

ABSTRACT BODIES

SIXTIES SCULPTURE IN THE EXPANDED FIELD OF GENDER

A vertical, glowing pink light fixture is centered in a dark room, casting a soft, pinkish glow on the surrounding walls and floor. The fixture is a thin, rectangular tube with a bright pink light emanating from it. The room is dark, with the walls and floor appearing in shades of dark purple and black. The light fixture is positioned in the center of the frame, creating a strong vertical axis.

DAVID J. GETSY

GETSY

ABSTRACT BODIES



DAVID J. GETSY is the Goldabelle McComb Finn Distinguished Professor of Art History at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago. He is the author of *Rodin: Sex and the Making of Modern Sculpture* (2010) and *Body Doubles: Sculpture in Britain, 1877-1905* (2004), both also published by Yale University Press.

“Abstract Bodies makes a remarkable intervention into art history, combining a rigorous attention to the history of sculpture with surprising and elaborate readings of the art of the 1960s. As a result of his disciplined attention to abstract forms rather than figural representations of the body, David Getsy has opened a new chapter in art history. This is a brilliant and original book and will change the way we think about the dynamics between art, embodiment, plasticity, and queer form.”

(Jack Halberstam, University of Southern California)

“David Getsy’s *Abstract Bodies* represents a welcome convergence of the long established academic discipline of art history with the more recent interdisciplinary field of transgender studies. This book is not a history of transgender artists or transgender themes in art, but rather a path-breaking application of transgender studies as a heuristic lens. His deft coupling of subject matter and critical framework enables readers to grasp the profound extent to which the plasticity of shape and transformation of substance in reference to human being is a central feature of recent Western history.”

(Susan Stryker, University of Arizona)

“Abstract Bodies more than bridges art history and gender studies – David Getsy demonstrates that these fields need each other. This book shows us how to see gender’s capacities in texture, light, and form – loosened from the discourse of sex, gender becomes a material possibility. This is essential reading for anyone who wants to know how to write about sculpture, or who wants to know how queer art history can be.”

(Jennifer Doyle, University of California at Riverside)

“The insights that emerge from David Getsy’s analyses of sculpture, reception, anecdote, historiography, and of the particular languages – and voices – of artists, are provocative and profound. In the process of locating transformational energies in these artists’ works, Getsy not only connects us more intimately to each artist but also redirects the field of postwar abstract sculpture.”

(Michael Brenson, Bard College)

JACKET ILLUSTRATIONS

FRONT: Dan Flavin, *pink out of a corner (to Jasper Johns)*, 1963. Pink fluorescent light, h. 244 cm (96 in.).

FRONT FLAP: John Chamberlain, *M. Junior Love*, 1962. Painted metal, 51 × 51 × 35.5 cm (20 × 20 × 14 in.).

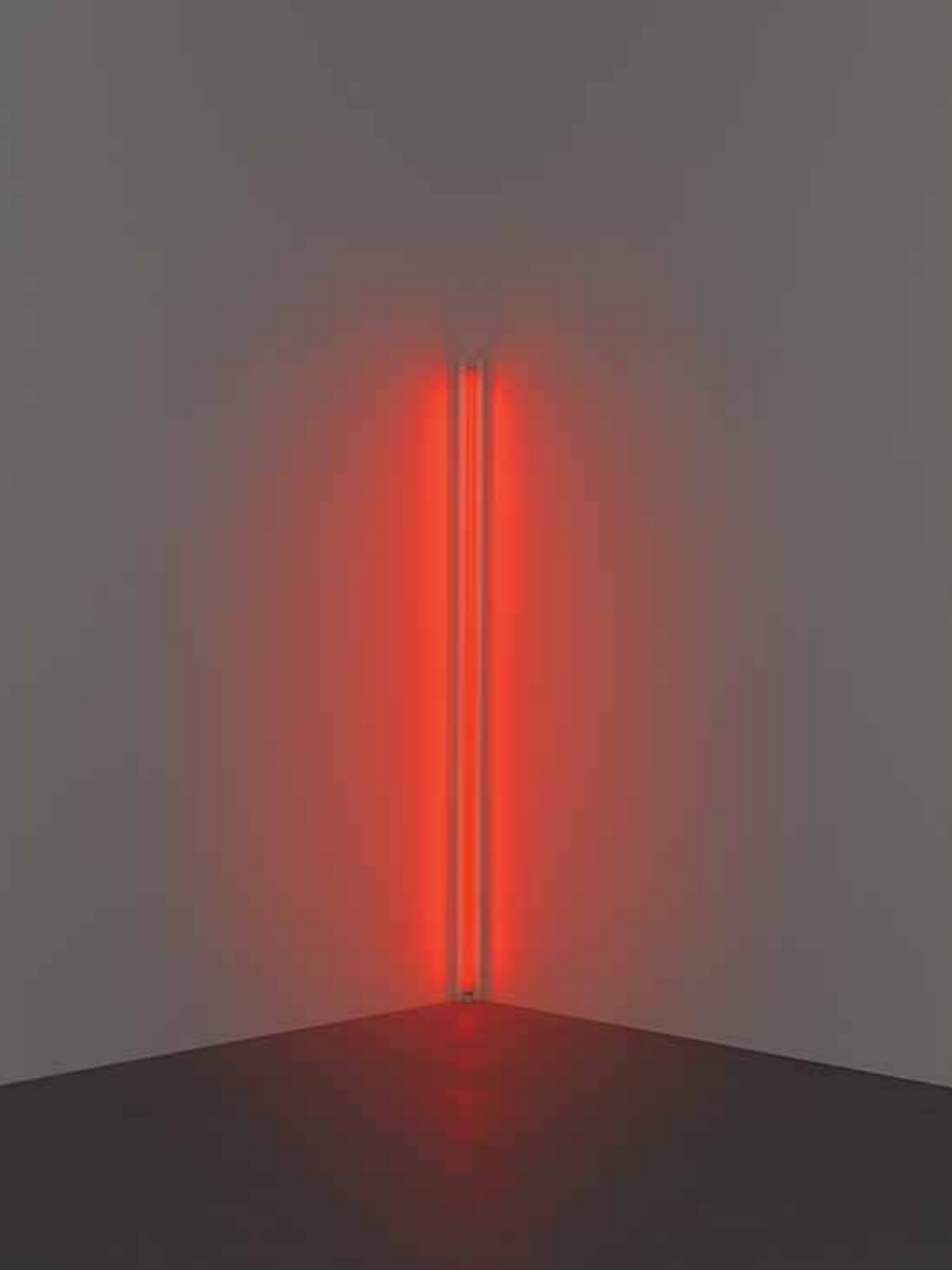
ABOVE: Nancy Grossman, *For David Smith*, 1965. Leather, metal, rubber, fabric, and paint assemblage on canvas mounted on plywood, 215.9 × 215.9 × 17.15 cm (85 × 85 × 6¾ in.).

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CONTENTS

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Frontispiece: Dan Flavin, *red out of a corner (to Annina)*, 1963/70 (detail of fig. 116).
Page vi: Detail of Nancy Grossman, *For David Smith*, 1965 (fig. 82).

Acknowledgments	VII
Preface	VII
Introduction:	I
“New” Genders and Sculpture in the 1960s	
1 On Not Making Boys: David Smith, Frank O’Hara, and Gender Assignment	43
2 Immoderate Couplings: Transformations and Genders in John Chamberlain’s Work	97
3 Second Skins: The Unbound Genders of Nancy Grossman’s Sculpture	147
4 Dan Flavin’s Dedications	209
Conclusion:	267
Abstraction and the Unforeclosed	
Notes	281
Bibliography	329
Index	356
Illustration Credits	372

P R E F A C E

In a sense, what is most important is what an artist *does*, rather than what he *is*, what the object *does* – in terms of response – rather than what it *is*.

Gregory Battcock, 1968¹

Transformation was the norm in American sculpture of the 1960s. The decade saw thoroughgoing attacks on sculptural representation and on the very idea of the statue. In the wake of sculpture's reconfiguration, modes such as assemblage, the reductive object, and earthworks proliferated. Rosalind Krauss famously dubbed the new conditions of sculpture that emerged in the 1960s as entering an "expanded field" and wrote of the medium's diffusion and dispersal.² Even though sculpture (as well as the format of the statue) did not end as widely foretold, in this contentious decade it was inexorably altered and multiplied.

The 1960s in America also saw a fundamental shift in the ways that persons were understood. This was the decade in which gender identities and their distinction from biological sex began to be more publically contested.³ A key development driving these debates was the realization that sex could be changed, and 1960s America witnessed the emergence of public and institutional acknowledgments of transsexuality. In popular culture, evidence had already been mounting since the 1950s about the lived diversity of transformable and multiple genders. The media discourse around transsexuality had begun in 1952 when Christine Jorgensen made international headlines for being the first publicly disclosed case of sex reassignment surgery.⁴ In 1954, the American magazine *People Today* would report, "Next to the recurrent hydrogen bomb headlines, reports of sex changes are becoming the most persistently startling world news."⁵ By the 1960s, gender research clinics began to be founded across the country, starting with the University of California Los Angeles in 1962 and growing to include such institutions as Johns Hopkins University, Northwestern Uni-

versity, the University of Washington, and Stanford University. In 1966, the groundbreaking book by Harry Benjamin, *The Transsexual Phenomenon*, was published.⁶ That same year, the *New York Times* ran a front-page story about sex-change operations, soon followed by articles in *Esquire*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report*.⁷ In 1968, the Olympic Games held in Mexico City were the first formally to introduce gender confirmation testing, Jorgensen went on a twenty-city book tour to publicize her just-released autobiography, and Gore Vidal published his bestselling novel featuring its eponymous transsexual heroine, *Myra Breckinridge*. In 1969, the Stonewall Riots that launched Gay Liberation were sparked by the resistance of transwomen and drag queens to police harassment. In the 1960s, definitions of gender, sex, and the human body also moved into an expanded field.

This book questions what these two concurrent histories might have to say to each other. How, in other words, does the emerging public recognition of the presence of transformable genders and bodies in the 1960s correlate with sculpture's contentious relationship to figuration and the body in that decade? Questions of gender often accompanied sculpture's struggle to dispense with recognizable figures while maintaining abstract and non-referential objects' relationships to human bodies and human lives. Whether it was the metaphors of bodily couplings in the work of John Chamberlain, the transformed skins and garments of Nancy Grossman's assemblages, or Dan Flavin's affectionate dedications of literalist objects to friends and mentors, even the most abstract and non-representational sculpture nevertheless kept allusions to persons and bodies near. An attention to transformable genders, mutable morphologies, and successive states of personhood illuminates these positions in sculpture, showing how abstraction produced less determined and more open ways of accounting for bodies and persons.

Sculpture in the 1960s sought finally to free itself from the statue and its allusions to conventional human figures. The decade increasingly became characterized by abstract sculptures that repudiated the conventions and format of the freestanding statue but were nevertheless still discrete human-scale objects. Instead, new materials and new configurations emerged around the goal of making sculpture that neither fell back on conventional materials nor imaged the human figure or shared its proportions. David Smith was the key transitional figure in this, and his final years of sculpture were taken up with the battle to overcome the lingering statuary format that had characterized his major works of the 1950s. In his wake, sculptors moved more decisively into alternative materials, new formats, and higher

degrees of abstraction and non-reference. At the same time, this embrace of total abstraction fueled the long-running anxiety about the differences between sculptures, everyday objects, and furniture. Caught between their flight from the conventional statue and their fear of having abstract sculptures dissolve into the world of everyday functional things, sculptors in the 1960s developed a mode between these two options of the statue and the object. By the end of the decade, modes such as conceptual art, earthworks, and the like would overcome this issue by moving out of the gallery and away from the discrete object, but the first half of the 1960s was caught up with making what one could call non-statues on a human scale.

Artists as different as Smith, Chamberlain, Grossman, and Flavin all wrestled with how to make abstract works. They did so through relying on metaphors of the human body and of personhood. That is, even though their works did not image the human, they invoked it. Smith's welded steel constructions, Chamberlain's dense but delicate compositions made from crushed automobile parts, Grossman's de-constructed leather garments remade into writhing abstract reliefs, or Flavin's cool electrified light tubes all aimed to confront viewers with new entities, new bodies. In their work, the non-correlation between these objects and the metaphors the artists' applied to them produced questions – for viewers, for critics, and for the artists themselves – about how and where gender could be mapped onto the works and, more broadly, what gender's relationships to embodiment could be. What happens, in other words, when artists such as these refuse to present the human form but demand that their sculptures be seen as related to human bodies and persons?

This book begins to answer that question by drawing on the interdisciplinary field of transgender studies. Its methods and priorities inform the questions I ask of Sixties sculpture. I take as axiomatic that the ever-growing literature on the history of transgender experience in the twentieth century demands reconsiderations of larger accounts of the body, of normalcy, of personhood, of representation, and of the human. Accordingly, this book offers the first sustained, book-length use of transgender studies in the field of art history.⁸ I show how this perspective enhances clarity about the terms, history, and implications of sculpture's relationship to definitions of the human, to the figure, and to abstraction in this decade. I have not sought an iconography of transgender in this project, nor is this book about transgender artists or even artists who were in direct dialogue with the emerging popular discourse of transsexuality and gender nonconformity in the 1960s. Rather, I have used the methods and theories of transgender studies to approach anew and in depth a small group of artists in order to

show how their anxious, excited, and fearless invocations of the body in relation to abstract and non-referential objects can be understood to produce accounts of gender's plurality and mutability. In examining these artists and their archives, I pursued fundamental historical and conceptual questions that transgender studies poses: that is, how non-binary genders are articulated and acknowledged, how human morphologies could be valued for their mutability, and how to do justice to successive states of personhood or embodiment. The accounts of human experience and potential that underwrite transgender studies demand a broad critique and a fundamental remapping of the ways we understand societies and individuals. In keeping with this, the long history of figural representation (and its opponents) looks different when we attend to the reality of transformable genders and bodies.

Both the history of figuration and of abstraction's repudiation of it are inextricably bound up with sex and gender. Images of the human form generally incite a desire to categorize that form according to its sex and, in turn, to align it with assumptions about how gender should relate to that sex. In order for many to see a body (or an image of a body) as human, its relation to gender needs to be settled. Gender "figures as a precondition for the production and maintenance of legible humanity," as Judith Butler has maintained.⁹ From the first, the determination of gender operates as a predicate for integration into the social. For instance, the negotiation of pronoun usage becomes, for many, the obligatory first step in conversations and interactions, and any ambiguity or mobility of pronoun usage will quickly derail or arrest interactions. Or, more fundamentally, one could think of the primal nomination of personhood at birth. No matter if it is cliché or ritual, the performative assignment of sex and gender to a newborn ("It's a girl!") has immediate effects. This performative utterance (whether said out loud or inscribed on a birth certificate) alters how that child is understood by others, determines such things as what colors many will think are appropriate for its garments, and produces a set of expectations with regard to gender identity.¹⁰

Ambiguous or ambivalent images of the human form trouble these taxonomic impulses. Anything that does not simply and clearly reflect presumptions about the dimorphism of human bodies is ignored or rejected, and those figures that exceed binary categories are considered inadequate or incomplete renderings of the human. Attempts at simplifying representation to its basics as a means of offering the generic or the universal image have limited scope, for soon enough the question will be raised about "what kind" of person such a humanoid form actually implies. Even stick figures incite questions of gender assignment. This book goes even further than

such simplified figurative images to investigate how sculptures that refused to image the human form were nevertheless caught up with nominations of gender for non-representational objects. A transgender studies perspective provides a basis for examining the political and ethical implications of such arbitrations. It allows, on the one hand, for a wider recognition of gender's contestations and alternatives (which would otherwise be renounced or go unrecognized). On the other, it calls for a critical reassessment of normative accounts of the human that take dimorphism as absolute and binaries as immutable truths.¹¹

The term "transgender" has been used to bring into alliance a wide range of nonascribed genders, and I discuss its use in historical analysis further in the Introduction. Viviane K. Namaste described "transgender" as "an umbrella term used to refer to all individuals who live outside of normative sex/gender relations – that is, individuals whose gendered self-presentation (evidenced through dress, mannerisms, and even physiology) does not correspond to the behaviors habitually associated with members of their biological sex."¹² In this, the history of transsexuality was foundational to the later expansion and formulation of "transgender" as an inclusive category for a range of lived experiences of gender and embodiment.¹³ Transformation and temporality are central to definitions of transgender's conjugation of non-binary, unique, or recombined gender potentialities. Susan Stryker has nominated this idea of transformative movement as crucial to wider applications of "transgender," taking the term's defining trait as "the movement across a socially imposed boundary away from an unchosen starting place – rather than any particular destination or mode of transition."¹⁴

Neither the transformability of genders and bodies nor their variability and plurality are contemporary developments. There is extensive evidence for a broad and diverse history of gender nonconformity, successively adopted genders, and mutable bodily morphologies that decisively refutes the assumption that gender is binary and static.¹⁵ Similarly, there is an extensive (but silenced) history of intersex lives that discredits the misconception that the human species is absolutely dimorphic.¹⁶ The 1950s and 1960s saw long-running scientific debates about sex and gender cross over into popular culture. Gender's variability, complexity, and mutability began to be more publically discussed as part of the wide-ranging cultural upheavals of these years. As Paul B. Preciado has argued, "In the 1950s, which were confronted with the political rise of feminism and with homosexuality, as well as with the desire of 'transvestites,' 'deviants,' and 'transsexuals' to escape or transform birth sex assignment, the dimorphism epistemology of sexual difference was simply crumbling."¹⁷ By the 1960s, this process

had accelerated. New medical and social institutions were spawned, and evidence of nonascribed and transformed genders began to be featured regularly in the press, in popular culture, and in the work of artists and writers. As I discuss in the Introduction, Stryker nominated the 1960s as the era of “transgender liberation” because of the widespread cultural and institutional acknowledgment of gender mutability and multiplicity that emerged in those years.¹⁸

A transgender history attends not just to the evidence of gender non-conforming lives but also – as this study does – shows how accounts of transgender capacity are produced (sometimes inadvertently) through attempts to reconsider how bodies and persons can be imaged or evoked. It also asks its questions broadly with the understanding that all genders must be characterized differently once mutability and temporality are recognized among their defining traits.¹⁹ Once personhood is valued for its transformations and gender is understood as workable beyond conventional static and binary norms, any account of the human or of its representations looks different and more complex. Such is the case with the contentious role of the human form in the history of sculpture, and this book discusses the history of postwar sculpture for the ways it proposed “successive states” of personhood and unforeclosed accounts of genders’ inhabitations in works that evoked but did not image the human body. (I encountered this phrase “successive states” in Donald Judd’s writing on the formal character of Chamberlain’s reworked components, and it has stuck with me as a particularly apt way of characterizing the hard-won reworking of gender and personhood that transgender studies values.²⁰)

In bringing to light the ways in which abstract sculpture of the 1960s came to posit gender’s mutability and multiplicity, I see this book as taking up the challenge that Butler put to historical inquiry when she wrote of the need to provide new accounts of the long history of the complexity and diversity of genders:

I would say that it is not a question merely of producing a new future for genders that do not exist. The genders I have in mind have been in existence for a long time, but they have not been admitted into the terms that govern reality. So it is a question of developing within law, psychiatry, social, and literary theory a new legitimating lexicon for the gender complexity that we have been living with for a long time. Because the norms governing reality have not admitted these forms to be real, we will, of necessity, call them “new.”²¹

The present book pursues this call to action from the perspective of the history of art, which has a long tradition of debating the human form and attending to its vicissitudes. In this, I see art history as offering a particularly rich resource for transgender studies – for example, in its methods for interpreting the allegorical deployments of the human form or for critically engaging with visual abstractions. In turn, the perspective of transgender studies is energizing as a means to re-view art-historical episodes in which the human body and its metaphors were at issue. American abstract sculpture in the 1960s – with its paradoxical combination of a refusal to represent the human body and a reliance on it as analogue – offers an exemplary site at which to bring these modes of inquiry into productive dialogue. Accordingly, I have committed to gender’s historical plurality and mutability, and I have pursued the ways in which artists’ practices reward attention to transforming genders and successive personhood. The complexity of Sixties sculpture becomes more apparent and generative when one attends to the accounts of genders, of the body, and of persons that underwrote it.

During the decade characterized by the atomization of the statue into specific objects and expanded fields, abstract bodies emerged from the sculpture’s refusal of the figure. The human form could no longer be taken for granted or treated as universal. Gender became an open question, and it was mapped variably and successively onto abstraction. In these same years, genders and bodies came into question more widely, and nonascribed genders became visible as potentialities and actualities. Transgender lives presented a challenge to the authority given to the normative image of the human. Challenging this authority was also sculpture’s preoccupation in the 1960s.



INTRODUCTION

"NEW" GENDERS AND SCULPTURE IN THE 1960S

An epiphany for this project, which helped me envision its shape, occurred when I was leaving the David Smith retrospective at Tate Modern a number of years ago. One of the final rooms was the media room, and the 1964 televised interview between Smith and Frank O'Hara I discuss in Chapter 1 was being projected on a large wall. I had not intended to watch this didactic and was walking through the room when I was arrested by Smith's line, "I don't make boy sculptures." How bizarre, I thought, that such a negative designation was a necessary or useful term for Smith. This line continued to nag at me, and I began to realize how perniciously gender functioned as the predicate for nominating works of art in relation to the human. Further, I began to question how sculpture in the 1960s often returned to this scene of facing gender multiplicity created through pursuits of abstraction or literalism. I started conceiving of this project as a book once I investigated that casual comment and realized how much it crystallized a larger set of issues confronting sculpture during the decade when the statuary format dissolved into the expanded field. Other comments, such as John Chamberlain's that "everybody's both" genders or Nancy Grossman's that each individual was fundamentally bi-sexed, led me to see a wider complex of issues that these individual artists helped to clarify.

My central contention in this book is that sculpture of the 1960s gains greater historical resonance and wider interdisciplinary relevance through attention to how the human was mapped onto objects that patently refused to image even the most basic traits of the human figure. More so than in

OPPOSITE 1 David Smith, *Cubi VII*, 1963. Stainless steel, 281.9 × 175.3 × 58.4 cm (111 × 69 × 23 in.). Art Institute of Chicago, Grant J. Pick Purchase Fund, 1964.1141.

the long tradition of abstracted, simplified, and stylized figures from the preceding decades of modernism, sculpture in the 1960s shattered the expectations of the medium, expanded its material practices, left the format of the freestanding statue behind, and made decisive moves to achieve non-reference and objecthood. At the same time, these innovations increasingly sought to activate the viewer's bodily and affective relations with those abstract sculptural objects. As with the four artists on whom I focus in this volume, such propositions for abstract sculpture were often animated by references direct and indirect to sexuality and gender. To be clear: this book is not about the genders of the sculptors discussed in it. On the contrary, I have chosen my case studies deliberately to show how accounts of genders as multiple and mutable erupt in the work of artists for whom gender and sexuality were not necessarily stated or primary terms of investigation. Accordingly, I reveal no secrets about the artists' lives nor are their biographies used as the main tools for interpretation of their practices. My focus is on their artistic practices, repeated methods, and the rhetorics they employed to communicate their priorities. These provide the basis for an extrapolation of gender multiplicity and transformability fostered by their pursuit of abstract bodies and persons. I argue that transgender capacity was inadvertently realized out of abstract sculpture's coupling of objecthood and personhood as it negotiated what would come after the statuary tradition.

"Sculpture" is an open and contested category in this book. Any examination of the tumultuous transformations in three-dimensional art-making in the 1960s could have it no other way. I have intentionally chosen objects that vary in their definitions of the sculptural object, from the accumulated compositions of Chamberlain through Grossman's relief assemblages to Flavin's modular light tubes. Flavin's work, in particular, has been appropriated as sculpture in this book because of the ways in which it signals an expansion into spatial practices. Early on, Flavin rejected the singular category of sculpture for his work (as did many Minimalists), but his early fluorescent work nevertheless was taken to be sculpture and participated in the debates about the medium's future or ruin. In all of the case studies, I draw on the three-dimensionality of these artists' works and the ways that their attempts at abstraction, non-reference, or literalism activated bodily identifications in the viewer precisely because of their physicality.

