

FEMINITIES / MASCARADES: .

'The time might have come to valorize woman's ideas at the expense of those of man, whose bankruptcy has achieved a tumultuous climax today.'

André Breton, Arcane 17, Québec, 1944.

'To those of you who are women this will not apply - you are yourselves the problem'

Sigmund Freud

OUR FINS-DE-SIECLE.

Orlando, Virginia Woolf's transexual heroine stands at a temporal and cultural crossroads - she looks back in her various guises to the past; she anticipates the future. In France, too, transexual stories go back to Joan of Arc, man-maid of Orleans, and are reincarnated in the present in Orland. ¹ Two terrains whose paths cross: sexual differences, cultural differences. All have their being under the aegis of patriarchy and the conflict of essence versus existence, 'nature or nurture'. 'One is not born but rather becomes, a woman.' (Simone de Beauvoir) ². A history whose origins are neither of our century nor the age of chivalry but must start in fantasy: the aftermath of the revolution against a legendary matriarchy. Here at least, was a vision of a female Golden Age. ³ The eternal sex war represented in art and literature is a less glorious tale. ⁴

Etymologically, before mythologically, woman has been placed on the side of evil: thus on the garter of Niki de Saint Phalle's Hon (She), 1966, is the motto Honi soi qui mal y pense: Evil to him who evil thinks. Bad Girls (London, 1993) tells us the Middle English representative of Old English 'baeddel' means 'homo utriusque, hermaphrodita'... and the derivative 'baedling' 'effeminate fellow, womanish man'. ⁵ Likewise 'féminisme' entering the French language in 1837 had a disturbingly twin meaning: the political movement to acquire rights for women including enfranchisement - alternatively 'féminisme' 'the aspect of a male individual who presents certain female secondary sexual characteristics', a state especially dangerous for the male intellectual or artist (the problem of 'Les Fleurs du Mâle' - écriture feminine?). Only in the late nineteenth century did the word 'artiste' in France acquire the possibility of a resonance of either sex. ⁶

The male artist is traditionally bound to the female Nude, his primary subject, as ratified by the institutions of Academy and Salon, the 'professions' of model and prostitute (Manet's Olympia, Zola's Nana, Balzac's 'Belle Noiseuse'). Yet implicit within his own professionalism is his capacity for 'Bovaryisme' (Flaubert's 'Madame Bovary, c'est moi'), for an identification with that flesh, a penetrating of that female anatomy, to understand from within its contours, softness, thoughts. His love of and desire for this female created object is none other but a sign, an extension of himself and his prowess. Besides Bovaryisme stands the myth of Pygmalion: the artist's kiss of life symbolising his hermaphroditic self-sufficiency. Brancusi's phallic, polished Princesse X is the perfect exemplar. Sexual cross-identification is a complex affair, wherein gender itself may be defined as a melancholic structure. The body and the visage of woman is created by the male artist as a mask; a mask which Judith Butler in Gender Trouble, rephrasing Lacan, describes as 'part of the incorporative strategy of melancholy, the taking on of attributes of the object/Other that is lost, where loss is a consequence of a refusal of love.' ⁷

The constructs and masks of masculinity, explored through the expanding field of gender studies, now qualify all the constructions of patriarchy, its national and intellectual manifestations. Yet our fin-de-siècle mirrors its precursor: on the threshold of a new century our gaze is transfixed, Janus-like, to the past as well as to the future. The proliferation of publications today find both its origins and its reflection in the explosion of nineteenth-century

sexology and its impact on contemporary criminal, medical, nascent psychoanalytical, literary and pornographic discourses - the very matrices of the birth of modernism.

Balzac's Sarrazine, 1830, Théophile de Gautier's Mademoiselle de Maupin 1835, Schopenhauer's Of Woman, 1851 and Michelet's La Femme, 1859, Rachilde's Monsieur Venus and Huysmans' A Rebours of 1884, Wilde's Portrait of Dorian Gray and Joséphin Peladin's Le Gynandre both of 1891, found their reflections in Symbolist and Decadent painting and sculpture and, very soon, in the new realms of photography and cinema. A world of gender indeterminacy was posited which has found its response not only Duchamp, or Woolf, in Barthes's S/Z, 1970, Foucault's study of Herculine Barbin, 1978, but the highlife and lowlife of today, including popular films such as Tootsie, 1982, Victor/Victoria or Barbra Streisand's Yentl, 1983.⁸ Beyond or beneath the erotic or the pornographic, it is the problem of differentiation, of gender indeterminacy, and its many masks which lies at the core of this exhibition. For both sexes within patriarchy the feminine becomes prioritised as the site of masquerade. And beyond personal guises and disguises one is dealing with serious issues; love, hate and death. Looking back again to the gestation of the modern (in the womb of Olympe de Gouges, guillotined for promoting 'the rights of woman?') what has been called 'gender trouble' started to perturb the linearity of first Cartesian, then Darwinian thought, of Schopenhaurian pessimism and its aftermath. Nietzsche's profound misogyny was reflected in Otto Weiniger and the succession of earnest sexologists and degeneracy theorists; their researches were subsequently subsumed, both in the grand Freudian narrative of this century, and alas, the racial theories of fascism.¹⁰ The 'psychological "gynocide" advocated by the turn of the century male intellectual avant-garde' (Bram Dijkstra) came first. If gynocide was unthinkable, genocide was in the space of few decades to be industrialised; the individual and mass psychotic structures which facilitated this event irrevocably qualify Freud's Oedipal paradigms and his 'norms'¹¹.

'AMAZONS' / 'AMERICAINES'.

Cubism restored the empiricism of the grid only tentatively, quavering under the sexually inscrutable gaze of the Michaelangelesque Demoiselles d'Avignon, at a time when contemporary Parisian analyses of woman, conflating the 'scientific' with the frankly pornographic, demonstrated a profound malaise.¹² Such was Dr Caufeynon's History of Woman, her Body, her Organs, her Physical and Moral Development, her Seductive Features, her Attractions, her Propensities for Love, her Vices, her Sexual Aberrations, Sapphism, Nymphomania, Clitorism, Perturbance in love, Sexual Inversion, etc., etc., 1904.¹³ His publication anticipated the translations in France in 1909 of Havelock-Ellis's Sexual Inversion, 1909 and in 1910 of Magnus Hirschfeld's Transvestism, 1910. Hirschfeld's Sexual Pathology, translated in 1918, contained additional transexual/transvestite case-histories. The androgyne entered cubism with Chagall, and - a familiar music-hall subject - reappeared in Apollinaire's 'Terence/Thérèse figure in Les Mamelles de Tiresias, 1917, elevating the genre to the avant-garde with a piquant, pro-natalist topicality.

The war brought a polarisation of the sexual roles in Europe, mechanisation, battle, death or shell-shock for men. Yet the polarisation only ratified the fearful nineteenth-century stereotypes, carrying them more powerfully into the twentieth century, as the 'the girls who stayed at home' were neglected for more fantasmatic images of the great (patriotic) mother.¹⁴ France in 1918 did not yet know the 'new woman'; with New York Dada the problem of the crossing of sexual difference with cultural difference registered at the very outset. 'The Nude descending a Stairway is not a woman. Neither is it a man,' Duchamp declared.¹⁵ In New York, woman in the studio did not follow the mistress/prostitute/model paradigm. It was American Woman, powerful, glamorous, enfranchised, 'her husband in the role of slave-banker'¹⁶ who

drove Duchamp and Picabia into the melancholic trope of the 'Celibate Machine.' The insatiate 'vaginae dentatae' of the Picabia's protestant 'Young American Girls' were depicted via the imagery of their cars; Duchamp and Picabia encountered not only young girls but powerful widows; extravagant eccentrics such as the crazy Baroness Elsa von Freytag-Loringhoven with her 'artistic' clothes, black lipstick, a wooden birdcage round her neck plus live canary, and French 'poilu's' helmet.¹⁷

