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Robert Rauschenberg with Ileana and Michael Sonnabend at the opening of his *Drawings* exhibition, Galerie Ileana Sonnabend, Paris, 1968.

FOREWORD

For me, a roomful of Robert Rauschenberg's "Transfer" drawings from the 1960s evokes a powerful sense of dèjà vu. It's a complicated flash from the past, dense with images and newspaper headlines drawn from the events of the time. Saturn 5 rockets, Apache helicopters, ads for spark plugs, photos of astronauts mix with pictures of motorcycles, flashcubes, wristwatches and razor blades, all taken out of their original contexts and reworked into a web of startling new associations by an artist with a keen sense of popular history heightened by irony and a profound wit.

Rauschenberg is like a mollusk in the sea of time, filtering and feeding upon everything that passes through his awareness and transforming it to suit his own ends, like an oyster secreting a pearl. He selects images from popular media as signifiers—telling icons of who we Americans are as a people, a nation and a culture. And the new linkages he creates make us question our assumptions about our identity: where did we come from, what do we really care about, where are we going? Rauschenberg's smart, deliberative art mirrors the American character: self-questioning and proud, defiant and wondering, but always hopeful.

It is a great pleasure to re-familiarize the public with these drawings, important both artistically and historically. Many of them are being shown in the United States for the first time since they were originally exhibited in Paris at Galerie Ileana Sonnabend in 1968. Bringing these wonderful drawings together again serves only to lend further light to the brilliance of an artist whose legacy continues to be written.

Jonathan O'Hara December 2006

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Finally, and most importantly, I wish to thank those who have lent works for the exhibition, from Ileana Sonnabend through Paula Cooper and Leonard Riggio, to those who wish to remain anonymous, for their generosity, which has brought this exhibit and its catalogue to realization.

J.O.



[technique]

Rauschenberg began the transfer drawings in earnest in early 1958, when he was well into the process of his "combine paintings," yet years before his first use of silkscreen, which the technique anticipates.¹ Like any technique, it has its own implications and meanings.

The artist cut out printed matter, photographic images or texts which caught his eye, and soaked them in solvent, first using turpentine, later lighter fluid. Then he placed the wet paper face down on a sheet of white paper, wherever he wanted it in a composition, and hatched its back with a dry pen nib. The pressure of this rubbing transferred the inks from the image or words onto the receptor sheet. The "appropriated" image is 1:1 in terms of scale, but reversed from left to right, as it would be in a plate print. There is a margin of indeterminacy built in. The artist does not see the exact image positioned until the transfer is made, by which time it is too late to make changes, no repositioning is possible.

Transfer drawing is a unique technique that lies between monotype and collage: monotype, in that a single reversed image is "imprinted," and collage, in that there is a "cut and paste" concept in play, except without any actual glue. Rauschenberg spoke of it in these terms: "I felt I had to find a way to use collage in drawing, to incorporate my own way of working on that intimate scale."² There is also a mass culture aspect to the technique, in that transfer drawing mimics the process of decals and stickers for children.³

The transfer drawings have no ground plane or spatial orthogonals; the images float on the flat field, usually not overlapping. As John Cage observed, this gives them an indistinct quality, "the outlines appear vague as in water or air (our feet are off the ground)," in other words, the spectator floats as well. The only relief from the flat surface is the spatiality photographically inserted, re-presented in a few of the photo images.

Rauschenberg typically adds some touches of color with gouache or watercolor, but there is no drawing of images. He also sometimes adds lines with colored pencil, highlighting the boundary of an area. Staccato marks in pencil add emphasis, notably the two diagonals slashed across Nixon's face, seeming to "cancel" the victorious politician, in *Untitled*, 1968 (plate 27). Gouache is often white, apparently painted on the sheet in areas where the transfers will go in order to facilitate the transfer or heighten black/white contrast. There are plenty of marks that look drawn, so that one has to remind oneself that the artist's pencil mostly did not touch the paper. Rather, the hatchings are indexical traces of the lines rubbed on the back of the solvent-soaked media image. Thus not only the image, but also the process of drawing itself is transferred indirectly, and reversed. So, too, the photographic image is hybridized, as something not entirely mechanical. It is not (im-) "printed" completely and all at once, but rather contains gaps and fissures from the hand-rubbed process.

The aspects of "readymade" or appropriated image, subjected to reversal via the "mold," deeply resonates with the practice of Duchamp.⁴ Rauschenberg was aware of the older artist's work from the early 1950s, meeting him briefly at that time, and developing an ongoing association from 1959. In this decade Duchamp was especially involved with molds for his *Etant donnés* and related sculptural works. The sculptural process reverses the image in the mold, which then re-reverses it in the cast. The reversal of an image in a transfer drawing is often not immediately perceptible, whereas for a text it always is noticed, as it becomes immediately unreadable without the mental effort to re-reverse, or the deployment of a mirror. One is tempted to associate this with Rauschenberg's efforts to read as a dyslexic.

Pens, lighter fluid, "rubbing"—there is also something very hand-manipulated and personal about transfer drawing. As Lawrence Alloway put it, "a plentitude of images, lyrical in their manual transcription, and in both source and facture literally close at hand."⁵ Its scale is mostly lap or desktop size, like a book or newspaper. Thus it feels natural to try to "read" the imagery; indeed, there can be a playful aspect to the impulse to identify the specifics. Silkscreen technique, which it seems Andy Warhol introduced to Rauschenberg in the fall of 1962, would take the artist's hand more definitively out of the imaging process. Silkscreening also allowed for repetition and change (mostly enlargement) of scale. Yet Rauschenberg continued to make transfer drawings. Indeed in the mid to late sixties, as he turned from painting to performance, dance and the Art and Technology experiments, transfer drawings became his main mode of visual art production. He completed a little over one hundred such works during the 1960s.

[meaning]

The most consistent feature in Rauschenberg's oeuvre is that meaning is not unitary, but multiple. There is often no dominant theme, but rather three or four thematic clusters ricocheting off one another. This seems simple enough, yet it is quite a departure from much 1950s painting (Pollock, Rothko, Newman), which sought unitary meaning or transcendence. Rauschenberg is at the beginning of a new mode: polysemous, fragmentary, conditional, relative. This mode has been defined as the post-modern condition.

The recirculation of images inevitably prompts the viewer's associations, though critics agree that apart from the "Dante" series, there is usually no singular overall narrative in mind. Brian O'Doherty and others have noted some recurrent categories: sport, transportation, celebrities, the space program. I would add features like speed and mobility (speedometers, motorcycles, thruways, and the ubiquitous wheel or tire), electricity, and an ongoing engagement with contemporary politics, especially the civil rights movement and the Vietnam war. Thus there is a general field of concern, which renews itself in shifting paraphrases and re-contextualizations.

