

Western Artists and India

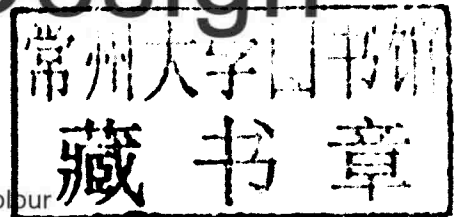
Creative Inspirations in Art and Design

Edited by Shanay Jhaveri

Western Artists and India

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With 381 illustrations, 294 in colour



Thames & Hudson

Place names used throughout the book are those current in the period under discussion. Over the decades several places have been officially renamed or spellings revised, as seen in the list below.

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Is it still referred to as “going abroad”?

Shanay Jhaveri

It all began as a modest exercise: a collection of essays, *Outsider Films on India 1950–1990*, which took as its subject ten films made by mostly European film-makers in or on India. I quote from my introduction:

Now, having engaged with all these outsider films, do I finally sense a difference? Is there a feeling of triumph or, perhaps, of regret? Have I ventured outside of myself, towards a dedicated unravelling of preconceptions? Have my sightless eyes been shown what might be lost or what I no longer know how to see? Is there an elegiac awareness of finalities? Have I travelled and collected the requisite amount of memories? Have I remembered? Are these gestures enough?¹

Hesitantly, I admit that my desires have not changed. They have only grown, become more impatient and ardent. These intensifications were more than apparent at the one-day symposium I was invited to organize for the Musée d'art contemporain de Lyon in May 2011, in conjunction with an exhibition of Indian contemporary art, "Indian Highway IV".

Making *Outsider Films on India 1950–1990* seem relevant was initially perplexing. The Centre Pompidou in Paris was about to open its ambitious "Paris-Delhi-Bombay" exhibit (2011), marking a return to an older format of city-to-city exchange. Years in the making and dubbed an "unprecedented Franco-Indian collaboration", it was

¹ Shanay Jhaveri, "Wanting to be a Rememberer" in Shanay Jhaveri (ed.), *Outsider Films on India 1950–1990* (Mumbai: The Shoestring Publisher, 2009), 14.

ORLAN, *Flag Skin Hybrid*, 2011. Sequins, lights, fans, paint. 373 × 546 cm.



another spectacle of Indian contemporary art, but with the added feature of showing, alongside the Indian work, newly commissioned pieces by 17 contemporary French artists in an effort to explore the notion of "shared exoticism".² "Paris-Delhi-Bombay" was not a success, but needs to be footnoted for its host of fresh bespoke works by the French artists, almost all of whom had travelled to India. There were few strong individual responses, Camille Henrot's *The Strife of Love in a Dream* (2011) being a notable exception. To clarify, this was not the first time that a group of French artists had been sent to India specifically to create works: "Thresholds" (1995), a presentation at the National Gallery of Modern Art (NGMA) in New Delhi, had already brought 12 French artists to India. The Pompidou exhibition signalled but did not address the need for a fulsome acknowledgement of the decades-long history of artistic cross-cultural exchange between the West (broadly defined as America and Europe) and India after its independence from colonial rule; nor did it address the crucial terms and conditions of such exchanges as they evolved.

This past was deliberated on at Lyon, with Devika Singh, Grant Watson and Matti Braun, my invited guests, successively making compelling presentations. It was a history that needed to be animated. So, in the absence of any formal closure, my invitation to each of them parlayed into their respective contributions to this book, an endeavour involved less in comprehensively reflecting the historical past than gathering scattered images and events to stress the necessity to begin to understand such a past.

There had been, from the 18th century onwards, an intensive cross-pollination of the Asian and the European consciousness.³ In the aftermath of World War II, however, there emerged a new set of political, social and cultural relations and freshly generated conceptions of self-found expression among the "underdog" nations. These were most notably asserted at the 1955 Bandung Conference in Indonesia, in which India participated under the stewardship of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru alongside 28 newly independent Asian and African nations. The aim of the meeting was, in the words of Indonesia's President Sukarno, to "inject the voice of reason into world affairs" through a new alliance of "non-aligned" nations, united by their commitment to peace and their shared histories of anti-colonial struggle.⁴ The ideologies of the Third World and the Non-Aligned Movement took birth.⁵ India, where Nehru had already initiated the spirited and systematic creation of a modern state,⁶ would now continue non-aligned through the fraught channels of cold-war politics, attempting to draw from both sides till the 1980s, when a new global reality started to eclipse previous modes of governance and cultural transmission.