Duchamp's retreat from painting and his philosophy of 'delay' was not only anti-retinal and onanistic, but photographic, cinematic, translinguistic and of course transexual. 'Rose Sélavy' was no exception, but representative of a new metropolitan subjectivity. Back in France, Victor Margueritte's La Garçonne, 1922, a moralising tale of France's new boyish woman sold 20,000 copies in its first four days and was read by 12-25% of the adult population. A decade is spanned between La Garçonne and Colette's Ces Plaisirs 1932: 'Imagine two Ladies of Llangollen in this year of 1930. They would own a car, wear dungarees, smoke cigarettes, have short hair and there would be a bar in their apartment. Eleanor Butler would curse as she jacked up the car and would have her breasts amputated.'¹⁸ Overt bisexuality or homosexuality was chic; masked balls were a form of superior conspicuous consumption. "Women have looked the same for two years. By day they look like boys and by night they look like female impersonators" a fashion critic wrote from Paris for the New Yorker in 1926.¹⁹ Even the marxists took note: in 'Notes on sexual morality in France', published in Clarté, 1925, Jean Montrevel analysed 'christianity, monarchy, chivalry, syphilis, court life, and, in the last instance, capitalism' with an exemplary class-consciousness - until his envoi: 'A word on feminism: this doctrine is the predilection of lazy women with intellectual pretensions... The amazon will always be an exception and physiology will always impose its laws. Everything within the normal constitution of woman gravitates around one central function: the reproduction of the species....'²⁰

Individual tragedy lay, of course, behind each war widow, broken engagement, the thousands of spinsters created via the male casualties of the first world war. Resulting changes in employment patterns found their echo in the moves towards emancipation voiced by the still unfranchised women of France. The jazz-society stereotypes and music-hall caricatures of the 'garçonne' turned dour as the decade progressed. And with the low franc came the so-called 'Americaines': Gertrude Stein, Djuna Barnes, Lee Miller, Jane Heap, and their English sisters: Nancy Cunard, Eileen Agar, Paule Vézelay, Marlow Moss. Lesbians, aviators, writers, painters, photographers. 'Amazons' or 'Americaines': the terms were almost identical.

'WOMANLINESS AS A MASCARADE'

In 1929, the year of the second Surrealist manifesto, one year after Virginia Woolf's Orlando, the elegant Joan Riviere, Woolf's Bloomsbury contemporary, the translator of Freud and Melanie Klein into English, published the now celebrated text, 'Womanliness as a masquerade'. Both literary and artistic London, and the British Psychoanalytic Society were dependant upon strong, intellectual women. Referring at first to Ernest Jones' article 'The early development of Female Sexuality' (1927), which claimed an inherent bisexuality in each person and heterosexual and homosexual types of female development, and to Ferenczi's theories of compensatory behaviour (homosexual men exaggerating their heterosexuality) Riviere progressed to notion of 'womanliness' itself as masquerade: 'to avert anxiety and the feared retribution from men,' discussing the cases of an American woman engaged in a work of propagandist nature (speaking and writing) and a 'wife, mother and University lecturer in an abstruse subject' who would speak to colleagues in particularly feminine clothes.' In each case the conclusion is that the woman who 'wishes to seize the father's penis - with a horrible fear of retribution, offers herself sexually as propitiation'. Riviere's embrace of the strictures of her

discipline and its great fathers accounts for her evident neglect of both the necessary social negotiations of these emancipated, achieving women and the irony of her text's autobiographical dimensions. Adopting the scrupulously 'scientific' tone of her male counterparts, she uses psychoanalysis as a masquerade to hide any possibly feelings of identification with her subjects. Her conclusions, however, are devastating: 'Womanliness could therefore be assumed and worn as a mask, both to hide the possession of masculinity and to revert the reprisals expected if she was found to possess it...' Should one ask where to draw line between 'genuine womanliness and the 'masquerade': 'My suggestion is not, however, that there is any such difference; whether radical or superficial, they are the same thing.'²¹

This text of 1929, crucial for developing theories of sexuality, desire, spectatorship and gender games in Great Britain and America since the 1970s, now generating work on 'the masculine masquerade', is apparently little-known in France.²² Was this a case of ignorance, protectionism, or merely redundancy in the light of contemporary surrealist explorations?

Riviere's equivalent in France, Freud's protector and translator, Marie Bonaparte, shared Riviere's personal problems of self-definition in a context of strict Freudian orthodoxy. Freud himself called her 'quite outstanding, a more than just half masculine female' (her obsession with operations on the clitoris is notorious). Did Bonaparte choose to ignore Rivière's revolutionary definition of female 'masquerade', paradoxically close in some ways to Nietzsche, as it upset Freud's very basic categorisations? His On female sexuality, 1931, used terms subsequently reformulated by Bonaparte as 'true women', 'women who accept' ('acceptatrices' - children replace penis envy), 'women who deny' ('renonciatrices' - mere spinsters) and 'women who take their revenge' ('revendicatrices')²³

Bonaparte's translations of Freud circulated widely in interwar Paris, compounding a climate of 'delirium' in Surrealist circles and beyond.²⁴ Another woman, however, must be rescued from history: Agnès Masson. While a faithful disciple of Havelock Ellis, she had the intelligence in her writing to see beyond the merely pathological, devoting the first chapter of her book on transvestism, Le Travestissement, 1935, to the age-old cultural origins of this behaviour: 'The transvestite in history, literature, ethnography'.²⁵ She moved impressively through the list of those who immortalised transvestism in practice or by description: Plato, Xenophon, Lucien, Theocritus, Virgil, Horace, Catullus, Juvenal, Tiresias, Achilles, the Amazons, the Scythians, the Cynèdes, Caligula, Nero, Heliogabalus...arriving finally in France, land of the female Pope Jeanne and a bevy of colourful transvestites: the Abbé de Choisy, Mademoiselle de Maupin, King Henri II, and the Chevalier d'Eon (secret agent of Louis XV in the Russian court), not forgetting Georges Sand or Sarah Bernhardt. Anticipating Foucault, she discussed the cultural nature of sexuality: homosexuality in Ancient Greece, the trope of cross-dressing and disguise central to Renaissance literature (Shakespeare) and moved through more contemporary literature from Rabelais' boy 'page-girls' to Balzac and Rachilde. Yet her contemporary situation, characterised by an 'epidemic' of transvestite novels, Masson dates to the aftermath of the first world war, the emergence of so-called 'virile women' ('femmes-viriles') and the current popularisation of sex and psychoanalysis. Of Masson's subsequent 'Observations', sixty-two out of sixty seven were translations of case histories from other sources, such as 'Observation 26 (Hirschfeld): "Artist. Aged 40 ans; quite feminine. Succubus [sits on top] during coitus."²⁶ Ludicrous as this may sound to today's sensibilities, Masson's work participates in the interwar discourse on transexuality and masquerade within which the Surrealist movement must be resituated.

SURREALIST MASCARADES : OPEN EYES / DOWNCAST EYES.

The Surrealist movement with its cult of woman, 'mad love', exhibitionism, fetishism,

sadomasochism - but above all no homosexuality - was thus formed in a lesbian and transvestite Paris itself constituted through war loss and an immense melancholy. It may be conceptualised as a series of masks and of gazes: its literary nature constantly in competition with the `phallogocentric'.²⁷ Despite the Surrealists' proclaimed desires for revolution, emancipation, free love, they resoundingly rejected the threatening New Woman of Paris, the Amazone, the *garçonne*, preferring their Muses, from Kiki de Montparnasse to Gala - and only the most compliant `Americaines' (Lee Miller), whose modest, downcast eyes precluded the sexually ecstatic. Indeed, Dali's Phenomenon of Ecstasy, 1933, must be read as a return, via female masquerade - of the repressed. The ecstatic female women constitute a mask of displacement, concealing the hysterical man (see the frantic, stabbing pattern of repetition in the collage). Compare the twenty-eight surrealist men surround the portrait of the assassin Germaine Berton, 1924, or the twenty illuminated and penetrating glances of the gentlemen of Man Ray's Surrealist Chessboard, 1928. Sixteen pairs of male eyes are closed (in intellectual withdrawal or in masturbatory fantasy?) in Magritte's Je ne vois pas la femme cachée dans la forêt used to illustrate the famous surrealist survey `Enquiries on Sexuality', 1928. This frank survey published in La Révolution Surréaliste was in itself a stunning instance of textual `openness' actually revealing closure: the Stalinist model of the cell, self-criticism, exclusion extending to the exclusion of all `abnormalities.' Moreover, it was a classic case of the link between what is fashionably called `homosociability' (boys' talk) and `homosexual panic' - the potential fear of suppressed homoerotic/homosexual relations becoming explicit.²⁸ Think of Dali and Lorca, the Max Ernst/Eluard relationship: the suicide of the homosexual René Crevel, lover of `nocturnal boys' in Moi et mon Corps, 1925, above all André Breton's generally `seductive' behaviour towards men, and his homophobia. `Surrealism = pederasty'; this equation was made by the writers Paul Claudel, by Ilya Ehrenburg and by Jean-Paul Sartre, with his parody of Breton as the homosexual `leader' Achille Berton (Breton's Achilles heel?). `Homosexual panic' was frantically near the surface.

