

'Criticism is so old-fashioned... just put in a lot of gossip':

Writings On and By Andy Warhol

Gilda Williams

There's not very much to say about me, Andy Warhol demurred in 1966.¹ And yet, for over fifty years countless essays, conferences, museum essays, spoofs, Hollywood films, glossy magazine features, doctoral dissertations, sales blurbs, fashion shoots, documentaries² and more have accumulated around 'Nothingness Himself', as filmmaker Jonas Mekas once called him.³ 'If you want to know all about Andy Warhol just look at the surface: of my paintings and films and me, and there I am. There's nothing behind it.' These lines have been repeatedly held up as the skeleton key to unlock the 'nothing' behind the enigma,⁴ yet recent research has revealed that Warhol never actually uttered those words.⁵ Andy Warhol – whose expressionless white visage resembled nothing so much as a blank sheet, and who worried that he cast no reflection in a mirror – has proven an overwhelming 'something' to get to grips with.

'Is there really anything more to say on the subject of Andy Warhol?' begged the *New York Times* back in 1990.⁶ In fact, in the wake of The Museum of Modern Art's monumental posthumous retrospective in 1989 – a game-changer not least for its spectacular curatorial deficiencies – the most fertile Warhol research was only just getting underway. Readers will notice that this *ONCE BY* anthology is weighted post-1989, by far the dominant influence informing current Warhol studies, alongside his own words. In the 1960s Warhol was simply 'The Campbell's Soup Guy': a one-dimensional monosyllabic oddity whose colourful Pop artworks could be effortlessly absorbed. Today, planet Warhol has grown so vast – from library shelves heaving with monographs devoted to niche subjects such as his connection to religious art or to nature;⁷ to feature films offering contradictory Warhol caricatures;⁸ to a warehouse-sized museum in Pittsburgh that preserves every scrap of Warholiana, from his platinum wigs to his mother's house dresses – that he seems to have slipped from our grasp. For simplicity's sake, Warhol is popularly reduced to 'that Pop artist who legitimated Business art'⁹ and quipped about '15 minutes of fame', a line so over-cited that by 1979 – about ten years after coining it – Warhol had grown so tired of the phrase he began misquoting himself: 'In fifteen minutes, everyone will be famous.'¹⁰ Among non-initiates, the impression

is further flattened: Warhol was just a bewigged weirdo who ran some sort of Pop art business and whose paintings today fetch insane prices. Why the big deal around Andy Warhol?

Why Warhol? Because Warhol excelled at and revolutionized every medium to which he turned his hand. For example, paintings such as *Elvis* (1963) or *Lavender Disaster* (*Electric Chair*) (1963), with their seamless integration of paint and photography, represent a paradigm shift in art history. He single-handedly reanimated the genres of portraiture, landscape and still life,¹¹ inventing an artificially colourful, flat, semi-mechanical and lightweight application of paint unprecedented in the history of painting, one especially riveting in the wake of Abstract Expressionism. On film and on canvas, Warhol handpicked new and enduring American icons; he was the first-ever to innovate repeated imagery to create 'still movies' or paintings that mimicked the flicker of movie frames. A large proportion of the finest art-thinkers, philosophers and theorists of his time have examined his work, including: Roland Barthes, Arthur C. Danto, Frederic Jameson, Jean Baudrillard, Gilles Deleuze, Michel Foucault, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick,¹² as well as novelists such as Martin Amis and John Updike.¹³ Without a shred of family connections or money, with an average education, so-so looks and armed solely with heaps of talent and drive, Warhol led an outrageously bold and enterprising life – as the late Lou Reed (musician and founding member of the Velvet Underground, the band Warhol produced in the 1960s) put it, he was 'an astonishing person in every way'.¹⁴

His genius seems only to mount as the twenty-first century continues, and his once-baffling words prove spookily prophetic. Warhol envisioned reality TV decades before Big Brother swept primetime.¹⁵ With every new boxset we recall Warhol's uncanny prediction that 'television [is] going to take over from movies' – an unheard-of prognostication in the pre-home-video, pre-Netflix mid-1960s.¹⁶ Along with others, Warhol threw into doubt issues of copyright and the public ownership of images – concerns redoubled with Instagram, Facebook and digital imaging.¹⁷ His continuous stream of self-published Polaroids of himself smiling alongside famous friends recognizably anticipated today's selfie.¹⁸ He questioned information overload – a condition we suffer daily in the wake of the internet – and pondered back in 1983: 'Maybe you know more, but

you don't know better ... So what good does all this information do you?'¹⁹ He foresaw computer-generated art, and envisioned mass-distributed drawings via a connected printer – borderline sci-fi in 1986.²⁰ And yet his working methods fly in the face of today's over-managed work culture: Warhol was an intuitive strategist but no planner, launching headlong into endeavour after endeavour in his candid pursuit of fame and fortune.

ONCE-BY Warhol offers five decades' of critical overview on this unique filmmaker, painter, publisher, curator, draughtsman and socializer, gathering writing – from art history, philosophy, personal recollection, queer theory and fiction – that has influentially shaped the thinking around him. Despite claiming 'I don't want to leave any leftovers',²¹ Andy Warhol left behind five bulging catalogue raisonnés of paintings and sculptures; at least 70 films; 472 *Screen Tests*; 610 *Time Capsules*; 3,000 audiotapes; 4,000 videos; and much more.²² For half a century, the Andy Warhol phenomenon laid a banquet for copy-hungry writers; a single-spaced, all-inclusive bibliography/filmography would barely squeeze into this book. Moreover, 'editing' runs counter to Warhol's whole enterprise; to except (as this book does) passages from the novel *a* – a barely decipherable, word-for-word (more or less) transcription of a day (more or less) in the life of verbose superstar Ondine – clashes with Warhol's run-on, hands-off approach.

Given the volume of Andy Warhol's textual legacy, this book's selection has necessarily been drastic. An anthology could be assembled devoted solely to the commentary of fellow artists, here represented by Donald Judd and Art & Language.²³ A strictly 'best-of' would be disproportionately centred on his once-neglected films, a medium which has especially attracted quality Warhol writing.²⁴ Readers interested in film, or, for that matter in queer perspectives – another exceptionally productive approach – are urged to look further. Conversely, some areas have garnered surprisingly little written attention, such as his majestic *Silver Pillows* (1966),²⁵ or his still unexplored penchant for graffiti art late in life.

