

A box of ^{eleven*} ten photographs,
Annie Arbus 1970

*especially for B.F.

5/50



A young family in Brooklyn going for a Sunday outing. Their baby is named Alan. Their son is retarded. N.Y. 1966.

A young family in Brooklyn going for a Sunday outing. Their baby is named Glenn. Their son is Robert. N.Y. 1949.



1/10/49

A young family in Brooklyn on a Sunday outing. 1966. Diana and Bob



A young man in curlers dressing for an annual drag ball 1966



2591 Shot for the documentary on the history of the documentary film industry in Brooklyn on a Sunday morning 1966 William Waller Paisley
Carpenter family in Brooklyn on a Sunday morning 1966 William Waller Paisley

A young man in urless dressing for an annual drag ball
NY 1966
Blanca Lerdo



Retired man and his wife at home in a nudist camp in N.J. one morning. On the
TV set are framed photographs of each other 1963



5150

Harold Lloyd 63

It was a young man in a suit who was dressing for an annual drag ball
in 1961. He was in a room in a hotel in New York City. He was
the first person to be dressed as a woman in a drag ball.
He was the first person to be dressed as a woman in a drag ball.
He was the first person to be dressed as a woman in a drag ball.

husband and wife at home in nudist camp in N.J. 1963 allan kelce



identical twins Cathleen (l) and Colleen, members of a twin club in N.J. 1966.

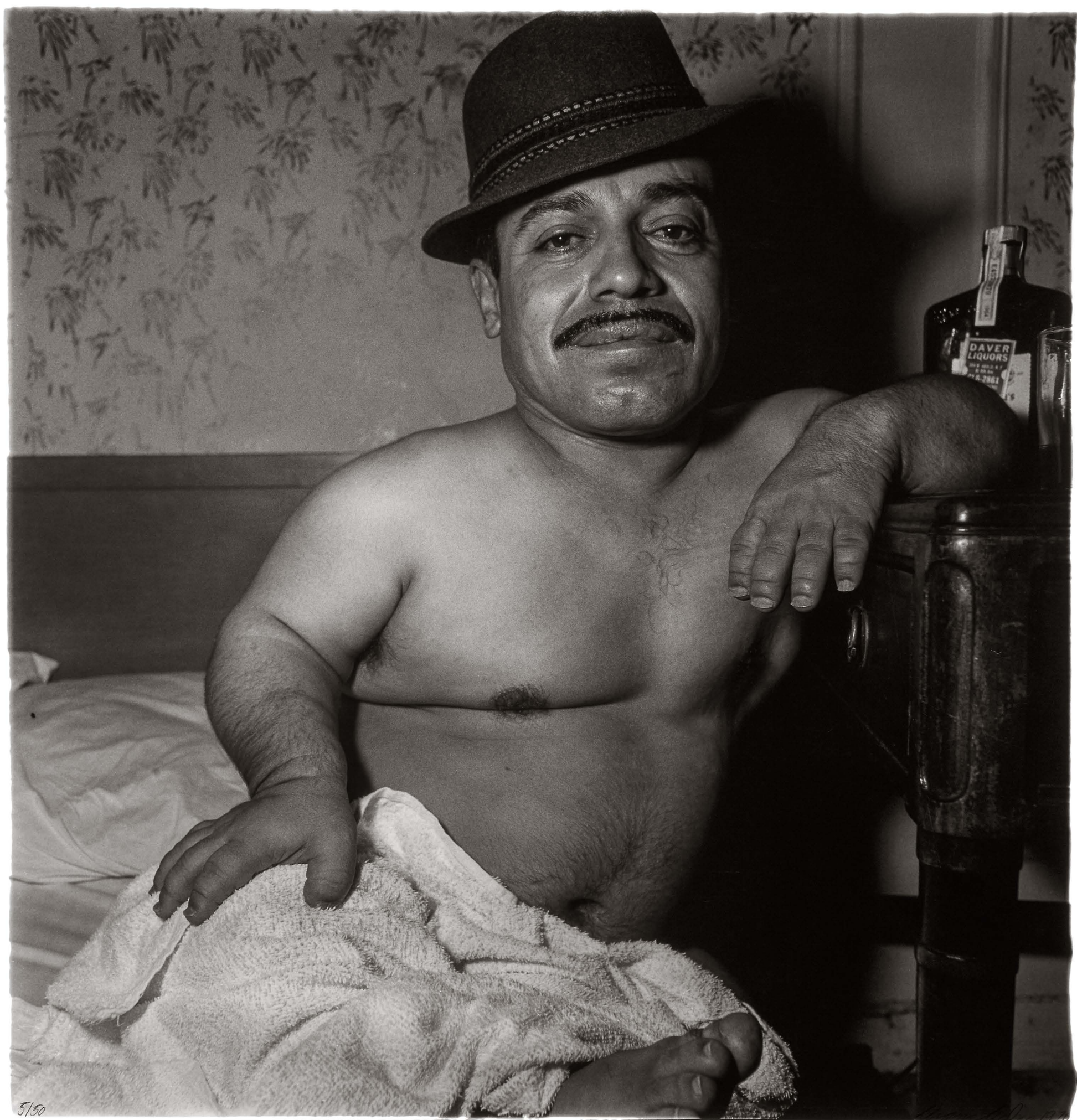


identical twins (of our Italian
husband and wife) who came in N.Y. 1963
about 7. 1964
in a town of a town

identical twins, Roselle N.J. 1966 *Huanella*



Lauro Morales, a Mexican dwarf, in his hotel room in New York City. 1970



5/50. (Caro Marston, a Mexican drunk, in his room in New York City. 1979. identical twins, Roselle N. J., 1960)

Louie Morales, a Mexican dwarf in his hotel room N.Y.C. 1970 *duaned*



Xmas tree in a living room in Levittown, Long Is., N.Y. 1962



5/50

11/10/11 11:00 AM

5021 N.Y. 25 and, mounted in room, purchased in Westchester, N.Y. 1964
Laura Morales, a Mexican dwarf, in her room, same



This is Eddie Carmel, a Jewish giant, ~~in~~ with his parents in the living room of their home in the Bronx N.Y. 1970

Knee tree in a living room, Leittown Long Is. N.Y. 1962 ~~Ed Carmel~~



Eddie Carmel, Jewish giant and his parents, Bronx N.Y. 1970 *Shane Roberts*

patric boy with straw hat, buttons and flags waiting to march in a pro-war parade in N.Y.C. 1967.

patrotic boy with straw hat buttons and flag NYC. 1967
Hannah



their numbers were picked out of a hat. They were just chosen King and Queen
of a Senior Citizens dance in NYC. Yetta Granet is seventy-two and
Charles Fahrer is seventy-nine. They have never met before. 1970



Charles Johnson & Beverly-Jane. They have never met before but they are in the picture camera in the picture. Their numbers were picked out of a hat. They were just chosen King and Queen of a Senior Citizens Club in the picture camera in the picture. Beverly-Jane is Beverly-Jane and Charles Johnson is Charles Johnson.

King and Queen of a senior citizens dance N.Y. 1970 *Blumell/Rob*



A family on the lawn one Sunday in Westchester in June 1968 *Kennebec/Rob*.

*The family on the lawn overlooking the Westchester in June 1968
King and Queen of a senior citizens dance N.Y. 1970 Plumelle*



5/54

Harold's photo 1968

A family on the lawn one Sunday in Westchester in June 1968 *Alma & Bob*



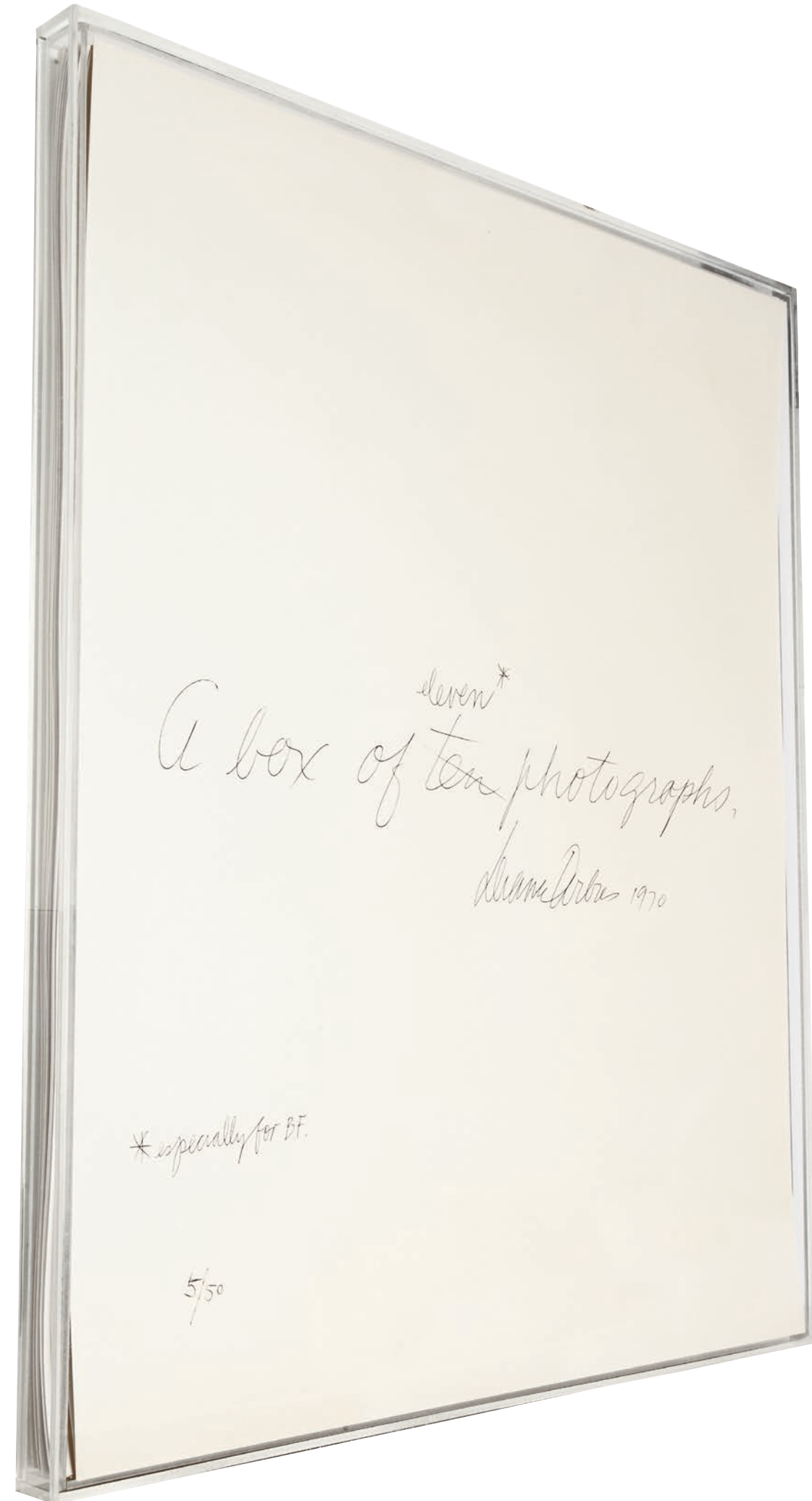
Mrs. Gladys Mitzel Ulrich with the baby, Sam, a stump-tailed macaque monkey, North Bergen, N.J. 1971

1591 T.V. Westchester in June 1968
A family on the sofa



6/50

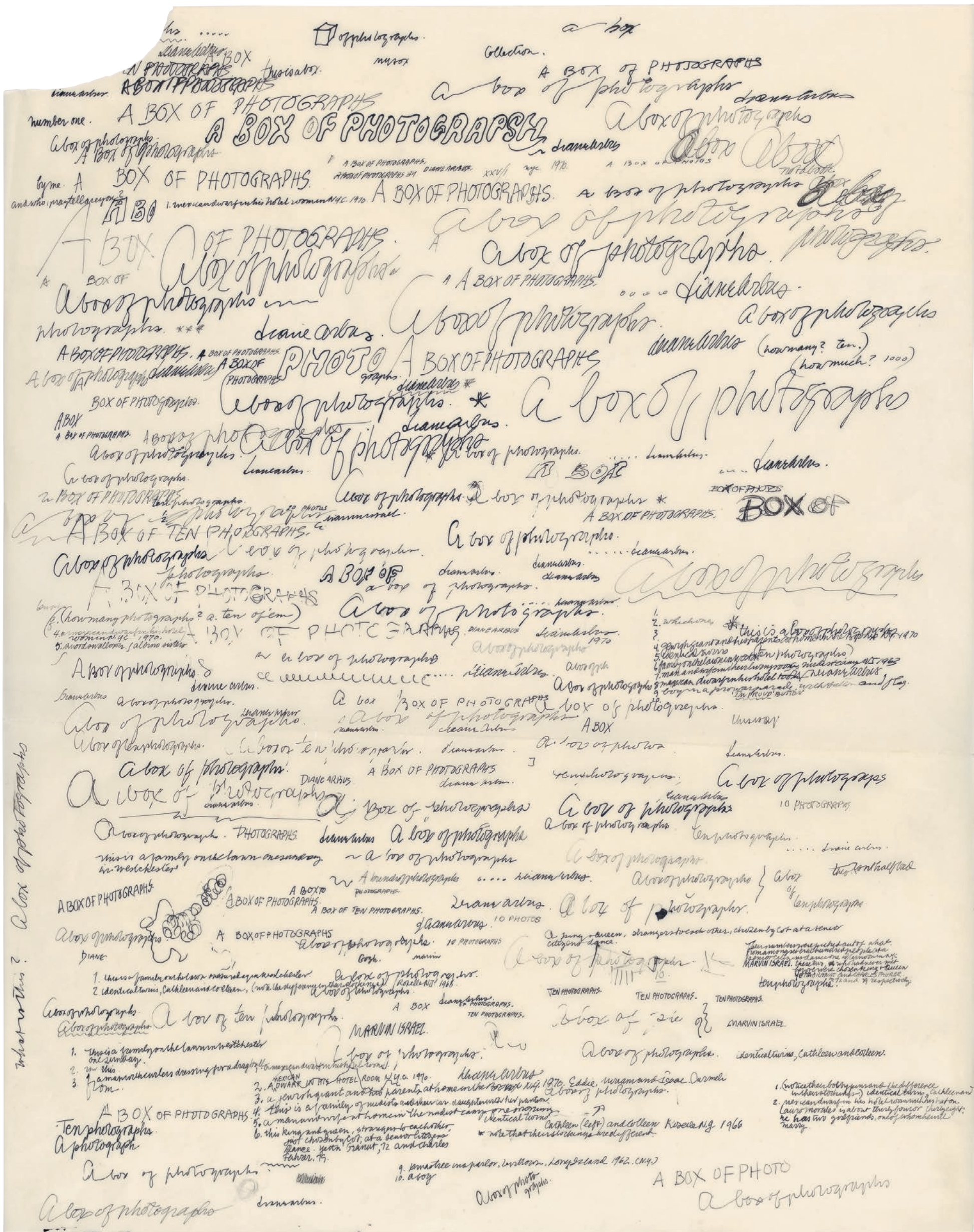
Westchester in June 1968



DIANE ARBUS
A BOX OF TEN PHOTOGRAPHS

ESSAY BY JOHN P. JACOB

APERTURE
SMITHSONIAN AMERICAN ART MUSEUM



DIANE ARBUS A BOX OF TEN PHOTOGRAPHS

They are the proof that something was there and no longer is. Like a stain.
 And the stillness of them is boggling. You can turn away but when you come back
 they'll still be there looking at you.¹

In late 1969, Diane Arbus began to work on a portfolio. She completed the printing for eight known sets of *A box of ten photographs*, as she titled it, only four of which she managed to sell — at \$1,000 each — during her lifetime. This book, and the exhibition at the Smithsonian American Art Museum that it accompanies, trace the history of *A box of ten photographs*. They build upon the biographical chronology developed for the 2003 exhibition *Diane Arbus: Revelations*, which ends with Arbus's suicide in July 1971, drawing on sources beyond the Diane Arbus Archive to track the portfolio between 1971 and 1973.² The story is a crucial one because it was the portfolio — the object designed by Marvin Israel, the selection of photographs by Arbus, the prints themselves, and the extended titles with which she accompanied them — that established the foundation for her posthumous career. After his encounter with Arbus and the portfolio, Philip Leider, then editor in chief of *Artforum* and a photography skeptic, admitted, “With Diane Arbus, one could find oneself interested in photography or not, but one could no longer . . . deny its status as art.”³ In May 1971, she was the first photographer to be featured in *Artforum*, which also showcased her work on its cover. Leider's admission of Arbus into this critical bastion of late modernism was instrumental in shifting the perception of photography and ushering its acceptance into the realm of “serious” art.

During the brief period between her death and the November 1972 retrospective of her photographs at the Museum of Modern Art, it was *A box of ten photographs* that conveyed Arbus's legacy to the world. In June 1972, the portfolio was sent to Venice, where, in another pioneering breakthrough, Arbus was the

1. Diane Arbus to Davis Pratt, Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, March 15, 1971, quoted in *Diane Arbus: Revelations* (New York: Random House, 2003), p. 226. Arbus wrote in response to a request for a brief statement about photographs. In 2007, the Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired the Diane Arbus Archive. Primary sources herein cited from *Diane Arbus: Revelations* are in the Met's Arbus Archive unless otherwise stated.

2. The chronological timeline, drawing from Arbus's archive, was developed by Doon Arbus and Elisabeth Sussman for the 2003 exhibition and catalogue *Diane Arbus: Revelations. Diane Arbus: A Chronology* (New York: Aperture, 2011) contains the same material without illustrations and was published as a separate paperback volume. While two biographies of Arbus have been published without the cooperation of the Arbus Estate, one by Patricia Bosworth in 1984 and another by Arthur Lubow in 2016, *Diane Arbus: Revelations* remains the authoritative document on Arbus's life.

3. Philip Leider, *Sotheby's (Photography)*, October 16, 2004, p. 150.

OPPOSITE: ARBUS'S 24-BY-20-INCH VELLUM PRACTICE SHEET FOR THE PORTFOLIO.
 PAGES 52, 55, 58, 63, 64, 98, 100: DIANE ARBUS AT A RHODE ISLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN SEMINAR IN 1970. PHOTOGRAPHS BY STEPHEN A. FRANK.



first photographer included in a Biennale, at that time the premiere international showcase for contemporary artists. There Hilton Kramer, writing for the *New York Times*, declared it a sensation. Its story also coincides with that of this museum, for it was the Smithsonian American Art Museum, then known as the National Collection of Fine Arts, that organized the American contribution to the Biennale, thereby playing an important early role in Arbus's legacy. Finally, it is a necessary history because *A box of ten photographs* is what we have been given directly by the artist. Much has followed in essays, books, and exhibitions that interpret and expand her oeuvre, but only *A box of ten photographs* was completed by Arbus herself, and it alone offers an unmediated self-reflection on her work. This is the first exhibition to focus exclusively on *A box of ten photographs*, using the eleven-print set that Arbus assembled specially for Bea Feitler. It was acquired by the museum in 1986 and is the only one of the four portfolios completed and sold by Arbus that is publicly held.

A BEGINNING: 1923–1956

In 1972, *Time* magazine's art critic Robert Hughes wrote that Arbus's work "has had such an influence on other photographers that it is hard to remember how original it was: the flat, documentary exactness, the stiff poses, the unforgiving hardness and clarity, the cumulative sense of a world made of irrevocably distinct objects."⁴ One might imagine that any artist so influential must also have been famous and that she enjoyed the fruits of her fame. Arbus was not, and she did not. She was born on March 14, 1923, into an affluent New York City family. Her maternal grandparents were the founders of Russek's, a Fifth Avenue department store that began as a fur emporium and later, under her father, David Nemerov, successfully expanded into women's fashion. Nemerov worked at Russek's first as merchandising director, then fashion director and vice president, and eventually president. He and Diane's mother, Gertrude Russek, were married in 1919.

4. Robert Hughes, "Art: To Hades with Lens," *Time*, November 13, 1972, p. 84.

Born in the family apartment at 115 West 73rd Street, Diane Nemerov grew up at 1133 Park Avenue (1924–1929) and 1185 Park Avenue (1929–1941) with an older brother, Howard, and a younger sister, Renée. All would pursue artistic careers, Howard becoming an acclaimed poet and Renée a visual artist. The family's wealth largely shielded the children from the effects of the Great Depression, and Diane recalled in an interview with Studs Terkel having few memories of it.⁵ She experienced the family fortune as a humiliation and disliked visits with her mother to Russek's, where she felt like "a princess in some loathsome movie."⁶ Diane attended the Ethical Culture School from 1928 until her graduation in 1940. Founded by social reformer Felix Adler in 1878, it was among the earliest American educational institutions to establish a full-scale photography program under geography teacher Lewis Hine in 1904. There is no evidence that Diane took an interest in photography there, but she did study art, and David Nemerov encouraged her artistic impulses. He arranged private lessons for her with an illustrator who worked at Russek's, and she attended summer arts camps in Maine and Massachusetts. But Diane secretly despised painting. "I hated painting and I quit right after high school because I was continually told how terrific I was," she explained to Terkel. "It made me feel shaky. I remember I hated the smell of the paint and the noise it would make when I put my brush to the paper. Sometimes I wouldn't really look but just listen to this horrible squish squish squish."⁷

Diane met Allan Arbus when she was thirteen, at Russek's, where he worked in the advertising department doing paste-up. They began to see each other on Saturdays, meeting surreptitiously. They attended exhibitions together, including the influential *Photography: 1839–1937* (1937) and *Walker Evans: American Photographs* (1938) at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA). Diane and Allan were married on April 10, 1941; she was eighteen years old. Allan bought Diane a Graflex 2¼-by-3¼-inch camera, and she enrolled in a short course in photography with Berenice Abbott at the New School for Social Research. Abbott's guidance was mainly technical, and Diane conveyed all that she learned from Abbott to Allan. "We were living, breathing photography at every moment," he later recalled.⁸ When Allan showed David Nemerov a series of fashion-like photographs they made together with Diane as model, he invited them to photograph for Russek's newspaper ads, launching their career in studio photography.

When the United States entered World War II, Allan enlisted in the army and was assigned to the Photography Division of the Signal Corps. He shipped out to India in 1944 and returned to New York after his discharge in 1946. A daughter, Doon, was born during his absence in 1945. With help from David Nemerov they rented studio space and bought equipment, including a Deardorff 5-by-7-inch view camera. Using the credit line "Diane & Allan Arbus," they began the partnership that would sustain and frustrate them during the coming decade. As they established a reputation for the studio, their photographs appeared in *Glamour*,

5. Diane Arbus, radio interview by Studs Terkel, WFMT Chicago, 1968, quoted in Elisabeth Sussman and Doon Arbus, "A Chronology," in *Diane Arbus: Revelations*, p. 124.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid., p. 129.

