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Andy Warhol's Silver Elvises: Meaning through Context at the Ferus Gallery in 1963

David McCarthy

In the spring of 1963 Andy Warhol looked to the west. He had recently emerged as one of the most prominent of the Pop artists, with important solo shows on either coast, and now anticipated his second exhibition at the prestigious Ferus Gallery in Los Angeles. Contemplating the environment in which his latest work would be unveiled, and building on the encouraging reception of his images of Hollywood stars at the Stable Gallery in New York the previous fall, he again conceived an exhibition that featured film stars, most prominently the singer turned actor Elvis Presley (Fig. 1).¹ Appropriating an advertisement for the film *Flaming Star* (1960) for his series of silver Elvises, Warhol knowingly drew attention to cinematic convention, while also continuing to position his work in relation to contemporary vanguard art.

Although often overshadowed by the famous paintings of Campbell's Soup cans and the silk screens of Marilyn Monroe, the silver Elvises have garnered their share of critical attention. In 1971, the critic John Coplans linked them with the rebelliousness of rock and roll and provocatively described their installation at the Ferus as a kind of "musical mural" with a "rhythmic beat."² More recently, the art historian Richard Meyer has identified a strong current of homoeroticism animating the series, with the gun, knife, and holster providing obvious phallic surrogates, while the placement of the paintings side by side, as well as the overlapping of the image within some of the paintings, intimated male-on-male contact.³ Importantly, these accounts situated the series within broader cultural contexts, either popular music or gay culture, but perhaps in doing so gave insufficient consideration to the mitigating factor of the local, namely, the historical and geographic context.

It is my contention that both time and place—the late spring and summer of 1963 and Los Angeles, respectively—played pivotal roles in the conception, installation, and intended meaning of the series. Furthermore, period materials located in the time capsules at the Andy Warhol Museum in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, as well as others available to him suggest that Warhol's approach to the silver Elvises was shaped by the printed ephemera he had at hand. All of this indicates the rich opportunity, and ongoing need, to consider the silver Elvises—and, indeed, Warhol's other projects from the early 1960s—with the aid of such materials and the historical focus they provide. It is equally essential to acknowledge the defining influence of the initial spaces in which his work appeared. The results reveal the care with which he conceived and presented the series, its continuity with his earlier and later art, most notably his work in film, as well as the calculated gambit to make his art simultaneously responsive to mass media and modern art, albeit from his nonhierarchical, open and encompassing, if also parodic sensibility.

The impending exhibition prompted Warhol to produce the series of full-length portraits and to show them with

bust-length images of Elizabeth Taylor made at the same time. Silk-screened onto silver backgrounds, the series blatantly targets Hollywood, whose larger-than-life personalities inhabited a mythic, and often formulaic, world of romance and action on-screen. The specificity of Presley's costume thoroughly ties the series to the genre of the Western, which Warhol both honored and lampooned throughout his career. The coupling of two famous individuals intimates that a clichéd gender binary was also part of Warhol's intention in showing the Elvis series with the Taylors, a binary that certainly owed a large debt to Hollywood convention. Given Warhol's equal interest in modern art, however, the coupling probably echoed and paid homage to venerable precedent. A likely referent is found in *The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even* (1915–23, hereafter referred to as *The Large Glass*), a facsimile of which was on display at the Pasadena Art Museum as part of the Marcel Duchamp retrospective running concurrently that fall. Additionally, the implication of motion in some of the silver Elvis paintings found an important precursor in the French artist's work. This dual acknowledgment, of Hollywood cliché and of a Dada master, is evident when the screen paintings are interpreted in relation to their initial, intended venue. Hence, it is necessary to revisit in detail those months preceding the exhibition at the Ferus, as well as the installation and reception of the series.

The Ferus Exhibition

What opened on September 30, 1963, was not the same exhibition envisioned earlier in the year, and the final preparation of individual canvases was somewhat unusual. A letter from Irving Blum, director of the Ferus, suggested a mixture of recent and new work. "The more I have had an opportunity to consider it," he wrote to Warhol in late May,

the more convinced I am that your exhibition in the gallery should be the most intense and far reaching composite of past work, and the Elvis paintings should be shown in my rear gallery area. My decision is based wholly on spatial considerations. The rear area is a superb *rectangle*, 18' × 14' with 15' ceilings. I fear the broken areas of the front gallery will serve you, in this instance, far less well. Let me hear from you about this possibility.⁴

From this brief letter it is clear that Blum envisioned an exhibition divided in two parts, with the retrospective providing an introduction and gateway to the most recent images of Presley. The portraits of Hollywood celebrities featured at the Stable Gallery were still foremost in Blum's mind, and he probably anticipated that his clientele would expect to see some of them in the flesh.⁵ A full-page advertisement he ran in *Artforum* in September reproduces a photograph of the urbane dealer sporting a T-shirt silk-screened with a bust-



1 Andy Warhol, silver Elvis paintings, installation view of the exhibition at the Ferus Gallery, Los Angeles, September 30–October 26, 1963. (artwork © 2005 Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts/ARS, New York; Elvis images used by permission, © Elvis Presley Enterprises, Inc.; photograph provided by the Frank J. Thomas Archives)

length image of the actor Troy Donahue (Fig. 2). The advertisement features young, glamorous Hollywood, without any mention of the singer who was to play such a leading role in the forthcoming exhibition. What for Warhol was to be the heart of his second Los Angeles show was, at least to his West Coast dealer, still unknown when the advertisement was designed earlier that summer.

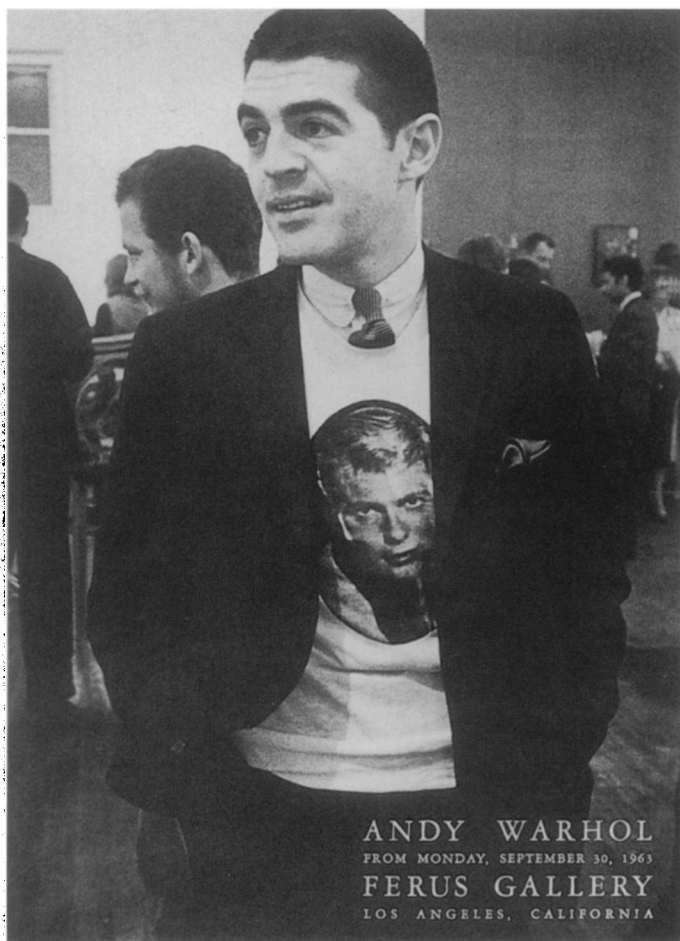
Even the exhibition poster proved to be misleading (Fig. 3). A photograph of a smiling Presley strumming a guitar is rakishly placed on angle within the rectangular frame of the page. With the boldly printed and slightly cropped red text “NOW!” at the bottom, the poster alludes both to Presley’s true occupation and to the packaging of his albums and singles over the previous eight years. Nothing in the poster directly indicated what was to appear at the Ferus.

The difference between the advertising and the silver Elvises implies that Warhol remained cagey about the actual contents of his forthcoming show, perhaps wanting to generate maximum anticipation and surprise as his audience waited to see what he would deliver. Perhaps, too, the silence

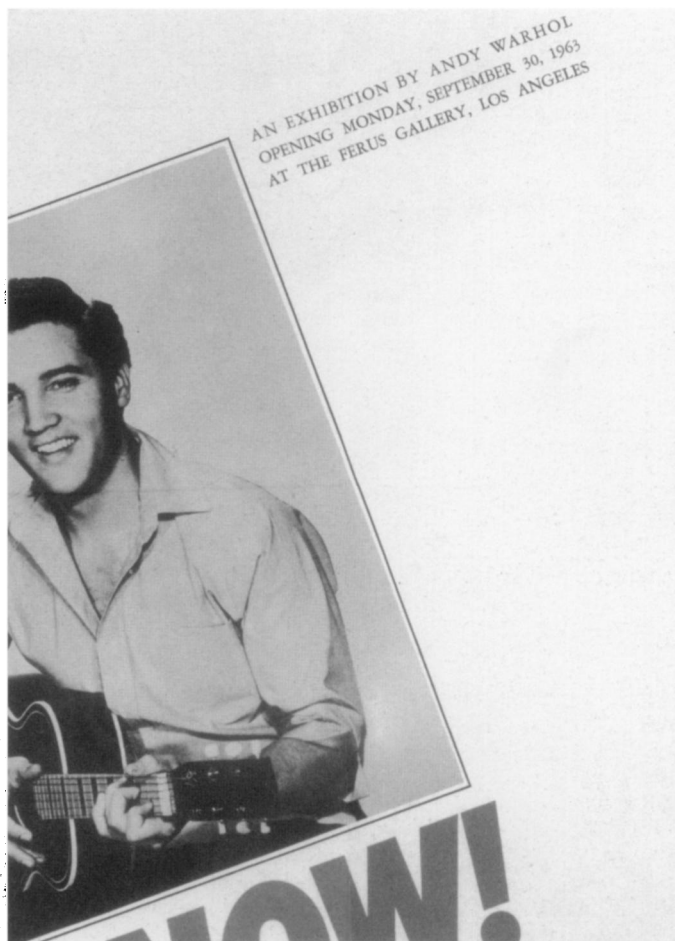
indicated that he had not yet decided what he would ship west. To date, no additional correspondence has surfaced that provides a working checklist for the exhibition. Blum may have believed that such a list was to be prepared by Warhol and his Stable Gallery dealer Eleanor Ward. Subsequent events reveal that Warhol had something quite specific in mind that he chose not to share with Blum.

