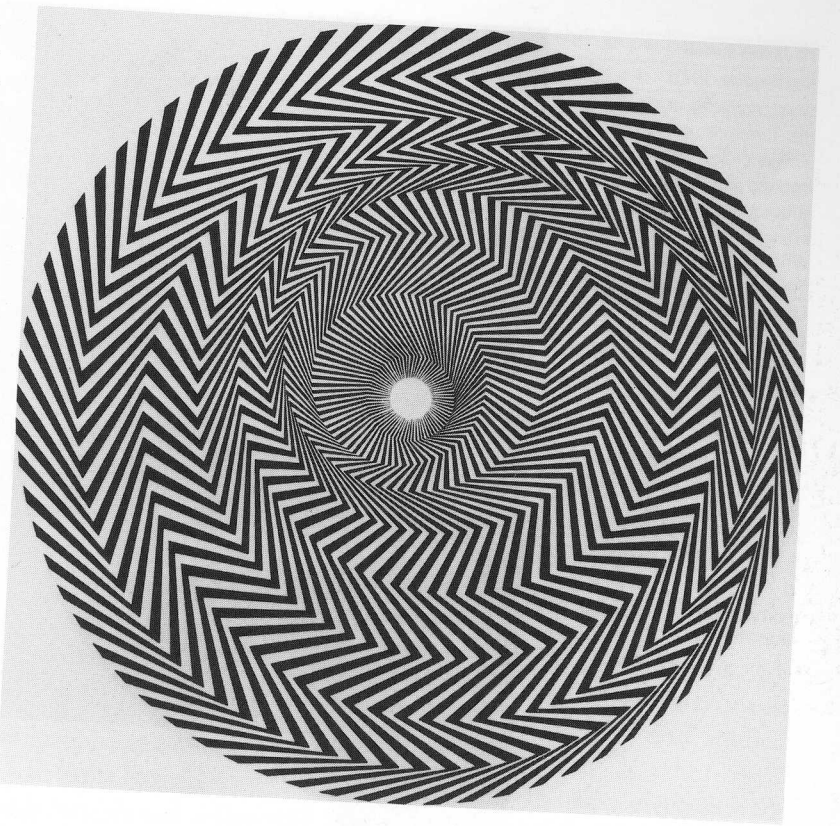
identified with the movement when her works were exhibited in the 'Systemic Abstraction' show at New York's Guggenheim Museum in 1966, sought spiritual absolutes. An enormously self-reliant artist, from a Presbyterian background, she produced taut but tremulous graphite lattices on lightly painted fields. These were intended to evoke luminescence or immateriality and lighten the 'weight' of the squares that enclosed them [**72**].[21] Martin's mystical denial of ego ran the risk of conforming to prevalent stereotypes of female passivity, but it also prevented critics from reducing her work to the 'personal' or biographical, as will be seen to have happened in the case of Eva Hesse.

Martin's quietism provides a striking contrast with another female abstractionist who emerged in the late 1960s, in the context of the British response to Modernism, namely Bridget Riley. Sculptural abstraction in Britain had been galvanized, in more senses than one, by the 1965 'New Generation' show at London's Whitechapel Gallery, which established Caro's painted constructions as paradigmatic for a generation of sculptors, notably Phillip King. In terms of abstract painting, however, London rather lagged behind New York's example, despite the initial promise of Robyn Denny's and Bernard Cohen's paintings in the wake of the 1960s 'Situation' exhibition. Minimalist aesthetics were likewise slowly assimilated. Riley, however, carved out a profoundly distinctive path with her assertive, optically disorientating paintings.

Although her work had superficial parallels with the formulaic illusion-inducing paintings of the Hungarian Victor Vasarely, the basis of Riley's work in naturalistic starting-points (such as the effects of wind in long grass) or in physical sensations provided her work with greater metaphorical range. The invasive energy of certain images [**73**] quickly led to threatened male critics complaining of unfeminine 'aggression'. She achieved international prominence in 1965 when she was featured, alongside her compatriate Michael Kidner, in the 'Responsive Eye' exhibition at New York's MOMA, following this up by winning the

Minimalism and the masculine

The abstractionist Agnes Martin's desire for what she once described as 'impotence' might be seen as implicitly criticizing Minimalism's flirtation with power, reminding us that, however radical its anti-idealist rhetoric, Minimalism was fundamentally a male movement. In this respect the art historian Anna Chave has noted a preponderance of phallic metaphors among its male practitioners. The sculptor Dan Flavin's breakthrough to his signature use of fluorescent tubes was thus the *Diagonal of May 25th 1963*, a strip light, angled at 45 degrees, which corresponded, as the artist once averred, to the 'diagonal of personal ecstasy'. Carl Andre's claims that his works brought Priapus down to earth seem relevant here, but it could well be maintained that, as with Robert Morris's *Column*, discussed in the last section, a parody of sculptural 'virility' was involved, presaging new conceptions of male artistic identity.