8. Allan Arbus, interview by Arthur Lubow, New York, August 14, 2003, quoted in Arthur Lubow, *Diane Arbus: Portrait of a Photographer* (New York: Ecco, 2016), p. 45.

Vogue, and other fashion magazines. In April 1947, *Glamour* featured them in the article “Mr. & Mrs. Inc.” among case studies of married couples with happily shared careers. “Diane and Allan Arbus found their forte in photography. . . . Working very slowly and carefully, they compose in the camera instead of relying on cropping and other mechanical photographic tricks. Result, a distinctive Arbus quality which includes elements of portraiture and fantasy.”⁹ Allan was a meticulous photographer, fastidious in the darkroom, and would remain a dependable resource for Diane even after their partnership ended.

Allan described their studio work as “idea pictures,” recalling, “For some reason we couldn’t work without an idea and ninety percent of them were Diane’s.”¹⁰ He set up the lights and camera and took the photographs. Diane directed, a role she increasingly regarded as that of a glorified stylist. She decided on the concept, chose models and styling, and regularly shopped their portfolio to editors and art directors. Individually, each also continued to make his or her own photographs. A second daughter, Amy, was born in 1954. In 1955 Diane attended a workshop at the New School with Alexey Brodovitch, which she found useless. That year a Diane & Allan Arbus photograph made for *Vogue*, showing a father and son reading a newspaper together on a sofa, was selected by Edward Steichen for his landmark exhibition *The Family of Man* at MoMA. With accompanying texts by poet Carl Sandburg, the exhibition toured internationally for eight years and was seen by more than nine million visitors. Despite their apparent success, neither Diane nor Allan was satisfied by fashion work, and in 1956 they ended their partnership. They were formally separated in 1959. Allan kept the studio open, retaining the shared credit until 1969, when they were divorced and he relocated to California to further a career in acting.

MAGAZINE WORK: 1956–1962

In 1956 and again in 1957, Arbus enrolled in workshops with the photographer Lisette Model, who would become one of her greatest influences. Recalling her interactions with Model, Arbus later explained her artistic transformation.

In the beginning of photographing, I used to make very grainy things. I’d be fascinated by what the grain did because it made a kind of tapestry of all these little dots and everything would be translated into this medium of dots. Skin would be the same as water would be the same as sky and you were dealing mostly with dark and light not so much in flesh and blood.¹¹

At the time, Arbus was working with a 35 mm camera, whose small negatives, when enlarged in the darkroom, might produce prints in which the grain of the film is prominent. This created the textured image that she described as a tapestry of dots, which was characteristic of much of her early post-studio

9. Quoted in Thomas W. Southall, “The Magazine Years, 1960–1971,” in Doon Arbus and Marvin Israel, eds., *Diane Arbus: Magazine Work* (Millerton, NY: Aperture, 1984), p. 152.

10. Allan Arbus, interview by Doon Arbus, February 17, 1972, quoted in Sussman and Arbus, “A Chronology,” p. 131.

11. Transcripts of Diane Arbus master class, recordings made by student Ikko Narahara, New York, January through March 1971, quoted in Sussman and Arbus, “A Chronology,” p. 141.



work.¹² While studying with Model, Arbus adopted the techniques that would define her mature work, most important, the concept of specificity. “It was my teacher, Lisette Model, who finally made it clear to me that the more specific you are the more general it’ll be,” she said.¹³

Model’s strength of character was no less important than her artistic influence. After seeing a newspaper advertisement for one of her workshops, Arbus prevailed upon Model to let her join the class. Diane, Model recalled, needed only to listen and trust her own voice. “One day I said to her, and I think this was very crucial, I said, ‘Originality means coming from the source, not like Brodovitch—at any price to do it different.’ And from there on Diane was . . . not listening to me but suddenly listening to herself.”¹⁴ Brodovitch had introduced into American media a modern graphic design style coupled with photography, always advocating artistic innovation. Intolerant of mediocrity, he insisted on novelty, famously demanding that his students and the photographers, designers, and illustrators who worked for him “astonish me.” Model, by contrast, saw originality as a subjective quality. Defined by individual vision, originality for Model began with a deep sense of self-awareness. It was above all Model’s commitment to authenticity that drew Arbus to her.

There is a second story of Arbus’s transformation, also related to her studies with Model, which occurred during a field trip to the Lower East Side of Manhattan. When Arbus told her instructor that she could not participate because she had to care for her daughters, Model suggested that she bring them along. After reaching their destination, according to Model, Arbus “came to me and she said, ‘I can’t photograph.’ And I said, ‘Why not?’ And she said, ‘Because what I want to photograph, I can’t photograph.’ And I said, ‘But darling, you must find out what it is that you really want to photograph. You must go home and think

12. Diane Arbus, *diane arbus: in the beginning*, Jeff L. Rosenheim and Karan Rinaldo (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2016).

13. Transcripts of Arbus master class, quoted in Sussman and Arbus, “A Chronology,” p. 141. Peter Bunnell put it best: “It was Model, whose own photographs show the inspired vision of an artist of fundamental human concern, who imparted to Diane the understanding that in the isolation of the human figure one could mirror the most essential aspects of society—the understanding that in a photograph the most specific details are the source of the most general conclusions.” Peter C. Bunnell, “Diane Arbus,” *The Print Collector’s Newsletter* 3, no. 6 (January–February 1973): p. 129.

14. Lisette Model, interview by Doon Arbus, February 5, 1972, quoted in Sussman and Arbus, “A Chronology,” p. 141.

about it.’ And the next session she came to me and she said, ‘I want to photograph what is evil.’”¹⁵ These are origin myths. Both were told by Model to Doon Arbus in the months after her mother’s death, and Doon retold both in subsequent reflections on her mother’s life. The point was not to suggest that Arbus herself was evil, but to account for her seemingly miraculous transformation. With Model’s encouragement, she discovered both a technique and a territory that she would make her own. “It was an absolutely magical breakthrough,” Allan observed. “After three weeks she felt totally freed and able to photograph.”¹⁶

Arbus’s metamorphosis as a photographer is difficult to comprehend through the ordinary measures of a life and a career. Nevertheless, it is the very ordinariness of her techniques and subjects during that period, the same employed by other photographers, through which her difference from them may best be distinguished. In 1956, the year of her first workshop with Model, Arbus began to number her negatives and contact sheets using a system she would maintain throughout her life. Signifying a new beginning, the roll of film marked “#1” separated the photographs that followed from all those preceding it. She began to keep an annual appointment book in 1959, as well as smaller working notebooks. These were common practices among photojournalists of the time. Eve Arnold and Inge Morath, for example, the first women members of the Magnum Photos agency during the 1950s, also used a dating system to identify stories chronologically and kept working notebooks for technical notes as well as subject and caption information.¹⁷ Arbus’s notebooks, however, were more eclectic, containing passages from her reading and quotations from friends, as well as proposals for projects and lists of potential subjects. In contrast with other photographers, whose notes were usually to remind them of past subjects and events, Arbus’s notebooks consistently looked forward to ideas and possibilities she hoped to execute in the future (fig. 1).

These practices distinguished her as serious and dedicated. Yet her photographs during the late 1950s were often made in locations—Times Square, Central Park, Sammy’s on the Bowery, Coney Island—where other photographers, particularly those associated with the New York Photo League—Model especially, but also Sid Grossman, Weegee, and Morris Engel—had worked.¹⁸ She regularly visited Hubert’s Dime Museum and Flea Circus, a Times Square sideshow act, and Club 82, a nightclub where female impersonators performed. As photography historian Thomas W. Southall noted, at this point in her career she was “less intent on extracting from the experience a single, entirely self-sufficient image than in portraying, through a series of photographs, the people and atmosphere of a particular place.”¹⁹ The professional milieu into which Arbus was inserting herself was, like her mentor, that of the magazine photographer. Although not conceived by Arbus for magazine stories, her serial technique with these early subjects was characteristic of photojournalism.

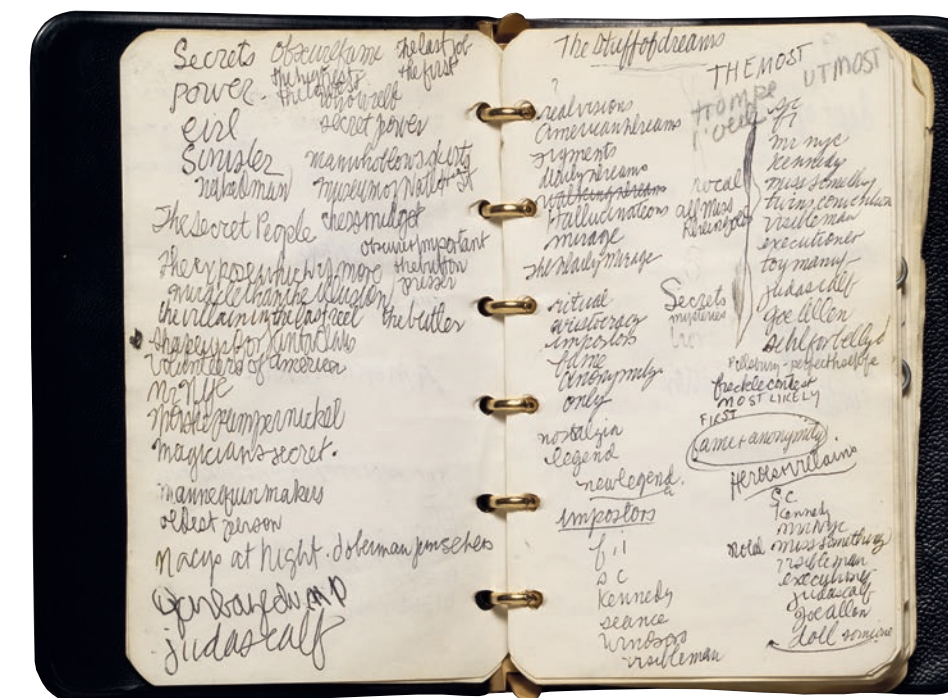


FIG. 1: A SPREAD FROM ONE OF DIANE ARBUS’S NOTEBOOKS, NO. 9, 1962 (PP. 4–5)

In 1959, Arbus’s introduction to Robert Benton, art director at *Esquire*, and her reacquaintance with Marvin Israel, former art director at *Seventeen* and soon to occupy the same position at *Harper’s Bazaar*, resulted in her first important assignments. *Esquire*, then undertaking a redefinition of its editorial content, had become a leading publisher of New Journalism, a style of news writing in which reporters, such as Gay Talese and Norman Mailer, inserted themselves into their stories and rebelled against the objective voice of traditional journalism. The magazine’s editorial shift was paralleled in its use of visual content, including photography, with recent spreads by Robert Frank.²⁰ Benton and editor Harold Hayes were preparing a special edition on New York City when they met Arbus and were so impressed with her photographs that they initially considered assigning her the entire issue. Fearing that to do so might overwhelm the project, they commissioned a single portfolio of photographs and helped secure a wider range of subjects than she had had access to previously. “The Vertical Journey: Six Movements of a Moment within the Heart of the City” appeared in July 1960. Six portraits by Arbus—from Andrew Ratoucheff, a Russian sideshow actor whom she had met at Hubert’s, to Flora Knapp Dickinson, honorary regent of the Washington Heights Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution—were accompanied by short captions edited by Benton and Hayes from her detailed notes.

In late 1960, Arbus proposed a follow-up for *Esquire* on eccentrics. Benton and Hayes initially approved the project, and she worked on it over a period of at least six months.²¹ After they declined it, purportedly on the grounds that the photographs were too similar to those of “The Vertical Journey,”

15. Lisette Model, interview by Doon Arbus, quoted in “Diane Arbus: Photographer,” *Ms.*, October 1972, p. 52. In the article Doon Arbus wrote, “I think what she meant was not that it was evil, but that it was forbidden, that it had always been too dangerous, too frightening, or too ugly for anyone else to look on. She was determined to reveal what others had been taught to turn their backs on.”

16. Allan Arbus, interview by Doon Arbus, February 17, 1972, quoted in Sussman and Arbus, “A Chronology,” p. 141.

17. On the techniques of Arnold and Morath, see Janine di Giovanni, *Eve Arnold* (New York: Magnum Foundation and Prestel, 2015), and the forthcoming biography of Morath by Linda Gordon in the same series.

18. Although Model never showed students her own photographs, she often gave them assignments to work in locations where she had photographed.

19. Southall, “The Magazine Years,” p. 152.

20. Robert Frank, “A Hard Look at the New Hollywood,” *Esquire*, March 1959, pp. 51–65.

21. The letter of proposal from Arbus to Hayes is dated February 16, 1961, and the letter from Hayes to Arbus returning the manuscript is dated August 25, 1961, indicating a six-month work period. Southall, “The Magazine Years,” p. 157n13, 15. However, in an undated letter to photographer George Fry, circa 1970–71, Arbus referred to having worked on the story for eight months. See also note 72 on page 69 in this essay. Diane Arbus to George Fry, undated (circa 1970–71), collection of George Fry.



Marvin Israel published it in *Harper's Bazaar*.²² Arbus had likely met Israel when she and Allan were fashion photographers and he was art director at *Seventeen*. When they met again, Israel and Arbus were struck by the parallels in their lives. Each came from a well-to-do family with parents in the garment industry, and both had attended the Ethical Culture School (Israel only briefly). Israel had gone on to study with Josef Albers and Brodovitch at Yale and was teaching design and painting at Parsons School of Design. At *Harper's Bazaar*, Israel followed and expanded upon Brodovitch's example in his work with radically independent photographers. His assistant, Ruth Ansel, later said of Israel's innovation, "With Marvin . . . you never just ran a beautiful portfolio of extraordinarily beautiful women retouched. You ran also a Diane Arbus portfolio of strange people who tattooed their body and lived on the Bowery to have a counterbalance."²³

"The Full Circle," Arbus's portfolio on eccentrics, was published in the November 1961 issue of *Harper's Bazaar*. As originally conceived, it presented six subjects with extensive texts drawn from her notes. The magazine declined to include one subject, *Miss Stormé de Larverie, the Lady Who Appears to Be a Gentleman*, whose portrait was deemed by editor Nancy White to be too discomfiting for readers. Nevertheless, in introducing her as a writer and printing text and images exactly as she intended, the portfolio was both unique within the magazine and a significant milestone for Arbus. The story was subsequently published in full in the February 1962 issue of *Infinity*, the magazine of the American Society of Magazine Photographers, with Arbus's portrait *William Mack, Sage of the Wilderness* on the cover.

22. According to Southall, the editors "felt the photographs were too similar to those of 'The Vertical Journey' and, perhaps, too difficult to publish" ("The Magazine Years," p. 157). However, Arbus wrote to her daughter Doon, "*Esquire* was wildly appreciative, but . . . they admitted they probably plan to leave out Stormé [*Miss Stormé de Larverie, the Lady Who Appears to Be a Gentleman*] and Cora [*Miss Cora Pratt, The Counterfeit Lady*] for lack of space and I said I didn't know if I would agree to let them have it in that case. Meanwhile Marvin called them to say he'd like to publish it if they don't which must have made them jump and which would be wonderful but unlikely so as it stands no one has bought it and everyone likes it and its fine but I'm glad to stop thinking about it because praise is very unsettling." Diane Arbus to Doon Arbus, circa July 1961, quoted in Sussman and Arbus, "A Chronology," p. 157.

23. Quoted in Suzanne Shaheen, "Who Is Marvin Israel?," review of *Who Is Marvin Israel?*, a film by Neil Selkirk, *New Yorker*, December 6, 2011, <http://www.newyorker.com/culture/photo-booth/who-is-marvin-israel>.

Ruth Ansel's comment notwithstanding, neither *Esquire* nor *Harper's Bazaar* published another story originated by Arbus.²⁴ Although she continued to receive magazine assignments, increasingly portraits, three years would pass before another magazine included her words alongside her photographs.²⁵ When she wrote to her brother, Howard, in late 1961, the next steps were beginning to take shape. ". . . I been gloomy. Publication, although very splendid, felt a little like an obituary. I have figured out what the next thing to do is but I haven't done it. I want to find something like the eccentric event; (like I have heard of a twins convention . . . unrealized legends or archaeological delights or american rites. We'll see. I seem to have forgotten how to proceed."²⁶

RECOGNITION: 1962–1969

In 1962, Arbus began working with a Rolleiflex camera, and within a year she abandoned 35 mm film. In contrast to the latter's grainier quality, the larger negative of the medium-format camera yielded a sharper, more detailed image. "When I'd been working for a while with all these dots, I suddenly wanted terribly to get through there," she said.

I wanted to see the real differences between things. I'm not talking about textures. I really hate that, the idea that a picture can be interesting simply because it shows texture. . . . But I wanted to see the difference between flesh and material, the densities of different kinds of things: air and water and shiny. So I gradually had to learn different techniques to make it come clear. I began to get terribly hyped on clarity.²⁷

Arbus was initially challenged by the new camera and wrote, "I am inept and hopeless with the bigger [camera] and I no longer believe in the language of the little one, which I so loved."²⁸ Nonetheless, within a year she had mastered it, and its square frame would become a signature of her mature work. Later, when other photographers emulated her work by using medium-format and printing with black borders, she felt beleaguered by the imitators. "I hate the world of photography and photographers," she wrote Allan in 1969. "Everyone is turning to Rolleis and Portriga [the photographic paper she used] and printing with borders."²⁹

In 1963, Arbus was awarded a fellowship by the Guggenheim Foundation. The Guggenheim was among the most prestigious of fellowships available to artists and one of the few to support projects by photographers. In her proposal entitled "American Rites, Manners and Customs," she elaborated on the ideas expressed earlier in her 1961 letter to her brother:

24. *Diane Arbus: Magazine Work* lists eighteen assignments for *Esquire*, mostly portraits, and twenty-one assignments for *Harper's Bazaar*, including fashion and portraiture (pp. 172–75). A number of significant portfolios prepared for these magazines, such as "Notes on the Nudist Camp" and "Minority Pin-Ups," both for *Esquire* in 1965, went unpublished at the time and only appeared posthumously in the book *Diane Arbus: Magazine Work*.

25. "What's New: The Witch Predicts," in the January 1964 issue of *Glamour*, and "Familial Colloquies," in the July 1965 issue of *Esquire*, presented portraits with uncredited text compiled from Arbus's notes. "Mae West: Emotion in Motion," in the January 1965 issue of *Show*, presented portraits with an article written by Arbus.

26. Diane Arbus to Howard Nemerov, circa December 1961, quoted in Sussman and Arbus, "A Chronology," p. 159.

27. Diane Arbus, *Diane Arbus: An Aperture Monograph*, ed. Doon Arbus and Marvin Israel (Millerton, NY: Aperture, 1972), p. 9.

28. Diane Arbus to Lyn and Bob Meservey, circa January 1962, quoted in Sussman and Arbus, "A Chronology," p. 159.

29. Diane Arbus to Allan Arbus, circa mid-June 1969, quoted in Sussman and Arbus, "A Chronology," pp. 200–201.

There are the Ceremonies of Celebration (the Pageants, the Festivals, the Feasts, the Conventions) and the Ceremonies of Competition (Contests, Games, Sports), the Ceremonies of Buying and Selling, of Gambling, of the Law and the Show; the Ceremonies of Fame in which the Winners Win and the Lucky are Chosen or Family Ceremonies and Gatherings (the Schools, the Clubs, the Meetings). Then there are the Ceremonial Places (the Beauty Parlor, the Funeral Parlor or, simply the Parlor) and Ceremonial Costumes (what Waitresses wear, or Wrestlers), Ceremonies of the Rich, like the Dog Show, and of the Middle Class, like the Bridge Game. Or, for example: the Dancing Lesson, the Graduation, the Testimonial Dinner, the Séance, the Gymnasium and the Picnic. And perhaps the Waiting Room, the Factory, the Masquerade, the Rehearsal, the Initiation, the Hotel Lobby and the Birthday Party. The etcetera. . . . These are our symptoms and our monuments. I want simply to save them, for what is ceremonious and curious and commonplace will be legendary.³⁰

The first Guggenheim Fellow in Photography was Edward Weston in 1937, followed by Walker Evans in 1940. Looking for support of her application, Arbus visited with and showed her photographs to others in the field, including Evans and John Szarkowski.³¹ Evans, to whom she was introduced by Marvin Israel, was widely considered among the giants of twentieth-century photography. Having worked for the Resettlement (later Farm Security) Administration, a New Deal agency during the 1930s, he was the first photographer given a one-person exhibition at MoMA in 1938, and since 1965 was professor of photography at the Yale University School of Art. Arbus met with him in September and later sent a copy of her fellowship proposal for his review. He did not write a letter of reference but spoke directly with Henry Allen Moe, chief executor of the Guggenheim Foundation, on Arbus’s behalf.³²

John Szarkowski, a photographer and Guggenheim fellowship recipient in 1954, had recently succeeded Edward Steichen as director of the department of photography at MoMA. When Arbus brought in her portfolio to the museum, Szarkowski was less impressed with the work than he was with its maker. “I didn’t really like them [the photographs],” he later said.

But they were very forceful and you really felt somebody who was just enormously ambitious, really ambitious. Not in any cheap way. In the most serious way. Someone who was going to stand for no minor success. There’s something untouchable about that kind of ambition. . . . You can’t manhandle it. . . . I think she wanted every word she said, every picture she took, everything she did, I think she wanted it to be just perfect—for some great revelation to come through. Terrifying.³³

Arbus was awarded a renewal of her fellowship for her proposal entitled “The Interior Landscape” in 1966. “The [original] Fellowship enabled me to go far enough to find the way to go further,” she wrote in her second application, listing “Evangelists, Nudists, Burlesque, Masquerade, Parlor, Carnival, Triplets” among the accomplishments she hoped to build upon.³⁴

30. Typescript reproduced in *Diane Arbus: Revelations*, p. 41.

31. Previous Guggenheim Fellows in Photography named in support of Arbus’s application were Walker Evans (1940), Robert Frank (1955), Lee Friedlander (1960), and Helen Levitt (1959 and 1960). Due to prior engagements, John Szarkowski (1954) was unable to view her work until after the fellowship deadline. For the complete list of references named by Arbus, see Sussman and Arbus, “A Chronology,” p. 334n158.