Fluorescent tubes, welded steel planes and cubes, and discarded autobody parts or leather garments – these are the materials used by Flavin, Smith, Chamberlain, and Grossman in their pursuit of abstract sculptural objects. Despite their aim to refuse or befuddle reference and signification, they



2 John Chamberlain, *Flavin Flats*, 1977. Painted and chromium-plated steel, 195.5 × 95.5 × 94 cm (77 × 37½ × 37 in.). Installed at Staatliche Kunsthalle Baden-Baden, 1991, in foreground.

nevertheless couched these moves in allusions to bodies, in practices of naming, in evocations of orifices and skins, in desire, and in the intermingling of bodies in sexuality. I focus on these issues in order to explore the gaps created when bodies are evoked but not imaged and when their transformability becomes valued. My analyses follow the development of their perspectives in the 1960s and track them through larger trajectories and, when possible, into their work of the 1970s and beyond. I use these four artists as representative of that broader preoccupation in the 1960s with colliding two seemingly contradictory priorities: on the one hand, commitments to complete abstraction and non-reference and, on the other, metaphors of the body, of sexuality, and of personhood. These four artists were also chosen for their differences in the ways in which abstraction was embraced (and sometimes contested) in the long trajectories of their practices. Loosely, the selection speaks to some of the major positions in abstract sculpture of the first half of the 1960s, such as Abstract Expressionist (Smith), Chamberlain's almost Pop embrace of the auto industry's lurid colors as a

means to update the tradition of abstract steel sculpture, assemblage and found objects (Grossman's reliefs), and Minimalist (Flavin). None of these categories are adequate to the artists' work, obviously, and they bleed into each other. Naming them so bluntly, however, gives a sense of abstract options for sculpture in the first half of the 1960s. In addition, I have chosen to focus this book on artists conventionally associated with Sixties sculpture before Postminimalism – heralded by Lucy Lippard's 1966 exhibition *Eccentric Abstraction*. Within the study of that sculpture, it is Postminimalism that has received the most attention to date with regard to issues of gender, as I discuss shortly. I chose to redirect questions of gender to artists and movements that have, previously, been seen as less amenable to it than the more expected example of Postminimalism.

The questions pursued in my case studies expand on and explore the importance given to abstraction in Jack Halberstam's formative proposition of an aesthetics of the transgender body emerging in art after modernism.¹ As I shall be discussing, there are many more artists and art-historical periods (both before and after the 1960s) that abstracted the body and made gender ambiguous. My contention is not that the artists in this study are wholly unprecedented. To the contrary, they represent episodes in a much longer history of the ways in which abstracted bodies facilitate capacities for seeing the human otherwise. These four artists were chosen because I believe that the sophistication of their practices and the complexity of the issues they raise reward sustained investigation and, in turn, mark crucial tensions in the shift from the statuary tradition to sculpture's expanded field. In their negotiations of gender mutability, their cases offer more general models for how we articulate transgender capacities in other such artworks that – like theirs – were neither created by transgender artists nor made with the primary intention of envisioning mutable and multiple genders.

These chapters do not aim at a negative critique of these artists. In this study, I work primarily with these artists' artworks and the textual productions with which they buttressed them. I closely examine archives, objects, and statements in order to show how we can recognize new meanings and new accounts of the human in their struggle with the body in the abstract. I have been committed to explicating the driving concerns of their practices while, at the same time, arguing for the semantic and identificatory possibilities that expand out from those concerns. Such generative aims drive the book's analyses, and they respond to Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's call for "reparative" interventions that multiply avenues of identification and cathexis, that offer tactics of survival, and that proliferate possibilities. As she urged about reparative readings, "What we can best learn from such

practices are, perhaps, the many ways selves and communities succeed in extracting sustenance from the objects of a culture – even of a culture whose avowed desire has often been not to sustain them."² Accordingly, the invested but self-consciously rogue readings I offer in this book demonstrate that a deep engagement with these artists' priorities and practices unfolds to reveal unforeseen reparative potential in their accounts of personhood and gender.

In the sections that follow, I outline some of the key contexts for this study. First, I focus on the parameters of sculpture, followed by a discussion of how questions of figuration were displaced into debates about anthropomorphism, one of the central questions for sculpture criticism of the 1960s. I then discuss the emergence of abstract eroticism and bodily evocations in the middle of the decade, followed by a brief summary of the role of ambiguity and androgyny in twentieth-century art. I then offer a comparison to the history of transgender issues in the 1960s and an examination of the conceptual framework of transgender capacity.

STATUES, SCULPTURE, AND PHYSICALITY

Sculpture has an activated relationship to the human body that differs significantly from pictorial and other two-dimensional modes of representation. Its physicality and three-dimensionality necessarily invoke bodily relations – even in the most patently abstract of sculptures. Of course, other media such as paintings, textiles, and photographs do this in their own ways, but sculpture has historically been patterned after and scaled in relation to the human body. When sculptures are representational, that "image" occurs in three dimensions rather than two and, consequently, shares space with the viewer who can circumambulate it and physically interact with its real volumes. A result of this is that there is not the same physical boundary as there is with a two-dimensional image. Pictorial representation involves a translation of the three-dimensional world to a new world untouchable behind the picture plane. By contrast, the condition of sculptural representation is that it is boundaryless in its physical proximity and real tactility.³ There is an immediacy and implied equivalency between the mass and volume of the sculptural object and the mass and volume of the viewer's encounter of it in shared space. Standing before a sculpture, the viewer is prompted to negotiate a series of bodily engagements, judgments of scale, incitements to tactility, and perceptions of shared environmental conditions between the sculptural body and their own. (This physical and spatial

engagement is another reason why I have considered Flavin's immersive light fields in the realm of sculpture, as he himself did initially.)

The potentials and limitations of sculpture's physicality have long confronted those who would make statues. Commonly, they have navigated these parameters by focusing on discrete bodies rather than on the representation of fully contextual scenes in which those bodies operate. Consequently, the history of sculptural production has tended to center on representations of persons, and in conventional freestanding sculpture there is no equivalent of such options for pictorial representation as landscape or still life in which figures might be absent. By contrast, sculptors focused on the human figure alone or in small groups, with the single figure dominating the sculptural genres of the ideal statue, the portrait, and the monument. For most of its history, that is, sculpture had been primarily an art of the human form in both its physical relationality and its content.⁴

Sculpture in the twentieth century explored new options, and the human figure's centrality was questioned and supplemented during the decades of modernism.⁵ Despite the fact that figuration increasingly became labeled as conservative and unmodern, versions of the human form persisted, and the formats of the statue and statuette retained their coherence after being overtaken by abstraction. Even during the highest periods of modernist abstraction there were relatively few modes of sculpture that did not somehow rely on the form and format of figuration (except for the most radical departures such as those of Vladimir Tatlin or Katarzyna Kobro and, debatably, the readymades of Marcel Duchamp). Animal bodies were adopted by artists such as Constantin Brancusi and Henri Gaudier-Brzeska as alternatives to the human form but, by and large, European and American traditions of sculpture continued to allude to or find equivalents for the human figure and its proportions. As Frances Colpitt noted, "Traditional sculpture depends on anthropomorphism to strike a bond between the spectator and the object, which accounts for the nonabstractness of most sculpture prior to the sixties."⁶

In the 1950s, the recognizable human figure was successively attacked and suppressed in sculpture. Nevertheless, the statue format continued to underwrite all but the most rigorously abstract sculpture. Even as mimetic representation was banished, sculptures continued to exhibit other defining parameters of statues: they were still predominantly freestanding, human-scale sculptural objects that shared the proportions, frontality, and structure of the human body. One can look to Rosalind Krauss's 1977 groundbreaking book, *Passages in Modern Sculpture*, for a narrative of the struggle in the medium of sculpture to defeat the statue format and its figurative valences.⁷

The teleology of her account culminated in installation, earthworks, and the Minimal and Postminimal options best represented for her by Robert Morris. This triumphal narrative was built through her careful discussions of sculptors' attempts to move beyond the coherence of the statue and its reliance on an organizing core (both formally and semantically). In that story, Smith served as the crucial transitional figure to the 1960s (an opinion I share, demanding his inclusion in this book).⁸ Krauss's polemical and magisterial account of modern sculpture evidenced the ways in which conventions and meanings of the statue continued to shadow sculpture as it moved to embrace abstraction, objects, and new materials and formats.

While the summary history of sculpture provided in the preceding paragraphs is necessarily brief and over-simplifying, it nevertheless encapsulates what I see as the predominant patterns that led up to the beginnings of sculpture's more thoroughgoing revision that started in the 1950s and exploded in the 1960s. Despite the vicissitudes of style and degrees of representation and abstraction, however, across this history of modern sculpture it was the material object's physical co-presence and spatial relations with the viewer (as both object and, potentially, image) that were defining issues.⁹ A consequence of this is that sculpture – even at its most abstract – necessarily invokes the motile body of the viewer in a direct and immediate way. As Lucy Lippard said in 1967, "Sculpture, existing in real space and physically autonomous, is *realer* than painting."¹⁰ This invocation of real bodily relations meant that even as sculptors in the 1960s started to make non-statues, bodily metaphors and equivalencies were still operative. No matter how assiduous the pursuit of abstraction and non-reference, the body still haunted sculpture as its denominator. This study focuses on sculpture for the reason that such bodily resonances and invocations accompanied abstraction in a manner more pervasive and powerful than in two-dimensional media.

The nearness of bodies to even the most adventurous departures from traditional sculpture was remarked on by Krauss in her 1977 history of modern sculpture. Writing about Minimalism, often taken to be the apogee of abstraction, and other developments such as earthworks, Krauss reminded readers:

The abstractness of minimalism makes it less easy to recognize the human body in those works and therefore less easy to project ourselves into the space of that sculpture with all of our settled prejudices left intact. Yet our bodies and our experience of our bodies continue to be the subject of this sculpture – even when a work is made of several hundred tons of earth.¹¹

The image of the human body had been left behind, perhaps, but this move opened up a wider range of modes of address to multiple bodies across the 1960s. In this decade, the human body itself became an abstraction to be evoked and activated through sculptural objects.

LATENT ANTHROPOMORPHISMS, ECCENTRIC ABSTRACTIONS,
AND OTHER "VEHICLES OF THE UNFAMILIAR" IN THE 1960S

This book is not about ambiguous human figures or generic bodies so much as the ways in which artists and viewers mapped bodily or personifying metaphors onto patently un-figurative, non-representational sculptural objects. It was in the 1960s that abstraction and non-reference became central to sculpture, and artists sought to leave any traces of the human form behind.

At the beginning of the decade, many had increasingly become disdainful of sculpture's dependence on the human figure. For instance, in 1963, Lawrence Alloway decried the state of recent sculpture, seeing its conventions as "cliché." Explaining the long tradition of modern sculpture, he argued:

One reason that the 20th century sculptors rely so heavily, and so placidly, on the human image, is that if they don't, their work may look like furniture and hardware. Because sculpture has a more substantial and literal physical existence than paint on a canvas (which has an inveterate sign-making capacity and an unquenchable potential for illusion – and these are the medium's main carriers of meaning) it is prone to object-status.¹²

He quipped that the statues of the 1950s and early years of the 1960s were "commanding symbols of almost nothing" and called for a renewed engagement with the spatial characteristics of sculpture. In a statement that could be understood to presage Minimalism's spatial address (and Alloway's own burgeoning interest in systematic art), he argued: "One of the great problems (i.e., opportunity) in sculpture, which painting does not have in the same way, is the relation of the object to our physical space."¹³ At the beginning of the 1960s, abstract sculpture struggled to be neither objects nor statues. The representation of the body – or even any bipedal figure – increasingly became suspect even as sculpture's opportunity was seen to be its activation of spatial and bodily relations.

A contradiction emerged forcefully in the 1960s between the push toward ever more extreme abstraction and sculpture's continued reliance

on and evocation of the human body. As James Meyer has recently discussed, this manifested itself most strongly in the accusations of anthropomorphism that characterized critical discourse on sculpture in that decade. Anthropomorphism became a central term of derision from all sides.¹⁴ Underlying such charges, he argued, was an attempt to retain and enhance sculpture's association with the body even as its image was banished. Summarizing this situation, Meyer contended that "During the 1960s, then, critiques of anthropomorphism and anthropocentrism typically went hand in hand. A third term was subsequently introduced into the discursive field, which I will call the *bodily*. The seminal critical debates of this period centered on the dialectic of the anthropomorphic and the bodily."¹⁵ As part of a broader antihumanist critique that informed debates on 1960s art (and Minimalism more specifically), both figuration and the attribution of human traits to objects were elided with the anthropocentric. Consequently, more extreme versions of abstraction and non-reference were pursued, and anthropomorphism became equivalent to a charge of outmoded and deluded conservatism. In the expanding field, there was little room for figures.

The hunt to eradicate the anthropomorphic among abstract artists was animated by the resurgence of representational modes among abstraction's competitors in the decade. Sculptural figuration was embraced by such artists as Paul Thek, George Segal, Edward Kienholz, and Bruce Conner. Pop Art, too, challenged the idea of abstraction and the avoidance of the figurative, most notably in the non-human anthropomorphisms resulting from Claes Oldenburg's soft gigantism.¹⁶ Faced with a burgeoning range of such representational sculptural practices, those artists who privileged abstraction or non-reference reacted by seeking to purge figural allusions and anthropomorphisms at all costs. This came to a head in debates centered on Minimalism, as Donald Judd and others attempted finally to transcend representation, convention, and allusion.

Michael Fried famously undercut Minimalism's claims that it had purged the anthropomorphic in his 1967 essay "Art and Objecthood."¹⁷ Despite the seriality and impassivity of the literalist object, Fried outlined how its human scale and obdurate presence before the viewer evoked another human: "[T]he beholder knows himself to stand in an indeterminate, open-ended – and unexacting – relation *as subject* to the impassive object on the wall or floor. In fact, being distanced by such objects is not, I suggest, entirely unlike being distanced, or crowded, by the silent presence of another *person*."¹⁸ Fried then proceeded to call out Minimalism for its anthropomorphism, using Tony Smith's human-scale, six-foot steel cube *Die* (1962) as his example (fig. 3). Fried concluded, "One way of describing what Smith



3 Tony Smith, *Die*, 1962 (fabricated 1968). Steel with oiled finish, 182.9 × 182.9 × 182.9 cm (72 × 72 × 72 in.). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; gift of the Collectors Committee 2003.77.1.

was making might be something like a surrogate person – that is, a kind of *statue*.”¹⁹ Recalling the ways in which Clement Greenberg elided the sculptural with the figurative, Fried cast the literalist object as a “statue” in order to show how its lack of resemblance to the human form nevertheless prompted the projection of the human onto it.²⁰ He quipped, “I am suggesting, then, that a kind of latent or hidden naturalism, indeed anthropomorphism, lies at the core of literalist theory and practice. The concept of presence all but says as much.”²¹

Such back-and-forth about anthropomorphism was a way of negotiating sculpture’s invocation of the bodily. As Colpitt characterized this situation, “The fact of the total abstractness of Minimal art resulted in a personification of its objects. The objects are not formally similar to human beings, yet their complete self-sufficiency encouraged the critic and spectator to treat them as other beings.”²² Writers from different positions in these debates claimed that the resemblance to the body and the statue had been finally eradicated, but they did so by arguing about how other bodily valences could be mapped onto abstract sculpture. As Meyer later remarked, “Mini-

malist sculpture alludes to and evokes the body in order to critique the anthropomorphic. A latent anthropomorphism would seem to inhabit *any* sculpture, including those works that we take to most strenuously undermine such associations.”²³

In an essay following “Art and Objecthood” by two years, Fried argued that the work of Anthony Caro achieved what Minimalism could not: an evocation of the bodily in works that bore no vestiges of the freestanding statue. Unlike literalist seriality, however, Caro captured the dynamic and lived experience of embodiment, according to Fried. He argued: “I am suggesting that it is *our* uprightiness, frontality, axiality, groundedness and symmetry – as these determine our perceptions, our purposes, the very meanings we make – which, rendered wholly abstract, are the norms of Caro’s art.”²⁴ In these, the “bodily” itself became abstracted and open-ended, producing unforclosed assignments of it to the sculptural encounter. Again, even as the format of the freestanding statue receded and new structures were proposed as alternatives, the bodily still found itself addressed and reflected in rigorously abstract sculpture.

From a far different standpoint, Jack Burnham similarly attempted to articulate the bodily capacities of entirely un-figural forms. Reflecting on the debates about anthropomorphism, he wrote in 1969:

It is important to remember that most modern abstractionist movements have rejected their predecessors on the grounds of anthropomorphism. This has consistently undercut the humanistic intention of figurative work; and it has provided new abstraction with the appearance of greater detachment and objectivity. Yet the absurdity of who is less anthropomorphic soon ends in its own logical *cul-de-sac*. The *more* obvious truth is that all art is anthropomorphic – that is, if it is interpreted not solely through appearance but as one of many extensions of human need and thought. In reality, the argument over anthropomorphism is one concerned with the priorities of different sign and symbol systems, not over the limits of mimetic imagery.²⁵

Burnham was advocating interactive structures (his example was the work of Mowry Baden) that – unlike Caro’s – literalized the experience of sculpture as tactile and motile rather than just optical. In the end, he saw how even Baden’s structures facilitated an equation of sculpture’s physical potentiality with embodiment. “Comprehension of sculpture becomes the act of being sculpture,” he concluded. Like Fried’s account of Caro’s poised abstractions, Burnham too saw how the sculpture’s three-dimensionality

necessarily opened the door for such porous identifications between body and sculpture. As Briony Fer has remarked, such questions relied on “a notion of bodily empathy that, in the language of the 1960s, was called ‘anthropomorphism’.”²⁶

This position was extended by Robert Morris, whose “Notes on Sculpture” essays were definitive for the 1960s. Whereas his early essays had called for an embodied spectator,²⁷ the fourth of this series, published in April 1969, argued for an end to sculpture as a medium. Sculpture had, for Morris, been “terminally diseased with figurative allusion” and he sketched a narrative of how even the most abstract – but still discrete and specific – objects could not escape the analogies to human bodies:

There is no question that so far as an image goes, objects removed themselves from figurative allusions. But, in a more underlying way, in a perceptual way, they did not. Probably the main thing we constantly see all at once, or as a thing, is another human figure. Without the concentration of a figure, any given sector of the world is a field.²⁸

Morris was setting the stage for his anti-form installation works and, more broadly, for a conception of artistic practice that left discrete objects behind. In this and the other “Notes on Sculpture” essays, Morris adopted a rhetorical strategy in which he pushed a logic to hyperbolic levels and adopted the absurdity of the resulting extreme position as the next evolutionary step to be promoted. The reductive or Minimalist object was not abstract or non-referential enough from this perspective. The non-statue or the abstract body offered too many allusions, and Morris consequently called for a move “Beyond Objects” (his subtitle for the essay). He continued:

The specific art object of the '60s is not so much a metaphor for the figure as it is an existence parallel to it. It shares the perceptual response we have toward figures. This is undoubtedly why subliminal, generalized, kinesthetic responses are strong in confronting object art. Such responses are often denied or repressed since they seem so patently inappropriate in the face of non-anthropomorphic forms, yet they are there. Even in subtly morphological ways, object-type art is tied to the body.²⁹

In this and the other essays from the series, Morris offered deadpan analysis that is simultaneously perspicacious and coolly parodic. Although less confrontationally than Fried, Morris took aim at Judd’s sweeping claims for his own work and, in the end, agreed with Fried’s argument about the latent

anthropomorphism of Minimalist sculpture. Morris contended that discrete sculptures and objects should be abandoned in favor of a more formless and inclusive installation-based art. Ten years later, Krauss retrospectively characterized this as a generative move into sculpture’s expanded field. That move, however, was predicated on the debates about freestanding sculpture’s inability to avoid the figure, in all its forms.

For my purposes, however, the important point to draw from these debates is the way in which those artists and critics who were proponents of sculptural abstraction and non-representation continued to find themselves arguing for sculpture’s bodiliness. The level and breadth of this discourse on sculpture sets this decade apart from earlier moments in modernism when abstract sculptures presented ambiguous bodies, as I shall discuss later. Instead, the 1960s was committed to varieties of abstraction that sought to leave the imaging of the human form behind as it nevertheless activated the body as its analogue.

Gender and sexuality were a recurring part of these debates and nowhere is that clearer than in the influential role of Lucy Lippard in advocating a more affective account of object-based abstraction. In particular, two essays outlined the potentials for seeing the bodily in relationship to genders and sexualities. In the fall of 1966, Lippard curated a much-discussed exhibition titled *Eccentric Abstraction* at Fischbach Gallery, New York, and, in November, published an essay of the same title in *Art International*.³⁰ A few months later, in spring 1967, her article on the erotic potential of abstract art, “Eros Presumptive,” was released in *Hudson Review* and subsequently revised for Gregory Battcock’s 1968 anthology *Minimal Art*.³¹

It is surprising that Lippard’s “Eros Presumptive” is rarely discussed in the literature on the writer or the decade. This is perhaps because it makes direct claims for the capacity of abstract art to activate sexuality and sensuality (in a manner, Lippard suggests, more effective than representational art). Indeed, with its focus on eroticism and bodily activations, “Eros Presumptive” sits uncomfortably among the essays in Battcock’s anthology on Minimalism. As Anne Wagner noted in her account of Battcock’s compilation, the artists whom Lippard discussed – such as Claes Oldenburg, Yayoi Kusama, Lucas Samaras, Hannah Wilke, and Jean Linder – are largely unrelated to Minimalism. Instead, she contends, “[Lippard’s inclusion of these artists] point[s] to a moment when Minimalism could be defined differently, when fantasy – even erotic fantasy – was one word for the viewer’s share.”³² It is this emphasis on the viewer’s engagement with sensuous components of abstract art and its activated internal relations that Lippard explored in her text. She argued that, “from an esthetic point of view, abstraction is

capable of broader formal power, since the shapes are not bound to represent any particular thing or coincide in scale with other forms. The experience provoked may relate to, but is not dependent upon the realistic or symbolic origins of the form.”³³ The majority of Lippard’s positive examples of the eroticism made possible by abstraction are sculpture, and her essay registers the ways in which abstract sculpture at its most extreme invoked the body even as it refused to image it. She pursued this idea of abstraction widely, and argued that non-figurative eroticism could be incited by fully formal means. This, in turn, led her (via a too-casual and problematic reference to Hindu temple sculpture) to propose that some abstract work transcended or fused gender difference:

As in the classic Indian yoni and lingam sculptures, momentary excitement is omitted in favor of a double-edged experience; opposites are witnesses to the ultimate union or the neutralization of their own opposing characteristics. Hannah Wilke’s androgynous terra cotta at the Nycata [Gallery] show, though conceptually less advanced than other works mentioned here, might also serve to illustrate this principle.³⁴

Lippard’s text, while focused on the erotic potential of abstraction, nevertheless points to larger reconsiderations of gender, here signaled through her idea of the bi-sexed or the androgynous. One must understand Lippard’s formulations as part of a larger attempt to come to terms with the ways in which abstract sculpture provided an open-ended question about how bodies and bodiliness could be related to the non-representational object. Recasting Lippard’s observations through the lens of transgender studies, one can discern an awareness that the abstract yet erotic forms that she discussed also prompted a variable and mobile account of how (and how many) genders could be mapped onto those same objects. The emphasis on the “viewer’s share,” in other words, produced the capacity for a plurality of responses to the questions of the erotic and the gendered that these sculptures posed.