The text-only format of the *ONCE-BY* series put paid to Warhol's beautiful 1950s drawing books and other publications wholly reliant on visual design – part visual essays; part hand-held sculptural editions – such as *Andy Warhol's Index (Book)* (1967), with its inserted rubber balloon and pop-up castle, and the image-saturated Moderna Museet catalogue

(1968), an extraordinary effort by Billy Name.²⁶ Also absent are photo collections by Warhol-fixed photographers from Name to Stephen Shore, Nat Finkelstein, *et al.*;²⁷ included, however, are unorthodox text-only excerpts from Warhol's own photo-collections, such as *Exposures* (1979) and *America* (1985).

Limitations of space precluded intensely detailed books that resist being sensibly cut down, among these vital biographies by David Boudon, Victor Bockris, and Tony Schemman and David Dalton.²⁸ Ditto regarding information-packed research such as Roy Grundmann on *Blow Job*; Richard Meyer on *Thirteen Most Wanted Men*; Reva Wolf on Warhol's immersion in Manhattan's gossip-ridden poetry circles in the early 1960s; and Bernard B. Perlman on his early education.²⁹ Also stretching beyond this book's scope are interview-based publications that gather conversations with associates and acquaintances: a curious Warholian sub-genre that continues to thrive since John Wilcock's *The Autobiography and Sex Life of Andy Warhol* from 1971.³⁰ Sometimes a singular example has been plucked out to represent a broad literary genre, such as philosopher Barthes; or Wayne Koestenbaum's *Andy Warhol: A Biography* (2001), the exemplar text from a cluster of idiosyncratic rewritings of the Warhol myth.³¹ Bob Colacello's *Holy Terror* (1990) and Mary Woronov's *Swimming Underground* (1995/2000) are here identified as the standouts in a sub-industry of Factory memoirs.³²

The aim has been to track the shifting discourse around Warhol – including once-formative frameworks subsequently called into question. Few still feel the need to prop up Warhol's merit because of claimed affinities with, say, semi-forgotten figuratist Graham Sutherland, as Robert Rosenblum did in 1977 (p.123); or would reasonably ask whether Warhol is comparable to Milton's Satan (see Art & Language, 1986; p.129). These texts are included to paint a picture of his precarious artistic stature towards the end of his life, and explain the urgency felt from the late 1980s to rebuild – practically from scratch – the Warhol critical edifice.

Reviews of Warhol's few 1950s gallery shows rarely ran more than a line or two, but their gist was favourable, offering meek praise for his 'original style of line drawing', for example.³³ In contrast, commentary during Warhol's explosive 1960s was abundant, with coverage often focused on his prodigious personality cult.³⁴ Around 1969–70, Gregory Battcock,

Kanner (1996), John Coplans and others ventured into more 'serious' attempts at understanding his work, but this was abruptly silenced in the mid 1970s as the press declared open season on Andy Warhol. During the final decade of his life, the rare pro-Warhol voice³⁵ could barely be heard above the anti-Warhol name-calling, from 'voyeur-in-chief to the marginal and then to the rich' (*The New York Review of Books*, 1982) to 'the Village idiot in a shiny machine' (*Artscribe*, 1986).³⁶

The artist's unexpected death in early 1987 momentarily stunned the art world into a kind of mute paralysis. Bored by his antics and having forgotten myriad early works (including the films, which Warhol pulled from circulation around 1970), an unprepared art community was suddenly faced with the monumental task of sifting through his legacy, still uncertain of its enduring worth. Thomas Crow's groundbreaking 'Saturday Disasters: Early Trace and Reference in Andy Warhol' (1987) opened the suspicion that Warhol's performance of passivity during his lifetime disguised the devastating control he had wielded over the response to his art. As Crow notes, both the artist's supporters and his detractors alike had been held hostage by Andy's version of Andy: lulled into believing that his art was just 'surface', hardly worth further probing. '[I]t would be difficult to name an artist who has been as successful as Warhol was in controlling the interpretation of his own work', Crow observed.³⁷ Suddenly, decades of (almost) unquestioned belief in Warhol's 'Pop' self-description – that his hollow persona perfectly adhered to his equally depthless art – was called into doubt, and began to be dismantled.

The year 1989 marked the great divide in Warhol's critical history, dominated by the momentous, world touring exhibition at The Museum of Modern Art the same year – the New York institution that had, to his eternal frustration, shunned the artist during his lifetime.³⁸ On one hand, this well-attended show whet a mass international appetite for Warhol and displayed, for example, his cartoon paintings – unseen since their week-long display at the department store Bonwit Teller in 1961. On the other hand, MoMA had grossly over-edited, sweeping away all of Andy's museum-unfriendly sides and distorting his life's work. Among its curatorial blunders, 'Andy Warhol: A Retrospective' left off some of the *Disaster* paintings' 'blank' second canvases.³⁹ In fact, plenty had been 'left off': publishing, TV work, advertising, homoeroticism – in short, anything that did not fit into the desexualized, museum-ready template that centred

on painting and drawing.⁴⁰ The exhibition tiptoed around the 'fifty' late work, omitted his so-called 'non-art' activities and resuscitated just a handful of his structuralist films, such as *Empire*; most noticeably, MoMA had whitewashed the open secret of his homosexuality, institutionally 'degaying' Andy Warhol, as the *Advocate* magazine decried.⁴¹

Michael Brenson's *New York Times* review rode along with MoMA's tunnel vision,⁴² cementing the broadly accepted late-1980s verdict which ran roughly: 'Formerly a graphic artist and illustrator, Andy Warhol began making important Pop paintings around 1962 and hit his stride in the mid-1960s Silver Factory, providing we turn a blind eye to his obscene yet tedious, amateurish films (featuring his freaky troupe) which – inexplicably! – coincide with his "good" period. An assassination attempt in 1968 spelled his long decline, as Warhol publicly wasted two decades socializing and chasing myriad cringe-making, low-brow pursuits, occasionally punctuated by a miraculous return to painterly form, such as the *Mao* portraits.'

