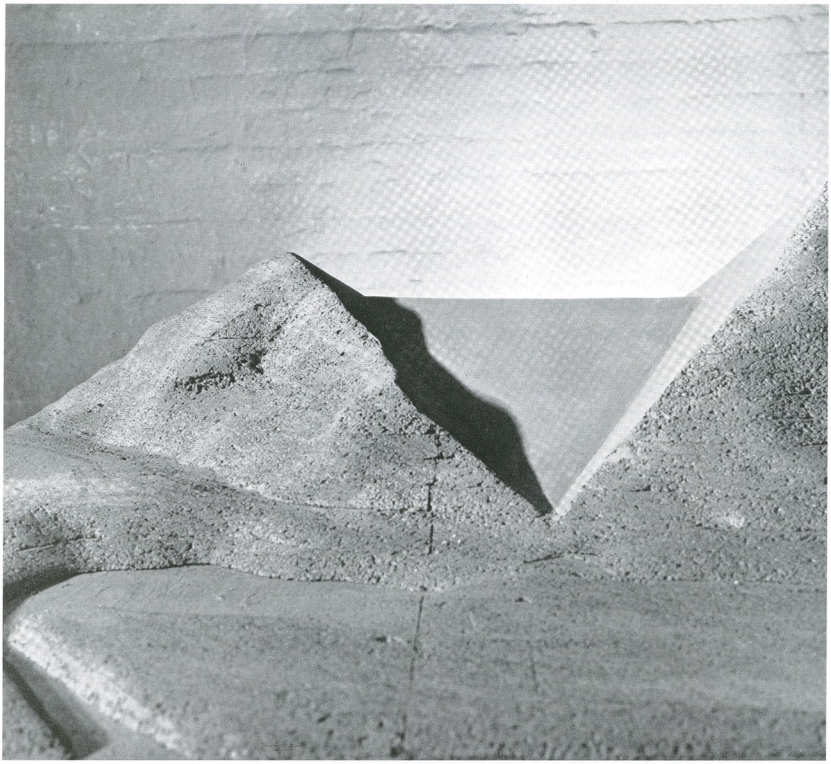
A FINE REGARD

Essays in Honor of Kirk Varnedoe

Kirk Varnedoe



17.1 Tony Smith, *Mountain Cut*, 1968–69

Styrofoam model, 3 × 24 × 27 in. (7.6 × 61 × 68.5 cm)
(Photograph Paulus Lesser, courtesy Tony Smith Estate)

17 TONY SMITH'S EARTHWORKS[1]

Joan Pachner

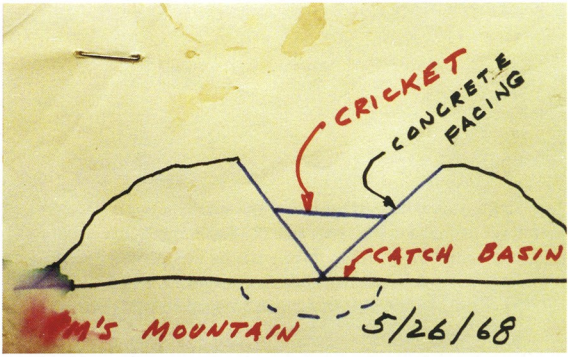
Tony Smith's reputation rests on the architecturally scaled black geometric sculptures he made in the 1960s and 1970s. Although largely unknown as an artist until 1964, within three years he was photographed inside the sculpture *Smoke* for the cover of *Time* magazine, which dubbed him "Master of the Monumentalists."[2] Owing in part to his newfound fame, Smith began to be offered opportunities to develop grand conceptions. His best-known works, such as *Black Box* and *Die* (both 1962; National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, and The Museum of Modern Art, New York), constitute a relatively small part of his oeuvre, most of which was based on complex, intuitively arranged agglomerations of tetrahedral and octahedral forms. These two presences (his preferred word for his sculpture) were created when Smith was ending his career as an architectural designer, which had begun in 1938 with an apprenticeship on a Frank Lloyd Wright project in Ardmore, Pennsylvania.[3] The influence of Wright, combined with Smith's own ideas about city planning, which crystallized in the mid-1950s, form the critical background for his environmentally scaled works that emerged around 1970.

By the later 1960s Smith realized that "I was now no longer so much interested in sculpture as isolated objects as in it as something integral with the general environment."[4] While drawings and models for various schemes – including *Mountain Piece*, *Lunar Ammo Dump* (both 1968) and *Haole Crater* (1969) – were published and discussed in articles written about Smith around 1970, they were dropped from subsequent analyses of his oeuvre, perhaps because the visionary architectural drawings were difficult to understand without his detailed explanations. In each of these proposals, Smith used geometric forms to create meditative spaces, linking him convincingly to cultural shifts of the later 1960s.