Man Ray, an American Jew, was the most brilliant and knowing male exegete of surrealist double-speak. He illustrated Breton's concept of `explosante-fixe' as a decapitated flurry of Loie Fuller-like costume veils - but he knew how woman's phallicism would symbolically reassert itself. Tristan Tzara's `On a certain automatisme of taste', 1933, was illustrated by Man Ray's portraits of metonymically vaginal/phallic hats on invisible women: `It's the hat that makes the man'; a case where `the masking of femininity slips irresistibly into the conditions of male spectatorship'.²⁹ The indeterminate boundaries between art and fashion in Surrealism, its entrée to the worlds of Schiaparelli and Vogue and Harper's Bazaar is precisely because of the role of dress and disguise in the masquerade.³⁰ The surrealist mannequins of 1938, inspired by Robert Couturier's disturbing, draped precursors in the Pavilion of Elegance at the Paris World Fair of 1937, operated through reversal and perversion rather than complicity with a fashion magazine `beauty'. Duchamp's severe `virilised mannequin' in tailored jacket was a case in point.

In her nudity, too, Surrealist woman participated in a game of Truth. The idealised woman presented is displayed with open eyes as a solarised nude for Harper's Bazaar, but with the downcast eyes of modesty in the well-known case of Meret Oppenheim, hiding behind the printing wheel as it symbolically besmirches her. Woman as an allegory of Truth is played off against Woman as an allegory of Deception (hence Truth equals Deception: the abolition of philosophy itself). Together with the sociological evidence of the sex war of the 1920s and 1930s and the idealising structures of the Surrealists' residual Catholicism, the Nietzschean input for surrealist intellectuals, in particular Duchamp, Picabia and Georges Bataille was indisputable. Behind the extravagance of Nietzsche's misogynistic statements, Jacques Derrida

has analysed an appalling triple bind, inherited by the surrealists, which far surpasses Riviere's analysis in its sophistry:

1. `... the woman, taken as a figure or potentate of falsehood, finds herself censured, debased and despised. In the name of truth and metaphysics she is accused here by the credulous man who, in support of his testimony offers truth and his phallus as his own proper credentials.
2. ... the woman is censured, debased and despised, only in this case it is as the figure or potentate of truth. In the guise of the christian, philosophical being she either identifies with the truth, or else she continues to play with it at a distance, as if it were a fetish, manipulating it, even as she refuses to believe in it, to her own advantage. Whichever, woman, through her guile and naivety (and her guile is always contaminated by naivety), remains nonetheless within the economy of truth's system, in the phallogocentric space.... the woman, up to this point then, is twice castration: once as truth and once as nontruth.
3. ...beyond the double negation of the first two, woman is recognised and affirmed as an affirmative power, a dissimulatrix, an artist, a dionysiac. And no longer it is man who affirms her. She affirms herself, in and of herself, [and] in man. Castration, here again, does not take place. And anti-feminism, which condemned woman only so long as she was, so long as she answered to man from the two reactive positions, is in its turn overthrown.'

Derrida posits the problem of theorising in itself around the `heterogeneity of style'...`if these three types of statement are to form an exhaustive code.'³¹ I would argue that the proliferation of female representations and styles in surrealism and its theories from `mad love' to the female revolution posited by Breton in Arcane 17, is attempting to do just this.

The solution? Gynocide: the metaphorical chopping up of images woman: `Femme sans teste tout en est bon' ('a headless woman is all for the good' runs the French proverb that surely Max Ernst knew...)³² `An effective Muse is a Muse that is killed, not once, but over and over again, her power is to be both powerful and dead, present and absent, a severed and yet unsevered head.'³³ Endless decapitations orchestrate Surrealism, the fetish as body parts, above all no face, no eyes, no look; from Ernst's pioneering hacked or blinded nudes in The Elephant Celebes, The wobbling woman or the collage-novel The hundred-headless woman, to the obscene Sawed-up Woman of the second-rate Marc Eemans celebrated in the highly unanalytical catalogue La Femme et le Surréalisme, (Lausanne, 1987). The most blatant replacement of downcast eyes by body parts is in Magritte's The Rape of 1934 - metonymically employed to define Surrealism itself by André Breton in 1935, on the cover of What is Surrealism?. Again one confronts a double bind: the invitation to rape turns into the phallic woman, her look reinstated. Magritte's apotropaic desire for self-protection paradoxically creates Surrealism's most powerful image of the Medusa or Gorgonic gaze.³⁴ With Bataille's metamorphic Story of the Eye, 1928, with Bellmer's dismembered dolls, even with Duchamp's Etant Donnée, 1966, the gaze masquerading as vagina, supplicant and sugar-pink or displaced and sealed, still, terrifyingly reasserts itself.

Meret Oppenheim, Valentine Penrose, Lee Miller, Eileen Agar, these creative women (Nietzsche's third category; Riviere's category of masqueraders) caused problems for the Surrealists. The Muses - so often complicit in their desire for their position as fetish³⁵ - were nonetheless on the attack. While Agar's Angel of Anarchy, 1936-7 feminised and masked her husband's bust in furs, feathers, silks and diamanté, Roland Penrose's Portrait of Valentine, 1937, shows the theatrical, carnival grotesque aspects of `femininity as masquerade', not self-willed by Valentine - an act of seduction or compensation - on the contrary: the masking gesture, the blue, dead skin, the butterfly-shaded eyes are imposed by her husband. She reads as fetishised object. Yet identifying with Valentine as subject, her downcast eyes invite us to contemplate the mystery of her unshared subjectivity as a creative woman poet, something that

Penrose found a stumbling block. The 'exhaustive codes' are more complex than Riviere imagined.

Claude Cahun was a pioneering code-scrambler, a surrealist woman who was never a Muse. With a perverse delight, she played with a range of masks in her self-reflexive photographs: the poet (her profile portrait so close to that of her uncle Marcel Schwob), the narcissist, the lesbian, the aviator (parodying Breton), the sportswoman with her slogan 'Don't kiss me I'm in training,' the blonde, Aryan maiden, the pseudo-infant, identifying with Lise Deharme's son, Pic, with her photographs for Deharme's Le Coeur de Pic, 1937. While Man Ray retained the traditional artist/model paradigm, photography itself, technically the medium of black/white inversion, becomes for Cahun the medium which records the 'exhaustive code' - and its reversability. Cahun's intervention in the Breton / Aragon political debate, her tract on the role of poetry, Open Bets (Les Paris sont ouverts) is remarkable, both for its intellectual incisiveness and floating subtitles which are evidently self-referential: 'POETRYREVEALSHERSECRETKEEPSHERSECRET ... SHEREVEALSIT?... SHEKEEPSIT?...SHHHE...' Two structuring grand narratives, Freudianism and Marxism, the dream versus political revolution were at stake. Cahun perceived the dilemma with clarity and an ironic wealth of reference, parodying the seriousness of an essentially competitive male squabble. Breton's brief acknowledgement of her writing was all the more double-edged when one considers that the intellectuality of Open Bets - Cahun's means of attracting not just his attention but his mind and his pen - was part of the doomed strategy of her unrequited love. Breton preferred 'objective chance', madness and domination in his sexual choices (Nadja, Jacqueline Lambda), masquerading of course as monogamous, courtly love. With her friend Suzanne Malherbe, Cahun retreated to Jersey in 1937, finding a creative peace - until war, the nazis, brutality and terror devastated her life.³⁶

ONE BECOMES A WOMAN? DE BEAUVOIR OR GENET?