Nehru compelled the leaders of South Asia to look to the future – "not go abroad in search of the past, [but] go to the foreign countries in search of the present. The search is necessary, for isolation from it means backwardness and decay".⁷ Clearly Nehru looked to actively draw upon continental and American avant-garde

2 Sophie Duplaix, "Qui a peur de l'exotisme?", *Paris-Delhi-Bombay* (Paris: Editions de Centre Pompidou, 2011).

3 See Thomas McEvilley, *The Shape of Ancient Thought: Comparative studies in Greek and Indian philosophies* (New York: Allworth Press, 2002; reprint New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2008). See also Ranjit Hoskote & Ilija Trojanow, *Confluences: Forgotten histories from East and West* (New Delhi: Yoda Press, 2012) and Partha Mitter, "Mutual Perceptions in the Contact Zone: India and America", conference paper, *A Long and Tumultuous Relationship: East-West interchanges in American art* (Smithsonian American Art Museum, 2009).

4 Sukarno, quoted in Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A people's history of the Third World* (New York & London: New Press, 2007), 34.

5 Nehru, who coined the term "Non-Aligned Movement" (NAM), first used it in 1954 in Colombo, in a speech on the Sino-Indian relationship.

6 Mention should be made of "Textiles and Ornamental Arts of India", a show mounted by the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York in 1955, the first to present material and non-material Indian culture to the US in packaged form; see Monroe Wheeler (ed.), *Textiles and Ornaments of India* (New York: MoMA, 1956) on the exhibition. Farhan S Karim writes that it was organized to "conciliate mutual misinterpretation

and to broaden the possibilities of postwar cultural exchange beyond a 'developed-nation modernity' v. 'underdeveloped antimodernity' binary": "Modernity Transfers: The MoMA and postcolonial India" in Duanfang Lu (ed.), *Third World Modernism: Architecture, development and identity* (New York: Routledge, 2010). Ancillary events included the US debuts of sarod player Ali Akbar Khan and Bharatanatayam dancer Shanta Rao, and culminated with a screening of Satyajit Ray's *Pather Panchali*. Supported by Nehru, this incredible presentation of India and its emerging modernity went beyond colonial definitions and understandings.

7 Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India* (Calcutta: The Signet Press, 1946).

design, deviating from the long colonial chapter of Indian history dominated by British art and architecture. He enthusiastically "made India the most vibrant site for the 'modern project', where the East-West relationship was constantly redefined and the modernizing experience was key in forming the nation's identity."⁸ It was such conviction that resulted in the invitation to Le Corbusier to design Chandigarh, the work handsomely seen through the lens of Lucien Hervé to "dramatically underscore the sculptural and graphic qualities of Corbusian architectonics".⁹ Hervé's modernist eye was also captivated by the abstract, archetypal forms of 18th-century observatories (the Jantar Mantar) in New Delhi and Jaipur. Julio Cortazar¹⁰ and Isamu Noguchi, who travelled to India in 1949 on a Bollingen Foundation Grant, also photographed these observatories, Noguchi making a majestic presentation of his images in *Portfolio* magazine under the title "Astronomical City". On his return to New York, he did a bronze carving of Nehru's head and corresponded with the prime minister regarding the Gandhi memorial at Raj Ghat. These interactions, among many others, demonstrate Nehru's commitment to hard-core modernity and the utopia that he was able to sustain for just about two decades.

This book's intention is to make a helpful contribution to a larger cross-disciplinary undertaking¹¹ in an endeavour to fully appreciate the radical transformations that occurred in the aftermath of World War II, when Western notions of universal

8 Rahul Mehrotra, "Architecture and Indian Identity" in *Architecture in India since 1990* (Mumbai: Pictor Publishing, 2011), 30.