In the initial publication of “Eros Presumptive” in *Hudson Review*, Lippard included the 1966 exhibition she had curated for Fischbach Gallery as one its framing examples.³⁵ Both it and the eponymous essay “Eccentric Abstraction” focused on the ways in which artists used a high degree of abstraction to incite visceral and bodily reactions. As she defined it: “The makers of what I am calling, for semantic convenience, eccentric abstraction, refuse to eschew imagination and the extension of sensuous experience while they also refuse to sacrifice the solid formal basis demanded of the best in current non-objective art.”³⁶ Relating these practices to an earlier history

of Surrealism’s emphasis on eroticism, Lippard discussed a number of New York-based and West Coast artists who continued to explore abstract, regularized forms but who allowed those forms to be modified by variable repetitions, pliable materials, and appeals to irregularity and sensuousity. For Lippard, these artists aimed to produce bodily affect – a “mindless, near visceral identification with form,” as she called it – without alluding to the human form.³⁷

As has been much discussed in the literature on this essay, Lippard followed the critical protocols of Sixties abstraction by denying the presence of any allusive or figural imagery in this work. While she later came to reject this position (and these lines), she argued in 1966:

[A] more complete acceptance by the senses – visual, tactile, and “visceral” – the absence of emotional interference and literary pictorial association, is what the new artists seem to be after. They object to the isolation of biological implications and prefer their forms to be felt, or sensed, instead of read or interpreted. Ideally, a bag remains a bag and does not become a uterus, a tube is a tube and not a phallic symbol, a semi-sphere is just that and not a breast.³⁸

These lines are most often discussed in relation to Lippard’s nascent feminism and seen as a complicit moment of denial in which sexual difference was erased.³⁹ In a later revision of her thought, Lippard came to argue that it was precisely such figurative allusions that animated the visceral engagements with object-based abstraction. It was these allusions that must be accounted for differently, she argued, if they were made by artists identified as female or male: “[T]he image of the breast used by a woman artist can now be the subject as well as object.”⁴⁰ For Lippard, this later reconsideration emerged as part of her desire to value women artists’ difference and to support imagery and themes that spoke directly to women’s experience. Rooted in the feminism of the 1970s, such an aim made sense, but – as Briony Fer has argued – the higher degree of variability and potentiality of her initial position is lost in this move.⁴¹ It was, after all, not only allusions to reproductive organs on which abstract eroticism and Eccentric Abstraction turned. These were just one part of what Lippard praised as a more open set of erotic and bodily potentials that emerged when no such part-objects were imaged. As she wrote in 1966, “I doubt that more pictures of legs, thighs, genitalia, breasts and new positions, no matter how ‘modernistically’ portrayed, will be as valid to modern experience as this kind of sensuous abstraction. Abstraction is a far more potent vehicle of the unfamiliar than figuration.”⁴²

My contention in this book is that the particular context of Sixties sculpture allowed it to be precisely such a “vehicle of the unfamiliar” with regard to the questioning of conventional genders. It emerged from the recurring debates around anthropomorphism, figural allusions, and bodily empathies. The discourse of Sixties sculpture centered on the body in the abstract, and it produced proliferative and unruly accounts of gender in which static states and binary distinctions could not be assumed. Lippard’s texts from 1966 and 1967 register such an open-endedness with regard to gender assignments that might emerge from the viewer’s encounter with these objects. But Lippard’s texts took as their starting point the supersession of other modes of Sixties sculpture that form the basis of this book’s case studies, and she cited the drawing-in-space sculpture of David Smith, assemblage, and primary structures as the movements that Eccentric Abstraction was leaving behind. Lippard herself came to recognize how her essay marked a fundamental shift in expectations for sculpture. When she revised the essay in 1971, she retracted her statements about Eccentric Abstraction and its relation to the category of sculpture. Reflecting on the rapid reconfiguration of sculpture that had accompanied the new decade, she remarked: “I no longer think that either “nonsculptural” or “antisculptural” make sense as adjectives. At the time this was written, these terms seemed the only ones to imply the radicality of the moves being made away from traditional sculpture. Now, only four years later, this radical nature can be taken for granted.”⁴³ This retraction registered how pliable and open the category of sculpture had quickly become. Her initial nomination of it as “nonsculptural,” however, was meant to signal a rejection of the traditional equation of sculpture with the statue and the figure. It is for this reason that I have preferred the term “non-statue” in characterizing the discrete human-scale sculptural object in the wake of David Smith.

Eccentric Abstraction was, in many ways, one of the most significant of watersheds in the 1960s. (In 1972, Robert Pincus-Witten remarked that “*Eccentric Abstraction*...is one of the most influential group exhibitions in recent history.”⁴⁴) It heralded, as Lippard realized just a few years later, the explosion of Postminimalism and the more radical reconfiguration of sculpture that superseded Minimalism’s reductive objects.⁴⁵ This is the same shift that Morris later declared with “Beyond Objects” and that Krauss looked back on as the emergence of the expanded field. While Minimalism has often been seen as the pivotal break in the 1960s, at the time the developments of Postminimalism seemed, to many, to be the more fundamental move away from the traditions of sculpture.⁴⁶ Postminimalism’s attitude toward reactive materials, environmental conditions of the scene of viewing,

variability in the face of seriality, and more visceral addresses to the viewer combined to make it a highly generative development that reconfigures fundamentally the expectations of sculpture “beyond objects.”

Lippard’s texts also mark a break in relation to the issues of gender and sexuality. Beyond ushering in a reprieve from the regular and uninflected forms of Minimalism, they also presaged the eruption of feminism, gender, sexuality, and embodiment – all of which became major themes of art of the next decade.⁴⁷ In regard to this book’s case studies, I placed focus on artists whose initial works (and the art-historical positions they represent) could be understood to precede the developments of Eccentric Abstraction and Postminimalism. While it would be productive to follow Lippard’s examples, I chose to address artists who might not at first seem to be related to issues of gender and who have not undergone sustained critiques of gender and sexuality in their work.⁴⁸ This has also been the reason that I have left to one side those artists associated with Lippard’s essays who have extensive art-historical literatures that deal with gender – namely, Louise Bourgeois and Eva Hesse, both of whom have come to dominate accounts of genders and bodies in Sixties sculpture.

Undoubtedly, the work of Bourgeois, Hesse, and many other sculptors of the 1960s could productively be analysed in relation to the themes of this book. For instance, both Bourgeois and Hesse vexed gender assignments with their sculptural works that evoke bodies and corporeal processes.⁴⁹ In the 1940s and 1950s, Bourgeois had a practice of making minimally anthropomorphic sculptures in which the thin sculptural bodies were given almost no articulating traits. Like Smith (and earlier than him), she often referred to these as “personages.”⁵⁰ These gave way, throughout the 1960s, to works that brought representation and figuration back into her work in the form of “part-objects.”⁵¹ Hesse’s work, too, has been discussed by Halberstam as able to “stand in here for a long tradition of work on embodiment by women that, in a way, predicted the aesthetic and physical phenomenon of transgenderism.”⁵² For Halberstam, Hesse’s sculptures are “able to make the provisionality of identity, subjectivity, and gender a universal or at least generalizable condition.”⁵³ This relates to how Hesse, as James Meyer put it, “consistently despecified the body.”⁵⁴ With such histories and descriptions in mind, both Bourgeois and Hesse could undoubtedly be re-viewed productively with the analytic framework of transgender that I use in this book, since both evidence a kind of proliferative gender assignment and unforeclosed morphological potential that is my main topic.

I have chosen, however, to avoid these two most expected examples in Sixties sculpture. Bourgeois and Hesse have become restrictively synony-

mous with questions of gender in the study of art of this period.⁵⁵ Interrogations of the relationship between sculpture and gender from the perspective of these artists have been historiographically transformative and productive, but their prominence in this regard has narrowly concentrated into their literatures the majority of examinations of gender for the entire decade. In short, it has been only a select few women sculptors whose critical reception has carried the lion's share of the discussion of gender in the study of the 1960s. My decision not to include Bourgeois and Hesse as case studies was influenced by the often reflex invocation of their names when any topic of gender in Sixties art arises. They are without a doubt important, but a claim I make in this book is that there are other artists who might not at first appear to have anything to do with gender (let alone transgender) but who also reward sustained investigation from its perspective. That is, while gender has been mentioned in relation to artists such as Smith, Chamberlain, and Flavin, it is rarely a fundamental axis of interpretation and in-depth discussions of gender are largely absent in writing about their work. This is, in fact, the case with many men artists of the decade, whose literatures often go uncomplicated by such questions. (Such an imbalance was not rectified with the fad for masculinity studies that emerged in the 1990s and that tended to reify an essentialist account of masculinity by attending to its "crisis" rather than engage in a wider analysis of gender.⁵⁶) In addition to moving beyond binary and static accounts of gender, my intention in this book has been to pursue unexpected case studies as a means to challenge the too easy concentration of questions of gender (of any kind) in the literature on the decade.

This approach has also meant that I have chosen some artists for whom such issues seem extra-intentional or unexpected. That is, they are not artists who, as Halberstam said, "adapt the nonnarrative potential of abstract art into an oppositional practice" with regard to gender and embodiment.⁵⁷ Rather, my interest in artists such as Smith, Chamberlain, and Flavin lies in their inadvertent theorization of gender's mutability and multiplicity. While committed to explicating the artists' own priorities for their work, my readings go on to supplement discussions of their professed intentions and to demonstrate how their practices can be viewed otherwise. As I demonstrate in the chapters themselves, the histories of these artists benefit from an account of gender that moves beyond binary formulations and embraces the wider set of positions and potentials that we might now refer to as transgender.

As a counterpoint to these anti-intentionalist readings, I include the chapter on Grossman both to address the relative paucity of writing on the

artist and because of the particular complexity of her version of abstracting the body as material to be remade. If her abstract relief assemblages had been better known, they could well have contributed to the literature on part-objects and gender that takes Hesse, Bourgeois, and Kusama as its organizing figures. Paradoxically, however, she returned to figuration in the late 1960s, producing the work for which she is most known – leather-bound heads. These leave the body behind to focus on the head, obscured underneath its leather coverings. I included Grossman's work because of her contradictory place in feminist histories of the 1960s and 1970s. Late in the 1960s and early in the 1970s, she was upheld as one of few successful women artists and seen as an important example for a feminist art history. Within a decade, however, she had come to occupy a somewhat uncomfortable position in feminist art histories because of her turn to figuration and her engagement with physiognomies that were taken to be male – despite her own claims that they were self-portraits. In short, the cross-gender identification that characterized her practice conflicted with the dominant trends of 1970s feminism in a way paralleled by the anxious and often combative attitude that feminism had to transsexuality and transgender positions in that decade. So, much like the men artists that I read against the grain, I found that the extrapolation of the transgender affinities of Grossman's work bring to light issues from the archive that had previously gone unrecognized.

All four of the case studies have been written with the recognition that the Sixties was also a period of transformation with regard to the idea of gender. Each of the four made work and made statements that reflected an understanding of gender as potentially detachable from the body and able to be transformed. This drew not only on a long history of bodily ambiguity in the history of modern sculpture but also the popular understanding emerging in the 1960s that gender was workable.

FROM AMBIGUITY TO OPENNESS IN MODERN SCULPTURE

Ambiguous figures and simplified morphologies are recurring features of abstraction in the visual arts. Evident from the earliest explorations in modernism, they necessarily raise questions about how such abstract figures worked in relation to gender. Abstract portraits that befuddle or code gender (think Marsden Hartley, Georgia O'Keeffe, or Pablo Picasso), hybrid bodies or couplings (like Jacob Epstein's *Rock Drill* or Rudolf Belling's *Erotik*), and attempts at figuring non-human entities (such as in Marcel Duchamp's work or Mark Rothko's "organisms") were among the ways in

which gender had been complicated in earlier modes of abstraction. In fact, modernism's stylized bodies are just one episode in a longer history of the ambiguous figure that stretches from Cycladic art through the Borghese Hermaphrodite to Aestheticism and modernism. (It is worth noting that Harry Benjamin's 1966 book *The Transsexual Phenomenon* compared photographs of patients to ancient statues of hermaphrodites in order to discuss a history of representational confusion of intersex and transsexual.⁵⁸) Within modernism, examples such as Cubist portraiture, the streamlined forms of Arp, Noguchi, or Hepworth, or the emblematic portraits of the Stieglitz Circle all similarly vexed the correlation between the nomination of the figure and non-verisimilar art.

Another aspect of this longer history of nonconforming genders in modernism may be seen in the self-fashioning of the modern artist. It has been argued that androgyny and cross-gender identification were important aspects of modernism from Aestheticism and Symbolism onward.⁵⁹ One could look to Duchamp's or Apollinaire's artistic strategies of adopting other genders or the complex genders of figures in the work of Salvador Dalí or Francis Picabia. In fact, the range and sophistication of Duchamp's use of gender in his works is still being uncovered – in particular, in relation to Duchamp's complication of authorship through his alter ego Rose Sélavy.⁶⁰

For the present study, however, the most important precedent within modernist sculpture is Constantin Brancusi. His attempts to simplify form to its most basic organic shapes (such as the egg) often relied on allusions to gender and sexuality. With his simplified figures, gender assignment was a key concern for Brancusi, and he often chose to fix gender rather than let his human forms be read as ambiguous or generic bodies. For instance, while the form of his *Torso of a Young Man* (1917–22) could be read as either totemic phallic symbol or a human figure without external genitalia, he identified it as male (fig. 4). Similarly, the simpler form of *Torso of a Young Girl* (c. 1923; fig. 5) is made figural by virtue of the titular assignment of gender to this form (it too does not have depicted external genitalia). As Anna Chave has discussed, Brancusi also sometimes sought to combine male and female into one form, as in *Adam and Eve* (1921), *Leda* (1920), or the famously phallic form of his portrait of *Princess X* (1916). This was most successful when animal and avian subjects were chosen, and Chave saw his bird sculptures as exemplary of this (fig. 6). She concluded:

In doubling, confounding, and fusing the markers of sexual identity, Brancusi breached the imposed rigidity of the gender divide and conjured the vision of an inclusive, nonhierarchical sexuality. By destabilizing



4 Constantin Brancusi, *Torso of a Young Man [II]*, 1917–22. Maple on limestone block, 48.3 × 31.5 × 18.5 cm (19 × 12³/₈ × 7³/₈ in.) on 21.5 cm (8³/₈ in.) base.

the supposed fixities of sexual positioning, he left his viewers in a vertiginous position: peering at the terrifying or exhilarating symbolic possibility of a non- or a dual sexual identity.⁶¹

Chave's account is suggestive and points to the ways in which such ideas as bisexuality, hermaphroditism, and androgyny were operative in European modernism of the early decades of the twentieth century. With his idealism, Brancusi sought to transcend the mundane, and gender was associated with human bodies and their carnality. The blunt fusion of the sexes in *Adam and Eve* tells much about the ways in which Brancusi conceived of gender as a primary trait tied to bodies and sexuality. He successfully transcended this, however, only when his idealism led him to non-human bodies (such as birds) for whom gender, at least for their human viewers, was less consequential. Brancusi's example reminds us that, for many, the nomination of the "human" has long been predicated on gender assign-



5 Constantin Brancusi, *Torso of a Young Girl [II]*, c. 1923. White marble on limestone block, 34.9 × 24.8 × 15.2 cm (13³/₄ × 9³/₄ × 6 in.) on 15.6 × 22.9 × 22.5 cm (6¹/₈ × 9 × 8³/₄ in.) base.

ment. Thus, despite the availability of *Torso of a Young Man* to readings of it as female or phallic, Brancusi reminded us that it was a young man. *Princess X*'s conflation of female portrait and phallic shape operates as a joke (as the story goes, on the sitter) or, at best, as an oscillation between two opposed readings. Despite the volleying of gender in his works depicting humans, they ultimately relied on binary definitions and domesticated ambiguity. More complex and mobile forms of genders were left for the birds.

Keeping such examples from earlier in the twentieth century in mind, this book does not argue that the 1960s was the first time that sculpture had problematized gender assignment. Rather, I show that the particular pursuits of abstraction, non-reference, and objecthood that characterize this decade amplified that complication of gender. What makes these sculptors of the 1960s especially productive for such a study are the ways in which sexuality and gender are at play in some of these practices and the ways in which that play prompts multiple, successive, non-binary, and open-ended accounts of how genders could be defined and inhabited. By con-



6 Constantin Brancusi, *Golden Bird*, 1919/1920 (base c. 1922). Bronze, stone, and wood, 217.8 × 29.9 × 29.9 cm (86 × 11³/₄ × 11³/₄ in.). Art Institute of Chicago, partial gift of The Arts Club of Chicago, restricted gift of various donors; through prior bequest of Arthur Rubloff; through prior restricted gift of William E. Hartmann; through prior gifts of Mr. and Mrs. Carter H. Harrison, Mr. and Mrs. Arnold H. Maremont through the Kate Maremont Foundation, Woodruff J. Parker, Mrs. Clive Runnells, Mr. and Mrs. Martin A. Ryerson, and various donors, 1990.88.

trast, many (but not all) of the modernist precedents rested on figural ambiguity or proposed androgyny. Such earlier instances relied, in the end, on the representation of the figure, however stylized. And when a de-sexed androgyny was not the aim, many sought to fix ambiguity and establish a conventional gender for an unconventional (but still recognizably “human”) figure. At mid-century, the ambiguous sculptural figure fed directly into humanist discourses of the post-Second World War era and into sculptors’ attempts to refashion monumentality to account for a newly activated global international political frame. Sculptors such as Barbara Hepworth and Henry Moore rose to ascendance owing to the potential of the generic figure as a vehicle for universalist aims. In their work, as well, the ambiguous body raised questions of gender assignment.⁶²

The issues of gender mutability that had previously been anchored in ambiguous or stylized human forms were joined, in the 1950s and 1960s, by other artistic investigations into nonconforming genders and bodies. Such work by artists contributed to the larger, but as yet inadequately acknowledged, history of gender’s mutability and multiplicity in the postwar

decades. One could look to the recent wave of interest in the remarkable work and life of Forrest Bess, whose abstract paintings visualized hybrid genders and hermaphroditism through ideographs. He started showing with Betty Parsons Gallery in 1950, and his work contributed to the story of Abstract Expressionism as well as to medical discourses of gender and sexuality in subsequent years.⁶³ He kept up extensive correspondences with the likes of Meyer Schapiro and John Money, and he had a retrospective at Parsons's gallery in 1962. By 1968, he was well known enough among medical professionals to be mentioned by Robert Stoller in his groundbreaking 1968 book *Sex and Gender*.⁶⁴

Other such nonconforming practices in the art world precipitated discussions of gender in larger public discourses. A particularly interesting example of this, which bears on the questions of sculpture that are the focus of this study, is offered by the American reception of the British-based sculptor Fiore de Henriquez, who had her New York debut exhibition at Sagittarius Gallery in 1957. Born intersex, de Henriquez acknowledged this in conversation with sitters and friends, and she thematized being “two sexes,” as she called it, in her sculpture.⁶⁵ For her exhibition in New York, her appearance became a main topic of press discussion because of her short haircut and androgynous clothing. Perhaps because of this unconventional self-fashioning, she quickly became a media sensation, appearing on Jack Paar's *Tonight Show* a few times, first in 1957. She was taken on by the W. Colston Leigh Agency, which booked a U.S. lecture tour for her. Since her English was not fluent, the appearances entailed mostly the demonstration of clay modeling. She traveled the country with her tour manager, Jennifer Paterson, a motorcycle-riding former girls' school matron (who later became famous as a food writer and co-host of the 1990s cooking show *Two Fat Ladies* on British television). The two did a series of U.S. lecture tours in the 1950s and early in the 1960s, and de Henriquez lived part of the year in New York at this time. During these years, de Henriquez increasingly became known for her unconventional dress and attitude more than for her sculpture. This was regularly discussed in press coverage, and she was bold in her responses, as when she told a reporter (who had commented on her hands): “A sculptor is a man, not a woman. I've become the image of a man.”⁶⁶

As with the artists in this study, these articulations of nonascribed and nonconforming genders were part of the discourse of Sixties art, and a few examples can give a sense of the ways in which this was manifested. Hesse remarked that her *Ringaround Arosie* was both “like breast and penis.”⁶⁷ In 1967, Oldenburg said of his *Drum Set*:

The Drum Set is the image of the human body. It is a body of both sexes, a bisexual subject. Anyone who has traveled with a drum set knows that it must always be disassembled and assembled, packed in boxes. The organ of the pedal, for example, the masculine appendage, is detachable, and so are the “breasts” (cymbals), and the bass (womb) has its own box. The set is like a doll.⁶⁸

These, and other examples ranging from Frank O'Hara's 1955 poem “Hermaphrodite” to Diane Arbus's 1960s photographs of gender performers, run through these decades.⁶⁹

Similarly, in the 1970s, such possibilities proliferated. Lynda Benglis produced many works in the 1970s that addressed these questions, most notably the 1976 video *The Amazing Bow Wow*, with its depiction of an intersex anthropomorphized dog. As she later said, “The idea of combining the sexes, of a hermaphrodite was not new. I wasn't presenting myself as a hermaphrodite but presenting myself as an object of humanism, so that the sexes would be considered equal.”⁷⁰ Just two years before, in 1974, Louise Bourgeois said: “We are all vulnerable in some way, and we are all male-female.”⁷¹

Gender nonconformity, drag, and transsexuality all had been regularly discussed in both popular and art press throughout the 1960s and 1970s, as I discuss later. One need only recall Charles Ludlam's Ridiculous Theater Company and Andy Warhol's Factory as two of the more visible examples of this within the art world. Warhol's films, in particular, began regularly to feature transgender actresses, so that, by the early years of the 1970s, they had become equally famous for their involvement with Warhol and for their gender nonconformity. In 1971, for instance, Jackie Curtis was already replacing the terminology of transsexuality for something that might today be called transgender or genderqueer, saying: “I never claimed to be a man, a woman, an actor, an actress, a homosexual, a heterosexual, a transsexual, a drag queen, an Academy Award winner.”⁷² Curtis and the other Warhol stars were of great interest to the press and their fame helped to provide further media exposure for transsexuality and gender nonconformity.⁷³ By the 1970s, questions of genders' mutability were frequent in contemporary art, and it is my hope that the present study will prompt reconsideration of such varied works as Vito Acconci's sex-change video performances, the work of Marisol, Adrian Piper's 1972–6 *Mythic Being*, Robert Morris's plays with gender (such as the 1963 *Cock/Cunt* or 1973–4 *Voice*), or Ana Mendieta's 1972 *Untitled (Facial Hair Transplants)*.⁷⁴ While many of these works have contributed to a feminist retelling of these decades, a transfeminist

approach could bring to light the ways in which they reconsider not just hegemonic gender difference but binary modes altogether.⁷⁵

Through its focus on deep readings of its artists' practices, this book tracks the ways in which their trajectories came to raise issues of transformable genders analogous to those that were increasingly debated in popular culture and the art world throughout the decade. Whether in the late work of Smith or the early work of Flavin, Grossman, and Chamberlain, all of these artists called on metaphors of gender and sexuality in the new practices they developed in the first half of the 1960s. With the last three artists, I examine the longer trajectory of their work into the 1970s, focusing on the ways in which they developed terms for their own practices that carried forward, mutated, and proliferated those early attachments to issues of gender and sex. That is, the book is not strictly about the early to mid-1960s alone. Rather, it grapples with the ways in which the intense period of experimentation in Sixties sculpture helped to forge these artists' particular long-term practices and their accounts of gender's plurality and mutability.