32. Ibid.

33. John Szarkowski, interview by Doon Arbus, February 11, 1972, quoted in Sussman and Arbus, “A Chronology,” pp. 163–65.

Szarkowski would become one of Arbus’s most enduring and influential champions. He acquired seven prints for MoMA’s photography department in late 1964, the first of her photographs to enter a museum collection, two of which he exhibited the following year in *Recent Acquisitions: Photography*. But when he approached Arbus about an exhibition he was planning at MoMA for 1967, she responded with ambivalence. “Diane was not at all eager to exhibit her work,” Szarkowski recalled.³⁵ The time required to make the prints was an interruption, and she was wary of the attention and attendant distraction the exhibition would bring. Moreover, Szarkowski observed, Arbus “was quite conscious of the fact that what she was doing was quite different from what other photographers were doing, and she wanted a chance to complete it . . . before getting it out in public.”³⁶

Szarkowski’s exhibition *New Documents* (1967) presented Arbus, Lee Friedlander, and Garry Winogrand as prime examples of a generation of photographers directing the documentary impulse toward personal rather than social ends. Distinguishing their work from the social documentary that had dominated American photography since the 1930s, Szarkowski explained, “Their aim has not been to reform life, but to know it. What unites them is not style or sensibility: each has a distinct and personal sense of the uses of photography and the meanings of the world. What they hold in common is the belief that the commonplace is really worth looking at, and the courage to look at it with a minimum of theorizing.”³⁷ Considered radical in its time, *New Documents* presented thirty-two photographs by Arbus, and after closing in New York traveled to museums and university art galleries throughout the United States.³⁸

For Arbus, the sudden attention that accompanied the exhibition was both gratifying and onerous.³⁹ The reviews were also mixed. “She seems to respond to the grotesque in life,” Jacob Deschin reported in the *New York Times*, singling out Arbus. “Even her glamour shots—for example, a pretty young nude woman glowing as if self-illuminated—look bizarre. . . . Sometimes, it must be added, the picture borders close to poor taste.”⁴⁰ Writing for the *Nation*, Max Kozloff observed, “What these photographers have in common is a complete loss of faith in the mass media as vehicle, or even market for their work. Newsiness, from the journalistic point of view, and ‘stories,’ from the literary one, in any event, do not interest them.”⁴¹ Deschin, who began at the *Times* in 1941 as camera editor and later wrote a column called Camera View, and

34. Sussman and Arbus, “A Chronology,” p. 177.

35. John Szarkowski, interview by Doon Arbus, February 11, 1972, quoted in Sussman and Arbus, “A Chronology,” p. 184.

36. Ibid.

37. John Szarkowski, wall label, *New Documents*, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1967.

38. For details of the tour, see Sarah Hermanson Meister, ed., *Arbus Friedlander Winogrand: New Documents, 1967* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2017).

39. John Pultz, citing Marvin Israel, observed, “When the exhibition went up and Arbus gained a public persona, she was, [Israel] said, ‘absolutely horrified because all the work she had done she had understood in terms of the magazine’ where ‘it’s in a relationship to a world, to a context.’ Even as the three photographers in *New Documents* ‘had their dream fulfilled because they were called artists,’ Israel added, ‘the humanism that [had surrounded their work in the magazines] began to disappear. They had to fight in a very powerful way just to sustain themselves.’” Audiotape of a presentation at the symposium “The Photographer and the Magazine,” Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, Lawrence, February 11, 1984, quoted in John Pultz, “Searching for Diane Arbus’s ‘Family Album’ in *Her Box of Ten Photographs, Monograph*, and *Esquire*,” in Anthony W. Lee and John Pultz, eds., *Diane Arbus: Family Albums* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 2.

40. Jacob Deschin, “People Seen as Curiosity,” *New York Times*, March 5, 1967.

41. Max Kozloff, “Review of *New Documents* (May 1, 1967),” in Meister, *Arbus Friedlander Winogrand*, p. 28. Originally published as “Art (Photography),” *Nation*, May 1, 1967, pp. 571–72.

Kozloff, who wrote for *Artforum* in the 1960s and became its executive editor in the mid-1970s, represented polar generational responses to the exhibition. Kozloff wrote admiringly of Arbus that, in contrast to the surreptitious street photography of Winogrand and Friedlander, her photographs possess “an extraordinary ethical conviction” because they were made with her subjects’ consent yet make no moral claims on either subject or viewer.⁴²

In a short review entitled “Diane Arbus in ‘New Documents’” for *Arts Magazine*, Marion Magid penetrated further. Not even bothering to mention Winogrand and Friedlander, her article focused on the look exchanged between photographer, subject, and viewer in Arbus’s portraits. Noting the photographer’s attraction to human oddities, psychological oddities, and “those great American ritual oddities that so fascinated Nathaniel West,” Magid observed, “Because of its emphasis on the hidden and the eccentric, this exhibit has, first of all, the perpetual, if criminal, allure of a sideshow. One begins by simply craving to *look* at the forbidden things one has been told all one’s life not to stare at.”⁴³ One does not look at such subjects with impunity, she continued, and once having looked and “met the gaze of a midget or a female impersonator” we are implicated in an act of illicit voyeurism instigated by the photographer. The mysterious allure of Arbus’s portraits is their transactional agency. “The picture forgives us, as it were, for looking,” she concludes. “In the end, the great humanity of Diane Arbus’ art is to sanctify that privacy which she seems at first to have violated.”⁴⁴

Arbus, Friedlander, and Winogrand were among the earliest photographers to make the leap from the magazine page to the museum wall. With no financial infrastructure to support those making the transition, it was an awkward passage and by no means assured of success. New York City’s first commercial gallery devoted exclusively to photography, Helen Gee’s *Limelight*, had operated from 1954 to 1961. Gee relied on the sale of coffee and pastries to the after-theater crowd to keep the gallery afloat. Most photographs were priced under \$100, but prints by Robert Frank at \$25 and Julia Margaret Cameron at \$65 found few buyers.⁴⁵ The situation was little improved in 1967. According to Friedlander, during *New Documents*, “We all got an inquiry [about a sale] from a guard at MoMA. And it was the only inquiry. And we all, Diane and Garry and I got together because we didn’t know what [to do]. We’d never sold a print. So we got together and decided that \$25 was right. And that was the only sale we made.”⁴⁶

Lee Witkin opened the Witkin Gallery, one of the first successful photography galleries, in 1969. Its first exhibition introduced emerging talents, including Duane Michals, George Tice, and Burk Uzzle with prints priced at \$15 to \$35. Only three were sold. By contrast, Arbus’s standard price was \$100 per print,



and she relied on direct contact with museum curators, friends, and collectors for print sales.⁴⁷ After the 1964 purchase by Szarkowski for MoMA, in 1969 Henry Geldzahler and John McKendry, curators at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, purchased two prints for \$75 each.⁴⁸ David Haberstick and Eugene Ostroff at the Smithsonian Institution acquired five prints, for a total of \$125, for the History of Photography Collection of the Division of Graphic Arts and Photography at the Museum of History and Technology, now the National Museum of American History.⁴⁹ The prints were identified by Arbus as “Twins, Westchester Family, Boy and Girl (on 10th Street), Midgets, Transvestite (Transvestite with a torn stocking).”⁵⁰

Jean-Claude Lemagny, curator at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, requested twenty prints and asked Arbus for her best price. She responded that she was usually paid \$100 per print, to which he replied that was too high, and asked if she would accept \$20 to \$30 instead. “I feel paranoid and besieged,” she wrote Allan. “Partly it is the goddam honors and people wanting to see me and show me pictures just like mine and museums wanting prints for no money. (I had a letter from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France asking for 20 prints.) It all means I can’t photograph. And most of what I’ve been doing is such junk.”⁵¹ After protracted correspondence with Lemagny, a final agreement for a purchase of twenty prints, for a total of \$600, was reached.⁵² Arbus capitulated reluctantly, telling him that it was possible only because of another purchase of twenty prints by a collector intending to donate them to a museum. The second sale, proposed by Los

42. Ibid. Kozloff’s full quotation reads, “Not only has the maimed or aberrated subject *consented* to be observed but in effect he seems to have gained a curious aplomb through being observed. Arbus’ refusal to be compassionate, her revulsion against moral judgement, lends her work an extraordinary ethical conviction.”

43. Marion Magid, “Diane Arbus in ‘New Documents,’” *Arts Magazine*, April 1967, p. 54.

44. Ibid.

45. Helen Gee, *Limelight: A Greenwich Village Photography Gallery and Coffeehouse in the Fifties* (Santa Fe: University of New Mexico Press, 1997). Second edition, reissued as an ebook, with a preface by Denise Bethel (New York: Aperture, 2017).

46. Lee Friedlander, interview by Giancarlo T. Roma, “LIVE from the NYPL: Lee Friedlander with Giancarlo T. Roma: Passion Projects,” New York Public Library, New York, June 20, 2017, <https://www.nypl.org/audiovideo/live-nypl-lee-friedlander-giancarlo-t-roma-passion-projects>. In fact, as curator Sarah Hermanson Meister wrote, “At the time of *New Documents*, there were seven works by Diane Arbus in the Museum’s collection, nineteen by Friedlander, and seventeen by Winogrand.” Meister, “Newer Documents,” in *Arbus Friedlander Winogrand*, p. 11.

47. Witkin took six Arbus prints on consignment, offering them at \$175 each.

48. Karan Rinaldo, Metropolitan Museum of Art, email to author, May 31, 2017.

49. David Haberstick, National Museum of American History, email to author, June 1, 2017.

50. Sussman and Arbus, “A Chronology,” p. 340n408. In addition to the five photographs acquired for the History of Photography Collection in 1969, the Smithsonian American Art Museum holds the eleven prints contained in its set of *A box of ten photographs*, acquired in 1986, and the Smithsonian National Portrait Gallery holds five portraits by Arbus, acquired between 1992 and 2006, including *Frank Stella*, 1966; *James Brown*, 1966; *Claes Oldenburg (with Pat Oldenburg)*, 1966; *H. L. Hunt*, 1967; and *Coretta Scott King*, 1968.

51. Diane Arbus to Allan Arbus, circa mid-June 1969, quoted in Sussman and Arbus, “A Chronology,” pp. 200–201.

52. Jeffrey Fraenkel, Fraenkel Gallery, email to author, April 25, 2017. Lemagny’s first letter to Arbus was dated May 31, 1969. The prints were apparently sent to Lemagny in October, but Arbus did not receive the payment until many months later. After numerous pleas, to which Lemagny apologized and complained about French bureaucracy, on April 3, 1970, she wrote him a note stating, “it has come.” See also Jean-Claude Lemagny to Diane Arbus, May 31, 1969. Both letters quoted in Sussman and Arbus, “A Chronology,” p. 200, p. 340n413.



Angeles dealer Irving Blum for the Pasadena Art Museum, did not work out as planned, making Lemagny's the largest sale of prints by Arbus during her lifetime.⁵³

Records from the Pasadena Art Museum, now the Norton Simon Museum, show that instead of the anticipated purchase of twenty prints, it acquired four. According to Fred Parker, who initiated its photography collection, the museum had no budget for photographs in 1969. He wrote to all the photographers whose work he knew to ask if they would donate, and Arbus gave one print, *A family on their lawn one Sunday in Westchester, N.Y.* Blum was not involved in the transaction, and Parker, who worked at the museum from 1969 to 1972, does not recall the proposed donation of twenty prints, suggesting that the conversation about it may have gone no further than between Blum and Arbus.⁵⁴ Records indicate that three additional prints were accessioned in 1970, all purchased from Arbus and donated to the museum. *A naked man being a woman, N.Y.C.*, is credited as a gift from Blum. *Retired man and his wife at home in a nudist camp one morning, N.J.* and *Male nudist with a cigar and dog in his trailer living room, N.J.* are credited as gifts from the Men's Committee Fund.⁵⁵

Recognition did not translate into work for Arbus. Three of the stories in which her photographs appeared in 1968 were published by the London *Sunday Times Magazine*, using images made independently the previous year. When the *Magazine* sent a partial and "unaccountable" payment of \$166.93 for the photographs, she embarked on a months-long correspondence about money with deputy editor Peter Crookston. Arbus found the exchange difficult. "If I sounded sharp or irate," she wrote, "it was only trying to get into a sort of efficiency about my financial state which is confusingly and delightfully wed to my

53. "He [Blum] just called and wanted to do a show. I said no, not for a year or so, but when he came I said I needed money to work and somehow we arrived at this [twenty-print transaction]." Diane Arbus to Allan Arbus, circa mid-August 1969, quoted in Sussman and Arbus, "A Chronology," p. 200.

54. Fred Parker, email to author, June 29, 2017.

55. Gloria Williams Sander, Norton Simon Museum, phone conversation with author, June 1, 2017. The print of *Male nudist with a cigar and dog in his trailer living room, N.J.* is now missing. An undated museum memo indicates that the photograph was exhibited in 1972 and 1973, but was noted as missing from inventory in 1974. Gloria Williams Sander, email to author, July 7, 2017.

husbands and he seems to be perhaps planning to marry a very nice girl although I may be over anticipating . . . part of my snobbery is to act excessively casual about money as if I didn't care if I ever got any and if I am to be supporting my small self soon I should know something about how much I make."⁵⁶ Arbus continued to pitch stories, but it appears that her only new magazine assignment that year came from *New York*, to photograph the underground film actress Viva, star of several Andy Warhol movies. On the other hand, from a creative point of view 1968 was extraordinarily productive, when many of her best-known photographs—including *A naked man being a woman, N.Y.C.*; *Woman with a veil on Fifth Avenue, N.Y.C.*; and *A family on their lawn one Sunday in Westchester, N.Y.*—were made.

THE PORTFOLIO: 1969–1971

In late 1969 Arbus began to think about developing a portfolio of her photographs.⁵⁷ The idea was suggested by Marvin Israel, but portfolios were already gaining some currency among photographers and collectors. In 1968 George Tice self-published *The Amish Portfolio*, a selection of twelve 7-by-5-inch prints mounted on 14-by-11-inch boards. Printed in an edition of fifty, they each sold for \$75. Tice made the prints, bore the cost of the portfolio, and shopped it personally to curators and collectors; it quickly sold out. Lee Witkin cited Tice's success as his inspiration when he began producing portfolios by photographers who exhibited in his gallery.⁵⁸ The first Witkin-Berley portfolio was released in 1971, in advance of which Witkin must have worked for several years on the concept and financing. It is unknown whether Arbus was aware of these developments, but Witkin at this time pursued Arbus for an exhibition, and he might also have spoken with her about a portfolio. She would likely have seen Richard Avedon's *Minneapolis Portfolio*, designed by Israel and published in conjunction with Avedon's retrospective at the Minneapolis Institute of Art in 1970. The portfolio contained eleven 24-by-20-inch prints in an edition of thirty-five.⁵⁹

"Every step of the way is costly," Witkin later cautioned. "You invest \$20,000 or more, and it takes five to ten years to sell the edition. . . . Portfolios are done out of love and a deep concern for the medium, not for the money."⁶⁰ Given Arbus's perilous financial situation and her frustration with anything that kept her from picture making, it is surprising that she undertook the fabrication of the portfolio on her own. As originally conceived, she wrote Allan in 1969, it would be a simple box of "8 or so prints (actual photographic prints)" whose making she would supervise but not do herself. The pictures, she added, "will be the ones that have been shown like the twins, xmas, etc. no text except maybe a paragraph by me, an edition of a hundred

56. Diane Arbus to Peter Crookston, circa June 1968, quoted in Sussman and Arbus, "A Chronology," p. 192.

57. The portfolio is first mentioned in her letter to Allan Arbus, circa November 28, 1969, quoted in Sussman and Arbus, "A Chronology," p. 340n424.

58. "I owe George [Tice] a lot," Witkin said. "He was important in giving me an image of a portfolio, of what it could be." Roberta Faul, "For the Collector of Photographs," *Museum News* 54, no. 3 (February 1, 1976): p. 25.

59. Walker Evans, by now a friend of Arbus's, was also at work on *Fourteen Photographs*, a portfolio he published in 1971 under Sewell Sillman's imprint Ives/Sillman. Lee Friedlander and Burt Wolf were preparing to launch the Double Elephant Press with a deluxe portfolio of Friedlander's photographs in 1973, to be followed with one by Garry Winogrand in 1974.

60. Faul, "For the Collector," p. 22.

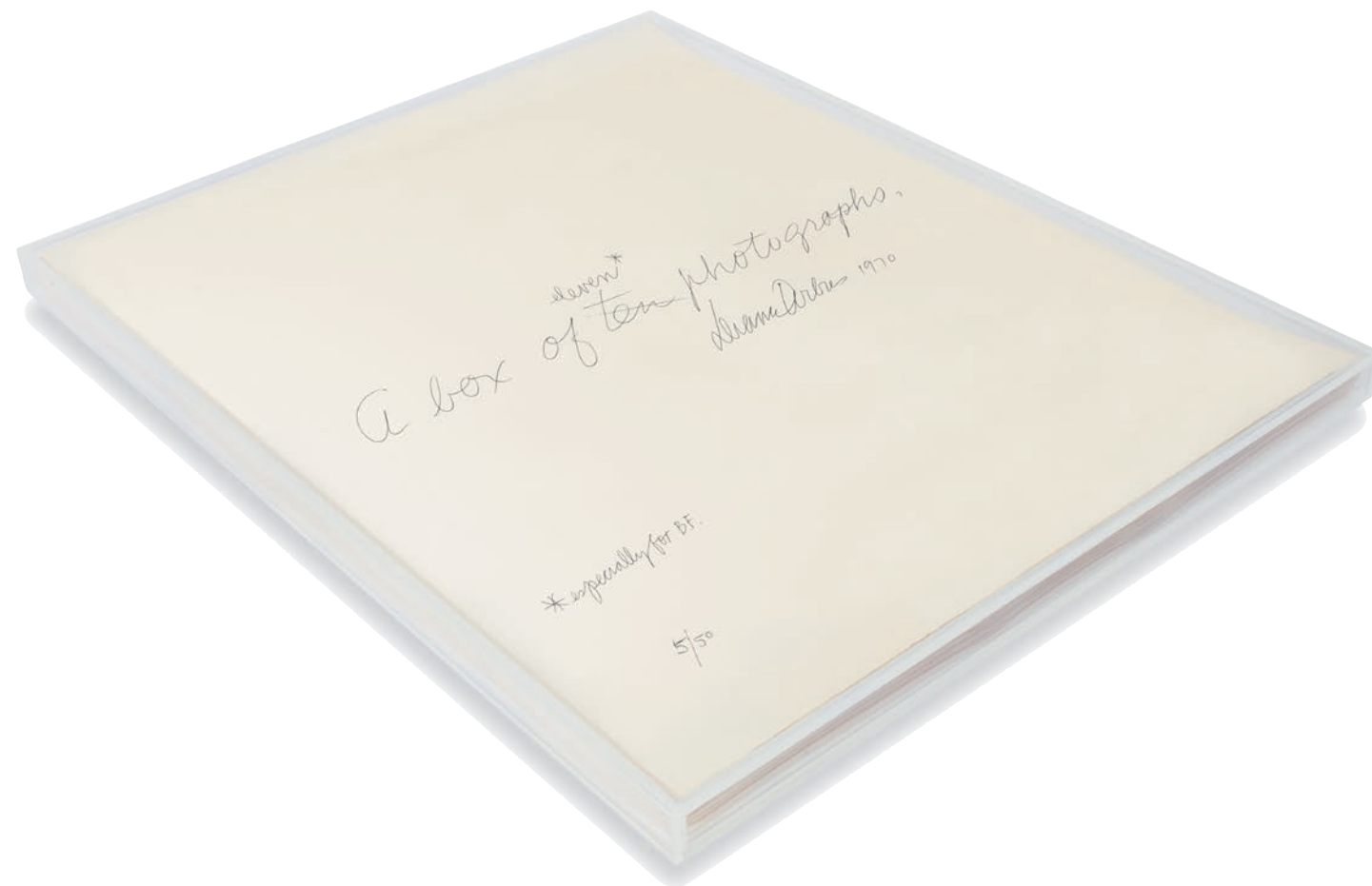


FIG. 2: A BOX OF TEN PHOTOGRAPHS IN ITS PLEXIGLAS CASE, WHICH IS ALSO A FRAME. ON THE HANDWRITTEN TITLE SHEET, INSCRIBED BY ARBUS TO BEA FEITLER, THE WORD "TEN" WAS CROSSED OUT AND REPLACED BY "ELEVEN" WITH THE NOTE "ESPECIALLY FOR BF."

or two, selling for, I dunno, 4 or 500 dollars or 3. . . it'll be a business proposition but pristine . . . and it wont conflict with an eventual book . . . I mean its like an edition of etchings or lithographs."⁶¹

The portfolio was ultimately comprised of a clear Plexiglas box, designed by Israel to double as a container or frame, holding ten 20-by-16-inch photographs printed by Arbus, with annotated vellum sheets between each print (fig. 2). It was to be an edition of fifty, priced at \$1,000 each. Its production, begun early that year, was plagued by technical problems. Arbus had difficulty drying the prints flat, without rippled edges. In March she met with Peter Bunnell, then a curator in the department of photography at MoMA, who helped her compile a list of museums that might buy the portfolio, and in July she delightedly notified Allan that Richard Avedon would be her first buyer. "The first box is done," she wrote. "Dick is giving it to [film director] Mike Nichols. It looks good. He was very moved."⁶² In August, after the first prototype box was completed, it fell apart, and in October she reported, "They still aren't done. the manufacturer made them wrong for about the fourth time."⁶³ In the same letter, she wrote that Bea Feitler would purchase a portfolio. "Bea is buying a box too (and that's just Dick's public relations. . . I haven't begun to hussle them."⁶⁴ By mid-December, Arbus was still struggling. She wrote Allan, "Mainly the damn boxes better get done and I had better peddle them in earnest."⁶⁵

61. Diane Arbus to Allan Arbus, circa November 28, 1969, quoted in Sussman and Arbus, "A Chronology," p. 340n424.

62. Diane Arbus to Allan Arbus, August 29, 1970, quoted in Sussman and Arbus, "A Chronology," p. 211.

63. Diane Arbus to Allan Arbus, circa October 1970, quoted in Sussman and Arbus, "A Chronology," pp. 211–12.

A 24-by-20-inch sheet of vellum from this period, preserved in the Arbus Archive at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, offers insights into her thinking about the portfolio (see page 50). Several lists of titles, all incomplete, indicate alternate photographs originally under consideration (including *A family one evening in a nudist camp* and *Albino sword swallower at a carnival*), as well as title variations. Primarily Arbus used the sheet to practice hand writing its title (which appears to originally have been *A box of photographs*) and her signature, and to pose questions to herself as well as random thoughts about the portfolio:

What is this? A box of photographs.