Enfranchised at last, French womanhood went to the polls in 1945, in a period when the 'Rights of Man' contrasted strikingly with the savage treatment of female 'collaborators' during the post-Occupation purge who were paraded, shaved and tarred. It was another fetished, this time forced, masquerade, 'a carnival of uglies', the expression of the humiliation of the French male during the war. The Surrealists saw the appalling photographs as fair game for View of 1946, published in America. The Shaved Woman a poem written by the female transexual, Hans Prinners, in February, 1945, echoed the litany of insults: '- Slut! - Whore! - Carcass! - Dungheap! - Disgusting! - Pile of shit! - Look at her!' The poem's form, a tribunal recalling the trial of Joan of Arc, expresses a sado-masochistic rage echoed by the artist's stylised engravings.³⁷

Despite State closure of the brothels in 1946, French society still functioned upon a sexual economy of bourgeois marriage versus the 'seduction' of mistresses and prostitutes. The frou-frou of the New Look, the 'Miss Tabou' beauty contests in Saint-Germain-des Prés, the historical costume dramas in the theatres and the cinema, the taste for a 'fantastic forties', all played their role in characterising the Frenchwoman reborn. The excess of femininity in these mascarades contrasted acutely with the new cult of ugliness in art: the awkward, scratched surfaces of Germaine Richier's bronzes, Fautrier's scarred and iridescent Hostages followed by his Nudes in 1955, or Dubuffet's hideous Olympia of the 'Ladies bodies' series (600,000 'ladies' were working in Paris in 1948, two years after the official closure of the brothels).³⁸ These are violent and misogynistic works, despite their mock-insouciance. They correspond in their interiority and dissolution not only to Merleau-Ponty's embodied 'cogito', but to an archetypal enunciation by Sartre in 1940, in his chapter on the work of art in L'Imaginaire: 'The real is

never beautiful...' To desire a woman 'we must forget that she is beautiful, because desire is a plunge into the heart of existence, into what is contingent and most absurd.'³⁹ Desire - or an infantile, aggressive rage - spreads out contiguously with painterly matter in the 'Ladies Bodies', attempting to obliterate the subject-ground relationship by engulfing it. Dubuffet invokes with both humour and terror the Devouring Mother: his 'Ladies' would be the mothers of Niki de Saint-Phalle's 'Nanas' of the 1960s

Manet's Olympia - the 'female gorilla' as she was called in 1865 - now irradiated the Jeu de Paume museum with her erotic beauty. The impact of ugliness in the new art displaced the cult of female beauty, marking the inscription of the terrible caesura the second world war: massacre overwhelming masquerade: 'Ugliness, as an inscription of time in the heart of a picture, asserts itself doubtlessly as a "surface" , eroded, withered, used up, not to say flayed'. We are reminded that 'laedere', one possible root for 'laid' (ugly) in French means 'to wound'.⁴⁰ Simone de Beauvoir's The Second Sex, serialised in Les Temps Modernes from May, 1948, published in 1949, was of course a sociological and scholarly tour-de-force: 22,000 copies were sold in its first week of publication. De Beauvoir redefined Sartre's fluctuatingly-sexed 'Other': 'He is the Subject, he is the Absolute - she is the Other.' Ironically, she appropriates Sartre's own vocabulary to challenge the pseudo-objectivity of the male, philosophical voice.⁴¹ Her impact coincided with that of the Kinsey reports on male and female sexuality in France and the new expressions of Juliette Greco, Françoise Sagan or Brigitte Bardot in film.⁴² It has been argued, however, that Sartre penetrated De Beauvoir's writing with his own horror of the 'viscous' feminine and biological nature.⁴³ De Beauvoir, weak in her stance over the Marquis de Sade (a hero for Georges Bataille, Jean Paulhan, Pierre Klossowski, the Surrealists) - see Brigitte Bardot or the Lolita syndrome, 1955 - could do nothing to stop the rise of the new, beautiful child-woman - a welcome distraction from colonial war. Man Ray, in an exasperated exposé, contrasted the dark existentialist waif (Juliette Greco) with the blonde Marilyn in 1958, quoting Christian Dior's lipstick adverts and Jean Paulhan's preface to 'Pauline Réage's Histoire d'O: '... all is sex in them (women) even the spirit. They must be continually fed, washed, painted with make-up and beaten.'⁴⁴ The next 'Exposition Internationale du Surréalisme' devoted to Eros in 1959, signalled the continuing fascination with woman as fetish. The transformation of Meret Oppenheim's fruit-bedecked body into a cannibalistic feast at the opening was the embodiment of Eros as woman to be devoured. Niki de Saint Phalle's androgynous sculpture Death of the Patriarch, 1962, an equally Arcimboldeque landscape of planes, missiles and dismembered dolls, demonstrated at last a creative intelligence who could take and transform the masquerade of female decoration as consumption into a terrifying metaphor for the war-scarred and hideous body of France; making explicit the links between women, toys, rape, colonialism and canon-fodder. She went far beyond the imported analyses of Betty Friedan's The Feminine Mystique with its description of 'the Happy Housewife Syndrome', which had supplanted De Beauvoir in Les Temps Modernes.⁴⁵

De Beauvoir, whose femininity was governed by a competitive, intellectual excellence, 'existential' interiority and a climate of postwar austerity had little sympathy with mascara, let alone the deep structures of feminine masquerade. Jean Genet, however, embraced with dazzling extravagance the world of flowers, of silks, of sensuality, the camp of female movie stars and transvestites. His melancholy anticipates our own; it is the transgressive sexuality of Genet and of Antonin Artaud that generated the deconstructive vision of gender today.

Genet's 'Fragments' of 1954, a suicidal, Mallarméan prose-poem is surely the most moving testimony to human sexuality produced in the mid-century. It is a passionate exegesis of homosexuality in riposte to Sartre's preposterous vision of 'pederasty' as self-willed. Genet insists that his state is 'experiences as a theme of guilt...inversion is lived in a solitary state.... The

homosexual rejects woman, who, ironically wreaks her vengeance by reappearing inside him, putting him into a dangerous fix. They call us effeminate. Banished, sequestered, hoaxed, Woman, through our gestures and intonations seeks and finds the day: our body, suddenly riddled, becomes unreal.⁴⁶

THE 1960s AND AFTER

The following year, 1955, Pierre Molinier's meeting with André Breton heralded, strangely, a reversal of Breton's previous stance towards transsexuality and sexual deviance.⁴⁷ In a reversal of the Pygmalion myth, the female figures in Molinier's surrealist paintings became transformed into to his own transvestite image: remote-control photographs of the 1960s and 1970s displayed Molinier as both dominatrix and succuba. These may be paralleled both in terms of the 'anagrammatic' principle of their poses and gender-confusion (Molinier used female masks and eventually female models) to the later oeuvre of Hans Bellmer such as Girl-Phallus; although Molinier's concern for a pornographic realism was more of its time than Bellmer's waspish 'bibliophile' appeal. Molinier accentuated his hand-made accessories, his auto-sodomising dildo fetishes, his female rubber masks, against the patterned 'toile de Jouy' wallpaper of his studio-boudoir, that smacked of the cheap hotel. Revealing its intimacies, this world became a bridge to a new generation fascinated with 'the desire to be doubled, androgyne, bisexual, that we may experience the sexual ecstasies of the other.'⁴⁸ Besides the surrealists, well-known transvestites, homosexuals and transexuals of the Paris revue scene flocked to see him. Then in 1964 came Hanel Koech and Maryat (Emmanuelle Arsan, author of Emmanuelle), who intertwined as lesbian muses for him in the photograph Communion of Love, 1968. In 1974, the future painter Luciano Castelli realised a photo-series with him.⁴⁹ While the art world exploded with confessional self-representations in the 1970s, a transvestite undercurrent was growing, from Michel Journiac's series Trap for a Transvestite, and Homage to Freud, 1972 in France, to Warhol, Urs Luthi's 'he' and 'she' personae, and fellow-performance artists in the United States.⁵⁰

1954 had seen the publication of Genet's The Maids and Deathwatch in America prefaced by Sartre: 'By virtue of being false, the woman acquires a poetic density. Shorn of its texture and purified, feminity becomes a heraldic sign, a cipher. As long as it was natural, the feminine blazon remained embedded in woman. Spiritualised, it becomes a category of the imagination. Anything can be a woman: a flower, an animal, an inkwell.... Such is the initial direction of his derealisation: a falsification of femininity....These fake women who are fake men, these women-men who are men-women, this perpetual challenging of masculinity by a symbolic feminity and of the latter by the secret feminity which is the truth of all masculinity, are only the faked groundwork.'⁵¹ Genet's explicit influence on Americans such as the filmmaker Kenneth Anger who lived in Paris during the 1950s is not in doubt. It is the climate of camp and growing sexual explicitness in the United States when Genet 'arrived' that must be emphasised.