O'Doherty finds the works which mix thematic categories more engaging: "cross referencing these categories can imply themes, and the best work does this."⁶ For instance, the unitary "sports" theme of baseball and football players in the *Observer* drawing, 1965 (pl. 11) is less multivalent than the provocative juxtaposition of collegiate football stars with Richard Nixon and his administration in *Untitled*, 1968 (pl. 27).

Since at least the era of *Rebus*, 1955, with its black and white runners straining in competition during a race, Rauschenberg has reflected on "race matters."⁷ As Tomkins notes, the first lunch counter sit-ins for civil rights occurred as the 60s began, at the same moment as "the champagne optimism of John F. Kennedy's inauguration."⁸ After the August 1963 march on Washington, civil rights were clearly pressuring the national mind. Rauschenberg's sympathies are clear from his benefit silkscreen poster for the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), which he agreed to make in 1965. CORE, founded in Chicago in 1942, advocated direct non-violent action in the civil rights struggle, notably the "freedom riders" bused through the South beginning in 1961.

In the same year as the poster, Rauschenberg was given scope to create a series of page layouts for the London *Observer* Sunday magazine, which suggested the dynamics of American life, using iconic figures from LBJ to Mickey Mouse. In this context the inclusion on page 9 of the mug shots of three young black men, separated and rotated 90 degrees from one of a white man, suggests race relations as much as criminal identification (pl. 13). The setting seems to be urban, with a line of skyscrapers between the mug shots.

Similarly, Rauschenberg was commissioned by *Life* to update the "Dante" theme, also in 1965. The civil rights theme is the most prominent in the "continuous panorama" of the foldout that spread across two pages. The slain black leader Malcolm X (1925–1965) appears adjacent to Martin Luther King. They are juxtaposed to a Klansman brandishing a noose, and white supremacists hoisting racist placards, including one mocking King, implying contemporary forms of the "Inferno." The introduction also identifies rows of coffins as those of black victims of racial violence in South Africa.^o Though Rauschenberg has cautioned that such illustrations are by their nature different from his independent works, his sympathies are clear in the *Life* foldouts, and indeed more polemical than the *Observer* drawings.

Images of blacks occur throughout this period, ranging from anonymous to prominent figures. Fully into the civil rights era, one finds another, different likeness of Malcolm X speaking in the center of *Untitled*, 1968 (pl. 16). He is flanked by two of Rauschenberg's favored themes, an arc of eight astronauts reclining on chaises, and above, Merce Cunningham and his dancers, with whom the artist collaborated over many years.¹⁰

The same year (1968) there is a suggestive headline transferred in *Same Day Service* (pl. 37): "Black Panthers Appeal: They Offer Negroes a Change." Together these transfers suggest that Rauschenberg was attentive to a more radicalized viewpoint of civil rights by that year.

This is borne out in the related collage *Rouge*, 1970 (fig. 1). Meaning "red" in French, the title orients us to color. The images seem to span the black experience in America (symbolized by Mt. Rushmore), with impoverished black life (photo of shacks, lower center), ascending to the poet Nikki Giovanni (in profile at left), aged 27 at the time. "The



fig 1: **Rouge (from Syn-Tex Series)** 1970 Solvent transfer on paper with collage, gouache and newsprint 40 \times 27 ¹/₂ inches

civil rights and black power movements informed her early poetry, collected in *Black Feeling, Black Talk* (1968), *Black Judgement* (1968), and *Re: Creation* (1970)."¹¹ While her head suggests mind, body is provided by a black athlete (the football player in motion at right).

Yet as much as he mirrors the society around him, Rauschenberg also reflects on the nature and process of art making itself. Apprehension, 1963 (pl. 2) has three gas tanks as a central image. The significance here is that they are each different colors, yellow, red and blue, the artist's primaries. This surmise is bolstered by the touches of blue, red and yellow in the nearby images: a diamond ring on a red background, blue to its left, and the yellow of a Green Bay Packer's helmet (in fact it is that of renowned guard Jerry Kramer who wore #64). Abraham Lincoln, at the center, is one of Rauschenberg's favorite images, an historical symbol of civil rights, as the emancipator of the slaves.¹² The primary color thematic appears more vividly in *Prowler*, 1965, and both predate Barnett Newman's canvas entirely devoted to the primaries, Who's Afraid of Red, Yellow & Blue of 1966. Rauschenberg's title Apprehension, as often, is doubly suggestive: first, the state of being wary, and second, perceiving, as in "to apprehend an object," surely a relevant concern for an artist.

In *House Warming*, 1965 (pl. 7) Rauschenberg thematizes drawing itself in an analogous fashion, with three pencils which are in the process of trailing lines. Two are in the blue and red primaries, but instead of yellow there is graphite gray. Just to the left is an eraser, equally a tool of the draughtsman, as Rauschenberg knew from his notorious encounter with a DeKooning drawing in 1953. Near the eraser is the word *memory*, suggesting where erased images go. And the mirror at the mid-right recalls the mirror-imaging created in the transfer drawing process.

In other works painting is thematized by a color-chart like stack of towels (*Trap*, pl. 20) or a row of cans of paints at the lower left of *Untitled*, 1968 (pl. 27). These of course echo the lines of color swatches in the Combine paintings, most famously in *Rebus*, 1955. And six identically-shaped blocks are scattered in *Corp*, 1968 (pl. 22), each named and colored a different hue, forming a palette.

[interpretation]

Rauschenberg's transfer drawings have not elicited as much commentary as his prior "combines" nor his subsequent silkscreen paintings, with the exception of the truly exceptional project of the 34 Dante illustrations. In general, works on paper receive less attention than paintings, and these present particular resistances. The technique and its flickering degrees of visuality cannot be adequately reproduced. In particular, reproduction makes the images less perceptible, thereby causing a general "abstracting" effect.

So, too, art historians are quite divided as to even the basics of context and intentionality in these works. For instance, Roni Feinstein writes, "These drawings constituted a translation of the 'Combines' onto a twodimensional surface."¹³ Whereas for Branden Joseph, there is more of a rupture between the two media, especially the "apprenticeship to narrative illustration" in the Dante transfer drawings, "set against the multiplicitous, nonrepresentational aesthetic characteristic of the 'Combines."¹⁴

Similarly, for the subject matter concerns, Feinstein writes, "The imagery Rauschenberg used in the transfer drawings was consistent with that of the 'Combines.'" Yet "few drawings seem to contain a particular overlying thought or theme. The content of these works, then, tends to be more generalized and scattered."¹⁵ For Joseph, by 1962 "Rauschenberg's discontinuous early collage is replaced by a more seamless coincidence of imagery."¹⁶

Joseph implies that the rubric "transfer drawings" creates an overarching unity that levels the subtleties of change across time. Thus, for him, before and after 1962 are different moments. I would agree that the transfer drawings before and after "Dante" (1958–60) have more in common than either has with the drawings of the late 1960s.