THE TRANSGENDER PHENOMENON OF THE 1960S

As the selection of artists' statements here indicates, questions about the unhinging of gender from the sexed body were circulating widely by the 1960s. This built on a longer history of these issues in American culture from the nineteenth century onward. An ever-growing literature has established that larger social, scientific, and political developments were influenced by the eruption of transgender and intersex politics and concerns over the course of the twentieth century. For instance, Halberstam has argued that female-bodied masculinities inflected and helped to define mainstream conceptions of masculinity throughout the modern era.⁷⁶ Elizabeth Reis has shown that the medical establishment's concern about how to locate gender in the body of intersex infants underwrote the advances in the science of gender and spurred larger cultural accounts of gender from the nineteenth century onward.⁷⁷ Similarly, Joanne Meyerowitz has established that transsexuality was fundamental in developing a popular discourse that distinguished sexuality from sex and gender.⁷⁸ Drawing on these studies, Paul B. Preciado has offered a damning account of the pharmaceutical and medical technologies of gender in the second half of the twentieth century.⁷⁹ Leslie Feinberg has championed a long history of activists and "transgender warriors."⁸⁰ Stryker has proven, in her groundbreaking *Transgender History*, that

transgender issues have been at the core of many social movements in the postwar decades.⁸¹ These studies also contribute to a body of literature that is bringing to light transgender and intersex histories that had been subsumed into lesbian and gay histories or overlooked or obscured altogether.⁸² Indeed, a galvanizing issue for the academic discipline of transgender studies has been a resistance to the uncritical appropriation of transgender experience into queer studies and queer theory.⁸³

In American culture, as I have already suggested in the Preface, transsexuality became a part of popular discourse in the wake of the international headlines of the Christine Jorgensen story in 1952. As Stryker remarked, "In a year when hydrogen bombs were being tested in the Pacific, war was raging in Korea, England crowned a new queen, and Jonas Salk invented the polio vaccine, Jorgensen was the most written-about topic in the media."⁸⁴ Popular culture continued to feature transsexuality, culminating in such milestones as the *New York Times* front-page story in 1966 or the formal instatement of gender testing at the 1968 Mexico City Olympics. These mainstream stories were fueled by pulp novels and tabloid papers, both of which kept transsexuality in their headlines throughout the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. As Meyerowitz noted about these attempts to whip up sensationalism and scandal, "From the early 1960s on, tabloid newspapers and pulp publishers produced a stream of articles and cheap paperback books on mtf[s] [male-to-female transsexuals] who had worked as female impersonators, strippers, or prostitutes."⁸⁵ The transsexual performer Hedy Jo Star had published her memoirs in 1962 and wrote an advice column for the *National Insider*. Nancy Bernstein, who ran a "charm school for transsexuals" on the Upper East Side in New York, later told the *Village Voice* that she had been doing such work since 1959.⁸⁶ The cultural fascination with transgender potential did not just fuel interest in Warhol's stars but also centered on such bestselling novels as Hubert Selby Jr.'s *Last Exit to Brooklyn* (1957, republished in 1961 and 1964) or Gore Vidal's *Myra Breckinridge* (1968).⁸⁷ What these events make clear is that a general, and continuing, concern emerged in the 1960s around the newly publicized ability to change sex and to unhinge gender from it.

Nevertheless, this history is still often suppressed or inadequately known in many accounts of the decade, and certainly within art history. For the benefit of readers, I have compiled a selective and partial list of events punctuating transgender history based on the required reading that is Stryker, Meyerowitz, and Reis's more extensive narratives. This abbreviated list demonstrates how popular, scientific, and political arenas registered a newly visible transgender presence in American culture. For convention's

sake, I start at the Jorgensen headlines, include just a few events of the 1950s, then focus on the 1960s, ending in 1970. This is just one slice of a longer and ongoing history (and historical revision).

- 1952 • 1 Dec: Christine Jorgensen makes international front-page news for having sex reassignment surgery. The *New York Daily News* headline is “Ex-GI Becomes Blonde Beauty.” Her story was propagated by *American Weekly*, which paid Jorgensen \$20,000 for an exclusive interview that became a feature story. She becomes one of the most famous people of the 1950s.
- 1953 • Harry Benjamin publishes his groundbreaking article “Transvestism and Transsexuality” in the *International Journal of Sexology*.⁸⁸
 - Ed Wood releases his exploitation film *Glen or Glenda?* (originally titled *I Changed My Sex!*), featuring Bela Lugosi.
- 1955 • John Money begins to develop the term “gender role.” This is taken up in subsequent articles by him and Joan and John Hampson.⁸⁹
- 1957 • Fiore de Henriquez makes appearances on Jack Paar’s *Tonight Show*.
- 1959 • May: in Los Angeles, the late-night coffeehouse Cooper’s Donuts is raided by police who start arresting the drag queens who frequented it. These and other patrons resist and the incident ends with a conflict between police and protesters in the street. The novelist John Rechy was among the patrons.
- 1962 • The Gender Identity Research Clinic is founded at University of California Los Angeles.
 - *The National Insider* runs a series of autobiographical writings by transsexual nightclub entertainer Hedy Jo Star; published the following year as a book titled “*I Changed My Sex!*”; Star starts writing an advice column for the tabloid.⁹⁰
- 1964 • The novel *Last Exit to Brooklyn*, by Hubert Selby, Jr., is republished to critical acclaim and controversy for its depiction of lower-class life in the 1950s. It features a transgender character, Georgette. The novel had previously appeared in 1957 and 1961 but received a wider critical and popular reception on its 1964 release.
 - Robert Stoller and Ralph Greenson of the University of California at Los Angeles coin the term “gender identity.”
 - Reed Erickson, an industrial magnate and female-to-male transsexual, establishes Erickson Educational Foundation, which

becomes a major funding source for medical and social research into transsexuality.⁹¹

- 1965 • In April and May, protesters stage picket lines and sit-ins at Dewey’s coffeehouse in Philadelphia because of its refusal to serve the transgender and gay clientele that had been frequenting it since the 1940s.
 - Doctors at Johns Hopkins University, long a center for the study of intersex conditions, form a committee on gender reassignment and agree to perform their first surgery, on Phyllis Avon Wilson. By November 1966, they had performed ten such surgeries (five transsexual men and five transsexual women).
- 1966 • Harry Benjamin publishes his book *The Transsexual Phenomenon*, which has an immediate impact on medical and social fields.⁹²
 - The Compton’s Cafeteria Riot occurs in San Francisco in response to police harassment of drag queens and transwomen.
 - Johns Hopkins Medical School Gender Identity Clinic (GIC) is founded.
 - 4 Oct: Johns Hopkins GIC’s first patient, Phyllis Avon Wilson, is written about in *New York Daily News* gossip column: “Making the rounds of the Manhattan clubs these nights is a stunning girl who admits she was male less than a year ago...”
 - 21 November: *The New York Times* runs front-page story: “A Changing of Sex by Surgery Begun at Johns Hopkins.” This story is followed by major articles in *Time* on 2 December and, on 5 December, in *Newsweek* and *U.S. News & World Report*.⁹³
- 1967 • Jorgensen’s long-anticipated memoir is published.⁹⁴ She begins to publicize it with a radio interview (conducted in 1966) with Richard Lamparski for New York’s radio station WBAI. The 1968 paperback edition sells more than 400,000 copies.⁹⁵
 - *Esquire*’s April issue includes a nine-page article on “The Transsexual Operation.”⁹⁶
 - Northwestern University begins a gender treatment and study program.
- 1968 • The International Olympic Committee formally adopts gender testing for Olympians at the Mexico City Games. It had used testing on a more experimental basis for the Winter Games in Grenoble.
 - To publicize the paperback release of her autobiography, Jorgensen goes on a twenty-city book tour of the U.S., which

includes appearances on the Steve Allen Show and the Merv Griffin Show.

- Gore Vidal publishes his bestselling novel *Myra Breckinridge*.
 - Candy Darling and Jackie Curtis make their film debuts in Andy Warhol's movie *Flesh*, directed by Paul Morrissey.
 - Stanford University Gender Reorientation Program (later called the Gender Identity Clinic) is established.
 - Robert Stoller's *Sex and Gender* is published. This book leads to the popularization of the notion of "gender identity."⁹⁷
 - Esther Newton completes a dissertation at the University of Chicago on drag queens and gender performance, focusing on drag shows she studied in New York City, Chicago, and Kansas City from 1965. It was published in 1972 as the groundbreaking *Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America*.⁹⁸
- 1969 • Richard Green and John Money's field-establishing anthology, *Transsexualism and Sex Reassignment*, is published by Johns Hopkins University Press.⁹⁹
- Transgender patrons of the Stonewall Inn are the first to resist a police raid, sparking a riot in the streets of Greenwich Village, New York. The Stonewall Riots became the central catalysing event for the gay rights movement.
- 1970 • After a sit-in at New York University, Sylvia Rivera and Marsha P. Johnson found Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (STAR) to organize transgender youth.¹⁰⁰
- Transsexual Action Organization (TAO) is founded in Los Angeles.
 - Jointly with the Florida Transvestite-Transsexual Action Organization and the New York Femmes Against Sexism, STAR issues a manifesto demanding such action as the abolition of laws prohibiting cross-dressing (some in place since the nineteenth century), free access to hormone treatment and surgery, and the legal right to live as a gender of one's choosing.

Stryker has called the Sixties the decade of "transgender liberation" because of the explosion of social movements, medical research, and political action that centered on transgender issues during these years. As she has remarked, "By the early 1970s, transgender political activism had progressed in ways scarcely imaginable when the 1960s had begun."¹⁰¹ She also argues that a widespread backlash occurred in 1973 when the American Psychiatric Association removed homosexuality from its list of disorders in its *Diagnostic*

and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM). This event, combined with other cultural moves to retract the progressivism of the 1960s, resulted in the suppression of transgender visibility and politics. Mainstream forms of feminism became increasingly anxious about trans and queer forms of gender expression. In addition to the homophobia in the ranks, a transphobia extended to MTF transsexuals who were cast as enemies to cisgendered women's struggles.¹⁰² The seeds were sewn for decades of divisive debates in feminist communities about the participation of butches, transmen, and transwomen.¹⁰³ In addition, the gay liberation movement of the 1970s distanced itself from gender variance in its quest to argue that homosexuality was normal and deserving of legal protection. With this move, the transsexual and gender variant members of what was an ostensibly more inclusive "gay" community became ostracized precisely for their complication of normative gender roles (which gay and lesbian assimilationists supported in their attempts to prove the equality of recombined, but still binary, sexual orientations). In many ways, the widespread belief in the "newness" of transgender issues in the late twentieth century derives from the period of backlash and suppression in the 1970s when more varied accounts of the recent past were recast or edited. To recall Butler's words from the Preface, "Because the norms governing reality have not admitted these forms to be real, we will, of necessity, call them 'new.'"¹⁰⁴ It is for good reason that Stryker nominates the 1960s until 1973 as the period of transgender liberation and political flourishing. This study also follows that period in seeing the open questions about gender's relationship to figures and bodies as characterizing the 1960s.

My reason for going into such depth about this larger cultural context is to refute the misconceptions that transgender issues are new or that questions of mutable genders were unknown to Americans of the 1960s. Quite the contrary, popular stories of transsexuality eroded conventional beliefs in the immutability of sexual difference and contributed to the decade's cultural upheavals. In a decade when the idea of gender emerged and was transformed radically, why would one not see in art's history of negotiating the figure and of personhood a parallel openness or unfixity? I do not make the claim that there is a smoking gun or direct link between the popular or specialized discourses of transsexuality and the artists' practices under consideration (though I should mention that Grossman, in conversations with me, has brought up Christine Jorgensen and *Myra Breckinridge* independently and unprompted¹⁰⁵). My point is, I hope, a larger one: that the perspective of transgender history compels us to look widely to moments when genders and bodies were conceived of as mutable and

multiple. It is exactly this capaciousness that emerged from the particular history of abstraction's collisions with metaphors of the body and personhood in this tumultuous decade. The sculpture of the 1960s offers one of many episodes in a larger story of the ways in which genders, bodies, and persons were considered otherwise.

The one admitted anachronism is my usage of the term "transgender." As has been discussed by such scholars as Stryker and David Valentine, this term gained currency only in the 1990s.¹⁰⁶ It came into usage to refer more broadly to the range of gender variance, including but not limited to transsexuality. The term's popularity grew because it was argued to be more inclusive.¹⁰⁷ Also, it enabled (as with Stryker's formulation of it as "away from an unchosen" gender) an affirmation of those lives that did not accord with binary or dimorphic models.¹⁰⁸ Such an inclusivity, however, invariably leads to a leveling of individuality and difference, and the term continues to be debated for its adequacy to the range of options it is said to describe.¹⁰⁹ Given its limitations, it has nevertheless proven both politically and intellectually efficacious as a formation under which diverse modes of gender nonconformity can coalesce. In this, I again follow Stryker's justification for its use in American history before the 1990s. As she argued in the introduction to *Transgender History*:

I use the word "transgender" as a shorthand way of talking about a wide range of gender variance and gender atypicality in periods before the word was coined, and I sometimes apply it to people who might not apply it to themselves. Some butch women or queeny men will say that they are not transgender because they do not want to change sex. Some transsexuals will say that they are not transgender because they do. There is no way of using the word that doesn't offend some people by including them where they don't want to be included or excluding them from where they do not want to be included. And yet, I still think the term is useful as a simple word for indicating when some practice or identity crosses gender boundaries that are considered socially normative in the contemporary United States. Calling all of these things transgender is a device for telling a story about the political history of gender variance that is not limited to any one particular experience.¹¹⁰

Similarly, this study uses the term "transgender" to highlight and refine accounts of genders' mutabilities, pluralities, and temporalities as they were proposed in the practices of the artists under consideration here.

The necessary (and enabling) anachronism of mobilizing "transgender" to bring to light a long-running history of gender variance has been widely

discussed in transgender studies. In one of the founding texts of the field, Halberstam's *Female Masculinity*, the idea of "perverse presentism" was proposed as a willing embrace of anachronism in the service of bringing lived diversity and complexity in history to light. Halberstam's groundbreaking book sought to tell the history of masculinities adopted by female-bodied individuals. This history was distinguished from that of a history of sexuality, and Halberstam examined such roles as the tribade and the female husband – among others present in both literature and history – as recognizable and repeated historical phenomena that demanded to be understood primarily in terms of gender rather than sexuality. Halberstam argued for a model "that avoids the trap of simply projecting contemporary understandings back in time, but one that can apply insights from the present to conundrums of the past."¹¹¹ This study is inspired by the historical approach offered by Halberstam in this formulation, and I use the term "transgender" to register moments of gender's plurality and temporality as they are manifested in the historical record. As Halberstam has written elsewhere in *Female Masculinity*, "Transgender discourse in no ways argues that people should just pick up new genders and eliminate old ones or proliferate at will because gendering is available as a self-determining practice; rather, transgender discourse asks only that we recognize the nonmale and nonfemale genders already in circulation and presently under construction."¹¹²

Transgender lives are already present and already historical, and it should be remembered that the recognition of the mutability and multiplicity of genders in academic discourse is a response to and an activation of that history. Similarly, Gayle Salamon has argued in support of the lived plurality of genders in history and at the present moment, writing that "Genders beyond the binary of male and female are neither fictive nor futural, but are presently embodied and lived."¹¹³ This book does not presume to write a history of transgender art, but I do claim that the history of art is fundamentally enriched and clarified when we put into action the recognition that gender has a complex, temporal, and exponential relationship to individual human bodies.

Transgender, in these new developments and in the present book, signals a commitment to do justice to narratives of variance and specificity in the lived experience of gender and in its deployments as an axis of meaning around which norms are debated. Energized by the wider community and more capacious critique that this term afforded, the discipline of transgender studies has grown rapidly in recent decades to offer a dynamic and broad recasting of biopolitics.¹¹⁴ Similarly, the emergence of a distinctly intersex history and politics has paralleled transgender history in its critique

of the historical record's blindness to and willful erasure of non-dimorphic bodies and atypical sexual development. In keeping with these historical revisions, this book sees in the particularities of abstract sculpture accounts of gendered embodiment that exceed binary and dimorphic models. It is both methodologically and historiographically urgent to allow such capacities present in the historical record to be identified and cultivated.

TRANSGENDER CAPACITY

A central aim of this book is to argue for the transgender capacity of abstract sculpture through detailed engagements with the archive of artists' works and statements.¹¹⁵ Through an analysis of their art-theoretical priorities and their stated engagements with gender and sexuality, I show how artists arrived at positions where their work offered accounts of multiplying genders, mutable morphologies, and successive states of personhood – even if these accounts might be alien or anathema to them in their own lives. Because I believe that transgender studies demands a widespread revision of the ways in which genders, bodies, and figures must be viewed historically, I have concerned myself not with artists' expressed intentions with regard to these issues but rather with the capaciousness that their practices affords.

A capacity is both an “active power or force” and an “ability to receive or maintain; holding power” (*OED*). A capacity manifests its power as potentiality, incipience, and imminence. Only when exercised do capacities become fully apparent, and they may lie in wait to be activated.

Transgender capacity is the ability or the potential for making visible, bringing into experience, or knowing genders as mutable, successive, and multiple. It can be located or discerned in texts, objects, cultural forms, situations, systems, and images that support an interpretation or recognition of proliferative modes of gender nonconformity, multiplicity, and temporality. In other words, transgender capacity is the trait of those many things that support or demand accounts of gender's dynamism, plurality, and expansiveness.

The dimorphic model of sex and the binary account of gender – not to mention the assertion of their static natures – are never adequate ways of knowing the sophisticated and divergent modes of existence that people enact. Such strictures always encode their own possibilities for collapse and deconstruction, and transgender capacity erupts at those moments when such reductive norms do not hold.

The most important feature of transgender capacity is that it can be an unintended effect of many divergent decisions and conditions. That is, a transgender critique can be demanded of a wide range of texts, sites, systems, and objects – including those that, at first, seem unrelated to transgender concerns and potentialities. A capacity need not be purposefully planted or embedded (though of course it may be), and it does not just result from the intentions of sympathetic or self-identified transgender subjects. It may emerge at any site where dimorphic and static understandings of gender are revealed as arbitrary and inadequate. Transgender phenomena can be generated from a wide range of positions and competing (even antagonistic) subjects, and it is important to recognize that a transgender hermeneutic can and should be pursued at all such capacitating sites.

This concept's usefulness is primarily methodological and is meant as a tool for resisting the persistent erasure of the evidence of transgender lives, gender diversity, non-dimorphism, and successive identities. Its questions are valid to many areas of scholarly inquiry, including such different fields as biology, sociology, and economics. It is a retort to charges of anachronism and a reminder to search widely for the nascence of transgender critique. With regard to historical analysis, transgender capacity poses particularly urgent questions, since it is clear that there is a wealth of gender variance and nonconformity that has simply not been registered in the historical record. Without projecting present-day understandings of transgender identities into the past, one must recognize and make space for all of the ways in which self-determined and successive genders, identities, and bodily morphologies have always been present throughout history as possibilities and actualities.¹¹⁶ Dimorphic and static definitions of gender and sexual difference obscure such diversity and facilitate the obliteration of the complex and infinitely varied history of gender nonconformity and strategies for survival. To recognize transgender capacity is not to equate all episodes of potential but rather to allow the recognition of their particularity and to resist the normative presumptions that have enforced their invisibility.

Transgender epistemologies and theoretical models fundamentally remap the study of human cultures. Their recognition of the mutable and multiple conditions of the apparatus we know as gender has wide-ranging consequences. That is, once gender is understood to be temporal, successive, or transformable, all accounts of human lives look different and more complex. It would be a mistake to limit this powerful epistemological shift to clearly identifiable transgender topics and histories. While transgender subjects and experience must remain central and defining, the lessons of transgender critique demand to be applied expansively.

Across the disciplines, there is much evidence of the limitations of static and dimorphic models of genders, identities, and relations. One must search for and be attentive to transgender capacities in both expected and unexpected places. Tracking them is a hermeneutic rather than an iconographic task, and the conceptual space of gender transformability erupts anywhere that dimorphism is questioned, mutability becomes a value, or self-creation becomes a possibility. While they are most readily located in the study of the representation of human bodies and experiences, transgender capacities can be located in such topics as abstract art, rhetorical forms, digital cultures, technologies of complex systems, economic ecologies, and histories of scientific discovery. In these areas and beyond, there are innumerable forms and modes of transgender capacity still to be found, imagined, or realized.

The concept of transgender capacity provides a supple and adaptive model through which to re-interrogate archives and artworks, and it is particularly helpful when accounting for abstract art's potentiality and openness. It is in accord with Butler's position that "critique is understood as an interrogation of the terms by which life is constrained in order to open up the possibility of different modes of living; in other words, not to celebrate difference as such but to establish more inclusive conditions for sheltering and maintaining life that resists models of assimilation."¹¹⁷ Excavating transgender capacity is a means of cultivating such expanded semantic spaces and proliferative identificatory sites in the historical record and in current methodological debates.

SEXUALITY AND GENDERS' MULTIPLICATION

While the central aim of this book is focused on gender and on demonstrating how abstract sculpture can support and call for accounts of it as successive and multiple, this is also a book about sexuality. These two categories through which we make sense of lived experience and habitual embodiments are inextricably intertwined. Indeed, as David Valentine has noted, their distinction as separate and discrete categories is a historical development of the twentieth century that "results in a substitution of an analytic distinction for actual lived experience."¹¹⁸ A critique of queer politics and queer theory has been that both largely seek to trouble sexuality while leaving binary and deterministic models for gender largely intact. By contrast, transgender, as Stryker has argued, disrupts this homonormativity just as much as it does heteronormativity, and sexualities become widened and remapped when genders are understood as mutable and multiple.¹¹⁹

Nevertheless, it is also important to resist the view that transgender is merely equivalent to non-normative sexualities, since gender's transformations and the particularity of transgender experience both have a history of being co-opted (and made invisible) by queer politics.¹²⁰

Keeping these historical and historiographic issues in mind, I nevertheless came to realize how much my historical cases demanded attention to sexuality. As I investigated the history of these artists' practices and statements about gender, I realized that all of them had been catalysed by a recognition of sexuality. That is, the narratives about these artists' production of accounts of gender's mutability and plurality began with a confrontation with sexual themes and metaphors. For this reason, this book also deals extensively with questions of sexuality and sexual identities (of many kinds), and its methodological and theoretical touchstones come from both transgender studies and queer studies. I found that non-normative sexualities were themselves figured (in the rhetorical sense) as a means of grappling with gender's multiplicity and mutability. Further, while transgender studies was galvanized by a rejection of the appropriation of trans lives in queer theory of the 1990s, subsequent positions in both transgender studies and queer studies have sought to attend to the shared issues and overlapping communities without equating them or, for that matter, sexuality and gender more broadly. As Salamon has argued,

Insisting on the radical separability and separateness of sexual orientation and gender identity overlooks the ways in which these two categories are mutually implicated, even when they are not mutually constituting. That is, even when the trajectory of one's desire cannot be predicted by one's gender, it surely is the case that my desire is experienced through my gender and that a strict parsing runs the risk of impoverishing both categories.¹²¹

Owing to this mutual constitution, sexuality often (though not exclusively) invokes the image and the idea of the relations of genders and bodies. As Stryker has argued, "Gendering practices are inextricably enmeshed with sexuality. The identity of the desiring subject and that of the object of desire are characterized by gender. Gender difference undergirds the homo/hetero distinction. Gender conventions code permissible and disallowed forms of erotic expression, and gender stereotyping is strongly linked with practices of bodily normativization."¹²² Many invocations of sexuality imply the possibility of multiplicity or, at least, coupling. Queer and divergent sexualities usher in a disruption by asking the question of how and why same genders could couple. Especially when attached to works of sculpture that evoked

but refused to image human bodies, the injection of sexuality set in play a hypothesizing of genders and their relations.

The narratives in the case studies were often sparked by the recognition or invocation of sexuality or sexual relations: Flavin's allegorization of the homosexual as the figure of illusionism, Chamberlain's reliance on an orgiastic and polymorphous sexuality as a metaphor for his artistic practice, Grossman's autopenetrating *Ali Stoker*, or Smith differentiating himself from O'Hara's personification of his own works. While, ultimately, the trajectories of these artists' practice center on gender as the key element for personhood and propose its multiplications, it was the initial confrontation with sexuality – often, a non-normative sexuality – that set in motion a calculus of where and how conventional genders fit.