In the New York art world at this time the heroic period of Abstract Expressionism was drawing to a close. Only recently has the rise of Pop art been seen not merely as a figurative and popular celebration of consumer opulence, but as 'closely allied with the rise of gay identity.' Kenneth Silver has compared 'the master equation of Abstract Expressionism' - 'tough, non-literary serious art' made by 'rough hewn, spontaneous, male artists' - with the transitional work of Jasper Johns and the high camp of Andy Warhol: 'painting with balls' versus John's Painting with Two Balls. He analyses its gesturalism mummified in encaustic as a 'counter-castration', he describes John's tributes to the homosexual poets and painters Frank O'Hara, Hart Crane, Walt Whitman, Marsden Hartley, Charles Demuth. He compares John's macscarade of 'masculinity',

the bronze-painted, Ballantine Ale Cans of 1960 with fellow-homosexual Warhol's outrageously 'female' Campbells Soup cans: 'In a Duchampian transference, women and men who never did their own shopping or cleaning were sent to the Stable Gallery and Leo Castelli's to buy Campbell's and Brillo, just like Mrs. Warhola and the vast majority of American women.⁵² From Greenberg's notorious 'Avant-garde and Kitsch' of 1939, to Susan Sontag's 'Notes on Camp' of 1964 ('dandyism in the age of mass culture'), high modernism was short-circuited. In fact the tongue-in-cheek, almost 'camp' attitude of a Lichtenstein to comic-strip females may be read as the precursor, 'close in spirit (and possibly intention) to Cindy Sherman's Untitled Film Stills from the late 1970s and early 1980s'.⁵³ Her photographic masquerades are of course contemporary with Diane Arbus's hermaphrodites and with Warhol's own photographic self-portraits in drag.

Back in Europe, Niki de Saint Phalle's show, 'The Hon', Moderna Museet, Stockholm, 1966, invited the public joyously and transgressively to enter the body of giant Nana via a vagina into a huge womb of delights. It anticipated a climate in Scandinavia which allowed over 250,000 people to see the First and Second International Exhibitions of Erotic Art in Sweden and Denmark in 1968 and 1969, in public, tax-supported museums. These celebratory shows, with a major 'fun' element, were naive if optimistic in their conceptions. Female viewers became voyeurs at a spectacle designed to appeal 'not only to the gonads but to the mind'(sic). The Pop worlds seen here were of an explicitness not seen in a museum show before or since, like Tom Wesselman's Bedroom Painting no 20, dominated by an enormous dark brown phallus.⁵⁴

The sense of urgency conveyed by the show's American organisers in Scandinavia may be compared to that revealed in early 1970s writings on feminist art in America. Who now remembers the 1972 'Festival of Women in the Arts' at Cornell, the NOW conference on female sexuality, the Erotic Art Gallery? The discussion over overtly 'feminist' creations, the sexualised flowers of Georgia O'Keefe, or Judy Chicago's classic Dinner Party, 1973-9 became displaced by works that were both more violent and more gender-sophisticated. Niki de Saint Phalle's film Daddy, with its incest theme and scenes of women masturbating or being masturbated, was shown in New York in the early 1970s⁵⁵ Who remembers that Louise Bourgeois' semi-abstract Trani Episode piece was exhibited with Marge Helenchild's Vulva Hammock, Shelly Lowell's Slice of Life (an Oldenberg pie with meringue peak nipples)? Bourgeois' Cumulus no 1, white and superb in the Pompidou museum collection, must be reimagined in its 1973 New York context of 'Metaphorical Cunts and Measured Cocks'.⁵⁶

BLACK MALE

Frantz Fanon's virulent Black Skin, White Masks was published in Paris in 1952.⁵⁷ Henceforth, colour and colonialism became issues inextricably linked with sex and power. Two years later, Jean Rouche's film, Les Maîtres Fous profoundly shocked a select Parisian audience with its reportage of a frenzied, Black ritual and transsexual parody of colonialist rule in Gold Coast Africa, climaxing in scenes of possession, frenzy, spittle and blood - a direct source of inspiration for Genet's play Les Nègres. This was performed from 1959 in Paris, London and subsequently New York, where more than 1,400 performances of The Blacks between 1961 and 1964 set an off-Broadway record, stunning and delighting a largely black audience: 'White Genet imagines black actors imagining caricature Whites who imagine stereotype Niggers.' At the height of his involvement with Angela Davis and the Black Panthers (recalled in his posthumous work, Prisoner of Love) Genet refused categorically to speak about his theatre.⁵⁸ Once again, however, he seemed a precursor. Although the machismo aspects of the Civil Rights and Black Power movements clashed with the rise of feminism in the 1970s, and despite

'the overwhelmingly male focus of black American art', by the mid-1970s the black woman artist, Adrian Piper was making performances on the streets of New York: in the Mythic Being series, the masquerade was drag: an afro wig, bell-bottoms, dark sunglasses. Piper recorded the 'animosity, fear and indifference she experienced as a radicalised male subject'. Her photo-offset posters declared: 'I embody everything you most hate and fear.'⁵⁹ As Genet would say (inversely): 'Changing sex doesn't consist merely in subjecting one's body to a few surgical adjustments: it means teaching the whole world, forcing upon it, a change of syntax.'⁶⁰ Lorraine O'Grady's contacts with Adrian Piper and Surrealism engendered her performances in 1980 - a perfect response to Genet's Les Nègres, after a twenty year gap -as 'Mlle Bougeoise Noire.' She paraded in a ball gown made of white gloves and a tiara, holding a cat-o-nine-tails in her begloved hands -prior to whipping herself and shouting a liberation manifesto for black artists. Her Nefertiti/Devonia Evangeline performance, 1981, continued the extension of creative work on femininity and the masquerade through race and history as well as gender, while its personal resonances to her sister's tragic death belied the banalisation of the 'post-postmodern.'⁶¹

Yet Genet's notion of a change, a fundamental 'détournement' of syntax, implies, beyond transexualism, a deeper underlying signification: with the reversibility of display, the possible abolition of the 'reality' of sex altogether. What Genet experienced as personal tragedy - leavened in New York with the ironic transposition of cultural and sexual codes - has been transformed in today's era of constant exposure and pseudo-celebration into a universe of simulation. The substitution of 'porn for sex and sex for porn', implies the breakdown of the active and passive polarity 'and with it the hetero-homo distinction since there is no longer any reality of "sex" itself to be compared with.' In 'A World of Penises,' Mark Simpson cites Baudrillard: 'where the distinction between poles can no longer be maintained, one enters into simulation and hence into absolute manipulation...'⁶² This tendency to abolish polarities, conflate boundaries, to 'live the simulation' impinges directly onto the artworld, whose very raison d'être is to provide fantasy representations, alternative 'realities', networks, encounters. The sexual tantalisations of reversibility as an ethos have supplanted a pornography of arousal based on a promise of 'real' sex: Mapplethorpe's (decapitated) Man in a Polyester Suit of 1980 is displaced almost a decade later with Lyle Ashton Harris's black male as ballerina in gauze tutu and curly wig. The equation of the black male with the feminine (made as early as 1860 by Theodore Tildon) is evidently the corollary to the hypermasculinisation of black culture in rap, sport and cinema.⁶³ The Whitney Black Male exhibition of 1994 demonstrated both this shift towards reversibility with the generation of Harris, and a corresponding move towards reality as 'simulation'. The boundaries between the museum, popular culture, documentary and the star system became blurred, with the incorporation in the show of videos of the beating of Rodney King, of O.J. Simpson, of Anita Hill and Clarence Thomas. Hence the impossibility of defining a territory for 'the culture of the museum', in what may be categorised as a 'panic exhibition' within the 'fuzzy set' of the simulacra of American culture.⁶⁴ In this context, how possible are calls for a new authenticity?⁶⁵

GUERRILLA GIRLS?

'A World of Penises' foresting the jungles of both art and popular culture is predicated, alas, upon exclusivity. The 'Masculine Masquerade', as Genet noted, seeks ultimately to engulf and ceaselessly to obliterate the always-recurring feminine.⁶⁶ Guerilla action was called for as long ago as 1969 in France with Monique Wittig's Les Guerillières, 1969, a pioneering and poetic sapphic text, yet all too reminiscent of Pierre Louys' exoticism and ultimately unconvincing in its moments of erotic frenzy. The American Guerilla Girls, masked, metropolitan, know that politics and statistics are the real game: 'facts, humour and fake fur.'

Materialising 'mysteriously in the dark of night of 1988' in response to 'An international survey of painting and sculpture' the Museum of Modern Art's show in which a mere thirteen of the 169 artists. Romaine Brooks, Frida Kahlo, Tina Modotti, Gertrude Stein are wise. Lee Krasner declares: 'We secretly suspect that all women are born Guerilla Girls. Its just a question of helping them discover it...' Guerilla Girls have travelled to Barcelona, Basel, Berlin, Dublin, Graz, Helsinki, Oslo, Ulm and Vienna in Europe - apparently not Paris.⁶⁷ What would their welcome be?