In fact, Warhol delivered a show that was carefully choreographed and free of any retrospective work.⁶ As many as ten screen paintings of Presley were hung in the front room, with ten portraits of Taylor in the back (Fig. 4). Although the story of how the Presley images got to Los Angeles is well known, it bears repeating, as it reveals a sensibility keenly attuned to dramatic gesture and historical precedent.⁷ Some fifteen years after the fact, Blum was still surprised by the events, and his recollections provide insight into the nature of Warhol’s thinking:

Andy sent a *roll* of printed Presley images, an enormous roll, and sent a box of assorted size stretched bars, and I



2 Advertisement for the Warhol exhibition at the Ferus Gallery



3 Poster for Warhol's exhibition at the Ferus Gallery, 1963. The Andy Warhol Museum, Pittsburgh, Founding Collection (Elvis images used by permission, © Elvis Presley Enterprises, Inc.)

called him and said, "Will you come?" [to Los Angeles]. And he said, "I can't. I'm very busy. Will you do it?" I said, "You mean, you want me to cut them? Virtually as I think they should be cut and placed around the wall?" And he said, "Yes, cut them any way that you think should . . . they should be cut. I leave it to you. The only thing I really want is that they should be hung edge to edge, densely—around the gallery. So long as you can manage that, do the best you can." And I said, "Well, if you're sure if that's what you want." And he said, "Yes. Absolutely." And that's exactly what I did. Well, with the help of one or two people, I assembled the wooden bars. They were in various sizes. Sometimes the images were superimposed one over the next. Sometimes they sat side-by-side. They were of varying sizes [in width], as I said. All the same height—roughly six-and-a-half feet, as I recall. Really, life size. The image was life-size. And I got up as many stretched up as required to fill—densely—the gallery, as per Andy's instructions.⁸

When he told Blum that he could not come to California, Warhol really meant that he did not wish to handle the task of stretching and hanging. A few weeks later he drove cross-country with his studio assistant Gerard Malanga, the underground actor Taylor Mead, and the figure painter Wynn

Chamberlain. They timed their trip to arrive in Los Angeles a day before the Ferus exhibition opened. By then Blum had completed his assigned tasks, much to Warhol's pleasure.⁹

Warhol's instructions reveal that what might have been taken as a casual disregard for installation was in fact just the opposite. In selecting the length of stretcher bars he predetermined the actual size of the canvases, knowing that Blum and his assistants would have to match them to the Presley images, which came singly, doubly, and in multfigured groups. Warhol had already made it fairly easy to determine where to cut the roll.¹⁰ He also had considered the visual impact of hanging the paintings edge to edge. The effect was to assert the primacy of the group over the sovereignty of any single canvas. Finally, in assigning this round of work to others, Warhol enfranchised the concept of his factory production. For Blum, all of this may have been surprising; for Warhol, it was an efficient means of delegating studio tasks. It also had the practical benefit of eliminating the time and cost of preparing and shipping already stretched canvases.

Even though Warhol thoroughly enjoyed the opening reception, he gained little from the trip west. Blum had promised that "interest is passionate and feverish" and that "the collecting community is in daily contact for word on the arrival of your series," but nothing sold during the run of the



4 Warhol, silver Liz Taylor paintings at the Ferus Gallery, September 30–October 26, 1963 (artwork © 2005 Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts/ARS, New York; photograph provided by the Frank J. Thomas Archives)

show.¹¹ Neither Presley nor Taylor visited the exhibition. Critical response was less than artist and dealer had anticipated.¹² Henry Seldis dismissed the Presley paintings as just another example of “Pop Art banality,” while paying Warhol the backhanded compliment that he had provided sufficient quantity to compensate for lack of aesthetic quality.¹³ To be fair, the side-by-side placement of the Presley and Taylor screen paintings, neatly arranged in a row, following the similar installation of *Campbell’s Soup Cans* a year earlier, mimicked the presentation of goods in a store. Warhol was selling, or at least trying to. Gerald Nordland also found little to like in the exhibition. “As mythic as the idea of the cowboy is in American literature and cinema,” he wrote, “and as attractive as the Presley image is, the exhibition is thin.”¹⁴ Even more hurtful, Nordland asserted that in relation to the concurrent Duchamp retrospective, Warhol’s exhibition lacked the “scandalous flair” and “cutting irony” of the Dada master.¹⁵

An engaged and insightful review came from a student writing for the University of California at Los Angeles *Daily*

Bruin. Fidel Danieli drew attention to the investigation of Hollywood stereotype and gender performance by describing Presley as a “Western Adonis.”¹⁶ He also surmised that the celebration of a masculine archetype was a put-on, writing,

If one’s attitude toward a straight single portrait of Elvis may vary from enthusiasm to direct revulsion, the slipped synchronization and multiplication of that image becomes in turn wildly amusing, . . . the effect is that of a sad and disgusted shudder. Toe to toe, repeated atop one another, poor Elvis becomes as thin and hazy as the idyllic illusion he publicly symbolizes; the assembly line produces the emptiness and sterility of soulless, over-managed puppetry.

Though overheated in its prose, the review describes an element of ambivalence within Warhol’s depiction of Hollywood celebrities. Both adored and ridiculed, Presley as a person is less the target of Warhol’s investigation than the media construction of the actor-singer. An “Adonis” from the



5 Warhol, *Marilyn Diptych*, 1962, acrylic, silk-screen ink, and pencil on linen, 82 × 114 in. Tate Gallery, London (artwork © 2005 Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts/ARS, New York; photograph provided by the Tate Gallery, London/Art Resource, New York)

"West," he is not an individual but a type, one treated as an "assembly line" puppet. This was neither the first time Warhol had considered the Hollywood reproduction of gender stereotype, nor the first time it was addressed by critics.

Reviews of the Stable exhibition from the preceding year had zeroed in on Warhol's appropriation of found images of Hollywood stars. Michael Fried and Gene Swenson centered their reviews on these images. At first seemingly dismissive, Fried reasoned that "an art like Warhol's is necessarily parasitic upon the myths of its time, and indirectly therefore upon the machinery of fame and publicity that market these myths."¹⁷ But he quickly went on to confess his emotional response to the "beautiful, vulgar, heart-breaking icons of Monroe" and worried that future audiences might not empathize with them as perhaps only the men of his generation could (Fig. 5). Though not quite as moving to Fried, the red, bust-length portrait of Presley, too, participated in the investigation of modern myth (Fig. 6). Fried's response to the Monroe and Presley screen paintings acknowledged the importance of each figure as a gendered and libidinal icon, focusing and reflecting back to United States society its ideals of female and male attractiveness. After invoking the faux primitive example of Henri Rousseau by way of comparison, Swenson argued that Warhol, like the French painter, painted the marvels that "spelled modernity for the popular mind" on canvases "full of good will and a large natural talent."¹⁸ Admittedly commercial at base, these marvels were products of careful packaging that garnered audience fascination. Hardly exhaustive, each review nonetheless recognized Warhol's careful selection of images, as well as his pronounced interest in identifying actors and actresses who had come to signify sexual desirability and gender ideals.

Warhol, who read his reviews and who was much more literate than is often acknowledged, must have been gratified by the comments of Fried and Swenson.¹⁹ Though very different in their response to Pop art in general, they were among the most perceptive critics of their generation. Their emphasis on the lure of Hollywood stars and starlets recognized Warhol's already deep interest in the subject and un-

doubtedly affected his thinking about the contents of his next solo show.

Warhol used the 1963 Ferus exhibition to continue his consideration of Hollywood as a major producer of gender ideals and sexual desires. Furthermore, with this exhibition the artist found an opportunity to expand on and clarify his interest, concentrating on narrative and myth—by means of the Western—which, as Fidel Danieli grasped, was less than celebratory. That summer marked Warhol's entry into filmmaking. While completing the Presley and Taylor portraits for the Ferus exhibition, he made his first film, *Sleep*, featuring the nude, reclining body of the poet John Giorno. When in Los Angeles that October, he shot his first narrative, *Tarzan and Jane, Regained Sort Of*, a farce starring Taylor Mead and Naomi Levine. For the next five years Warhol cranked out low-budget films that stood in opposition to Hollywood production, including such fare as *Flaming Star*.

The selection of this particular film motif was entirely appropriate for an exhibition in Los Angeles, home to the film and television industries and cultural capital of the American West. Indeed, one can hardly understand the series without acknowledging geographic context, or the simultaneous commencement of his filmmaking. Such activity constituted a major part of his art through the rest of the 1960s, and it included Westerns. When linked with his films, the subject matter and format of the silver Elvises betray a mockingly affectionate attitude toward contemporary, mainstream American cinema.

Hollywood Product

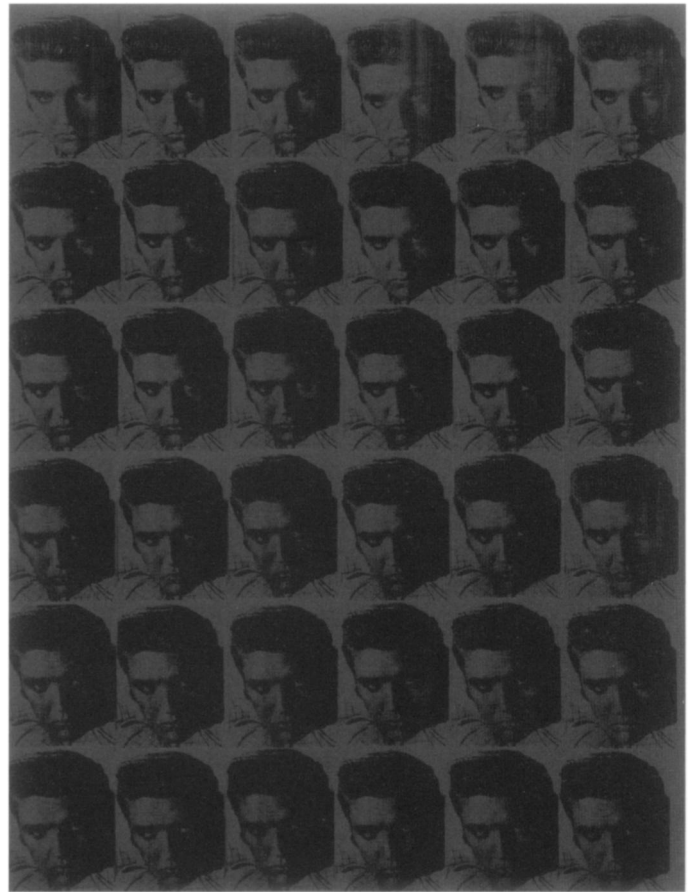
Warhol's admiration of Hollywood should not be confused with adulation, and the popular insistence that he was a starstruck fan is contradicted by the example of the silver Elvises.²⁰ In 1962 he described Tuesday Weld and Presley as "products," while later in the decade he announced that American films "really don't have much to say."²¹ This is hardly celebratory language. When he arrived in Los Angeles for the opening of the Ferus exhibition, he found that the old Hollywood was in decline, and the new one, with stars Warren

Beatty and Natalie Wood among them, just beginning.²² If in one sense the paintings of Presley mark this moment of transition, the full-length silver Elvises—highlighting stance and costume—make it clear that they are not about American film in general but rather a highly marketable genre then still riding a peak moment of success on screen and television. That genre was the Western.

The cowboy had appeared previously in Warhol's art, as had Presley. In the late 1940s Warhol produced an untitled line drawing of Roy Rogers, probably inspired by, if not actually traced from, the photographs of Hollywood celebrities he collected (Fig. 7).²³ The lack of color and the economical line call attention to Rogers's controlled pose as, pistol in hand, he leans against an outcropping of rock preparing to take aim at an unseen foe. His broad-brimmed hat and neckerchief immediately identify him as a cowboy. With pursed lips and steady gaze, he seems easily in command of whatever danger might be facing him. Even if the drawing were not identified by the actor's name, the genre itself would still be quickly identified by the details of gun, clothing, and scenario Warhol was careful to copy.