Smith often visualized his presences on a scale previously reserved for buildings or monuments. His first opportunity to create a sculpture that directly engaged a particular monumental outdoor site came in 1968 through the curator Samuel J. Wagstaff Jr, who secured a site at Round Mountain in Valencia, California, bordering the Golden Gate Freeway that connects Los Angeles and San Francisco.[5] Smith proposed to alter the topography of the mountain by digging out its top and inserting into the void a huge concrete tetrahedral form (Fig. 17.1).

17.2 Smith, *Sam's Mountain*, 1968

Ink on paper, 3 × 5 in. (7.6 × 12.7 cm)
(Photograph Joan Pachner,
courtesy Tony Smith Estate)



As Lucy Lippard explained, Smith identified his form as a "cricket" (Fig. 17.2), "an additional little pitched roof set sideways in the valley between two connecting pitched roofs in order to allow drainage."[6] In addition to using an element from the practical language of building, he was inspired to impose this Platonic, geometric shape in the landscape by other, divergent sources. He looked both to the forms of ancient Indian mounds in the Midwest and Southwest, some of which he had visited in the late 1940s, and the construction of Newark Airport two decades later. Both of these models, as well as Smith's own proposal, impose culture on nature. (The tendency to collapse time between prehistory and the contemporary industrial world was shared by a number of artists, most conspicuously by Robert Smithson.)

Mountain Piece would not have been an object to be walked around. In conceiving the work, Smith expanded the implications of his experience driving on the unfinished New Jersey Turnpike in 1951, famously recalled in a 1966 interview with Wagstaff:

> It was a dark night and there were no lights or shoulder markers, lines, railings, or anything at all except the dark pavement moving though the landscape of the flats, rimmed by hills in the distance, but punctuated by stacks, towers, fumes, and colored lights. … The road and much of the landscape was artificial, and yet it couldn't be called a work of art. … I thought to my self, it ought to be clear that's the end of art. Most painting looks pretty pictorial after that. There is no way you can frame it, you just have to experience it.[7]

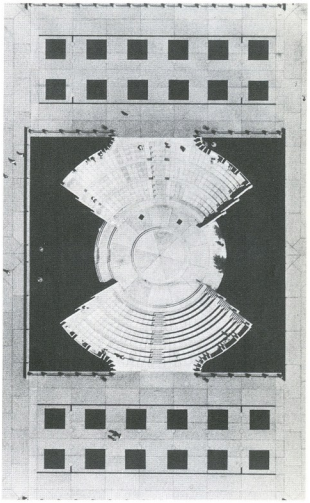
Smith planned for *Mountain Piece* to be experienced by people driving by in cars, as a quasi-cinematic experience in time where one would see a topological transformation of the tetrahedron (whose partially hidden,

inverted triangular form surely refers directly to the hilly landscape): "It is designed to be seen from below, where one will see a gradually slanting triangle with its apex down, moving into/out of the hill. Its slant is exaggerated perceptually by foreshortening, which transforms a long thin triangle into an equilateral one."[8]

Because *Mountain Piece* remained at the project stage, unbuilt, we will never know how the scheme would have actually functioned. Smith's colossal re-formation of the natural landscape, most of which would have been imbedded in the mountain, may have suggested an abstracted meteorite. Smith had pondered for decades the juxtaposition of man-made abstraction with the irregular forms of nature. In the later 1940s he made drawings contrasting the geometry of city plans with uncultivated areas outside urban boundaries, which he referred to as the "wild," a word that Smith was aware incorporated the Freudian concept of the id. This 1968 project, in like manner, unites the geometric and the organic, the conscious and the unconscious, nature and culture, into a single potent image.

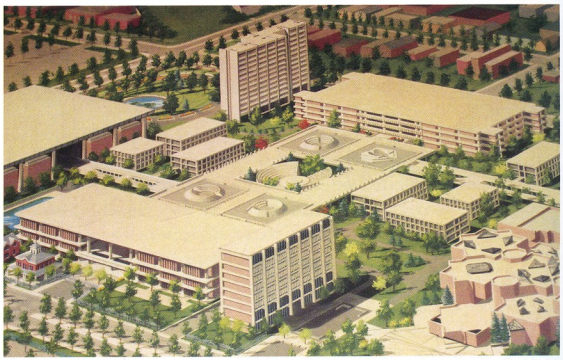
This project was delayed, and ultimately canceled, because neither Smith nor Wagstaff could find a place that could use the huge amount of dirt that would be excavated in the process.[9] For Smith, the land was part of the art and thus bound up with the artist's responsibility to the larger society. Although the contemporary environmental movement began in the late 1960s, Smith had already assumed an active interest in land use and ecology, since the 1940s, when he began keeping extensive files on forestry and soil conservation. The project could not go forward if the ecological issue was unresolved.