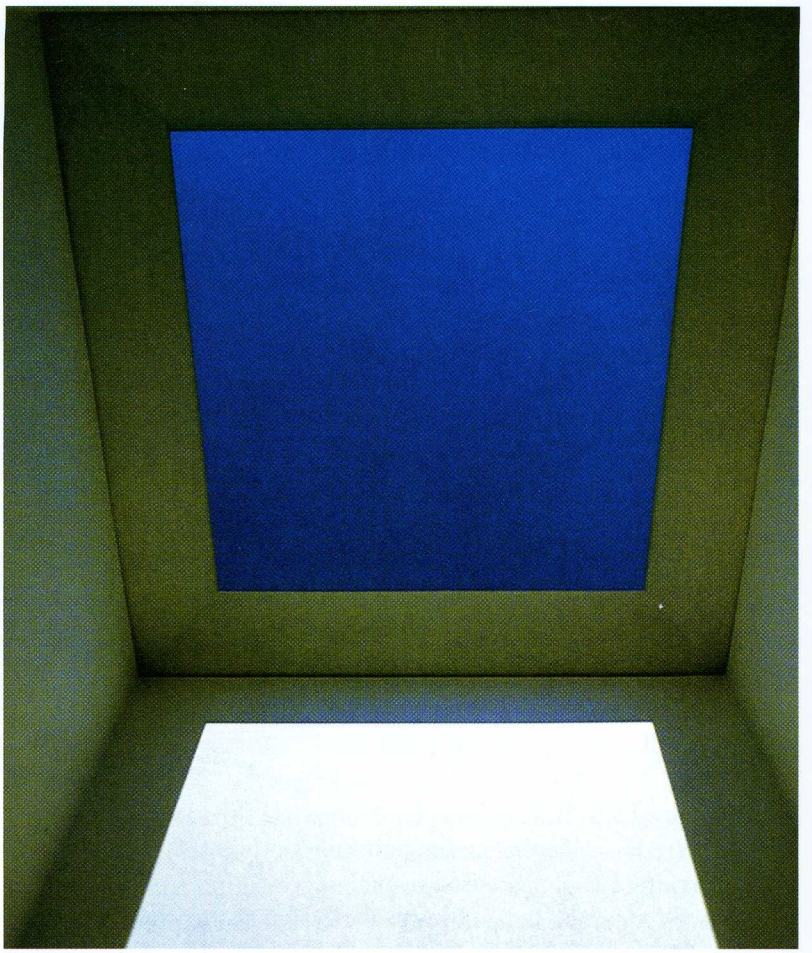


73 Bridget Riley
Blaze 1, 1962
Riley's 'Op' paintings of the early 1960s were exclusively in black and white although, as her critical mentor the psychologist Anton Ehrenzweig noted, they could generate disembodied sensations of colour. She was to begin incorporating colour into her work from 1966 onwards, exploiting dazzling chromatic contrasts.

prize for painting at the 1968 Venice Biennale, but her work often aroused suspicion.

This was partly due to the way Riley became synonymous with the fashionable cult of 1960s 'Op Art'. Arriving in New York for the 'Responsive Eye' exhibition, she was appalled to see how quickly her motifs had migrated onto dresses in shop windows, and attempted unsuccessfully to sue for copyright infringement. More damaging was the vitriol of American critics. Incensed that the curator of 'The Responsive Eye', William Seitz, had had the temerity to place the likes of Riley next to American abstractionists such as Morris Louis, Rosalind Krauss, a critical ally of Fried, asserted that Riley's species of 'opticality' was pure gimmickry in comparison with the superior Modernist variety, no more worthwhile than exercises in perceptual illusion produced by students.[22]

Krauss's hierarchy of 'opticalities' has its ironies. Following a shift of allegiance to a counter-Modernist position in the 1970s, she would eventually champion the historical importance of Duchamp's path-breaking experiments with optical illusion, in the form of his *Rotorelief* disks of 1935. When rotated on a machine, certain of these set up pulsatile oscillations between inward and outward expansion. Krauss therefore came to see them as exemplifications of an impulse



74 James Turrell
Sky Window, 1975
While producing works like this, Turrell also embarked on a major project in 1972 which involved purchasing, and subsequently modifying, an extinct volcanic crater located in northern Arizona. This 'Roden Crater' project has connections with Land Art (see Chapter 6). However, Turrell's modifications, which involved him in cutting tunnels and adjusting the crater's bowl, were ultimately geared towards orchestrating awesome effects of light and space. Such god-like manipulations distinguish him from Land Artists such as Robert Smithson though not perhaps from Walter De Maria.

in twentieth-century art away from Modernism's lofty disembodied 'visuality'—which made no attempts to meet spectators' visual 'desires'—and towards the gratification of somatic fantasies.[23] Riley's illusions were not pledged to undercutting the sovereignty of 'retinal art' in quite the same way as Duchamp's, and a trend towards 'Kinetic Art' in the 1960s would take up, in its own quasi-scientific terms, his exploration of actual movement. Her contribution to challenging Modernist proprieties has, however, been obscured by the vagaries of critical debate.

