, provided invaluable scheduling assistance, research, and translation during the all-too-short time that she was in New York. Patricia Houlihan and Erica Moser provided much-needed conservation help at crucial moments. William Rubin, chief curator emeritus, department of painting and sculpture, negotiated a key loan for us and has our sincere appreciation.

Finally, and most importantly, our deepest thanks go Yayoi Kusama, whose remarkable early work is the subject of this exhibition. This is a story with a happy ending, for over the last few years Kusama’s art has come to prominence again. Our hope is that this major museum exhibition and international tour will help to ensure that her unique contribution will never again be eclipsed.

Laura Hoptman
Lynn Zelevansky
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