
not “engage in any stereotypically feminine behavior, such as putting on
make-up, [or] wearing high heels,” both of which Wilke did. Other fe-
nists allowed that her images were ambiguous but that they criticized and
subverted the sexist image of women as passive and validated the female
body.59 Lippard wrote: “When women use their own bodies in their art
work, they are using their selves; a significant psychological factor con-
verts these bodies or faces from object to subject.”48 Wilke said that her
interest in developing a specifically female iconography aimed to create
a positive image toward female sexuality and “wipe out . . . prejudices,
aggression, and fear.”49 She viewed herself as a “sugargiver” one who
offers sweetness—of chewing gum, for example—and by implication bod-
ily pleasure.50 Wilke concluded that “women must take control of and
have pride in the sensuality of their own bodies and create a sexuality in
their own terms, without deferring to concepts degenerated by culture.”51

A consideration of feminist performance art must take into account
Lynda Benglis’s notoriously controversial photographs of herself naked,
one of which she ran as an advertisement in Ariforum in 1974. Posed as
a pinup girl, her body greased and shining, she wore only dark glasses
and held a giant double-ended dildo. Five of the magazine’s editors pub-
lished a letter condemning it as “an object of extreme vulgarity” and “a
shabby mockery of the aims” of feminism.52 Other art professionals con-
sidered it a feminist statement, as Lippard commented: “In a put-on (or
take-off) of media stereotypes and role-playing in the art world, she
offered a view of herself as a woman with everything—everything needed
to Make It (talent either being taken for granted or minimized): a seduc-
tive woman’s body and the obligatory big prick. (She remarked that ‘men
are more involved with penis envy than women.’)”53

Moira Roth remarked that as the 1970s progressed, feminist autobi-
ographical performance art became increasingly “threadbare.” There
was little attempt on the part of feminists to evaluate the quality of per-
formances. Indeed, how could a critic dare to “judge the life (as opposed
to the art) of the performer? How does one weigh admirable politics
against dull art? What is the audience’s stake in personal performances
which seem created exclusively to satisfy the therapeutic needs of the
artist?” Sensitive to these matters, a number of feminist artists began to
deal with broader feminist issues, notably violence toward women, par-
icularly rape, which Suzanne Lacy viewed as “a current condition of
every woman’s life.”54

Ablutions (1972) was an hour-and-a-half collaborative performance
created by Chicago, Aviva Rahmani, Sandra Orgel, and Lacy herself.

The performance took place in an area strewn with egg shells, piles of
rope and fresh meat. A tape of women describing their experiences of
being raped played, while a naked woman was slowly and methodically
bound with white gauze from her feet upward to her head. At the same time, a clothed woman nailed beef kidneys into the rear wall of the space . . . while two nude women bathed themselves in a center stage series of tubs containing first eggs, then blood, and finally clay. Finally, two clothed women bound the performance set and two other performers into immobility with string and rope. As they left the space, the tape repeated, "and I felt so helpless all I could do was just lie there."  

In 1977, at the time of a series of brutal rapes and murders by the so-called Hillside Strangler in Los Angeles, Lacy, in collaboration with Leslie Labowitz, a former student of Joseph Beuys, and in conjunction with a number of women's organizations, staged *Mourning and Rage* [47]:

They directed this event toward a twofold audience: media reporters (and by extension, a media audience) and the women's community of Los Angeles. The performance began with participating women driving to the [Los Angeles City Hall] in a hearse and accompanying motorcade. On the steps . . . ten giant mourning figures, flanked by some sixty women also in black, confronted the media—who had

47. Suzanne Lacy and Leslie Labowitz, *In Mourning and in Rage*, 1977. (Photograph by Susan Mogul)
appeared en masse [including six television stations]—and read short statements linking the Hillside Strangler murders to a myriad of other expressions of nationwide violence against women [including the role of the media in fostering such violence].