In America the promotion of Modernist 'opticality' on the East Coast also deflected attention from work dealing with the mechanics of perception by West Coast artists. Robert Irwin and James Turrell's 'Light and Space Movement', formed in Los Angeles in the late 1960s, was dedicated to sensitizing spectators to the mysteries of natural light. Such effects took some stage-managing and Turrell eventually dedicated himself to creating *Sky Window* installations throughout the 1970s and 1980s, consisting of rectangular apertures in the ceilings of

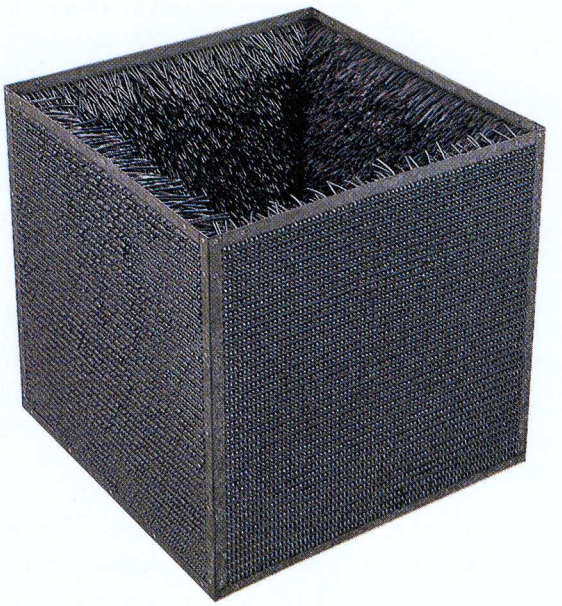
rooms, through which ineffable changes in the sky's luminosity or chromatic density could be experienced in relation to controlled lighting conditions [**74**]. Works such as these are intended to engender experiences of ethereal otherworldliness rather than carnal excitation or convulsion. But it is clear, not least from Krauss's change of direction, that aberrant forms of 'opticality' would eventually join forces with 'theatricality' in rendering Fried's stringent Modernism insensitive to changing needs, and hardly as 'timeless' as he imagined.

Anti Form and body metaphors: Hesse and Bourgeois

In the mid-1960s Minimalism functioned as a kind of purgative, ridding sculpture of surplus aesthetic and metaphorical baggage, but its austerity almost begged to be challenged. In 1968, therefore, Robert Morris published a text, titled 'Anti Form', which was widely taken to signal a refutation of Minimalism's assumptions. That a short article by an artist possessed such clout is symptomatic of a widespread acceptance of artists as theoretical legislators in the later 1960s. This went hand in hand with a changing sense of art's academic status. Artists increasingly moved between humanities disciplines. Morris, for example, had studied psychology and philosophy in the early 1950s; Don Judd, who published extensively as an art critic, had studied philosophy at Columbia University.

In 'Anti Form' Morris argued that rather than being preconceived, sculpture should follow the dictates of process. Seriality should be abandoned in favour of randomness and materials should be allowed to find their own forms in response to principles such as gravity.[24] Renouncing geometry, he himself scattered materials such as threads or metal scraps in amorphous masses on gallery floors or, having cut strips into large sheets of felt, hung them from hooks so that the strips cascaded to the floor. Given that he and Carl Andre had regarded their practices as imbued with anti-virile metaphors, this change of tack might be interpreted as a means of softening Minimalism's hard masculinist edges. (It is far from coincidental that Morris illustrated 'Anti Form' with one of Oldenburg's 'soft sculptures'.) Dissolution was a cultural condition in 1968. As we shall see, the gallery system was under attack, and Morris was pledged to undermining its rigidities, as well as his own. However, if Morris 'feminized' his practice, it is ironic that a female curator, Lucy Lippard, had already set the 'desublimation' of Minimalism in motion.

In 1966 Lippard had curated an important exhibition entitled 'Eccentric Abstraction' at New York's Fischbach Gallery, dedicated to work which addressed the tactile or the visceral rather than the cerebral. Under this rubric she particularly promoted the work of the German-born artist Eva Hesse. Familiar with Minimalist ideas through her friendship with Sol LeWitt, Hesse had recently begun



75 Eva Hesse
Accession II, 1967
Hesse produced a series of versions of this sculpture during 1967–8. They set up an interesting dialogue with Judd's frequent exposure of the interiors of his 'boxes' [**66**]. They also respond obliquely to an iconographic tradition of internal/external and skin/hair reversals set in motion by the Swiss Surrealist Meret Oppenheim's *Fur Cup and Saucer* (1936).

exploring the underside of the movement's fetishization of unyielding surfaces and systems. In 1967, for instance, she produced two versions of *Accession*, consisting of perforated Minimalist cubes threaded with thousands of pieces of plastic tubing which provided them with bristling interior 'lives' [**75**]. These pieces had obvious bodily connotations, but the dialectic of mutually defining principles that they embodied clearly pre-empted Morris's move to 'Anti Form'.

The biological associations of Hesse's work invariably existed in counterpoint to her emphasis on the literal nature of materials. Lippard underlined this, observing that in 'eccentric abstraction', 'a bag remains a bag and does not become a uterus, a tube is a tube and not a phallic symbol. Too much free association on the viewer's part is combatted by formal understatement.'[25] Hesse in fact stressed that absurdity was often her most pressing theme. This was exemplified by *Hang Up* of 1966, in which an enormous loop of metal wire, extending from a frame 'bandaged' in cloth, flopped out into the viewer's space as though paradoxically disgorging the frame's emptiness.