Smith's desire to see his prismatic forms realized at a monumental scale would have been fulfilled by a projected array of large steel cubes set on black granite paving stones on the new campus of the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, designed by Walter Netsch and constructed in 1965. *Lunar Ammo Dump* (1968) was a bold design, intended to contrast with its architectural surroundings (Fig. 17.3).[10] He planned to span an area 132 feet (40 meters) long with two walls, one on either side of an amphitheater. The space was defined by 2 rows of 12 squat boxes, each measuring 8 × 12 × 12 feet (2.44 × 3.65 × 3.65 meters); each box was to be placed exactly 12 feet (3.65 metres) away from the next. Positive and negative spaces were conceived in perfect balance, an idea that Smith developed in 1954 after visiting Carcassonne and other medieval towns in the south of France.[11] He associated the city, at that time, with a defined and limited three-dimensional grid, as a continuum, in which mass and volume are equal geometric solids. Voids, he felt, are found in nature but not in the artifice that is the city or, in this case, the urban campus.[12] He envisioned this disposition of large Platonic forms as a meditative



17.3 Aerial view of University of Illinois, Chicago Circle Campus Forum, showing position of Tony Smith's *Lunar Ammo Dump*, 1968

From Hinman Kealy, "Tony Smith's New Sculpture *Lunar Ammo Dump*," Art Scene (Chicago) 1 (May 1968): 7



17.4 Perspective rendering of Walter Netsch design for the University of Illinois, Chicago Circle, ca. 1968

Detail, from a larger rendering that measures 27 × 41 in. (68.6 × 104.1 cm) (Photograph Joan Pachner, courtesy Office of the University of Illinois at Chicago Historian)

space in which students and visitors could remove themselves from the outside world and wander freely.[13]

The formal aspects of this multipart lithic design evolved from *Maze*, Smith's 1967 installation in the *Schemata 7* exhibition at the Finch College gallery in New York City. *Maze* was not a place to get lost but a kind of dense intellectual puzzle. In fact, only one of Smith's compositions was based on the traditional form of a labyrinth, an unrealized *Watergarden* envisioned in 1969–70 for Haines Point in Washington DC. A medieval or Eastern-oriented spirit of contemplation permeates that conception.[14] Wagstaff invited Smith to recast the *Watergarden* for a site in Detroit next to a devastated area of the inner city. Smith hoped that his project would "draw people away from areas of possible violence."[15] His labyrinth was intended not to confuse the visitor but rather to separate him from the turmoil of daily life – this maze was to be a sanctuary.

Although the gridded scheme for *Lunar Ammo Dump* was drawn in 1968, Smith did not settle on a title for the project until the summer of 1969, when he was a visiting professor at the Manoa campus of the University of Hawaii and working on other plans. All of a sudden, many thousands of miles away from Chicago, he associated Netsch's buildings with lunar craters, surely because the aerial view of the four square lecture halls with protruding exedras look like rationalized craters (Fig. 17.4). Could Smith's poetic leap have also been inspired by that summer's legendary moon landing? Perhaps, although he shed no further light on the subject. Why did he add the provocative antiwar-sounding *Ammo Dump* to the title? Smith was never an overtly political artist, although he regularly supported various liberal causes of the 1960s, including opposition to the Vietnam War, and contributed to an exhibition in memory of Dr Martin Luther King. While this question cannot be answered, the project

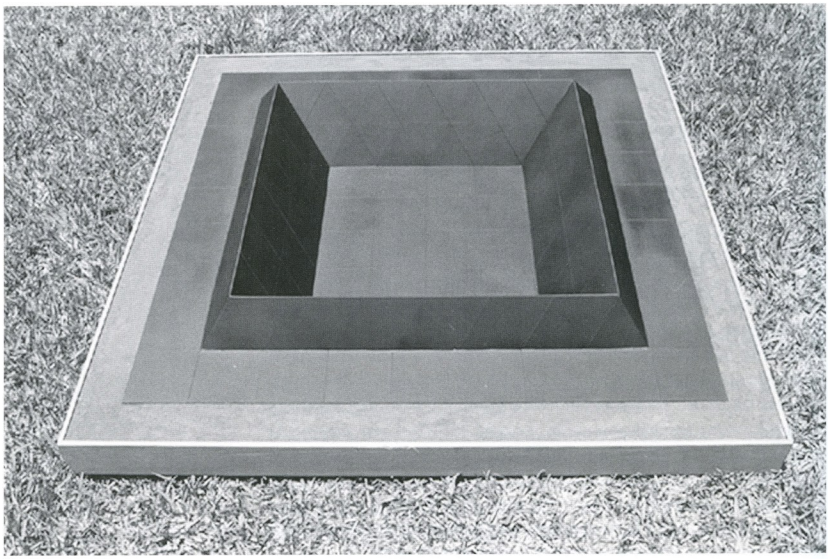
was postponed at Smith's behest as a personal protest against Mayor Richard Daley, who had ordered police to crudely crush anti-war and yippie protesters outside the Democratic National Convention in 1968. This grand plan was never built.

During the summer of 1969, Smith developed a number of important works simultaneously, including the *Bat Cave* for Expo 70 in Osaka, Japan, and a group of smaller abstractions. *Haole Crater* was conceived during this fruitful period, a truly site-specific proposal – a work whose form, material, and meaning were wholly bound to the site (Figs 17.5, 17.6). The unrealized piece was to have been a square crater on a volcanic island full of natural craters. He intended to line the depression with black concrete (pigmented by the lava-colored sand indigenous to the islands).[16] *Haole Crater* was a visual statement of artifice, as the mark of man, an alien, imposed on (and literally into) nature.