Rape was of particular concern to Lacy because it was “a galvanizing issue, and any political organizer uses the conditions which can bring different people together.” Indeed, the primary purpose of her art was to organize women in order to protest violence and to strengthen the community of women. After 1975 Lacy focused her performance activities on the conditions of prostitutes, old women, and Third World women.56

Much of feminist performance art, like that of Beuys, sought to effect social change or at least to dramatize the problems facing women. As art critic Kristine Stiles wrote: “Performance art has [placed] the individual body in a discourse with the social body. Without a clear understanding of this political subtext of performative art, its most challenging and revolutionary dimension will be missed and lost.”57

Another major category of feminist performance art aimed to commemorate great female figures of history and prehistory. Roth recalled that as part of the feminist enterprise, women artists—and art professionals—

combed through history ... searching out and reinterpreting women's roles in it. . . . Women explored art history for sites of sacred female rites, for images of goddesses and fertility figures—prehistoric, Indian and Cretan—as well as for forgotten, or insufficiently acclaimed, Western women artists in historical time. A spate of literature came out arguing for the existence of women’s dominance (often symbolized by the worship of the Great Goddess) in mythic and prehistoric times, and of women’s unique relationship to nature.

The Great Goddess was the consummate image of female power, and feminist performers tried to imagine what she might have been, each creating her own private—and in this sense, autobiographical—ritual. Among the artists who celebrated the Great Goddess were Carolee Schneemann, Meredith Monk, Mary Beth Edelson, Joan Jonas, and Ana Mendieta.58

Schneemann was the pioneer. She had been associated with Allan Kaprow, Claes Oldenburg, and other creators of happenings in the early 1960s.59 In a performance titled *Eye Body* (1963) [48], whose “impetus came from a combination of the writings of Wilhelm Reich, Antonin Artaud, and Simone de Beauvoir’s *Second Sex,*” she transformed her New York loft, as she explained,
Schneemann would fully understand the meaning of her body images only in the early 1970s, after she had studied prehistoric goddess artifacts and the history of women during three thousand years of patriarchal society.  

Meat Joy, performed in 1964 by the Kinetic Theater founded by Schneemann, featured a mélange of naked bodies in orgiastic celebration. It had, as she wrote, “the character of an erotic rite: excessive, indulgent, a celebration of flesh as a material: raw fish, chickens, sausages, wet paint, transparent plastic, rope, brushes, paper scrap,” at once “ecstatic . . . sensual, comic, joyous, repellent.” Fuses, 1965, was even more provocative than Meat Joy; in it Schneemann and her longtime lover had sex; among the images was a penis metamorphosed into a vagina and stained with menstrual blood. Meat Joy and Fuses were denigrated by the art world as titillating and degraded. Schneemann said that she did not intend to create a scandal, although “you do get an instinct for where the repression is and...
you go for it. I always thought that my culture would be gratified that I
was putting it out, but instead they want to punish you." This work also
led Schneemann to consider whether she was dreaming the dream of
women or the dream of men dreaming women. It provoked her to think
that an important issue for women artists was how to divest themselves of
male structures and build new ones while still remaining in the art world.

In 1976 Schneemann created Interior Scroll, her best-known work
and the most notorious of feminist performances. She stood naked in a
dim light and read from a paper scroll that she extracted slowly and
rhythmically from her vagina, which she had long thought of as a sculpt-
tural form, an architectural referent, the source of sacred knowledge,
ecstasy, birth passage, transformation. 65 The text was inspired by a snub
from a female art critic but was about a male poststructuralist film-
maker who refused to look at Schneemann’s films, much as he found her
personally charming. He simply could not abide “the personal clutter / the
persistence of feelings / . . . the diaristic indulgence / the painterly mess / . . . the primitive techniques.” The filmmaker concluded by informing
Schneemann that she was not “a film-makeress . . . We think of you as a
dancer.” 66

Interior Scroll was about rage and pulling it out of her body, ridding
her body of it. But it was also about pleasure—pleasure in her own body.
More often than not Schneemann celebrated the female body in erotic
rituals that intended to disturb and change America’s guilt-ridden cul-
ture. Some feminists found her work lacking in feminist art-theoretical
grounding. She responded by asserting that these cerebral critics bury
the body—its sensual, ecstatic, and orgasmic dimensions—beneath lin-
guistic structures. They ignore lived experience and, as she said, “stuff
their vaginas with their theories.” 67