When he first turned to Presley, Warhol also used clothing to convey the characteristics of the man (Fig. 8). Importantly, the collage drawing from 1956, reproduced in *Life* magazine early the following year, reveals a degree of camp performance that later would surface in the silver Elvises.²⁴ In a series of shoes named after celebrities, Presley, or "Presely," as it was misspelled in the original drawing, appears as a gold-foiled, early-seventeenth-century cavalier's boot. Such footwear was designed for "horseless horsemen," quipped one period wit.²⁵ A bouquet of flowers—actually, a shoe rose then to be found embellishing low shoes for men—replaces the standard quatrefoil spur leathers, while lace appears where there ought to be heavy stitching at the seams. The upper part of the boot, a funnel or bucket top, provided flexible protection for the knees. For Warhol, however, this part offered a broad field on which he placed gold stars, perhaps alluding to Presley's recent rise to fame. By contrast, a contemporaneous collage depicted the actor James Dean as a far less flamboyant boot—a jackboot, in fact—lacking decorative appliqué and sporting a prominent spur with exposed fastenings. The very plainness of this boot brings out the courtly pomp, and its attendant fascination with frilly details, that was very much a part of Presley's stage presence. In turn, these details insist on Presley's public persona as a dynamic, even excessive, performer. His blurring of genres, for instance, the assimilation of white country and urban black music (along with its fashion), was echoed in the collage, which added applied decoration typically found with men's dress shoes to the form of a boot. This overt emphasis on artifice and border crossing would later play a major role in the silver Elvises and in Warhol's parody of the Western in general.

When Warhol appropriated the image of Presley in the late spring of 1963, the "king" of rock and roll had made the transition from massively popular singer to Hollywood commodity, capably following the examples of Bing Crosby and Frank Sinatra. By 1963 Presley was ranked among the top five box office attractions for the preceding year, just ahead of Elizabeth Taylor, and trailing only Doris Day, Rock Hudson,



6 Warhol, *Red Elvis*, 1962, silk-screen ink and acrylic on linen, 63¾ × 52 in. Private collection (artwork © 2005 Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts/ARS, New York; Elvis images used by permission, © Elvis Presley Enterprises, Inc.; photograph provided by The Andy Warhol Foundation, Inc./Art Resource, New York)

Cary Grant, and John Wayne.²⁶ His ranking was based solely on the revenue his films generated. Critics rarely lauded his acting. Of his performance in his first postservice film, *G.I. Blues* (1960), a *Newsweek* reviewer offered this: "Like the K-ration," Presley "is government authorized, and just as hard to swallow."²⁷ Early in 1962 *Newsweek* again dismissed the films: "Elvis Presley wore khakis two pictures ago [*G.I. Blues*], and Levis in the last one [*Flaming Star*]. This time he wears a swimsuit [*Blue Hawaii* (1961)]. As his costumes get briefer, Elvis gets fatter and his pictures thinner."²⁸ Harsh words to be sure, but they had little effect on the film-going public, and they certainly made Presley topical enough to capture Warhol's attention. More important, they point to an element of failed seriousness, if not of outright amateurism, making him susceptible to camp appropriation as a movie star, as Warhol had already done for the singer's image in the 1956 shoe collage.²⁹

Warhol was familiar with the surfeit of media images of Presley and easily could have selected another from among them. On more than one occasion visitors to his studio commented on the sheer volume of printed ephemera they found there. The curator Walter Hopps recalled that when he, Irving Blum, and the art dealer David Herbert visited Warhol's New York town house in 1961, the floor was littered



7 Warhol, *Untitled (Roy Rogers)*, ca. 1948, pencil on paper, 11 × 8½ in. Museum of Modern Art, New York, Chief Curator Discretionary Fund (artwork © 2005 Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts/ARS, New York; digital image © The Museum of Modern Art, provided by Scala/Art Resource, New York)

with “every sort of pulp movie magazine, fan magazine, and trade sheet, having to do with popular stars from the movies or rock ‘n’ roll. . . . As we walked in, the popular music of the time was blaring from a cheap hi-fi set-up. . . .”³⁰ In May 1963, an anonymous reporter for *Time* wrote that “a single pop tune blared from [Warhol’s] phonograph over and over again” during a recent visit, while “Elvis Presley albums” and other pulp materials “litter the place.”³¹ Most of these raw materials stayed on the floor.

Depicting the singer in a screen role in a full-length format, Warhol called attention to Presley’s acting, which is significant. In the Pop artist’s early 1960s oeuvre, Presley is the only Hollywood celebrity whose full body stretches from bottom to top of the canvas. Monroe appeared in bust-length portraits, as did Warren Beatty and Tab Hunter, while Taylor was presented in both bust- and half-length format. Marlon Brando and James Cagney, appearing in three-quarter length, never span the canvas. The decision not to limit

Presley to a bust-length portrait is therefore unique and indicates the singularity of this particular series. The full-length treatment allows audiences to contemplate the look and accoutrements of an American myth enacted by one of its significantly lesser actors in an entirely forgettable film, at a moment, ironically, when the genre was enormously popular and profitable.

Parodic Westerns

Indeed, the Western experienced its peak success in the years preceding the Ferus exhibition.³² A feature article in *Time* magazine at the end of the 1950s drew attention to the prevalence of “horse operas” in popular culture.³³ Eight of the top ten shows on television were Westerns, with *Gunsmoke* first among them.³⁴ The *Time* author argued that “the Western is really the American morality play” performed “on the vast stage of the unbroken prairie.”³⁵ He went on to note that this was the realm of national myth, of men testing them-



8 "Crazy Golden Slippers: Famous People Inspire Fanciful Footwear," *Life* 42 (January 21, 1957): 13, illustrating Andy Warhol, *Elvis Presley*, ca. 1956, and *James Dean*, ca. 1956 (artwork © 2005 Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts/ARS, New York; photograph provided by *Life Magazine* © 1957 Life Inc., used with permission)

selves against one another and against nature, of the individual triumphing against the odds or heroically perishing in the attempt. Americans liked the genre enough to spend \$125 million on commercial products related to the various television series, while continuing to flock to theaters to take in big-screen productions of life and death on the vast expanse of the prairie. The April 1963 issue of *Show*, a copy of which remained in Warhol's possession, included historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr.'s assertion that "the Western remains . . . America's distinctive contribution to film."³⁶ That same spring Metro-Goldwyn-Meyer released its latest incarnation of the genre, *How the West Was Won*. *Life* magazine reported that with "a cast of 12,617 players and every trick in the horse-opera repertory . . . *How the West Was Won* is not the best western ever made but it surely is the biggest and gaudiest."³⁷

Actors in the film included John Wayne, Henry Fonda, Gregory Peck, James Stewart, and Walter Brennan, a veritable who's who of screen cowboys in the postwar era.

Unlike James Arness and Chuck Connors of television, or Gary Cooper and John Wayne of the screen, however, Presley was hardly the living embodiment of rugged, western masculinity. His greased hair, made-up face, delicately turned collar, and tailored costume—all duly noted in the silver paintings—read as a carefully staged, and therefore utterly unconvincing, performance (Fig. 9). He lacked the grizzled presence of these other actors. Warhol certainly knew this. In his 1980s celebration of the old West, he selected John Wayne—identified in late 1963 as "the king of the cowboys"—as the only actor in a series otherwise given over to historical figures and images (Fig. 10).³⁸ The male film stars



9 Warhol, *Double Elvis*, 1963, acrylic on canvas, 82¼ × 59⅞ in. Seattle Art Museum, Purchased with funds from the National Endowment for the Arts, PONCHO and the Seattle Art Museum Guild (artwork © 2005 Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts/ARS, New York; Elvis images used by permission, © Elvis Presley Enterprises, Inc.; photograph by Paul Macapia)

Presley admired and emulated, Marlon Brando and James Dean, appeared to inhabit their screen personae with a presence and a conviction that Presley never fully achieved, except when he sang. In turn, his singing placed him in the tradition of those sensitive, singing cowboys, Gene Autry and Roy Rogers, popular during Warhol's youth.³⁹ One can hardly imagine Presley in the roles of the "hard customer," "rip-tailed roarer," and "bad man" come in off the plains to disturb the peace violently. In fact, he did not play those roles in *Flaming Star*. He was the good son, Pacer, forced to make an impossible choice between the world of his Native American mother and Anglo father. At the end of the film, with his parents dead and half brother seriously wounded, he defends the family homestead so that his Anglo community in Texas might survive. After seeing the "flaming star of death," he stoically rides into the hills to await his end.

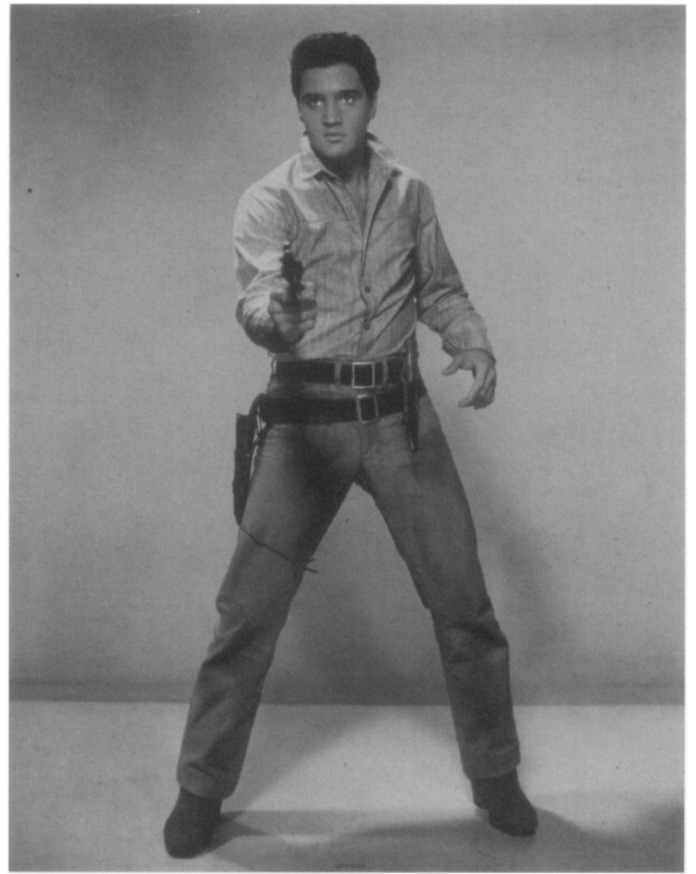
The image of Presley appropriated by Warhol does not come from the film itself but from a photograph of the singer in costume taken during the film's production (Fig. 11). A staged studio product, the image has no narrative or locale, fundamental elements in any Western.⁴⁰ In Warhol's selective editing, the photograph also lacks background space. This works to distance the image further from the film and even from Presley's embodied presence. Without any of the other cast members, who turn up in several of the publicity stills taken from actual footage (Fig. 12), the image Warhol chose contains almost nothing to indicate that it is tied to *Flaming Star* or to any other particular Western. Instead, the screen painting underscores role-playing.⁴¹ Presley acted the part of a gunslinger purely for the benefit of the camera. Legs tensed, shoulders square, gun drawn, eyes steady, his practiced pose replicates a visual cliché. The silver ground fram-



10 Warhol, *Cowboys and Indians: John Wayne*, 1986, screen print on Lenox museum board, 36 × 36 in. Andy Warhol Museum, Pittsburgh, Founding Collection (artwork © 2005 Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts/ARS, New York)

ing his body certainly evokes the aura of the silver screen and the era when Westerns first appeared in Hollywood, and it also invokes the full-length mirror.⁴² Either way, the generic stance of a gun-wielding cowboy was one familiar to virtually every boy playing the man in the past century, a point made by the film critic Robert Warshow in 1954.⁴³

Although obviously ironic to a large degree, Warhol's silk screen, like many other representations of cowboys, conveyed powerful cultural meanings in the postwar era, even if only to undermine them.⁴⁴ Bound by a strict code of honor, measured in speech, capable of physical violence, never off the mark when shooting a foe, uncomfortable with too much civilization, bashful around women, preferring a life of homosocial bonding, often taking refuge in nature with the camaraderie of horse and gun, the cowboy was a creature of the West and an ideal of American masculinity. He starred in the heroic story about the taming of the frontier, while reminding men that emotional restraint, though sometimes erupting in extreme violence, was part of their national heritage. Throughout the 1950s and early 1960s, historians and critics sounded the above refrain, though not always uncritically, thereby giving the genre a topical, intellectual credence that was part of a broader investigation of popular American culture.⁴⁵ Some of this topical relevance is evident in the film *Flaming Star*, in that it was sensitive to racial difference, male violence, and the struggle to assert an independent manhood. Without any color to suggest his parentage or any depicted foe in the screen paintings, however, Presley appears as little more than a cipher, one conveniently loosed from the conventional narratives of most Westerns. This probably accounts for the gender and sexual ambiguity scholars have found in the series.