By me. And who, pray tell, are you?

diane arbus . . . dianearbus . . . Diane Arbus . . . Diane Arbus 1970 . . . DIANE ARBUS.

marvin. MARVIN ISRAEL.

q. how many photographs? a. ten of 'em.

(how much? 1000.)

Box . . . This is a box . . . A box of photographs . . . A BOX OF PHOTOGRAPHS . . . aboxofphotographs.

A box of ten photographs. this isn't half bad.

The ten photographs that she selected for the portfolio ranged in date from 1962 (*Xmas tree in a living room in Levittown, L.I.*)⁶⁶ to 1970 (*The King and Queen of a Senior Citizens Dance, N.Y.C.*; *A Jewish giant at home with his parents in the Bronx, N.Y.*; and *Mexican dwarf in his hotel room in N.Y.C.*). Four had been included in *New Documents* (*Xmas tree in a living room in Levittown, L.I.*; *Retired man and his wife at home in a nudist camp one morning, N.J.*; *Identical twins, Roselle, N.J.*; and *A young man in curlers at home on West 20th Street, N.Y.C.*). Two had appeared in the story "Two American Families," published by the London *Sunday Times Magazine* on November 10, 1968 (*A young Brooklyn family going for a Sunday outing, N.Y.C.* and *A family on their lawn one Sunday in Westchester, N.Y.*). Arbus wrote about these two photographs in a letter to Peter Crookston circa May 1968, before she started thinking about the portfolio.

I have been wanting to do families. I stopped two elderly sisters the other day and three generations of Jewish women whom I am to visit soon. . . the youngest is pregnant. And especially there is a woman I stopped in a Bookstore who lives in Westchester which is Upper Suburbia. She is about 35 with terrifically blonde hair and enormously eyelashed and booted and probably married to a dress manufacturer or restaurateur and I said I wanted to photograph her with her husband and children so she suggested I wait till warm weather so I can do it around the pool! Last weekend wasn't warm weather, but next may be. They are a fascinating family. I think all families are creepy in a way.⁶⁷

In the same letter, Arbus wrote that she had begun to consider, apparently with great hesitation, working on a book of her photographs.

64. Ibid. Feitler was a student of Marvin Israel's at Parsons, whom he hired with Ruth Ansel as his assistant art directors for *Harper's Bazaar*. When Israel was fired in 1963, Feitler and Ansel succeeded him and supported Arbus with occasional assignments.

65. Diane Arbus to Allan Arbus and Mariclare Costello, circa mid-December 1970, quoted in Sussman and Arbus, "A Chronology," p. 214.

66. For information regarding the dates of *Xmas tree* and *Identical twins* see page 105.

67. Diane Arbus to Peter Crookston, circa May 1968, quoted in Southall, "The Magazine Years," p. 168.

The working title, if you can call it that, for my book which I keep postponing is Family Album. I mean I am not working on it except to photograph like I would anyway, so all I have is a title and a publisher and a sort of sweet lust for things I want in it. Like picking flowers. Or Noah's ark. I can hardly bear to leave any animal out.⁶⁸

Arbus's commentary about the portfolio on the vellum sheet suggests that she applied the same "sweet lust for the things I want in it" to the photographs that she chose to include in *A box of ten photographs*. What is less clear is whether, as art historian John Pultz has suggested, "The closest Arbus ever came to producing the 'Family Album' was the portfolio *A box of ten photographs*."⁶⁹ The problem with this interpretation is that it requires an act of the imagination that documentation of the portfolio does not support. As John Szarkowski explained, "When the pictures were exhibited or published she wanted to be certain that it was at the right time and in the right way and under the right circumstances, so that the pictures were not in violation of her personal, moral commitment."⁷⁰ She wanted, he said, a chance to complete the work, which she did for the concept of family albums with the publication of "Two American Families." In 1969, well after her letter to Crookston, she declined an opportunity to work with Robert Delpire, publisher of the first, French edition of Robert Frank's *The Americans*. She was, she told him, not yet ready.⁷¹ And when she enthusiastically wrote to Allan about yet another potential book, it was to feature her photographs made at residences for the mentally retarded, a new project begun that year. By 1970, in other words, Arbus had moved beyond the story pitched to Crookston two years earlier.

We know, too, that the portfolio was conceived as the first of a series of limited editions. Motivated by the challenges of her transition from magazine page to the museum wall, *A box of ten photographs* was the start of something new—not a grand summation and certainly not a story such as she had produced in the past for magazines. Perhaps disappointingly, since she did not survive to add to the planned series, we may best understand the portfolio through the title given by its maker. As "a box of ten photographs," it is a modest declaration of Arbus's determination to succeed with that transition. In this respect, the title of the portfolio may be seen as deliberate, a willful gesture against interpretation. The box is not an album, but a frame. Examples of the Plexiglas box manufactured during Arbus's lifetime came with two holes at the back, through which the owner might loop a piece of twine and hang it against a wall (see back cover of this volume). Capable of holding multiple photographs, it was nevertheless intended to display only one at a time, each singular subject to be encountered uniquely by the viewer. The staging of that encounter was central to its design.

In an undated note to an admirer, which included the copy contact print strips of the ten photographs that she would use for her flyer for *A box of ten photographs*, Arbus described the portfolio and its component parts (fig. 3).

68. Ibid., p. 171.

69. Pultz, "Searching for Diane Arbus's 'Family Album,'" in Lee and Pultz, *Diane Arbus: Family Albums*, p. 5.

70. John Szarkowski, interview by Doon Arbus, February 11, 1972, quoted in Sussman and Arbus, "A Chronology," p. 184.

71. Marvin Israel, interview by Thomas W. Southall, New York, December 1983, quoted in Southall, "The Magazine Years," p. 171.

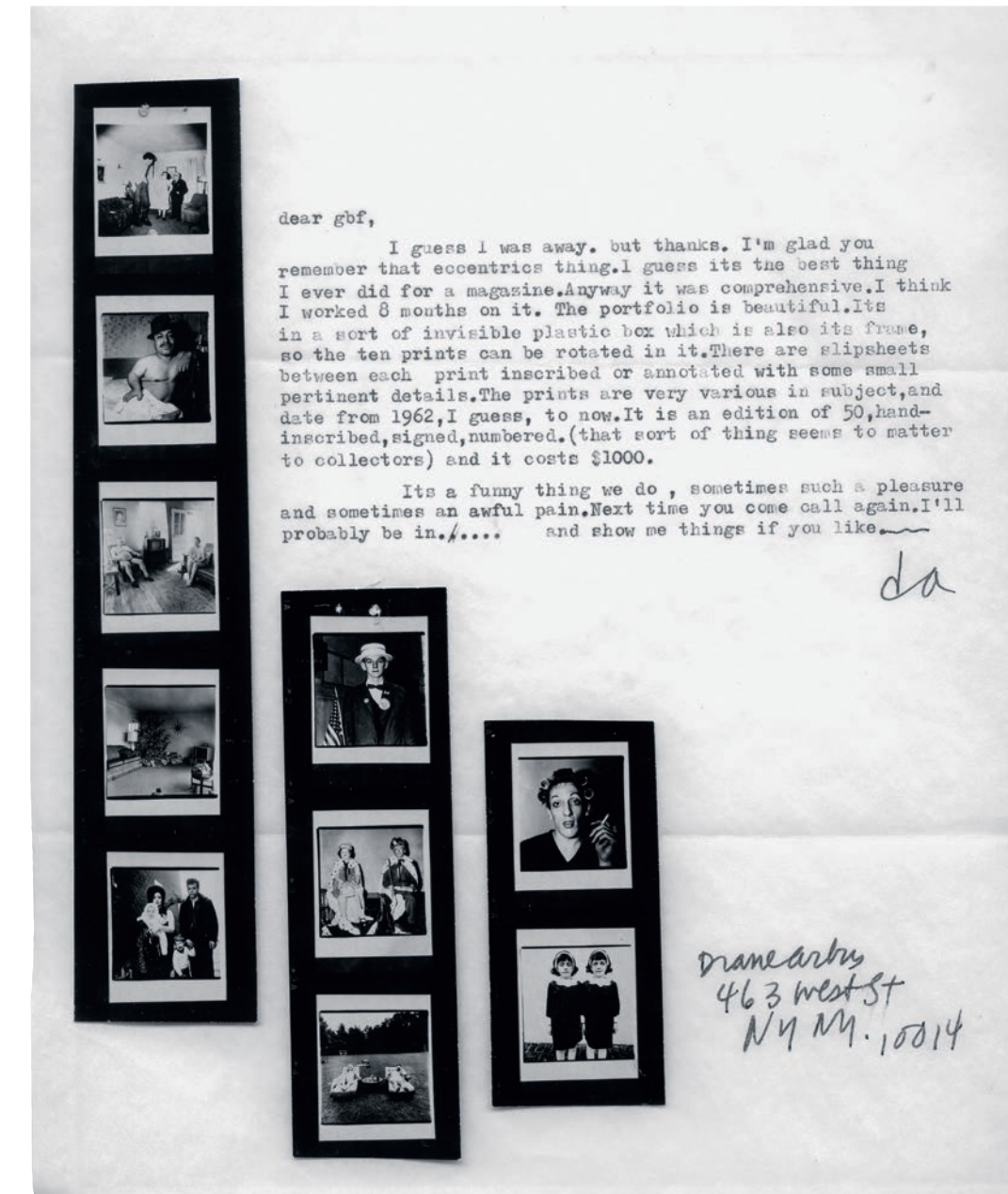


FIG. 3: UNDATED LETTER TO "GBF," PHOTOGRAPHER GEORGE B. FRY

dear gbf,

I guess I was away. but thanks. I'm glad you remember that eccentrics thing. I guess its the best thing I ever did for a magazine. Anyway it was comprehensive. I think I worked 8 months on it. The portfolio is beautiful. Its in a sort of invisible plastic box which is also its frame, so the ten prints can be rotated in it. There are slipsheets between each print inscribed or annotated with some small pertinent details. The prints are very various in subject, and date from 1962, I guess, to now. It is an edition of 50, hand-inscribed, signed, numbered. (that sort of thing seems to matter to collectors) and it costs \$1000.

Its a funny thing we do, sometimes such a pleasure and sometimes an awful pain. Next time you come call again. I'll probably be in..... and show me things if you like

da⁷²

72. Diane Arbus to George Fry, undated (circa 1971), collection of George Fry. As a photography student, Fry was fascinated by Arbus's work. He wrote to her, and in her letter of reply she offered to sell him one of the portfolios. The price was beyond his reach, but he saved her letter, which included the copy contact strips of the ten photographs that Arbus would use for her flyer for *A box of ten photographs*. See also note 21 on page 57 in this essay regarding the six- or eight-month period that Arbus worked on "The Full Circle."

As each portfolio was sold, Arbus signed and dated the prints inside the lower right corner of the image itself, where the soft edge of its border met the white frame of unexposed photographic paper. She wrote the edition number in the lower left corner of the image. On the print verso, she hand-wrote the title and added a second signature. Between the prints she inserted a vellum sheet, upon each of which she inscribed an extended caption. What was given by Arbus in the inscription was usually much more than had been offered by the photograph's title. The title *The King and Queen of a Senior Citizens Dance, N.Y.C. 1970*, for example, was extended on the vellum as *Their numbers were picked out of a hat. They were just chosen King and Queen of a Senior Citizens Dance in NYC. Yetta Granat is seventy-two and Charles Fahrer is seventy-nine. They have never met before.*⁷³ These are the “small pertinent details” of the photograph. In the portfolio Arbus made for Bea Feitler she added an eleventh print, *A woman with her baby monkey, N.J. 1971.*⁷⁴ Its vellum was captioned *Mrs. Gladys 'Mitzi' Ulrich with the baby, Sam, a stump-tailed macaque monkey, North Bergen N.J.*⁷⁵ Every component of the portfolio is important to the encounter with it. After lifting away the title sheet naming *A box of ten photographs*, the viewer observes first the vellum slipsheet overlying each photograph, then the photograph itself. Having read its small detail, upon lifting away the vellum to view the photograph, we now know something pertinent and personal about its subject.

Neil Selkirk, a photographer and member of Arbus's master class, who studied her techniques to prepare posthumous prints for the MoMA retrospective and the monograph published by Aperture to coincide with it, has demonstrated that her printing evolved through three stages (fig. 4). Starting around 1956, when she was using 35 mm film, she generally printed on 14-by-11-inch paper with wide borders and clean, hard-edged images made by cropping the image with the blades of a masking frame during enlargement. She continued to print this way after adopting the medium-format camera, using 120 mm film. Around 1965 she began to frame her square images with irregular black borders made by roughly filing the negative carrier to increase the size of its opening. All Arbus's prints for *New Documents* were made with this intermediate technique, using a combination of 14-by-11- and 20-by-16-inch paper.

Two years later—when she observed with frustration that “Everyone is turning to Rolleis and Portriga and printing with borders”—Arbus began to experiment with a third printing technique. Around the time she began work on *A box of ten photographs* in 1969, Selkirk wrote, Arbus “reduced the black borders to a

73. Photographed for “The Last of Life,” published in *Esquire*, May 1971. In the article the caption read, “Yetta Granat, seventy-two, and Charles Fahrer, seventy-nine, had never met before their names were picked from a hat at a senior citizens' dance in New York. They reigned for the evening as king and queen of the ball.”

74. *A woman with her baby monkey, N.J. 1971* (page 45) was photographed for the *Life Library of Photography: The Art of Photography* (New York: Time, Inc., 1971), under “Responding to the Subject: Assignment: Love.” The caption Arbus wrote for it was, “This is Mrs. Gladys ('Mitzi') Ulrich . . . with Sam, the baby, a stump-tailed macaque monkey. . . . The original Sam hung himself by accident. It was hard for her to tell about it. . . . 'It's God's will. If you're deserving, you'll find what you've lost. I've had a wonderful life and a lot of love. I can't say I've missed out on love.'” Quoted in Sussman and Arbus, “A Chronology,” p. 217. See also Diane Arbus to Peter Crookston, January 25, 1971, quoted in Sussman and Arbus, “A Chronology,” p. 215.

75. About this photograph Arbus said to her master class, “Recently I did a picture—I've had this experience before—and I made rough prints of a number of them. There was something wrong in all of them. I felt I'd sort of missed it and I figured I'd go back. But there was one that was just totally peculiar. It was a terrible dodo of a picture. It looks to me a little as if the lady's husband took it. It's terribly head-on and sort of ugly and there's something terrific about it. I've gotten to like it better and better and now I'm secretly sort of nutty about it.” *Diane Arbus: An Aperture Monograph*, pp. 10–11.



FIG. 4: THREE PRINTS INDICATING CHANGES IN ARBUS'S PRINTING STYLE. THE FIRST PRINT REFLECTS THE WAY SHE ORIGINALLY PRINTED HER SQUARE-FORMAT PHOTOGRAPHS, THE SECOND HER ADOPTION OF ROUGH, BLACK BORDERS BEGINNING IN 1965. THE THIRD SHOWS THE TECHNIQUE OF PRINTING WITH SOFT BORDERS SHE DEVELOPED IN 1969 WHILE WORKING ON A BOX OF TEN PHOTOGRAPHS.

vestigial condition. . . . Traces of the old borders still occurred in the prints however, sometimes to define the edge of the picture, sometimes not. But the new borders were scarcely borders at all.”⁷⁶ Arbus's new technique literally dissolved the inner frame by placing small pieces of cardboard in the negative carrier. Rather than increasing its open space, they constricted it, masking and softening the previously expanded edge area of the black border. Printed on 20-by-16-inch paper with these magically disappearing borders, Arbus's images seem to melt into the real world. Like the box itself, her late printing style, which she perfected for *A box of ten photographs*, was central to its staging of an encounter between photographer, subject, and observer.

Utterly transparent, the box seems without secrets. It is the photographs themselves that hold mysteries. Arbus's images enact intimacies in which the camera seems to disappear, an intimacy that is enhanced by the invisible box and her disappearing borders. That is among the chief distinctions separating *A box of ten photographs* from portfolios that were being made by other photographers. The box and its individually inscribed vellums for each photograph function by bringing the viewer into physical and emotional proximity with their subjects. The size of the prints combined with the melting borders of Arbus's late printing style make her subjects feel like presences. Rather than distancing, they draw the viewer in, and are powerfully affective. With *A box of ten photographs*, affect is staged through every detail of its design—the invisible object, the images, the vellums with telling details, and the prints themselves—extending the immediacy of the original encounter from the photographer to the viewer of the photograph.

76. Neil Selkirk, “In the Darkroom,” in *Diane Arbus: Revelations*, p. 271.

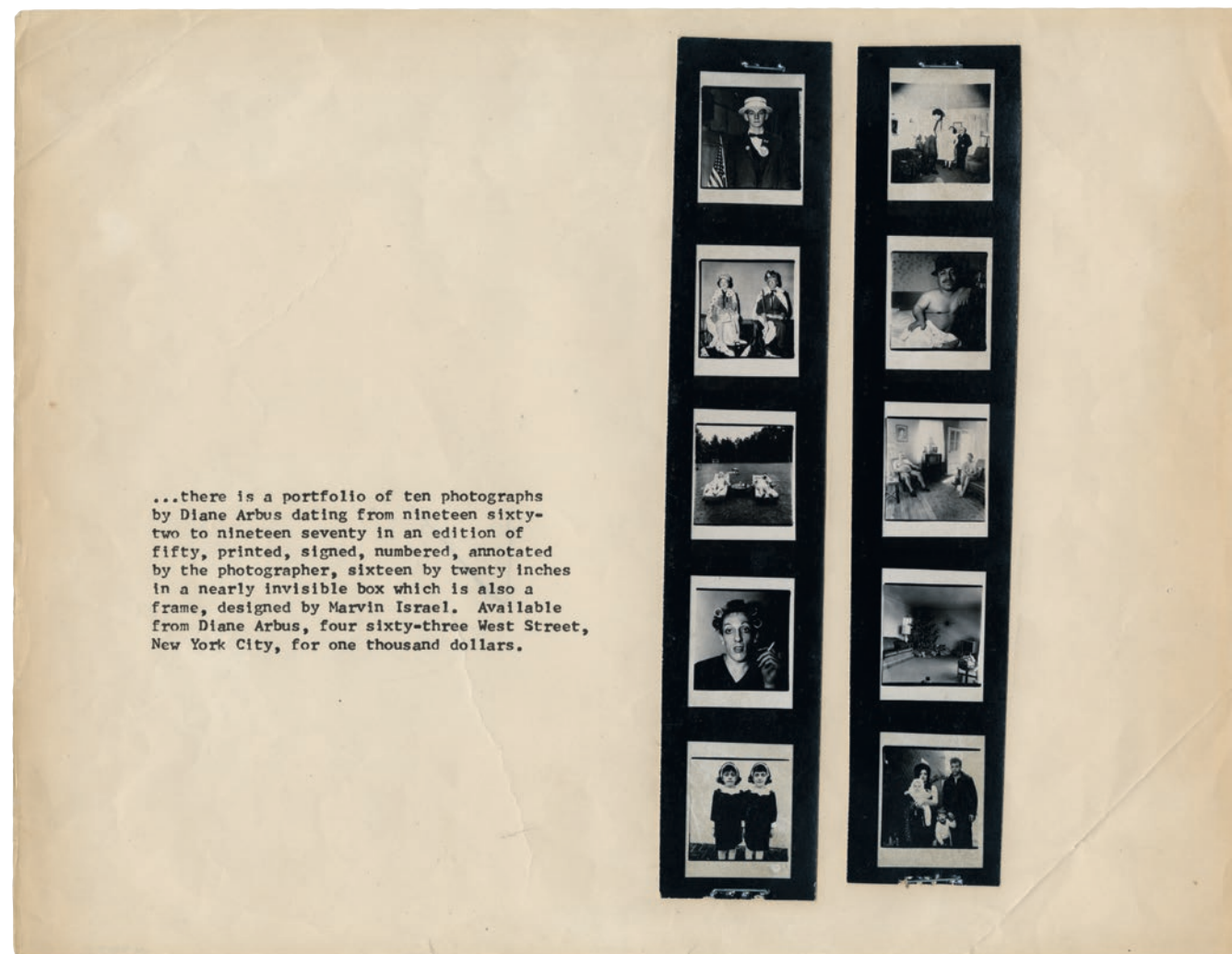


FIG. 5: THE FLYER ARBUS MADE TO ANNOUNCE THE PORTFOLIO INCLUDED TWO 35 MM COPY CONTACT STRIPS OF THE TEN PHOTOGRAPHS STAPLED ONTO A SHEET OF PAPER WITH HER TYPEWRITTEN TEXT.

Preparing to peddle it in earnest in late 1970, Arbus made a flyer announcing the portfolio (fig. 5). On a horizontal sheet of typing paper she stapled 35 mm copy contact prints of the ten photographs it would contain in two strips of five images each. Beside the strips she typed:

... there is a portfolio of ten photographs by Diane Arbus dating from nineteen sixty-two to nineteen seventy in an edition of fifty, printed, signed, numbered, annotated by the photographer, sixteen by twenty inches in a nearly invisible box which is also a frame, designed by Marvin Israel. Available from Diane Arbus, four sixty-three West Street, New York City, for one thousand dollars.⁷⁷

In early 1970, Arbus was introduced to Philip Leider, a cofounder of *Artforum* magazine.⁷⁸ Henry Geldzahler, who with John McKendry earlier purchased her prints for the Metropolitan Museum of Art, had suggested that Leider consider covering the portfolio in the magazine. Founded in 1962, *Artforum* had grown into an important champion of late modernist painting and sculpture, and Leider had no desire to dilute its mission.⁷⁹ Although some of its writers had shown interest in photography, in part due to Arbus's growing

77. Sussman and Arbus, "A Chronology," p. 214.

78. Although Leider's name appears in Arbus's appointment book numerous times between April 1970 and May 1971, no concrete meeting date is given. A note on March 23, 1971, reads "here 10—Phil Leider," suggesting that Arbus met with him at her Westbeth apartment at 10:00 a.m. A note on April 1, 1971, reads "ART FORUM Phil Leider cover singles [6 prints] words. Giant." Karan Rinaldo, Metropolitan Museum of Art, email to author, July 19, 2017. No records of a meeting have been found in the Philip Leider papers at the Smithsonian Archives of American Art.