A recent book by Robert Mattison suggests a path out of these loggerheads, which is to focus on a thematic cluster across a time span. As he says, "There are recurring themes in Rauschenberg's works; his selections and deletions have significance; his accumulation of information, while deliberately varied, is not random."¹⁷ For the 1960s, Mattison effectively isolated and analyzed the theme of space exploration in Rauschenberg's paintings and prints. So, too, in this exhibition there are two stories on astronaut's simulated tests (Cabinet, pl. 24 and Porch, pl. 32), an image of three astronauts beside a capsule splashdown (Untitled, 1968, pl. 28), as well as one drawing which especially belongs with this cluster, Untitled, 1969 (pl. 41). It incorporates at the mid left the official Moon landing logo of July 1969, with the message "We came in peace for all mankind." Next to the spacecraft Rauschenberg traces his own left footprint on the page, in a bodily identification with the "one small step for [a] man" onto the lunar surface. (A lunar crater appears at the upper left.) The orbital path map is below the heel. NASA scientist Wernher von Braun appears at the lower left, just after the signature. Just above the red and white stripes is a trio of astronauts, the blue "stars" of the program. It is wittily suggested that their successful landing built upon the experience of the first space voyager, the monkey at the upper left. All are further indications of the enthusiasm with which Rauschenberg met the official NASA invitation to witness the first moon launch.¹⁸ In this context the Johnsian target becomes like orbital rings, or the touchdown target on the moon.

An interviewer asked Rauschenberg why all his images are printed, not drawn. "I don't want my personality to come through the piece. That's why I keep the television on all the time. And I keep the windows open. I want my paintings to be reflections of life, and life can't be stopped."¹⁰

[context]

O'Doherty, who writes as a contemporary witness, feels "Rauschenberg's career tells us more about the New York art community in the sixties than that of any other artist."²⁰ Somewhat surprisingly, in that this is usually said of Warhol. Certainly Warhol's JFK assassination and race riot pictures (1963), and Andy's own shift from the commodity to the contemporary event, are important precedents for Rauschenberg's move in this direction.

Decades are often called artificial constructs. Yet we can say that for Rauschenberg the 60s are bounded by the completion of the Dante illustrations in late 1960, and the move of his studio to Captiva, Florida, in the fall of 1970. Rauschenberg later associated the purchase of the Florida property with the transfer drawings he sold.²¹ O'Doherty speaks of "informational overload," while Joseph has connected the transfer drawings to "the pressures of the media," particularly television.²² The drawings' generally black and white mode, plus the flicker of images, sometimes to the point of non-visibility, does suggest the early television experience. Rauschenberg worked in the studio with the television on. John Cage likened these drawings to "many television sets working simultaneously all tuned differently. How to respond to this message?"²³ The year of Cage's essay, 1961, was the first time that a majority of Americans got most of their news from tv.²⁴ Yet the newspaper and radio were also still prominent in Rauschenberg's experience. Jackie Kennedy in *Election* is, in the artist's words, "headlined, televised, radioed purple." Paradoxically, color is evoked through the one nonvisual medium, radio.

[1968]

was by all accounts one of the signal, watershed years in post-war American culture. Assassination, political upheaval, conventions and campaigns for presidency were all part of the tumult. The first month of 1968 saw the Tet offensive in Vietnam. On March 31st President Lyndon Baines Johnson announced that he would not seek re-election. Four days later Martin Luther King was assassinated in Memphis. This violence was replicated on June 4th when Bobby Kennedy was assassinated in Los Angeles. Rauschenberg could not have missed these events, yet they are not referenced in works of this year. He had had the experience of preparing silkscreens of John F. Kennedy just before his assassination, so perhaps he shied from similar tragedies.²⁵ At any rate, the point is that the prominence of the events was not simply reflected.

This exhibition is particularly rich in works of this moment. At least fifteen were among the twenty-five "dessins frottages" exhibited at Sonnabend Gallery, Paris, in early October 1968. For the most part they have not been publicly seen since then. A photo at the opening by André Morain captures Rauschenberg's high spirits at a moment when his European retrospective of paintings and combines was about to open at the Modern Art Museum of the City of Paris, where he had first gone to study art.²⁶ It had been delayed in the aftermath of the May '68 student strikes in Paris.

The drawings show a wide range of formal approach, from the spare (*Volt*, pl. 23) to the heavily glutted, dense with washes of gray and black (*Engagement*, pl. 36). Organized around a circle (*Trap*, pl. 20), around the edges with an empty center (*Untitled*, pl. 17 and *Volt*), radically asymmetrical (*Dowery*, pl. 21 and *Hurricane*, pl. 25) or even disorganized: six equivalent shapes scattered, as if fallen "according to the laws of chance" (*Coop*, pl. 22).

The imagery Rauschenberg used in the transfer drawings has a distinctly international cast. Among repeated themes literally torn from the headlines are the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, Arab-Israeli conflict (*Cabinet*, pl. 24) a major earthquake in Iran (*Bagged*, *Volt* and *Shake*, pls. 31, 23, 29), followed by a second (*Funnel*, pl. 26), and famine in the African nation of Biafra (*Bagged* and *Hurricane*, pl. 25).

The first is captured in its opening salvo at the center left of *Untitled* (pl. 34), with the astonishingly bold headline "5 Red Nations Invade Czechs." It was August 21, 1968, when the Soviet army invaded Czechoslovakia along with troops from four other Warsaw Pact countries. Interestingly, the headline is continued on two further pages included at the top center, in near repetition. This repetition calls to mind that of the news stories in *Factum 1 and 2*, 1957, a proposition on originality and copy.

Rauschenberg also incorporates related stories in three drawings: "Czechs study concessions of Soviet Aid" (*Bagged*), "Czech Leaders Act" (*Volt*), and "Dubçek to Czechs." This reference to moderate reformer Alexander Dubçek is isolated at the lower left of *Engagement* (pl. 36). It is secondary to national election news and an image of Frank Sinatra and Mia Farrow in "a Mexican Quickie," apparently their 1968 divorce. The couple had made news when they married July 19, 1966, when she was 21 and he was 50. The rare Hollywood reference is taken further in the nearby image of a diamond ring, and the title of the work.

The Czech invasion story continues with the "New Moves by Soviets Against Czechs Feared" headline at the lower left of *Same Day Service*, 1968 (pl. 37). This is part of a number of diverse stories marching down the left-hand side, all headlines, ranging from Vietnam to the Black Panthers, mixed with advertising phrases: "Money Back," "No Payments," and the title phrase. The arrangement prefigures the focus on headlines in the "Currents" works of 1970. The Czech story in itself does not seem exceptional, compared to four references in the work to President Johnson and the Vietnam war. Yet as the fifth such instance in these works, it becomes clear that Rauschenberg followed the Czech invasion across time. I am reminded of Picasso's incorporation of clippings from major events of the Balkan war in his collages of November and December 1912.²⁷

Which raises the question, how did Rauschenberg regard the newspaper as a material? There is a sense of a quick scan of headlines, in the mode O'Doherty termed the "vernacular glance." There is steady interest in the sports pages (The *Observer*, pl. 11, *Play-off*, pl. 35), and athletes. Yet there are quirky or unusual ads or stories: "Dead Man's Organs Live on in 5 People" (*Allocation 1*, 1969, pl. 39). Headlines are certainly preferred to the details of stories, culminating in *Untitled*, 1969 (pl. 40), entirely composed of headlines: above, of financial news, and in the lower half, politicians from Mao to Nixon.