Whatever existential dilemma it embodied, *Hang Up*'s figuring of emptiness nevertheless begs to be interpreted in emotional terms, and psychoanalytical accounts of Hesse's work have posited the death of her father in the year it was produced, which reactivated memories for her of her mother's suicide, as a key determinant.[26] However, such analyses tend to construct Hesse as a peculiarly 'inward' artist, more attuned to psychological nuances, by virtue of her sex, than her male peers. These accounts are given piquancy by the fact that Hesse died tragically young from a brain tumour, but interpretations which see her

work as mired in morbidity, such that her use of cheesecloth dipped in latex has been said to evoke diseased skin, have served her badly. Hesse's success stemmed from her ability to seize educational opportunities such as a scholarship to Yale University, which in turn allowed her to surmount contemporaneous social taboos against women departing from the domestic sphere. Her journals bear witness to the pressures of maintaining a dual identity as a woman and an artist : 'I cannot be something for everyone ... Woman, beautiful, artist, wife, housekeeper, cook.'[27]

Biographical drama tends to detract from Hesse's historical significance. In many ways she maintained a more frank and inventive relation to the history of sculpture than her male counterparts. Hesse's breakthrough to a mature style was partly a response to seeing Beuys's process-oriented works during a period spent in Germany in 1964–5. By contrast, Morris virtually repressed his debt to Beuys (although it resurfaced in his utilization of felt). Similarly, Hesse implicitly acknowledged that, just as Pollock's painting had spawned a genre of performative art, so it now stood as exemplary for sculpture. Although Morris's 'Anti Form' article significantly reinterpreted Pollock's 'drip' paintings as being about the behaviour of materials rather than Modernist 'opticality', it was Hesse who, in her last *Rope Pieces* of 1969–70, translated Pollock's painterly skeins into two highly evocative hanging sculptures. One, utilizing fibreglass over string, had the delicacy of a spider's web, whilst the other, in latex, threatened to absorb the spectator in its tangles.

If Hesse's formal originality got overlooked, her reintroduction of body metaphors into abstract sculpture initially overshadowed the contribution of an older French-born artist, Louise Bourgeois. She

76 Louise Bourgeois
Double Negative, 1963
Whilst Bourgeois's sculptures frequently connote male and female body parts, this piece also has landscape associations. Mounds or mushrooms are evoked, as is a relationship between 'above' and 'below' ground.

had been using a material that became associated with Hesse, liquid latex, to create visceral, biomorphic sculptures in the early 1960s [**76**]. But although Lippard showed her work alongside that of Hesse in 'Eccentric Abstraction', Bourgeois remained relatively unappreciated until the early 1980s. Before leaving France for America in 1938 she had been affected by Surrealism's emphasis on psychoanalytic investigation. Whereas Hesse publicly made little of the psychological content of her work, aware perhaps of the dangers discussed above, Bourgeois gradually revealed that a complex psycho-biography informed her output. Such openness went hand in hand with the increasing politicization of women artists, accompanied by changed aesthetic values, in the 1970s (see Chapter 6).

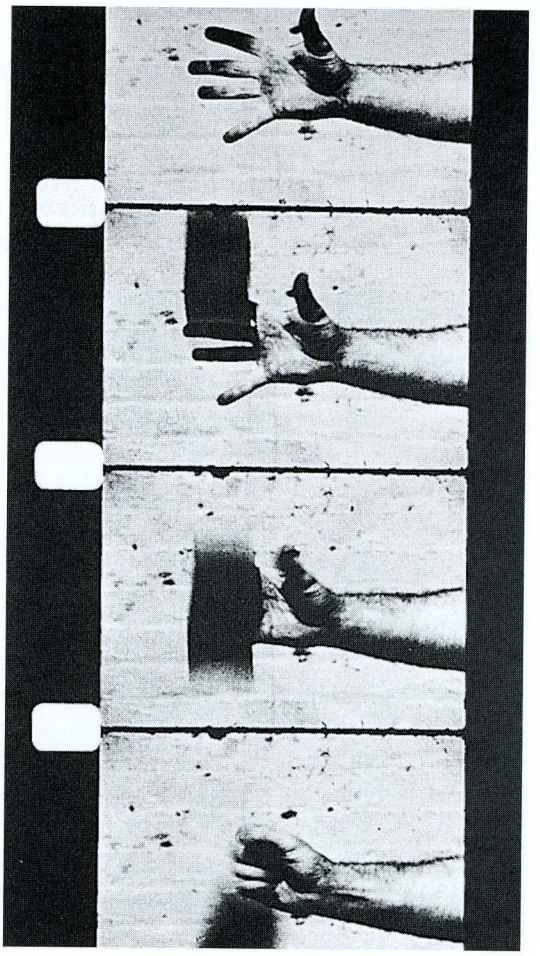
The troubled early history that informed Bourgeois's work involved the fact that her father had installed his mistress in the family home, systematically undermining the self-esteem of his wife and daughter. Bourgeois's intensely ambivalent feelings towards him would be given expression in disturbingly direct works such as the installation *Destruction of the Father* (1974), a conglomeration of globular forms both sprouting from and overhanging a long 'table', based on a cannibalistic patricidal fantasy. In smaller carved or modelled sculptures she developed a lexicon of mutating 'part objects'—split-off parts of the body, neither securely male nor female, active or passive, onto which feelings of seduction or repulsion, pain or pleasure, could be projected. Her persistence in using a relatively anachronistic sculptural language, partly rooted in Surrealist reworkings of 'primitivist' sources, seemed increasingly pointed in the 1980s and 1990s as the Modernist imperative towards formal innovation lost its grip. She was understood as speaking in the subversively unsublimated bodily terms which (masculine) Modernism, with its abhorrence of Surrealist eroticism, deemed extra-aesthetic.