The philosopher Yves Michaud recently outlined the cultural and political differences which have broken the London-Paris-New York eternal triangle. He describes, in fact, a battle lost: the 'impression of déjà-vu,' feminism as something which has had its moment, which is now in the past.⁶⁸ Orlan's current reputation in the United States is by no means 'the past' - but in continental Europe a dominant, canonical vision still persists. The 1993 retrospective catalogue for Franco-American artist Niki de Saint Phalle declared: 'Through a knowledge that is of a rather intuitive kind, she looks at what the great artists of modern art preceding her have produced. With innocence, like a blithe spirit, she borrows from them, as if she were picking flowers in a beautiful garden.'⁶⁹ Where were the Guerilla Girls when most needed?

Despite the definitive 'Féminin-Masculin' survey show at the Pompidou Centre in 1995, generational censorship in France seems to persist. The very words 'féminisme' or 'feministe' are experienced as a form of bad taste, particularly as regards the marginalised 'spectacle' of charismatic women writing - Kristeva, Cixous, Irigaray - far from idolised in Paris.⁷⁰ Derision is the mask of insularity. And fear of the terrifying 'Americaine' remains in its post-Cold War manifestation.⁷¹ Now, just as it appeared to the war-time escapee Dadaists, America is extreme : Bad Girls (U.S.style) is presented as a meditation on Lorena and John Wayne Bobbitt, despite being more didactic, polite and nostalgic (more puritan?) than its London equivalent.⁷²

FORM ORLAN TO THE MILLENIUM.

In the ancient and Catholic country of France, Orlan blasphemously manages her own metamorphosis, her refiguration, her woman-to-woman transsexualism: 'This woman tells us that the Madonna is a transvestite.' Beneath baroque draperies, the artist/madonna reveals a breast; the breast of the whore becomes the single breast of the amazon.⁷³ Orlan strips finally to the nude (the Pygmalion myth dispenses entirely with the redundant male artist) to 'give back to the nude the sexual charge it has lost.' Her canvas is synonymous with the soiled sheets of her repudiated trousseau. She works with canonical texts, Freud's Medusa, with Eugénie Lemoine-Luccioni, who has pointed out the transexuality of saints and thus the sacred as well as the profane: 'I have an angel's skin but I am a jackal... a crocodile's skin but I am a puppy, a black skin but I am white; a woman's skin but I am a man; I never have the skin of what I am. There is no exception to the rule because I am never what I have.'⁷⁴ For Orlan, desire now reaches beyond skin-deep masquerade, beyond the mythical feminine stereotypes of Diana, Europe, Psyche, Venus, Mona Lisa, beyond, even, the 'Reincarnation of Saint Orlan', the transgressive, anamorphic sacrifices of serial plastic surgery. The aesthetic vision (on satellite) of opening wounds, where 'the universe penetrates us through the rents in our body' (Simone Weil), is developing beyond gender questions related to the knife, into genetic manipulation, computer montage and virtual reality.⁷⁵

And meanwhile, nostalgically, from Matthew Barney in evening dress, Robert Gober in wedding dress or bisexual torso-vest 1990, to Jana Sterback in her male Hairshirt, 1993, art 'clothes' extend beyond the masculine or the feminine masquerade to become a transexual prosthetic. Reciprocally, the worldwide of community of transvestites and transexuals photographed by Nan Goldin - an extended 'family' - in her book The Other Side, 1993 are

differentiated from their soft-porn fellows only by... the artist's eye?⁷⁶ Does Goldin's Kim in Rhinestones, Paris, 1991 belong to the annual Parisian Salon of Eroticism with its francophone Canadian Chippendales, or to the museum? And what of Nicholas Sinclair's extravagant fauna, who came in the flesh with leather, rings and glitter to animate the opening of Fetishism in Brighton?⁷⁷ As the boundaries of the museum collapse, gender is transgressed: each amazon, each man in a diamond dress celebrates a passing beauty as well as the masquerade itself, and, in an age after AIDS, the transience of a sadder bohemia, in which the virtuality of the image is the only immortality. On the threshold of the year 2,000, The Other Side summons the beyond; the polyvalence of masquerade fuses with the pathos of endless quotation: 'Exhibitionism? Narcissism? Sport? Theatre? Deviation? Inversion? Infantilism? Competitiveness? Pride? Sincerity? Imposture? Doubtless, it's love.'⁷⁸

NOTES

1. Virginia Woolf: Orlando, London, Hogarth Press, 1928.
2. Simone de Beauvoir: The Second Sex (Paris, 1949), Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1986, Part IV, Chapter 1, p 295: 'it is civilisation as a whole that produces this creature, intermediate between male and eunuch, which is described as feminine.'
3. See J.J. Bachofen, Das Mutterrecht, Stuttgart, 1851.
4. Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa's Sur la Superiorité des femmes, 1509 (published 1529, ed B. Dubourg, Paris, 1986), was violently attacked by Rabelais in the 'manifeste anti-féministe du siècle', Le Tiers-Livre, 1546. For subsequent iconography see La guerre des sexes, ed. Laure Beaumont Maillet, 1984, and Der Kampf der Geschlechter. Der neue Mythos in der Kunst, 1850-1930, Kunstbau Lenbachhaus, Munich, 1995.
5. Laura Cottingham: 'What's So Bad About 'Em?', with 'bad' as positive, Dionysiac, anti-conservative, ironic, humorous etc., Bad Girls, Institute of Contemporary Arts, London, 1993, p 59, note 2.
6. Definition quoted in Judith Butler: Feminists theorise the political, London, 1992, p
7. Judith Butler: Gender Trouble, New York, 1990, p 48.
8. See Marjorie Garber: Vested Interests. Cross-Dressing and Cultural Anxiety, New York, 1992, pp .
9. See Olympe de Gouges's tragically unrealised 'Declaration des droits de la femme et la citoyenne' in Avril de Sainte Croix: Le Féminisme, Paris, 1907, pp 24-5.
10. I concentrate artistically on France, Britain, America. While the psychoanalytic story is a tale of Vienna, Paris and New York, the 'German story' is central to the sexological aspects of my thesis. See Gert Hekma: '" A Female Soul in a Male Body": Sexual Inversion as Gender Inversion in Nineteenth-Century Sexology', Gilbert Herdt, ed., Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History, New York, 1994, pp 213-239, and the surprisingly German emphasis of Guy Hocquenghem's Race d'Ep! Un siècle d'images de l'homosexualité, Paris, 1979.

11. For the twentieth century proto-nazi German context: Klaus Theweleit: Male Fantasies vol 1: Women, Floods, Bodies, History 1977 (Minnetosa and Oxford 1987). See vol 2: Male Bodies. Psychoanalysing the White Terror 1978 (Oxford 1989) p 213 for Theweleit's critique of Freud's normative paradigms, p 261 for the Freudian taboo on treating the body. For the gynicide to genocide progression, see Bram Dijkstra' Idols of Perversity. Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-Siècle culture (1985), especially the conclusion pp 400-1. Let us remember Berty Albrecht, who wrote for the review Le Problème Sexuel, 1934, and whose mutilated body was found in the garden of the Fresnes prison in 1946.
12. For the androgyny of the 'Demoiselles' see David Lomas: 'A canon of deformity: Les Demoiselles d'Avignon and physical anthropology,' Art History, vol. 16 no 3, September 1993 pp 424-446.
13. Dr Caufeynon, (Jean Fauconney): Histoire de la Femme, Son corps, ses Organes, Son Développement au Physique et au Moral, Ses Séductions, Ses Attraites, Ses Aptitudes à l'amour, Ses Vices, Ses Aberrations sexuelles, Sapphisme, Nymphomanie, Clitorisme, Les Déséquilibres de l'amour, Inversion sexuelle, etc, etc., . Over one hundred works wer published from 1901-1950, including Histoire de l'Homme, 1903. Histoire de la Femme..., 1904, was reedited in Paris, Côté Femmes éditions, 1989.
14. See Theweleit vol 1, op. cit for the complex repertoire of idealised and denigrated images relating war and women, and Anna Bailey: A Time of Transition: Female Representation in France, 1914-1924, Courtauld Institute of Art, M.A. report (unpublished), 1991.
15. Duchamp in interview with Nixola Greeley Smith, The Evening World, April 4th, 1916, in Francis M. Naumann: New York Dada 1915-1923, New York, 1994, p 102.
16. Duchamp in interview, New York Tribune, September 12th, 1915, quoted in Amelia Jones: Postmodernism and the engendering of Marcel Duchamp, Cambridge, 1994, p 284.
17. Naumann, op. cit., pp 168 ff.
18. Colette suggests a reincarnation of the famous nineteenth-century Welsh lesbian couple, the 'Ladies of Llangollen'. Colette: The Pure and the Impure, translated by Herma Briffault, London, Secker and Warburg, 1968, p. 132.
19. Anna Chave, Constantin Brancusi. Shifting the bases of art, New Jersey, 1993, cites Natalie Barney's Sapphic festivals in the 'Temple d'Amitié', Jane Heap in male drag at a party in Brancusi's studio, and quotes Janet Flanner for the New Yorker, 1926, p 106.
20. Jean Montrevel, 'Notes sur la morale sexuelle en France', published in Clarté, no 73, 1925, p 15.