Although this default Andy Warhol setting sometimes still persists even today, it was rapidly losing ground in the face of vast untapped reserves of information available at the close of the 1980s. The so-called 'new art history' of the period began filling in the gaps, as archival research, revisited interpretations and psychoanalytically inspired approaches spawned.⁴³ Over 10 days in Spring 1988, Sotheby's auctioned off the artist's private collection of over 10,000 objects, raising \$25.3m and revealing Andy Warhol as a shopaholic with a razor-sharp eye for quality design: his Manhattan townhouse left crammed with jewellery, Art Deco furniture, Navajo rugs and more. The artist resisted a biography during his lifetime, but in 1989 posthumous biographies were released by Bourdon, an art critic who had known Warhol for decades, and Bockris, an occasional *Interview* contributing editor who penned the information-packed and widely read *Life and Death of Andy Warhol*. Long-time co-writer and friend Pat Hackett published the voluminous and riveting *The Andy Warhol Diaries* (1989), which climbed the New York *Times* bestseller list and exposed his wry humour, devout belief in God and political affiliation – a Democrat, if infatuated with old-world aristocracy and unperturbed by the Republicans or tyrants frequenting his social circle. Many were surprised to discover that Andy Warhol spent Thanksgivings helping out at his local church. Furthering a Marxist approach opened by Rainer Crone back in 1970 (p. 110), eminent critic Thierry de Duve in 1989 penned in the noted

journal *October* – which previously paid Warhol scant attention – a lengthy reconceptualization of the artist's relationship to class, consumption and artistic labour: areas of political analysis still actively pursued today.⁴⁴ The esteemed philosopher and art critic Arthur C. Danto – a long-time Warhol admirer – advanced the idea that he was 'the nearest thing to a philosophical genius the history of art has produced', a startling reversal from the idiot savant caricature presumed by many.⁴⁵ Curator Donna De Salvo and others investigated underexplored periods of his art-making, from his 1950s illustrations to the rarely seen pre-Pop paintings, beating new paths of research.⁴⁶ The reader *Andy Warhol: Film Factory* (ed. Michael O'Pray) was published both to untangle the 'chaotic and obscure' history of the barely known movies, and to widen MoMA's drastic streamlining of Warhol's film career down to about a dozen structuralist works.

With the unabated AIDS crisis of the late 1980s, the urgency to raise awareness around gay concerns, coupled with the dead silence regarding Warhol's homosexuality, pointed heavily towards the need to lay a whole new groundwork in Warhol studies finally able to accommodate his sexuality and multifarious artistry. Simon Watney, a writer and AIDS activist, published in 1989 'The Warhol Effect' (included in a volume that documented a day-long Warhol symposium at the Dia Art Foundation) denounced 'restrictive attempts to measure [Warhol] against the criteria of predetermined models of artistic value which his own work quietly invalidates'.⁴⁷ Watney's essay persuasively called for a wholesale reassessment, encouraging nascent Warhol research (as Douglas Crimp wrote, a decade later) to 'move away from narrower prerogatives of art history and toward the broader inquiry of cultural studies'.⁴⁸ The valuable collection of essays *Pop Out: Queer Warhol* (1996) set out to fill the 'conspicuous critical silence around Warhol's sexuality', articulating the aims and demonstrating the value of a queer approach.⁴⁹ Queering the discourse seemed also to open the discussion to women writers (Angell [1994]; Jones [1996]; Krauss [1996]; Taubin [1997]; Phelan [1999] *et al.*) – virtually absent from the quasi-men-only roster that dominated critical commentary on Warhol since the late-1960s – and prompted new approaches that overlapped with feminism (Doyle, 2006; see p. 216); acknowledged the hidden impact of rumour and gossip (Wolf, 1997; Butt, 2004, 2005);⁵⁰ and valorized the contribution of Warhol's transgender stars, from Mario Montez (Crimp, 2012) to Jackie Curtis, Candy Darling and Holly Woodlawn.

The establishment in 1994 of 'The Andy Warhol Museum in his hometown of Pittsburgh – with its unprecedented concentration of 8,000 artworks; copious archive of source material; and momentous inventorying of its *Time Capsules* – beckoned researchers to fill the countless lacunae that plagued Warhol scholarship. Gathered in anthologies such as *Who Is Andy Warhol?* (MacCabe, Francis and Wollen, eds., 1997) or published in catalogues and specialist journals, valuable research steadily emerged into barely acknowledged Warhol activities and semi-niche topics, such as Andy Warhol as collector/curator (Francis; Lobel);⁵¹ fashion model (Hainley);⁵² audio-taper (Wainwright);⁵³ hypochondriac (Dillon);⁵⁴ and, of special interest here, author, editor and publisher (Bockris [1997]; Wolf; Mulrone, *et al.*).⁵⁵ Andy Warhol worked his whole life in proximity to publishing, yet for decades this activity went barely acknowledged.

A scrapbook-keeper since childhood and aspiring illustrator since college, beginning with his *Cat* and *Boy* books in the early 1950s Warhol created in his lifetime no fewer than 100 books.⁵⁶ Although Warhol claimed only to look at the pictures or read gossip columns, his home library belies wider reading (Stephen Koch had long asserted how well-read the artist was);⁵⁷ notwithstanding his eccentric habit of shelving books with their spines facing inwards.⁵⁸ Art historian Reva Wolf has demonstrated Andy Warhol's personal and creative immersion within New York's poetry world in the early 1960s, countering the perception – sometimes encouraged by the artist – that he barely read, or was borderline illiterate;⁵⁹ the allegation that Warhol was dyslexic has been persuasively refuted by curator and chief archivist Matt Whiccan on occasion of the 2015-16 exhibition *Warhol by the Book*.⁶⁰ Plane rides gave Warhol time to soak up novels such as Tama Janowitz's *Slaves of New York* (1986), which he had considered optioning. Warhol's favourite genre was tell-all biographies; Vincent Fremont seems to recall that the artist brought with him Kitty Kelley's *His Way: The Unauthorized Biography of Frank Sinatra* (1983) into hospital before his fatal gallbladder operation.⁶¹

'Andy always read carefully every manuscript I gave him. I know this because his comments were very specific and thoughtful', Warhol's co-/ghost-writer Pat Hackett has affirmed.⁶² This might lend credence to Warhol's claim that he read the novel *a* six times beginning to end⁶³ – countering the speculation that *a* was 'the first novel not to have been read by its author'.⁶⁴ Examples of his handwriting are scarce; for instance,

Warhol did not keep an address book, but memorized phone numbers or scrawled them on loose scraps of paper which were lost as people entered and exited his life. Warhol wrote almost nothing off the top of his head; notes to Factory staff were typically succinct ('Pat—use this') but he was willing to take dictation, for example writing a gift card.⁶⁵