This "torn from the headlines" thread continues in Rauschenberg's next body of work, the "Currents" (as in the media stream of current events). There Rauschenberg used only newspaper clippings to create a monumental silkscreen drawing, 6 high by 54 feet long, that a critic at the time termed the artist's *Guernica*.²⁸ Rauschenberg depicted himself as a mirror of events: "The world's condition permitted me *no* choice of subject matter or color or method of composition."²⁹ No choice but to "re-publish" a condensed newspaper digest.

In at least one case the newspaper layout offers form as well as content. The drawing *Porch* (pl. 32) is largely organized as a front page and back spread of the Fort Meyers (Florida) *News Press*. On the left are headlines on Election Reforms in Congress, and astronauts rehearsing for a moon flight, a favorite theme since the early 1960s. There is a news photo of a crashed car, a distant echo of Warhol. The back, to the right, blares "Dividends," "4 Days Only." Below is a grid of ads for a variety of Americana products, from Anacin to Crayola crayons. The two-page spread recalls the layout of the *Observer* drawings, with even greater acceptance of the tabloid grid. Indeed, *Porch* goes farthest in confirming John Cage's oft-cited remark, "There is no more subject in a *combine* than there is in a page from a newspaper. Each thing that is there is a subject. It is a situation involving multiplicity."³⁰ By 1968 Cage's observation, published seven years earlier, may have itself been contemplated by the artist. In the meantime, he told an interviewer, "My work was never a protest against what was going on, it was an expression of my own involvement."³¹

As Same Day Service (pl. 37) exemplifies, President Johnson and the Vietnam war were major preoccupations for the whole nation. Now called the "living room war," Vietnam was the first to be reported on a daily basis on the evening news, having an impact via the three major networks in most homes in that pre-cable era. So, too, it dominated the newspapers, whose headlines Rauschenberg consistently drew upon. "Viet Reds Kill 33 Americans in Attack Using Civilian 'Shields'" is one fully and prominently transferred at the left of Same Day Service. Parachutes float down from the top center, watched by troops. Balancing on the right, "Johnson Asks for Approval To Spend Extra \$1 Billion," surely for the war, is carefully transferred in three segments. All amidst the panoply of Americana: just below "\$1 Billion" is the Phillies' first baseman Bill White, number 10, chasing a pop fly. The central wedge vectors down toward two men demonstrating a tv console, perhaps one of the new color models as indicated by the nearby box. Of course the kinds of news delivered by such televisions is all over the sheet.

The Vietnam quagmire became the hot issue of the 1968 Presidential campaign. Protests came to a head at the Democratic party convention in Chicago (as seen in *Dowery*, pl. 21, *Volt*, pl. 23, and *Untitled*, 1968, pl. 34). On the night of August 28th, 89 million TV viewers watched, horrified, as Mayor Daley's police clubbed protestors, the coverage interspersed with the vote resulting in Humphrey's nomination.³² Rauschenberg created a transfer drawing featuring the principals of that evening, entitled *Political Folly*. He donated it to a protest exhibition, *Response to Violence in our Society*, organized by a number of Chicago galleries that fall.³³ Rauschenberg followed the story through the subsequent trials of the "Chicago Seven" (*Untitled*, 1969, pl. 40, *Shake*, pl. 29).

Like the evening news, Rauschenberg presents a steady drumbeat of developments, notably "Nixon Turns Down Humphrey on Viet," prominently at the upper right of *Shake*. Or the UN Secretary General criticizing the US role in Vietnam, adjacent to a photo of soldiers in the jungle (*Hurricane*, pl. 25). There are also images separate from headline texts which convey Vietnam, such as rows of helmeted soldiers marching out, alongside a cruiser (Untitled, 1968, pl. 28). The growing number of works parallels the growing national opposition to the war.

Rauschenberg's liberal political stance seems clear in what he emphasizes from the media. His personal take is then circulated back into the public sphere, as a prod to wider awareness. He acknowledged a political aspect to his works of this period, without entertaining inflated expectations about their effect:

"I never thought that problems were so simple politically that they could be tackled directly in art works, not by me anyway, although in my personal life I do take stands on atrocities of all kinds. But everyday, by doing consistently what you do with the attitude you have, if you have strong feelings these things are expressed over a period of time as opposed to, say, one *Guernica*.... If you feel strongly, it's going to show. That's the only way the political scene can come into my work and I believe it's there." 34

Despite his preference for a sequence such as the drawings mentioned above, rather than one consolidated statement-picture, Rauschenberg did adapt Guernica's light of truth and public exposure, shining down from above, in Backer, 1965 (pl. 6). But rather than Picasso's rhetorical figures, Rauschenberg condenses his statement. The bulb shines down on, at the left, three barely-visible helmeted and rifle-toting Vietnamese soldiers standing for the many. They are juxtaposed to three tires, a longstanding material and image for Rauschenberg, whose permutations go back to the tire print of 1953. Here it might well be a synecdoche for the military-industrial complex, as suggested by the wheels of supply trucks, half-tracks, planes. He thus creates his own black, gray and white *Guernica* transposed to Vietnam, an indictment of the living room war in the television screen scale of these drawings.

Not all 1968 transfer drawings focus on contemporary politics. The Fort Meyers paper in Porch (pl. 32) is one of several references to Florida, where Rauschenberg had traveled, and where he was looking for real estate in range of an airport connecting to New York. The Miami Herald also appears in Funnel, (pl. 26), as well as the word "Tampa" in Shake (pl. 29). This work also has a small map of Florida transferred in the lower right corner, near the signature, as if to suggest where it was made. Likewise, in the tropically-titled Hurricane (pl. 25),

the words "Florida Edition" are transferred at the lower right. Further, the word "Tampa" recurs near the middle, next to a palm tree on a beach. The density of images on the left is counter-balanced by a poignant suspended image of a diver, clenched in a near-fetal tuck, soaring through the white of the page. It reminds me of Jasper Johns's diver themes in the early sixties. This would be an ungrounded free association, were it not for the top of the closed bronze beer can nearby, subject of a well-known Johns bronze sculpture of 1960. Its two beer cans have been interpreted as alluding to the Johns-Rauschenberg relationship: indeed, the can painted "made in Florida" is associated with Rauschenberg and his 1959 sojourn there.³⁵

Mid-decade Rauschenberg created Paraphrase (pl. 5), dominated by its largest image, the benevolent logo of Quaker Oats cereal. At first the work seems to center on foods, with its images nicely parenthesized by two horizontally-pouring liquids defying gravity, 7Up soda at the left edge, and a juice can at the right. Other references run the gamut from an empty bottle through a fork, the recurrent circle of ball bearings, and two aspirin in a hand, to the winnings of the racehorse Powerhouse. Snuck in at the lower right edge is a tiny "inverted" reappearance of the Mona Lisa, which, as Alloway has noted, reminds us of all the others, including Duchamp's mustachioed adaptation. Considering the Duchampian crossing of Mona's gender leads us to note the Quaker's soft features and long hair. Rauschenberg adds a tiny sentence, not visible in reproduction, just above the hat: "in some cities Quaker Oats is called Mother's Oats." With these words the Quaker is linguistically transformed into a mother, crossing gender as in, but in the opposite direction from, Duchamp's LHOOQ.