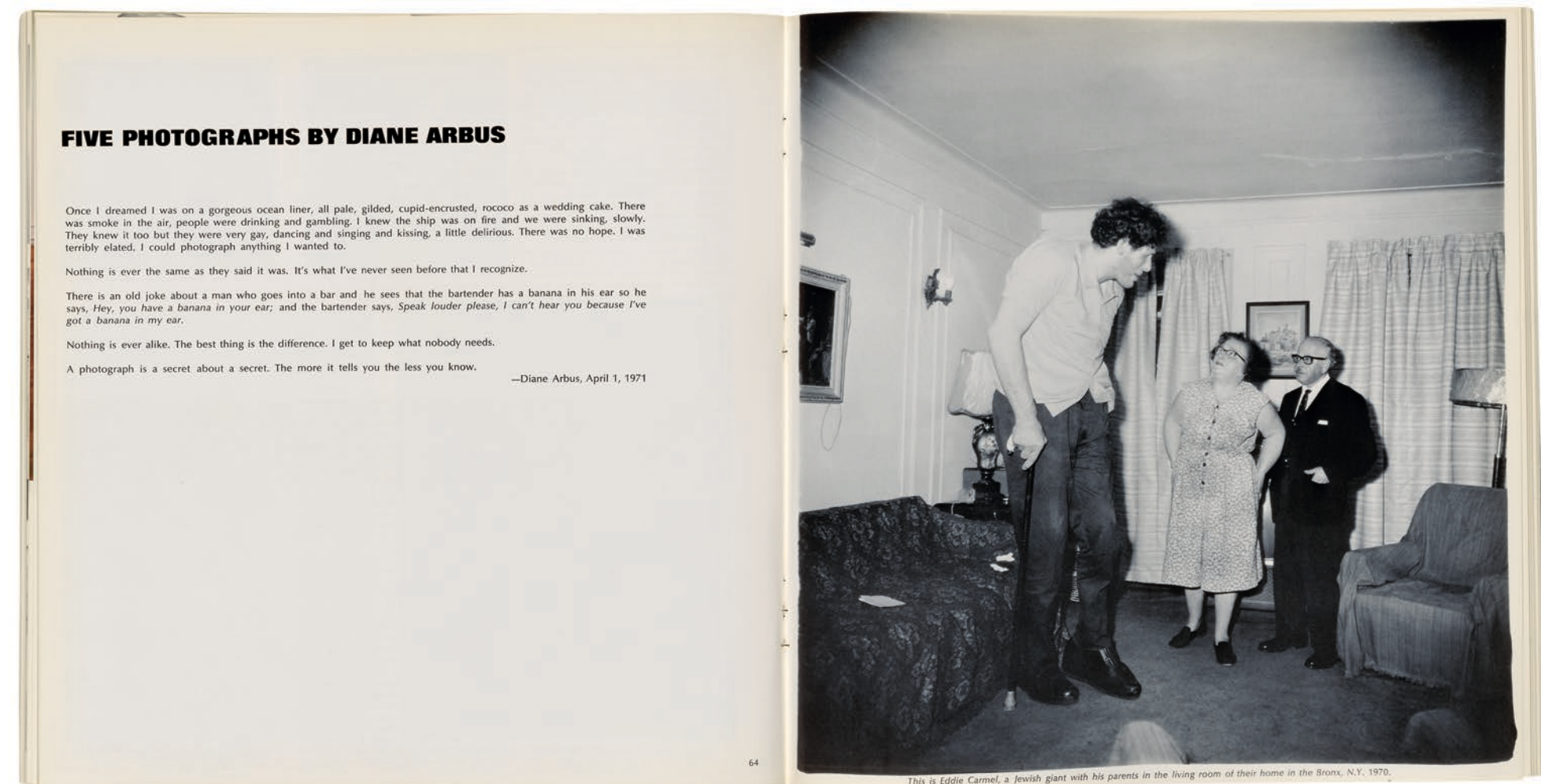


FIG. 6: "FIVE PHOTOGRAPHS BY DIANE ARBUS," FIRST SPREAD OF SIX PAGES PUBLISHED IN ARTFORUM, MAY 1971

recognition, he remained unsure if there was any place for photography in a serious art magazine.⁸⁰ A meeting was scheduled to look at the portfolio, and Leider, thrilled by what he saw, committed on the spot to publishing it.

We met—Diane, Henry, and I—in her apartment, which I think was then in Westbeth. The portfolio was stunning—I wanted to publish the whole thing in *Artforum*. I recall Diane letting me look through boxes of amazing prints that were in the bottom of some closet, while she and Henry chatted. I'm not certain, but I'm pretty sure that I asked Diane if she'd consider writing something to go in the magazine. By that time, I'd come to realize that the best stuff I was publishing was being written by artists. In any event, she wrote a beautiful short paragraph, which was all the text those photographs needed.⁸¹

Ultimately, the May 1971 issue of *Artforum* had space for only five of the ten photographs in an article entitled "Five Photographs by Diane Arbus" (fig. 6). Each was given a full page reproduction, and the piece was introduced by a short, aphoristic text by Arbus. A sixth photograph, *Boy with a straw hat waiting to march*

79. In 1965 Leider wrote to critic Barbara Rose, "Not only would I like a first-rate article on Photography, but would love a regular writer on the subject. . . . It has to be really first-rate or no dice." Philip Leider to Barbara Rose, July 8, 1965, quoted in Amy Newman, *Challenging Art: Artforum 1962–1974* (New York: Soho Press, 2000), p. 491n25.

80. In 2004 Leider wrote, "Though the subject of photography had begun to interest some of the magazine's writers—not least because of the remarkable reputation that Diane Arbus had begun to acquire in the art world—I remained concerned about confusing issues facing modern painting and sculpture with those facing other enterprises. I wasn't sure there was a place for photography in a serious art magazine." Leider, *Sotheby's*, p. 152. According to Denise Bethel, formerly of Sotheby's, Leider wrote the text in conjunction with his consignment of a photograph for auction. The photograph was *A Jewish giant at home with his parents in the Bronx, N.Y.*, a gift to Leider signed, dated, and inscribed by Arbus. The auction was held on October 16, 2004, and the print sold for \$388,800. Denise Bethel, email to author, April 27, 2017.

81. Leider, *Sotheby's*, p. 152.



A Christmas tree in a living room in Levittown, Long Island, 1962.

A young family in Brooklyn going for a Sunday outing. Their baby is named Dawn. Their son is retarded. 1966.



Lauro Morales, a Mexican dwarf, in his hotel room in New York City, 1970.

Identical twins, Cathleen and Colleen, members of a twins club in New Jersey, 1966.



FIG. 7: BOY WITH A STRAW HAT WAITING TO MARCH IN A PRO-WAR PARADE, N.Y.C. 1967, ON THE COVER OF ARTFORUM, MAY 1971

in a pro-war parade, was used on the cover (fig. 7). “It then seemed to me that any definition of art that did not include such a body of work was fatally flawed,” Leider later wrote.

It also seemed to me that Diane’s work accomplished for photography what we demanded be accomplished, under the needs of Modernism, for all arts: *it owed nothing to any other art*. What it had to offer could only be provided by photography. . . . With Diane Arbus, one could find oneself interested in photography or not, but one could no longer, it seemed to me, deny its status as art. And so, I felt, in featuring the portfolio that *Artforum* was making a major statement not only about Diane Arbus, but about photography as well.⁸²

If *New Documents* had introduced Arbus, along with Friedlander and Winogrand, as examples of a new paradigm for photography within a museum setting, it was the publication of six works selected from *A box of ten photographs* in *Artforum* that broke through the wall separating “art” and “photography.” Arbus’s photographs melded perfectly with the magazine’s unusual 10¼-inch square format, as if they had been made for it. “What changed everything,” Leider said, “was the portfolio itself.”⁸³ He meant that *A box of ten photographs* itself made the breakthrough that could accommodate such a sudden, precipitous shift in perspective. It did so neither by repackaging a photo-essay as a portfolio nor by adopting the familiar conventions of the family album. Rather, as a body of images, each asserting a distinctive artistic vision that

82. Ibid.

83. Ibid.



FIG. 8: A JEWISH GIANT AT HOME WITH HIS PARENTS IN THE BRONX, N.Y. 1970 IN "THE ARBUS PERSPECTIVE," NEW YORK MAGAZINE, MAY 31, 1971



FIG. 9: AN ADVERTISEMENT FOR THE PORTFOLIO IN ARTFORUM, JUNE 1971

might only be achieved and exclusively comprehended through the medium of photography, the portfolio accomplished something more than the sum of its individual images. It demanded to be, and it was received as equal among other art practices of its moment. Among her contemporaries in the field of photography, this was Arbus's singular milestone with *A box of ten photographs*.

In April, her problems with the Plexiglas boxes finally resolved and the first sets of prints nearing completion, Arbus wrote to Allan, "The box looks very good I guess. It'll be in Art forum in May and New York [magazine] will do two pps I think."⁸⁴ Through her contacts at *New York*, Arbus had arranged for the portfolio to be featured in its Best Bets column. The full-page feature entitled "The Arbus Perspective" appeared in the May 31 issue with *A Jewish giant at home with his parents in the Bronx, N.Y.* and a brief text describing the portfolio (fig. 8).⁸⁵ Leider had agreed to run an announcement for it alongside her photographs in *Artforum*. When the magazine inadvertently omitted the announcement, Leider agreed to publish it separately in the subsequent issue. *A Jewish giant at home with his parents in the Bronx, N.Y.* ran as a full-page ad, with instructions on how to purchase the portfolio directly from the photographer (fig. 9). In mid-May, Arbus wrote to Allan about another purchase. "I had a call from some art dealer to say that jasper johns

84. Diane Arbus to Allan Arbus and Mariclaire Costello, circa late April 1971, quoted in Sussman and Arbus, "A Chronology," p. 219.

85. "The Arbus Perspective," *New York Magazine*, May 31, 1971, p. 45.

wanted a box. how terrific. first one who doesn't know me." In the margin of the letter she added, "four are sold, 2½ paid for. the owners are out of who's who. my confidence is absurdly on a roller coaster."⁸⁶

The dealer was Irving Blum, who later remembered that he had accepted several portfolios on consignment from Arbus, one of which went to Johns.⁸⁷ Since Arbus only completed work on the portfolios as they were sold, Blum's recollection is certainly faulty.⁸⁸ Johns insists that he saw *A box of ten photographs* advertised in *Artforum*, and Blum played no role in introducing him to Arbus.⁸⁹ "Irving owed me some money," Johns says, "and I wrote him and asked him to send the money to Arbus." Johns purchased the portfolio with funds transferred by Blum to Arbus, following which she delivered it to him personally. "When she came into my studio with the box," Johns recalled, "I was working on a very large painting of a map of the world based on a Fuller, a Bucky Fuller map. And she said, 'Oh, I wish I could do something like that, get in there and do things.' And of course I was wishing I could do what she did."⁹⁰

When Diane Arbus took her life on July 26, 1971, four portfolios had been sold and signed, and four other known sets of prints completed. The first in the edition of fifty, on which the word "ten" in the title was crossed out by Arbus and replaced with "eleven*" and the note "*especially for RA," was purchased by Richard Avedon (fig. 10). It included an eleventh print, *Masked woman in a wheelchair* (fig. 11).⁹¹ The second was also purchased by Avedon as a present for his friend Mike Nichols. The portfolio purchased by Bea Feitler was numbered 5/50. Like the portfolio for Avedon, the word "ten" in its title was crossed out and replaced with "eleven*" and the note "*especially for BE." It also included an eleventh print, *A woman with her baby monkey, N.J. 1971*, and an additional vellum with an extended caption inscribed by Arbus. The portfolio purchased by Jasper Johns was numbered 6/50. Each of these portfolios was signed and delivered by Arbus to the purchaser, and according to the Estate of Diane Arbus and all the available evidence, they were the only sets distributed during her lifetime. Bea Feitler died in 1982. In 1983, Sotheby's, New York, sold her portfolio at auction for the then breathtaking price of \$42,900 to Baltimore-based dealer G. H. Dalsheimer. This, the only portfolio printed by Arbus ever to appear at auction, was purchased from Dalsheimer in 1986 by the Smithsonian American Art Museum in Washington, D.C. Richard Avedon died in 2004. Andrew and Mary

86. Arbus stated "2½" boxes were paid for because Bea Feitler had not fully paid for her portfolio at the time. Diane Arbus to Allan Arbus, circa mid-May 1971, quoted in Sussman and Arbus, "A Chronology," p. 220.

87. Lubow, *Portrait of a Photographer*, p. 546.

88. Peter C. Bunnell, "Diane Arbus," *Print Collector's Newsletter*, p. 130. "In 1971, [Arbus] issued a boxed portfolio of ten photographs in a limited edition of fifty. . . . The subsequent value of this work is unimaginable, because it now appears that she prepared not the complete edition of fifty, but only printed each set after the sale had been secured." In fact, Arbus printed eight known sets, but only signed the four that she had sold.

89. When asked if they met prior to the delivery of the box, Johns recalled, "I have in my mind that I once met her at Bill Katz's loft." Jasper Johns, phone conversation with author, July 6, 2017. According to Katz, Arbus first met Johns around 1968, not long after she was hospitalized for hepatitis. Katz had proposed working on a book together for Aperture, and when she arrived at his loft to discuss it, his houseguests included Johns, John Cage, Merce Cunningham, and Bridget Polk. Bill Katz, phone conversation with author, July 6, 2017.

90. Jasper Johns, phone conversation with author, July 6, 2017. According to Johns, "I was so pleased with them [the photographs], and I had a visit from John Cage and I wanted John to look at them. And I handed the whole box to him and he sat on the sofa and went through them. And he didn't say anything for the whole time until after he had looked at all of them. Then he said, 'There's just one thing about them.' And I said, 'What is that John?' And he said, 'They're so awful!'"

91. There is currently no vellum accompanying the eleventh print in Richard Avedon's portfolio. Allie Haeusslein, Pier 24 Photography, phone conversation with author, August 9, 2017. The verso of the eleventh print reads, "At a Halloween party for mentally retarded women, a lady in a wheelchair, masked, 1969."

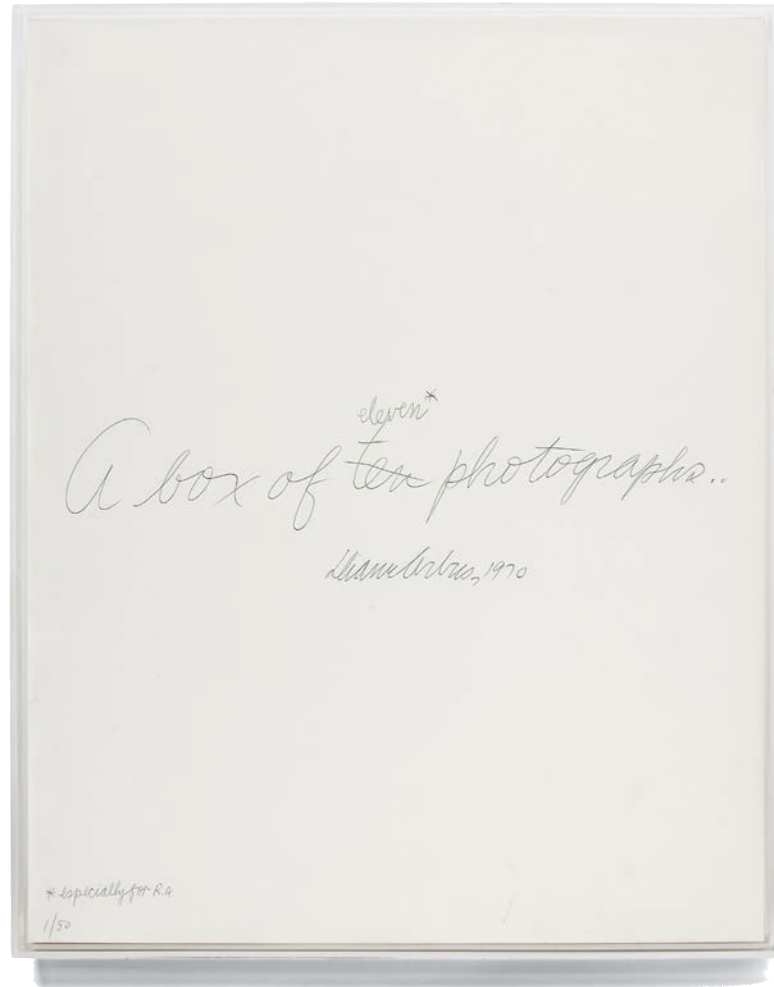


FIG. 10: TITLE SHEET FOR RICHARD AVEDON'S *A BOX OF TEN PHOTOGRAPHS*, INSCRIBED BY ARBUS. THE WORD "TEN" WAS CROSSED OUT AND REPLACED BY "ELEVEN*" WITH THE NOTE "*ESPECIALLY FOR RA."

FIG. 11: MASKED WOMAN IN A WHEELCHAIR, THE ELEVENTH PRINT INCLUDED IN RICHARD AVEDON'S *A BOX OF TEN PHOTOGRAPHS*

Pilara, founders of Pier 24 Photography in San Francisco, purchased his portfolio from the Richard Avedon Foundation in 2005. The portfolio Avedon gave to Mike Nichols, and the one purchased by Jasper Johns, remain in private hands.

It is unclear what happened to the two portfolios that would have been numbered 3/50 and 4/50. Arbus completed printing for eight known portfolios, but had not signed or prepared title pages for those unsold. After her death, the remaining four sets were designated by the Estate of Diane Arbus, on the advice of Marvin Israel and others, as artist's proofs. The Arbus Estate believes it likely that Arbus set aside the missing edition numbers in anticipation of sales that subsequently fell through, and the prints were included among the artist's proofs.⁹² One set of proofs was purchased from the Estate by the Fogg Museum at Harvard University in 1972. Another was given by Doon and Amy Arbus to Allan Arbus. His portfolio was purchased in 2005 by British art dealer and curator Anthony d'Offay, from whom it was jointly acquired by the Tate Modern and National Galleries of Scotland in 2008. The remaining two artist's proofs are privately held.

In late 1972 or 1973, under the auspices of the Estate of Diane Arbus, Neil Selkirk began printing to complete Arbus's intended edition of fifty.⁹³ These posthumous portfolios were comprised of Selkirk prints of each of the ten photographs (editioned and authenticated on their versos by the signature of Doon Arbus,

92. Sussman and Arbus, "A Chronology," p. 343n529.

93. Selkirk had already been commissioned to make prints for the 1972 Arbus retrospective at MoMA and the Aperture monograph. Other than Arbus herself, he has been the only person ever to print her work.

on behalf of the Estate), the Plexiglas box, and printed facsimiles of Arbus's original handwritten title page and interleaving sheets. By 1979, virtually all of the posthumous portfolios had been purchased. Many were acquired then or subsequently by museums (including the Minneapolis Institute of Art; the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston; the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Yale University Art Gallery; the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art; the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles; and the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, among others). Based on the edition numbers of individual prints that have appeared at auction, however, it has become apparent that at least fifteen portfolios have since been broken up and the prints sold separately. Thus, of Arbus's proposed "edition of fifty," significantly fewer remain in the form she intended.

VENICE BIENNALE AND BEYOND: 1971 ONWARD

It was the portfolio that bridged Arbus's life and her posthumous career. The presentation of *A box of ten photographs* in Venice is the centerpiece of that story. The Venice Biennale was founded in 1893, first took place two years later, and has been held biannually ever since (with interruptions for the two world wars). In 1954 the American Pavilion was purchased by MoMA, which co-organized U.S. contributions to the festival with other large American museums until 1964, after which, from 1964 until 1972, contributions were administered by the United States Information Agency (USIA) as a form of cultural diplomacy.⁹⁴ The 1964 contribution was organized by the USIA and the Jewish Museum, New York. From 1966 until 1972, as the U.S. Department of State increasingly sought to distance itself from programs potentially sensitive to criticism, the American contribution was organized by the Smithsonian Institution's National Collection of Fine Arts (NCFA), which received policy guidance on international relations from the USIA in exchange for exhibitions that would be circulated to or by its outposts abroad.

Art historian Werner Sollors has tied the popular acceptance of modernist art in America to its promulgation at art festivals, particularly the Venice Biennale, the premiere international showcase during the postwar years. "The American pavilion at the Biennale," he wrote, "became more and more modernist each time, starting in 1948; and it began to include photographic art by Ben Shahn, Charles Sheeler, and Diane Arbus in its exhibitions."⁹⁵ Sollors's comments are misleading. Shahn, who exhibited in Venice in 1948, 1954, 1956, and 1972, and Sheeler, in 1934, 1948, and 1956, were artists whose works sometimes drew on photography. The works they presented in Venice may have been photographic, but they were not photographs.⁹⁶ Arbus was the first to be represented in Venice by her photographs, an honor undoubtedly related to her recent endorsement by *Artforum* as a modernist artist. By the late 1960s, however, the early Cold War conflict pitting "bad" socialist realism against "good" democratic modernism in the Soviet and American Pavilions of the Biennale was superseded by a struggle much closer to home.

94. See Michael L. Krenn, *Fall-Out Shelters for the Human Spirit: American Art and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005). Chapter six, "See Venice and Propagandize," provides a detailed examination of cultural diplomacy, the USIA, and the Smithsonian Institution.

95. Werner Sollors, *Ethnic Modernism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), p. 8.

96. See Philip Rylands, *Flying the Flag for Art: The United States and the Venice Biennale, 1895-1991* (Richmond, VA: Wyldebore & Wolferstan, 1993).