Feminist installation artists also celebrated the Great Goddess.
Indeed, apart from the performances of Schneemann, the most successful
homages were the works by Chicago and Nancy Spero. Chicago’s room-
size The Dinner Party [49], begun in 1973 and completed in 1979, is a
table in the form of an equilateral triangle with an open center, each wing
of which is forty-six and a half feet long. The table is set with thirty-nine
individual place settings, each of which consists of an elaborately shaped
ceramic or painted china plate, a needlework runner, a ceramic chalice,
and a knife, fork, and spoon. Each plate and runner is the symbolic “por-
trait” of a mythological or historically significant woman. Among the
embroidered runners are, for example, a turn-of-the-century “memory
quilt” for Susan B. Anthony; a leather and beadwork piece for Sacagawea,
made by an American Indian artist; and an old lace-and-ribbonwork pat-
tern for Emily Dickinson. 68 The most striking features of the table set-
tings, indeed of the entire work, are the plates in the form of vaginas,
which also resemble butterflies. The floor of the installation is composed
of more than 2,300 white porcelain tiles across which are written the
names of 999 additional women notables in Western history. At the entrance of the work banners with slogans commemorate the Great Goddess. A project as ambitious and complex as The Dinner Party could not have been realized by one person. Indeed, some four hundred women participated in its production, although Chicago retained aesthetic control and was generally identified as its creator.

The Dinner Party encompassed the prehistory and history of women, celebrating their worldly, spiritual, and cultural achievements on a monumental scale; emphasized the biological distinctiveness of women; and employed crafts historically associated with women. Above all, in bringing together representations of great women of past and present in one piece, The Dinner Party presented them as an exalted sisterhood in a kind of mythicopoeical communion—a sisterhood emulated in the collaborative nature of the project.

The Dinner Party generated acrimonious controversy, primarily because of the provocative vaginal imagery of the plates. Could labia stand for women—and symbolize their historic roles? Maureen Mullarkey asserted that they could not: “Chicago's decision to represent
the stature and variety of women's accomplishments by genitals only—as if women's achievements had more to do with the organic, instinctual make-up of women than with the ability of certain women at certain times, and for highly contingent reasons, to transcend the cultural limitations of gender.”²⁸ Lucy Lippard defended Chicago:

Women's bodies, for better or worse, are still the core of much feminist art, entangled as they are with our exploitation on the economic, domestic, and media fronts, central as they are to our campaigns for reproductive rights and against discriminatory “protective” laws. Chicago realized this early on and has since been struggling to make the butterfly (the "witch's messenger") a suitably powerful, flexible and evocative symbol for the breadth of women's history.²⁹

There were other questions. Had Chicago expropriated the work of her hundreds of collaborators and projected herself as the latest great woman, emulating the macho "genius"? Was the installation underscored “by a proselytizing self-righteousness that replaces art with cultism and offers literalism in the guise of education”? Did Chicago underestimate the viewer's intellectual capacities? Or was The Dinner Party an epic, pioneering, and profound feminist monument that had, as she believed, the power to change consciousness?²⁰ Whatever the verdict, it did attract crowds wherever it was shown and focused attention on feminist issues and art—which was after all Chicago's underlying purpose.²¹

Like Chicago's The Dinner Party, Nancy Spero's work exemplifies the essentialist position of first-generation feminists. Indeed, it is the consummate statement in social, cultural, and above all aesthetic terms. Her aim was "to find a 'voice' for woman, intelligible, yet separate from the patriarchal voice, and to reclaim the image of woman from the representations of others."²² Anticipating Spero's feminist works was a series of War Drawings made between 1966 and 1969, at the height of the Vietnam War, in which ferocious phallic images ejaculate, defecate, vomit, and spit bombs and bodies from the sky [50]. As she said: "I couldn't think of any other way of showing the obscenity of the bomb, except through this expression of sexual obscenity."²³

Spero would soon depict only women: "Woman as protagonist, the woman on stage." But she continued to link power, violence, and sex. In keeping with the urgency of her message, she limited her medium to paper in order to be more direct and to simulate bulletin boards or wall posters. But she was also reacting against painting as "an 'establishment' product" and therefore criticizing not only the politics of war but of the art world as well.

Spero introduced words into the War Drawings, such as "pacification" and "search and destroy." In her subsequent works, she used typewritten quotations, fracturing and overlapping them in visually stimulat-
ing rhythms, but surrounding them with expanse of empty white so that most are legible. The images and the texts are, as Spero commented, "set in tension with one another and are not illustrative in any way." As she explained: "The format of the work, extended linear panels of paper, both horizontal and vertical, enables me to disperse images, text, leave blank stretches of paper—silences, in direct or layered messages. The work is a visual manuscript laid out on the wall. In this way I can deal with multiple contents."  