The word "paraphrase" means to state again similarly, with different words, or a varied direction of suggestion. "Paraphrase" is one of those Rauschenberg titles (like "Random Order") which transcends the individual work, and begins to suggest a metaphor for the whole oeuvre. If we imagine Rauschenberg paraphrasing with images and texts, we get a sense of the overall project. He repeatedly circles certain themes and mirror-images them, thus mirroring for us a personal response to the increasingly pressing public sphere during the 1960s.

[endnotes]

1. Rauschenberg did create a few transfer drawings in Cuba in 1952. See Walter Hopps and Susan Davidson, Robert Rauschenberg: a Retrospective, N.Y., Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, 1997, cat. nos. 21–22, pp. 552, 556. Charles Stuckey has recently hypothesized that Rauschenberg pursued the drawings with the possibility of exhibiting some at his Castelli Gallery show in March 1958 (in conversation).

2. Rauschenberg to Calvin Tomkins, quoted in Roni Feinstein, Random Order: the first fifteen years of Robert Rauschenberg's art, 1949–1964, PhD thesis, NYU, 1990, p. 345.

3. Five such stickers are affixed at the lower center of *Dowery* (1968, pl. 21).

4. Georges Didi-Huberman, L'empreinte, ch. 3, "L'empreinte comme procédure: sur l'anachronisme duchampien," Paris, Centre Georges Pompidou, 1997, pp. 106–179.

1958–1968, NY, Acquavella Contemporary Art, 1986, np.

6. Brian O'Doherty, American Masters: The Voice and the Myth, NY, Random House, 1974, p. 204.

7. Charles F. Stuckey, "Reading Rauschenberg," Art in America 65 (March/April 1977), p. 82.

8. Calvin Tomkins, Off the Wall, Robert Rauschenberg and the Art World of Our Time, Garden City, NY, Doubleday, 1980, p. 164.

9. "A Modern Inferno," Life 59 (Dec. 17, 1965), p. 45. See also Mary Lynn Kotz, Rauschenberg/Art and Life, NY., Abrams, revised ed., 2004, p. 169.

10. The Cunningham dancers morph almost imperceptibly into faint images of lovers from a detail of Bosch's Garden of Earthly Delights. At the left edge are smaller images of a couple on a beach, and at the bottom edge a man with two nude women, all in black and white, which amplifies the theme of lovers. To the left of Malcolm X is a larger scale, mustachioed male face that bears some resemblance to photos of the dead Che Guevara.

11. Wikipedia. See also http://www.math.buffalo.edu/~sww/poetry/giovanni nikki2.html: "In 1967, she became actively involved in the Black Arts movement, a loose coalition of African-American intellectuals who wrote politically and artistically radical poems aimed at raising awareness of black rights and promoting the struggle for racial equality."

12. Kotz, p. 170.

13. Roni Feinstein, Random Order: the first fifteen years of Robert Rauschenberg's art, 1949–1964, PhD thesis, NYU, 1990, p. 344.

14. Branden W. Joseph, Random Order: Robert Rauschenberg and the Neo-Avant-Garde, Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003, p. 175.

15. Feinstein, op. cit. p. 352.

16. Joseph, op. cit. p. 180.

Press, 2003, p. 105.

18. See further Ibid., chap. 3, pp. 105–165, where related prints are discussed. Von Braun was a rocket engineer and director of the center at Huntsville. Alabama, where the rockets were built. He also appears in the print Sky Garden (1970), p. 266, note 69.

19. Barbara Rose, An Interview with Robert Rauschenberg, NY, Vintage, 1987, p. 72.

20. O'Doherty, op. cit., p. 191.

21. Rose, op. cit., p. 79.

22. O'Doherty, op. cit., p. 194; Joseph, op. cit., p. 180.

23. John Cage, 'On Robert Rauschenberg, Artist, and his Work," originally published in Metro, May 1961, reprinted in Charles Harrison and Paul Wood, Art in Theory 1900–2000, Blackwell, 2003, p. 736.

24. David Farber, The Age of Great Dreams: America in the 1960s, NY, Hill and Wang, 1994, p. 52.

25. Rauschenberg two years later did circle back to images of both Bobby Kennedy and Martin Luther King, the latter in his coffin, in Signs, a silkscreen print of 1970.

26. Morain's photo is online at http://www.parisvirtuels.com/andremorain/vernissages/fr/15.html. Cognate announcement cards in the Rauschenberg Archives indicate the preview at Sonnabend was October 3, 1968, while the museum show vernissage was a week later, Thursday the 10th.

27. Lewis Kachur, Themes in Picasso's Cubism, 1907–1918, PhD thesis, Columbia University, 1988, pp. 188-199.

28. Douglas Davis, "Strong Currents," Newsweek, 27 July 1970, p. 62, quoted in Kotz, p. 182.

29. Rauschenberg, announcement for Currents, Dayton's Gallery 12, Minneapolis, April 4-May 2, 1970.

30. Cage, op. cit., p. 735.

31. Dorothy Gees Seckler, "The Artist speaks: Robert Rauschenberg," Art in America 54 (May-June 1966), p. 76.

32. Farber, op. cit., pp. 223–24.

33. Hopps and Davidson, op. cit., p. 569. Political Folly is reproduced in Götz Adriani, Robert Rauschenberg Zeichnungen, Munich, Piper, 1979, plate 76.

34. Seckler, op. cit., p. 84.

35. Jonathan Fineberg, Art Since 1940: Strategies of Being, Prentice-Hall, 1995, p. 212.

5. Lawrence Alloway, "Rauschenberg on Paper," in Robert Rauschenberg Drawings

17. Robert S. Mattison, Robert Rauschenberg Breaking Boundaries, New Haven, Yale U.

I am indebted to Jonathan O'Hara and David White for their suggestions and comments when jointly viewing many of these drawings. A group viewing experience, drawing on collective memory and association, seems appropriate for these works.