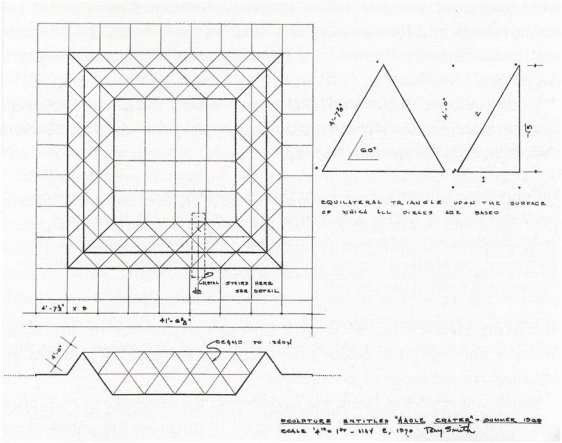
The title was appropriate in Smith's mind because "The word Haole means Caucasian in Hawaiian; it really means any white person who comes to the island. I suppose part of the point of my naming it is that it is square, where any volcanic crater is round."[17] In fact, the meaning of *haole* is loaded with the islands' long history of race and class conflicts between natives and outsiders, most of whom were white and upper-class. Smith ultimately withdrew the plan: "I was talked out of it for the campus project by a Japanese-American student who contended that Hawaii already had too many craters, square or otherwise."[18]

The design of *Haole Crater* evolved from the large, open square plan of *Stinger* (1967–68), featured in the exhibition *Art of the Real*.[19] The two pieces share the same exterior dimensions, but *Haole Crater* was based on two overlapping grids, instead of one. (The contrast between the structures is analogous to the differences between a planar tic-tac-toe board and a multilevel one.) *Haole Crater* was conceived as a piece almost entirely below ground level. The plan suggests a beveled picture frame, an image that had appeared earlier in some of Smith's architectural drawings from 1954. Its ground plane is composed of 81 squares, 9 on each side; the innermost section was a 16-unit square.[20]

The crater's rim, the inclined interior wall, and the empty space are all conceived as a lattice of equilateral triangles, each 4 feet (1.22m) high. A casual stroller on campus would see only an angled 40-foot-wide (12.2m) walkway that bordered the periphery and the 4-foot-high rim. There was to be only one way in and one way out of the concrete structure, a stainless steel ladder leaning against the banked sides of the crater. Smith likened the ladder to an old-fashioned fire escape; in this sense he considered it a Pop element. Additionally, he conceived the structurally independent component as "a sort of bridge from one level of one pavement to ... the other."[21]



17.5 Smith, *Haole Crater*, model
(Courtesy Tony Smith Estate)



17.6 Smith, *Haole Crater*, June 21, 1969
Plan drawing
From Lucy Lippard, *Tony Smith* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1972), 77

Once inside the pit, a visitor would look up and see only the sky.[22] Smith envisioned a literally different way of looking at the world, one oriented up toward the heavens rather than down at the earth. The uninflected black concrete surface suggests that Smith was creating a place for Zen-like contemplation for the visitor who was literally removed from the world by way of a few steps. At the time, however, a Hawaiian colleague, John Charlot, felt that the effect might have been quite the opposite, because "the crater retains something of the bigness and fearsomeness of a volcano. I myself was reminded of the enormous World War II gun emplacements I saw as a child while hiking illegally on Diamond Head."[23] *Haole Crater*, which also did not progress beyond the model stage, might well have provided a broad range of emotional responses, from the spiritual to one of anxiety, in part because the piece was largely belowground and had no easy flow or access from inside to outside, perhaps re-creating the sense of isolation one might have living on the Hawaiian island itself.

Haole Crater, like most of Smith's environmental proposals, had no sheltering roof above. The parameters of the sculpture became a new frame through which to view the world; the void was the form. The combination of a limitless sight line and a delimited view are consistent characteristics of Smith's projects, in which the viewer was conceived as an integral aspect of the piece. To Charlot, "The sculpture reminds us immediately of a volcano. One is supposed to see the stars most clearly from inside Haleakala."[24] Smith's projects of this type prefigure

large-scale earthworks in which the viewer becomes unaware of his surroundings and focuses skyward, such as those by Michael Heizer and James Turrell's *Roden Crater* (ongoing since 1976; near Flagstaff, Arizona).

Smith's *Haole Crater* would likely have created the kind of separate space that Heizer describes in relation to one's experience of his *Complex One/City* (1972–76; Nevada), where

> The only thing you can see is the sky. It stops the idea that this is a form of landscape art, to be seen in some beautiful part of the world. It becomes more effective visually because you don't see a tree, you don't see a hill, you don't see a cow walking around. You see nothing except the art. It's a way to enhance and concentrate vision.[25]

But while Heizer's vision focuses on one's experience of structures he built aboveground, Smith's open cube belowground suggests an especially broad range of associations.