Minimalist legacies: sculpture, film, public art

In December 1968 Robert Morris organized an important exhibition under the 'Anti Form' aegis called '9 at Castelli's' in the warehouse of Leo Castelli's gallery. Although Hesse was included, the successes of this exhibition were Richard Serra and Bruce Nauman, whose works explored relationships to their bodies that were more mechanistic and cerebral. Serra's use of industrial materials to carry out actions such as rolling, folding, and splashing drew on the working-class industrial roots he shared with Carl Andre, exhibiting a pronounced masculinist ethos. In *Casting*, carried out *in situ* at Castelli's, Serra threw molten lead into the angled junction between the floor and wall of the space, pulling the resultant castings away when they hardened and repeating the action to produce a series of 'waves'. This concern with physical operations led him to examine the way forces were brought into equilibrium by rudi-

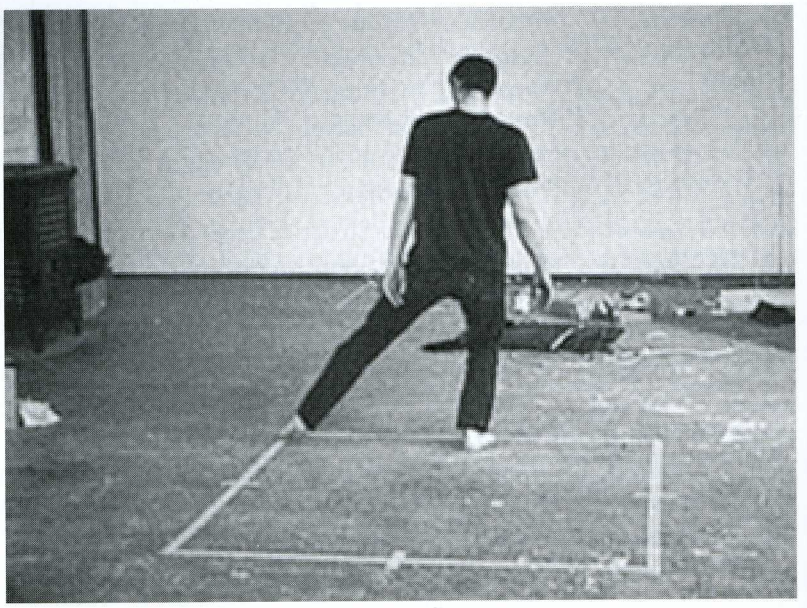
mentary leaning or propped structures. In *Corner Prop* (1969) a 2-foot-square cube of lead was supported against a wall, over 6 feet above the ground, by means of a slender lead pipe. With such heavy materials problems of 'balance' were decidedly literal rather than 'pictorial', and the sense that the works might collapse provided spectators with an uncomfortable *frisson*, directly addressing their bodily presences.

Time was an active principle in Serra's work and he therefore made several short films such as *Hand Catching Lead* (1968) [**77**], in which repeated images of a hand attempting to catch a falling piece of lead create a hypnotic rhythm, making the spectator conscious of the filmic process. Film's intrinsic qualities as a medium rather than as a vehicle for narrative had been explored earlier in the century by artists such as Hans Richter and Man Ray. However, it was not until the turn of the 1960s, largely as a result of the advocacy and commitment of the Lithuanian-born critic and film-maker Jonas Mekas in New York, that the 'underground' films of figures such as Stan Brakhage, Bruce



77 Richard Serra
From the film *Hand Catching Lead*, 1968

This 3-minute 30-second film, like others produced by Serra in the same year, related to a famous 'verb list' which he compiled in 1967–8. The verb involved in this instance is 'to grasp' but the list also included ' to roll, to crease, to fold, to store, to bend, to shorten, to twist, to dapple, to crumple, to shave' and so on (see Richard Serra, *Writings / Interviews*, Chicago, 1994, pp. 3–4). Such pragmatic instructions informed much of Serra's process-oriented art of the period.



78 Bruce Nauman
Dance or Exercise on the Perimeter of a Square (film), 1967–8
Carried out for the camera alone, Nauman's performances of the late 1960s often dealt with the artist's confinement in his studio. This was ironic given that elsewhere art was shrugging off its traditional solipsism and taking to the streets [**82**]. In a sense, though, Nauman was testing himself against humanist models of the body and philosophical introspection. This work could almost be a post-existential satire on Leonardo da Vinci's famous humanist emblem of man circumscribed by geometry.

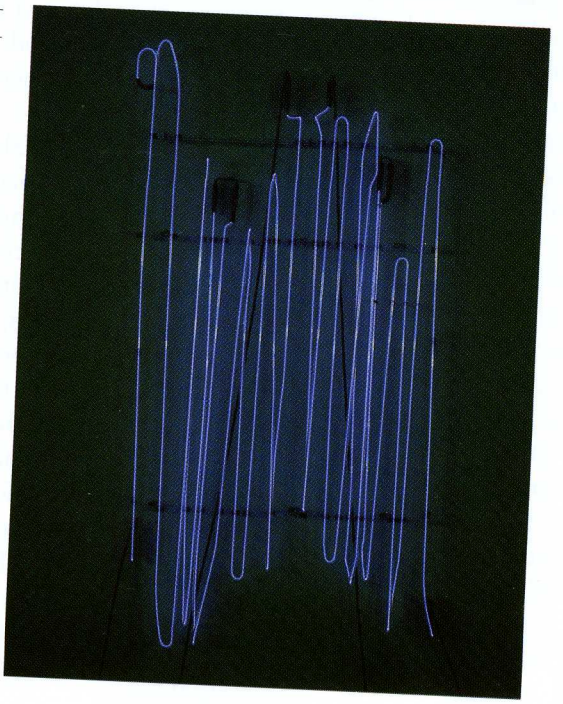
Conner, and Andy Warhol came to represent an alliance between film and experimental practices in other artistic media. By the late 1960s the 'abstract' possibilities of the medium were being explored in the 'structuralist' films of the American Hollis Frampton and the Canadian-born Michael Snow. The latter was a friend of Serra, and his film *Wavelength* (1967), consisting of a continuous zoom through his apartment lasting 45 minutes, heavily affected the sculptor, who promoted it vigorously on a trip to Europe in 1969. This kind of cross-fertilization between artists, which further extended to Serra's friendship with the 'minimalist' composer Philip Glass, was typical of the times, paralleling a questioning of disciplinary boundaries that had been given impetus by Fluxus.