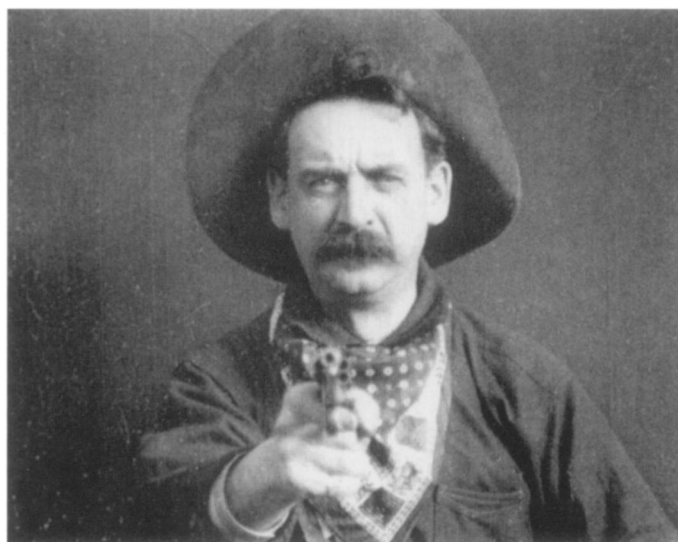
11 Publicity photograph for *Flaming Star*, 1960, source material for Warhol's Elvis paintings. The Andy Warhol Museum, Pittsburgh, Founding Collection (photograph © Twentieth Century Fox, all rights reserved; Elvis images used by permission, © Elvis Presley Enterprises, Inc.)

Historian David R. Shumway has argued that Presley's stylized performance onstage was highly feminized in that it emphatically called attention to his body as an object of sexual attraction, while his lyrics often situated him as a vulnerable male.⁴⁶ Critics assailed his flamboyant stage presence; one complained that Presley's gold lamé suit "could embarrass Liberace."⁴⁷ This ambiguous masculine performance carried over to the screen, particularly when Presley sang, as he did in the first scene of *Flaming Star*, and it seems evident in the silver portraits. Richard Meyer has noted that the film's title is susceptible to camp interpretation, and therefore has convincingly interpreted the series as evidence of gay sensibility.⁴⁸ Rock critics have taken a less celebratory view of the same paintings. Focusing on the heavily shadowed eyes, Greil Marcus characterized the silver Elvises as "symbolizing powerlessness," with Presley set up as a "eunuch."⁴⁹ Marcus's reading is only possible when made in relation to the force and power of Presley onstage and on vinyl, but it helps lead one to the element of parody in the paintings, more fully evident when the 1963 series is read in relation to Warhol's films.⁵⁰

The silver Elvises are of a piece with Warhol's earliest films, which eschew narrative to emphasize iconic presence through duration.⁵¹ The self-consciously amateurish produc-



12 Still from *Flaming Star*, Twentieth Century Fox, 1960 (photograph and film © Twentieth Century Fox, all rights reserved; Elvis images used by permission, © Elvis Presley Enterprises, Inc.; photograph provided by the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences)



13 Still from *The Great Train Robbery*, Edison Motion Pictures, 1903 (photograph in the public domain, provided by Photofest, New York)

tion of Warhol's films through 1968, with poor resolution, strobe cuts, little or no editing, inconsistent lighting, over- and underexposure, minimal camera work, and sometimes garbled sound, reveals a consistent disregard for Hollywood standards. Exposure of the deliberately clumsy mechanical process was already an integral part of the series conceived for the Ferus, as it was of Warhol's silk screens in general. When multiplied, the figure of Elvis is not always on the same ground line. The interval between figures, whether sequential or overlapped, is inconsistent. Some images are denser than others. Clogging in the screen, different amounts of ink, and varying degrees of hand pressure on the squeegee make each repeated image slightly different. Many of the silver backgrounds are mottled.

Seeing the silver Elvises as similar to Warhol's earliest, prenarrative films leads one to recognize the distance separating the silk screens and films from postwar Westerns. If anything, the evidence of process in Warhol's series evokes an older history of serial production. This production commenced in the late nineteenth century with highly formulaic dime novels and William Cody's stage show *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*. Both popularized the cowboy as American hero. Hollywood picked up the genre shortly thereafter. Warhol's method of labored production perpetuated the life of a genre given over to repetition and cliché at its inception. It also seems more than circumstantial that his series coincided with the sixtieth anniversary of the most famous early motion-picture Western, *The Great Train Robbery* (1903). That film ended with the spectacular scene of actor George Barnes firing his gun directly at the audience (Fig. 13), a gesture echoed in the photograph of Presley appropriated by Warhol.

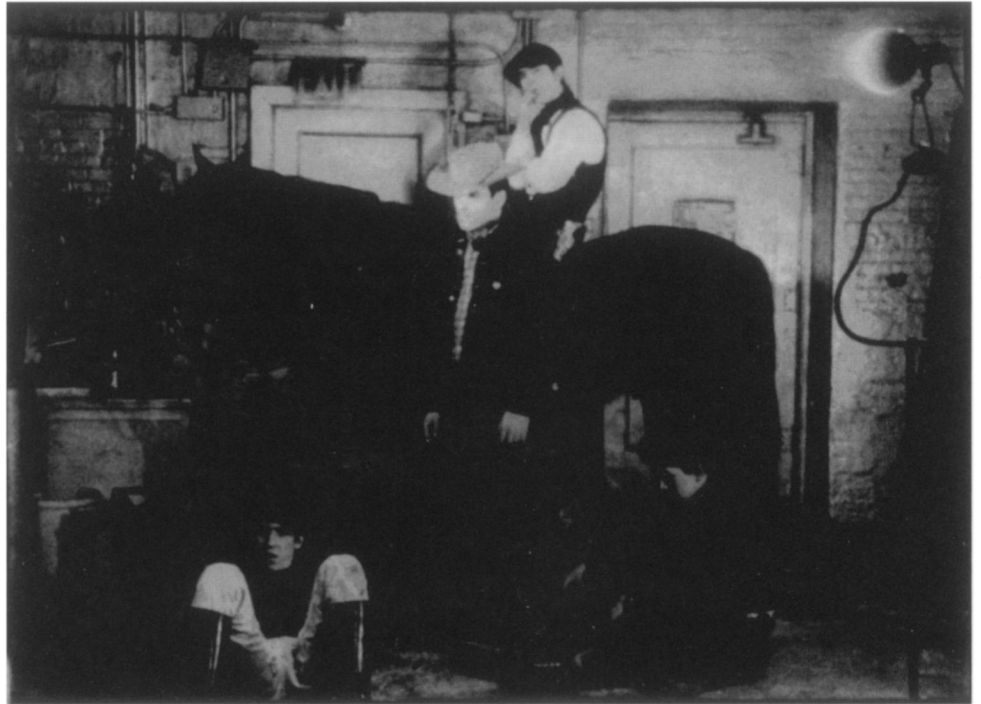
In subject matter, the silver Elvises are tied to Warhol's later filmed parodies of the Western, whether the anarchic deconstruction of *Horse* (1965) or the homoerotic farce of *Lonesome Cowboys* (1968).⁵² Written by Ronald Tavel and shot in black-and-white, *Horse* involves four men voicing platitudes, among them, "You're a tinhorn," "I'm the kid from

Laramie," "Hang me on that yonder tree," and "I had to shoot him dead on account of what he said." Set not on the open plains of the West but obviously within Warhol's Forty-seventh Street Factory, the film has as its one constant element the large horse, serving as backdrop for the men. Intermittent scenes of violence, a game of strip poker, fondling of the horse, preening for the camera, and vigorous milk drinking all allude to narrative convention (Fig. 14).⁵³ Periodically the dialogue is interrupted by a recording of Maria Callas blaring away offscreen. Literally, Warhol's first Western was a horse opera.

His follow-up, shot in color on location in Old Tucson, Arizona, was an erotic comedy.⁵⁴ Though starring Viva as the proprietor of a local brothel, the film tracks the relationships and activities of a band of good-looking brothers. As is typical of so many Westerns, *Lonesome Cowboys* puts the male body on display.⁵⁵ Whether nude, seminude, or flamboyantly dressed in the standard accoutrements of Western getup—boots, chaps, bandannas, checked shirts, sombreros, and such—the men are intensely aware of appearance (Fig. 15).⁵⁶ "Where did you get that sexy jacket?" one asks. "You look butch in it." The less than stoic behavior of the men drives the plot. After they fail to gang-rape Viva, she dismissively screams, "You're all fags." At film's end, two of the men break with their brothers to head to California to take up surfing. In general, their infatuation with petty rivalry, their concern with appearance, their antipathy to authority, and especially their hostility to women echo Marshall McLuhan's insight that the Western was essentially adolescent.⁵⁷

When linked with these films, the silver Elvises take their place among a group of works offering a camp critique of the Western.⁵⁸ The emphasis on appearance in the paintings and films, particularly the male body as it achieves identity through clothing, suggests that the similar equipment in the Presley paintings—gun, holster, dagger, shirt, and pants—are reminders that perhaps above all the cowboy was a figure of style, whose walk, talk, and dress composed an elabo-

14 Still from Warhol, *Horse*, 1965
(film © The Andy Warhol Museum,
Pittsburgh, a museum of Carnegie
Institute, all rights reserved)



15 Still from Warhol, *Lonesome Cowboys*,
1968 (film © The Andy Warhol
Museum, Pittsburgh, a museum of
Carnegie Institute, all rights reserved)



rate performance dependent on recognizable gestures and props.⁵⁹ Moreover, Warhol seems to assert that if the cowboy's identity is only style, then anyone might inhabit the character, whether a famous rock and roll singer, the Factory players enjoying their brief charade, or audiences standing before the screen paintings as though in front of a mirror.

To summarize Warhol's interest in the Western, which constitutes part of his much broader consideration of Hollywood in general, one can identify a combination of reverence and ridicule, of homage and parody, of veneration and dismissal. In this regard the Ferus exhibition was something of

a put-on, a sham, a provocation by an Eastern hipster who was already making his own films and who had previously dismissed Hollywood stars as pure product. No wonder the paintings did not sell. Their camp humor mirrored back to Hollywood its essential vacuousness in churning out formulaic narratives in the pursuit of profit, at least when it came to Elvis Presley and *Flaming Star*.