A Ruthenian dialect was spoken in Warhol's childhood home (his mother Julia barely spoke English) and he only learned English attending school.⁶⁶ Warhol possessed an idiosyncratic manner of talking – those around him mimicked his deadpan 'Factory accent' – that combined simple words with unpredictable content. For example, his deceptively straightforward statement 'I want to be a machine' in 1963 diametrically countered the widespread early-1960s anxiety that machines were rapidly taking over the world – an emotion-free prospect Warhol welcomed.⁶⁷ He often expressed himself in contradictions, describing someone as a 'cute little creep', or saying '[London] was so much fun I had to leave'.⁶⁸

The 1960s witnessed the rise of the artist-writer, perhaps best exemplified by Robert Smithson – a decade younger, and as gifted in writing as Warhol was reticent. (Their imagined conversation is expertly double-ventriloquized in Saul Anton's *Warhol's Dream*, 2007, p.223.) Warhol was never going to allow his shortcomings as a writer impede his limitless ambitions, and in the early 1960s we sense him seeking suitable written accompaniment for his newly minted Pop art. 'Can you talk like that about my soup cans?', Warhol begged David Bourdon in 1962–63, hoping the critic might apply his flowery art-speak to his still-drying *Campbell's Soup Cans*.⁶⁹ But, just as Warhol threw off his tweed suits and bowtie for cowboy boots and a leather jacket, or replaced the fussy profferoles illustrated in his 1950s cookbooks with canned soup and Coca-Cola, he needed young, snappy art-writing in step with his Pop revolution. In one 1964 experiment, assistant Gerard Malanga singlehandedly penned a Warhol 'interview' (with the artist's consent) that lifted text straight from the Empire State Building publicity brochure. 'By night, New York becomes a honeycomb of light, dazzling and unbelievable in its beauty' – Warhol/Malanga 'say', spectacularly failing to sound anything like 'Andy'.⁷⁰ For Callie Angell, only with Gretchen Berg's inspired, heavily redacted 'My True Story' (1966; p.31) do we first hear a kind of recognizable Warholian 'literary voice': the plain-talking but compelling delivery of Warhol-speak.⁷¹

Warhol sometimes spun outlandishly complex literary collaborations to achieve his desired text. For the introduction of *THE Philosophy*, Colacello penned an initial draft that ran to twelve pages – too short, in Warhol's estimation. To lengthen that effort, Warhol read Colacello's words over the telephone to Brigid Berlin, who contributed her patient listening and sharp commentary. The artist then handed their taped phone conversation to Hackett – instructing her to 'make it better' – and Hackett transcribed and transformed the whole into the opener, 'How Andy Puts His Warhol On': an enmeshed and convoluted writing process if ever there was one.⁷² Hackett wrote and redacted for Warhol continually from late 1968 until his death two decades later, proving the artist's most enduring written 'voice': an invaluable collaborator and a friend with whom he spoke every day.⁷³ Hackett was a wizard at transmitting Warhol's meaning accurately – if not verbatim – to the printed page, differentiating between a sceptical 'oh, really' (to which Hackett might append 'I'm not sure about that') and a gasping 'reallly!', which she might follow with a clarifying 'how exciting'.⁷⁴ Warhol came to rely on Hackett as his written voice, in much the same way as he had employed his mother Julia to 'speak' on his behalf by lettering his early drawings.

'One of the disappointing aspects of *POPism* is Warhol's failure to talk about art', complained Joyce Carol Oates in her 1980 review of Warhol's 1960s memoir.⁷⁵ In fact Warhol rarely spoke about art-making: 'Worked on art things' is how the *Diaries* might condense an afternoon spent in the studio. Warhol's opinions of other artists' work veered towards the humorous put-down: Barnett Newman must have 'had time for parties' since he painted only a single line down each canvas; Jasper Johns was 'great' – on account of his delicious lunches.⁷⁶ Slippages between image-making and words regarding his own art are more subtle; as Kenneth Goldsmith puts it, 'the visual and the verbal are the wet and warp of a seamless fabric that is Warhol's art'.⁷⁷ One notices that his famous Coca-Cola quote – 'the President drinks Coke, Liz Taylor drinks Coke, and just think, you can drink Coke, too'⁷⁸ – lists the very subjects of his *Death and Disaster*-era paintings. The levelling effect that Warhol attributed to Coke might conceal a sly parallel with death: the President died, Liz Taylor almost died, and – *just think!* – you can die too.

'Don't pay any attention to what they say about you, just measure it in inches', Warhol is attributed with saying, and associates confirm that he quantified before qualifying information: counting the ads in *Interview*

before skimming the articles, or asking Lou Reed how many songs he had written that week.⁷⁹ Warhol read aloud his reviews to his Factory staff, taking sides with the negative ones.⁸⁰ He was not immune to criticism but only vented his occasional anger privately. 'Let's never see her again,' a stony-faced Warhol might spit in the taxi ride after an uncomfortable dinner party, where a collector had raised doubts about his painterly abilities. Warhol never confronted his attackers – leaving self-appointed arch-nemeses Hilton Kramer and Robert Hughes talking to themselves for years. As with Hughes's anti-Warhol jeremiad,⁸¹ often what passed for 'art criticism' intersected artistic failure with moral corruption: Warhol was a bad person making bad art – the gist of *Chelsea Girls*'s (1966) negative reviews in particular.⁸²

In Europe they took Warhol seriously – one reason he continued steadily to work there.⁸³ European commentators generally assumed he was an acerbic social critic (a role Warhol denied) delivering secret 'message[s] for a European intellectual' – such as Pier Paolo Pasolini, who congratulated himself for detecting the alleged racial inequalities lurking behind *Ladies and Gentlemen* (1975).⁸⁴ A London critic for *The Times*, reviewing a 1974 show of preparatory *Mao* drawings, hailed Warhol as 'the most important American artist', who perpetrated 'an absolute condemnation of American capitalist society'.⁸⁵ Warhol happily fuelled potentially profit-making misconceptions that he was a closet communist, and in 1976 obliged with his opportunistic *Hammer & Sickle* paintings.