21. Joan Riviere: 'Womanliness as a masquerade', The International Journal of Psychoanalysis, Vol x, 1929, pp 303-313; 'La féminité en tant que mascarade', Féminité - Mascarade (études psychoanalytiques réunis par Marie-Christine Hamon), Paris, 1994.

22. Following the reappearance of Riviere's article in Hendrik M. Ruitenbeek ed., Psychoanalysis and Female Sexuality, New Haven, 1966, see Laura Mulvey: 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema' Screen, vol 16, no 3, 1975, and Mary Ann Doane: 'Film and masquerade: theorising the female spectator', Screen, vol 23, no 3-4, 1982., pp 74-84. See also 'Lacan, Rivière and strategies of the masquerade' in Judith Butler: Gender Trouble, New York, 1990, p 43ff, and extended bibliography note 18, p 159.

23. For Riviere and Bonaparte, see Lisa Appignanesi, John Forrester: Freud's Women, London, 1992, pp 329-348, 353-365. Marie Bonaparte's Sexualité de la Femme which leans heavily on a 1920s and 1930s bibliography did not appear until 1951. Bonaparte would have been familiar with Richard Goldschmidt's December 1931 lectures at the Faculté des Sciences as Le déterminisme du sexe et l'intersexualité. In 1932, Freud's discourse on 'Féminité' appeared and was included in Nouvelles Conférences sur la psychanalyse, 1932, translated (by Anne Berman) in 1936.

24. See Elisabeth Roudinesco: 'Traductions des oeuvres de Freud en langue française entre 1920 et 1940', La Bataille de Cent ans. Histoire de la Psychanalyse en France, vol 1, Paris, 1982, p 481-483.

25. See Agnes Masson: Le Travestissement, Essai de psychopathologie sexuelle, Paris, 1935, prefaced by René Laignel-Lavaltine, her professor who published on the femininity of the Abbé de Choisy in Paris-Médical, 1919, subsequently devoting himself to the study at the Sainte-Anne Hospital of the 'more or less developed lack of polarisation' amongst the patients - the abundance of bearded women, symptoms of virilism, endocrine malfunctions etc.

26. Masson, op. cit., p 65. France's ethnographic craze had its reflection in Masson's account of the ritual character of castration, homosexual and other practices by the American Indians, Eskimos, and natives of Tahiti. See also R d'Eck: De la pluralité sexuelle, 1931 and Maranon: Evolution de la sexualité et des états intersexuels, Paris, 1931, mentioned in René Colla: Le Travestissement habituel, Paris, 1956.

27. For 'phallogocentrism' see Martin Jay: Downcast Eyes, the Denigration of Vision in Twentieth Century French Thought, Berkeley, 1993. Surrealist art refutes his thesis.

28. 'Recherches sur la sexualité', La Révolution surréaliste, no 10/11, 1928, and Archives du Surréalisme, janvier 1928-aôut 1932, présenté et annoté par José Pierre, Paris 1990. For 'homosexual panic' see Garber, op. cit. p 137, discussing Edward J. Kempf's coinage of the term in 1920, and its currency today thanks to the writing of Ève Kosofsky Sedgwick.

29. See Tzara: 'D'un certain automatisme du goût', Minotaure, 3-4, 1933, analysed by Briony Fer: 'The hat, the hoax, the body' in eds. K.Adler and M. Poynton: the Body Imaged, Cambridge, 1993, pp 161-173.
30. J.C. Flügel's article 'Clothes Symbolism and Clothes Ambivalence' (polyphallic symbolism, female exhibitionism etc.) follows on from Riviere's article in the International Journal of Psychoanalysis, 1929, op, cit., pp 205-217. Roland Barthes' essay 'Masculin-Féminin-Neutre' DATE, an early version of S/Z was the prelude to his Semiotique de la mode, written 1957-63, Paris, 1967. See Eugénie Lemoine-Luccioni: La Robe. Essai psychanalytique sur le vêtement, Paris, 1983 and R. Martin: Fashion and Surrealism, London, 1988.
31. Jacques Derrida: Spurs. Nietzsche's Styles / Eperons. Le Styles de Nietzsche, Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 1979, pp 97, 99.
32. 'Femme sans teste tout en est bon' : see the engraving circa 1660 in Laure Beaumont-Maillet: La Guerre des Sexes, op, cit. p 8. Generically this must have been a source for Ernst's 'Femme cent/sans tête' - (Hundred-headless woman).
33. Barbara Johnson: A World of Difference. Disfiguring poetic language, Baltimore, 1987, p 114, quoted in Chave, op. cit., p 291.
34. To decapitate = to castrate according to Freud. From the woman's point of view, 'The tusked Gorgon is the eye which eats.' See Camille Paglia: Sexual Personae, New Jersey, 1990, p 50.
35. See Jacqueline Rose: Sexuality and the Field of Vision, London, 1986, p 212: 'Woman is taken to desire herself but only through the term which precludes her', and Marjorie Garber on female fetishism and fetish envy, in Vested Interests op. cit., p 126-7.
36. Claude Cahun: Les Paris sont ouverts, Paris, Editions José Corti, 1934, See François Leperlier, Claude Cahun, Paris, Editions Jean-Michel Place, 1992.
37. Hans Anton Prinner was a female transvestite sculptor, whose true sexual identity was unknown to many in the artworld. See Prinner: La femme tondu, illustrated with eight engravings, Paris, APR, July, 1946 and Alain Brossat: Les tondues. Un carnaval moche, Paris, Editions Manya, 1993.
38. The 600,000 prostitutes indicated an increase of 200,000 since the war (Combat, 12 September 1947).
39. Jean-Paul Sartre, L'Imaginaire, Paris, 1940, pp 372-3.
40. Murielle Gagnebin: Fascination de la laideur. L'en deça psychanalytique du laid, 1994, p 259 (1st edition 1978).

41. Simone de Beauvoir: The Second Sex, op, cit., p 16, challenging Emmanuel Levinas in Le Temps et l'Autre: 'Otherness reaches its full flowering in the feminine...'
42. Kinsey's report on male sexuality was published in France in 1948; the report on female sexuality (1953) came out in French in October 1954. Marie Bonaparte's La Sexualité de la Femme appeared in 1951. See Isabelle Moreau: Mon comportement sexuel. Une française répond au questionnaire Kinsey, Paris, Editions Jean Froissart, 1953. The impact of film is another dimension: see Gina Lombroso: L'Ame de la femme, Paris, Payot, 1947, or 'De la vamp à la femme', L'Ecran, February-March, 1958.
43. Sartre's characterisation of the viscous and feminine 'revenge of the en-soi' in L'Etre et le Néant, 1943, was challenged by Suzanne Lilar in A propos de Sartre et l'amour, Paris, Grasset, 1967, p 77; see also Dorothy Mac Call: 'Existentialisme ou Feminisme' in Sartre, special number of Obliques, Paris, 1979, pp 311-320.
44. Man Ray: 'Des chats et des magnolias', Le Surréalisme Même, no 1, 1958, p 7. See also Exposition, Internationale du Surréalisme (EROS), Paris, Galerie Daniel Cordier, 1959.
45. Betty Friedan: The Feminine Mystique, DETAILS?, translated as 'La Femme Mystifiée', Les Temps Modernes,
46. Jean Genet: 'Fragments', Les Temps Modernes, August, 1954, pp 200, 203.
47. Molinier's solo show at the Galerie de l'Etoile Scellée was arranged and prefaced by Breton in 1956; he subsequently contributed to Le Surréalisme même and exhibited at the Expositions Internationales du Surréalisme in 1959 and 1965.
48. Gérard Durozoi: 'Molinier, entre l'amour et la mort', Canal, 32, October 1979, no 4 (following Molinier's Centre Pompidou retrospective).
49. See Jean-Louis Poitevin: 'Pierre Molinier: de la photographie comme extase', Clichés no 59, 1989, pp 54-9 and Peter Gorson: 'The artists' desiring gaze on objects of fetishism' (first version 1972) reprinted in Comme je voudrais être, London, Cabinet Gallery, 1993. Garson signals the important shows 'Coming Out' and 'Transformer', held in Lucerne, Graz and Bochum, 1974-5. See also Pierre Petit: Molinier, une vie d'enfer, Paris, Editions Ramsay / Jean Jacques Pauvert, 1992.
50. See for example Severo Sarduy: 'Les travestis. Kallima sur un corps: toile, idole', Art Press, no 20, September-October 1975, pp 12-13. Following the foundation of Guy Hocquenghem's Front Homosexuel d'Action Révolutionnaire in 1971 and Le désir homosexuel, 1972, his Race d'Ep! Un siècle d'images de l'homosexualité appeared in 1979.
51. Jean-Paul Sartre, preface to Jean Genet: The Maids and Deathwatch. Two Plays, translated by Bernard Frechtman, New York, 1954 (London 1989, pp 9-10, 15.)