9 Deepak Ananth, "Approaching India" in *Chalo! India: A new era of Indian art* (Tokyo: Mori Art Museum, 2008), 269–80.

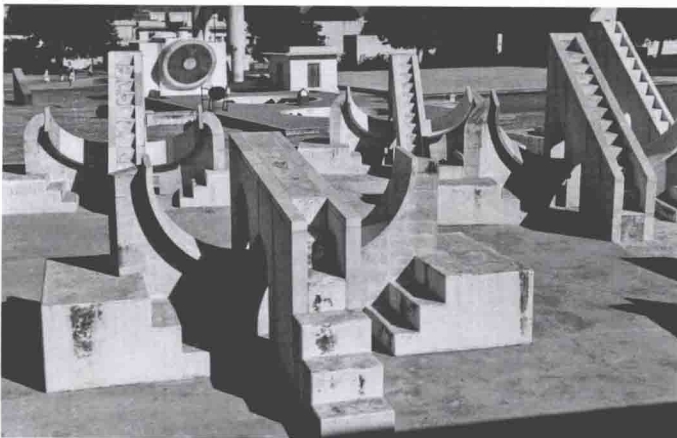
10 See Julio Cortazar, *From the Observatory* (Archipelago Books, 2011).

11 See Okwui Enwezor, "The Black Box" in *Documenta 11: Platform 5* (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 2002).

Isamu Noguchi, *Jawaharlal Nehru*, 1949. Plaster.
28.3 × 18.1 × 23.5 cm. Base 12.1 × 14 × 17.8 cm.



Isamu Noguchi, *Jantar Mantar Observatory, India*,
c. 1950 (in "Astronomical City", *Portfolio* 3, 1951).



Participating countries at the Asian-African
Conference, Bandung, 1955.

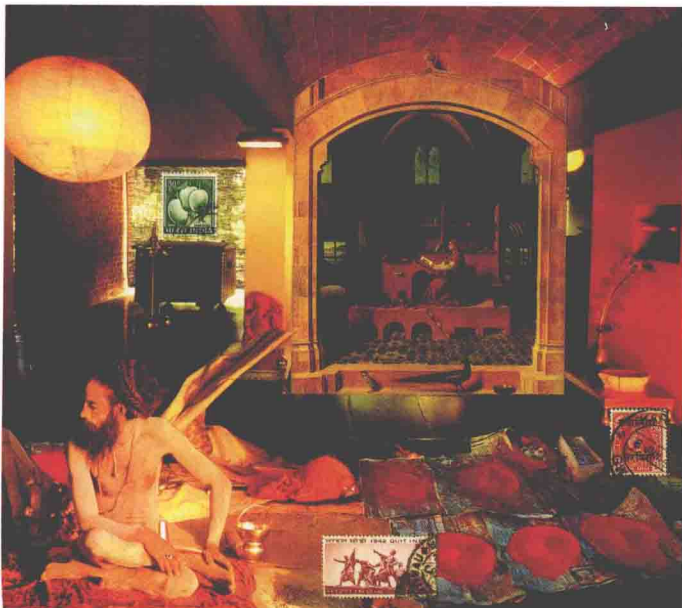


subjectivity were severely impacted by social processes under way in non-Western countries. Just one example of such realities comprises the post-colonial assertions and self-awareness seen in independent India and traced in this book, whether acknowledged as successful or as overestimations of potential. Stockpiles of research, starting from 1947, focus on the visual arts, although vital expressions in design and architecture have also been explored. The domains of music, literature and fashion have intricate histories of their own, and it was not feasible to incorporate them into this volume.