Smith was a poet at heart. He understood the language of metaphor and often designed works that attempted to integrate the unconscious and conscious aspects of experience. He had designed structures below ground level since at least 1940, although the relatively dark interiors of his early architectural projects were not always appreciated by the homeowners.

> I had been interested in things of this sort for a very long time. ... I often thought of making sunken gardens. I remember a specific place where a house had burned so only the excavation was left, so I put the house to one side and the excavation became a sunken garden. Quite a few of my houses have been partially below the surface. The first house I did, out in Ohio, is partially below the surface ... the earth comes up to the sill line on the outside and then the floor is below. At Fritz Bultman's studio in Provincetown one side of the building is about 4ft [1.22m] below the surface. And then my scheme for Betty Parsons' house the floor dropped about 2½ ft [0.76m] below the ground level. I have always been interested in excavating and then piling the dirt up; a lot of it has to do with cutting into the side of the hill and then using excavated earth beyond that as fill.[26]

His interest in the implications of sunken spaces had extended to his sculpture, most conspicuously when Smith also wrote that the six-foot-square (1.82m) dimensions of *Die* suggests death – "being cooked. Six foot box. Six foot under."[27]

Projects like Smith's *Mountain Piece* and *Haole Crater* would have dramatically re-formed the environment in which they were to be set. *Mountain Piece* was based on the tetrahedral module that Smith loved, while *Lunar Ammo Dump* and *Haole Crater* work with a rectilinear

vocabulary. Each of these projects was designed physically and conceptually for one site only. If constructed, these ambitious plans would have profoundly reconfigured their environments, creating new landscapes, reminiscent of Isamu Noguchi's playground designs, as well as the ancient Great Circle mound in Ohio, which Smith called "The greatest experience that I have felt from a man-made thing in America."[28] The artificial construct of the artist was to be a new aspect of nature.

Smith's desire to unite a sculpture with a cosmic philosophical structure was echoed in schemes created during the same years by a number of artists, but most clearly in the work of Smithson and Heizer. Smith himself sensed an affinity between his work and that of the earthwork artists. Although he made some derogatory comments about Claes Oldenburg's sculptures[29] and, as late as 1968, professed little familiarity with the Minimalists,[30] he did make statements that clearly indicate his interest in and sympathy with the new artistic forces of the later 1960s:

> I would say that many of my ideas ... [are] related ... to a very large class of works which have to do with work which exists only in place. ... particularly ... Mike Heizer as someone who is doing – making holes in the ground, sometimes lining them, but holes sometimes have shapes, sometimes are repetitious and so on, but there isn't any way in which you can transport a hole in the ground; and in that sense I have not associated my work so much as my ideas with that sort of attitude which more than anything which has to do with thinking of the work as objects which could be transported, or sold.[31]

This comment was made at the very moment that Smith was developing *Mountain Piece* and *Lunar Ammo Dump*.

Similarities exist between Heizer's gestural earthworks in the later 1960s and Smith's contemporaneous site-specific plans. For instance, Smith's *Mountain Piece* and *Haole Crater* and Heizer's *Double Negative* (1969–70; Mormon Mesa, Overton, Nevada) depend on a "modern" vocabulary of geometric forms, as well as on the paradoxical contrast and merger of the sculptural body with the landscape. But on examining Smith's designs, we realize that he used a family of geometric forms that were analogous to natural ones – the tetrahedron to mountains and the cube to the crater. Both artists needed big machinery to create their art, machinery generally previously used to create engineered structures like highways and railroads. Smith's *Mountain Piece* project required the same raw industrial muscle as Heizer's *Double Negative*, which was formed by bulldozers that excavated 240,000 tons of desert soil to make a man-made canyon that brackets a natural fissure. In the scale of the surrounding flat landscape, the physical depression is small. Relative to human scale, however, the structure is enormous.

These men were building art on a scale of monuments and markers, a sheer size unprecedented in the history of independent sculpture. Only achievements like the colossal Mount Rushmore or the Egyptian dynastic rock-cut reliefs are comparable.[32] Smith's *Mountain Piece* and *Haole Crater* share some general characteristics with Heizer's *Double Negative*, but Smith planned to situate his works in populated areas. While the Heizer projects are remote and mythic, Smith's works were to be set where they would be seen – they were designed to be experienced.

Smith was an ambitious artist. He wanted to create presences that suggested the grandest traditions of ancient history and culture. He revered the forms of archaic and primitive cultures, including Indian mounds in the Midwest, pyramids in Egypt and Mexico, and the stone monuments found in the UK and Ireland. These relics of collective societies continued to resonate in the contemporary world. In his studio, he put "canvas stretchers over the windows so there is a very subdued light." He felt that, under those conditions, the work had "more of the archaic or prehistoric look that I prefer," like Stonehenge.[33]

Smith's sculptures have often been compared, by critics and Smith himself, to architectural monuments or archaeological sites. The sculptor Scott Burton likened *The Elevens Are Up* (1963; The Menil Collection, Houston) to the grand austerity of Mycenaean tomb architecture;[34] the critic E.C. Goossen felt that pieces assembled in Smith's suburban New Jersey backyard looked like "a ruined site, a Stonehenge, or a Teotihuacán."[35] Smith's red-painted sculpture *81 More* (model 1971; Keane College, New Jersey; destroyed) was inspired, in part, by the pyramids of the Sun and Moon at Teotihuacán.[36] Such references to ancient sites are hardly accidental; Smith was conscious of the place of his designs in the context of the ongoing tradition of cultural artifacts. The artist encouraged the associations between his sculptures and great monuments of the past, the symbols of collective societies, and the symbolic ur-forms that conflated the present day with the deep past.