Linking the silver Elvises with Warhol's filmed Westerns demonstrates the extent to which he treated the myth of the West as a mirage, an image lodged within the fantasy life of Americans, no matter what their fantasies entailed. In choos-



16 Marcel Duchamp, *Nude Descending a Staircase, No. 2*, 1912, oil on canvas, 57½ × 35½ in. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Louise and Walter Arensberg Collection (artwork © Artists Rights Society [ARS], New York/ADAGP, Paris/Succession Marcel Duchamp)

ing Presley, Warhol made certain that the elements of cliché, convention, and performance would remain foremost. But in addressing the myth of the West, Warhol firmly grounded the paintings within a venerable, and highly popular, tradition of literature and film that identified and celebrated rugged masculinity as central to American experience and culture.⁶⁰ This consideration cannot be disconnected from his interest in postwar art, and, indeed, he retrospectively pronounced his disdain for the rough-and-tumble lives of the Abstract Expressionists, themselves sometimes identified with the myth of the West.⁶¹ A masculine ideal is, of course, inconceivable without a feminine complement, which serves to return investigation to the coupling of the Presley screen paintings with the portraits of Elizabeth Taylor shown with the silver Elvises at the Ferus Gallery. When this is done, Warhol's consideration of the Western is wedded to his concurrent desire to situate himself in relation to a contemporaneous avant-garde, for, as with so much of his art from the

early 1960s, the silver Elvises played a role in his ambition to be taken seriously as a fine artist.

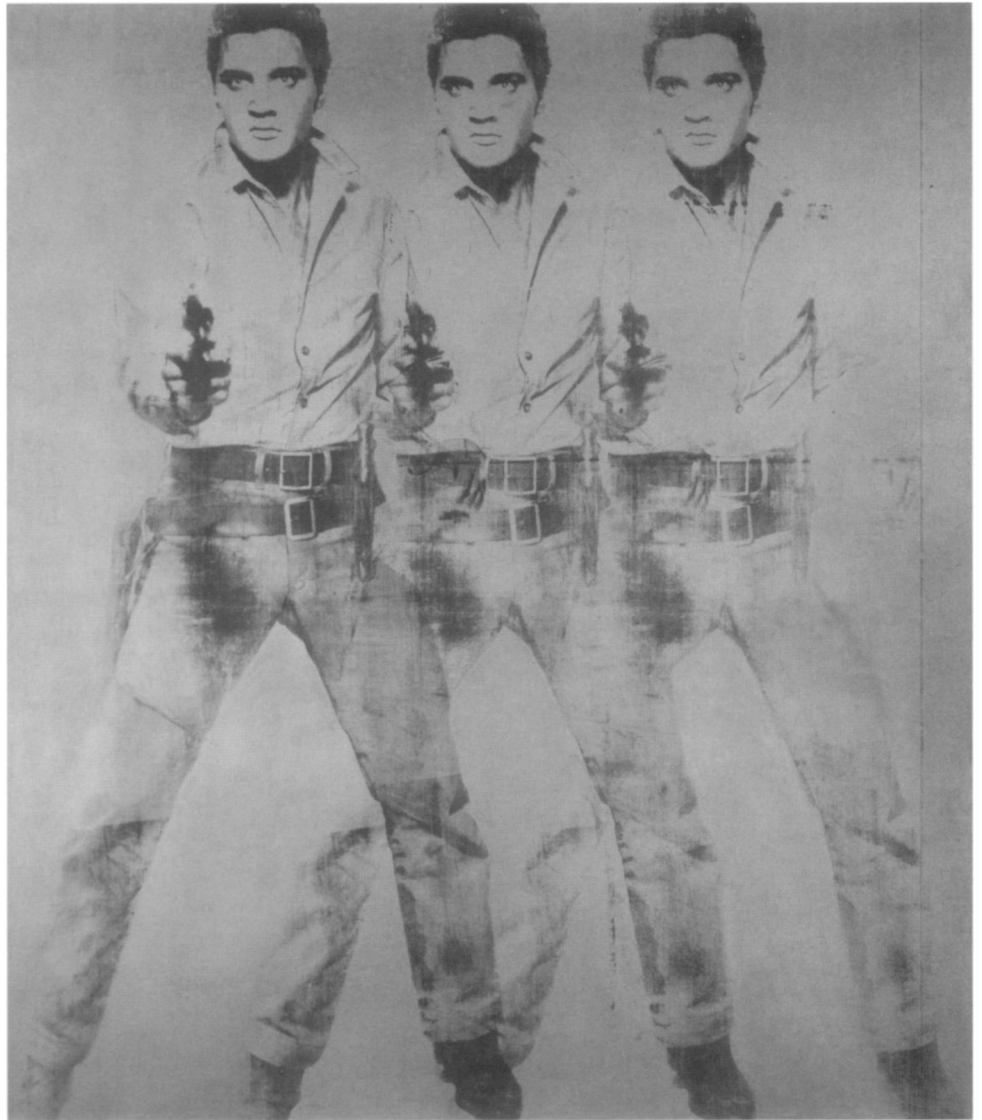
Vanguard Ambition

Sending the silver Elvises and silver Liz Taylors to the Ferus Gallery was a calculated risk on Warhol's part because the overt play to, and with, Hollywood convention might easily obscure his desire to link himself with an emergent sensibility in the New York school. It is well known that through the earliest years of the 1960s he struggled with both style and subject matter while hoping to be taken seriously by Jasper Johns and Robert Rauschenberg, the most critically acclaimed members of the younger generation. Their dismissal of Warhol was a source of deep embarrassment and resentment to the artist.⁶² Yet this did not stop him from emulating their example of distancing themselves from the high drama of Abstract Expressionism while publicly honoring Marcel Duchamp's antiromantic gestures.⁶³ If not immediately evident in the silver Elvises, the spirit of Duchamp nonetheless plays a defining role in the series and its installation, especially when linked with the portraits of Taylor.

Although Duchamp had been the subject of periodic art world and mass media attention over the preceding half dozen years, 1963 marked his art world apotheosis. That April witnessed the fiftieth anniversary exhibition commemorating the legendary Armory Show of 1913, in which the painting *Nude Descending a Staircase, No. 2* played a starring role (Fig. 16).⁶⁴ That fall marked his first major retrospective in the United States, which opened at the Pasadena Art Museum a week after Warhol's opening at the Ferus. Warhol's trip west in late September was timed to allow him to attend both events and to meet Duchamp. Already Warhol had paid homage to the French master, as critics at the time and historians subsequently have noted.⁶⁵ *Campbell's Soup Cans* (1962) continued the investigation of the ready-made by way of Johns's *Painted Bronze* (1960), while several paintings, among them *Storm Door* (1961), were clearly tied to *The Large Glass* in the choice of subject matter.⁶⁶

Gerard Malanga has claimed that the overlapping of figures to evoke motion in several of the silver Elvises was inspired by his interest in photography (Fig. 17).⁶⁷ In the spring of 1963, the most relevant example of a painting mimicking photographed motion was *Nude Descending a Staircase, No. 2*, given pride of place in the revised Armory Show, used as the poster for the exhibition, and later prominently displayed in Pasadena. Though his studio assistant may have introduced the effect to the series, Warhol accepted it as his own. More important, Warhol's interest in motion seems indebted to the French artist's investigation of motion and technology. Contemporary publications available to the Pop artist often asserted that Duchamp's contribution to modernism consisted in his use of mechanical imagery.⁶⁸ The late spring 1963 issue of *Art in America*, released in May, before Warhol and Malanga began silk-screening the images for the Ferus exhibition, announced the upcoming retrospective and singled out *Nude Descending a Staircase*.⁶⁹ In a description that presaged the decision to use overlapping to suggest motion in the silver Elvises, Helen Wurdemann argued that in producing the "revolutionary *Nude*," Duchamp was "like a radar . . . pointing the way to the mechanized psychic and

17 Warhol, *Triple Elvis*, 1963, aluminum paint and printer's ink silk-screened on canvas, 82 × 71 in. Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Gift of Sydney and Frances Lewis (artwork © 2005 Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts/ARS, New York; Elvis images used by permission, © Elvis Presley Enterprises, Inc.; photograph by Katherine Wetzal, © Virginia Museum of Fine Arts)

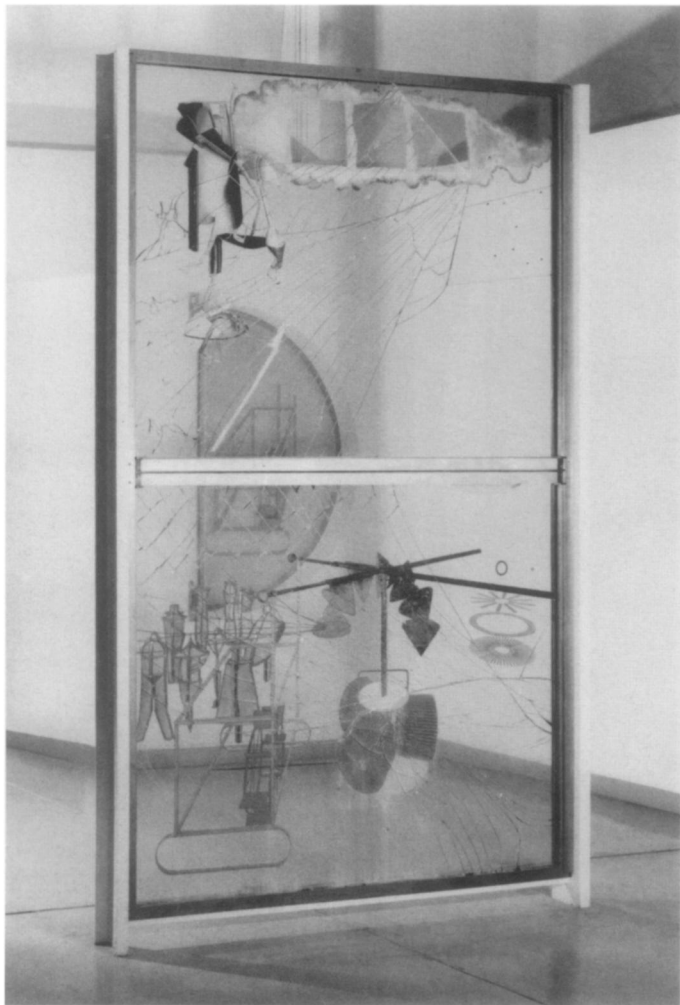


philosophical expressions of today, the dynamic flow and movement of time and speed, the Freudian overtones in our culture."⁷⁰

Although Warhol's interest in Hollywood predated his introduction to Dada, he could not have missed the fact that Duchamp was also interested in film. Critical discussion of Duchamp over the preceding years repetitively used cinema as a frame of reference. In his 1959 monograph on the artist, Robert Lebel called him a "rebel" in making the painting *Nude Descending a Staircase* and noted that Americans treated him "as if he were a once famous movie star."⁷¹ Lebel documented that while Duchamp worked on *The Large Glass* (Fig. 18), applying mercury to the back so the bachelors would appear in silver, he began his work in film.⁷² According to Duchamp, *The Large Glass* was conceived in "cinematic" terms.⁷³ By this he might have meant that it was a comment on formulaic narrative, heterosexual desire, gender stereotype, and role-playing from the early days of Hollywood. If so, one can begin to see the bachelors' imaginative stripping of the passive bride as analogous to audience fantasy invested in the idealized figures onscreen. One can also perceive the surface of *The Large Glass*, extensively covered with silver, as

both opaque and transparent, as mirror and ideal—as, in short, very much like the surface of a screen that paradoxically opens into a fictional space peopled with heroes and heroines. These ideas present themselves when *The Large Glass* is approached through Warhol's exhibition at the Ferus Gallery, which in turn appears to be the work of an engaged spectator honoring and responding to the Dada precedent.