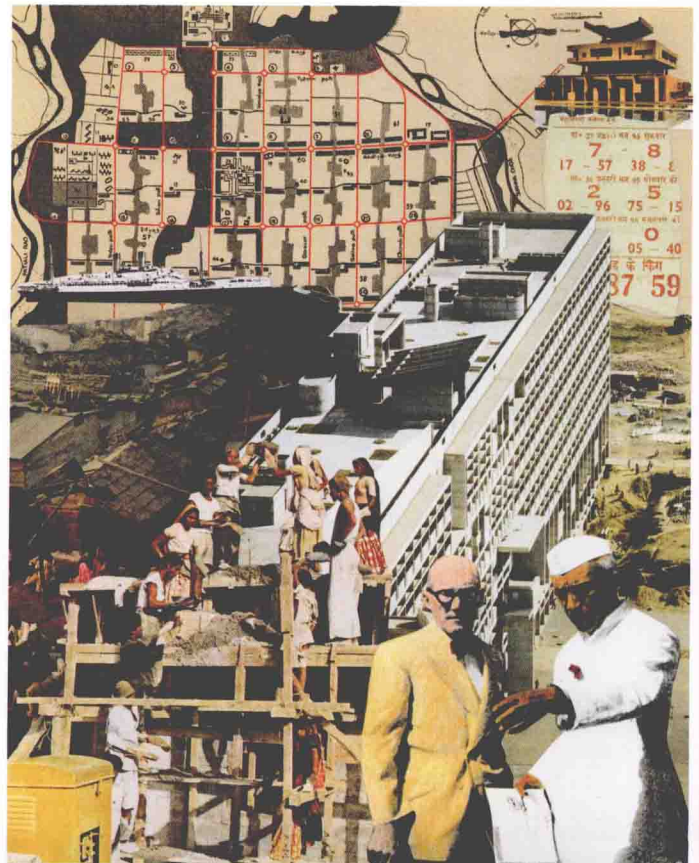
Broadly, the material can be divided into two loose but not mutually exclusive groupings: the charting of the presence of Western artworks, design objects and exhibitions in post-colonial India; and the plotting of journeys and visits of individual artists to the country, which leads to interpretations that are not self-evident "truths" or institutional fictions. The capriciousness of personal remembrance would admittedly have a bearing on purported legibility, but the sheer heterogeneity of the art ensures that each work opens up vistas of newer knowledge and discourages the drawing of premature conclusions. The archives are shared and investigated, notably personalizing history and making the personal historical.

The interplay between these two relative categorizations is marked across the book, the contributions ranging from the scholarly to the highly subjective. Devika Singh's magisterial text focuses on key international exhibitions from the 1950s to the 1970s, arguing for an international perspective in the writing of Indian art history. Nancy Adajania examines the ideological positioning of the first edition of Triennale India, while Farhan Sirajul Karim lays bare the unresolved design origins of the National Institute of Design (NID). Saloni Mathur, on the other hand, focuses

David Wild, *Sarabhai*, c. 1998. Collage.



David Wild, *Nehru*, c. 1998. Collage.



her investigation on Charles and Ray Eames, the most famous design duo in 20th-century America, and their less-known relationship with India. Grant Watson revisits the antecedents of his landmark exhibition "The Santhal Family: Positions around an Indian sculpture" (2008) while examining his own position as a Western curator looking to India. Similarly, Pradeep Dalal sifts through ways to reconcile apparent contradictions, but from an architect's vantage point, his understanding of India's admirable artistic traditions recalibrating the sharply inscribed modernist collage aesthetic of the fragmentary and the provisional.

Alongside are interviews with four artists, Howard Hodgkin, Lynda Benglis and Wolfgang Laib musing on their long-standing associations with India while Benjamin Thelonious Fels gives a rousing record of his time with Luigi Ontani, all candidly exposing formative experiences, enduring friendships and collaborations, trials and tribulations, fantasies and fictions. Portfolios of works spanning six decades by 28 other artists and a publisher, either inspired by or made during their visits to India, complement these interviews and essays. Some works are breathtaking successes, others unequivocal failures, but they all provoke reconsiderations of seemingly familiar artistic practices. Laid out alphabetically, chronologies get confused and unexpected correspondences are encountered, with simultaneous paths coming into sight. Mike Gallagher's book design recognizes this dance between the West and India through the use of two paper stocks, which alternate by signature. Ignoring such divisions, however, the layout allows the content to flow across both kinds of paper, switching, hinting at and bridging the gaps and the comings together. Transitions between sections are signified by changes in typography along with the use of restrained colour gradients in the gutter of the text sections. Illustrations of artists, events or works of art are not necessarily alongside their textual references, placing the reader somewhere in the midst of all the journeys and meetings. Collectively, the contributions have an international orientation and make a start towards elucidating the dynamics of exchange and cross-fertilization. This positioning, looking from the outside in, is necessary to appreciate the full extent of the appropriation and conveyance of thought and art forms between India and the West, providing space for some new assessments of the much discussed issue of Indian modernity, artistic or otherwise.

It has been a treat to roam through all this material, but how can I circumscribe and refine all that has accrued? This book is not encyclopedic, and nor am I, relying more on the elliptical and the slightly discontinuous. Several conversations have guided me in what Devika Singh has rightly pronounced the "endless task" of mapping the circulation of international artists in India.