The effects of the negotiation of sexuality in relation to the abstract body, in other words, produced multiple, competing, and possibly infinite propositions for the ways in which genders could be imagined in that relation. Transgender capacity does not derive from sexuality. Rather, the categorical disruption caused by queer or polyamorous sexualities produces a need to account for gender's already existing multiplicity and potentiality. Especially in the formative decade of the 1960s when the discourse of transgender politics was differentiating itself from the politics of sexuality, the axes of gender and sexuality often allowed each other to be seen as complex and varied rather than simple or singular. For me, this is one reason why I believe that the cisgendered artists on whom I focus in this book found themselves making works that spoke of genders' non-binary multiplicity and transformability. Non-normative sexualities demanded a new conjugation of relations and recombinations of genders, none of which could be secured to an image of the human form with the abstract bodies offered by non-representational sculpture. It was this catalysing potential of the erotic that Lippard, in "Eros Presumptive," first attempted to articulate for Sixties abstraction and its activation of bodily empathies.

As I show in the case studies, it is the departure from a focus on sexuality, however, that affords the potential to make bigger claims about personhood's successive states and gender's exponential multiplication. For instance, despite Flavin's concern with the figure of the homosexual in 1962 and 1963, his subsequent practice arrived at an account of transformable personhood by engaging more broadly with how literalist objects could be personalized and made adaptive. Chamberlain came to admit that "everybody's both" genders, in part, because he had proposed a thoroughgoing mash-up and multiplication of genders as the best way to describe his patently abstract "fit." These examples point to a more general issue for the study of nonascribed and

transformable genders: namely, that sexuality (and, in particular, disagreements or distinctions between individuals' sexualities) can serve as a catalyst for proposing or recognizing the possibility of other, multiple, or successive genders. A focus solely on sexuality (even queer sexuality) cannot adequately describe those genders, those lives, or those transformations, but it does illuminate the need for new accounts of personhood that can.

AN EXPANDED FIELD

Rather than attempt to survey the divergent paths of sculpture in this decade, this book charts one trajectory through in-depth case studies of individual artists. Smith, as the widely accepted leader of American sculpture at the end of the 1950s, begins the book, and it is his continued negotiation of the statuary tradition in the face of his increasingly abstract and unmonolithic constructions that set the tone for the 1960s. Focusing on a 1964 interview with the poet and curator O'Hara, I discuss how Smith found himself viewing his own sculptures through O'Hara's eyes, forcing him to face (and reject) their gender ambiguity. I examine how a seemingly minor joke from this televised interview was recast as a recurring (and erroneous) explanatory statement in subsequent accounts of his work. I then turn to Chamberlain, the abstract sculptor who is often understood to have taken up Smith's mantle as the sculptor of metal. His brash accumulated sculptures signaled a further leap from the artisanal sculptural materials into the found and the mass-produced, and I expand on the gendered and sexualized metaphors he provided as an explanation of his process of fitting parts together to make new forms. From there, I move to another artist, Grossman, who used everyday materials, old leather garments, to produce abstract assemblages that ultimately led her to turn to figuration. I discuss Grossman's many statements about cross-gender identification and use them to assess her process of reworking parts – that is, making sculptures from old garments made from the skins of animals. I then analyse her turn to "figuration" late in the 1960s as another means of abstracting the body. Giving an account of her contentious reputation in the 1970s, I discuss how Grossman's work was characterized by an open account of genders' multiplicity that went misrecognized as male-identified. And, finally, I examine the logics of interchangeability and naming in Dan Flavin's work. While not conventionally "sculpture" (like most Minimalism), Flavin's works nevertheless continue with the adoption of the mass-produced objects (fluorescent lights) redeployed as art objects. More importantly, however, I look at the development

of installation practices in Flavin's work, signaling one of the major examples of the new practices that ultimately produced the richness of example on which Krauss drew for her essay in the late 1970s. My focus in that chapter is on Flavin's use of titling and its effects on his modular interchangeable medium. Naming calls up a question of personhood and its nominations, and Flavin's work developed its systemic interchangeability out of a performative usage of the dedication as title.

As for the title of this book, I adopt Krauss's term "expanded field" both for its specificity and its allusiveness. While the term is often applied to other areas, I use it to invoke the particular conditions for which Krauss's essay sought to account – namely, the dissolution of the statuary tradition into a moment where sculpture could no longer be defined by recourse to a tradition but rather through a coordination of its contemporary negations and counter-terms.¹²³ While the intention of her essay was to derail historicist attempts to explain new formations as effects of a lineage of the medium of sculpture, it has come, as well, to characterize a particular historical moment at which such transformations were retrospectively described.¹²⁴ My deployment of this term in the title points to this as the condition of sculpture throughout the 1960s and into the 1970s. The abstract body, the non-statue, the dedicated literalist object, and other contenders for sculpture's successor all contributed to the movement into the field that Krauss described.

In her compelling analysis of the text and the receptions of it, Eve Meltzer has argued that the appeal of Krauss's "expanded field" exceeds the terms of its argument and that its users often ignore its methodological aims.¹²⁵ I agree with her reservations about the vulgar overuse of the term. Nevertheless, I could think of no more succinct way to describe what happened to gender in the 1960s. After years of erosion of their boundaries, the binary categories of male and female became, in this decade, newly visible as porous, mutually defining, and productive of unforeseen positions through their selective combinations or negations. Gender, like sculpture in Krauss's analysis, was definitively revealed to be not an essential category or transhistorical constant. Rather, it was shown to be contingent, workable, and defined in relation to an open topography of mutually defining and interdependent positions. As Krauss said about sculpture, "What is important here is that we are not dealing with an either/or...but with both/and."¹²⁶ The value of Krauss's structuralist description is that it demands that we see, in other historical moments, the particular set of synchronic exclusions, negations, and affinities through which categories were understood, defined, and performed. The historical phenomenon of a more open-ended, avail-

able, and expansive field of options that happened to both sculpture and gender in the 1960s, in other words, was made visible by – and, in turn, was accelerated by – an approach that attended to hybrids, double negations, synergies, and other non-binary proliferations.

This book offers deep readings of its artists' practices, statements, works, and archives in order to draw out both their historical complexity in relation to genders and sexualities and, perhaps more importantly, to cultivate from them a set of potentialities about how art can view gender and personhood otherwise. These two aims are not at cross-purposes, and I show how these artists' engagements with abstraction prompted them to offer their works as more capacious (and capacitating) accounts of the human and of art. Rooted in the archive and reparative in attitude, these case studies argue for these artists' practices as well as for their contemporary relevance as theoretical objects that posit openness and possibility for conceiving of genders. With regards to such a goal of expanding accounts of potential, Butler once remarked: "Some people have asked me what is the use of increasing possibilities for gender. I tend to answer: Possibility is not a luxury; it is as crucial as bread. I think we should not underestimate what the thought of the possible does for those for whom the very issue of survival is most urgent."¹²⁷

The cultivation of possibility is an ethical and political, not just a theoretical, aim. The artists I discuss offered abstract bodies and, with them, open accounts of personhood's variability and possibility. Their sculptures do this by moving away from the human form and the rendering of the body. Rather, they figure it in the abstract. That is, these works evoke the concept of the body without mimesis, producing a gap between that calling forth of the human and the presentation of artworks that resolutely refuse to provide an anchoring *image* of a body. In that gap, there grew new versions of genders, new bodily morphologies, and a new attention to the shifting and successive potentials of these categories. Activated by the conventions of sculpture's attachment to the human body, these abstractions posited unforclosed sites for identifying and cultivating polyvalence. As the predicate for nominating the human, gender was the operative question that these artists arrived at in their attempts to make sense of these abstractions of the body and of personhood. Each of these artists pursued this spaciousness as part of the development of their practices, and their individual trajectories mirror and contribute to the widening awareness in popular culture of gender's mutability and multiplicity. Both sculpture and gender moved into fields that were, by the end of the decade, expanded.

NOTES

PREFACE

1 From the preface to Gregory Battcock, ed., *Minimal Art: A Critical Anthology* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1968), 36. Emphases original.

2 Rosalind Krauss, "Sculpture in the Expanded Field," *October* 8 (Spring 1979): 30–44. See the Introduction for further discussion of this text.

3 While the previous decades had seen an increasing disentanglement of gender from a deterministic equation with the sexed body, developments in the 1950s and 1960s propelled it forward. Theories of researchers into intersex conditions such as those of John Money or Robert Stoller filtered from specialist to wider cultural discourses in that period, popularizing the idea of gender identity's multiple determinants. See Elisabeth Reis, *Bodies in Doubt: An American History of Intersex* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); Joanne Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuality in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2002).

4 The report that broke the news first was B. White, "Ex-GI Becomes Blonde Beauty: Operations Transform Bronx Youth," *New York Daily News*, 1 December 1952, 1.

5 "New Sex Switches," *People Today*, 5 May 1954. Clipping reproduced in Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed*, pl. 8.

6 Harry Benjamin, *The Transsexual Phenomenon* (New York: Julian Press, 1966).

7 Thomas Buckley, "A Changing of Sex by Surgery Begun at Johns Hopkins," *New York Times*, 21 November 1966, 1ff; "A Change of Gender," *Newsweek*, 5 December 1966, 73; "Surgery: A Body to Match the Mind," *Time*, 2 December 1966, 52; "Sex-change Operations at a U.S. Hospital," *U.S. News & World Report*, 5 December 1966, 13; Thomas Buckley, "The Transsexual Operation," *Esquire* 67, no. 4 (April 1967): 111–15, 205–8.

8 While this is the first book-length study to draw extensively on transgender studies as a method for the discipline of art history, there is a growing number of essay-length interventions that have dealt with visual art from a transgender studies perspective, beginning with the formative arguments that can be found in individual chapters in Jay Prosser, *Second Skins: The Body Narratives of Transsexuality* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998) and J. Jack Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives* (New York University Press, 2005). In addition to these and other texts referenced throughout the endnotes to this book, some recent contributions to art-critical writing from a transgender studies perspective include Lucas Crawford, "Breaking Ground on a Theory of Transgender Architecture," *Seattle Journal for Social Justice* 8, no. 2 (May 2010): 515–39; Eva Hayward, "Spider City Sex," *Women & Performance* 20, no. 3 (November 2010): 225–51; Jeanne Vaccaro, "Felt Matters," *Women & Performance* 20, no. 3 (November 2010): 253–66; Gordon Hall, "Object Lessons:

Thinking Gender Variance Through Minimalist Sculpture,” *Art Journal* 72, no. 4 (Winter 2013): 47–57; Lucas Crawford, “A Transgender Poetics of the High Line Park,” *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly* 1, no. 4 (November 2014): 482–500; Eliza Steinbock, “Generative Negatives: Del LaGrace Volcano’s Herm Body Photographs,” *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly* 1, no. 4 (November 2014): 539–51.

9 Judith Butler, *Undoing Gender* (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), 11.

10 Susan Stryker discussed this non-consensual gendering that occurs to the infant, arguing that “A gendering violence is the founding condition of human subjectivity; having a gender is the tribal tattoo that makes one’s personhood cognizable.” Susan Stryker, “My Words to Victor Frankenstein Above the Village of Chamounix: Performing Transgender Rage,” *GLQ* 1, no. 3 (1994): 250. The assignment of sex at birth has also been perhaps the central issue for intersex activism. See Reis, *Bodies in Doubt* for the American historical context and, further, Anne Fausto-Sterling, *Sexing the Body: Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 189–211; Cheryl Chase, “Hermaphrodites with Attitude: Mapping the Emergence of Intersex Political Activism,” *GLQ* 4, no. 2 (1998): 189–211; Suzanne J. Kessler, *Lessons from the Intersexed* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1998); Katrina Alicia Karkazis, *Fixing Sex: Intersex, Medical Authority, and Lived Experience* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2008); Sharon E. Preves, *Intersex and Identity: The Contested Self* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2003).

11 For a concise picture of the range of the interdisciplinary critique afforded by transgender studies, see Susan Stryker and Stephen Whittle, eds., *The Transgender Studies Reader* (New York and London: Routledge, 2006) and Susan Stryker and Aren Aizura, eds., *The Transgender Studies Reader 2* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

12 Viviane K. Namaste, *Invisible Lives: The Erasure of Transsexual and Transgendered People* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 1.

13 One of the foundational (and widely influential) texts for this usage was a groundbreaking pamphlet by Leslie Feinberg, reprinted as “Transgender Liberation: A Movement Whose Time Has Come” (1992), in Stryker and Whittle, *Transgender Studies Reader*, 205–20. For further discussion of the term “transgender” and its parameters and development, see the Introduction. Useful histories of the term can be found in David Valentine, *Imagining Transgender: An Ethnography of a Category* (Durham, N.C. and London: Duke University Press, 2007) and Susan Stryker, *Transgender History* (Berkeley, Calif.: Seal Press, 2008). See also T. Benjamin Singer, “Umbrella,” *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly* 1, no. 1–2 (2014): 259–61.

14 Stryker, *Transgender History*, 1.

15 In this, the history of science has played a crucial role. For a recent overview of the relationship among biology, psychology, and social context in the diversity of lived genders, see Anne Fausto-Sterling, *Sex/Gender: Biology in a Social World* (New York: Routledge, 2012). See also the groundbreaking Joan Roughgarden, *Evolution’s Rainbow: Diversity, Gender, and Sexuality in Nature and People* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004) and Rebecca M. Jordan-Young, *Brain Storm: The Flaws in the Science of Sex Differences* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010). For a wide-ranging argument about the biopolitical history of gender as a product of the “pharmacopornographic sex-gender regime,” see [Paul] B. Preciado, *Testo Junkie: Sex, Drugs, and Biopolitics in the Pharmacopornographic Era*, trans. Bruce Benderson (New York: Feminist Press, 2013), esp. pp. 99–129. An important theorization of both gender and sex in relation to norms can be found in Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of “Sex”* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993).

16 As the authors of a survey of incidents of intersex traits noted, “Biologists and medical scientists recognize, of course, that absolute dimorphism is a Platonic ideal not actually achieved in the natural world...If one relinquishes an a priori belief in complete genital dimorphism, one can examine sexual development with an eye toward variability rather than bimodality.” They concluded that there were one to two intersex infants in every 1000 births. Melanie Blackless et al., “How Sexually Dimorphic Are We? Review and Synthesis,” *American Journal of Human Biology* 12 (2000): 151. See also Roughgarden, *Evolution’s Rainbow*; Jordan-Young, *Brain Storm*; Fausto-Sterling, *Sex/Gender*.

17 Preciado, *Testo Junkie*, 103–4.

18 Stryker, *Transgender History*, 59–89.

19 Michel Foucault once challenged his readers to take seriously the disruptions that non-ascribed genders presented for conventional understandings, criticizing those who tolerated but did not feel implicated by nonconforming genders and bodies. Decrying their underlying faith in the idea of a “true sex,” a natural order, and the politics of mere toleration, he argued: “It is also agreed, though with much difficulty, that it is possible for an individual to adopt a sex that is not biologically his own. Nevertheless, the idea that one must indeed finally have a true sex is far from being completely dispelled...We are certainly more tolerant in regard to practices that break the law. But we continue to think that some of these are insulting to ‘the truth’: we may be prepared to admit that a ‘passive’ man, a ‘virile’ woman, people of the same sex who love one another, do not seriously impair the established order; but we are ready enough to believe that there is something like an ‘error’ involved in what they do. An ‘error’ as understood in the most traditionally philosophical sense: a manner of acting that is not adequate to reality. Sexual irregularity is seen as belonging more or less to the realm of chimeras. That is why we rid ourselves

easily enough of the idea that these are crimes, but less easily of the suspicion that they are fictions which, whether involuntary or self-indulgent, are useless, and which it would be better to dispel.” Gender nonconformity is part of what Foucault terms “sexual irregularity” in his text and it is still often received as a useless “fiction,” grudgingly tolerated but not seen to be of general or broad importance. By contrast, I see these issues as central and defining. They allow for new evidentiary accounts of gender’s mutability and plurality to be recognized, and they engender reinvigorated accounts of the continued relevance of artistic practices that take bodies or persons as analogues. See Michel Foucault, “Introduction,” in *Herculine Barbin: Being the Recently Discovered Memoirs of a Nineteenth-century French Hermaphrodite*, trans. Richard McDougall (New York: Vintage Books, 1980), x.

20 Donald Judd, “Local History” (1964), in *Donald Judd: Complete Writings 1959–1975* (Halifax: Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1975), 152–3.

21 Butler, *Undoing Gender*, 51.

INTRODUCTION: “NEW” GENDERS AND SCULPTURE IN THE 1960S

1 J. Jack Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives* (New York: New York University Press, 2005), 97–124.

2 Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity* (Durham, N.C. and London: Duke University Press, 2003), 150–1.

3 Relief sculpture presents a special case and is best understood as intermedial in its hybridity of three- and two-dimensional systems of representation. It partakes of both actual volume and pictorial depictions of depth. I discuss this further in David Getsy, “Playing in the Sand with Picasso: Relief Sculpture as Game in the Summer of 1930,” in *From Diversion to Subversion: Games, Play,*

and *Twentieth-century Art*, ed. David Getsy (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 80–93. With regard to the present analysis, assemblage reliefs (such as Grossman's) share many of the same general conditions of freestanding sculpture due to their appropriation of found objects, all of which invoke questions of their past functionality and bodily scale.

4 While there are of course exceptions to this general tendency (such as with the distinct medium of relief sculpture in which architectural and landscape spaces are more readily able to be depicted), the generalization holds true that sculpture has had a primary association with the (often singular) figure. This carries through to *animalier* sculpture, which, though providing an alternative to the representation of the human form, nevertheless often shares the parameters of the discrete freestanding figure. For a useful overview of the predominance of the human form in European and American sculpture, see Ruth Butler, *Western Sculpture: Definitions of Man* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1975). Also of interest in this regard is Rudolf Wittkower, *Sculpture: Processes and Principles* (London: Allen Lane, 1977).

5 A detailed history of the modern sculpture that attends to the effects of the spatial and temporal encounter between viewers and sculptural objects can be found in Alex Potts, *The Sculptural Imagination: Figurative, Modernist, Minimalist* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000). See also Penelope Curtis, *Sculpture 1900–1945: After Rodin* (Oxford University Press, 1999); Penelope Curtis, “After Rodin: The Problem of the Statue in Twentieth-century Sculpture,” in *Rodin: The Zola of Sculpture*, ed. Claudine Mitchell (Farnham: Ashgate, 2004).

6 Frances Colpitt, *Minimal Art: The Critical Perspective* (Ann Arbor, Mich: UMI Research Press, 1990), 66.

7 Rosalind Krauss, *Passages in Modern Sculpture* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1977).

8 Or, as Henry Geldzahler declared, “But another way of the thinking of the sixties is that perhaps the best work that was done in that decade in America was done by David Smith in the last five years of his life and by Hans Hofmann in the last five years of his life.” Henry Geldzahler, “The Sixties: As They Were” (1991), in *Making It New: Essays, Interviews, and Talks* (New York: Turtle Point Press, 1994), 339.

9 A central concern in my own work on the origins and history of modern sculpture has been negotiations of sculpture as both image and object. This relationship between materiality and either representational or abstract modes of sculpture underwrote competing formulations and genealogies of modern sculpture. I offer two different versions of this dynamic – one invested in verisimilitude and the other in its abandonment or subordination – in my two books on the origins of modern sculpture in Britain and in France: David Getsy, *Body Doubles: Sculpture in Britain, 1877–1905* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004); *Rodin: Sex and the Making of Modern Sculpture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010).

10 Lucy Lippard, “As Painting is to Sculpture: A Changing Ratio,” in *American Sculpture of the Sixties*, ed. Maurice Tuchman (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1967), 32. Emphasis original.

11 Krauss, *Passages*, 279.

12 Lawrence Alloway, “Sculpture as Cliché,” *Artforum* 2, no. 4 (October 1963): 26.

13 Ibid.

14 Colpitt provides a useful overview of the debates around anthropomorphism in Minimalist criticism in Colpitt, *Minimal Art*, 67–73. For her, anthropomorphism is strictly defined as mimetic of the human form, and she distinguishes this from “presence” and bodily evocations made through scale. She does, however, chronicle other understandings of the anthropomorphic in her overview.

15 James Meyer, “Anthropomorphism,” *Art Bulletin* 94, no. 1 (March 2012): 24.

16 In Oldenburg's case, his avoidance of figural representation permitted viewers to explore their bodily associations with his soft sculpture. Judd, in 1964, devoted a third of his review of Oldenburg's exhibition at the Sidney Janis Gallery, New York, to sorting out how it was that a giant soft light switch made him think of female breasts. He concluded that “Real anthropomorphism is subverted by the grossly anthropomorphic shapes, man-made, not shapes of natural things or people.” Donald Judd, “In the Galleries: Claes Oldenburg” (1964), in *Donald Judd: Complete Writings 1959–1975* (Halifax and New York: Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design and New York University Press, 1975), 133. For discussion, see the chapter “Gross Anthropomorphism: Claes Oldenburg” in Jo Applin, *Eccentric Objects: Rethinking Sculpture in 1960s America* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012), 43–62 as well as Potts, *Sculptural Imagination*, 276–9.

17 Michael Fried, “Art and Objecthood,” *Artforum* 5, no. 10 (June 1967): 12–23. For essential commentary on this much discussed text, see James Meyer, “The Writing of ‘Art and Objecthood,’” in *Refracting Vision: Essays on the Writings of Michael Fried*, ed. Jill Beaulieu, Mary Roberts, and Toni Ross (Sydney: Power Institute, 2000), 61–96; Potts, *Sculptural Imagination*, 178–206.

18 Fried, “Art and Objecthood,” 16. Emphases original.

19 Ibid., 19.

20 In his pivotal 1960 essay “Modernist Painting,” Greenberg set up the “sculptural” as the metaphor for all that painting should expunge: pictorial illusionism, figuration, and three-dimensionality. Clement Greenberg, “Modernist Painting” (1960), in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism*, ed. John O'Brian, 4 vols (University of Chicago Press, 1993), 4: 88.

21 Fried, “Art and Objecthood,” 19.

22 Colpitt, *Minimal Art*, 72.

23 Meyer, “Anthropomorphism,” 25.

24 Michael Fried, “Introduction,” in *Anthony Caro* (London: Arts Council and the Hayward Gallery, 1969), 9. I am grateful to James Meyer for alerting me to this underappreciated text.

25 Jack Burnham, “On Being Sculpture,” *Artforum* 7, no. 9 (May 1969): 44–5. Emphasis original.

26 Briony Fer, *The Infinite Line: Re-making Art After Modernism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 106.

27 Robert Morris, “Notes on Sculpture, Part I,” *Artforum* 4, no. 6 (February 1966): 42–4; “Notes on Sculpture, Part 2,” *Artforum* 5, no. 2 (October 1966): 20–3; “Notes on Sculpture, Part III: Notes and Nonsequiturs,” *Artforum* 5, no. 10 (Summer 1967): 24–9.

28 Robert Morris, “Notes on Sculpture, Part IV: Beyond Objects,” *Artforum* 7, no. 8 (April 1969): 51.

29 Ibid.

30 Lucy Lippard, “Eccentric Abstraction,” *Art International* 10, no. 9 (20 November 1966): 28, 34–40.

31 Lucy Lippard, “Eros Presumptive,” *Hudson Review* 20, no. 1 (Spring 1967): 91–9; “Eros Presumptive,” rev. in *Minimal Art: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Gregory Battcock (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1968), 209–21.

32 Anne Middleton Wagner, “Reading *Minimal Art*,” in *Minimal Art: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Gregory Battcock (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 13.

33 Lippard, “Eros Presumptive,” (1967), 94.

34 Ibid., 96. For commentary (and for one of the few extended discussions of “Eros Presumptive”), see Margo Hobbs Thompson, “Agreeable Objects and Angry Paintings: ‘Female Imagery’ in Art by Hannah Wilke and Louise Fishman, 1970–1973,” *Genders* 43 (2006): n.p. See also Rachel Middleman, “Rethinking Vaginal Iconology with

Hannah Wilke's Sculpture," *Art Journal* 72, no. 4 (2013): 34–45.