Bruce Nauman, based in Los Angeles, also turned to film (and videotape), although more as a means of recording a sequence of performances, carried out in the isolation of his studio, that examined sculptural, conceptual, and bodily interactions. In one he bounced two balls between the floor and ceiling of his studio. Another showed him walking, with hands clasped behind his neck, towards and away from the camera along an uncomfortably narrow 20-foot-long corridor. In a third he staked out the perimeter of a square marked on the floor with balletic steps dictated by a metronome's beat [**78**].

Nauman's interrogation of his bodily identity owed much to a heady cocktail of reading. Samuel Beckett and the *Gestalt* psychology and phenomenology that had affected Morris were formative influences. So was the philosophy of Wittgenstein, with its scepticism as to language's ability to broker between 'public' and 'private' systems of

meaning. In a sequence of sculptural objects, partly indebted to Duchamp, whose example for West Coast artists was particularly vivid after his retrospective in Pasedena in 1963, Nauman sent language's metaphorical and descriptive functions spinning into collision. Its role as name (and identity) was submitted to the principle of anamorphosis in a work consisting of neon tubing, *My Last Name Exaggerated Fourteen Times Vertically*, of 1967 [**79**]. Stretching out the implications of his signature with the detachment of a laboratory investigator Nauman succinctly articulated a male artist's self-alienation in direct counterpoint to what has been said about Hesse's or Bourgeois's ability to metaphoricize their bodies/identities within their objects.

Nauman's use of neon was not unprecedented. The Minimalist Dan Flavin was an obvious reference point. The Conceptualist Joseph Kosuth had also investigated Wittgensteinian tautologies regarding language and representation in neon works such as the self-descriptive, blue-lit *Five Words in Blue Neon* (1965). However, Nauman's ironic allusions to the numinous connotations of light put him more in line with European contemporaries such as the Italian *Arte Povera* artist Mario Merz, who revivified assemblages of mundane objects through the insertion of neon tubes. Neon also connotes the public dimension, via advertising, and in later works of the 1980s Nauman ironically brought it into proximity with 'private' erotic imagery. *Hanged Man* (1985) once again deals with male sexuality. Two overlapping neon circuits alternately flash on and off. One represents a live hanging



79 Bruce Nauman
My Last Name Exaggerated Fourteen Times Vertically, 1967

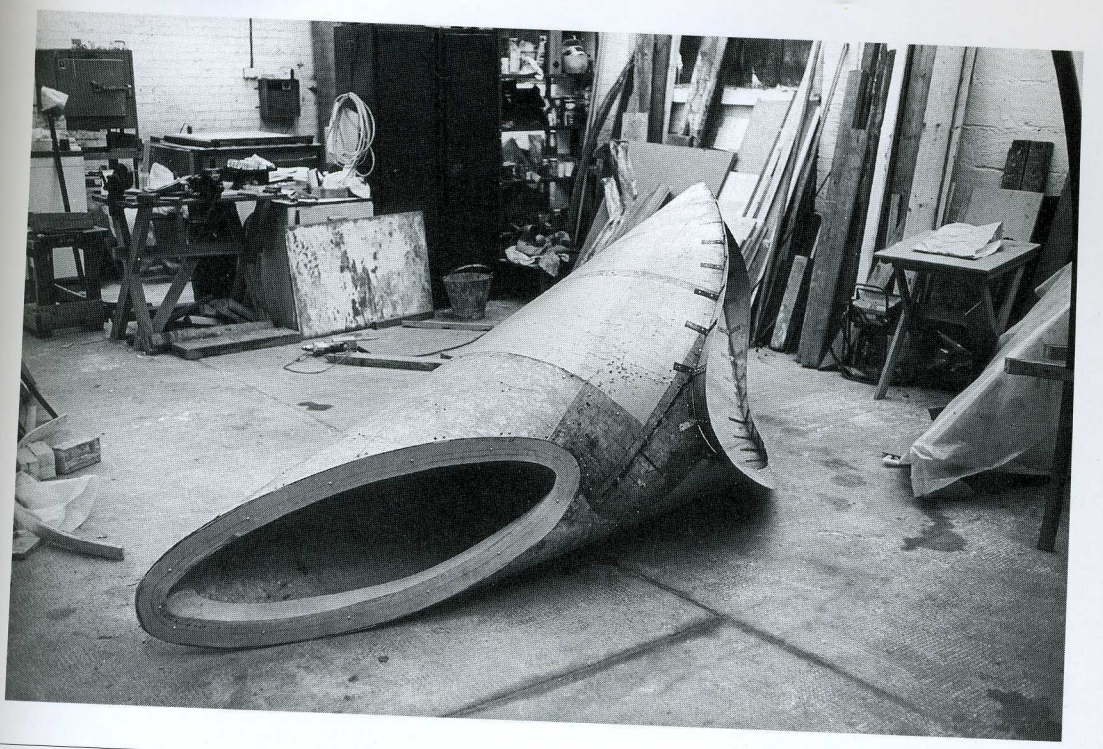
This relates to another work of 1968, *My Name As Though It Were Written on the Surface of the Moon*, also in neon. The latter, slightly more legibly, reads: 'bbbbbbrrrrrruuu uuuccccceeeeee'. It has been suggested that it may have been a response to photographs sent back to earth by five lunar orbiters launched by the US between 1966 and 1968.