An important port of call in this history is the Sarabhai family and its invitations, extended from the late 1940s to artists, musicians and architects (who included Isamu Noguchi, John Cage and Richard Neutra), and privately from 1975 by individual members of the family to mostly American artists. Based in Ahmedabad, the Sarabhais headed by Ambalal were one of a clutch of families that owned the city's cotton mills and played a significant role in India's liberation from British rule. They supported Mahatma Gandhi, whose ashram was also in Ahmedabad. Jain and wealthy, the Sarabhai family in particular was "representative of the New India", seeing "the necessity of combining modernity and tradition in order to compete in a world market ... essentially they facilitated a context in which modernism could interact in the truest sense with the culture in which it was now set."¹² This transaction enacted by the Sarabhai family, along with Nehru's modernizing projects, is wonderfully portrayed in a series of collages by David Wild.

¹² Mehrotra (2011), op. cit. 31.

The Sarabhais were also patrons of modern architecture, and instrumental in bringing Frank Lloyd Wright,¹³ Le Corbusier and Louis Kahn to India. Functioning outside the schema of official patronage, they were exceptional in the context of 1950s and '60s India, the main patrons being Vikram, Gira and Gautam Sarabhai. The artist Matti Braun's specially commissioned contribution to this volume encapsulates the spirit of the Sarabhai family, his photo essay bringing into focus the vision of another of its scions, Vikram Sarabhai, pioneer of India's space programme and chairman of the Indian Atomic Energy Commission, who assimilated Western notions with a passion for indigenization.

Known as the Retreat, the Sarabhai home in the Shahibaug district of Ahmedabad was built by Surendranath Kar in 1937. It was in its compound of almost nine hectares (22 acres) that Le Corbusier was asked to design Manorama Sarabhai's house. Villa de Madame Manorama Sarabhai, commissioned in 1951, was to become the primary destination for all private visits by foreign artists.

Le Corbusier designed a place for the life of the family that was responsive to winter and summer seasons, between public and private, between court and garden, safely held within brick walls and a vaulted ceiling ... [W]ith its deeply shaded bays, Le Corbusier connected the Sarabhai house to the collective Indian tradition in which alcoves of shade form the layer between inside and out.¹⁴

Visiting the villa in February 2012 to meet Anand Sarabhai, son of Manorama, I found its grounds purposefully unruly, not unlike a forest, and resonating with the call of peacocks. Several paper kites, reminders of a recent festival, were caught in a thicket of trees. Anand Sarabhai, a molecular biologist and entrepreneur involved in research and healthcare applications, was sitting in a shaded bay at the back of the house. Dachshunds interrupted our conversation with impassioned barks. Later we walked along a narrow path to the artists' studio space, now mostly bare but for some white James Prestini sculptures, a family of George Nakashima furniture, and the apparatus of tests that Anand was conducting.

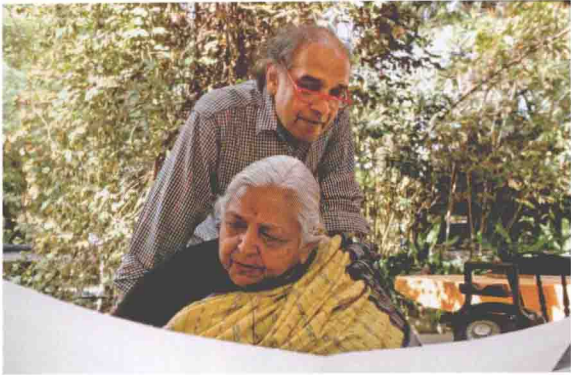
A cursory glance at the scattered objects in the dimly lit ground floor of the villa instantly evoked the presence of its many visitors, each painting and sculpture a memento mori. Tucked away in a corner was a framed blue-bordered dishtowel, a gaping hole in its middle, accompanied by a letter handwritten by John Cage on a delivery slip with an identical blue border. Dated 12 January 1988 and addressed to Manorama Sarabhai, the letter says, "Our towels have all worn out. Could you get someone to send us a new batch? Love John" – a subtle hint of the strong ties the guests developed with both the family and the house itself. Living traces are seen all over the home of years and visits gone by; every ceiling fan is painted – the three I saw attended to by Alan Shields, Kim MacConnel and Howard Hodgkin – while an entire wall is covered by a John Baldessari mural.