52. Kenneth E. Silver 'Modes of Disclosure: the Construction of Gay Identity and the Rise of Pop Art', Hand-Painted Pop. American Art in Transition, 1955-1962, The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, New York, Rizzoli, 1993, pp 178-203 (lectures given from 1986-1991).
53. See Dick Hebdige: 'Fabulous confusion. Pop before Pop?', *ibid*, p 234, and Laura Mulvey: 'A phantasmagoria of the Female Body: the work of Cindy Sherman', New Left Review, no 188, July / August, 1991, pp 136-51.
54. See reprint of the two exhibition catalogues as The Complete Book of Erotic Art, compiled by Drs Phyllis and Eberhard Kronhausen, New York, Bell Publishing Company, 1987.
55. Daddy was shown in London, Hammer Cinema, November 1972, and the revised version in April 1973, at the 11th New York Film Festival.
56. Maryse Holder: 'Another Cuntree: At Last, a Mainstream Female Art Movement' (off our backs, September 1973), in Arlene Raven, Cassandra Langer, Joanna Frueh eds, Feminist Art Criticism. An Anthology, New York, 1991, pp 1-20.
57. Frantz Fanon: Peau noir, masques blancs, Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1952, Black Skin, White Masks, New York, Grove Press, 1967, (compare Norman Mailer's very disturbing polemic, The White Negro, (Dissent, 1957), San Francisco, City Lights Books, n.d.
58. Les Maîtres Fous, astonishing in its implications is contextualised by Paul Stoller, René Prédal and Ingrid Esien in L'Autre et le Sacré. Surréalisme, Cinéma, Ethnologie, ed. C.W.Thompson, Paris, Editions Harmattan, 1995. For French and American reception of The Blacks, see Maurice Lecuyer: 'Les Nègres et au-delà', and Jean Decock: 'Les Nègres aux U.S.A.', in 'Genet', Obliques, no 2, 1989, pp 44-50, and Edmund White: Jean Genet, London, Chatto and Windus, 1993, pp 490-508.
59. See Lowery Stokes Sims: 'Aspects of Performance by Black American Women Artists' in Feminist Art Criticism, *op. cit.*, p 209, and Black Male. Representations of masculinity in Contemporary American Art, Whitney Museum of American Art, brochure and catalogue.
60. Jean Genet: Prisoner of Love, London, Picador, Pan Books, 1989, p 150 (Un captif amoureux, Paris, Editions Gallimard 1986, p 207), translated by Barbara Bray. Bray does not translate 'afin qu'il vous désigne' ('so the world can classify you'), and Genet's 'obligatoire détournement syntaxique' is more complex (perverse) than 'a change of syntax.'
61. Lowery Stokes Sims, Feminist Art Criticism, *op. cit.*, p 215.
62. See Mark Simpson: Male Impersonators. Men performing Masculinity, London, Cassell, 1994, Chapter 6: 'A World of Penises. Gay videoporn', p 142, quoting Jean

Baudrillard: Simulations, New York, Semiotexte, 1983, pp 57-8.

63. Mark Simpson's devastating analysis of football ('Active Sports. The Anus and its Goal Posts) and the culture of rock in Male Impersonators, op. cit., as regards the hidden feminine could fruitfully be extended into 'black male' arenas of hypermasculinisation.

64. For the concept of 'panic' and its links with a culture of 'simulacra' see Arthur and Marilouise Kroker: 'Panic Sex in America' and 'Theses on the Disappearing Body in the Hypermodern Condition' in Body Invaders. Sexuality and the Postmodern Condition, London, 1988 (which they edited), pp 10-33.

65. I see bell hook's 1992 essay 'Reconstructing Black Masculinity', reappearing in The Masculine Masquerade. Masculinity and Representation, eds Andrew Perchuck and Helaine Posner, MIT List Visual Arts Center, MIT Press, Cambridge Massachusetts and London, 1995, pp 67-88, as a key example.

66. While The Masculine Masquerade. Masculinity and Representation, *ibid.*, is an exemplary exploration of new literature and imagery, male masquerade surely dates back to display in the 'men's hut' and the very origins of androcracy.

67. See the Guerilla Girls: Confessions of the Guerilla Girls, with an essay by Whitney Chadwick, New York, 1995.

68. See Y. Michaud ed. Féminisme, art et histoire de l'art, 1994; texts by Marcia Tucker on the U.S. situation, Lisa Tickner (London) and Griselda Pollock (the pioneer of British feminist art history, Leeds), Rosie Huhn (Paris?) and Nicole Dubreuil-Blondin (Montreal).

69. Pontus Hulten: 'Working with fury and with pleasure' ghost-authored presentation essay for Niki de Saint Phalle, Kunst-und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1992, p 13. Niki's show was held above Hulten's quasi-millennial survey of the twentieth century, Territorium Artis, 1992, showing 106 men and four women.

70. Of course, Cixous, Irigaray, Kristeva: 'So much beauty on stage'... For a discussion of this marginalisation see Stephen Frosh: Masculinity and Psychoanalysis, London, 1994, p 28 ff; for a dated example of denial take Derrida's self-contradictory assertion: 'Deconstruction is certainly not feminist...', in Critical Exchange no 17, Winter 1985, p 30.

71. As Marcia Tucker attempts to explain in Bad Girls: 'Although concerned with sex and gender representations, the work [by both men and women] has a distinctly different spirit from much of the "feminist" art of the 1970s and 80s. It's irreverent, anti-ideological, non-doctrinaire, non-didactic, unpolemical and thoroughly unladylike'

72. See the abundance of nostalgic tinted photographs, lessons on American Feminist

history, Bakhtin, Charcot, inordinately long acknowledgements and family dedications by Marcia Tucker in Bad Girls, New Museum of Contemporary Art & MIT Press, 1994: English Bad Girls have a more complex sense of embarrassment.

73. See Dominique Gilbert Laporte: 'A une amazone...', Lea Lublin / Orlan, Histoires Saintes de l'Art, Lacertid , Cergy, 1985.

74. Eug nie Lemoine Luccioni, La Robe, op. cit., p 95; p 122-3 for the transexuality of saints, citing Louis R au, Iconographie de l'Art Chr tien (of course the mythicising of gender differentiation is at the root of the Old Testament Genesis and subsequently the Kabbalah); see also Ch XI 'Orlan', pp 133-145. For translation see Carol Ducker, 'Orlan', Women's Art Magazine, p 8.

75. Simone Weil quoted by Marisa Vescovo in Gina Pane (a saintly precursor), F.R.A.C., Pays de la Loire, 1991, p 38. Orlan's seventh operation 'Omnipr sence', 7/11/1993, in the 'Reincarnation of Sainte Orlan' series, 1993, was relayed worldwide by satellite. See Sarah Wilson: 'L'Histoire d'O, Sacred and Profane'in Wilson et al.: Orlan, London, Black Dog Publishing, 1996, pp 7-17.

76. See Michael Bracewell on Nan Goldin: 'Making up is hard to do', Frieze, no 12, 1993, pp 32-37.

77. Fetishism. Visualising Power and desire, ed. Anthony Sheldon, Brighton Museum and Art Gallery, April-July, 1995, with foyer show of Nicholas Sinclair's photographs. See also Nicholas Sinclair: The Chameleon Body. Photographs of Contemporary Fetishism, with texts by David Alan Mellor and Anthony Shelton, London, Lund Humphries, 1996.

78. Walerian Borowczyk, preface to Andr  Berg: Cr atures Nyons/Paris, 1982 (soft porn transvestite photographs).