stick-man with enormous limp phallus; the other depicts him hanged, with an erection. Such sadistic (or masochistic) allusions to games and torture, coupled with the theme of surveillance, would further dominate the video works Nauman produced in the late 1980s and 1990s.

It is clear that Nauman's cluster of body-related metaphors increasingly eluded a fixed artistic medium. More than Serra, therefore, his concerns in the late 1960s crossed over from sculpture into the spheres of Conceptual and Performance art, which will be discussed shortly. Modernist aesthetics had reached a cul-de-sac, compromising the expressive resources of sculpture and painting, whilst the logic of Morris's Minimalism pointed beyond traditional forms. Breathing-space had to be sought in less heavily colonized visual practices. This situation persisted until well into the 1970s, and sculptural metaphor, as investigated by the likes of Hesse and Bourgeois, would be revisited on the back of a return to figuration. This development can briefly be indicated by looking at British sculpture.

In the late 1960s Anti Form's main exponent in British sculpture, defying all that Caro stood for, had been Barry Flanagan, who produced quirky ensembles of rope and sand-filled hessian sacks. In the 1970s Richard Long kept post-Minimalist principles alive through his informal placement of stones or sticks in landscape locations. In an earlier work, *A Line Made for Walking* (1967), which was recorded in a photograph, he hardly intervened as a maker, simply treading a mark into a field. But these works ultimately embodied a romantic desire to escape aesthetic confinement. It was not until the end of the 1970s, in the work of a new generation of sculptors including Tony Cragg, Richard Deacon, Anish Kapoor, and Bill Woodrow, that the sculptural object as such, in relation to human or urban themes, reassumed importance.

This group came to prominence in a key exhibition of 1981, held in London and Bristol, entitled 'Objects and Sculptures', which paralleled contemporaneous exhibitions of painting signalling a new *Zeitgeist* (see Chapter 7). Their work varied considerably. Kapoor, an Indian-born artist, reflected something of Britain's ethnic diversity in the 1980s in exotically shaped moulded objects, placed on the floor and covered with brilliantly coloured chalk powder redolent of his country of origin. Cragg and Woodrow were drawn to the industrial landscape. The latter's *Twin Tub with Guitar* (1981) involved him cutting out and constructing a metal 'guitar' from a twin tub washing machine, to which it remained, umbilically, linked. In a form of post-Minimalist Surrealism, he instituted alliances between unrelated objects via an industrial/consumerist logic. Less taken with overtly social themes, Deacon evoked poetic associations between ears, eyes, and animal forms in open structures constructed from girders of laminated strips of wood. The 'skins' of his large shell-like structures were often visibly