35 Lippard, "Eros Presumptive," (1967), 91.

36 Lippard, "Eccentric Abstraction," 28.

37 Ibid., 34.

38 Ibid., 39.

39 Of the many discussions of Lippard's text, the primary ones that have informed my thinking are Fer, *Infinite Line*, 101–15; Anne Middleton Wagner, *Three Artists (Three Women): Modernism and the Art of Hesse, Krasner, and O'Keeffe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Briony Fer, *On Abstract Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 109–30; James Meyer, "Non, Nothing, Everything: Eva Hesse's 'Abstraction,'" in *Eva Hesse*, ed. Elisabeth Sussman (San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 2002), 57–77; and Applin, *Eccentric Objects*, 7–12. Although it does not discuss the 1960s essays in detail, the insightful essay by Laura Cottingham, "Shifting Ground: On the Critical Practice of Lucy Lippard," in *Seeing through the Seventies: Essays on Feminism and Art* (Amsterdam: G and B Arts, 2000), 1–46, has proven especially helpful. See also Julia Bryan-Wilson, *Art Workers: Radical Practice in the Vietnam War Era* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 127–71; Judy K. Collischan Van Wagner, *Women Shaping Art: Profiles of Power* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1984), 99–114.

40 Lucy Lippard, "The Women's Art Movement—What's Next" (1975), in *The Pink Glass Swan: Selected Essays on Feminist Art* (New York: New Press, 1995), 83.

41 Fer, *Infinite Line*, 104–5.

42 Lippard, "Eccentric Abstraction," 40.

43 Lucy Lippard, "Eccentric Abstraction," rev. in *Changing: Essays in Art Criticism* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1971), 99.

44 Robert Pincus-Witten, "Eva Hesse: More Light on the Transition from Post-minimalism to the Sublime," in *Eva Hesse: A Memorial Exhibition*, ed. Linda Shearer (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, 1972), n.p.

45 "Postminimalism" was a retrospective term dubbed by Robert Pincus-Witten in his writings as a good enough catch-all that registered the proliferation of practices and attitudes toward the sculptural object's permanence that began in the late 1960s. See Robert Pincus-Witten, *Postminimalism* (New York: Out of London Press, 1977).

46 The now classic argument about Minimalism's pivotal importance is that of Hal Foster, "The Crux of Minimalism" (1986), in *The Return of the Real* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1996), 35–68. See also Rosalind Krauss, "The Cultural Logic of the Late Capitalist Museum," *October* 54 (Fall 1990): 3–17; Hal Foster, "Dan Flavin and the Catastrophe of Minimalism," in *Dan Flavin: New Light*, ed. Jeffrey Weiss (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 133–51. These historical views of Minimalism compellingly account for the paradigm shift it signaled, but it was the moves in "Beyond Objects" that seemed, finally, to alter fundamentally the medium of sculpture. This impact of Postminimalism was chronicled in detail in Richard Armstrong and Richard Marshall, eds., *The New Sculpture 1965–1975: Between Geometry and Gesture* (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1990) and is the "after" in Richard J. Williams, *After Modern Sculpture: Art in the United States and Europe, 1965–70* (Manchester University Press, 2000). This marking of a shift is also registered in Lucy R. Lippard, *Six Years: The Dematerialization of the Art Object from 1966 to 1972* (New York: Praeger, 1973).

47 See discussion in e.g. Whitney Chadwick, "Balancing Acts: Reflections on Postminimalism and Gender in the 1970s," in *More Than Minimal: Feminism and Abstraction in the '70s*, ed. Susan L. Stoops (Waltham, Mass: Rose Art Museum, Brandeis University, 1996), 14–25.

48 Recently, Jo Applin's engaging book on Sixties sculpture, *Eccentric Objects*, has taken on some of Lippard's central examples as a means of reconsidering the centrality of Minimalism in the literature on the decade.

49 Of particular use from the extensive literature on these artists have been Anne Middleton Wagner, "Bourgeois Fantasy," in *A House Divided: American Art since 1955* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 158–82; Mignon Nixon, *Fantastic Reality: Louise Bourgeois and a Story of Modern Art* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2005); Potts, *Sculptural Imagination*; Wagner, *Three Artists*.

50 See Josef Helfenstein, *Louise Bourgeois: The Early Work* (Champaign, Ill: Krannert Art Museum, 2002); Ann Gibson, "Louise Bourgeois's Retroactive Politics of Gender," *Art Journal* 53, no. 4 (Winter 1994): 44–7; Mignon Nixon, "'Fantastic Reality': A Note on Louise Bourgeois's *Portrait of C.Y.*," *Sculpture Journal* 5 (2001): 83–9; Nixon, *Fantastic Reality*, 119–63.

51 The implications of this period have been well studied by Mignon Nixon; see e.g. "Bad Enough Mother," *October* 102 (1995): 71–92; "Posing the Phallus," *October* 92 (Spring 2000): 96–127; *Fantastic Reality*, 209–65; "o+x," *October* 119 (2007): 6–20. More broadly, see Helen Molesworth, ed., *Part Object Part Sculpture* (Columbus, Ohio: Wexner Center for the Arts and Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005).

52 Halberstam, *In a Queer Time*, 117.

53 Ibid., 119.

54 Meyer, "Non, Nothing, Everything," 66.

55 For instance, a useful analysis of the organizing example of Bourgeois for feminist art history was offered by Katy Deepwell, "Feminist Readings of Louise Bourgeois or Why Louise Bourgeois is a Feminist Icon," *n.paradoxa* 3 (May 1997): 28–38.

56 Some of that decade's analyses of masculinity in art history produced valuable critiques, e.g. Anna C. Chave, "Minimalism and the Rhetoric of Power," *Arts Magazine* 64, no. 5 (1990): 44–63; Michael Leja, *Reframing Abstract Expressionism: Subjectivity and Painting in the 1940s* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), 546–84; Amelia Jones, "Dis/playing the Phallus:

Male Artists Perform Their Masculinities," *Art History* 17, no. 4 (December 1994): 546–84; Michael Leja, "Barnet Newman's Solo Tango," *Critical Inquiry* 21, no. 3 (Spring 1995): 556–80; Andrew Perchuk, "Pollock and Postwar Masculinity," in *The Masculine Masquerade: Masculinity and Representation*, ed. Andrew Perchuk and Helaine Posner (Cambridge, Mass: MIT List Visual Arts Center, 1995), 31–42; Caroline Jones, *Machine in the Studio: Constructing the Postwar American Artist* (University of Chicago Press, 1996); Ann Eden Gibson, *Abstract Expressionism: Other Politics* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997); Terry Smith, ed., *In Visible Touch: Modernism and Masculinity* (University of Chicago Press, 1997); and, for a reprise of these questions in the next decade, Marcia Brennan, *Modernism's Masculine Subjects: Matisse, the New York School, and Post-painterly Abstraction* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2004).

57 Halberstam, *In a Queer Time*, 121.

58 Harry Benjamin, *The Transsexual Phenomenon* (New York: Julian Press, 1966), plates. On the hermaphrodite in ancient art, see the useful survey in Aileen Ajootian, "The Only Happy Couple: Hermaphrodites and Gender," in *Naked Truths: Women, Sexuality, and Gender in Classical Art and Archaeology*, ed. Ann Olga Koloski-Ostrow and Claire L. Lyons (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 220–42.

59 This case about Symbolism is made in the important book by Patricia Mathews, *Passionate Discontent: Creativity, Gender, and French Symbolist Art* (University of Chicago Press, 1999). Other useful discussions of androgyny can be found in Anna Chave, *Constantin Brancusi: Shifting the Bases of Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993); Maud Lavin, *Cut with the Kitchen Knife: The Weimar Photomontages of Hannah Höch* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993); Susan Fillin-Yeh, "Dandies, Marginality, and Modernism: Georgia O'Keeffe, Marcel Duchamp, and Other Cross-dressers," *Oxford Art*

Journal 18, no. 2 (1995): 33–44; Caroline Jones, “The Sex of the Machine: Mechanomorphic Art, New Women, and Francis Picabia’s Neurasthenic Cure,” in *Picturing Science, Producing Art*, ed. Caroline Jones and Peter Galison (New York and London: Routledge, 1998), 145–80; Lanier Graham, “Duchamp & Androgyny: The Concept and its Context,” *Tout-fait* 2, no. 4 (January 2002): n.p. For a longer view, see also Catriona MacLeod, *Embodying Ambiguity: Androgyny and Aesthetics from Winckelmann to Keller* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998).

60 See e.g. Amelia Jones, *Postmodernism and the En-gendering of Marcel Duchamp* (Cambridge University Press, 1994); Paul B. Franklin, “Object Choice: Marcel Duchamp’s *Fountain* and the Art of Queer Art History,” *Oxford Art Journal* 23, no. 1 (2000): 23–50; Helen Molesworth, “Rose Sélavy Goes Shopping,” in *The Dada Seminars*, ed. Leah Dickerman and Matthew Witkovsky (Washington, D.C.: Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art, 2005), 173–89; David Hopkins, *Dada’s Boys: Masculinity after Duchamp* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007); Deborah Johnson, “Marcel Duchamp, Rose Sélavy, and Gender Performativity,” *International Journal of the Arts in Society* 1, no. 7 (2007): 191–200; Deborah Johnson, “R(rose) Sélavy as Man Ray: Reconsidering the Alter Ego of Marcel Duchamp,” *Art Journal* 72, no. 1 (September 2013): 80–94. A related argument about Duchamp’s play with the constructed nature of gender can be found in the useful article by Edward Powers, “Fasten Your Seatbelts as We Prepare for Our *Nude Descending*,” *Tout-fait* 2, no. 5 (April 2003): n.p.

61 Chave, *Constantin Brancusi*, 123.

62 The following anecdote from the photographer David Finn about Henry Moore is telling: “The only time Henry acknowledged to me any sexual aspect of one of his sculptures was when I asked him about *Draped Reclining Figure*. It had a skirt around its lower part which showed that it was a female, but coming out of the groin there

was what seemed to be an erect phallus. He wasn’t happy about the question, but after a moment’s pause he did admit rather softly that the figure was ‘androgynous.’” David Finn, *One Man’s Henry Moore* (Redding Ridge, Conn: Black Swan Books, 1993), 43. For further on gender in Moore and Hepworth, see Anne Middleton Wagner, *Mother Stone: The Vitality of Modern British Sculpture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005). On the context of public sculpture and postwar internationalism, see Margaret Garlake, *New Art New World: British Art in Postwar Society* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998); Christopher Pearson, “Hepworth, Moore and the United Nations: Modern Art and the Ideology of Post-war Internationalism,” *Sculpture Journal* 6 (2001): 89–99.

63 See Clare Elliott and Robert Gober, *Forrest Bess: Seeing Things Invisible* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press and the Menil Collection, 2013); Chuck Smith, *Forrest Bess: Key to the Riddle* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: powerHouse Books, 2013). For further discussion of the artistic contexts for Bess’s work and its reception, see Gregory Tentler, “Painting in a Different Kind of Void,” *Studies in Gender and Sexuality* 14, no. 3 (2013): 230–4.

64 Robert Stoller, *Sex and Gender: On the Development of Masculinity and Femininity* (New York: Science House, 1968), 129. Bess had corresponded with Money from 1962 to 1974. Money detailed Bess’s case a few years later in John Money and Michael De Priest, “Three Cases of Genital Self-surgery and their Relationship to Transsexualism,” *Journal of Sex Research* 12, no. 4 (November 1976): 283–94. Robert Gober has discussed Bess’s relationship to Money in Elliott and Gober, *Forrest Bess*, 91, 98.

65 This was a main theme of de Henriquez’s work, as discussed in Jan Marsh, *Art & Androgyny: The Life of Sculptor, Fiore de Henriquez* (London: Elliott & Thompson, 2004); for just one of many occurrences of this quotation, see p. 97.

66 *Ibid.*, 151. Here, de Henriquez is also registering the gendered discourse that had sprung from Auguste Rodin’s titanic influence as the reputed “father” of modern sculpture. This attitude about modern sculpture as a solely masculine endeavor was common among European and American sculptors in the early part of the twentieth century. For those artists who worked in the traditional sculptural materials of clay and bronze, especially, such limiting characterizations lasted well into the 1960s. I discuss the roots of this formulation of the gendered and sexualized role for the modern sculptor in the conclusion to Getsy, *Rodin*, 173–93.

67 Eva Hesse, from a diary entry of 18 March 1965, quoted in Lucy Lippard, *Eva Hesse* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1976), 34.

68 Oldenburg quoted in Achim Hochdörfer, Maartje Oldenburg, and Barbara Schröder, eds., *Claes Oldenburg: Writing on the Side 1956–1969* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2013), 317.

69 Frank O’Hara, “Hermaphrodite,” 1st pub. in *Folder 3* (1955), repr. in Donald Allen, ed. *The Collected Poems of Frank O’Hara* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 218.

70 Lynda Benglis quoted in Franck Gautherot, Caroline Hancock, and Seungduk Kim, eds., *Lynda Benglis* (Dijon, France: Presses du Réel and the Irish Museum of Modern Art, Dublin, 2009), 171.

71 Louise Bourgeois quoted in *New York Magazine*, 11 February 1974.

72 Jackie Curtis quoted in Raymond Macrino, “Jackie Curtis: The Victory Isn’t Vain,” *Herald: The Manhattan News and Entertainment Weekly*, 6 June 1971, s.2, 5. I am thankful to Joseph Madura for sharing this reference with me.

73 See e.g. Stuart Byron, “Reactionaries in Radical Drag,” *Village Voice*, 16 March 1972, 69.

74 More broadly, see the survey of gender nonconformity in late twentieth-century art provided in Frank Wagner, Kasper König, and Julia Friedrich, eds., *Das achte Feld: Geschlechter, Leben*

und Begehren in der Kunst seit 1960 (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz and Museum Ludwig, Cologne, 2006).

75 On transfeminism, see e.g. Gayle Salamon, *Assuming a Body: Transgender and Rhetorics of Materiality* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 95–128.

76 J. Jack Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* (Durham, N.C. and London: Duke University Press, 1998). On this point, see also Gayle Rubin, “Of Catamites and Kings: Reflections on Butch, Gender, and Boundaries” (1992), in *Deviations: A Gayle Rubin Reader* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2011), 241–53.

77 Elisabeth Reis, *Bodies in Doubt: An American History of Intersex* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).

78 Joanne Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuality in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2002).

79 [Paul] B. Preciado, *Testo Junkie: Sex, Drugs, and Biopolitics in the Pharmacopornographic Era*, trans. Bruce Benderson (New York: The Feminist Press, 2013).

80 This point was made in his manifesto; Leslie Feinberg, “Transgender Liberation: A Movement Whose Time Has Come” (1992), in *The Transgender Studies Reader*, ed. Susan Stryker and Stephen Whittle (New York and London: Routledge, 2006), 205–20 and then expanded in Leslie Feinberg, *Transgender Warriors: Making History from Joan of Arc to Dennis Rodman* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1997).

81 Susan Stryker, *Transgender History* (Berkeley, Calif: Seal Press, 2008); Susan Stryker, “Why the T in LGBT is Here to Stay,” *Salon.com* (11 October 2007), online at www.salon.com/2007/10/11/transgender_2/ (accessed 26 February 2014).

82 This is a component of all the narratives just cited. Other significant discussions of this co-option of transgender by gay and lesbian histories can be found in Michel Foucault, “Intro-

duction,” in *Herculine Barbin: Being the Recently Discovered Memoirs of a Nineteenth-century French Hermaphrodite* (New York: Vintage Books, 1980), vii–xvii; Viviane K. Namaste, *Invisible Lives: The Erasure of Transsexual and Transgendered People* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Julian Carter, “On Mother-love: History, Queer Theory, and Nonlesbian Identity,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 14, no. 1/2 (January 2005): 107–38; Feinberg, *Transgender Warriors*; David Valentine, *Imagining Transgender: An Ethnography of a Category* (Durham, N.C. and London: Duke University Press, 2007).

83 A guiding historiographic and theoretical intervention for me has been Viviane K. Namaste, “The Use and Abuse of Queer Tropes: Metaphor and Catachresis in Queer Theory and Politics,” *Social Semiotics* 9, no. 2 (1999): 213–34. An influential founding statement of the rejection of queer theory’s appropriation was offered in Jay Prosser, *Second Skins: The Body Narratives of Transsexuality* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998). See also Viviane K. Namaste, “Tragic Misreadings: Queer Theory’s Erasure of Transgender Subjectivity,” in *Queer Studies: A Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Anthology*, ed. Brett Beemyn and Mickey Eliason (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 183–203; Namaste, *Invisible Lives*; Susan Stryker, “Transgender Studies: Queer Theory’s Evil Twin,” *GLQ* 10, no. 2 (2004): 212–15; Viviane K. Namaste, *Sex Change, Social Change: Reflections on Identity, Institutions, and Imperialism* (Toronto: Women’s Press, 2005); Susan Stryker, “(De)Subjugated Knowledges: An Introduction to Transgender Studies,” in *The Transgender Studies Reader*, ed. Susan Stryker and Stephen Whittle (New York and London: Routledge, 2006), 1–17. A key point in the early discussions was Judith Butler’s work (or, more accurately, the misapplications of Butler’s work by her followers). Butler responded to these criticisms in *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of “Sex”* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993) and,

most productively, in *Undoing Gender* (New York and London: Routledge, 2004). See further the discussion in Cressida Heyes, “Feminist Solidarity After Queer Theory: The Case of Transgender,” *Signs* 28, no. 4 (Summer 2003): 1093–120; Viviane K. Namaste, “Undoing Theory: The ‘Transgender Question’ and the Epistemic Violence of Anglo-American Feminist Theory,” *Hypatia* 24, no. 3 (Summer 2009): 11–32; Salamon, *Assuming a Body*, 95–128; J. Jack Halberstam, *The Queer Art of Failure* (Durham, N.C. and London: Duke University Press, 2011); Robyn Wiegman, *Object Lessons* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2012), 301–43.

84 Stryker, *Transgender History*, 47.

85 Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed*, 197.

86 Lynda Crawford, “Men Become Women: A Charm School for Transsexuals,” *Soho Weekly News*, 16 October 1975, 11.

87 Hubert Selby Jr., *Last Exit to Brooklyn* (New York: Grove Press, 1964); Gore Vidal, *Myra Breckinridge* (New York: Little, Brown & Co., 1968).

88 Harry Benjamin, “Transvestism and Transsexualism,” *International Journal of Sexology* 7, no. 1 (August 1953): 12–14.

89 Most notably, John Money, Joan Hampson, and John Hampson, “Imprinting and the Establishment of Gender Role,” *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry* 77 (1957): 333–6.

90 Hedy Jo Star, “I Changed My Sex” (Chicago: Novel Books, 1963).

91 On Erickson, see Aaron H. Devor and Nicholas Matte, “One Inc. and Reed Erickson: The Uneasy Collaboration of Gay and Trans Activism, 1964–2003,” *GLQ* 10, no. 2 (2004): 179–209.

92 Harry Benjamin, *The Transsexual Phenomenon* (New York: Julian Press, 1966).

93 Thomas Buckley, “A Changing of Sex by Surgery Begun at Johns Hopkins,” *New York Times*, 21 November 1966, 1ff; “Surgery: A Body to Match the Mind,” *Time*, 2 December 1966, 52;

“A Change of Gender,” *Newsweek*, 5 December 1966, 73; “Sex-change Operations at a U.S. Hospital,” *U.S. News & World Report*, 5 December 1966, 13.

94 Christine Jorgensen, *A Personal Autobiography* (New York: Paul S. Eriksson, 1967).

95 Susan Stryker, “Introduction,” in *Christine Jorgensen: A Personal Autobiography* (San Francisco: Cleis Press, 2000), ix.

96 Thomas Buckley, “The Transsexual Operation,” *Esquire* 67, no. 4 (April 1967): 111–15, 205–8.

97 Stoller, *Sex and Gender* (1968). That same year, the term was also the focus of an article by Harry Gershman, “The Evolution of Gender Identity,” *American Journal of Psychoanalysis* 28 (1968): 80–90.

98 Esther Newton, *Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America*, Phoenix ed. (University of Chicago Press, 1979).

99 Richard Green and John Money, eds., *Transsexualism and Sex Reassignment* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969).

100 See Leslie Feinberg, “Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries,” *Workers World*, 24 September 2006. See also the recent collection of archival documents by the collective Untorelli Press, *Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries: Survival, Revolt, and Queer Antagonist Struggle* (Bloomington, Ind. Untorelli Press, 2013). Some of these documents had previously been collected by Reina Gossett; see <http://thespiritwas.tumblr.com/post/45275076521/on-untorellis-new-book> (accessed 20 April 2014).

101 Stryker, *Transgender History*, 89.

102 This was infamously enacted in the castigation of the transsexual lesbian singer Beth Elliott by a keynote speaker, Robin Morgan, at the 1973 West Coast Lesbian Feminist Conference; *ibid.*, 103–5. A critique of transphobia in feminism became central to the foundational texts for transgender studies, most notably by Sandy Stone in her 1987 “Posttranssexual Manifesto,” which was a direct refutation of Janice

Raymond’s polemic against transsexuals in her *The Transsexual Empire: The Making of the She-male* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1979). Stone’s text went through a series of revisions and republications, but see Sandy Stone, “The Empire Strikes Back: A Posttranssexual Manifesto,” rev. in Stryker and Whittle, *Transgender Studies Reader*, 221–35. It remains one of the most important texts within transgender studies, and its message continues to be relevant as a retort to the transphobia that is still evident in some recent feminist writing (e.g. Sheila Jeffreys). A critique of transphobia in feminism is also important in the highly influential article by Susan Stryker, “My Words to Victor Frankenstein Above the Village of Chamounix: Performing Transgender Rage,” *GLQ* 1, no. 3 (1994): 237–54. For further discussion, see also Feinberg, “Transgender Liberation,” 205–20; Heyes, “Feminist Solidarity After Queer Theory,” 1093–120. Overviews of the recent debates in this area can be found in Susan Stryker, “Transgender History, Homonormativity, and Disciplinarity,” *Radical History Review* 100 (Winter 2008): 145–57; Namaste, “Undoing Theory,” 11–32; Patricia Elliot, *Debates in Transgender, Queer, and Feminist Theory: Contested Sites* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010); Salamon, *Assuming a Body*, 95–128; Raewyn Connell, “Transsexual Women and Feminist Thought: Toward New Understanding and New Politics,” *Signs* 37, no. 4 (Summer 2012): 857–81.

103 In addition to the sources cited on feminism’s resistance to transgender, see further on “border” disputes among female masculinities in Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*, 141–73; Jacob Hale, “Consuming the Living, Dis(re)membering the Dead in the Butch/Ftm Borderlands,” *GLQ* 4, no. 2 (1998): 311–48; Rubin, “Of Catamites and Kings,” 241–53; Henry Rubin, *Self-made Men: Identity and Embodiment among Transsexual Men* (Nashville, Tenn: Vanderbilt University Press, 2003).

104 Butler, *Undoing Gender*, 51.

105 Grossman also listed *Myra Breckinridge* as

one of a short list of decade-defining events to an interviewer in Alessandra Codinha, “Working Deep Beneath the Think,” *Intermission* 8 (2013): 67.

106 Valentine’s account of this is particularly useful; Valentine, *Imagining Transgender*. While not widespread, variations on the term “transgender” did circulate in the 1960s and 1970s. As Valentine notes (261 n. 1), in 1969, *Transvestia* magazine (no. 60) used the term “transgenderal.” Cristan Williams has also noted a 1965 usage of the term in John Oliven, *Sexual Hygiene and Pathology: A Manual for the Physician and the Professions*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1965), 514; www.cristanwilliams.com/b/2012/03/27/tracking-transgender-the-historical-truth/#34 (accessed 22 April 2014).

107 See Feinberg, “Transgender Liberation,” 205–20 and discussion in Stryker, “Transgender History, Homonormativity, and Disciplinarity,” 146.