The notion of 'Comrade Andy' is terrific, particularly in light of his current dominant identity as the gold-plated godfather of market-driven, 'high capitalist' art. But, as Warhol said, 'History books are being rewritten all the time'.⁸⁶ Hal Foster asserted in his noted 'Death in America' (p. 177) that everyone gets 'the Warhol they deserve; no doubt we all do', and nothing could be truer.⁸⁷ Over the decades, Warhol's critical reception has swung in every direction, often following a pattern of dramatic reversal; for example, Warhol's directing style was *not* uncontrolled, as Mekas asserted in 1970, inverting the assumption that his film sets were chaos.⁸⁸ Similarly, Warhol's image selection was *not* indifferent (Crow, 1987); his subject matter *not* banal (Watney, 1996); his art was *not* depersonalized (Wolf, 1997). His films did *not* shift seamlessly from 'silent-stillies' to 'talky-movies' (Angell, 1994), and were *not* merely voyeuristic (Crimp, 2012). His art does *not* belong wholly to Pop (Williams, 2014). These reversals never

cancel entirely the preceding norm, but only confound further: Warhol's images are banal *and* laden with meaning, his films spontaneous *and* profoundly denaturalized. As Foster writes, the *Death and Disaster* series are 'connected *and* disconnected, affected *and* affectless, critical *and* complacent'.⁸⁸ His paradoxical personality, Koestenbaum says, straddles 'between bashfulness and bravado ... diffidence and exhibitionism'.⁸⁹ Appellatives like Colacello's 'holy terror' condense Warhol's confounding ability to be *both*, just as 1960s nickname 'Drella' (Cinderella/Dracula) fused male and female, good and evil. And so, while the *Swicides* (1962) or *Skulls* (1976) powerfully stand up alongside the greatest paintings in Western art history – partially explaining the head-spinning prices his canvases achieve today – at the same time Warhol *was* that bewigged weirdo who ran some sort of Pop art business. Andy Warhol qualifies as what cultural theorist Homi Bhabha defined as a 'transindividual': world-famous and visually unmistakable, figures such as Princess Diana or Mahatma Gandhi who are both blessed and damned, 'a familiar presence and a phantasmatic icon'.⁹⁰

'The only choice we get is *what* to worship', David Foster Wallace once said.⁹¹ In that light, one can imagine Warhol's eternal charisma shape-shifting from today's art-business guru to tomorrow's new-age spiritual master: his non-judgemental, undefended, 'do less, accomplish more' approach to life reconceived as a triumph of Eastern philosophy-like Parallels to Jesus are abundantly encountered;⁹² martyred and crucified during his lifetime, his wounds were openly displayed – for any would-be disbelievers – in Richard Avedon's 1969 portrait. He was accepting of society's rejected: 'The people I loved were [...] the leftovers of show business, turned down at auditions all over town'.⁹³ As rolls of *Cow Wallpaper* are sold off cow-by-cow like splinters off the True Cross, one imagines Warholism reborn as a cult, complete with pilgrimage sites (his Pittsburgh grave now endowed with 24-hour online webcam; Union Square – address of the late Factory – a sidewalk shrine thanks to Rob Pruitt's silver statue) and sacred texts from his own oft-quoted words, to Factory memoirs transformed into Gospels ('... *according to Gerard*'; ... *according to Bob*'). Among the Warhol cameos in recent fiction⁹⁴ is Brett Easton Ellis's *Glamorama* (1998), where a character is mocked because she owns just two books: *The Bible*, plus *The Andy Warhol Diaries*.⁹⁵ And *The Bible*, she explains, was a gift.

1. Interview with Alan Solomon (1966): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mOKWkXoCz0> at 6:38.
2. Warhol documentaries include: *Painters Painting* dir. Emile de Antonio (1972); *Warhol* dir. David Bailey (1973); *Superstar: The Life and Times of Andy Warhol* dir. Chuck Workman (1990); *Andy Warhol: The Complete Picture* dir. Chris Rodley (2001); *Andy Warhol: A Documentary Film* dir. Jean-Michel Vecchiet (2007).
3. Mekus, 'Notes after Seeing the Movies of Andy Warhol,' *Andy Warhol*, ed. John Coplans (Boston, MA: Little Brown & Co, 1970), reprinted in ed., Michael O'Pray, 31. This epitaph worried Warhol, 'some critic called me the "Nothingness Himself" and that didn't help my sense of existence any,' *THE Philosophy*, 15; here p. 47.
4. *Cf.* Hughes (1982); Buchloh (1989/2001); Shavro (1993); Foster (1995/97); Suarez (1996); Martick (1998); de Duve (1989); Danto (2009); Leung (2003); Williams (2014). Berg, here p. 34.
5. Whelan, here p. 226.
6. Grace Gluck, 'The Artist as Icon, Busybody and Chief Executive: review of Bob Colacello, *Holy Terror: Andy Warhol Close Up*; New York Times (9 Aug 1990).
7. Jane Duggert Dillenberg, *The Religious Art of Andy Warhol* (New York: Continuum, 1998); Chad Allgood, *Warhol's Nature* (New York: Scala Arts & Heritage, 2015).
8. Onscreen Warhols include: Crispin Glover, *The Doors* (1991); David Bowie, *Basquiat* (1996); Jared Harris, *I Shot Andy Warhol* (1996); Guy Pearce, *Factory Girl* (2006); Bill Hader, *Men in Black 3* (2012).
9. 'Being good in business is the most fascinating kind of art,' *THE Philosophy*, 88; here p. 54.
10. *Exposures*, 1979; here, p. 66; ed., Goldsmith, xxiii.
11. On portraiture, see Hal Foster, 'Test Subjects,' in ed., Benjamin H.D. Buchloh, *Andy Warhol: A Special Issue*, *October* 132 (Spring 2010) 30-42. On genre, see Stephen Bann, 'Pop Art and Genre,' *New Literary History* vol. 24, no. 1 (Winter 1993).
12. Philosophers on Warhol: Barthes (p. 126); Danto (p.16); Jamson (p.165); Sedgwick (p. 190); Baudrillard, 'Pop - an Art of Consumption?' (1970), in *The Jean Baudrillard Reader*, ed., Steve Redhead, trans. Paul Foss and Julian Peñals (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008) 15-23; Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*, trans. Paul Patton (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); Foucault, 'Theatrum Philosophicum,' *Language Counter-*