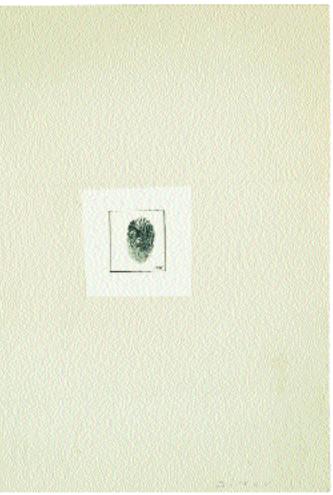
"The one thing that has been consistent about my work is that there has been an attempt to use the very last minutes in my life and the particular location as the source of energy and inspiration, rather than retiring to some kind of other time, or dream, or idealism."

Tape-recorded interview with Robert Rauschenberg on December 21, 1965. The interview was conducted in New York by Dorothy Seckler for the Archives of American Art.





















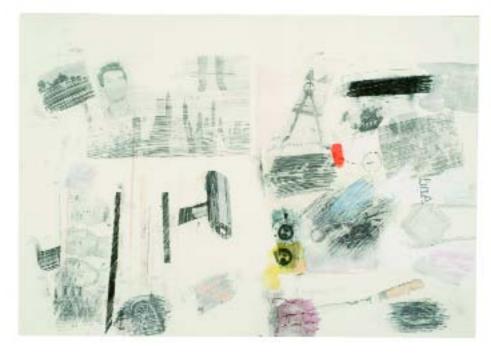
8Untitled (Drawing for The Observer)19659Untitled (Drawing for The Observer)1965





- 10 | Untitled (Drawing for The Observer) | 1965
- 11 | Untitled (Drawing for The Observer) | 1965





- 12 | Untitled (Drawing for The Observer) | 1965
- 13 | Untitled (Drawing for The Observer) | 1965



"All material has its own history built into it. There is no such thing as 'better' material. It's just as unnatural for people to use oil paint as it is to use anything else. An artist manufactures his material out of his own existence his own ignorance, familiarity or confidence."

Barbara Rose, An Interview with Robert Rauschenberg, NY, Vintage, 1987, p. 58.







15 | Untitled | 1968











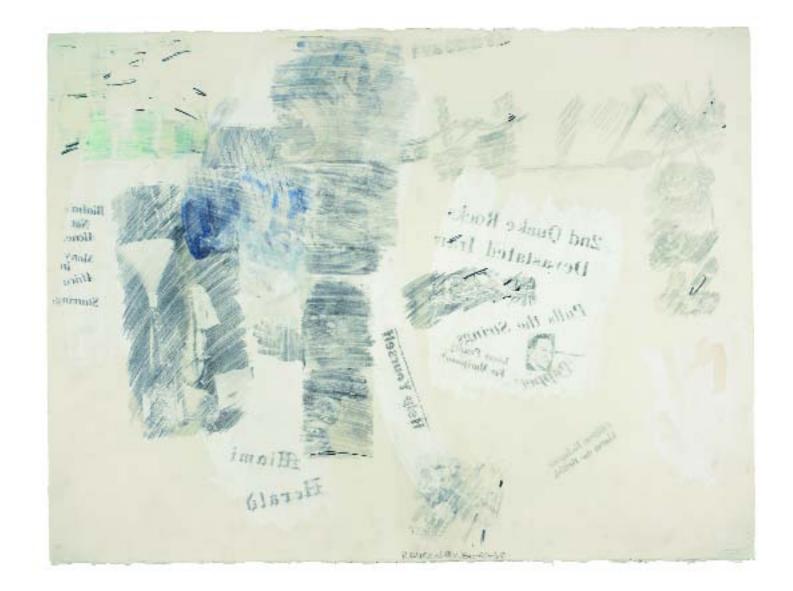














"For over five years I have deliberately used every opportunity with my work to create a focus on world problems, local atrocities, and in some rare instances celebrate men's accomplishments.... I have strained to bring about a more realistic relationship between artist, science, and business, in a world that is risking annihilation for the sake of a buck. It is impossible to have progress without conscience."

Rauschenberg, announcement for Cardbirds, Gemini G.E.L., Los Angeles, 1971.

Robert Rauschenberg and others in Ileana Sonnabend's office at the opening of his *Drawings* exhibition, Galerie Ileana Sonnabend, Paris, 1968.