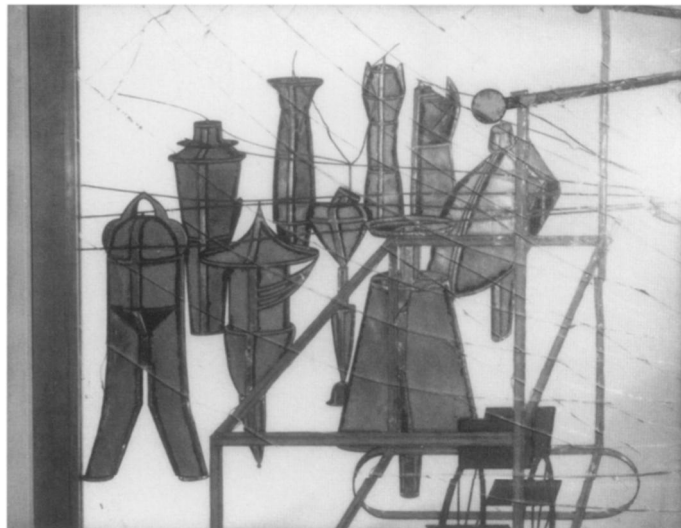
The narrative of the Ferus exhibition can be seen to follow that of *The Large Glass* (a facsimile of which featured prominently in the retrospective): a woman is presented without her body—which is left for her suitors and her audience to imagine—and a man appears in a stereotypical role, the two figures coupled in a single presentation, but nonetheless separated in space.⁷⁴ Whether the gendered division of Warhol's exhibition was initially planned by the artist, who worked on the two series in June and July, or merely the fortuitous result of Irving Blum's opening up additional space for the exhibition, the result tantalizingly implies a considered relationship between the concurrently running exhibitions of Warhol and Duchamp.⁷⁵ Like the canonical work once damaged in transit between coasts, Warhol's installation was sent cross-country with a set of instructions that



18 Duchamp, *The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even (The Large Glass)*, 1915–23, oil, varnish, lead foil and wire, and dust on glass mounted between two glass panels, 109¼ × 69¼ in. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Bequest of Katherine S. Dreier (artwork © Artists Rights Society [ARS], New York/ADAGP, Paris/Succession Marcel Duchamp)

echo Duchamp's insistence that the artist is not the only maker of the art. Six years earlier, he had famously asserted that "the creative act is not performed by the artist alone; the spectator brings the work in contact with the external world by deciphering and interpreting its inner qualifications and thus adds his contribution to the creative act."⁷⁶ When it came to cutting and installing the silver Elvises, Blum served as the capably engaged spectator who deciphered and interpreted Warhol's series.

The installation at the Ferus linked perhaps Hollywood's most eligible bachelor with its most notorious bride.⁷⁷ Presley's splayed-legged stance uncannily mimics that of the leftmost Malic Mold in *The Large Glass*, identified by Duchamp as the *cuirassier*, or cavalryman (Fig. 19). This might have provided a logical connection for Warhol in that Presley played a cowboy in *Flaming Star*, had served in an armored division in the army, and had played a tank sergeant in his first postarmy film, *G.I. Blues*. The effect of ringing the front room of the Ferus with the silver Elvises parallels that of the encircled men of the Malic Molds. Their actions, linked in a tribal,



19 Duchamp, detail of Fig. 18: Malic Molds

same-sex dance, are echoed in turn by the installation that reminded Fidel Danieli of a chorus line of "over-managed puppetry."⁷⁸ By extension, Liz Taylor, placed in a separate room and disembodied through the bust-length portraits, plays the role of heartless and soulless bride, one perpetually frustrating the desires of her suitors (Fig. 20).⁷⁹ Throughout the preceding year, her turbulent love life had filled the pages of *Life*, *Photoplay*, and other publications as her latest film, the multimillion-dollar *Cleopatra*, spun out of control.⁸⁰ Pundits wondered whether her costar, Richard Burton, might become husband number five; Warhol assiduously recorded the spectacle.⁸¹

If the connections Duchamp made between cinema and the organization of *The Large Glass* remain conjectural and vague, Warhol's treatment of Hollywood does not. As with the image of Presley, that of Taylor was also appropriated from Hollywood publicity, likewise directing attention not to narrative but to marketable product.⁸² The comedic stasis of Duchamp's inoperative machine was replaced by Warhol's comedy of leading Hollywood stars, one a singer poorly playing the hero, the other apparently everyone's bride. In Warhol's view, the Hollywood machine was no longer so spectacular. The heady days of the studio system were rapidly fading from view, leaving only a pale reflection of bygone splendor.

Like his parody of the Western, Warhol's indebtedness to contemporary vanguard art—in particular that of Duchamp—was marked by a profound awareness of the options open to his generation. From the moment he decided to shift his practice from commercial to fine art, Warhol knew his choice of style was between the emotionally charged, romantic aspiration of Abstract Expressionism and the deadpan sensibility of Dada. He ostensibly chose the latter. To be sure, Warhol's treatment of Duchamp was neither dogmatic nor deferential, and perhaps it was not even fully evident to his audience in Los Angeles, but that should not prohibit evaluation of the materials at hand. It signals overt allegiance to the emergent generation of Pop artists, whose historical awareness was as acute as it was comedic. If nothing else, the Presley paintings provide further evidence of Warhol's free-

20 Warhol, *Silver Liz (Ferus Type)*, 1963, silkscreen ink, acrylic, and spray paint on linen, 40 × 40 in. The Andy Warhol Museum, Pittsburgh, Founding Collection (artwork © 2005 Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts/ARS, New York)



range gathering of Americana in his goal to eradicate whatever boundaries were left between elite and mass culture by the summer of 1963.

When viewed through the dual lens of gendered Hollywood cliché, as represented by the Western, and that of Duchampian precedent, notably *The Large Glass*, the silver Elvise emerge as an important part of a broader theme within Warhol's work of the early 1960s. That theme consisted of first challenging, and then dismantling and reconfiguring existing hierarchies—whether in film, gender, or painting—in order to carve out a place for himself, on his own terms, within the New York school. As Warhol attracted critical attention through 1962 and 1963, he articulated an aesthetic that Duchamp sagely recognized as “the complete democratization of art.”⁸³ When asked by the critic Gene Swenson that summer what Pop art was about, Warhol replied: “It’s liking things.”⁸⁴ Verbally, his answer was seemingly as straightforward as it was simple, but when taken visually by using the example of the silver Elvise, that answer demanded extensive clarification. What Warhol liked was apparent in the choice of image appropriated. How and why he liked it remained the task of critical investigation, an investigation to which reviewers were also invited to bring their likes and dislikes.

Throughout the 1960s and, indeed, the rest of his life, Warhol insisted that Pop art was for everyone. “I don’t think art should be only for the select few,” he asserted, “. . . it

should be for the mass of American people. . . .”⁸⁵ The silver Elvise instantiate this belief. Drawing on the stock figure of the cowboy, Warhol invoked a major American shibboleth about masculinity and the heroic settling of the West known to virtually all citizens of the United States. But he did not simply re-present the figure. His selection of Elvis Presley, distanced from conventional narrative, effectively unhinged the figure to bring to the fore the issue of performance. This is clear when the series is connected with Warhol’s earlier drawings of Hollywood cowboys and Presley and with Warhol’s subsequent filmed Westerns. It is equally clear that when coupled with the silver Liz Taylors and linked with the concurrent Duchamp retrospective, the cowboy for Warhol was just another role men chose to play in a mechanical courtship ritual ultimately doomed to failure and frustration. All of this reveals an artist deeply attuned to an expanse of visual culture, both contemporaneous and historical, avant-garde and popular, from which he might draw materials, and to which his own work represents a knowing contribution. In staking his claim to this as yet untamed territory, Warhol himself capably performed as a cultural cowboy, with, one suspects, sincere admiration for the challenges of the role.

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Notes

Thanks to Marc Gotlieb and the anonymous readers at *The Art Bulletin*; Matt Wrbican at the Andy Warhol Museum; Bradford Collins and several colleagues at the Southeastern College Art Conference in Raleigh, North Carolina, in October 2003; and Sara Doris, Allison Smith, Dee Garceau-Hagen, Kaywin Feldman, Marina Pacini, and Reva Wolf for their advice and assistance in preparing this essay.