Alexander Calder's 1955 visit was initiated by Gira, Anand's aunt. It has been suggested that Noguchi, who had stayed with the family during his 1949 visit, introduced Calder to the Sarabhais. The terms of the invitation specified that the

13 Gira Sarabhai had been a student of Frank Lloyd Wright in the 1940s.

14 M Susan Ubbelohde, "The Dance of a Summer Day: Le Corbusier's Sarabhai House in Ahmedabad, India" in *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* (Journal of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments), 71.

Raghubir Singh, *Anand and Manorama Sarabhai*, 1992, at the Retreat, Ahmedabad.



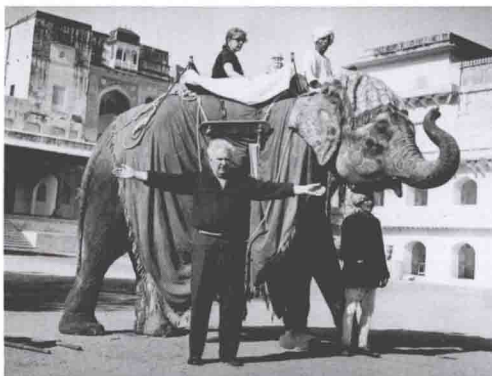
Anne de Henning, *Manorama Sarabhai*, 1979. The Retreat, Ahmedabad.



Alexander Calder and Ambalal Sarabhai with other members of the Sarabhai family, 1955.



Alexander and Louisa Calder in India, 1955.



family would tend to all expenses and accommodation and also furnish assistants if Calder consented to make some objects for them during his visit. To clarify, while Calder's trip was routed through Gira, Gautam and Kamilini, visits by the artists detailed below were private and instigated by Anand and his mother Manorama. In the protocol for private residencies Anand proposed that the artist leave behind half of the art made in the compound, which resulted in perhaps the first private Indian collection of modern American art. Calder, who came with his wife, executed 11 objects during his three weeks in the guarded quarters of the Sarabhai compound.¹⁵ His autobiography notes that "the father, Mr Sarabhai, was a shrewd businessman, and he had great difficulty but finally succeeded in acknowledging the worth of a mobile."¹⁶ After touring Nepal and other parts of India, including Santiniketan, New Delhi and Assam, Calder spent his final few days in Bombay, where Gira organized a show of his work in "some other person's backyard"¹⁷ on 9 March 1955. The works were exhibited again in Bombay later that month at the Jehangir Art Gallery.

The choreographer Merce Cunningham and composer, music theorist, philosopher and artist John Cage arrived in 1964. They were on the Merce Cunningham Dance Company's first world tour, accompanied by Robert Rauschenberg, who designed the sets.¹⁸ John Cage, who had also visited India a decade earlier, greatly regretted turning down Gira's invitation to trek the Himalaya and travel by elephant, "which would have been unforgettable".¹⁹ Rauschenberg returned to India in 1975 on a private residency to produce his *Bones and Unions* series. The most direct result of this visit, however, was the *Jammer* series, as India liberated him from a self-imposed restraint on the use of fabric. It has also been noted that Rauschenberg was

deeply affected by the sensual richness and colour he saw in India. "For the first time, I wasn't embarrassed by the look of beauty, of elegance," he said. "Because when you see someone who has only one rag as their property, but it happens to be beautiful and pink and silk, beauty doesn't have to be separated." In India, Rauschenberg said he lost his fear "of something being beautiful. I've always said that you shouldn't have biases, you shouldn't have prejudices. But before that I'd never been able to use purple, because it was too beautiful."²⁰

Frank Stella rendered the maquettes for his iconic Indian Bird series²¹ in 1977, and Robert Morris created works in stone and leather in his three weeks in Ahmedabad. Roy Lichtenstein²² and Robert Kushner visited in 1978, and Howard Hodgkin was at his most prolific creating the Indian Leaves series.²³ In 1979 Lynda Benglis was the first woman artist to be invited. These successful encounters paved the way for a host of habitués – Keith Sonnier,²⁴ Eric Fischl,²⁵ Alan Shields,²⁶ Matt Mullican,

15 The first show of these works after 1955, titled "Calder in India" (31 May–3 August 2012), was at London's Ordoas gallery. For details of the correspondence between Calder and Gira Sarabhai see the beautiful catalogue and Pilar Ordoas's essay, "Calder in India: The Sarabhai connection". Oliver Wick's contribution, "Alexander Calder: A passage to India", notes that the "actual number of sculptures he is supposed to have made—eleven according to all sources—is open to question. Either the artist included the jewellery made there, a hair pin and a pair of earrings, or he misremembered, adding to the total count the mobile that Gira Sarabhai purchased independently and the miniature mobile-stabile he sent prior to his arrival. Only nine sculptures were made in India."