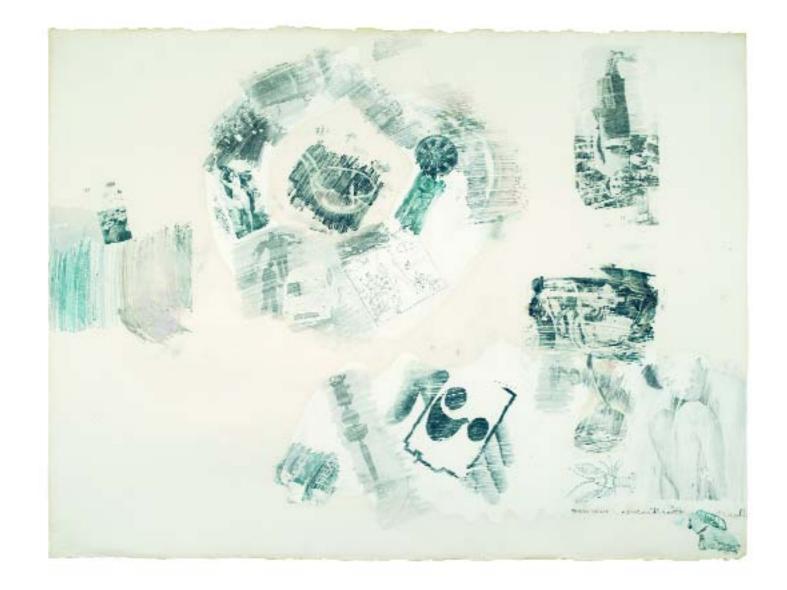


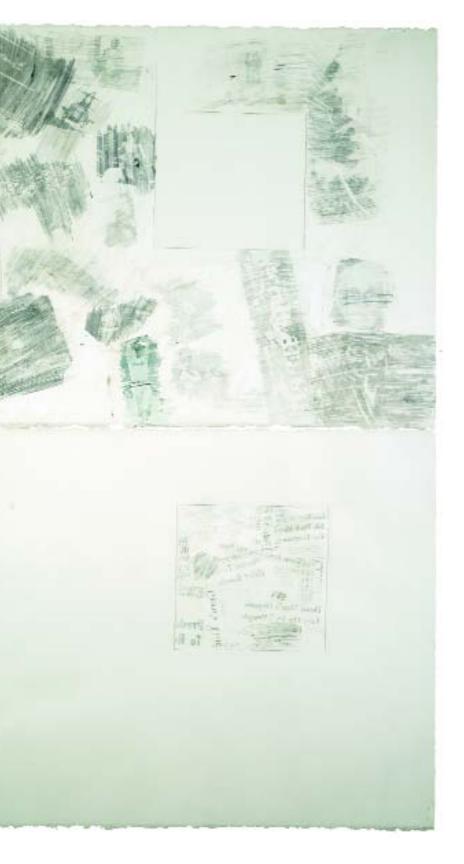






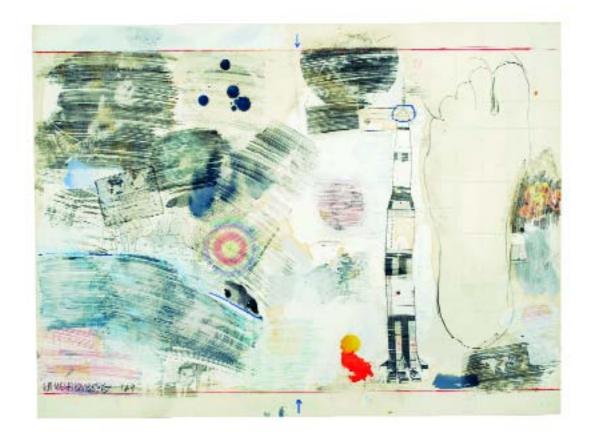






40 | Untitled | 1969

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"The strongest thing about my work, if I may say this, is the fact that I chose to enoble the ordinary. My contemporaries were already making their monuments. ...I'm not terrified of changing—in fact I'm terrified of exactly the opposite. If you're not moving, then you're heading to rot."

Barbara Rose, An Interview with Robert Rauschenberg, NY, Vintage, 1987, p. 59.



1 January First | 1962

Solvent transfer on Strathmore paper with gouache, wash and pencil $22^{3/4} \times 28^{3/4}$ inches

Signed, titled and dated "Rauschenberg" "January First 1962" in pencil on verso This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under archive number RR62.D001 Galerie lleana Sonnabend, Paris, Registry# I.S.2

2 Apprehension 1963

Solvent transfer on paper with watercolor, pencil and ink $227/8 \times 287/8$ inches

Signed, titled and dated "Apprehension", "Rauschenberg", "Nov. 20,1963" in pencil on verso This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under archive number RR63.D003

3 | Self-Portrait (for New Yorker profile) | 1964

Ink and pencil on paper 11⁷/₈ x 8⁷/₈ inches

Typewritten signature "RR" in ink lower right This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under archive number RR64.D006 $\,$

4 | Mainspring | 1965

Solvent transfer on paper with gouache, watercolor, cardboard, tape, ink and pencil

 $32 \times 62^{1/2}$ inches

This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under archive number RR65.D001 Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, Registry # LCD-74

5 | Paraphrase | 1965

Solvent transfer on paper with wash, watercolor and pencil 23 $^{3}\!\!\!/4$ x 35 $^{3}\!\!/4$ inches

Signed and dated "Rauschenberg 1965" in pencil on verso This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under archive number RR65.D004

6 | Backer | 1965

Solvent transfer on paper with wash, watercolor, tape, paper collage, ink and pencil 24 x 36 inches

Signed and dated "Rauschenberg 65" in pencil on verso This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under archive number RR65.D007 Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, Registry# LCD-80

7 | House Warming | 1965

Solvent transfer on paper with gouache, watercolor, crayon and pencil 36 \times 24 inches

Signed and dated "Rauschenberg" "1965" in pencil on verso This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under archive number RR65.D017 Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, Registry# LCD-90

8 Untitled (Drawing for The Observer) | 1965 Solvent transfer on paper with watercolor, gouache and pencil

14 x 20 inches

This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under archive number $\mathsf{RR65}.\mathsf{D029}$

9 | Untitled (Drawing for The Observer) | 1965

Solvent transfer on paper with watercolor, gouache and pencil $14 \times 197/_8$ inches This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under archive number RR65.D030

10 | Untitled (Drawing for The Observer) | 1965

Solvent transfer on paper with watercolor, gouache and pencil 14 x 20 inches This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under archive number RR65.D031

11 Untitled (Drawing for The Observer) | 1965

Solvent transfer on paper with watercolor, gouache and pencil 14 x 20 inches This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under archive number RR65.D032

12 Untitled (Drawing for The Observer) | 1965

Solvent transfer on paper with watercolor, gouache and pencil 14 x 20 inches This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under archive number RR65.D033

13 Untitled (Drawing for The Observer) | 1965

Solvent transfer on paper with watercolor, gouache and pencil 14×20 inches

This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under archive number RR65.D034

14 | Office Liberal | 1966

Solvent transfer on paperboard with performing 20×15 inches

Signed, titled and dated "Office Liberal" "R This work is registered with Rauschenberg

15 | Untitled | 1968

Solvent transfer on Arches paper with $22^{3}/4 \times 29^{3}/4$ inches

Signed and dated "Rauschenberg '68" in This work is registered with Rauschenberg Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, Registry #

16 Untitled 1968

Solvent transfer on Arches paper with $22^{1/2} \times 29^{7/8}$ inches

Signed and dated "Rauschenberg '68" in This work is registered with Rauschenberg Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, Registry #

17 | Untitled | 1968

Solvent transfer on Arches paper with $22^{3}/8 \times 29^{7}/8$ inches

Signed and dated "Rauschenberg '68" in This work is registered with Rauschenberg Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, Registry#

18 | Untitled | 1968

Solvent transfer on Arches paper with $225/8 \times 291/2$ inches

Signed and dated "Rauschenberg 68" in This work is registered with Rauschenberg Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, Registry #

19 | Untitled | 1968

Solvent transfer on paper with collage, gouache, watercolor, pencil and ink $22 \frac{1}{8} \times 29^{\frac{7}{8}}$ inches

Signed and dated "Rauschenberg 68" in pencil lower right This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under archive number RR68.D027 Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, Registry # LCD-308

encil, transparent tape and acetate		Solvent transfer on Arches paper with gouache, wash, watercolor and pencil 22 $^3\!/_4$ x 29 $^7\!/_8$ inches
Rauschenberg '66" in pencil on verso Inc., under archive number RR66.D012		Signed and dated "Rauschenberg 68" in pencil lower right Titled "Trap" in pencil on verso * This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under archive number RR68.D028 Galerie Ileana Sonnabend, Paris, Registry# I.S.26
h gouache and watercolor	21	Dowery 1968
pencil lower center Inc., under archive number RR68.D008 # LCD-127		Solvent transfer on Arches paper with wash, watercolor, colored pencil and pencil 22 $^{5}\!/_{8}$ x 29 $^{7}\!/_{8}$ inches
		Signed and dated "Rauschenberg 68" in pencil lower center Titled "Dowery" in pencil on verso * This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under archive number RR68.D029 Galerie Ileana Sonnabend, Paris, Registry# 1.S.23
h gouache and watercolor		
pencil lower center Inc., under archive number RR68.D011 # ICD-130	22	Co-op 1968
		Solvent transfer on Arches paper with gouache 22 ⁵ /8 x 29 ⁷ /8 inches
		Signed and dated "Rauschenberg 68" in pencil lower right Titled "Co-op" in pencil on verso * This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under archive number RR68.DO31
h gouache and wash		
pencil lower right Inc., under archive number RR68.D014 LCD-133	23	Volt 1968
		Solvent transfer on Arches paper with gouache, watercolor, colored pencil and pencil 22 $^{5}\!/_{8} \times 29 ^{7}\!/_{8}$ inches
		Signed and dated "Rauschenberg 68" in pencil center right
h gouache, watercolor and pencil		Titled "Voli" in pencil on verso * This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under archive number RR68.D032 Galerie Ileana Sonnabend, Paris, Registry# 1.S.24
pencil lower right Inc., under archive number RR68.D026 # ICD-307	24	Cabinet 1968
		Solvent transfer on Arches paper with gouache and pencil 22 $^5/_8$ x 29 $^7/_8$ inches
transparent tape, printed reproductions,		Signed and dated "Rauschenberg 68" in pencil lower right Titled "Cabinet" in pencil on verso * This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under archive number RR68.D033
pencil lower right		