Many of Spero's images were borrowed, anticipating a practice common in the art of the 1980s: "I ransack art history and photographic sources. I usually change the images in some way. But I do unashamedly appropriate from found images. I feel that I can take something that's in the public domain, either text or image." These images were often transferred onto zinc plates and rubber stamps and printed on the picture surfaces. By 1987 Spero had made approximately a hundred stamps depicting women in "many different sizes, shapes, historical periods, old, young, black, Vietnamese, white, etc.—all in what I would consider natural poses for their roles. A 'pose' is how one carries oneself, identifies oneself—how one confronts the world and the gaze of the viewer, male or female."
In the *War Drawings* Spero raged against the helplessness of Vietnamese bombing victims. In her subsequent works, as Lucy Lippard observed, she extended her fury against “the powerlessness of the . . . artist, the woman herself”—the woman-artist in the art world without a voice. For Spero the writing of Antonin Artaud exemplified her own anger and frustration and inspired her to create the *Codex Artaud* (1971–72), a series of scroll-like, collaged works ranging in length from eight to twenty-five feet, in which Artaud texts were quoted.

Artaud is exceptional for having uttered the most extreme expressions of dislocation and alienation in the 20th century. He represents himself as the victim par excellence. While violent in gesture and language, he is masochistic and passive [which is] the part of the female victim. . . .

I identified with Artaud’s sense of victimage—using his language to exemplify my loss of tongue—fracturing his already fractured texts, because I felt a victim as regards to both being a woman and an artist.

In 1974 Spero turned her attention “to real events, to real victims in real prisons, tortured for political reasons” [51]. Moved by case histories in Amnesty International newsletters, she made *Torture in Chile* (1974), a work approximately 23 by 122 inches long. Part of the text read: “live mice and insects introduced into vaginas . . . nipples blown off or burnt genitals destroyed by electricity.” In other works she “began to explore other aspects of women’s experience, not only torture, but war and rape, birth, aging, work, [and] dance.” She also dealt with the lives of women in different cultures and time periods even projecting into the future, when she envisaged “the utopian possibilities of women taking charge of their own bodies.” In expanding the range of her work, Spero incorporated “images from the prehistoric, contemporary, black, Asian, white, Greek goddesses, rollerskaters, etc.—a cinematic splicing of female figures from all kinds of cultures and times. . . . A simultaneity of images without a continuous narrative.” The images are often sexual—a classical Venus holding an oversize dildo, the Celtic goddess Sheela-na-gig with an enormous vagina—images she selected because they are potent forces. As art critic Rosetta Brooks observed, Spero negotiated the “separated worlds of the sacred and the profane, the personal and the social, the archetypal and the stereotypical and the ancient and contemporary.” Together all of her images evoke the “generic female.”

Spero acknowledged that she made “woman’s art,” but recognized that she would need

to defend herself against the charge of being overspecialized in regard to women’s choices and subject matter, style. Male artists need not to defend themselves since male specialization is never challenged. It is taken for granted as universal. Women artists will
know when they arrive at equal status—that utopian day—when the art world takes for granted that our subjects are no more illogical or overspecialized than those of male artists. It's the problem of finding—inventing if necessary—nonmale points of view, of not using language and body language that are inherited from male priorities. Which is what I have gone and done.⁶⁸

Feminists opened up new aesthetic options to women—and men. Moreover, they made the art world "look hard at whatever was formerly considered 'marginal' in art," as Robert Storr commented. "Under the pressure of their conviction and research, diaristic imagery, emotionally charged eclecticism, new materials and previously unacceptable attitudes toward craft were all admitted as serious points of departure for looking at old art and making the new."⁶⁹

Feminism also engendered a new sense of community. Indeed, there was a proliferation of feminist art organizations; in 1977 eighty-five of them, with a combined membership of 75,000, formed the Coalition of Women's Art Organizations to coordinate their activities. But although the

feminist movement struggled to gain recognition for women artists, equality with male artists was not achieved. In the mid-1970s approximately 66 percent of bachelor's degrees in studio disciplines and art history were awarded to women, and 50 percent of the professional artists in the United States were women. Yet only 15 percent of the one-person shows in New York's prestige galleries were devoted to women, an increase of just 1.5 percent over 1970. Men still got most of the museum shows; the ratio at the Museum of Modern Art from 1980 through 1985 was roughly thirteen to one; at the Guggenheim, fifteen to one; at the Whitney, twenty-two to four. Articles about male artists in Artforum and Art in America greatly outnumbered those about women. Art-world discrimination against women artists would remain a major issue for feminists.