At the height of the Vietnam War, the Biennale was beset by demonstrations. In 1968 and 1970, as historian Michael Krenn wrote, “American artists, who during earlier years had to defend themselves and their art against charges of anti-Americanism and even communism, now chafed under the notion that their paintings and sculptures would be used as diplomatic tools to help lend support to what they perceived as odious government policies.”⁹⁷ During 1970, the Art Workers Coalition (AWC) of more than three hundred artists, critics, writers, and arts administrators organized the New York Art Strike against Racism, War, and Repression, an attempted shutdown of major museums and galleries. Out of the Art Strike, a group formed calling itself the Emergency Cultural Government (ECG), whose members included the artists Irving Petlin, Frank Stella, and Robert Morris; critic Max Kozloff; and *Artforum* editor Philip Leider. The ECG announced itself as “an artist-created body [that] will challenge the U.S. government for the loyalties of American artists in each and every up-and-coming international art event in which government sponsorship is a criterion for participation. Thus every official exhibition of American art abroad will also be a test of our determination to end all complicity with a government whose policies we now consider illegitimate.”⁹⁸ It passed a resolution calling for artists to strike the 1970 Venice Biennale. When thirty-three artists withdrew their works in response, Gregory Battcock, an early AWC member and special correspondent for *Arts Magazine*, declared the resolution a success.⁹⁹

In February 1972, sensing that a demoralized NCFCA might abrogate its administrative responsibilities, Battcock sent a memorandum to Waldo Rasmussen, director of international programs at MoMA. “In order to insure that there will be an American contribution to the Venice Biennale, 1972,” he wrote, “we have devised the following proposal for a modest economically feasible presentation of high quality.”¹⁰⁰ The American contribution to the 36th Venice Biennale would be coordinated by Battcock with prominent New York City art dealers and an advisory committee to include Rasmussen.¹⁰¹ Presumably on the advice of Rasmussen, the memorandum was forwarded to Joshua Taylor, director of the NCFCA. In a letter accompanying the memorandum, Battcock invited Taylor to join his advisory committee and requested his opinion concerning the proposal.¹⁰² A meeting of museum directors was quickly convened by Rasmussen and Taylor. MoMA, which in the past had organized many such exhibitions, declined to do so in 1972 due to time limitations. The proposal from Battcock was shelved, and Taylor decided instead that the NCFCA would organize the Biennale contribution.¹⁰³

97. *Ibid.*, p. 226.

98. Barbara Rose, “Out of the Studios, On to the Barricades,” *New York Magazine*, August 10, 1970, p. 56.

99. Gregory Battcock, “Art and Politics at Venice: A Disappointing Biennale,” *Arts Magazine*, September/October 1970, p. 22. Of the official 1970 contribution Battcock wrote, “The naïve, know-nothing exhibition in the American pavilion is, quite simply, humiliating. The kindest thing the art public can do at this stage of the game is to simply stay away. The most intelligent thing to do would be to burn it down.” Gregory Battcock, “Death in Venice,” *Art and Artist*, June 1970, p. 54. The “liberated Venice Biennale” of withdrawn artworks opened in late July at the School of Visual Arts, New York, to generally poor reviews. See, for example, Grace Glueck, “Foes of Biennale Open Show Here,” *New York Times*, July 25, 1970; also Corinne Robins, “The N.Y. Art Strike,” *Arts Magazine*, September/October 1970, pp. 27–28.

100. Gregory Battcock to Joshua Taylor, March 3, 1972, with accompanying memorandum to Waldo Rasmussen, February 29, 1972, Smithsonian Institution Archives RU 322, box 30, folder 7.

101. The dealers included Leo Castelli, Andre Emmerich, Ivan Karp, Lawrence Rubin, Michael and Lleana Sonnabend, and John Weber. *Ibid.*

102. *Ibid.*

103. A note on Taylor’s copy of the letter from Battcock reads, “Discussed as below 8 March.”

In an oral agreement on March 5, 1972, Taylor invited Walter Hopps, director of the Corcoran Gallery of Art, to organize the U.S. exhibition for the 36th Venice Biennale. The conversation was followed on March 10 by a letter of agreement from Taylor outlining Hopps’s responsibilities and designating him “Director of the United States Pavilion for the 36th Venice Biennale of Art.” Pamela Worden was named assistant to the director, and Jennie Lea Knight was to oversee the installation in Venice.¹⁰⁴ Taylor’s selection of Hopps was announced to the public on March 9.¹⁰⁵ According to the press release issued by the Smithsonian’s Office of Public Affairs, “Mr. Hopps envisions a showing in Venice of some twenty-five works by a group of American artists whose creativity is marked by diversity of styles and contrasting sensibilities. Different geographic parts of the nation will be represented. Most importantly, the artists will be those whose careers have had important recent developments, a ‘vital emergence,’ in Mr. Hopps’ phrase, that are becoming known in this country but have not yet become well known overseas.”¹⁰⁶ Whether or not Arbus would have qualified as an artist having had a recent, vital emergence, photography was not mentioned in the release, and in meetings with the press Hopps spoke only of painters.

Reporting on the announcement for the *New York Times*, art news editor Grace Glueck wrote that it put to rest long-standing rumors within the art world that the U.S. would not participate in the 1972 Biennale. Glueck quoted Hopps, who explained that, due to limitations of time and funding for the exhibition, it would be confined to paintings by four to six artists. “We’ll try to consider them both in terms of quality and innovative extensions in their media—artists who have stature in this country and are known abroad, but deserve even wider viewing. In other words, they will not be grand masters on the one hand, or new talent on the other. Nor will we try to establish a conservative or avant-garde point of view, as in other Biennales—both extremes are beside the point.”¹⁰⁷ In the *Washington Post*, arts writer Paul Richard observed that while the artists had not yet been selected, “if Hopps’s exhibition record is any indication, they will represent a wide diversity of styles, backgrounds and concerns.”¹⁰⁸

In her weekly column Art Notes for the *New York Times*, Glueck elaborated on the rumors about which she had hinted in her earlier article. “The decision to go ahead with a show was made after a recent meeting of prominent art world figures at New York’s Museum of Modern Art.” Now, describing it as an eleventh-hour decision by Joshua Taylor, Glueck explained, “After considerable foot-dragging, the National Collection of Fine Arts, the Smithsonian body in charge of our participation in art affairs overseas, finally gave the nod to a show and named Walter Hopps, director of Washington’s Corcoran Gallery of Art, as its organizer.” The Smithsonian’s “biannual cliffhanger,” according to Glueck, was resolved only when Waldo Rasmussen expressed surprise to Taylor about the rumor of U.S. non-attendance. Despite the generally positive reaction to the selection of Hopps, “there’s been much grumbling about the over-all lack of policy

104. Joshua Taylor to Walter Hopps, March 10, 1972, Smithsonian Institution Archives RU 322, box 30, folder 7.

105. Hopps had previously organized the American entry for the Bienal de São Paulo, Brazil, in 1965. That exhibition was criticized for including the then little-known artists Frank Stella, Larry Poons, and Donald Judd, among others.

106. “Walter Hopps to Organize Exhibition for 36th Venice Art Biennial in June,” press release, March 9, 1972, Smithsonian Institution Archives RU 454, folder XXXVI.

107. Grace Glueck, “U.S. to Send an Aide to Venice Biennale,” *New York Times*, March 10, 1972, Smithsonian Institution Archives RU 454, folder XXXVI.

108. Paul Richard, “Hopps to Pick Biennale,” *Washington Post*, March 10, 1972, Smithsonian Institution Archives RU 454, folder XXXVI.

with regard to our participation in the big shows abroad.” Why, Glueck wondered, in a matter of such vital international importance, “is the decision to participate always last-minute, leaving virtually no time to assemble an adequate representation?”¹⁰⁹ The point here is not to resuscitate old art world intrigues. Rather, it is to suggest that not only could a major international exhibition be organized on short notice, in fact, it appears to have been the frustratingly standard practice.¹¹⁰

The two extant Arbus biographies have mistakenly stated that Hopps spoke with Arbus about the exhibition before her death. Further, based on Patricia Bosworth’s 1982 interview with Arbus’s psychiatrist, Dr. Helen Boigon, both writers have insinuated that the Biennale was one of the central pressures linked to her depression and, by extension, to her suicide. According to Bosworth, “Walter Hopps, the astute director of the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, had got her to agree to exhibit her work in the Venice Biennale in the summer of 1972. It was unprecedented—no American photographer had ever been so honored—but Hopps believed that ‘Arbus was a central and crucial figure in the Renaissance of still photography—absolutely uncompromising in her vision. . . . Her importance stemmed from the fact that in style and approach she was radically purifying the photographic image.’” In her notes, Bosworth references a phone interview with Hopps dated July 8, 1981. Then, quoting her November 4, 1982, interview with Dr. Boigon, Bosworth continued, “Whenever she mentioned Yale [where she was invited to teach by Walker Evans in 1971] or Venice, Diane would fall into wild crying.”¹¹¹

Arthur Lubow strikes a similar tone and also references Bosworth’s interview with Boigon. “Walter Hopps—the charismatic cofounder of the defunct Ferus Gallery in San Francisco and now the director of the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.—had been appointed to select the artists for the United States Pavilion at the thirty-sixth Venice Biennale, opening in June 1972. In the past, the places had gone exclusively to painters and sculptors, but Hopps, like the editor of *Artforum*, saw Arbus as a true artist. He had approached her to participate in this exposition, the most prestigious in the international art world. During Arbus’s tirades in Dr. Boigon’s office, when she despairingly enumerated the outsize things that people expected of her, Hopps’s overtures ranked high on her list of terrors.”¹¹² In fact, to fit the Bosworth and Lubow

109. Grace Glueck, “We’ll Open in Venice, Then On To . . .?” *New York Times*, March 26, 1972, Smithsonian Institution Archives RU 454, folder XXXVI.

110. The delay in 1971–72 appears to have been related to funding. A November 1971 telegram from the Department of State said, “In recent past some USG [U.S. government] financial support has been given for participation in art exhibitions, but this has been an exception to general policy. USG believes that there should be a return to reliance on private efforts and funding with regard to art exhibitions, as is case with other international events. Therefore, there will be no USG official participation in Venice Biennale.” USIA Archives RG 306, entry P9, box 38. An interagency group was tasked with working on non-USG sponsorship. A gift of \$15,000 in support of the exhibition was announced on June 5, 1972. “RCA [Radio Corporation of America] Gives Grant to Smithsonian for U.S. Art Exhibition in Venice,” press release, Smithsonian Institution Archives RU 454, folder XXXVI.

111. Patricia Bosworth, *Diane Arbus: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), pp. 362–63.

112. Lubow, *Portrait of a Photographer*, p. 606. The Ferus Gallery was in fact in Los Angeles.

113. Arthur Lubow responded to the timeline question as follows: “It is always possible that Boigon’s memory played tricks on her. But on Nov 4, 1982, she told Bosworth: ‘She cried often in the sessions about her work. What did people expect of her?’ Walker Evans had asked her to teach photography at Yale. Walter Hopps was planning to exhibit her photographs at the Venice Biennale, the first photographer ever honored. She was absolutely terrified at the thought of these honors and responsibilities. ‘People expect things of me and I have nothing to give,’ she would sob. The Evans story is true; I confirmed it from Alvin Friedman [*sic*], who was the head of the graphic arts department in which Evans taught. The specificity of Boigon’s recollection is convincing to me. And I find it hard to imagine that Hopps could have pulled it all together from a starting point of zero in three months. There must have been preliminary discussions in which he planned what he might do if he got the go-ahead. Don’t you think?” Arthur Lubow, email to author, December 7, 2016. Alvin Eisenman was the first director of Yale’s graduate program for graphic design, the first offered by a major American university. Coincidentally, he was an acquaintance of Allan and Diane Arbus.

timelines, Hopps’s conversations with Arbus would have had to occur at least eight months before a decision was actually made to mount a U.S. entry in the 1972 Biennale, and the subsequent selection of Hopps to be its organizer. Whatever may have been troubling Arbus, in other words, it was not the Venice Biennale.¹¹³

It is unlikely that Hopps ever spoke with Arbus. He was appointed director of the Corcoran Gallery in 1970. That year, in a letter to John Szarkowski, he wrote of his desire to begin “a sustaining program of photographic exhibitions within the Gallery . . . which will include shows initiated by our staff as well as important exhibitions drawn from outside.”¹¹⁴ The letter explained that the policy necessary for initiating such a program had only recently been implemented by the Corcoran and asked that Szarkowski consider it as a participating venue for the tour of MoMA’s forthcoming Walker Evans retrospective.¹¹⁵ In another letter to Szarkowski dated March 8, 1972, Hopps specifically referred to Arbus and the posthumous exhibition being organized for MoMA. “I was very glad to receive your letter announcing the Arbus show,” Hopps wrote. “Perhaps you recall the conversation months ago, shortly following Arbus’s death, that I had with you inquiring about the possibility of a show. I hope that it can be presented here as was the brilliant Walker Evans exhibition.”¹¹⁶

Hopps’s posthumously published “autobiography,” wherein he states that in 1971 he was notified by the USIA that it had selected him to be commissioner of the forthcoming Biennale, is inaccurate on at least two counts.¹¹⁷ First, the USIA neither organized exhibitions nor selected their curators. That task was undertaken by the NCFCA, through the museum’s International Art Program, at that time directed by Lois A. Bingham.¹¹⁸ The NCFCA had promised six exhibitions to the USIA during 1972, which the agency would circulate abroad through its international outposts.¹¹⁹ Second, until late February 1972, when Battcock wrote to Rasmussen and Taylor, no plans had been made for a U.S. contribution to the Biennale. A telegram from the Department of State to the American Embassy in Rome, dated November 1971, stated, “there will be no repeat no official USG [United States Government] participation in Venice Biennale.”¹²⁰ Hopps’s assertions in his autobiography that he was determined to include photography and that Arbus was alive when he began work on the exhibition are also unreliable. In his letter of introduction to Mario Penelope, vice commissioner of the Biennale, Hopps wrote that he was invited to undertake the exhibition in March 1972.¹²¹ Furthermore,

114. Walter Hopps to John Szarkowski, August 10, 1970, Corcoran Gallery Archives, George Washington University Libraries.

115. *Photographs by Walker Evans* was presented at the Corcoran Gallery, May 14–June 27, 1971.

116. Walter Hopps to John Szarkowski, March 8, 1972, Corcoran Gallery Archives, George Washington University Libraries.

117. Walter Hopps, *The Dream Colony: A Life in Art* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2017), pp. 229–31. Edited by Deborah Treisman long after his death, the book pieces together interviews and oral history and presents the work as autobiography.

118. See “Historical Note” for National Museum of American Art, Office of Program Support, 1947–1981, Smithsonian Online Virtual Archives, <http://sova.si.edu/record/Record%20Unit%20321?q=engineering&s=780&n=10&i=781>.

119. “Questions for G. Riggs re: Venice Biennale 1972,” March 10, 1972, Smithsonian Institution Archives RU 321, box 209, folder 1.

120. Department of State telegram, November 1971, USIA Archives RG 306, entry P9, box 38. On January 26, 1972, a follow-up from the U.S. Embassy in Rome stated, “Would appreciate earliest possible decision nature if any of U.S. participation Biennale which we can share with organizers who naturally becoming anxious over current uncertainty.” A USIA telegram of February 2, 1972, replied, “Inter-agency group working on non-USG sponsorship, probably feature important one-man show. Will advise.” It appears the inter-agency group was planning an exhibition of Willem de Kooning, which fell through. NCFCA meeting notes dated March 10 state, “when JT [Joshua Taylor] realized news of the de Kooning proposal for Venice was leaking out and becoming distorted, he’d have to call a mtg. quickly—so he did. . . . They had to act quickly and quietly. He didn’t want the request to Walter Hopps to get out.” PC [Peg Cogswell]/JCT [Joshua Taylor] conversation re Venice 36, March 10, 1972, Smithsonian Institution Archives RU 321, box 209, folder 1. William Braun, the cultural attaché in Rome, was notified of Hopps’s selection informally, by phone. William K. Braun to Marie Zoe Greene-Mercier, March 14, 1972, USIA Archives RG 306, entry P9, box 38.

121. Walter Hopps to Mario Penelope, March 28, 1972, Smithsonian Institution Archives RU 313, box 44, folder 6.

at the March 9 press conference where his appointment was announced, he stated that due to time and financial constraints the exhibition would be limited to works by four to six painters.

There is no known documentation of any conversation or correspondence between Hopps and Arbus; however, there is the possibility of a connection through Irving Blum. Hopps was a cofounder of the Ferus Gallery in Los Angeles with artist Ed Kienholz. When Kienholz departed in 1958, his membership stake was acquired by Blum, and when Hopps left in 1962, Blum succeeded him as the gallery's director. Hopps went on to become the first full-time curator for the Pasadena Art Museum and later its director, before departing to direct the Washington Gallery of Modern Art (1967–70) and then the Corcoran Gallery (1970–72).¹²² Thus, by 1969, when Blum discussed with Arbus the purchase of twenty prints for the Pasadena Art Museum, Hopps had already left. He was not involved with the transaction but might have known about it. Since the conversation appears to have gone no further than between Blum and Arbus, however, this seems at best improbable.

Hopps would likely have seen Arbus's work published in *Artforum*. From 1965 its offices were located above the Ferus Gallery until the magazine relocated to New York in 1967; Hopps maintained a close and enduring relationship with its writers and editors.¹²³ Moreover, Hopps, who organized the first American museum retrospective of Marcel Duchamp, and Blum, who presented Andy Warhol at the Ferus Gallery, were well-known to Henry Geldzahler at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and they would probably have been aware of the museum's acquisition of prints by Arbus in 1969. Nevertheless, while all these loose connections hint at the intriguing possibility that Hopps might have communicated with Arbus, there is no evidence—no mention of his name or the Venice Biennale—in her archive to support the claim.¹²⁴ Nor has any such evidence been found in the Smithsonian Institution Archives, the Corcoran Gallery Archives, the USIA Archives, or the personal papers of Walter Hopps.¹²⁵

Archival evidence indicates that Hopps was concurrently pursuing both the possibility of bringing MoMA's posthumous Arbus retrospective to the Corcoran and his work on the Biennale. In a letter to Marie Frost, scheduling manager for MoMA's traveling exhibitions program, he wrote of the Corcoran Gallery's "enormous interest" in presenting the Arbus retrospective in Washington. Ultimately, the Corcoran was not included in that exhibition's itinerary. Perhaps Hopps spoke with Arbus about his planned photography program at the Corcoran. Perhaps he spoke with her about another international touring exhibition that he had been asked to organize for the NCFCA.¹²⁶ John Gossage, the Washington-based photographer who was

122. There is a personal connection between Hopps and Blum. Shirley Neilsen Hopps, Hopps's first wife since 1955, divorced him in 1966, married Irving Blum in 1967, and changed her name to Blum. She had graduated from the University of Chicago in 1955, receiving an MA under the direction of Joshua Taylor, professor of art history from 1960 to 1974 before he served as director of the NCFCA.

123. Philip Leider reportedly had a paste-up reading, "Walter Hopps will be here in 20 minutes" in the *Artforum* office, circa 1968. The statement was later produced on a pin by the staff of the Corcoran Gallery. Known for his chronic tardiness, Hopps also wore a wristwatch with the word "LATE" painted across the face.

124. Karan Rinaldo, Metropolitan Museum of Art, email to author, October 24, 2016. "As you may recall, the Arbus manuscript materials have not yet been processed. Nonetheless, I looked through the boxes and found no correspondence related to the 1972 biennale or with Walter Hopps."

125. Caroline Hopps-Huber, email to author, November 13, 2016. "I've looked through a large number of archive boxes that might contain materials related to the Biennale and have turned up nothing I'm sorry to say."

126. Joshua Taylor to Bartlett Hayes Jr., April 17, 1972, Smithsonian Institution Archives RU 322, box 30, folder 7.

friendly with both Hopps and Arbus, thinks not. Gossage delivered the news of Arbus's death to the Corcoran staff, and he recalls Hopps responding with shock that he would never meet the artist whom he so admired.¹²⁷

And what of Dr. Boigon? One must question the motivations of Arbus's therapist in speaking publicly about her famous client, a troubling ethical violation of the patient's right to confidentiality, which she broke not only for Bosworth but again for William Todd Schultz's so-called "psychobiography," *An Emergency in Slow Motion: The Inner Life of Diane Arbus*. Surely the statements given in such a fundamental breach of trust are themselves not trustworthy. Furthermore, there is no indication that Arbus, an active correspondent with family and friends, ever spoke about Venice with any of them. Whatever the case may be, the documented facts clearly contradict the assertion that Arbus was distressed over the prospect of the Biennale. These and other inaccuracies continue to haunt the writing on her life and work.

In late March 1972, Hopps was granted a three-month leave of absence by the Corcoran Gallery to devote his full attention to the Biennale. Having declined to divulge to the press his selection of artists, Hopps also refused to organize his exhibition around the festival theme, "Master Painters of the XX Century Confronting Work or Behaviour."¹²⁸ In his letter to Mario Penelope, he rejected the American artists proposed by the vice commissioner of the Biennale (Joseph Cornell, William T. Wiley, and Bruce Nauman, among others). The direction of his exhibition, Hopps wrote, "will involve work that is painting or painting-related manifestations. Four or five outstanding artists will participate, and their work will contrast sharply with some of the diversions of the past five years or so in the U.S. It will be the sort of work that comes after the great impact of the Kelly, Stella/Rauschenberg, Warhol polarity."¹²⁹ Regretting that his late appointment would prevent him from meeting all official deadlines, Hopps promised to send a list of artists in the first week of April, adding, "I do know now that the painter Sam Gilliam will be included."¹³⁰ He would follow the list of artists with a checklist of works to be exhibited by the second week of April.

In late March, Bartlett Hayes Jr., director of the American Academy in Rome and a longtime Smithsonian commissioner, wrote to Taylor responding to Grace Glueck's article of March 26. "Our New York office has just sent us the *Times* clipping regarding your plans for the Venice Biennale. I had rather gathered that nothing was to be done for this year but now the somewhat confusing article by Grace Glueck seems to indicate that you will hastily assemble something." Hayes proposed to exhibit works by the sculptors, painters, and possibly architects currently in residence as fellows of the Academy, noting, "These artists seem to have justified their Rome fellowships; they were selected on the basis of 1 out of 250 odd for painting and 1 out of 170 or so in sculpture."¹³¹ In his reply declining the proposal, Taylor explained how the NCFCA came to undertake the Biennale exhibition in 1972 and named the artists selected by Hopps for the first time.

127. John Gossage, phone conversation with author, August 8, 2016.

128. That year, 1972, was the first time that the Venice Biennale was organized thematically.

129. Walter Hopps to Mario Penelope, March 28, 1972, Smithsonian Institution Archives RU 313, box 44, folder 6.

130. Gilliam was an old friend of Hopps's. Early during his tenure at the Corcoran, in an unsuccessful attempt to have climate control installed in the galleries, Hopps staged a robbery. He enlisted Gilliam and Rockne Krebs to remove a Winslow Homer watercolor through a window that had been opened against Washington's punishing summer heat. The heist went unnoticed until the following day, after which the gallery responded by installing window screens. Calvin Thomkins, "A Touch for the Now: Walter Hopps," *New Yorker*, July 29, 1991, p. 50.