Both Smith and Heizer had a highly developed historical consciousness of archaeological forms and excavations, of ancient cultural monuments ranging in time and place from Mexico to Egypt.[37] Each sought to create new monuments that would survive into another era as artifacts of our culture. Their art was not about disintegration but duration. Heizer's *Complex One/City*, for example, was envisioned as a work that could survive the nuclear age.[38] He said, "In fact, I'm going backward. I like to attach myself to the past."[39] These artists shared a Romantic vision that melded with the pervasive fears of nuclear extinction that were rampant in the cold war era of the early 1970s.

It is important to realize, however, that Smith did not exploit (or participate in) the heroic ideal of the American West. In fact, he was

never comfortable with the undefined expanse of the desert and the Plains. Open spaces tended to overwhelm the created object, he felt, and to concentrate all of one's attention on the created object in isolation, apart from the continuum of space, which remained one of Smith's central concerns.[40] He was more comfortable with the defined spaces characteristic of the densely populated areas of Europe as well as the northeastern United States, especially the suburbs and the industrial landscape.

A comparison between Robert Smithson's and Tony Smith's work, like the one between Smith's and Michael Heizer's, reveals that they shared many similar passions. Smithson, like Smith, grew up in New Jersey and mined his immediate surroundings for form and meaning.[41] Beginning in 1966 he began to make regular visits to quarries and industrial sites in New Jersey with his wife, Nancy Holt, and friends.[42] In the glib travelogue "A Tour of the Monuments of Passaic, New Jersey," published in December 1967, Smithson's description of the industrially scarred area recalls the language of Smith's earlier turnpike experience: "concrete abutments that supported the shoulders of a new highway in the process of being built. River Drive was in part bulldozed and in part intact. It was hard to tell the new highway from the old road ..."[43] Smithson clearly shared Smith's attraction to sites that society had abandoned or considered eyesores, sites that Smithson termed "ruins in reverse."[44]

Smithson was attracted to things in decay, things returning to what he saw as the natural state of chaos, in the ever-present process of entropy.[45] For instance, Smithson used mounds of dirt both physically and metaphorically to break the building that resulted in the work *Partially Buried Woodshed* (1970; Kent State University, Ohio; destroyed). But Smith was not interested in chaos as an end in itself. Rather, his work expresses tensions between the container as order and the contained as chaos. This is a different kind of dialogue. Smith's work does not point to the inevitability of disintegration but rather to the perpetual tension between natural and man-made forces, irrational and rational thought and vision; the strain energizes his sculptures. In addition, Smith believed in enduring cultural monuments, whereas Smithson saw everything as a relic, "not built for the ages, but rather against the ages."[46] Smith's view remained a fundamentally optimistic one, promoting belief in a continuum of time. Smith saw the future in the image of the past, but he looked to the historical past of man-made achievement, not to the primordial chaos of creation.

When one integrates Smith's environments and site-specific projects with his sculptural oeuvre, the scope of his work is significantly broadened. His work moved further away from terrestrial architecture

toward a purified vision of artistic expression, one in which abstraction was at the service of spiritual goals. While Smith's art may look severe, he envisioned the pure forms as vehicles to transport us to another realm. He repeatedly emphasized a desire to create spaces for meditation, which reveals continuity between these projected environments and his earlier church designs of 1950 and 1954.[47] The thought behind these proposals also integrated his lifelong interest in Eastern philosophy, one that in 1970 was just entering the consciousness of society at large. In this important way, Smith's unrealized plans for *Hubris* and *Haole Crater* represent a crucial step in trying to make contemporary art meet contemporary spiritual needs. In a time of upheaval and violence here and abroad, he worked to create sanctuaries for the soul.

When we examine these examples of Smith's site-specific proposals, it becomes clear that through his interest in archaeology and belowground structures, as well as in the creation of monumental works using elemental geometric forms, he had much in common with the young earthwork artists who emerged in the later 1960s. Smith took part in the physical reorientation of sculpture from object to participatory environment, from vertical equivalent of man to the horizontal position of the landscape, as well as the melding of inorganic with organic, natural elements.[48] While recent studies on Minimalism have revealed the a broad range of styles and intellectual issues that evolved in the 1960s,[49] Tony Smith remains one of the central towering figures of this era, whose complex work has not yet been fully integrated into the histories. Projects such as *Mountain Piece*, *Lunar Ammo Dump*, and *Haole Crater* represent a crucial aspect of Smith's oeuvre that must be recognized to understand and realign his historical significance as a prominent earthwork artist.