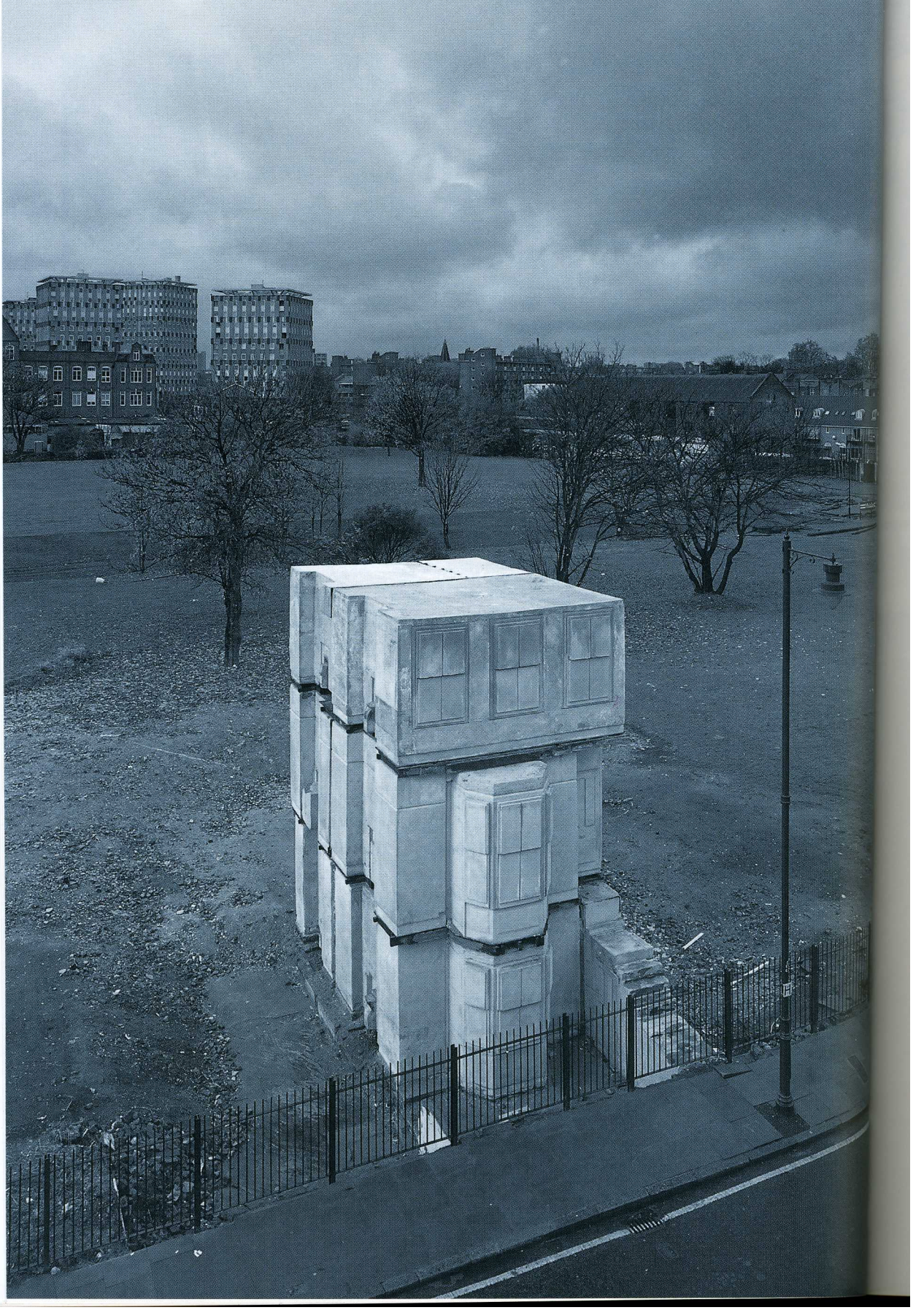


80 Richard Deacon
Untitled, 1980
Deacon's organically related forms often derive from sources in the Bible, poetry, fairy stories, and figures of speech. In the two versions of the laminated wood sculpture *For Those Who Have Ears* (1982–3), for instance, the open-form, continuously curving structures were derived from the calming effects that Orpheus's songs were said to have on the natural world. As Deacon himself has asserted, the forms in his sculptures evoke the shaping and metaphorical capacities of language.

patched together with materials such as sheet metal, corrugated iron, or linoleum [**80**]. This fusion of aesthetic form and metaphor would have been unthinkable without precedents such as Robert Morris or Eva Hesse. (Deacon frequently invoked Don Judd and Carl Andre.)

In the 1990s Rachel Whiteread was to carry out a more overt reassessment of the Minimalist inheritance in very different terms. Her casts of the negative spaces surrounding objects with strong human associations such as baths or bathroom sinks had a precursor in one of Bruce Nauman's enigmatic sculptures, *A Cast of the Space Under My Chair* (1966–8) However, Whiteread pushed the emotive connotations of casting through myriad variations of material and colour, registering the poignancy of the dialectic between presence and absence. Her remarkable *House* (1993) [**81**] was cast from the inside of a house in Bow, London, from which the exterior was subsequently peeled away. The house had been the sole survivor of a line of Victorian terraced houses, slated for demolition, which symbolized the last vestiges of a working-class community now dispersed among housing schemes. Although it had never been envisaged as a permanent fixture, Whiteread's ghostly monument to the former dwelling spoke eloquently of the erasure of human and social memory and aroused mixed but intense public controversy before its removal by the local council.

A loose connection exists between this case and the controversial demolition of an earlier site-specific sculpture, Richard Serra's *Tilted*



81 Rachel Whiteread
House, 1993

Rachel Whiteread's *House* revived a taste for outrage previously brought to the fore in Britain by the Tate Bricks saga. Before its completion in October 1993 it had attracted little press interest. In November of that year, however, a combination of Whiteread winning the Turner Prize and the decision by the Neighbourhood Councillors of Bow that the work should be demolished led to a massive dispute. Defenders of the work argued that an English taste for iconoclasm, dating back to the sacking of the monasteries, was being rekindled.

Arc (1981). In that instance Serra's 120-foot-wide steel-plate wall had been commissioned for a civic location on New York's Federal Plaza, a pedestrian area flanked by government offices. Serra's provocative intervention in the space, which compelled pedestrians to change direction and follow his sculpture's trajectory, led to a court case in which the government body that had commissioned the work secured its removal. The critic Douglas Crimp drew attention to aspects of the state's case against *Tilted Arc*, which claimed that it ran the risk of deflecting explosions onto government buildings opposite and impeded adequate surveillance of the area beyond. Such, he noted, were the state's expectations of the public.[28]

Two of the most challenging post-Minimalist sculptures sited in the public domain have thus been destroyed. Whilst public sculpture has taken diverse forms since the 1960s, in several American and European cities Claes Oldenburg's upscaled Pop icons, such as the 1976 *Clothespin* in Philadelphia, have displaced Henry Moore's reclining figures as the most acceptable compromises between civic aspiration and artistic avant-gardism. In the cases of Serra and Whiteread it appears that the metaphors left in play once Modernist aesthetics had been discredited proved too plainly redolent of the insecurities that social modernization, symbolized by the notoriously dysfunctional housing estates and soulless city centres of the 1960s and 1970s, had wrought in the social psyche. If Minimalism had once proved ambivalent about technology and state power, as argued earlier, it had engendered the metaphorical resources to question such monolithic principles.