131. Bartlett Hayes Jr. to Joshua Taylor, March 30, 1972, Smithsonian Institution Archives RU 322, box 30, folder 7.

As a result of pressure to get something to the Biennale . . . I called a meeting in New York of museum directors to discuss the matter. They were not in favor of asking only the people in Italy at this time [i.e., at the American Academy] and, after MoMA finally backed out, I asked Walter Hopps, whom I had earlier asked to plan an exhibition for abroad, to plan an exhibition that could be shown in Venice and later circulated. This he has done. It will be a good show but our late start and limited budget—it must be within the limit we set for traveling shows—pose a variety of problems. . . . The artists to be included are Diane Arbus, Ron Davis, Richard Estes, Sam Gilliam, James Nutt and Keith Sonnier, and the exhibition will reflect the current diversity of artistic directions in the United States.¹³²

In mid-April, the Smithsonian's Office of Public Affairs released Hopps's selection of artists. "Arbus," the press release announced, "will be represented by photographs that 'are in the Walker Evans tradition,' in Hopps's phrase."¹³³ A concise biography of each artist accompanied the press release. Arbus's read as follows:

Biography

1923 Born New York City
 Studied Ethical Culture and Fieldston Schools, later with Lisette Model
 Worked as a fashion photographer until 1959 when she became a full-time photographic artist
1963, 1966 Guggenheim Fellowships in Photography
1971 Died New York City

Selected Exhibitions

Group

1967 "New Documents," Museum of Modern Art, New York
1970 Photography Exhibition, US Pavilion, Osaka World's Fair

Considering Hopps's criteria for inclusion in the exhibition, the biography offers remarkably little information.¹³⁴ Rather than an artist having experienced a "vital emergence" in recent years, it inaccurately presented her as a nearly blank slate. In addition to her two Guggenheim fellowships, inclusion in *New Documents*, and publication by *Artforum*, Arbus's photographs had been presented in group exhibitions, including *Recent Acquisitions: Photography* at MoMA (1965); *Invitational Exhibition: 10 American Photographers* at the School of Fine Arts, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee (1965); *Thirteen Photographers* at the Pratt Institute, Brooklyn (1969); *Human Concern/Personal Torment: The Grotesque in American Art* at the Whitney Museum of American Art, New York (1969); *New Photography U.S.A.* at MoMA (1969, the exhibition that traveled to the U.S. Pavilion of the Japan World Exhibition, Osaka); and *Contemporary Photographs I* at the Fogg Art Museum, now the Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts (1971). Arbus herself may have been ambivalent about exhibitions, but her work had certainly appeared in important ones at a number of major institutions.

132. Joshua Taylor to Bartlett Hayes Jr., April 17, 1972, Smithsonian Institution Archives RU 322, box 30, folder 7. This is the letter referred to earlier, alluding to another international exhibition that Hopps had been asked by Taylor to organize for the NCF. Referring to the NCF's future involvement in international exhibitions, Taylor stated, "We shall form in the autumn a committee of museum people to discuss future exhibitions abroad which will be quite independent in its judgements. Except for circulating exhibitions coordinated with USIA, the NCF will not henceforth be responsible for exhibitions abroad."

133. "Works of 6 Artists Will Be Exhibited in U.S. Pavilion at Venice Biennale," press release, April 19, 1972, Smithsonian Institution Archives RU 454, folder XXXVI.

134. Though all are concise, the biographies of the other participating artists are more extensive professional treatments than Arbus's, which may have been tailored to suggest her posthumous "discovery" for the Biennale.

Predictably, the press responded with shock and bewilderment. In the *New York Times*, Grace Glueck wrote, "In a radical departure from tradition, the United States will include in its exhibition at the Venice Biennale this June the work of a photographer and a filmmaker, in addition to that of four other artists who work in more accustomed materials. The photographer is the late Diane Arbus, an important influence on younger artists and photographers who regard the medium as an art form. . . . Explaining the innovation, Walter Hopps, organizer of the United States's Biennale contribution, stressed the 'renaissance' of still photography in this country. 'Our sense of it is only a couple of years old,' he said. 'But Diane Arbus was a central figure in that renaissance, and recent exhibitions of the work of other great photographers—Walker Evans, Gene Smith—show we're finally waking up to the stature of the artists we've had in that regard.'"¹³⁵ In an article for the *Washington Post*, Paul Richard also noted Arbus's influence on young photographers, identifying in particular Washington's John Gossage, who attended Lisette Model's photography workshop, as had Arbus.¹³⁶

Hopps likely communicated with Doon Arbus by phone; there are no known records of correspondence between them in the Smithsonian Institution Archives or Hopps's personal papers. On April 28, Pamela Worden wrote to her on Hopps's behalf, thanking her for "agreeing to lend a portfolio of ten photographs to this exhibition," and enclosing separate loan contracts for the Biennale, May 1 to October 15, 1972, and a tour, approximately October 15, 1972, to March 15, 1973.¹³⁷ As part of its responsibility for international exhibitions, the NCF had a contractual obligation to provide the USIA with exhibitions for its international outposts (confusingly referred to as USIS). After Venice, the Biennale exhibition was to be handed off to the USIA for circulation to three USIS-coordinated venues in Germany. The contracts were signed and returned to the NCF on May 1. Arbus's prints were framed by Robert Kulicke, who had earlier designed the frames for *New Documents*, and were shipped from New York on May 4. A tracking document from the NCF's office of the registrar lists their medium as "photograph," declares an insurance value of \$1,500, and notes, "The portfolio is available for \$1,000. Individual prints (tho' none from this portfolio) are available for \$150/each. In each case, the lender is Doon Arbus."¹³⁸ Despite the photographer's earlier efforts to flatten them, condition reports indicate rippling at the edges of the prints.¹³⁹

The opening of the 36th Venice Biennale was celebrated on June 11, 1972 (fig. 12). Gregory Battcock, in *Arts Magazine*, lamented that the "American Pavilion, something of a hodgepodge is, alas, not a strong contender for a leading place." Nevertheless, he wrote, "photographs by Diane Arbus certainly made a strong stand."¹⁴⁰ Arts writer Hilton Kramer was more enthusiastic. In his report on June 12 for the *New York Times*, entitled "Venice Biennale Is Optimistic in Spirit," Kramer declared, "By far the most audacious thing about Mr. Hopps's selection is the inclusion of Diane Arbus, who, as far as anyone can remember, is the first

135. Grace Glueck, "US Photos and Movies for Biennale," *New York Times*, April 20, 1972, Smithsonian Institution Archives RU 454, folder XXXVI.

136. Paul Richard, "Six Artists for Biennale," *Washington Post*, April 20, 1972, Smithsonian Institution Archives RU 454, folder XXXVI.

137. Pamela Worden to Doon Arbus, April 28, 1972, Smithsonian Institution Archives RU 321, box 209, folder 9.

138. Tracking document, May 17, 1972, Smithsonian Institution Archives RU 453, box 6, folder 115.

139. Condition report, May 18, 1972, Smithsonian Institution Archives RU 453, box 6, folder 115.

140. Gregory Battcock, "Venice and Documenta," *Arts Magazine*, September/October 1972, p. 52.



Arbus Photos, at Venice, Show Power

By HILTON KRAMER
Special to The New York Times

VENICE, Italy—When the American photographer Diane Arbus died last year at the age of 48, she had already become a legend and an influence among serious photographers of the younger generation. Her fame was just beginning to penetrate the world of critics and collectors who, still uncertain of their attitude toward photography in general, seemed nonetheless ready to make a cult of this particular photographer. Her work had recently been published on the cover of a monthly journal, *Artforum*, normally devoted to abstract art, and her name was rapidly acquiring the semimythical status our culture confers upon artists who specialize in extreme and unfamiliar experience.

No doubt her suicide last year has done much to hasten this process of mythification. Her posthumous reputation, based on a very small part of her work as a whole, has already grown enormously, and is certain to increase in the near future as the sizable body of her oeuvre becomes better known.

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What may be regarded as the first chapter of this posthumous fame, at least so far as exhibitions go, is to be found in Venice, where a portfolio of 10 enormous photographs has proved to

be the overwhelming sensation of the American Pavilion. If one's natural tendency is to be skeptical about a legend, it must be said that all suspicion vanishes in the presence of the Arbus work, which is extremely powerful and very strange.

It is strange in an unexpected way, however. It is usually said of Miss Arbus that she specialized in freaks, and it is certainly true that her work rejects our customary notions of social normality. It rejects them in two ways — first and foremost, by dwelling on subjects (transvestites, nudists, giants, identical twins) that exist on the margin of the social norm, and then also by dealing with conventional subjects (suburbia, for example) as if they were bizarre.

But the power of these pictures does not derive from their subject matter alone. It derives in equal degree from the style Miss Arbus developed to deal with them. This style, which lavishes an extraordinary candor and sympathy on her subjects, is almost an anti-style. It is the complete opposite of the kind of photographic vision that aspires to "catch" a split-second moment of glimpsed experience and "frame" it forever in a perfect composition.

In Miss Arbus's pictures, nothing is improvised or merely "caught." The subjects face the camera with interest and patience. They are fully aware of the picture-making process. They collaborate. It is this element of participation, this suggestion of a dialogue between the subject and the photographer, that gives these pictures their great dignity. And it is their dignity that is, I think, the source of their power.

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Thus, the young Brooklyn couple with their retarded son are deeply affecting without being pathetic. So too is Eddie Carmel, a "Jewish giant," visiting his normal-size parents in their Bronx home. So too is the patriotic boy in a straw hat, with his "Bomb Hanoi" button. The spectator is not a voyeur here because the photographer is not a voyeur. She has invited her subjects to be themselves, and miraculously, they have agreed.

It is an extraordinary achievement, and fully deserves the attention it is now receiving. In the fall, the Museum of Modern art in New York will mount a retrospective of Miss Arbus's work, and large exhibitions are already planned for Tokyo and Paris in 1973.

The show at the Venice Biennale is small, but it is enough to make us eager to see the full range of this amazing camera artist.

FIG. 12: INSTALLATION OF ARBUS'S PHOTOGRAPHS AT THE 1972 VENICE BIENNALE (USIS, PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN)
FIG. 13: HILTON KRAMER'S REPORT ON ARBUS'S PHOTOGRAPHS AT THE 1972 VENICE BIENNALE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES, PUBLISHED ON JUNE 17, 1972

photographer to be exhibited at the biennale. Her ten photographs, which concentrate on extreme oddities of personality and physique, have a power that nothing else in the American show—and little in the biennale as a whole—can match.¹⁴¹ On June 17, Kramer published a special report in the *Times* entitled "Arbus Photos, at Venice, Show Power" (fig. 13), and on June 18, in a review entitled "The Latest Thing at the Biennale Is That It's Still Alive," he wrote, "Of the six Americans Hopps has selected, it is the late Diane Arbus, a photographer, who has made the greatest impact. Her extraordinary pictures of human oddities, in their unexpected combination of frankness, precision and sympathy, are at once both highly dramatic and strongly affecting, and nothing else in the American show can compete with them."¹⁴²

Hilton Kramer became an important, if unlikely, champion of Diane Arbus. When he began writing on photography in the early 1970s, Kramer was mainly drawn to those already well established, such as Henri Cartier-Bresson and Walker Evans, and he wrote of them as old masters of a modern pictorial art. Now, as it had for Philip Leider, Kramer's encounter with *A box of ten photographs* clearly challenged his preconceptions about both the medium and its practitioners. In his article of June 17, reporting exclusively on Arbus for the first time, Kramer began with a brief biography, writing that although she was already legendary among photographers, Arbus's fame had only just begun to penetrate the larger world of art critics and collectors. Noting that her photographs had recently been published in *Artforum*, "a monthly journal . . . normally devoted to abstract art," Kramer astutely observed that Arbus's fame was built upon the recognition of a very small part of her work and would likely increase as her oeuvre became better known.

What may be regarded as the first chapter of this posthumous fame, at least so far as exhibitions go, is to be found in Venice, where a portfolio of 10 enormous photographs has proved to be the overwhelming sensation of the American Pavilion. If one's natural tendency is to be skeptical about a legend, it must be said that all suspicion vanishes in the presence of the Arbus work, which is extremely powerful and very strange.¹⁴³

The work is strange, Kramer observed, not because of who Arbus photographed ("transvestites, nudists, giants . . ." and "suburbia, for example"), but because she rejected customary social norms by treating all equally. It is powerful, he continued, because Arbus's simple style conferred a sense of candor, while her great sympathy for her subjects made them collaborators in the act of self-revelation. "It is their dignity that is, I think, the source of their power." This, he concluded, is "an extraordinary achievement, and fully deserves the attention it is now receiving. . . . The show at the Venice Biennale is small, but it is enough to make us eager to see the full range of this amazing camera artist."¹⁴⁴

Kramer would soon get his wish. In July, Doon Arbus sent him a typescript and dummy of the forthcoming Diane Arbus monograph, which she and Marvin Israel were preparing for publication by Aperture, asking him to write an endorsement. "Here are Diane's words and the record of the photographs that will be in the book," she wrote.¹⁴⁵ Kramer was conducting research for a profile of Arbus to run in the *New York Times Sunday Magazine* in November, concurrently with the publication of the book and the opening of the retrospective at MoMA. Later that summer, accompanying an undated, handwritten note to Kramer, Doon also sent typescripts of two forthcoming articles.¹⁴⁶ Her article "Diane Arbus: Photographer" was published in the October issue of *Ms.* magazine, where Bea Feitler was art director. It was accompanied by seven of the photographs included in *A box of ten photographs*, and was the only publication ever to include Arbus's photographs reproduced together with her handwritten captions for the portfolio (fig. 14).

141. Hilton Kramer, "Venice Biennale Is Optimistic in Spirit," *New York Times*, June 12, 1972.

142. Hilton Kramer, "The Latest Thing at the Biennale Is That It's Still Alive," *New York Times*, June 18, 1972, Smithsonian Institution Archives RU 454, folder XXXV.

143. Hilton Kramer, "Arbus Photos, at Venice, Show Power," *New York Times*, June 17, 1972, Smithsonian Institution Archives RU 454, folder XXXVI. The prints were 20 by 16 inches, at that time still an uncommonly large print size for photographs.

144. *Ibid.*

145. Doon Arbus to Hilton Kramer, July 19, 1972, Hilton Kramer Papers, Bowdoin College Library.

146. Doon Arbus to Hilton Kramer, undated, Hilton Kramer Papers, Bowdoin College Library.

46/47

Diana Arbus

PHOTOGRAPHER

Diane Arbus was my mother, so I am not entirely to be trusted. Like anyone who knew her, I have too much at stake. Recollections are inextricably bound up with what one needs to believe. Which is probably as it should be. Since her death, I have gone looking for her in what I remember and in the memories of those who knew her. I find scraps that don't quite fit together. Those I recognize thrill me. Others are jarring to what I know and I try to discredit them. The hardest things to recapture are the jokes. All I mean to say is that no one can be a reliable authority on her. The closer they were to her, the more prejudices they have. I will tell some of what I have learned and remember, but it must not be mistaken for the truth. She must have known thousands of people, literally thousands. They include almost everyone she photographed because, even if she was only with them for a few hours or knew them for years, she exchanged secrets with them. Often what they told each other, neither had shared with intimate friends. And on her part, this is not to say that she was guarded with her friends but that there was a special intensity in the moments when she was working that made

These photographs are from a portfolio made by Diane Arbus in 1970, a year before her suicide. Next month the Museum of Modern Art will present an Arbus retrospective which will make a two-year tour of the country. A book of her photographs will be published later this fall.

BY DOON ARBUS

something pertinent which had never been so before. It was as much what people drew from her that excited her as what she could draw out of them. She kept notebooks, small black spiral-bound notebooks. Most of the pages in the earliest ones (I think they begin in 1939) are filled with passages from books she had been reading, copied down with stunning care and punctuated here and there by something a friend had said to her. But the more recent ones have lists, lists of things she planned to do, the same kind of lists which later appeared on a giant blackboard above her bed. *diaper derby, lady wrestling, steady lady's wedding, wedding room, tattoo parlor, gloria*

Sometimes she seems to have been like a princess, moving pell-mell through her own fairy tale which was peopled with dwarfs and giants, men who were really women, women who were really men, patriots, twins and triplets, people in disguises or guises or all decked out without their clothes as though you had suddenly been granted X-ray vision. They were all awesome in their private ways and miraculously intent on showing her what they believed themselves to be. And she was like a princess because no matter how hard

(text continued on page 52)



This is Eddie Carmel, a good painter, with his parents in the living room of their home in the Bronx, N.Y. 1970
Diane Arbus



A family on the lawn one Sunday in Westchester in June 1969.



Their numbers were picked out of a hat. They were from Boston. King and Queen of a semi-erotic dance in 1946. (John's name is 72 and Charles Fisher is 74. They were re-elected before. 1970)



patrician boy with straw-hat, buttons and flag, waiting to march in a pro-war parade. 1952, 1957



A young family in Prospect Park for a Sunday outing. Their baby is named Klem. Their girl is Ireland. 1966



Richard Mader and his wife at home in a nudist camp one morning in N.Y. 1963. In the afternoon she and I framed photographs of each other.



identical twins, Kathleen (L) and Colleen, members of a term club in New Jersey. 1962

FIG. 14: DOON ARBUS'S ARTICLE, PUBLISHED IN MS., OCTOBER 1972. IT WAS THE ONLY PUBLICATION TO INCLUDE ARBUS'S PHOTOGRAPHS REPRODUCED TOGETHER WITH HER HANDWRITTEN CAPTIONS FOR A BOX OF TEN PHOTOGRAPHS. THE LAYOUT WAS DESIGNED BY BEA FEITLER, THE MAGAZINE'S ART DIRECTOR.



FIG. 15: ARBUS'S PHOTOGRAPH MAN AT A PARADE ON FIFTH AVENUE, N.Y.C., 1969 ON THE COVER OF *INFINITY*, NOVEMBER 1972, ACCOMPANYING MARVIN ISRAEL'S ARTICLE "THE PHOTOGRAPHY OF DIANE ARBUS"

An article by Israel, "The Photography of Diane Arbus," was published in the November issue of *Infinity* (fig. 15). It offered a poignant remembrance of Arbus and a selection of nine photographs (including one on the magazine cover) from the Aperture monograph.

October 1, 1972, marked the official closing of the 36th Venice Biennale. Responding to popular demand, the festival was extended for one week, but because the itinerary of the *Venice XXXVI Biennale European Tour* called for the exhibition to open in Hamburg on October 22, the U.S. Pavilion was closed during the extension period.¹⁴⁷ The exhibition tour coincided with the celebration of Arbus's work in New York. On November 5, Kramer's profile of Arbus, "From Fashion to Freaks," appeared in the *New York Times Sunday Magazine*. It was followed that week by the opening of the retrospective *Diane Arbus* at MoMA and the publication of *Diane Arbus: An Aperture Monograph*. In his wall text for the exhibition, John Szarkowski wrote, "[Arbus's] photographs record the outward signs of inner mysteries." He also expanded upon his earlier description for *New Documents* of the honesty of her vision.

147. Walter Hopps received a letter of complaint, dated October 4, 1972, from Leslie D. Bruning (whose husband, H. F. Bruning Jr., would publish *Venetian Cooking: 200 Authentic Recipes from a Great Regional Cuisine Adapted for American Cooks* in 1973): "Do you have any explanation I can offer my friends as to why it is only the U.S. pavilion missing these days. It is especially disappointing in that I heard it was among the best there."

Arbus knew that honesty is not a gift, endowed by a native naivete, not a matter of style, or politics, or philosophy. She knew rather that it is a reward bestowed for bravery in the face of truth. Those who have been news reporters, and have been required by their role to ask the unforgivable question, know the sense of relief with which one averts one's eyes, once perfunctory duty is done. Arbus did not avert her eyes.¹⁴⁸

On November 8, one day after the opening events, Kramer published "125 Photos by Arbus on Display," his favorable review of the exhibition, in the *New York Times*.¹⁴⁹ As he had hoped when viewing *A box of ten photographs* in Venice, it offered a greatly expanded range of Arbus's work. After noting the "high preponderance of social oddities" among Arbus's subjects, Kramer wrote of the viewer's powerful affectual response to her photographs.

These pictures astonish us in two quite different ways. Their first impact derives from their unfamiliarity: We are shocked to be seeing what we are seeing. But their more permanent impact—and the real source of their power—derives from the intimacy of their outlook and the completely relaxed acceptance of their subjects' existence. The spectator, like the photographer herself, is not allowed to stand at a distance, but is brought directly into the life of the subject. . . . The exhibition is, all in all, a memorable event. Even those who recoil from some of its difficult moments will not soon forget what they have seen.¹⁵⁰

The exhibition drew record attendance, purportedly topping even *The Family of Man*.¹⁵¹ The Aperture monograph, the first edition of which was limited to a small print run in anticipation of poor sales, has never since gone out of print.¹⁵² Susan Sontag, whom Arbus had photographed with her son for *Esquire* in 1965, was one of many visitors who lined up outside MoMA for repeat visits to the exhibition, which she considered a landmark. "That tens of thousands would come to see the work of just one photographer fundamentally changed the audience for photography, in Sontag's view," her biographers wrote. "Suddenly the camera's peculiar possibilities, as filtered through a unique intelligence, were given a primacy previously unacknowledged by museums and the world of art."¹⁵³ Though fascinated by it, Sontag's response to the exhibition was less charitable than Kramer's. In a pair of articles for the *New York Review of Books*, she wrote that, as the antithesis to the humanism of *The Family of Man*, the Arbus exhibition marked the melancholy end of an idealizing vision of America by artists from Walt Whitman to Walker Evans.¹⁵⁴ These texts would become the core of *On Photography*, Sontag's influential collection of essays published in 1977. After closing

148. John Szarkowski, wall label, *Diane Arbus*, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1972.

149. The exhibition was actually comprised of 112 prints, not 125.

150. Hilton Kramer, "Art Review for Wednesday," drawn from the pre-publication typescript, Hilton Kramer Papers, Bowdoin College.

151. Because MoMA did not collect attendance figures for exhibitions until 1980, the evidence is anecdotal. According to a press release for *The Family of Man* dated May 1, 1955, attendance surpassed 238,000. The museum's 1972–73 Annual Report notes that the Diane Arbus retrospective was seen by an estimated 250,000 visitors. Jennifer Tobias, MoMA, email to Laura M. Augustin, Smithsonian American Art Museum, July 6, 2017. See also Lubow, *Portrait of a Photographer*, p. 711n607.

152. Jeffrey Fraenkel, "A Choice of Titles," in Andrew Roth, ed., *The Book of 101 Books: Seminal Photographic Books of the Twentieth Century* (New York: PPP Editions, 2001), p. 204.