Notes

1 This essay is dedicated to the memory of Jane Smith, for her support and encouragement over many years were essential to bringing the fullness of Tony Smith's work to light. All unpublished materials cited are in the archives of the Tony Smith Estate.

2 [Piri Halasz], "Master of the Monumentalists," *Time*, October 13, 1967, 80–86.

3 Smith started as a bricklayer and carpenter, rising to become clerk-of-the-works for Wright's Suntop Homes at Ardmore. From there he went to Taliesin, in Spring Green, Wisconsin, for about a month, and then worked on the Armstrong House in Ogden Dunes, Indiana. He had to leave and return to New Jersey in early 1939 because his mother became ill.

4 Tony Smith, "Night 9/25/70. AM 26/70."

5 At the time Samuel J. Wagstaff Jr was curator of twentieth-century art at the Detroit Institute of Arts, a position he held from 1968 to 1971. From 1961 to 1968 Wagstaff was curator at the Wadsworth Atheneum, in Hartford,

Connecticut, where he was the primary organizer of Smith's first one-person show. Wagstaff continued to champion Smith's work for the rest of the artist's life.

6 Lucy Lippard, *Tony Smith* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1972), 25.

7 Samuel Wagstaff Jr, "Talking with Tony Smith," *Artforum* 5 (December 1966): 14–19, reprinted in *Minimal Art: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Gregory Battcock (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1968), 381–6.

8 Quoted in Lippard, *Tony Smith*, 25.

9 Lucy Lippard, "Tony Smith: Talk about Sculpture," *Art News* 7 (April 1971): 68.

10 It was atypical for Smith to plan a work for an architectural setting. He preferred to see his works placed on grass or among trees. See Smith, statement in Hugh Davies and Sam Hunter, "A Conversation with Tony Smith," transcript (1974).

11 Tony Smith, writing, "On the Way to a City," June 19, 1954. Smith lived with his wife, Jane Lawrence Smith, in Germany from 1953 to 1955, while she pursued an opera career. They lived variously in Stuttgart, Bayreuth, and Nuremberg.

12 See Joan Pachner, "Tony Smith: Architect, Painter, Sculptor," PhD dissertation, New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, 1993, 125–6.

13 See Hinman Kealy, "Tony Smith's New Sculpture Lunar Ammo Dump," *Art Scene* (Chicago) 1 (May 1968): 6–10. Two different images of this project have been reproduced, one in Kealy's article, and the other in Lippard, *Tony Smith*, Fig. 78. The image reproduced in Lippard is actually incomplete, because it shows the campus without the *Lunar Ammo Dump* plan.

14 See Lippard, *Tony Smith*, 24.

15 Tony Smith, writing, September 25, 1970. The projected *Watergarden* never materialized.

16 Tony Smith, "Outline," August 25, 1971, 3.

17 Tony Smith, interview by Lucy Lippard, "The New Work: More Points on the Lattice," typescript, 4.

18 John Charlot, "Tony Smith in Hawaii," May 12, 1978, typescript, 3. After *Haole Crater*, Smith proposed *Hubris* (1969) and, finally, *The Fourth Sign*, which was built in steel and installed on the campus in 1977.

19 See Tony Smith, writing, October 5, 1971, and Joan Pachner, "Stinger," in *Tony Smith: Stinger*, exh. pamphlet, Paula Cooper Gallery, New York, 1999. The *Art of the Real* exhibition was at The Museum of Modern Art, New York, July 3–September 8, 1968, and then traveled to the Centre National d'Art Contemporain, Paris, the Kunsthaus, Zurich, and the Tate Gallery, London, through June 1, 1969.

20 He continued working with the configuration of 81 units and that summer in Hawaii, 1969, designing *Hubris*, projected as a unique black concrete piece with 81 precast octahedra, and *Project for a Parking Lot* in Minneapolis, a paved city square of 81 squares, 74ft (22.5m) on each side, for downtown Minneapolis. The unexecuted plan is published as "Project for a Parking Lot,"

Design Quarterly, nos 78–79 (1970): 54–65. The last iteration in this extended group was *81 More* (1971), envisioned for an airport site and exhibited at The Museum of Modern Art as a red plywood mock-up. It was projected in concrete, five times larger than the model.

21 Lippard, "The New Work," typescript, 10.

22 Ibid., 15.

23 Charlot, "Tony Smith in Hawaii." Smith initially met John Charlot, a professor of religion at the University of Hawaii, through his father, the artist Jean Charlot.

24 Ibid.

25 Julia Brown and Michael Heizer, "Interview," in *Michael Heizer: Sculpture in Reverse*, ed. Brown, compiled in collaboration with Barbara Heizer, exh. cat., Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 1984, 18.

26 Lucy Lippard, "Tony Smith: Talk about Sculpture," typescript for interview published in *Art News*, 8.

27 Smith, statement in *Tony Smith: Two Exhibitions of Sculpture*, exh. cat., Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, and Institute of Contemporary Art, Philadelphia, 1966, n.p.