However, by the late 1970s there was a decline in feminist commitment. In 1976 Barbara Zucker noted:

A kind of lethargy seems to have settled over feminism, not just in the arts but in all phases of its development. Predictably, there has been a media backlash, a female backlash (witness the defeat of the ERA [Equal Rights Amendment]), an exhaustion about the subject that comes with too much exposure of any vital issue. But worse, there is a kind of settling in, an acceptance of the feminine "institutions" which have developed since the late '60s; and those who seem the most quiescent, and the least able to ask questions about where to move next, are the feminists who are part of these collective oases. In effect, a lot of women seem to be scratching each other's backs.93

Joyce Kozloff agreed with Zucker "that the currently practiced approaches to talking about and showing women's work have become tired and unimaginative."94 There would be a next move in feminism, in the 1980s, but by another group, more theoretically inclined and with a different agenda.

NOTES

Shrine, the Computer and the Dollhouse (San Diego–La Jolla, Calif.: University of California, Mandeville Art Gallery, 1975), p. 5.

12. Lacy, "The Name of the Game": 64.


17. Judy Chicago, Through the Flower: My Struggle as a Woman Artist (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1973), was also important.


19. Lippard, From the Center, p. 98.

20. Chicago and Schapiro directed the program from 1971 to 1973; Schapiro alone, from 1973 to 1975.


23. Wilding, By Our Own Hands, pp. 25–26. Other important feminist organizations were the Woman's Caucus for Art, with chapters around the country, formed in 1972; and the Feminist Art Institute, founded in 1979 in New York by Miriam Schapiro with Nancy Azara and others.


29. Ruth Iskin, Womanspace Journal 1, no. 1 (Feb.–Mar. 1973): 8–9, quoted in Wilding, By Our Own Hands, p. 49.

30. Wilding, By Our Own Hands, p. 53. In 1971 Sheila de Bretteville started the Women's Design Program, and in 1973, Judy Chicago, de Bretteville, and Arlene Raven founded the Feminist Studio Workshop, an art and design school for women. The Woman's Building was opened in Los Angeles in 1973. It housed a number of women's organizations, including the Feminist Studio Workshop, Womanspace, the Grandview Galleries, and Gallery 707, Sisterhood Bookstore, Associated Women's Press, Los Angeles Feminist Theater, Women's Improvement, and a coffee shop, a photo gallery, and a feminist travel bureau.


37. Ibid., pp. 128–29.


42. "Eleanor Antin," p. 76.


44. Joanna Frueh, "Hannah Wilke," and Hannah Wilke, "Intercourse with . . . . , " in Hannah Wilke: A Retrospective (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1989), pp. 41, 138. Other vaginal images that Wilke used were fortune cookies and shaped latex. She also incorporated other eccentric materials, such as laundry lint, erasers, and chocolate.


47. Mathews, "Feminist Art Criticism," p. 4.


49. Wilke, "Intercourse with . . . . , " in Frueh, Hannah Wilke: A Retrospective, p. 139.


58. Roth, "The Amazing Decade," pp. 22–27. Other Performance artists singled out by Roth were Pauline Oliveros, Linda Montano, Donna Henes, Betsy Dornan, and Barbara Smith.

59. Schneemann has not received as much credit as she deserves. She entered the art world in the ambience of the happenings group but too late to be included among its leading practitioners. When feminism emerged around 1970, she was in London, returning only in 1973, again too late to be included among its innovating artists.


63. During the Vietnam War, Schneemann made antiterrorist films: *Snows* and *Viet-Flakes*, as well as exploring her body.

64. Juno, "Carolee Schneemann," p. 67. (Italics in original.)


68. Thomas Albright, "Guess Who's Coming to Judy Chicago's Dinner," *Art News*, Jan. 1979, pp. 60–62: "The number of participants were arrived at because 'there were 13 at the last Supper and there are also traditionally 13 people in a coven of witches,' Chicago explains. 'I found it intriguing that the same number is associated with male holiness and feminine evil.'"


73. Lippard, "Judy Chicago's 'Dinner Party,'" p. 125.


82. Ibid.

83. Ibid.

84. Shottenkirk and Spero, "Dialogue," p. 34.