153. Carl Rollyson and Lisa Paddock, *Susan Sontag: The Making of an Icon* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2016), p. 176.

154. Susan Sontag, "Photography," *New York Review of Books*, October 18, 1973, and "Freak Show," *New York Review of Books*, November 15, 1973.



FIG 16: INSTALLATION OF ARBUS'S PHOTOGRAPHS AT THE HAMBURG KUNSTVEREIN, WHERE THE TOURING VENICE XXXVI EXHIBITION WAS PRESENTED FROM OCTOBER 28 THROUGH NOVEMBER 26, 1972 (USIS, PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN)

in New York, the MoMA retrospective embarked on a highly consequential tour to venues in the U.S. and Canada.¹⁵⁵

Visitors to the exhibition in Germany had similarly mixed and equally strong reactions. From October 28 through November 26, *Venice XXXVI* was presented at the Hamburg Kunstverein, where it was attended by 2,987 visitors (fig. 16). A reviewer for the *Bremer Nachrichten* wrote, "It may not be too pleasant for some Europeans to find that neither Munich, nor Düsseldorf nor even London can match the vitality and diversity of the American art scene. . . . The most impressive is the work of a photographer, Diane Arbus: The visitor cannot disengage himself from a feeling of dread when he sees the accuracy, the bitterness, and the deep insight with which the photographer paints American society. There is so much disclosure that it is hardly bearable."¹⁵⁶ In Berlin, where the exhibition was presented at the Amerika Haus from December 5 through 23, it was attended by 873 visitors. A reviewer for *Der Tagesspiegel* wrote, "What you see now in the America House is . . . a cross-section of the unbelievably pluralistic American art scene. . . . Only Diane Arbus has people as subjects. Her photos are like a horror cabinet filled with abnormalities: nudists, dwarfs, giants, but also retarded children and patriotic young men have been documented in an intentionally ugly way. . . . Her photography becomes a frightening and unforgettable impression."¹⁵⁷

155. Venues included the Baltimore Art Museum, 1973; Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts, 1973; Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, 1974; National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 1974; Detroit Institute of Arts, 1974; Witte Memorial Museum, San Antonio, 1974; New Orleans Art Museum, 1974; Berkeley Art Museum, Berkeley, California, 1975; Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 1975; Florida Center for the Arts, Tampa, 1975; and Krannert Art Museum, Champaign, Illinois, 1975.

156. *Bremer Nachrichten*, November 15, 1972, Smithsonian Institution Archives RU 321, box 208, folder 7.

157. *Der Tagesspiegel*, December 14, 1972, Smithsonian Institution Archives RU 321, box 208, folder 7.

At its final venue, the *Venice XXXVI* exhibition was presented at the Wilhelm Lehmbruck Museum, Duisburg, from January 9 through February 11, 1973, and was attended by 2,710 visitors. The reviewer for the *Rheinische Post* concurred with earlier critics.

The world of Diane Arbus consists of the horror of human unhappiness when it is covered by a stagelike glamor: a retarded girl in bathing suit; old nudists in their hopeless dream of eternal youth; transvestites in glittering garb; small boys demonstrating for the war in Vietnam. The horror becomes even more manifest when Diane Arbus who never 'displays' monsters but appeals to the compassion of the audience shows an empty room with a decorated Christmas tree. . . . The straight realism of these photos extremely well predetermined in form and theme leads us to consider whether it would not be better to see more of America's actual photo realists and less of the painters in photo realism.¹⁵⁸

The review is remarkable for describing photographs by Arbus that were not included among the ten works in the exhibition. Overlapping chronologically with the exhibition at MoMA, its author confesses that his strong impression "comes less from the few photos on the walls but from a catalog of the New York Museum of Modern Art . . . for whose present show in New York there are supposed to be long queues."¹⁵⁹ Apparently the organizers in Duisburg accompanied the exhibition with a copy of the Aperture monograph.

The portfolio loaned by Doon Arbus for the Venice Biennale was returned to her, in New York City, on February 16, 1973. A subsequent evaluation of *Venice XXXVI* by USIS, the internationally based offices that oversaw and reviewed the programs of the Washington, D.C.-based USIA, concluded that the exhibition tour had offered viewers a "profound barometer" of American "creative health."¹⁶⁰ Following the successful tour in Germany and the landmark exhibition in New York, interest in Arbus among European audiences continued to grow. In July 1973, in an operations memorandum to USIA Washington, copied to offices in Bonn, Paris, The Hague, and Copenhagen, USIS London requested information about a circulating exhibition of photographs by Diane Arbus. "We have seen mention, though we do not recall the source, of an exhibit of her photographs at the Museum of Modern Art and believe that it was held fairly recently."¹⁶¹ The Photographers' Gallery in London was named as a potential venue for the exhibition.

In reply to USIS London, USIS Bonn responded, "USIS Bonn would be very interested in an exhibit of Diane Arbus's photographs organized by the Museum of Modern Art and shown there in October–November 1972. The Post had ten of Diane Arbus's photographs in the exhibit 'American Contributions to the Venice Biennale 1972' which was shown in three German cities. Of the artists in the exhibit Diane Arbus received the greatest positive reaction from art critics as well as from the general audience."¹⁶² Ultimately, the

158. *Rheinische Post*, January 12, 1973, Smithsonian Institution Archives RU 321, box 208, folder 7.

159. Ibid. The review in *Der Tagesspiegel* similarly mentions "nudists, dwarfs, giants, but also retarded children and patriotic young men," but "retarded children" probably does not refer to photographs from Arbus's *Untitled* series. For the exhibition in Venice and in Germany, the extended captions from the portfolio were used, and instead of the title *A young Brooklyn family going for a Sunday outing, N.Y.C.*, viewers would have seen *A young family in Brooklyn going for a summer outing. Their baby is named Dawn. Their son is retarded.*

160. Field message from McKinny Russell, USIS Bonn, Smithsonian Institution Archives RU 321, box 208, folder 7.

161. Operations memorandum, July 19, 1973, Smithsonian Institution Archives RU 321, box 29.

162. Operations memorandum, July 30, 1973, Smithsonian Institution Archives RU 321, box 29.

various USIS offices and the Photography Department of the British Arts Council contracted with Doon Arbus and Marvin Israel, who were co-organizing a retrospective exhibition comprised of 118 posthumous prints by Neil Selkirk for the Seibu Museum, Tokyo, where it opened in 1973. From 1974 to 1976, the retrospective traveled to venues in the United Kingdom and Europe, including the Arts Council–sponsored presentation at the Hayward Gallery in London. From 1976 to 1978 it toured venues in Australia under the auspices of the Australian Arts Council, and from 1978 to 1979 to venues in New Zealand under the auspices of the Arts Council of New Zealand.

At the time of her death, Diane Arbus was already a growing influence on the field of photography but not widely known to the larger public. It was *A box of ten photographs* that initiated the transition, connecting Arbus's past as a magazine photographer with her emergence as a serious artist, and bridging a lifetime of modest recognition with a posthumous career of extraordinary acclaim. The publication of six photographs from the portfolio in *Artforum*, the accompaniment of eight photographs with captions handwritten for it in an article by Doon Arbus for *Ms.* magazine, and finally the presentation of the complete portfolio at the Venice Biennale and in Germany—these were the first steps toward the almost mythical status of Diane Arbus today. American audiences had never before been presented with such a singular vision in a photographer. When they were, they embraced it eagerly if not uncritically, and the cultural landscape was transformed by their embrace. Arbus's photographs became a phenomenon, a subject of popular culture perhaps most conspicuously embodied by the appropriation of her photograph *Identical twins*, in Stanley Kubrick's gothic horror film *The Shining* (1980). In Kubrick's rendition of the novel by Stephen King, a pair of girls closely resembling Arbus's twins are among the restive spirits haunting the isolated Overlook Hotel, where Jack Torrance, played by actor Jack Nicholson, goes slowly and murderously mad.¹⁶³

Perhaps not surprisingly, after the first flurry of exhibitions and publications celebrating Arbus during the early 1970s, the Estate of Diane Arbus sought greater control over the use of her photographs. It was responding, in part, to a perceived overexposure of the work, as well as to inaccurate and prurient psychological speculation about Arbus's subjects, and about the photographer herself. Scholars writing on Arbus but denied permission to reproduce her photographs without prior review of text responded with outrage, regarding themselves as above the fray. A generation of essays was published without illustrations and accompanied by footnotes criticizing the Estate's overzealous control. It was as if, by so powerfully penetrating the American psyche, the photographs were felt to have entered the public domain rather than remaining the legal property and the moral right of the Estate to manage and defend. During this time, too, *A box of ten photographs* was followed and expanded upon first by the Aperture monograph (1972) and later by *Diane Arbus: Magazine Work* (1984), *Diane Arbus: Untitled* (1995), and, especially, *Diane Arbus: Revelations* (2003), as well as the recent *diane arbus: in the beginning* (2016). These have become the primary documents of Arbus's life and work.

163. Arbus was friendly with Kubrick in the 1960s, when he began his career as a still photographer for *Look* magazine. In a 2005 interview with Kubrick's widow, she denied that the Grady Twins in *The Shining* referenced Arbus's photograph. Patrick Webster, *Love and Death in Kubrick: A Critical Study of the Films from Lolita through Eyes Wide Shut* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2011), p. 115.

If the limits on access remain among the questions surrounding Arbus's legacy today, like the inaccuracies that haunt her biography, it is largely a matter of lingering misperception. On the one hand, at the time of Arbus's death the field of artist-endowed foundations and estates was far smaller. Today, bearing such names as Avedon, Frankenthaler, Haring, Lichtenstein, Mapplethorpe, Pollock-Krasner, Rauschenberg, and Warhol, legal entities overseeing the legacies of visual artists are a rapidly growing force in cultural philanthropy and artistic heritage stewardship. In retrospect, it is clear that the Arbus Estate's limits were not only accordant with the photographer's ambivalence regarding exhibitions, her hesitation to publish, and her quite well-founded fear of misinterpretation, but also consistent with the expanding field of legacy management. On the other hand, since the 2003 exhibition *Diane Arbus: Revelations*, many publications and exhibitions have appeared with the Estate's consent, including the spectacular touring retrospective *Diane Arbus*, organized by the Jeu de Paume, Paris; *Artist Rooms: Diane Arbus*, organized by the Tate Modern, London, and the National Galleries of Scotland; and *diane arbus: in the beginning*, organized by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Those appearing without its cooperation do so unhindered by the Estate, but with limited access to the use of Arbus's photographs, as is the Estate's inalienable right.

Arbus once said, "For me the subject of the picture is always more important than the picture. And more complicated. I do have a feeling for the print but I don't have a holy feeling for it. I really think what it is, is what it's about. I mean it has to be *of* something. And what it's of is always more remarkable than what it is."¹⁶⁴ Similarly, a photograph has to be made by someone, and Arbus's remarkable achievements as a photographer tempt us to look to her life for answers about her photographs. Considered retrospectively, it is difficult to separate the life from the work. But to conflate the life with the work diminishes both, and it diminishes our experience as well. They may have been inseparable for the photographer, but as viewers of her photographs we must endeavor to experience them alone and on their own terms. Doon Arbus expressed it best, in her afterword for *Diane Arbus: Revelations*. Describing the book's integration of her mother's writing with her photographs, she wrote of the paradoxical desire, on the one hand, that the words might surround the photographs as a kind of autobiography—and, on the other hand, "that this surfeit of information and opinion would finally render the scrim of words invisible so that anyone encountering the photographs could meet them in the eloquence of their silence."¹⁶⁵

In fact, this quotation represents a double paradox, first that a surfeit of information might make words invisible, and second that their invisibility might make silent photographs eloquent. Yet this is precisely what Arbus sought to achieve with *A box of ten photographs*. Staged individually within its transparent container, each photograph is accompanied by a vellum sheet with Arbus's handwritten caption naming its subject and describing its pertinent detail. The vellums connect the portfolio to Arbus's past as a magazine photographer and to words. The transparent box, by contrast, operates as a frame and turns away from words, demanding that viewers encounter the photographs "in the eloquence of their silence." Philip Leider saw this in *A box of ten photographs*, prompting his remark, "What changed everything was the portfolio itself." Just

164. *Diane Arbus: An Aperture Monograph*, p. 15.

165. Doon Arbus, "Afterword," in *Diane Arbus: Revelations*, p. 299.

as the box is capable of holding multiple photographs but is intended to display only one, so the vellum was intended to be lifted, the scrim of words made invisible so that each singular subject might be encountered uniquely. As Hilton Kramer rightly observed, “The spectator, like the photographer herself, is not allowed to stand at a distance, but is brought directly into the life of the subject. . . . [and] will not soon forget what they have seen.” Impossible to forget, Arbus’s photographs persist in personal and cultural memory, retaining the shock of an original intimacy while seemingly possessed of a life force of their own. “You can turn away,” Diane Arbus wrote, “but when you come back they’ll still be there looking at you.”





STEPHEN A. FRANK'S CONTACT SHEET OF DIANE ARBUS AT RHODE ISLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN IN 1970.

DIRECTOR'S AFTERWORD

Diane Arbus's *A box of ten photographs* is one of the treasures of the museum's collection. As John P. Jacob points out in his essay, it is unique in Arbus's oeuvre. It represents the only time in her career when Arbus exerted complete editorial and creative control over the presentation of her artwork—not only the choice of photographs, but the size of her prints, the method of printing, the interleaved vellum sheets, and the enclosing Plexiglas case designed by Marvin Israel. The package—designed to disappear when it was hung on a wall with the visible print appearing uncontained by its frame—pretends to an unmediated quality and openness even as it practices concealment. The unseen prints stand behind the one that's visible, a world of intimacies waiting within to be displayed and confronted.

The portfolio acquired by the museum was purchased from Arbus by Bea Feitler, and it is one of only four sets signed and sold by the artist during her lifetime. Feitler's attraction to Arbus's work is easily understood: a student of Marvin Israel's, Feitler came to *Harper's Bazaar* as his art assistant at the age of twenty-three and within two years succeeded him (as co-art director with Ruth Ansel)—a position she held for ten years before leaving to join Gloria Steinem in founding *Ms.* magazine. An underrecognized giant of the publishing world, Feitler rendered the moon landings, the Vietnam War and its attendant protests, and the turbulent tide of pop culture during the 1960s into a coherent, consumable visual style; she is justly revered for her visionary art direction and lasting influence on graphic design. We are grateful that her discerning eye led her to purchase this iconic portfolio and that it found its way from her hands to our collection.

Shortly after Arbus's death, *A box of ten photographs* was hung as part of the American contribution to the 1972 Venice Biennale. Following months of discussion about whether the United States would participate at all, six artists were chosen: Diane Arbus, Ron Davis, Richard Estes, Sam Gilliam, James Nutt, and Keith Sonnier. Arbus was the first American photographer to be included in this most prestigious of international art shows. Critical reaction was adamant and united in signaling its recognition of Arbus's importance. When her works from the Biennale were rehung in Hamburg later that year, reviewers continued to praise their searing honesty and power. These qualities offer a possible reason for the box: it is unlikely that many of us have the fortitude to confront these images more than one at a time. But as we meditate on each, spending the time needed to meet the subjects and the artist behind the lens, we must conclude that these are works of profound humanity, honoring the gift of intimacy with unparalleled artistic integrity.

STEPHANIE STEBICH

The Margaret and Terry Stent Director
Smithsonian American Art Museum

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This exhibition and book have benefited from the contributions of many. Representing the Estate of Diane Arbus, Doon Arbus has been extraordinarily generous with her time and the Estate's resources, and John Pelosi's legal expertise helped ensure that all worked in a timely way together toward shared goals. At Fraenkel Gallery, Jeffrey Fraenkel was the earliest supporter of the project. Neil Selkirk was at first a behind-the-scenes contributor, and our subsequent conversations about Arbus and the portfolio were crucial to my interpretation of its importance to her. The close reading and comments on my essay by Doon, Neil, and Jeffrey have immeasurably strengthened it, and their generous loans of objects essential to the exhibition of *A box of ten photographs* were central to its realization.

Also at Fraenkel Gallery, Frish Brandt was an early supporter and acute reader, Amy Whiteside facilitated loans and photography, and Torin Stephens and Lexi Brown made the photographs of the box that appear in this book. At the Metropolitan Museum of Art, where the Diane Arbus Archive is housed, Jeff Rosenheim, Karan Rinaldo, and Anna Wall were generous with their time and the museum's resources. The fabrication of a facsimile of Arbus's vellum practice sheet was executed by the museum with great care and is an essential document of the exhibition. Aperture Foundation, which has worked with the Estate of Diane Arbus on many earlier projects, was an obvious choice for publisher of this one. After many years admiring Lesley Martin's books, it has been a pleasure to finally work with her. The exquisite separations for the book are by Robert Hennessey, and its empathetic design is by Katy Homans, both of whom have a long history of working on Arbus publications. Also at Aperture Foundation, thanks to Samantha Marlow for keeping things on track.

Many thanks to Stephen Frank for the use of his wonderful photographs of Diane Arbus. My conversations with John Gossage, a student of Lisette Model and friend of Arbus, were foundational at the outset of this project, and I am grateful for the use of his portrait of Arbus in the exhibition. George B. Fry kindly permitted the reproduction and exhibition of his treasured letter from Arbus. At Pier 24 Photography, Andrew and Mary Pilara were generous in providing images and information related to Richard Avedon's set of *A box of ten photographs*. Thanks also to Chris McCall and Allie Haeusslein at Pier 24 Photography for facilitating an afternoon spent studying the Avedon box.

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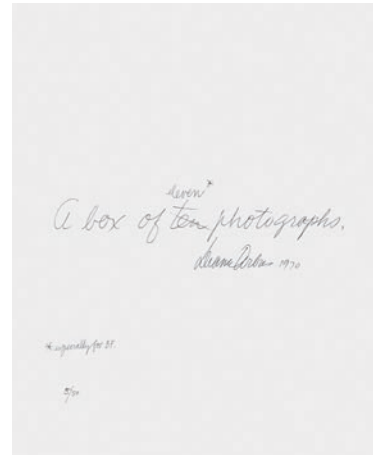
JOHN P. JACOB

McEvoy Family Curator for Photography
Smithsonian American Art Museum

THE DIANE ARBUS PORTFOLIO

A box of ten photographs, the eleven-print set that Diane Arbus assembled especially for Bea Feitler, now in the collection of the Smithsonian American Art Museum. Standard titles, as established in *Diane Arbus: An Aperture Monograph* (1972), are followed first by Arbus's inscription on the vellum slipsheet, then by her inscription on the verso of the print.

*Until recently, the date in the standard titles for each of these photographs (*Identical twins* and *Xmas tree in a living room*) had been mistakenly listed as 1967 and 1963 respectively. Research in the Diane Arbus Archive at the Metropolitan Museum of Art has determined that both photographs were actually taken in December of the previous year. The dates that appear below and throughout this volume are the corrected ones. For a further discussion of inconsistencies in Arbus titles, see *diane arbus: in the beginning* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2016), pp. 238-40.



pp. 1-2
title sheet
A box of ten eleven* photographs,
Diane Arbus 1970
*especially for BF
5/50



pp. 3-6
(A young Brooklyn family going for a Sunday outing, N.Y.C. 1966)
vellum inscription: A young family in Brooklyn going for a Sunday outing. Their baby is named Dawn. Their son is retarded. N.Y. 1966
verso inscription: A young family in Brooklyn on a Sunday outing 1966 Diane Arbus



pp. 7-10
(A young man in curlers at home on West 20th Street, N.Y.C. 1966)
vellum inscription: A young man in curlers dressing for an annual drag ball 1966
verso inscription: A young man in curlers dressing for an annual drag ball NY. 1966 Diane Arbus



pp. 23-26
*(Xmas tree in a living room in Levittown, L.I. 1962)
vellum inscription: Xmas tree in a living room in Levittown, Long Is., N.Y. 1962
verso inscription: Xmas tree in a living room, Levittown Long Is. NY. 1962 Diane Arbus



pp. 27-30
(A Jewish giant at home with his parents in the Bronx, N.Y. 1970)
vellum inscription: this is Eddie Carmel, a jewish giant, with his parents in the living room of their home in the Bronx N.Y. 1970
verso inscription: Eddie Carmel, jewish giant and his parents, Bronx N.Y. 1970 Diane Arbus



pp. 31-34
(Boy with a straw hat waiting to march in a pro-war parade, N.Y.C. 1967)
vellum inscription: patriotic boy with straw hat, buttons and flags waiting to march in a pro-war parade in N.Y.C. 1967
verso inscription: patriotic boy with straw hat buttons and flag NYC. 1967 Diane Arbus



pp. 11-14
(Retired man and his wife at home in a nudist camp one morning, N.J. 1963)
vellum inscription: Retired man and his wife at home in a nudist camp in N.J. one morning. On the TV set are framed photographs of each other 1963
verso inscription: husband and wife at home in a nudist camp in N.J. 1963 Diane Arbus



pp. 15-18
*(Identical twins, Roselle, N.J. 1966)
vellum inscription: identical twins, Cathleen (L) and Colleen, members of a twin club in N.J. 1966
verso inscription: identical twins, Roselle N.J. 1966 Diane Arbus



pp. 19-22
(Mexican dwarf in his hotel room in N.Y.C. 1970)
vellum inscription: Lauro Morales, a mexican dwarf, in his hotel room in New York City. 1970
verso inscription: Lauro Morales, a mexican dwarf in his hotel room N.Y.C. 1970 Diane Arbus



pp. 35-38
(The King and Queen of a Senior Citizens Dance, N.Y.C. 1970)
vellum inscription: Their numbers were picked out of a hat. They were just chosen King and Queen of a Senior Citizens Dance in NYC. Yetta Granat is seventy-two and Charles Fahrer is seventy-nine. They have never met before. 1970
verso inscription: King and Queen of a senior citizens dance N.Y. 1970 Diane Arbus



pp. 39-42
(A family on their lawn one Sunday in Westchester, N.Y. 1968)
vellum inscription: A family on the lawn one Sunday in westchester in June 1968 Diane Arbus
verso inscription: A family on the lawn one Sunday in Westchester in June 1968 Diane Arbus



pp. 43-46
(A woman with her baby monkey, N.J. 1971)
vellum inscription: Mrs. Gladys 'Mitzi' Ulrich with the baby, Sam, a stump-tailed macaque monkey, North Bergen N.J. 1971
verso inscription: Mrs. Gladys 'Mitzi' Ulrich with the baby, Sam, a stump-tailed macaque monkey North Bergen N.J. 1971 Diane Arbus

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