108 Stryker, *Transgender History*, 1.

109 See e.g. the early critique of transgender for its effects on the category of transsexual in Prosser, *Second Skins*, 171–205. A recent discussion of the usefulness and limitations of such inclusive categories can be found in T. Benjamin Singer, “Umbrella,” *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly* 1, no. 1–2 (2014): 259–61.

110 Stryker, *Transgender History*, 24.

111 Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*, 52–3.

112 *Ibid.*, 162.

113 Salamon, *Assuming a Body*, 95.

114 See the discussion in e.g. Susan Stryker, Paisley Currah, and Lisa Jean Moore, “Introduction: Trans-, Trans, or Transgender?” *WSQ: Women’s Studies Quarterly* 36, no. 3–4 (Fall/Winter 2008): 11–22; Trystan Cotten, ed., *Transgender Migrations: The Bodies, Borders, and Politics of Transition* (New York: Routledge, 2011); Susan Stryker, “Biopolitics,” *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly* 1, no. 1–2 (2014): 38–42; special issue of *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly* 1, no. 3 (2014) on “Decolonizing the Transgender Imaginary.” A revision of biopolitical analysis from a transgender perspective can be found in Preciado, *Testo Junkie*.

115 The core of this section was initially published as David Getsy, “Capacity,” *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly* 1, no. 1–2 (2014): 47–9.

116 Again, the concept of “perverse presentism” proposed in Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*, 50–9, offers a defining methodological position on addressing this issue for historical writing.

117 Butler, *Undoing Gender*, 4.

118 While arguing against uncritical and unhistorical acceptance of this distinction as empirical fact, he nevertheless notes that this model has facilitated both politics and cultural theory; David Valentine, “The Categories Themselves,” *GLQ* 10, no. 2 (2003): 215–20.

119 Stryker, “Transgender History, Homonormativity, and Disciplinarity,” esp. 147–9.

120 As Stryker warned, “all too often *queer* remains a code word for ‘gay’ or ‘lesbian,’ and all too often transgender phenomena are misapprehended through a lens that privileges sexual orientation and sexual identity as the primary means of differing from heteronormativity”; Stryker, “Transgender Studies: Queer Theory’s Evil Twin,” 214. Namaste had earlier asked, “How could we develop a queer politics which presupposes transsexual bodies, but which benevolently accommodates lesbian and gay subject positions?” Namaste, “Use and Abuse of Queer Tropes,” 217. Her subsequent book performs a damning critique of queer theory as it was practiced in the 1990s, rightly arguing that its formations did not attend to economic and social conditions in which transgender lives are embedded; Namaste, *Invisible Lives*, 22: “Despite their insistence on the productive nature of power, they do not demonstrate how drag queens or transgendered people of color are produced in different institutional, social, economic, and historical settings. And because they do not offer this type of analysis, they ignore the role their own theories play in creating transgendered people as an object of academic discourse.” Namaste’s argument was that the specificity and

complexity of transgender lives were erased in these theories, turning them solely into figures for transgression and into theoretical (not political or actual) subjects. Much of the most important subsequent queer theory has been at pains to address this injustice (as with Butler’s *Undoing Gender*). See also the history of political activism in Stryker, “Transgender History, Homonormativity, and Disciplinarity,” 145–57.

121 Salamon, *Assuming a Body*, 127.

122 Stryker, “Biopolitics,” 39; see also Preciado, *Testo Junkie*, esp. pp. 23–54.

123 See Rosalind Krauss, “Sculpture in the Expanded Field,” *October* 8 (Spring 1979): 30–44.

124 Krauss’s proposition for an expanded field was set in opposition to what she saw as the debased form of historicism that had determined art criticism and history at the time. In particular, it was the teleological explanation of phenomena (new or old) through recourse to a continuous genealogy that the structuralist notion of the expanded field was to supplant as a hermeneutic device. Lurking behind historicism, for Krauss, was Greenberg’s Hegelian account of medium specificity. In an essay published concurrently with the expanded field essay, Krauss was even more unforgiving about the limitations of historicism: “Historicism is our intellectual milieu. It affects the way we think and how we act – morally, politically, esthetically. And it must also be seen as a strategic operation, one that works on the strange to make it familiar. Given, say, an ancient civilization, one whose social structures and cultural artifacts are different from our own, historicism acts to construct a developmental model by which the early forms can be seen as the embryonic versions of later ones, which inevitably achieve ‘maturity’ in the forms of our own time...This drive to historicize, which amounts to a loathing of the different, is what defines us as an audience for art. And it is that very thing which separates us most profoundly now, in the present, from its makers. For artists, whether they

wish it or not, have become the residents of the land of the strange”; Rosalind Krauss, “John Mason and Post-modernist Sculpture: New Experiences, New Words,” *Art in America* 67, no. 3 (May–June 1979): 120–1. Krauss developed the model of the expanded field both to recast the medium through a set of its structural coordinates (rather than a lineage) and to offer a more adequate way of accounting for artists for whom medium was no longer a relevant or useful mode of characterizing their practice. Ironically, it is for these two reasons that Krauss’s essay has subsequently been seen as the one of the most appropriate and useful of historical descriptions of the previous decade and a half. As she says in the conclusion to the Mason essay (127), “I have been insisting that the expanded field of post-modernism occurs at a specific moment in the recent history of art.” Further accounts of Krauss’s text, its intentions, and its legacies are discussed in the recently published *Retracing the Expanded Field: Encounters between Art and Architecture*, ed. Spyros Papapetros and Julian Rose (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2014). Surprisingly, none of the contributors mention the Mason essay despite its informative relation to the *October* article of the same year with which it shares concerns and terms.

125 Eve Meltzer, *Systems We Have Loved: Conceptual Art, Affect, and the Antihumanist Turn* (University of Chicago Press, 2013), 119–36.

126 Krauss, “John Mason and Post-modernist Sculpture,” 125.

127 Butler, *Undoing Gender*, 29.

1 ON NOT MAKING BOYS: DAVID SMITH, FRANK O’HARA, AND GENDER ASSIGNMENT

1 David Smith, interview with Frank O’Hara, *The Sculpting Master of Bolton Landing*, aired on WNDT New York, 11 November and repeated 13

INDEX

- NOTE: Page numbers in italics refer to illustrations. Page numbers followed by *n* and a number refer to information in the Notes. Artists' works appear at the end of their index entries.
- abstract eroticism 5, 13–15
see also Eccentric Abstraction
- Abstract Expressionism 24
 and Chamberlain 138–9, 142
 and Grossman 154, 162, 189–90
 and O'Hara, 72
 and Smith 3, 68
- abstraction's rejection of human form and invocation in sculpture xii–xiii, xvi, xvii, 1–2, 6–41, 278–9
- anthropomorphism 9–13
 and Minimalism 9–11, 12–13
- Bourgeois's work 17
- Flavin's dedications and personhood 249–53, 256, 257–65
- Flavin's icons and figurations of the homosexual 212–27, 233–5, 237, 241–3, 261
- and genders xiv–xv, 1, 2, 13–19, 44, 279–80
 complication and ambiguity of gender 19–26
- Gonzalez-Torres's dedications and personhood 254, 256, 265
- and Smith's non-figurative art 2–3, 44–5, 54–5, 57–9, 62–8, 70, 80, 81–95
- transgender capacity 2, 4, 34, 38–9, 276–7, 278–80
- and body in Cassils's sculpture 269–74, 278
- Burton's sculpture as furniture 274–6, 278
- Grossman's work 160
- openness of Chamberlain's work 129–42, 145
- Acconci, Vito 25
- activism and transgender issues xii, 26–7, 28, 29, 30
- Adrian, Dennis 326*n*.123
- Aestheticism: artists and self-representation 20
- Alloway, Lawrence 8
- Altieri, Charles 71
- ambiguity of gender in art 4, 5, 19
- ambiguity and simplified morphologies in modern sculpture 19–26
 and Brancusi's sculpture 20–2
 Chamberlain's work 131–3, 135
 Smith's non-figurative works 83, 87–95
- and Lippard's discourse 14
- sculpture of Bourgeois and Hesse 17
- and Smith's work 83
see also androgyny
- American Psychiatric Association 30–1
- Andre, Carl 247, 249, 259
 "A Word for John Chamberlain" (poem) 305*n*.22
- androgyny
 in art 5, 14, 21
 interpretations of Smith's work 83
- artists' self-representation 20, 24
see also ambiguity of gender in art
- anecdotal theory 44
- Anger, Kenneth 142
Scorpio Rising (film) 139, 172
- animalier* sculpture 283–4*nn*.4
- anthropocentrism critique 9
- anthropomorphism 5
 and sculpture 6, 9–13, 145
 Smith's non-figurative work 54–5, 57–9, 61, 62–8, 70, 80, 81–95
see also sculpture: relationship with human figure
- Antin, Eleanor 269
- Apollinaire, Guillaume 20
- Arbus, Diane 25, 198
- art history *see* transgender studies: and art history
- Artforum*: Flavin's autobiography 217–18, 219
- artists and self-representation: nonconforming genders 20, 24, 25, 149, 205
- assemblage: Grossman's sculpture 4, 18–19, 147–8, 149–79, 203
- Auder, Viva: *The Secret Life of William Shakespeare* (film with Chamberlain) 114, 116
- Auping, Michael 100
- Avedon, Richard: Grossman's studio and work 182, 184, 189, 190, 191, 194
- Ayden, Erje 61
- Baden, Mowry 11
- Baker, Elizabeth (Betsy) 97, 102, 117, 308*n*.77
- Bannard, Darby 106
- Bass, Math 327*n*.13
- Battcock, Gregory 324*n*.93
Minimal Art (anthology) 13
- Bell, Larry 119
- Bellamy, Richard 220
- Benglis, Lynda: *The Amazing Bow Wow* (video) 25
- Benjamin, Harry xii, 20, 28, 29
- Benning, Sadie 327*n*.13
- Berkson, Bill 61–2, 150, 177
- Bernstein, Nancy 27
- Besember, Linda 327*n*.13
- Bess, Forrest 24
- binary approach to gender and human form xiv–xv, 21–2
 fallacy and acknowledgement of multiple genders xv–xvi, 14, 23–4, 31–2, 33, 34, 280
 limitations on human experience 129
 and Grossman 176–7, 179
see also dimorphism
- bi-sexed and inclusive genders in art 20–1, 24–5
 Grossman on bi-sexed process of art 178–9, 205
- black leather and Grossman's work
 association with S/M 172, 173, 180, 191–201, 204
 connotations of black leather jacket 172–4, 176
- Black Mountain College and Chamberlain 117, 143, 304*n*.6
- Blake, Nayland 179, 189, 193, 194

Blow Job (Warhol film) 172, 201
 “bodily”
 and anthropomorphism in sculpture
 9, 11, 13
 and gender and sexuality 13
 body
 aesthetics of transgender body 4
 in sculptural work of artists 2–3
 Cassils’s use of body in making of
 work 267–74, 278
 see also human figure and shift to
 abstraction; viewer’s bodily
 relation with art
 bondage see S/M community
 Bontecou, Lee 142
 Bosworth, Patricia 198
 Bourgeois, Louise 17–18, 19, 25, 160,
 301n.93
 Brainard, Joe 48
 Brancusi, Constantin 6, 20–2
 Flavin’s dedication of work to 210
 Adam and Eve 20, 21
 Golden Bird 23
 The Kiss 135, 140
 Leda 20
 Princess X 20, 22
 Torso of a Young Girl [III] 20, 22
 Torso of a Young Man [I] 20, 21, 22
 Broadway in Flavin’s *icon V* (Coran’s
 Broadway Flesh) 212–13, 215, 222–4
 Burgher, Elijah 327n.13
 Burden, Chris 316n.126
 Burnham, Jack 11–12, 244, 325n.96
 Burr, Tom 327n.13
 Burton, Scott 274–6, 278
 Five Themes of Solitary Behavior 198
 Two-part Chair 276
 Butler, Judith xiv, 31, 94, 127, 278,
 307n.59
 on acknowledgement of gender
 complexity xvi, 36, 41, 89–91, 267
 Butt, Gavin 47
 Calder, Alexander (“Sandy”) 259

Calley, Lieutenant William 185, 187–8
 capacity see transgender capacity
 Carney, William: *The Real Thing* 173,
 315n.116
 Caro, Anthony 11–12
 Carroll, Paul 71
 Cassils, Heather
 Becoming an Image performance work
 268–71, 268, 271–2, 273, 278
 Cuts: A Traditional Sculpture 269
 The Resilience of the 20% 266, 267–9,
 273–4
 Chadwick, Whitney 316n.134
 Chamberlain, John xii, xiii, xvi, 2–4, 39,
 97–145, 121, 274, 276, 279
 Black Mountain College 143, 304n.6
 and poet’s approach to work 117,
 143
 bodies in non-figurative art 2–3, 114
 challenges of describing work 100–2,
 138–9, 142
 interviews and evasive attitude to
 work 117–18, 122–3, 130, 279
 Judd’s writing and interpretation
 110–11, 118–19
 and “successive states” 110–11, 114,
 130
 color and work 105–8, 305n.26
 “fitting” process and coupling in
 words and work 97–8
 conflicted readings of concrete
 and abstract 97, 108, 110–12,
 143
 coupling and tactics of 100,
 102–16, 143
 masculine and feminine in work
 137
 sculpture and painting 104–5,
 116
 and sexual in work 98, 100,
 120–5, 127, 130–1
 volume and mass 103–4, 112, 116
 and gender multiplicity and indeter-

mination 1, 122–42
 Guggenheim retrospective (2012)
 305n.27
John Chamberlain / F_____g Couches
 exhibition 120–1
 paper sculptures 110, 117
 sexuality
 and personal interactions and
 interviews 119–20
 and work 38, 98, 100, 120–5, 127,
 129–31, 143, 145
 titles and meaning of work 110, 114,
 117, 249
 and gender assignment 113–4, 131,
 132
 transformative nature of art 112–13,
 114, 122, 125, 127, 145
 recycling aesthetic 127
 and transgender perspective 18, 26,
 129–42
 open-endedness and transgender
 capacity 129–42, 145
Bouquet 99
Chili Terlingua 124
Crowded Hearts 132
Dolores James 112
Endless Gossip 110
Endzoneboogie 110, 111
Essex 123–4
*F*****g Asterisks* 129
Fantail 103
Flavin Flats 3
Folded Nude 96, 133–4, 134
Four Polished Nails 126
Huzzy 113–14, 115, 131
Kiss series 135
Kiss #11 138–9
Kiss #12 140, 141
Kiss #26 141
Kiss #28 136
M. Junior Love 101
Miss Lucy Pink 108, 131
Mustang Sally McBright 107

One Twin 133–4
Panna-Normanna 123, 142
Penthouse series 110
Penthouse #46 118
The Secret Life of William Shakespeare
 (film with Auder) 114, 116
Socket series 98, 114, 132
Son of Dudes 109, 131, 132
Three Cornered Desire 132, 133
Tongue Pictures 113
Toy 104
Ultrafull Private 144
 Chave, Anna 20–1
 Chicago, Judy: *Dinner Party* 163
 Clum, John M. 320n.46
 Cohen, Mark Daniel 175–6
 color and sculpture
 Chamberlain 105–8, 305n.26
 critical reservations 105–6
 Smith 48, 54, 105
 Colpitt, Frances 6, 10, 284n.14
 Cone, Jane Harrison 299n.58
 Conner, Bruce 9
 Coran, Stanley 215, 218–19, 220, 222–5,
 234, 237, 242, 247
 Creeley, Robert 110
 Crow, Thomas 129
 Curtis, Jackie 25, 30
 Dalí, Salvador 20
 Darling, Candy 30
 Davis, Whitney 327–8n.16
 Dawson, Fielding 305n.22
 de Henriquez, Fiore 24, 28
 de Kooning, Willem 46, 48
 de Villiers, Nicholas 219
 dedications see Flavin: titles of works
 and dedications
 Dehner, Dorothy 79
 Dienes, Sari 142
 difference and Flavin’s work
 naming of homosexuals and visible
 difference 210–12, 218–19, 220–7,

- 233–5, 237, 239, 241–3, 259, 261
systematic interchangeability and
difference and sameness 243–53,
257, 261, 264–5
- dimorphism
fallacy of absolute dimorphism
xiv–xvi, 129, 280
and feminist attitudes 204
gender assignment and human form
in art xiv–xv
and Brancusi's sculptures 20–2
and Chamberlain's sculptures
131–2
and Smith's non-figurative work
44–5, 62–4, 73–86, 89–91, 93
social insistence on assignment of
gender 176–7
nomination of human gender xiv,
21–2
see also binary approach to gender
and human form
- Disney clay (WED clay) and Cassils's
work 273
- drag/drag queens
academic study in 1960s 30
conflict with police 28, 29
Rosenblum's drag queen names for
friends 259, 262–3
visibility in Warhol's films 25, 30
- Duchamp, Marcel 6, 20
*The Bride Stripped Bare by her
Bachelors, Even* 157
- earthworks as art 7
Eccentric Abstraction exhibition (New
York, 1966) 4, 13, 14, 16–17
- Ellison, Ralph: *Invisible Man* (novel)
219–20
- Erickson, Reed and Erickson Educa-
tional Foundation 28–9
- erotic in art
abstract eroticism 5, 13–15
see also sexuality
- Factory (Warhol) films 25, 30
- Fake, Edie 327*n*.13
- Farren, Mick 172
- fashion and black leather jacket 172–3,
176
- Feinberg, Leslie 26, 282*n*.13, 289*n*.80
- feminism
binary attitudes to gender 204
division over transgender participa-
tion 31, 291*n*.22
Grossman and conflicted relationship
with 19, 149, 203–5
Grossman and use of vaginal imagery
162–3
Lippard on abstraction and sexual
difference 15
and S/M community and practices
204
transfeminism and gender noncon-
formism in art 25–6, 149, 205
- Fer, Briony 12, 15
- figuration *see* human figure and shift to
abstraction
- film and transsexuality 25, 27, 28, 30
- Flavin, Dan xii, xiii, 2–4, 39–40, 209–65,
274, 276
bodies in non-figurative art 2–3, 213,
215
and categorization of work 209–10
as sculpture 2, 6, 210, 317–8*n*.5
change of direction and use of
fluorescent tubes 230–43
systematic interchangeability and
difference and sameness
243–53, 257, 261, 264–5
homosexuality and attitudes and
work 38
and autobiography in *Artforum*
217–18, 219
“flesh tint” and carnal nature of
icon V 213, 215, 225, 227, 234
homosexual mentors 232–43
icons and figurations of the

- homosexual 212–27, 228,
233–5, 237, 241–3, 261
public offensives and naming of
homosexuals 216–17, 218–19,
220, 227, 233–4, 259, 261
- invisibility and art of 228–9
fluorescent tubes and “approx-
imate invisibility” 232–43, 261, 264
- light and the visible in art 219–20,
239
- titles of works and dedications 40,
209–10, 280
fluorescent tubes and performative
dedications 247–53, 257, 261,
264
influence on Gonzalez-Torres's
naming of works 254–7, 265
naming of homosexuals and
visible difference 210–12,
218–19, 220–7, 233–4, 239,
241–3, 259, 261
shifting dedication for *diagonal of
May 25, 1963* 239, 243
transformable personhood and
naming 254–65
and transgender perspective 18, 26,
257–65
*alternate diagonals of March 2, 1964 (to
Don Judd)* 242
*Dan Flavin: alternating pink and “gold”
installation* 248
Dan Flavin: fluorescent light installation
242–3, 242
Dan Flavin: some light installation 213,
229–30, 230
*the diagonal of May 25, 1963 (to
Constantin Brancusi / to Robert
Rosenblum)* 230–1, 231, 232, 239,
240, 241, 242, 243
East New York Shrines 220, 222, 259
European Couples installation 265
icon series 212–27, 228–30
*icon IV (the pure land) (to David John
Flavin [1933–1962])* 225, 226, 227,
228, 230, 241
icon V (Coran's Broadway Flesh)
212–16, 214, 218–27, 221, 228, 230,
233–5, 237, 239, 247, 261
final study 216
formation of title 250–1
plan for revised work 224–5, 224
*icon VI (Ireland dying) (to Louis
Sullivan)* 228, 229
icon VII (via crucis) 228, 229
*icon VIII (the dead nigger's icon) (to
Blind Lemon Jefferson)* 228–9, 229
*one of May 27th, 1963 (Construction
with Red Fluorescent and Incandes-
cent Bulbs)* 237, 238
pink out of a corner (to Jasper Johns)
232, 234, 236, 237, 239, 242–3, 242
red and green alternatives (to Sonja) 211
red out of a corner (to Annina) 237, 238,
257
*untitled (for you, Leo, in long respect and
affection)* 208, 257
*untitled (in memory of “Sandy” Calder
V* 257, 260
untitled (to Ellen Johnson, fondly) 252
untitled (to Janie Lee) one 246
untitled (to the real Dan Hill) 244
- Flavin, David John 217, 225, 227, 242
Flesh (Warhol film) 30
- Foucault, Michel 283*n*.19
- Frankenthaler, Helen 62
- Freas, Jean 48
- Fried, Michael 12–13
“Art and Objecthood” essay 9–10,
278
on Caro 11–12
- Fritscher, Jack 196–7
- furniture as art in Burton's work 274–6
- Gallop, Jane 44
- Gaudier-Brzeska, Henri 6
- gay liberation movement xii

- distancing from transgender community and issues 31
see also homosexuality
- Geldzahler, Henry 137, 279, 284*n.8*
- gender
 as “expanded field” 40–1
 fallacy of absolute dimorphism xiv–xvi, 129, 280
 feminist attitudes to gender roles 204
 and Flavin’s naming of works 257–65
 gender identity
 ascription at birth xiv
 invention of term 28, 30
 shift in understanding in 1960s xi–xii
 historical attitudes and understandings 26–34
 and human figure in art xvi, xvii
 abstraction and genders xiv–xv, 1, 2, 13–19, 279–80
 ambiguity of gender 4, 5, 14, 17, 19–26, 83, 94–5
 assignment of gender xiv–xv, 20–3, 44, 131–2
 assignment of gender and Smith’s work 44–5, 62–4, 73–86, 89–91, 93
 Chamberlain’s work 114, 122–42
 Grossman’s open and disruptive approach to gender 147–8, 149–50, 160–79
 inclusive genders 20–1, 24–5
 nonconforming genders 20, 23–6, 38, 149, 205
 and literature on artists 17–18
 masculine in Grossman’s work 150, 188
 connotations of black leather jacket 172–4, 176
 multiplicity xv–xvi, 1, 2, 14, 23–4, 33, 40–1, 279–80
 Chamberlain’s work and unspecified gender 1, 122–42
 historical context 31–2
see also transgender capacity
- mutability xvi, 2, 19, 20, 23–4, 40–1, 127
 and Chamberlain’s works 131–3, 135
 and Grossman’s work 1, 147–8, 149–50, 160–79, 201–7
 historical context 31–2
 temporal nature of gender 127, 129
see also transgender capacity
- and sexuality 36–9
 complexity of Grossman’s explicit sculptures 160–76, 179, 203
see also ambiguity of gender in art; binary approach to gender and human form; dimorphism; nonconforming genders; transformation: and gender; transgender
- gender research clinics xi–xii, 28–9, 30
- Genette, Gérard 251–3
- Gernreich, Rudi 217
- Gibson, John: *Tinted Venus* 105, 106
- Goldsmith, Bill 194–5
- Glass, Charles 327*n.2*
- Gonzalez-Torres, Felix 254–7, 265
 “Untitled” (*Perfect Lovers*) 256
 “Untitled” (*Petit Palais*) 254, 255
 “Untitled” (*Portrait of Ross in L.A.*) 254, 255
- Goosen, E. C. 105
- Govan, Michael 225
- Graham, Dan 225, 245
- Gray, Cleve 82, 86, 301*n.94*
- Green, Richard 30
- Greenberg, Clement 10, 54, 55, 311*n.28*
- Greenson, Ralph 28
- Groeneboer, Jonah 327*n.13*
- Grossman, Nancy xii, xiii, 2–4, 31, 39, 147–207, 274, 276, 279
 bodies in non-figurative art 2–3