- Memory Practice*, trans. Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1977).
13. Martin Amis, 'Ugly People Are Just as Hard to Get as Pretty People,' review of *The Andy Warhol Diaries*, *New York Times Book Review* (25 June 1989) 9; John Updike, 'Fast Art: The Sweatless Creations of Andy Warhol,' *New Republic* (27 Mar 1989) 26-28.
14. <http://www.adweek.com/news/advertising-branding/fou-ree-d-music-mortality-and-genius-andy-warhol-and-kanye-west-150497>
15. 'Next summer, we'll get five or six people living together for a couple of weeks out in the country, and just shoot everything that happens between them as they get complicated with one another.' Warhol, in Paul Carroll, 'What's a Warhol?' *Playboy* vol. 16, no. 9 (Sept 1969) reprinted in ed., Pratt, 49.
16. Warhol, in an interview with Richard Ekstrakt (1965) ed., Goldsmith, 78.
17. Those who protested Warhol's 'borrowing' of their work include: James Harvey, designer of the Billie box; Patricia Caulfield, whose photograph was cropped and reworked in *Flowers* (1964); Charles Moore, who snapped the *Race Riots* (civil rights demonstration) photos for *Life* magazine; and Fred Ward, whose *Life* cover photo of a grieving Jacqueline Onassis featured in *Jackie* (*The Week that Was*) (1963). Schemman and Dalton, 237-38.
18. i.e., <http://www.theguardian.com/fashion/2015/jul/29/andy-warhols-intimate-polaroids-from-divine-to-bianca-iggler>
19. *Diaries* (27 June 1983) 509.
20. Cory Arcangel, 'The Warhol Files: On Warhol's Computer Art,' *Artforum* (Summer 2014), 21. *THE Philosophy*, 106.
22. Detailed bibliographies include: http://www.sitterwerk-katalog.ch/data/book_images/bibliographies/SIWE_B_GMO0617148.pdf; and <http://www.gagosian.com/artists/andy-warhol/>
23. Artists on Warhol: Chuck Close, John Currin, Jeff Koons <http://www.bloomberg.com/video/chuck-close-currin-koons-on-warhol-at-the-met-60UKMjgRteVvYh8i8RZA.html>; Mike Kelley, 'On Andy Warhol,' ed., Eva Meyer-Hermann, 0030-0033; Julian Schnabel, 'Introduction,' *Andy Warhol: Shadow Paintings* (New York: Gagosian Gallery, 1989); Jeff Wall, 'Some Sources for Warhol in Duchamp and Others' (1979), in Schwander, 27-31; and more in eds., Mark Rosenthal *et al.*, *Regarding Warhol: Sixty Artists, Fifty Years* (London: Tate, 2012).
24. On Warhol's films: Battcock, p. 106; Koch, p. 119; Angell, p. 210; Paul Morrissey and Derek Hill, *Andy Warhol as Filmmaker: A Discussion*, *Studio International* (Feb 1971)

- 57-61; Pauline Kael, 'The Current Cinema: Mothers' (review of *Trash*) *The New Yorker*, 1970; reprinted in *Deeper into the Movies* (Little Brown, 1973); John G. Hanhardt and Jon Carnerberg, *The Films of Andy Warhol: An Introduction* (Whitney Museum of American Art) 1988; O'Pray, ed.; *Andy Warhol, Cinema* (Paris: CARRE/Centre Georges Pompidou, 1990); David E. James, 'The Unseen Life: A Warhol Advertisement,' *October* 56 (Spring 1991) 21-41; Steven Shavro, 'Warhol's Bodies,' *The Cinematic Body* (University of Minnesota, 1993) 200-238; Amy Taubin, '****', eds., MacCabe, Francis Wollen, 23-32; Thomas Waugh, 'Cookteaser', in eds., Doyle, Flately and Muñoz, 51-77; Hoberman, 'Film: A Pioneering Dialogue Between Actress and Image' (review of *Outer and Inner Space*), *New York Times* (22 Nov 1998); Roy Grundmann, *Andy Warhol's Blow Job* (Temple University Press, 2003); L'carme Gilbertson, *Andy Warhol's Beauty #2: Demystifying and Reconstructing the Feminine Mystique*, *Obliquely: Art Journal* vol. 62, no. 1 (Spring, 2003) 24-33; Klaus Biesenbach, *Andy Warhol: Motion Pictures* (Berlin: KW Institute of Contemporary Art, 2004); Douglas Crimp, 'Spacious,' *October*; Andy Warhol: A Special Issue, no. 132, ed., Benjamin Buchloh (Spring 2010) 5-24; Douglas Crimp, 'Our Kind of Movie,' *The Films of Andy Warhol* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2012); eds., Glyn Davis and Gary Needham, *Warhol in Ten Takes* (London: BFI, 2013); J.J. Murphy, *The Black Hole of the Camera: The Films of Andy Warhol* (Berkeley: University of California, 2012).
25. A study of Warhol's sculpture is awaited with Thomas Morgan Evans, *3D Warhol: Warhol and Sculpture* (London: IB Tauris, 2016).
26. *Andy Warhol's Index (Book)* (New York: Black Star Books/Random House, 1967); Pontus Hultén, Kasper Koenig, and O. Granath, *Andy Warhol* (Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1968).
27. Photography books: Nat Finkelstein, *Andy Warhol: The Factory Years, 1964-1967* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989); *Andy Warhol Polaroids, 1971-86* (New York: Pace/MacGill Gallery, 1992); Billy Name, *All Tomorrow's Parties, Billy Name's Photographs of Andy Warhol's Factory*, essay by Dave Hickey, interview by Collier Schorr (London: Tete, 1997); Lynne Tillman and Stephen Shore, *The Velvet Years: Warhol's Factory 1965-67* (London: Pavilion, 1995); *Andy Warhol Photography* (Edition Stemmle, with The Andy Warhol Museum and Kunsthalbe Hamburg, 1999); David McCabe, *A Year in the Life of Andy Warhol* (London: Phaidon, 2003).
28. Biographies: David Bourdon, *Warhol* (New York: Abrams, 1989); Victor Broekris, *Life and Death of Andy Warhol* (also titled *Warhol - The Biography*) (New York: Bantam, 1989); Tony Schemman and David Dalton, *Pop: The Genius of Andy Warhol* (New York: Harper Collins, 2009). For a journalistic summary, see Louis Menand, 'Top of the Pops,' *The New Yorker* (11 Jan 2010)
29. Bernard B. Perlman, 'The Education of Andy Warhol,' *The Andy Warhol Museum: The Inaugural Publication* (1994), 147-166; Reva Wolf, *Andy Warhol, Poetry, and Gossip in the 1960s* (University of Chicago, 1997); Richard Meyer, 'Most Wanted Men: Homocriticism and the Secret Censorship in Early Warhol,' in *Outlaw Representation: Censorship and Homosexuality in Twentieth Century American Art* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2002); Roy Grundmann, *Andy Warhol's Blow Job* (Temple University Press, 2003).
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32. Factory memoirs: Victor Broekris and Gerard Malanga, *Up-Tight: The Velvet Underground Story* (Chimera, 1983; revised 2002); Ultra Violet, *Famous for 15 Minutes: My Years with Andy Warhol* (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988); Brigitt Berlin, 'Factory Days,' *Interview* (Feb 1989); Holly Woodlawn, *A Low Life in High Heels: The Holy Woodlawn Story* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991); Gerard Malanga, *Archiving Warhol*, (Creation Books, 2002). See also James Warhola, *Uncle Andy's* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 2003).