16 Alexander Calder, *An Autobiography with Pictures* (The Penguin Press, 1967), 233.

17 Ibid. 239.

18 For a detailed study of Rauschenberg's association with the MCDC, see Hiroko Ikegami, *The Great Migrator: Robert Rauschenberg and the global rise of American art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010).

19 John Cage, "An Autobiographical Statement", delivered at the Southern Methodist University (17 April 1990).

20 Mary Lynn Kotz, *Rauschenberg/Art and Life* (Harry N Abrams, 2004), 206. This expedition was for a project for Gemini GEL. Rauschenberg was accompanied by his son Christopher, Gianfranco Gorgoni and Sid Felsen. For more details see the catalogue for the exhibition "Robert Rauschenberg Travelling '70–'76".

21 For a detailed discussion on the series see William Stanley Rubin, *Frank Stella: 1970–1987* (New York: MoMA, 1987), 83–88.

22 During Lichtenstein's fortnight-long visit in November 1978 he made several limestone and wood

carvings and works with textiles and marble. The teakwood blocks he made in Ahmedabad for *Goldfish Bowl*, *Lamp* and *Picture and Pitcher* warped but were corrected by Ken Tyler so that Lichtenstein was able to create the prints the following spring. Lichtenstein also had two tapestries fabricated in India, *Modern Tapestry* (1978) and *American Landscape* (1979), in pure wool pile, each taking three or four months to make, and published by Modern Master Tapestries, Inc., a New York-based art publisher. Modern Masters had some tapestries woven in Mirzapur, an hour's drive north of Varanasi, where the workshop, owned by Prem Dutt, had once been an indigo plantation, and the dyeing, weaving and pile cutting was done by local farmers working from full-scale drawings during the off season.

23 See Michael Compton, *Howard Hodgkin: Indian Leaves* (London: Tate Gallery, 1982) for an in-depth analysis of the series.

Peter Alexander, Susan Leopold, Clytie Alexander, Jack Youngerman, Gwynn Murrill and John Baldessari, to name a few – all arriving through the 1980s and early 1990s. Curiously, though the artists invited by the Sarabhais were provided wide access to artisans and material, they were never given the opportunity to mingle with the then practising Indian artists. Such interfaces would take place entirely on the visiting artists' accord, before or after their time in the Sarabhai compound.

The resulting bodies of work, each split between the artist and the Sarabhais, have never been exhibited in India, wholly or partially. Individual works have been seen elsewhere, mostly in circulation from the part that remained with the artists.²⁷ The Sarabhai collection remains mainly shuttered away, its future cloaked in some mystery. In October 1985 the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York presented a show titled "Made in India", an eponymous collection of works by American and European artists, of whom a fair number had been guests of the Sarabhais. According to a press release the exhibition was organized in conjunction with the Festival of India as well as the Art Advisory Service, a project of MoMA's associate council.²⁸ Anand Sarabhai was at the time a member of the museum's international council. Perhaps the artists' visits and resultant work were never intended as anything more than an exercise in private patronage, yet they were unique as a demonstration of an assured active agency, separate from the state, in newly independent mid-century India.

Parallel to the Sarabhais' cloistered environs, a critical position was occupied by the Kasauli Art Centre. Set up by the artist, activist and curator Vivan Sundaram in 1976, it remained active till 1991 in organizing multidisciplinary workshops and seminars, and hosted numerous international artists. The summer workshop of May and June, born probably out of Sundaram's own participation in an anarchist commune in London during the 1968 student movement, was a distinct space that brought together "a diverse grouping of interlocutors ... their exchanges provided the discursive basis for a landmark exhibition on contemporary Indian art and, later, for a major journal."²⁹ From 1979, international art exchanges facilitated the two-way travel of artists between Europe and Kasauli, starting off with the visit of British sculptor John Davies.