28 Tony Smith, writing, August 20, 1964.

29 Lippard, "Tony Smith: Talk about Sculpture," 71.

30 See, for instance, the interview by Renée Sabatello Neu with Tony Smith in *Tony Smith*, exh. brochure, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1968; and Phyllis Tuchman, "Tony Smith: A Modern Master," *New Jersey Monthly* 5 (January 1981): 126.

31 Tony Smith, interview by Neu, July 25, 1968, typescript, 2.

32 See Craig Adcock, "The Big Bad: A Critical Comparison of Mount Rushmore and Modern Earthworks," *Arts* 57 (April 1983): 104–7.

33 Tony Smith, interview by Elayne H. Varian, 1967, in Battcock, *Minimal Art*, 378–80. Smith's friend Mark Rothko also preferred his paintings to be viewed in dim light.

34 Scott Burton, "Old Master at the New Frontier," *Art News* 65 (December 1966): 54.

35 See E.C. Goossen, introduction to *9 Sculptures by Tony Smith*, exh. cat., New Jersey State Museums, 1970, n.p.

36 James R. Mellow, "Cheops Would Approve," *New York Times*, December 19, 1971, sec. 2, 25.

37 Heizer's father was a noted archaeologist.

38 See Elizabeth C. Baker, "Artworks on the Land," in "Art in the Land," *Art in America* (January–February 1976), reprinted in *Art in the Land*, ed. Alan Sonfist (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1983), 73–84, esp. 79; also John Beardsley, *Earthworks and Beyond: Contemporary Art in the Landscape*, rev. ed. (New York: Abbeville Press, 1989), 13 and 17; and *Michael Heizer: Sculpture in Reverse*, 11.

39 Quoted in Beardsley, *Earthworks and Beyond*, 17.

40 Tony Smith, interview by Paul Cummings for *Archives of American Art*, 1978, transcript, 37; also Smith, interview by Neu.

41 See "Interview with Dan Graham by Eugenie Tsai, New York City, October 27, 1988," in *Robert Smithson: Zeichnungen aus dem Nachlass/Drawings from the Estate*, exh. cat., Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, Münster, 1989, 20 n. 15 and 9, in which Graham discusses the subtle class and economic differences between Smith and Smithson. See also Smithson's references to William Carlos Williams and the New Jersey landscape in Paul Cummings, "An Interview with Robert Smithson for the Archives of American Art/Smithsonian Institution," July 14 and 19, 1972, reprinted in *The Writings of Robert Smithson: Essays with Illustrations*, ed. Nancy Holt (New York: New York University Press, 1979), 148. Tsai notes that "Nearly half of the locations represented by the nonsites are in the industrial waste land of northern New Jersey where Smith grew up." See Tsai, "Robert Smithson's Travelogues and Analogues," in *Robert Smithson: Zeichnungen aus dem Nachlass*, 32.

42 Tsai, "Robert Smithson's Travelogues and Analogues," 26.

43 Smithson, "A Tour of the Monuments of Passaic, New Jersey," *Artforum*, December 1967, reprinted in *The Writings of Robert Smithson*, 53.

44 Ibid., 54.

45 Smithson, "Entropy and the New Monuments," *Artforum*, June 1966, reprinted in *The Writings of Robert Smithson*, 9–18. Smithson, for example, saw rust as the natural state of steel. While one might think of Tony Smith's works in terms of their industrial fabrication, they never had the sterile feeling associated with mass-produced objects, Smithson noted this and compared Smith's "presences" to sculptures by David Smith. See "A Sedimentation of the Mind: Earth Projects," *Artforum*, September 1968, reprinted in *The Writings of Robert Smithson*, 87.

46 Smithson, "Entropy and the New Monuments," 10.

47 Smith was raised as a Catholic; spiritual themes appear in all media and in his writings throughout his oeuvre. The best-known manifestation is his proposal for a hexagonal-plan Catholic church of 1950, envisioned with paintings by Jackson Pollock on the clerestory windows. See Joan Pachner, "Tony Smith: Architecture into Sculpture," in *Tony Smith: Skulpturen–Sculpture, 1961–1969*, exh. cat., Westfälisches Landesmuseum, Münster, and Städtisches Museum Abteiberg Mönchengladbach, 1988, 52.

48 See Lucy Lippard, "Complexes: Architectural Structures in Nature," *Art in America* 67 (January–February 1979): 88: "Carl Andre proposed the horizontal rather than the vertical as the 'engaged' position. Tony Smith perceived the construction of the New Jersey Turnpike as an esthetic model."

49 See, for example, James Meyer, *Minimalism: Art and Polemics in the Sixties* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2001); and Alex Potts, *The Sculptural Imagination: Figurative, Modernist, Minimalist* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2000). Both authors discuss Smith's work in relation to Minimalist art, theoretical writings on this art, and its reception but base their analyses on published writings and exhibited sculptures.