41. Barbara Ciesci, *Art News* (Summer 1954) 75.
 42. James Fitzsimmons, *Art Digest*, (July 1952) 19; Stuart Preston, *New York Times* (3 Mar 1956) 37; Parker Tyler, *Art News* (Dec 1956) 59; Stuart Preston, *New York Times* (7 Dec 1957); Sidney Tillim, *Art News* (Jan 1960).
43. On the 1960s personality cult: Mario Amaya, 'Men and the Machine', *Financial Times* (13 Mar 1968) 23; David Antin, Warhol: the Silver Tentement, *ArtNews* (Summer, 1966) 47-49; Henry Geldzahler, 'Andy Warhol', *Art International* vol. 8, no. 3 (25 Apr 1964) 34-35; Philip Leder, 'Saint Andy: Some Notes on an Artist Who, for a Large Section of a Younger Generation, Can Do No Wrong', *Artforum* vol. 3, no. 5 (Feb 1965) 26-28; Robert Rosenblum, 'Saint Andrew', *Newsweek* (7 Dec 1964) 110-06.
44. E.g., Peter Schjeldahl, 'Warhol and Class Content', *Art in America* (May 1980) 117; in *The Hydrogen Jukebox: Selected Writings of Peter Schjeldahl, 1978-1990*, ed., Malin Wilson (Berkeley: University of California, 1991) 44-52.
45. Art and Language (1986) here p. 130; Hughes (1982) <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/1982/feb/18/the-rise-of-andy-warhol/>
46. Crow, here p. 136. Committed anti-Warholian critic Hilton Kramer made the very same point - if on considerably less sympathetic terms - in his obituary published at the same time: '[T]his prodigious outpouring of commentary [in the wake of Warhol's death] ... confined itself to the terms which Warhol himself had set for the discussion of his life and work: "The Death of Andy Warhol", *The New Criterion* 5 (May 1987) 1.
47. 'MoMA ... just have one thing of mine, the little Marilyn. I just hate that.' *Diaris* (2 May 1984), 576.
48. Caroline A. Jones, 'Andy Warhol's Factory, Communism, and the Business Art Business', in *The Machine in the Studio* (University of Chicago, 1996) 189-267 (214).
49. With its comprehensive overview of Warhol's films, TV, fashion and publishing, the 2008 world-touring exhibition 'Other Voices, Other Rooms' (catalogue, ed., Eva Meyer-Hermann) seemed the curatorial antidote to MoMA's painting-centred retrospective two decades earlier. However, by omitting his canvases, 'Other Voices, Other Rooms' perhaps reiterates in reverse the notion that 'Warhol, the great painter' is incommensurable with 'Warhol, the mass media star'.
50. Robin Hardy, 'Andy Warhol Goes Straight: How the Life of an Artist Who "Liked the Swish" is being Whitewashed', *Advocate* no. 339 (5 Dec 1989) 39.
51. Michael Brenson, 'Looking Back at Warhol: Stars, Super-Heroes and All', *New York Times* (3 Feb 1989).
52. Cf., Bradford Collins, 'The Metaphysical Nosejob: The Remaking of Warhol, 1960-68', *Arts Magazine* no. 62 (Feb 1988) 47-52; Margia Kramer, *Andy Warhol et al.: The FBI File on Andy Warhol* (Unsub Press, 1988); Phyllis Rose, 'Literary Warhol', *Yale Review* 79 (Autumn 1989) 26-29; Cécile Whiting, 'Andy Warhol, the Public Star and the Private Self', *Oxford Art Journal* vol. 10, no. 2 (1987) 58-75. Reviewing many Warhol publications, Brian Wallis, 'Absolute Warhol', *Art in America* vol. 7, no. 3 (Mar 1989) 25ff.
53. Thierry De Duve, 'Andy Warhol, or The Machine Perfected?', trans. Rosalind Krauss, *October* no. 48 (Spring 1989) 3-14. See Grudin, here p. 228; Isabelle Graw, 'When Life Goes to Work: Andy Warhol', *October* no. 132, Andy Warhol (Spring 2010) 99-113.
54. Danto, 'Art', *The Nation* vol. 248, no. 155 (3 Apr 1989) 458-61 (459).
55. The first catalogue of the early work was *Andy Warhol: His Early Works, 1947-1959*, ed., Andreas Brown, (New York: Gotham Book Mart Gallery) 1971. See also Jesse Kornbluth, *Pre-Top Warhol* (New York: Panache Press, 1988); and De Salvo, here p. 155.
56. Watney (1989) p. 151. Although Watney did not actually attend on the day, his paper was published in the accompanying publication.
57. Chipp, 'Getting the Warhol We Deserve: Cultural Studies and Queer Culture', *Social Text* 59 (Summer 1999) 49-66; 50.
58. Eds., Doyle, Flatley and Munoz, 2.
59. Gavin Butt, 'Dishing on the Swish, or, the "Lining" of Andy Warhol', *Between You and Me: Queer Disclosures in the New York Art World 1948-69* (Duke, 2009); and 'How New York Queered the Idea of Modern Art', in *Varieties of Modernism* (Yale, with the Open University, 2004) 315-38.
60. On Warhol as collector and curator: Mark Francis, 'No There There or Horror Vacui: Andy Warhol's Installations', ed., Schwander, 54-72; Michael Lobel, 'Warhol's Closet', *Art Journal* vol. 55, no. 4 (Winter 1996) 42-50; Jonathan Flatley, 'Like Collecting and Collectivity', ed., Buchloh (Spring 2010) 71-98; Anthony Huberman, here p. 245.
61. Bruce Hanley, 'Mood!', eds., Francis and King, 290-99.
62. Jean Wainwright, 'The Search for Andy Warhol's Voice', *Warhol is Here*, eds., Rhoads and Messge, (Bexhill-on-Sea: De la Warr Pavilion, 2011) 66-69.