24 For a discussion of Sonnier's sculptures, see Donald Kuspit, *Interim Shrines* (1988) and *Oriental/Occidental* (1993). Before visiting the Sarabhais in 1981 Sonnier had participated in the 1971 Indian Triennale, but his name did not figure in its brochure as he installed his sound piece only two days before the opening.

25 Fischl visited in 1987 and attempted to hand-dye photographs of Ahmedabad: "They were black and white photos that were enlarged and I would paint dye on them. Nothing I did worked out for me, so I destroyed them. I did cut some images out and had them mounted on to masonite. A small stage was built and these characters placed on it and re-photographed. I never showed these. I left the stage and images with the Sarabhais. The paintings were done on my return to NY and were based on photographs I took during my travels. They are based on collages I made from these photos." (E-mail correspondence with the author, 28 September 2011.)

26 Alan Shields, interviewed by Karou Yanase (Shunichi Kamiyama ed.) at Shields's studio in Shelter Island, New York (May 1998): "The papermaking is done in a place called the Gandhi Ashram. All I did was put tape on the screen, and that would cause the watermark that would make a hole in the paper. These big openings actually are watermarks, but they are watermarks of an extreme nature. Sometimes I would have four or five hundred sheets of paper with the same holes in it. A lot of it was really unusable

because it fell apart in the process of making it. But out of that large number of sheets, we would still come up with 20 or 30 sheets. Each day that I was there I would put different tape marks on the screens, and at the end of the time frame, we had paper stacked up like a mountain. That was the way that we were able to make that first batch of paper. When I came back from India, I came back with a box that we made in India. That was a suitcase of solid paper. It weighed about 150 lbs. I was carrying this thing under my arm, and I brought them all to Tyler's."

27 In 1979 Frank Stella exhibited his Indian Bird maquettes and a pair of drawings at MoMA, New York. Howard Hodgkin's set of Indian Leaves was shown at London's Tate Gallery in 1982. Robert Rauschenberg's works were part of "Robert Rauschenberg Travelling '70-'76" at Haus Der Kunst, Munich, in 2008.

28 See http://www.moma.org/docs/press_archives/6235/releases/MOMA_1985_0089_88.pdf?2010. The participating artists were Peter Alexander, Lynda Benglis, Brad Davis, Dan Friedman, Howard Hodgkin, Robert Kushner, Roy Lichtenstein, Kim MacConnel, Robert Morris, Matt Mullican, Howardena Pindell, Robert Rauschenberg, Alan Saret, Alan Shields, Richard Smith, Keith Sonnier and Frank Stella, as well as Jon Kessler, Luigi Ontani and Francesco Clemente, who were among the few who had never worked at the Retreat. The Festival of India in the United States was the result of a

major diplomatic effort in 1982 by Indira Gandhi and Ronald Reagan. For 18 months, from June 1985 to the end of 1986, US organizations, often in concert with Indian counterparts, staged over 215 exhibitions, performances, lectures, symposia and films. One of these exhibitions was the "Golden Eye", curated by Rajeev Sethi and hosted by the Cooper Hewitt Museum in New York (a branch of the Smithsonian) in collaboration with the government of India. American and European designers were asked to collaborate with Indian "artisans" to produce new lines for elite designers. The Western designers invited were Hugh Casson, Mario Bellini, Frei Otto, Jack Lenor Larsen, Bernard Rudofsky, Mary McFadden, Charles Moore, Ettore Sottsass, Hans Hollein, Ivan Chermayeff and Milton Glaser. See Rebecca Brown, *Moments of Resistance: Small interventions and the Festival of India* (Seoul: National Museum of Korea, October 2011) and *Pushing the Boundaries (but not too much): Positioning modern Indian art* (Minneapolis: American Council for Southern Asian Art Symposium, September 2011, and Seoul National University, October 2011) for important aspects of the Festival.

29 Nancy Adajania, "Probing the Khojness of Khoj" in Pooja Sood (ed.), *The Khoj Book: Contemporary art practice in India* (HarperCollins, 2010), 91. The references are to the exhibition "Place for People" (1981) and the *Journal of Arts and Ideas* (see <http://dsal.uchicago.edu/books/artsandideas>).