1. As the following essay considers only those silver Elvisses shown at the Ferus Gallery, it does not address the debate concerning the chronology of their production and the number of silver Elvis paintings currently known. For a full discussion, see Georg Frei and Neil Printz, *The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. 1, *Paintings and Sculpture 1961–1963* (New York: Phaidon Press, 2002), 355–79; and Raiji Kuroda, "Collapsing/Collapsed Discourse on Warhol: Regarding Two Elvis Series," in *Andy Warhol 1956–86: Mirror of His Time*, exh. cat., Andy Warhol Museum, Pittsburgh, and Museum of Contemporary Art, Tokyo, 1996, 267–73.
2. John Coplans, "Andy Warhol and Elvis Presley," *Studio International* 181 (February 1971): 49–53. An influential contribution to critical interpretation of the series, Coplans's essay now seems fully tied to a late 1960s, romantic reading of rock and roll as cultural radicalism. He did, however, draw attention to the elements of parody and gender ambiguity within the series.
3. Richard Meyer, "Warhol's Clones," *Yale Journal of Criticism* 7, no. 1 (1994): 94–97, revised in *Outlaw Representation: Censorship and Homosexuality in Twentieth-Century American Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 150–53. Meyer's scholarship, like that of others who have addressed Warhol's sexuality, is essential for identifying the often layered meanings in Warhol's art.
4. Irving Blum to Andy Warhol, May 28, 1963, Archives, Andy Warhol Museum, Pittsburgh.
5. Blum was expecting bust-length portraits similar to those exhibited at the Stable Gallery. The full-length images of Presley were a complete surprise. Telephone conversation with author, November 2, 2001.
6. Several scholars have recognized Warhol's attention to environment and context in the installation of his work, especially the series. See Stephen Koch, "Warhol," *New Republic* 160 (April 26, 1969): 25; and Coplans, "Andy Warhol and Elvis Presley," 49. Charles F. Stuckey notes Warhol's "wry sense of conceptual contextual gesture" in his installations. Stuckey, "Warhol in Context," in *The Work of Andy Warhol*, ed. Gary Garrels, *Discussions in Contemporary Culture*, no. 3 (Seattle: Bay Press, 1989), 24.
7. The portraits of Taylor were stretched in New York and shipped by crate. Irving Blum, telephone conversation with author, January 12, 2005.
8. Irving Blum, interview by Patrick S. Smith, October 20, 1978, in *Andy Warhol's Art and Films* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: U.M.I. Research Press, 1986), 221–22.
9. Warhol was "thrilled" by the installation at Ferus, but also admitted that he more enjoyed the round of parties with young Hollywood celebrities, such as Dennis Hopper, than the "work" that went into making and selling art; see Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, *Popism: The Warhol Sixties* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1980), 42.
10. Blum, telephone conversation with author, January 12, 2005.
11. Blum to Warhol, May 28, 1963. Blum recalls that one of the silver Elvisses sold after the exhibition had closed; telephone conversation with author, January 12, 2005.
12. On Warhol's disappointment with the exhibition, see Victor Bockris, *Warhol* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1997), 182.
13. Henry J. Seldis, "In the Galleries: Sir Swivel Reigns in Pop Art Display," *Los Angeles Times*, October 4, 1963, D11.
14. Gerald Nordland, "Marcel Duchamp and Common Object Art," *Art International* 8 (February 15, 1964): 31.
15. Ibid., 32.
16. Fidel A. Danieli, "Art Forms," *UCLA Daily Bruin*, October 2, 1963, 9, copy in Archives, Andy Warhol Museum.
17. Michael Fried, "New York Letter," *Art International* 6 (December 20, 1962): 57, reprinted in Steven Henry Madoff, ed., *Pop Art: A Critical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 267.
18. Gene R. Swenson, "Andy Warhol," *Artnews* 61 (November 1962): 15. The first part of the quotation is Meyer Schapiro on Henri Rousseau.
19. Several scholars note Warhol's reading and book buying habits. See Bradford R. Collins, "Dick Tracy and the Case of Warhol's Closet: A Psychoanalytic Detective Story," *American Art* 15, no. 3 (2001): 70; Stephen Koch, *Stargazer: The Life, World and Films of Andy Warhol* (New York: Marion Boyars, 2002), xi; and Reva Wolf, *Andy Warhol, Poetry, and Gossip in the 1960s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 3.
20. As my essay is about the silver Elvisses in particular, I do not delve into the extensive literature on Warhol and film. I cite only some of the most important studies in these notes. The following essays helped shape my thinking about Warhol and Hollywood: Callie Angell, "Andy Warhol, Filmmaker" and "The Films of Andy Warhol—a Selection," in *Andy Warhol 1956–86: Mirror of His Time*, 176–200; Russell Ferguson, "Beautiful Moments," in *Art and Film since 1945: Hall of Mirrors*, ed. Kerry Brougher, exh. cat., Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 1996, 139–87; Colin MacCabe, Mark Francis, and Peter Wollen, eds., *Who Is Andy Warhol?* (London: British Film Institute and the Andy Warhol Museum, 1997); and Juan A. Suárez, *Bike Boys, Drag Queens, and Superstars: Avant-Garde, Mass Culture, and Gay Identities in the 1960s Underground Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 214–64.
21. Warhol, quoted in "Products," *Newsweek* 60 (November 12, 1962): 94; and Gretchen Berg, "Nothing to Lose" (1967), in *Andy Warhol: Film Factory*, ed. Michael O'Pray (London: British Film Institute, 1989), 57.
22. The passing of an earlier generation of Hollywood stars and the emergence of a younger, perhaps as yet undistinguished, one was a common refrain in the early 1960s. See, for instance, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., "Hollywood Then and Now," *Show* 3 (April 1963): 76–78, 125. A copy of this publication can be found in the Archives, Andy Warhol Museum. For Warhol's comments on the old Hollywood, see Warhol and Hackett, *Popism*, 40.
23. On Warhol's collecting of Hollywood ephemera, see Margery King, "Starstruck: Andy Warhol's Marilyn and Elvis," *Carnegie Magazine* 62 (July–August 1995): 10–14; and Blake Stimson, "Andy Warhol's Red Beard," *Art Bulletin* 83 (September 2001): 528.
24. Meyer, *Outlaw Representation*, 109, documents that Warhol's closest friends described the shoe collages as camp at the time. See, too, Nathan Gluck, interview by Patrick S. Smith, in Smith, *Andy Warhol's Art and Films*, 335–37.
25. Quoted in R. Turner Wilcox, *The Mode in Footwear* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948), 103. This particular style of boot was identified with gentlemen at court and had been popularized by Henri IV of France. Wilcox states, 103, that "Henri practically lived in his camp boots. . . ." (emphasis mine). Given Warhol's interest in shoes, his appropriation of printed sources, and his advertisements for the modish New York shoe store I. Miller, it is likely that he was familiar with Wilcox's book.
26. "Slim Pickings," *Newsweek* 61 (January 14, 1963): 42.
27. "Hollywood's 'Soldiers,'" *Newsweek* 56 (November 14, 1960): 110.
28. "Next to Nothing," *Newsweek* 59 (February 19, 1962): 97.
29. Susan Sontag made the element of failed seriousness a cornerstone of her essay "Notes on Camp," published early in 1964. Also of relevance to the silver Elvisses is her insistence on artifice and exaggeration, role-playing, obvious quotation, and playfulness. Sontag, *Against Interpretation* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1986), 275–92.
30. Walter Hopps, quoted in Jean Stein and George Plimpton, *Edie: An American Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), 192.
31. "Pop Art: Cult of the Commonplace," *Time* 81 (May 3, 1963): 72. See, too, Aline B. Saarinen, "Explosion of Pop Art," *Vogue* 141 (April 15, 1963): 87.
32. Sidra Stich, *Made in U.S.A.: An Americanization in Modern Art, the '50s and '60s*, exh. cat., University Art Museum, Berkeley, 1987 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 131. Lee Clark Mitchell estimates that fully one-quarter of all Hollywood films in the 1950s were Westerns. Mitchell, *Westerns: Making the Man in Fiction and Film* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 203. Michael Kimmel notes that "over 10 percent of all fictional works published in the 1950s were westerns." Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York: Free Press, 1996), 252.
33. "Westerns: The Six-Gun Galahad," *Time* 73 (March 30, 1959): 52.
34. Warhol, in Warhol and Hackett, *Popism*, 41, avidly watched television in the 1950s and remembered seeing Dennis Hopper in the Western series *Bronco*.
35. "Westerns: The Six-Gun Galahad," 53.
36. Arthur Schlesinger Jr., "Film as Myth: The Western," *Show* 3 (April 1963): 38.

37. "Look Out Below!" *Life* 54 (March 29, 1963): 87.
38. "The Western Hero," *Life* 55 (December 20, 1963): 109. The series, Cowboys and Indians, is reproduced in Frayda Feldman and Jörg Schellmann, *Andy Warhol Prints: A Catalogue Raisonné 1962–1987* (New York: Distributed Art Publishers, 2003), 153–55.
39. Autry, Rogers, and other stars of earlier Westerns had recently been chronicled in a brief essay in *Show*. Donald LaBadie, "The Last Roundup," *Show* 2 (September 1962): 74–77. LaBadie argued that the appearance of singing cowboys marked the demise of the heroic Western. Margery King, "Starstruck: Andy Warhol's Marilyn and Elvis," 10, documents that Warhol owned a publicity photograph of Gene Autry.
40. In 1954, Robert Warshow reasoned that the vast expanses of the West, as well as the conflict between the cowboy/gunslinger and an evil foe, were necessary ingredients in helping to establish the moral clarity of the hero. Warshow, "Movie Chronicle: The Westerner," in *The Immediate Experience: Movies, Comics, Theatre and Other Aspects of Popular Culture* (New York: Atheneum, 1974), 135–54. The same essay appeared as "The Gunfighter as Moral Hero," *WFMT Perspective* 11, no. 1 (1962): 22–29.
41. Bradford R. Collins reaches a similar conclusion about the image in his essay on Warhol's erotic art. Collins, "Beyond the Pleasure Principle: Warhol's 'Erotic' Art and Film," *Southeastern College Art Conference Review* 14, no. 2 (2002): 115.
42. A student of popular culture, Warhol most certainly knew that the Lone Ranger's horse was named Silver. Although critics and scholars frequently link silver with film and mirrors, Warhol saw additional associations. In his remembrance of the 1960s, he stated: "Silver was the future, it was spacy—the astronauts wore silver suits—Shepard, Grisom, and Glenn had already been up in them [rockets], and their equipment was silver too." Warhol and Hackett, *Popism*, 64–65.
43. Warshow, "Movie Chronicle: The Westerner," 153.
44. Mitchell, *Westerns: Making the Man*, has tracked the mutation of the cowboy in twentieth-century American culture. See, too, Paul H. Carlson, *The Cowboy Way: An Exploration of History and Culture* (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2000); Robert V. Hine and John Mack Faragher, *The American West: A New Interpretive History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); John H. Lenihan, *Showdown: Confronting Modern America in the Western Film* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980); William W. Savage Jr., *The Cowboy Savage: His Image in American History and Culture* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979); and Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Atheneum, 1992).
45. For instance, see the following studies: John G. Cawelti, "Prolegomena to the Western," *Studies in Public Communication* 4 (Fall 1962): 57–70; Barnard De Voto, "Phaëton on Gunsmoke Trail," *Harper's Magazine* 209 (December 1954): 10–11, 14, 16; idem, "Birth of an Art," *Harper's Magazine* 211 (December 1955): 8–9, 12, 14, 16; Marshall McLuhan, "Horse Opera and Soap Opera" (1951), in *The Mechanical Bride: Folklore of Industrial Man* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), 154–57; Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (New York: Vintage Books, 1950), 98–125; and Warshow, "Movie Chronicle: The Westerner."
46. David R. Shumway, "Watching Elvis," in *The Other Fifties: Interrogating Midcentury American Icons*, ed. Joel Foreman (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 124–43.
47. "People," *Time* 69 (April 8, 1957): 34.
48. Meyer, "Warhol's Clones," 101. Warhol made the link between cowboys and sexual adventure explicit in his 1963 film *Haircut* by dressing one of the actors (Freddie Herko) in a cowboy hat, the only reference to Westerns in a film otherwise given over to the activity identified in its title. For analysis of the film, see Koch, *Stargazer*, 52–58; Wayne Koestenbaum, *Andy Warhol* (New York: Viking Press, 2001), 70–74; and Wolf, *Andy Warhol, Poetry, and Gossip*, 39–43. Two decades later Warhol wrote: "I always thought cowboys looked like hustlers. That's nice. Cowboys and hustlers are quiet. They don't know many words." Warhol, *America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985), 165.
49. Greil Marcus, *Double Trouble: Bill Clinton and Elvis Presley in a Land of No Alternatives* (New York: Picador U.S.A., 2000), 182–83. More aggressively, Albert Goldman summarized Presley's films thus: "After the army, Elvis appears very delicate and vulnerable, as if he were recovering from major surgery. He wrings his hands as he talks. He has become extremely wary. With his preposterous Little Richard conk, his limp wrist, girlish grin and wobbly knees, which now turn out instead of in, he looks outrageously gay." Goldman, "The Fun Years," in *The Elvis Reader: Texts and Sources on the King of Rock 'n' Roll*, ed. Kevin Quain (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 203.
50. In 1965, art critic Philip Leider wrote: "Warhol's activities in the film treat much more openly that mockery of prescriptive values which is only implicit in his paintings. . . ." Leider, "Saint Andy: Some Notes on an Artist Who, for a Large Section of a Younger Generation, Can Do No Wrong," *Artforum* 3 (February 1965): 27. Leider wrote this before Warhol produced his parodic Westerns.
51. Warhol's comments on his early films are equally pertinent for the Presley series: "I made my earliest films using, for several hours, just one actor on the screen doing the same thing: eating or sleeping or smoking. I did this because people usually go to the movies to see only the star. . . ." Warhol, quoted in Gretchen Berg, "Nothing to Lose" (1967), reprinted in O'Pray, *Andy Warhol: Film Factory*, 56–57.
52. *Horse* remains relatively unknown and insufficiently researched among Warhol's films. An essay by Gregory Battcock, "Four Films by Andy Warhol" (1967), reprinted in O'Pray, *Andy Warhol: Film Factory*, 45, notes briefly the parodic play with Western convention that "reveals the disguised eroticism of the genre." *Lonesome Cowboys* has been subjected to extensive analysis and critique. For instance, see Mark Finch, "Rio Limp: Lonesome Cowboys and Gay Cinema," in O'Pray, 112–17; Koch, *Stargazer*, 104–13; and Thomas Waugh, "Cockteaser," in *Pop Out: Queer Warhol*, ed. Jennifer Doyle, Jonathan Flatley, and José Esteban Muñoz (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1996), 51–77.
53. The refusal to imbibe alcohol and the resulting necessity to fight other men to prove one's manhood figured as a pivotal scene in the 1952 film *Shane*. Mitchell, *Westerns: Making the Man*, 218–19, draws out the gender implications of this scenario. According to Ronald Tavel, Warhol had an extensive library of books devoted to Hollywood. It therefore seems reasonable to conclude that his treatment of film convention was highly learned. On Tavel's recollection, see Koch, *Stargazer*, 12. Tavel also asserted that he and Warhol were constantly working against convention; see his comments on *Horse* in Stein and Plimpton, *Edie*, 237–39; and Tavel, interview by Patrick S. Smith, in Smith, *Andy Warhol's Art and Films*, 496–500.
54. Old Tucson was often used as a ghost town in film and television Westerns. Angell, "Andy Warhol, Filmmaker," 183. Warhol recalled that the cast and crew stayed on a dude ranch with "mementos and pictures of stars like Dean Martin and John Wayne and stills from an O.K. Corral movie," which must have provided a convenient foil for Warhol's movie about "a one-woman all-fag cowboy town." Warhol and Hackett, *Popism*, 261, 259.
55. Mitchell, *Westerns: Making the Man*, 150–87, sees display of the male body, whether clothed or seminude, as a defining feature of the Western.
56. In his classic study of the West, Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land*, 120–21, drew attention to cowboy clothing.
57. McLuhan, "Horse Opera and Soap Opera," 157.
58. Standing in between the silver Elvise from the summer of 1963 and the film Westerns from 1965 and 1968 are the colored screen paintings from 1964 that, as Meyer, "Warhol's Clones," 101, and others have noted, deliberately dress Presley as gay icon through lavender pants, hot red shirt, and made-up face. See Sara Doris, "Your Fifteen Minutes Are Up: Fame, Obsolescence, and Camp in Warhol's Star Portraits, 1962–1967," in *Reframing Andy Warhol: Constructing American Myths, Heroes, and Cultural Icons*, ed. Wendy Grossman, exh. cat., Art Gallery at the University of Maryland, College Park, 1998, 34; and Cécile Whiting, *A Taste for Pop: Pop Art, Gender, and Consumer Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 162. One senses here both an elaboration on what was perhaps covert the summer before and an act of vengeance on Hollywood for the commercial failure of the 1963 Ferus exhibition. The combined elements of flamboyance and archness, evident in *Elvis I and II* (1964, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto), characterized Warhol's studio the Factory over the next few years. For a reproduction, see Frei and Printz, *Paintings and Sculpture*, 372–73.
59. Identity as performance is a core element in Warhol's films. For an introduction to this large topic, see Steven Shaviro, *The Cinematic Body* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 201–39. Ronald Tavel, in Stein and Plimpton, *Edie*, 237, insisted that his films with Warhol, including *Horse*, were concerned with "image and display."
60. In addition to his silk-screen paintings and prints and his films, Warhol's writing also investigated American experience. Warhol, *The Philosophy of Andy Warhol (From A to B and Back Again)* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1975) and *America*.
61. See Warhol and Hackett, *Popism*, 13–14. Of the Abstract Expressionists, Jackson Pollock was often linked to the myth of the cowboy, a point lamented by the critic Harold Rosenberg, "The Search for Jackson Pollock," *Artnews* 59 (February 1961): 35, 58–60. One wonders whether Warhol's interest in the cowboy was linked, in some small way, to his lifelong interest in Pollock.
62. The standard story of Warhol's relationship with Johns and Rauschenberg is recounted in Warhol and Hackett, *Popism*, 11–13; and Bockris, *Warhol*, 128–30.