20 | **Trap** | 1968

* Not in artist's hand

25 Hurricane 1968

Solvent transfer on Arches paper with gouache, wash and watercolor 22 $^{5}\!/_{8} \times$ 29 $^{3}\!/_{4}$ inches

Signed and dated "Rauschenberg 68" in pencil lower left Titled "Hurricane" in pencil on verso * This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under archive number RR68.D034

26 | Funnel | 1968

Solvent transfer on Arches paper with gouache, watercolor and pencil $22\sqrt[3]{4} \times 30$ inches

Signed and dated "Rauschenberg 68" in pencil lower center Titled "Funnel" in pencil on verso * This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under archive number RR68.D035

27 | Untitled | 1968

Solvent transfer on Arches paper with gouache, wash, watercolor, colored pencil and pencil $22 \frac{1}{2} \times 29 \frac{3}{4}$ inches

Signed and dated "Rauschenberg 68" in pencil lower center This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under archive number RR68.D060

28 | Untitled | 1968

Solvent transfer on Arches paper with gouache, watercolor, colored pencil and pencil $22 \frac{1}{2} \times 29 \frac{3}{4}$ inches

Signed and dated "Rauschenberg 68" in pencil lower center This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under number RR68.D064

29 | Shake | 1968

Solvent transfer on Arches paper with gouache, wash, watercolor and colored pencil $22.5/8 \times 29.7/8$ inches

Signed and dated "Rauschenberg 68" in pencil lower right Titled "Shake" in pencil on verso * This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under archive number RR68.D036

30 | Add | 1968

Solvent transfer on Arches paper with gouache, wash, watercolor, colored pencil and pencil 22 ¹/₂ x 29 ⁷/₈ inches Signed and dated "Rauschenberg 68" in pencil lower center Titled "Add" in pencil on verso * This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under archive number RR68.D038

31 | Bagged | 1968

Solvent transfer on Arches paper with gouache and pencil $22 \times 29^{7/8}$ inches

Signed and dated "Rauschenberg 68" in pencil lower right Titled "Bagged" in pencil on verso * This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under archive number RR68.D041

32 | Porch | 1968

Solvent transfer on Arches paper with gouache, wash, watercolor and pencil 22 ³/₄ x 29 ⁷/₈ inches

Signed and dated "Rauschenberg 68" in pencil lower right Titled "Porch" in pencil on verso * This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under archive number RR68.D040

33 | Stroke | 1968

Solvent transfer on Arches paper with gouache, wash and pencil 22 $^{3/4}$ x 29 $^{7/8}$ inches

Signed and dated "Rauschenberg 68" in pencil lower center Titled "Stroke" in pencil on verso * This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under archive number RR68.D042 Galerie Ileana Sonnabend, Paris, Registry# I.S.21

34 Untitled | 1968

Solvent transfer on Arches paper with gouache, wash, watercolor, colored pencil and pencil $22\,^{1}/_{2} \times 29\,^{3}/_{4}$ inches

Signed and dated "Rauschenberg 68" in pencil lower right This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under archive number RR68.D072

35 | Play-off | 1968

Solvent transfer on Arches paper with $22^{5}/8 \times 29^{7}/8$ inches

Signed and dated "Rauschenberg 68" in p Titled "Play-off" in pencil on verso * This work is registered with Rauschenberg Galerie Ileana Sonnabend, Paris, Registry

36 Engagement 1968

Solvent transfer on Arches paper with 22 5/8 x 29 5/8 inches

Signed and dated "Rauschenberg 68" in Titled "Engagement" in pencil on verso* This work is registered with Rauschenberg

37 | Same Day Service | 196

Solvent transfer on Arches paper with and pencil 22 ⁵/8 x 29 ⁵/8 inches

Signed and dated "Rauschenberg 68" in This work is registered with Rauschenberg

38 | The Red Virgin | 1969

Solvent transfer on Arches paper with $22^{3}/4 \times 30$ inches

Titled and signed "The Red Virgin, Rausch This work is registered with Rauschenberg Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, Registry #

39 | **Allocation I** | 1969

Solvent transfer on Arches paper in two parts with gouache and pencil 22 $^{1}\!/_{2}$ x 29 $^{3}\!/_{4}$ inches each

Top: titled "Allocation I (in 2 parts)" in pencil on verso Bottom: signed, dated and titled "Rauschenberg 69" "Allocation I (in 2 parts)" in pencil on verso

This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under archive number RR69.D001 Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, Registry# LCD-141

	40	Untitled 1969
th gouache, pencil and ink pencil lower left		Solvent transfer on Arches paper in two parts with gouache, watercolor and pencil $22^{1/2}$ x $29^{3/4}$ inches each
g Inc., under archive number RR68.D045 y# I.S.28		Top: inscribed "drawing in 2 parts, part I" in pencil on verso Bottom: signed and dated "Rauschenberg 69" "drawing in 2 parts, part II" in pencil on verso This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under archive number RR69.D003 Leo Castelli Gallery, New York, Registry# LCD-143
n gouache, wash, watercolor and pencil	41	Untitled 1969
pencil lower center		Solvent transfer on graph paperboard with watercolor, gouache, wash, pencil, colored pencil and pencil body tracing 15 x 20 inches
g Inc., under archive number RR68.D051		Signed and dated "Rauschenberg '69" in pencil lower left This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under archive number RR69.D014
>8		
th gouache, wash, colored pencil	42	Untitled 1969
41 16		Solvent transfer on Arches paper with gouache, wash, watercolor and pencil $21^{1}/_{2} \times 30$ inches
pencil lower left g Inc., under archive number RR68.D055		Signed and dated "Rauschenberg 69" in pencil lower right This work is registered with Rauschenberg Inc., under archive number RR69.D013
th gouache, watercolor and pencil		
henberg XXX" in pencil lower right g Inc., under archive number RR69.D007 # LCD-519		

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Cover: Mainspring, 1965 (detail) Page 7: Housewarming, 1965 (detail) Pages 2, 16, 31, 67: Robert Rauschenberg working in his New York City studio, 1968.

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