- abstract assemblages 4, 18–19, 147–8, 149–79, 203
- Civil Rights and anti-racism sympathies 199, 313*n.69*
- critical reception and reputation 148–9, 163
 misrepresentations of work 149, 205, 206
 popularity and misreading of “heads” 192–201
- drawings
 commercial illustration work 167–8
 and sculpture 151, 152, 155, 156–7, 181
- and feminism
 gender nonconformity and uneasy relationship with 19, 149, 203–5
 transgender affinities 19, 26
 and use of vaginal imagery 162–3
- figurative art and heads 19, 148, 172, 178–207, 180, 183–4, 186–7, 189, 194–6, 200, 202, 207
- bodilessness and transgender capacity 201–7
- containment and disclosure theme 181–2, 184, 187–8, 191, 201
- earlier abstract assemblages as precursor to 149–50, 167–8
- labor and craft of making 181–3, 182
- redirection of heads in 1980s 199–201
- S/M association 180, 191–201, 204, 205
 as self-portraits 147, 150, 179–81, 184–91, 202–3, 206
 sources of inspiration and research for 189, 191
- friendship with Smith and influence on work 151–60
 and gender multiplicity and mutability 1
- bi-sexed process of art 178–9, 205
- bodilessness of heads and transgender perspective 201–7
- disruptive and open approach to gender 147–8, 149–50, 160–79
- German shepherd dog 175
- leather in work
 black leather and cultural connotations 172–4, 176, 180, 191–201
 as repurposed material 151, 152–4, 158, 165, 171–2, 177
- “machine-animal hybrids” series 159, 177–8
- sexuality and complexity of explicit sculptures 38, 148, 151, 160–76, 179, 203
- studio and work in progress 182, 184, 189, 190, 191, 194
- and transgender perspective 19, 159–60
- A.F.F.* 146
- Ali of Nostrand* 158, 175
- Ali Stoker* 38, 150–1, 162, 167, 169–76, 170–1, 173, 175
- Andro* sculptures 194–5
- Arbus* 198
- Black Landscape* 151, 152, 161, 166
- Blunt* 183
- Bride* 150–1, 154, 160–7, 161, 164, 176
- Brown and Black* 158
- B.Y.K.* 202
- Car Horn* 158
- Caracas* 193
- Chiron* 166–7, 166
- Cob II* 199
- Eden* 151
- The Edge of Always* 151, 152, 161
- For David Smith* 150–1, 151–60, 153, 155
- Hitchcock* 158
- Mary* 185, 186–7, 187–8

- M.L. Sweeney* 181, 196
M.U.S. 189
No Name 180, 207
Potawatami 162, 167, 168–9
Slaves series 167, 169, 172
Totem series 311*n.*29
Walrus 166
- Guggenheim, Peggy 241
Gypsy (Broadway musical) 222–3, 223, 258–9
- Halberstam, Jack 4, 17, 18, 26, 33, 159–60, 177
Hall, Gordon 327*n.*13
Hammond, Harmony 327*n.*13
Hampson, Joan and John 28
Harwood, Michael 324*n.*92, 326*n.*124
Henriquez, Fiore de *see de* Henriquez, Fiore
Hepworth, Barbara 23
hermaphrodite statues and ambiguous figures 20
Hess, Thomas 79, 80
Hesse, Eva 17–18, 19, 160, 177
Ringaround Arosie 24
Höch, Hannah 160
homosexuality
black leather and clothing 172–3, 176, 195–6
Flavin's attitudes and work
homosexual mentors 232–43
icons and figurations of the homosexual 212–27, 233–5, 237, 241–3, 261
naming of homosexuals and visible difference 210–12, 215–16, 218–19, 220–7, 233–5, 237, 239, 241–3, 259, 261
public offensives against homosexuals 216–17, 227
gay collectors
Flavin's work 323*n.*82
Grossman's work 194–5
and *Gypsy* musical and New York 222–3
and New York art world 46–8, 241
see also gay liberation movement; S/M community
Horosko, Marian 79–80
Howard, Richard 73
human figure and shift to abstraction xii–xiii, xvi, xvii, 277
and genders xiv–xv, 1, 2, 13–19, 279–80
abstraction and nonconforming genders 20, 23–6, 38, 149, 205
assignment of gender xiv–xv, 20–3, 44
assignment of gender and Smith's non-figurative work 44–5, 62–4, 73–86, 89–91, 93
Brancusi's assigned and inclusive genders 20–2
Chamberlain's sculptures 131–2
see also abstraction's rejection of human form and invocation in sculpture; ambiguity of gender in art; body; sculpture: relationship with human figure
Hunter, Sam 49–50
Indiana, Gary 102, 123–4, 125
International Olympic Committee (IOC) 29
intersex
artists' self-representation 24, 25
development of history and politics of xv, 26–7, 33–4, 282*n.*10
Jefferson, Blind Lemon 229
Johns, Jasper 48, 72, 142, 228, 232–5, 237, 249, 259
and Flavin's *pink out of a corner (to Jasper Johns)* 232, 234, 236, 237, 239, 242–3, 242
Tennyson 215, 233–5, 235, 237, 239

- Johns Hopkins University xi, 29, 30
Johnson, Marsha P. 30
Johnson, Philip 323*n.*82
Johnston, Jill 213, 234–5
Jones, Caroline 215, 323*n.*78
Jorgensen, Christine xi, 27, 28, 29–30, 31, 259
Joyce, James 217
Judd, Donald xvi, 9, 12–13, 142, 216, 219, 285*n.*16
on Chamberlain 101, 105, 107–8, 110–11, 118–19, 120, 130
and Flavin 210, 212, 220, 228
titles of works 249, 250
Kaplowitz, Jane 324
Katz, Jonathan D. 47
Kauffman, Craig 244–5, 324*n.*94
Kertess, Klaus 102, 105, 120, 307*n.*51
Kienholz, Edward 9
Kobro, Katarzyna 6
Kosofsky Sedgwick, Eve 4–5, 201, 307*n.*59
Krauss, Rosalind xi, 13, 16
on attempts to overcome figuration in sculpture 6–7
on body in abstract sculpture 7
“expanded field” term 40–1
on Smith and work 72, 80, 83–4, 88
dissertation and catalogue raisonné 299*n.*58
Kusama, Yayoi 13, 19
language
nomination of gender at birth xiv
words and artists' work 279
leather *see* Grossman: leather in work
Leider, Philip 319*n.*29
Leigh, Michael: *Velvet Underground* 192, 193
lesbian community and feminism 204
Leslie, Alfred: *The Last Clean Shirt* (film with O'Hara) 52

- LeWitt, Sol 210, 228
Licht, Fred 241
Linder, Jean 13
Lippard, Lucy
“Eccentric Abstraction” (essay) 13, 14–15, 16, 17
Eccentric Abstraction exhibition (New York, 1966) 4, 13, 14, 16–17
“Eros Presumptive” (essay) 13–15, 16, 17, 38
on Flavin's *icon V* 213
on reality of sculpture 7
literalism
and Flavin's work 209–10
icons and figurations of the homosexual 212–27, 233–5, 237, 241–3, 261
turn to fluorescent tubes 230–2, 241–3, 261, 264
and human form xii, 2, 9, 10, 11, 38
and Burton's sculpture as furniture 274–5, 278
Flavin's dedications and personhood 249–53, 257–65
Lonesome Cowboys (Warhol film) 138–9
Lord, Catherine 176
Lowndes, Joan 251
Ludlam, Charles: Ridiculous Theater Company 25
McGinnes, Mac 324*n.*92, 326*n.*123
“Meet Ms. Western Artiste!” (with Rosenblum) 262–3
Malevich, Kasimir 323*n.*78
Mapplethorpe, Robert 195, 197–8
Untitled (Nancy Grossman sculptures) 200
Marisol 25
masculine in Grossman's work 150, 188
associations of black leather 172–4, 176
Masheck, Joe 216
Massumi, Brian 75–6

- Matisse, Henri 210
- media
and misrepresentation of Grossman's
"heads" 193–5, 198, 199–201
visibility and understanding of
transsexuality xi, xii, 24, 25, 27,
28, 29–30
- medicine
gender reassignment surgery 29
medical discourse of sex and gender
24
see also gender research clinics
- McCracken, John 324*n*.94
- Medina, Ernest 185, 187
- Meltzer, Eve 40
- Mendieta, Ana: *Untitled (Facial Hair
Transplants)* 25
- Merman, Ethel 222, 223
- Meyer, James 9, 10–11, 17, 212, 220
- Meyer, Richard 47
- Meyerowitz, Joanne 26, 27
- Mies van der Rohe, Ludwig 247
- Miller, D. A. 222
- Minimalism 8, 16
abstraction and human figure 7, 9–13
anthropomorphism critiques 9–11,
12–13
and body in Cassils's work 273
Burton's sculpture as furniture 274–6,
278
and Flavin 4, 209–10
and Gonzalez-Torres 254, 256
see also Postminimalism
- Money, John 24, 28, 30
"monokini" and Flavin on Barbara
Rose 217
- Moore, Henry 23
- Morris, Robert 7, 12–13, 16, 25
- Motherwell, Robert 301*n*.93
- Moyer, Carrie 327*n*.13
- Müller, Grégoire 256
- Müller, Ulrike 327*n*.13
- Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), New
York
Flavin on Wilfred's work at 217
O'Hara and Smith's work 45–6,
48–50, 59, 61, 62
- My Lai Massacre and Grossman's work
185, 187–8
- Namaste, Viviane K. xv, 292–3*n*.120
- names
Rosenblum's drag queen names for
friends 259, 262–3
and self-determination 258–9
see also titles
- Nashat, Shahryar 327*n*.13
- Nelson, Maggie 47
- Nemser, Cindy 149, 155–6, 157, 160, 162,
163, 169, 171, 311–2*n*.40
- Neuner, Stefan 217
- New York art world and homosexual
networks 46–8, 241
- New York School of poets 46, 47
- Newman, Barnett 228, 245
- Newton, Esther 30
- Nine at Leo Castelli* warehouse show
216–17, 218
- nonconforming genders xvi, xvii
and abstraction 20, 23–6, 38
Grossman's work 149–50, 205
actors and artists 20, 24, 25
see also transgender; transsexuality
- Northwestern University xi–xii, 29
- Nosei, Annina 237
- Ockham, William of 210
- O'Doherty, Brian 149
- O'Hara, Frank 47
homosexuality and New York art
world 46–8
as poet 70–3
"Having a Coke with You" 70
"Hermaphrodite" 25
"In Memory of My Feelings" 72
Love Poems (Tentative Title) 47
- Lunch Poems* 46
Smith's appearance in "Mozart
Chemisier" 50–2
and social and sexual relationships
46–7, 62
and visual art and artists 46
and Smith
Art New York interview 1, 39,
43–4, 61–8, 63–4, 66, 72, 80,
81–2, 93–5, 279
ARTnews article 53–4, 57–8, 59
as curator and role in Smith's
career 43, 44–61, 72–3
response to Smith's sculptures
57–9, 61, 64–8, 70, 72–3,
73–86
and sexuality 75–7
visits to Bolton Landing 48–9,
50–3, 57–9, 62, 64–5
- Oldenburg, Claes 9, 13
Drum Set 24–5
- Olson, James 185, 187
- Olympic Games in Mexico City (1968)
xii, 27, 29
- ONE National Gay & Lesbian Archives,
Los Angeles: "Trans Activation" series
270
- Paar, Jack 24, 28
- paratextuality *see* peritextuality
- Parsons, Betty and gallery 24
- part-objects and gender 15, 17, 19, 177
- Paterson, Jennifer 24
- performativity
Flavin's titles and dedications 209,
220
and fluorescent tube works
247–53, 257, 261, 264
Grossman's heads as self-portraits 203,
206
nomination of gender at birth xiv
- Pepe, Sheila 327*n*.13
- peritextuality and Flavin's dedications
251–3
- Perreault, John
and Flavin's titles and dedications
209, 210
on Grossman 192, 194
personhood in sculpture 3, 276
and "expanded field" 41
and Flavin's naming system
performative naming of works
249–53, 257
transformable personhood 254–65
"successive states" of personhood and
gender xvi, xvii, 34, 279–80
and Chamberlain's work 110–11,
114, 130
- Picabia, Francis 20
- Picasso, Pablo 105
- Pincus-Witten, Robert 16
- Piper, Adrian: *Mythic Being* 25
- Plunkett, Edward M. 220, 259, 320*n*.41
- Poetter, Jochen 125–7
- Pollock, Jackson 46, 48
- Pop Art 3–4, 9
- Postminimalism 4
and *Eccentric Abstraction* exhibition
16–17
- Potts, Alex 44, 215, 309*n*.2
- Preciado, Paul B. xv, 26
- public art: Burton's furniture 274–6
- queer studies and queer theory 27, 37
- Rasmussen, Waldo 59, 61
- Rauschenberg, Robert 48, 142
Bed 235
- Raven, Arlene 147, 150, 151, 156, 158,
166, 185, 187
- Rechy, John 28
City of Night 48
- Reis, Elizabeth 26, 27
- relief assemblages of Grossman 18–19,
147–8, 149–79, 203
- relief sculpture 283–4*nn*.3&4

- reparative readings 4–5
 Richardson, Brenda 249
 Ridiculous Theater Company 25
 Ritchie, Andrew 49–50
 Rivera, Sylvia 30
 Rivers, Larry 47, 48, 139
 Roberts, Randy 185, 187
 Rodin, Auguste 135, 273, 289*n.66*
 Rondeau, James 235
 Rose, Barbara 101–2, 105, 213, 217
 Rosen, Andrea 254, 256
 Rosenblum, Robert 220, 232–3, 239, 241, 243
 drag queen names for friends 259
 “Meet Ms. Western Artistel!” (with McGinnes) 262–3
 sexual identity 241, 324*n.93*
 Rubin, Gayle 204
- S/M community
 association with Grossman’s work 172, 173, 205
 and head figures 180, 191–201, 204
- Sahib, Prem 327*n.13*
 Salamon, Gayle 33, 37, 165, 206
 Samaras, Lucas 13
 Schapiro, Meyer 24
 Schapiro, Miriam 163
 Schiff, Gert 193
 Schor, Mira 205
 Scull, Robert and Ethel 220
- sculpture
 and color 48, 54, 105–8
 physical relationship with viewer 5–6, 7, 9, 11–12, 14–15, 277–8
 O’Hara’s response to Smith’s work 57–9, 61, 64–8, 70, 72–3, 73–86
 relationship with human figure 1–41
 abstract sculpture and genders xv, 1, 2, 9–13
 ambiguity and simplified forms 19–26, 83, 87–95, 133–4
 anthropomorphism critiques 6, 9–13
 and distinction as art not object 8
 Smith’s non-figurative art 2–3, 44–5, 54–5, 57–9, 62–8, 70, 80, 81–95
 “successive states” of personhood and gender xvi, xvii, 34, 279–80
 and Chamberlain’s work 110–11, 114, 130
 transformation in 1960s xi, 2, 6
 see also abstraction’s rejection of human form and invocation in sculpture; human figure and shift to abstraction
- Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky *see* Kosofsky Sedgwick
 Segal, George 9
 Selby, Hubert, Jr.: *Last Exit to Brooklyn* (novel) 27, 28
- sex change *see* transsexuality
- sexuality
 and Chamberlain’s personal interactions and interviews 119–20
 and gender 36–9
 and O’Hara 46–8, 75–7
 in sculpture 3, 37
 abstract eroticism 5, 13–15
 and Chamberlain’s work 98, 100, 120–5, 127, 129–31, 143, 145
 complexity of Grossman’s explicit art 38, 148, 151, 160–76, 179, 203
 Grossman’s association with S/M community 180, 191–201, 204, 205
 and Smith’s work 38, 75–7
 see also erotic in art; homosexuality;
- Shaw, Lytle 72–3
 Siegel, Anita 198
 Sillman, Amy 327*n.13*

- Sims, Lowery Stokes 174, 176
 Smith, David xii, xiii, 2–4, 7, 16, 43–95, 74–5, 89, 274, 280
 bodies in non-figurative art 2–3, 54–5, 57–9, 62–8, 70, 80, 81–95
 and assignment of gender 44–5, 62–4, 73–86, 89–91, 93
 Bolton Landing and sculptures in situ 42, 45, 48–9, 49–53, 50–3, 55–8, 57–9, 61, 62, 64–5, 67, 71, 74–8, 85–6, 88–92, 95
 catalogue raisonné 299*n.58*
 color and work 48, 54, 105
 composition of work and “drawing in space” 68, 157–8
 daughters and home life and work 48, 51–2, 78–9, 298*n.54*
 death 59, 61
 friendship with Grossman and *For David Smith* 150–1, 151–60, 153, 155
 and O’Hara
 Art New York interview 1, 39, 43–4, 61–8, 63–4, 66, 72, 80, 81–2, 93–5, 279
 connotations of “I don’t make boy sculptures” comment 43–4, 64, 73–84, 86
 and European retrospective (1966) 59, 61
 misrepresentation of Smith’s comments and works 81–6, 93
 “Mozart’s Chemisier” poem 50–2
 O’Hara at Bolton Landing 48–9, 50–3, 57–9, 62, 64–5
 O’Hara’s *ARTnews* article 53–4, 57–8, 59
 O’Hara’s response to Smith’s sculptures 57–9, 61, 64–8, 70, 72–3, 73–86
 O’Hara’s support as curator and role in career 43, 44–61, 72–3
 response to O’Hara’s sexuality 75–7
- rejection of words to interpret art 81
 sexuality and work 38, 75–7
 attitudes to women and use of term “girls” 78–80
 female nudes 79
- Tate Modern retrospective 1
 and transgender perspective 18, 26, 87–95
- Agricola I* 51
Black White Forward 77
Circle and Box (Circle and Ray) 65
Cube Totem 7 and 6 51, 84, 85
Cubi series 53, 55, 68, 95, 158, 159
Cubi VI 65
Cubi VII xviii
Cubi VIII 67
Cubi XI 71
XI Books III Apples 78
Fifteen Planes 69–70
The Five Spring 57
The Hero (Eyehead of a Hero) 83, 84, 86–7
Lectern Sentinel 67
Lonesome Man 76, 78
March Sentinel (Stainless Steel Planes) 53, 53
Ninety Father 42, 53, 60, 77, 78
Ninety Son 42, 53, 60, 77, 78, 91
Noland’s Blues 60
Personage of August 57, 58
Pilgrim 57
Rebecca Circle 60
Running Daughter 57
Sentinel series 68, 83
Sentinel I 56, 57
Sentinel II 57, 58
Tahstvaat 51
Tanktotem series 68, 83
Tanktotem I 83, 84
Tanktotem IV 83, 88
Tanktotem VI 57
Tanktotem VIII 60

Tanktotem IX 83, 90
Two Box Structure 50, 53
Two Circle Sentinel 50, 53, 53
Zig series 53, 68
Zig II 49, 50, 53, 55
Zig III 49, 50, 53, 77
 Smith, Jack 195
 Smith, Tony: *Die* 9–10, 10, 278
 Smithson, Robert 139, 234
 speech act theory *see* performativity
 Stanford University xii, 30
 Star, Hedy Jo 27, 28
 statue
 assignment of gender in Smith's
 non-figurative work 44–5, 62–4,
 73–86, 89–91, 93
 hermaphrodite statues and ambiguous
 figures 20
 rejection and transformation in art of
 1960s xi, xii, xiii, xvii, 2, 6–7, 8,
 10–11, 40
 Stella, Frank 142, 220, 228, 259
 titles of “Black Paintings” 249–50
 Stoller, Robert 24, 28, 30
 Stonewall Riots (New York, 1969) xii,
 30
 Street Transvestite Action Revolutionar-
 ies (STAR) 30
 Stryker, Susan xv, 26–7, 32, 36, 127,
 282*n*.10, 292*n*.120
 on gender and sexuality 37
 on inevitability of gender attribution
 176–7
 on “transgender liberation” in 1960s
 xvi, 30–1
 on use of “transgender” as term 32
 “successive states” of personhood and
 gender in sculpture xvi, xvii, 34,
 279–80
 and Chamberlain's work 110–11,
 114, 130
 Sullivan, Louis 228
 Sylvester, Julie 117–18

Symbolism: artists and self-representation
 20
 Tatlin, Vladimir 6, 210, 323*n*.78
 Tennyson, Alfred, Lord: “In Memoriam
 A.H.H.” (poem) 235, 237
 theater and illusionism and Flavin's
 work 222
 Thek, Paul 9
 Tillim, Sidney 212
 titles *see* Chamberlain: titles and
 meaning of work; Flavin: titles of
 works and dedications
Tonight Show (US TV show) 24, 28
 transfeminism and gender nonconform-
 ism in art 25–6, 149, 205
 transformation
 and Chamberlain's work 112–13, 114,
 122, 125, 127, 145
 and gender 279–80
 and body in Cassils's work
 269–74, 278
 and Flavin's naming practices
 257–65
 transformed gender categories xvi,
 xvii
 transgender experience xv, 35,
 273–4
 see also gender: mutability
 sculpture and rejection of statue in
 1960s xi, xii, xiii, xvii, 2, 6, 6–7, 8,
 10, 40
 transgender
 activism and issues xii, 26–7, 28, 29,
 30
 aesthetics of transgender body 4
 artists and self-representation 20, 24,
 25
 bi-sexed and inclusive genders in art
 20–1, 24–5, 178–9, 205
 Cassils's performance and work
 269–74, 278
 and Grossman's work 19

historical understanding and
 acknowledgement xv–xvi, 25,
 26–34
 chronology of 28–30
 in context of gay and lesbian
 culture 31, 270
 naming and personhood 258, 259,
 264
 and temporal nature of gender 127,
 129
 use of term 32–3
 as inclusive category xv
 see also transgender capacity; trans-
 gender studies; transsexuality
 transgender capacity xvi, 5, 34–6
 and abstract sculpture 2, 4, 34–6,
 38–9, 276–7, 278–80
 and body in Cassils's work
 269–74, 278
 Grossman's work 160
 openness of Chamberlain's work
 129–42, 145
 usefulness as critical tool 34–6
 transgender studies
 and art history xiii–xv, xvi, xvii, 33
 application to unexpected artists
 18
 and Lippard's “Eros Presumptive”
 views 14
 development as discipline 27, 33
 and temporal construction of gender
 129
 Transsexual Action Organization (TAO)
 30
 transsexuality
 historical understanding and
 acknowledgement xi–xii, xv–xvi,
 25, 27, 28, 29–30
 transgender as umbrella term xv
 Tucker, Paul 79

Tucker, William 54, 84
 Twombly, Cy 142
 Ultra Violet (Warhol actress) 116, 121
 universities: gender research clinics xi–
 xii, 28, 29, 30
 University of California Los Angeles xi,
 28
 Valentine, David 32, 36
 van der Marck, Jan 220
 Vidal, Gore: *Myra Breckinridge* (novel) xii,
 27, 30, 31
 Vietnam War: Grossman's response 185,
 187–8
 viewer's bodily relation with art 2
 abstraction and bodily scale 9–10,
 277–8
 sculpture 5–6, 7, 11–12, 278
 Lippard on “Eccentric Abstrac-
 tion” 14–15
 O'Hara's response to Smith's
 work 57–9, 61, 64–8, 70, 72–3,
 73–86
 Postminimalism and sculpture
 “beyond objects” 16–17
 Wagner, Anne 13
 Warhol, Andy 25, 27, 30, 142, 195
 Blow Job (film) 172, 201
 Lonesome Cowboys (film) 138–9
 Warren, Vincent 47, 59
 Welchman, John 249
 Wilfred, Thomas 217
 Wilke, Hannah 13, 14
 Wilkin, Karen 83
 Williams, Cristan 292*n*.106
 Wilson, Phyllis Avon 29
 Wood, Ed 28