63. On Warhol's stylistic debts to Johns and Rauschenberg in the early 1960s, see Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, "Andy Warhol's One-Dimensional Art, 1956–1966" (1989), reprinted in *Andy Warhol*, ed. Annette Michelson (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2001), 19–25.
64. After opening at the Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute in Utica, New York, in February, the exhibition was installed at the original site at Lexington Avenue and Twenty-fifth Street, where it ran from April 6 to 28. According to the critic David Bourdon, Warhol visited the exhibition in New York. Bourdon, *Warhol* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1989), 140–42. *Art in America* devoted a special section to the anniversary exhibition and described *Nude Descending* as the painting that "infuriated, baffled and captivated the crowds." Joseph S. Trovato, "Armory Show in Utica," *Art in America* 51, no. 1 (1963): 55. See, too, "The Glorious Affair," *Time* 81 (April 5, 1963): 58–67; and Sidney Tillim, "Dissent on the Armory Show," *Arts Magazine* 37 (May–June 1963): 96–101.
65. On Duchamp and Warhol's early Pop art, see, among other studies, Amelia Jones, *Postmodernism and the En-Gendering of Marcel Duchamp* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 51–54; and P. Smith, *Andy Warhol's Art and Films*.
66. P. Smith, *Andy Warhol's Art and Films*, 92–93, notes that with the purchase of a *Box in a Valise* (1935–41) and a copy of Robert Lebel's monograph *Marcel Duchamp* (1959), the years 1962 to 1963 marked Warhol's greatest interest in Duchamp. For reproductions of *Campbell's Soup Cans* and *Storm Door*, respectively, see Frei and Printz, *Paintings and Sculpture*, 62–77, 40.
67. Malanga, interview by Patrick S. Smith (1978), in Smith, *Andy Warhol's Art and Films*, 395: "I introduced the multiple image in these paintings. I deliberately moved the image over to create a jump effect, and he [Warhol] liked it. So, we used it." See, too, Malanga's comments in Stein and Plimpton, *Edie*, 206. Through his training at Carnegie Tech in the 1940s, Warhol was most certainly familiar with László Moholy-Nagy's *Vision in Motion* (Chicago: Paul Theobald, 1947). This study contained many images of motion, including Duchamp's *Nude Descending a Staircase* (249).
68. Nicolas Calas argued that Duchamp's contribution to modern art was the introduction of modern technology, one result of which was the suggestion of "movement" and "cinematic pace of figures." Calas, "The Brothers Duchamp All at Once," *Artnews* 55 (February 1957): 25. Robert Lebel argued that the inspiration for *Nude Descending* was the cinema and photochronographs, while the cover of his monograph featured a black-and-white time-lapse photograph of Duchamp descending a staircase. Lebel, *Marcel Duchamp*, trans. George Heard Hamilton (New York: Paragraphic Books, 1959), 8, cover. The image of Duchamp in motion had already appeared in *Life* magazine. Winthrop Sergeant, "Dada's Daddy," *Life* 32 (April 28, 1952): 100. Lawrence D. Steefel Jr. noted Duchamp's "interest in the machine, in the erotic, in motion. . . ." in "Review of Marcel Duchamp, *The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even*," *Art Journal* 21, no. 1 (Fall 1961): 44.
As further evidence of Warhol's close reading of art criticism at the time, as well as his thorough interest in Duchamp, I offer the following parallel: Warhol's famous statement that he wanted to be a machine, recorded in an interview with Gene Swenson in the summer of 1963, followed Calas's consideration of machine aesthetics in Duchamp's work. Calas, 26, wondered, "If the product of a man's skill can be a work of art why should not a machine produce a work of art?" G. R. Swenson, "What Is Pop Art?" pt. 1, *Artnews* 62 (November 1963): 26.
69. Helen Wurdemann, "In Pasadena—a Duchamp Retrospective," *Art in America* 51, no. 3 (1963): 140, 142.
70. *Ibid.*, 142.
71. Lebel, *Marcel Duchamp*, 11, 1.
72. *Ibid.*, 43–48.
73. See Marcel Duchamp, *The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even*, trans. George Heard Hamilton (New York: George Wittenborn, 1960), n.p. In his brief review of the book, Jasper Johns drew attention to the bachelors "'shooting' once each" in Duchamp's "'Hilarious' glass house." Johns, "The Green Box," *Scrap*, December 23, 1960, 4, reprinted in Joseph Mashek, ed., *Marcel Duchamp in Perspective* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1975), 110.
74. Also included in the Armory Show and the Pasadena retrospective was *The King and Queen Surrounded by Swift Nudes* (1912, Philadelphia Museum of Art), whose title provides another instance of coupling male and female royalty that may have shaped Warhol's thinking about his second Ferus Gallery exhibition. In 1962, Liz Taylor played a queen in her film *Cleopatra*. The film was reviewed in spring 1963 as the latest Hollywood extravaganza and the costliest film in history. See "Cleopatra Barges in at Last," *Life* 54 (April 19, 1963): 72–81. By 1958, Presley was known as the "king" of rock and roll. See "Rock 'n' Roll Rolls On 'n' On," *Life* 45 (December 22, 1958): 37–43.
On the retrospective, see Dickran Tashjian, "Nothing Left to Chance: Duchamp's First Retrospective," in *West Coast Duchamp*, ed. Bonnie Clearwater (Miami Beach, Fla.: Grassfield Press, 1991), 60–83.
75. Irving Blum, telephone conversation with author, November 2, 2001. Coplans, "Andy Warhol and Elvis Presley," 49, reported that Blum and Warhol agreed, by phone, to show both the Presley and Taylor images in the exhibition as long as they appeared in separate rooms. This suggests that Warhol was already thinking about a gender split in the installation.
76. Marcel Duchamp, "The Creative Act," *Artnews* 56 (June–August 1957): 29.
77. The subject of continuous tabloid speculation, Presley's relationships with several actresses in the early 1960s are thoroughly chronicled in Peter Guralnick, *Careless Love: The Unmaking of Elvis Presley* (New York: Back Bay Press, 1999).
78. Danieli, "Art Forms," 9.
79. Danieli, *ibid.*, read the treatment of Taylor as hostile, noting the "oversized clown mouth" and "lurid, Martian green" of her eye shadow. That summer, Richard Oulahan dismissed Taylor's performance in *Cleopatra*, writing that "when she tries to be the imperious, conniving, cruel Queen of Egypt, her eyes flash from batwing frames of mascara and sequins. . . ." Oulahan, "Cleo Finally Gets Here—Is She Worth \$40 Million?" *Life* 54 (June 21, 1963): 30. Reading Warhol's installation as a homage to *The Large Glass*, with the figures of Presley and Taylor as bachelor and bride, suggests an additional coupling: the cowboy's traditional partner as either the stereotypical schoolmarm from the East or the hooker with the heart of gold. Given Taylor's picturesque love life, one would have to dismiss the former as a possibility.
Although produced in the summer of 1963 as part of the series sent to the Ferus, the *Silver Liz* in the collection of the Andy Warhol Museum (Fig. 20) may not have made the trip west. See Frei and Printz, *Paintings and Sculpture*, 402.
80. On Taylor's love life, see "Poor, Dear Little Cleopatra. . . ." *Life* 52 (April 13, 1962): 32–41. She appeared in every issue of *Photoplay* in the eighteen months before Malanga and Warhol prepared the silk-screen portraits for the Ferus exhibition. Presley and Taylor shared the cover of the May 30, 1960, issue of *Popular Screen*. See, too, I. G. Edmonds, *Hollywood R.I.P.* (Evanston, Ill.: Regency Books, 1963), 145–49. A copy of this book can be found in the Archives, Andy Warhol Museum.
81. Edmonds, *Hollywood R.I.P.*, 148. Warhol produced several paintings with Taylor as their subject in 1962, including *Daily News*, *Men in Her Life*, and *Liz as Cleopatra*. Frei and Printz document the sources and production of these paintings in *Paintings and Sculpture*, 175–77, 180, 268–75. See, too, P. Smith, *Andy Warhol's Art and Films*, 118–22.
82. For a reproduction, see Frei and Printz, *Paintings and Sculpture*, 392.
83. Duchamp, quoted in Harold C. Schonberg, "Creator of *Nude Descending* Reflects after Half a Century," *New York Times*, April 12, 1963, 25.
84. Swenson, "What Is Pop Art?" 26, reprinted in Madoff, *Pop Art*, 103.
85. Warhol, quoted in Berg, "Nothing to Lose," 57.