63. Brian Dillon, 'Andy Warhol's Magic Disease', *Tormented Hope: Nine Hippochondriac Lives* (London: Penguin, 2009) 236-66.
64. On Warhol's writing and publishing: Phyllis Rose, 'Literary Warhol', *Yale Review* 79 (Autumn 1989) 26-29; Victor Bookst, 'Andy Warhol the Writer', in eds., MacCabe, Francis and Wollen, 1-12; Lynne Tillim, 'The Last Words Are Andy Warhol', *Grey Room* 21 (Autumn, 2005) 38-45; Paul Bravman, 'Lost in Translation: Postwar Typewriting, Culture, Andy Warhol's Bad Book, and the Standardization of Error', *PMLA*, vol. 115, no. 1 (Jan 2010) 92-106; Lucy Mulroney, 'Liking Andy Warhol', *Grey Room* 46 (Winter 2012) 46-71; Nicholas de Villiers, *Barthes and the Lover: Queer Teaches in Foucault, Barthes and Warhol* (University of Minnesota, 2012); *Reading Andy Warhol* (Munich: Museum Brandhorst/Suitgart: Hatje Cantz) 2013; Lucy Mulroney, 'Vile, disgusting, dull, filthy ... the voices cry', *Inter-Text* 32 (Autumn 2014).
65. Nona Schief, 'Carefully Unplanned: Books in Andy Warhol's Oeuvre', *Reading Andy Warhol*, 11-77 (11).
66. [http://www.pinaagazine.com/2004/04/11-77\(11\)](http://www.pinaagazine.com/2004/04/11-77(11)).
67. [http://www.pinaagazine.com/2004/04/11-77\(11\)](http://www.pinaagazine.com/2004/04/11-77(11)).
68. Kathryn Price, in conversation with Matt Wright, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1mEgWwQ25NM> at 48:17.
69. Rewa Wolf, *Andy Warhol, Poetry and Gossip in the 1960s* (www.youthube.com/watch?v=1mEgWwQ25NM at 49:12. Published claims that 'Warhol was dyslexic' include Woronov, 38; and Koestenbaum, 27.
70. Vincent Fremont, interview with this volume's Editor (New York, 19 Jan 2015) and by email (6 Feb 2015).
71. Hacker, email to this volume's Editor (8 Jan 2015).
72. Bockris (1997) 19.
73. Peter Gidal, *Andy Warhol Films and Paintings* (Studio Vista-Dutton, 1971) 152.
74. *Diaris*, xvii.
75. <http://www.fate.org.uk/whats-on/rate-modern/exhibition/warhol/warhol-timeline/>; <http://www.radio.cz/en/section/special/warhol-sleep-home-and-work-worlds-separate-and-wouldnt-speak-campahian-outside-family-recalls-nephew-james-warhola>
76. I.e., Brian Aldiss' science fiction story *But Who Can Replace a Man?* (1965), which depicts a world dominated by machines that mindlessly follow orders.
77. *Diaris*, xx. See entry on 22 June 1978.
78. Ed., Goldsmith, 10.
79. *Ibid.*, 55.
80. Callie Angell, interview with this volume's Editor (New York: 26 Feb 2007).
81. Colacello, 208.
82. *Diaris*, xi.
83. Colacello, 251.
84. Oates, 'Review: *POPsion: The Warhol Sixties, The New Republic* (2 Feb 1980).
85. 'Around Barnett Newman', interview with Jeanne Siegel, *ArtNews* (Oct 1971) in ed., Goldsmith, 198; Colacello, 65.
86. Ed., Goldsmith, xxx.
87. *THE Philosophy*, 96, here p. 56.
88. 'The quantified before qualifying', cf., Colacello, 208-219; Bockris, 376; Lou Reed and John Cale, 'Work', *Songs for Drilla* (1990).
89. Vincent Fremont, interview with this volume's Editor (New York, 19 Jan 2015).
90. Hughes, 'King of the Banal', *Time* (4 Aug 1975); 'The Rise of Andy Warhol', *The New York Review of Books* (18 Feb 1982), reprinted in *Nothing if Not Critical* (Random House, 1990/2001) 243-56.
91. Cf., Bosley Crowther, 'The Underground Overflows', *New York Times* (11 Dec 1966) Section 2, 1: 'It has come time to wag a warning finger at Andy Warhol and his underground friends and tell them politely but firmly that they are pushing a reckless thing too far'; John Simon, *National Review*: 'The *Chelsea* Girls is a testimonial to what happens when a camera falls into the hands of an aesthetic, moral, and intellectual bankrupt', <http://www.movie-film-review.com/dev.htm.asp?rtye=3&id=2773>
92. Vincent Fremont, interview with this volume's Editor (New York, 19 Jan 2015).
93. Pier Paolo Pasolini, 'Andy Warhol: Ladies & Gentlemen', trans. Rodney Stinger, 'New York: Skarstedt Gallery, 1974', 2009.
94. Paul Overy, 'The Different Shades of Mao', *The Times* (12 Mar 1974) 7.
95. Swenson, here p. 31. Ed., Goldsmith, 20.
96. Foster, here p. 177. See also Watney: 'Extreme dualisms run right through Warhol's life', here p. 188.
97. Mekas (1970) 32.
98. Koestenbaum (2000) 5.
99. Babha (1998) 109.
100. Wallace, *This is Water: Some Thoughts, Delivered on a Significant Occasion, about Living a Compassionate Life* (2009), <http://factly.withrop.edu/nartume/thisswater.htm>
101. Taylor, here p. 80; Koestenbaum, 173; *Andy Warhol: A Documentary Film* (Burns, 2006), 93; *POPsion*, 56.
102. Cf., Jonathan Lethem, *The Fortress of Solitude* (London: Faber & Faber, 2003) 79; 370; Rachel Kushner, *The Flamethrowers* (London: Harvill Secker, 2013) 88.
103. Bret Easton Ellis, *Glamorama* (New York: Knopf, 1993) 112.