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From the Editor

The coronavirus pandemic this year, and the resulting lockdown, has had a devastating impact on the arts in Britain, closing art galleries and museums, and cancelling or postponing many of the exhibitions we discuss in these pages.

Raphael died five hundred years ago this year: Matthias Wivel discusses his *Saint Catherine of Alexandria* in the National Gallery. Dominic Selwood addresses the perennial question of 'who should own antiquities'. Kate Retford assesses the career of Angelica Kauffman. Hannah Higham, of The Henry Moore Foundation, looks at his early work. Two articles mark the two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of John Tenniel, the illustrator of Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland*. Deborah Lewer recalls the persecution of sculptor Ernst Barlach in 1930s Germany.

The joint winners of this year's London Art History Society Prize for Best Modern Period Masters Dissertation at Birkbeck, Adam Coleman and Christie Johnson, write about their research.

I would like to express my thanks to the contributors, our designer, and my fellow editorial panel members.

Barrie MacDonald

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FRONT COVER: *Raphael,* Saint Catherine of Alexandria*, 1507. Oil on poplar, 72.2 x 55.7 cm. The National Gallery London.*

Raphael's *Saint Catherine*

Matthias Wivel

If you will permit me a personal memory, the picture that stayed with me more than any from my first visit to the National Gallery as a teenager was Raphael's *Saint Catherine of Alexandria* (Front Cover). Now, as curator, I still find it among the most arresting pictures in the collection. Despite its relatively modest size, it has real wall power – projecting easily across several galleries – while up close, it feels intimate. It is one of the most exactingly calibrated paintings I know.

In other words, it is quintessential Raphael: it captures with deceptive simplicity a sense of organic rather than prescriptive logic. The Saint moves with unselfconscious deliberation – her sudden turn toward the irruption of light is unexpected, but appears entirely natural, as if following a hidden purpose. The ability to elicit this feeling of natural order is intrinsic to Raphael's work as a whole. This is the reason why, since his lifetime, he has been associated with the idea of grace, a multivalent term that characterises his ability to make his art seem natural, but also more profoundly the gentleness of his vision, a quality that inevitably carries associations with the mercy of Christ himself. This is key to our continued appreciation of him as a central figure in the Western canon. Because it encapsulates these qualities so clearly, the *Saint Catherine* is a good place to start if one wishes to examine his legacy in this, the five-hundredth year after his death.

The painting dates to about 1507, a key period in Raphael's (1483-1520) development as an artist, when he was absorbing into his own idiom the ideas and techniques of the artistic avant-garde in Florence – notably those of Leonardo (1452-1519) and Michelangelo (1475-1564). *Saint Catherine* is contemporaneous with his great Pala Baglioni, *The Entombment of Christ*, now in the Borghese Gallery in Rome, in which he adapted the traditionally statically-depicted subject into an ambitiously complex narrative of interaction between individuals. Soon he would be called to Rome to work for Pope Julius II (reg. 1503-1513), where he would apply these ideas on an even grander scale and with awe-inspiring confidence to some of the defining works of Western art, most famously the *School of Athens* in the so-called Stanza della Segnatura in the Vatican.

Catherine of Alexandria was a fourth-century Egyptian princess who, after experiencing a vision in which she was wedded to Christ, converted to Christianity. She was martyred under Emperor Maxentius, who attempted to have her tortured on a wheel which was miraculously shattered by a divine thunderbolt, after which she was beheaded. In Catholic Europe she was revered as an intercessor on behalf of the faithful. She was also regarded as protectress of young maidens and unmarried women.

Fig.1: Raphael, Study for Saint Catherine of Alexandria *(Recto), 1506-7. Pen and brown ink on white paper, 25.9 x 17.1 cm. © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.*

We do not know who commissioned the *Saint Catherine*. Most likely meant for private devotion, the picture may have been intended for a young woman sharing the saint's name, while its patron may have been a sophisticated Florentine. Catherine was a favourite among poets and humanists: in 1550, a picture of her by Raphael was in the possession of the (in)famous writer, dramatist, polemicist and pornographer Pietro Aretino (1492-1554), which may be the National Gallery painting. In any case, the picture's provenance is distinguished, having belonged to the distinguished Roman Crescenzi family in the late sixteenth century before it passed into the famous collection of Cardinal Scipione Borghese (1577-1633).

A couple of sheets of drawings relating to the *Saint Catherine*, today in the Ashmolean (inv. WA1846.168 and WA1846.77), demonstrate that Raphael's graceful compositions did not spring fully-formed from his brow, but were arrived at through hard work. Raphael is one of

Fig. 2: Raphael, A female head for Borghese-Beckford St Catherine and various putti *(Verso), 1506-7. Pen and brown ink over blind stylus and possibly leadpoint or metallic traces, 27.9 x 16.9 cm. © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.*

the most eloquent draughtsmen of his time, but always pushes himself beyond his comfort zone toward new discoveries, refining his ideas as he works. Executed with his characteristically flowing, curving motion of the pen, the earlier study (Fig. 1) is rather static, posing the saint leaning against the wheel of her martyrdom, her body swaying slightly. On one side of the second sheet, we find Raphael searching for the right posture in a nude study after a young model and a couple of speculative sketches that further establish the figure, together with a sensitively-textured study of a model's neck and shoulders that anticipates the final arrangement (Fig. 2).

On the reverse side of this sheet, elegant semi-circular lines circumscribe Catherine's upturned three-quarter profile, alongside lively sketches of angelic children (Fig. 3).

In the saint's heavenward gaze, Raphael adapted the signature device of his senior colleague Pietro Perugino (1446–1523), just as he found his final, graceful serpentine movement in the work of his Florentine paragons. Soon

Fig. 3: Raphael, A female head for Borghese-Beckford St Catherine and various putti *(Recto), 1506-7. Pen and brown ink over blind stylus and possibly leadpoint or metallic traces, 27.9 x 16.9 cm. © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.*

after his arrival – young, talented and ambitious – in Florence around 1504, he seems to have struck up a friendship with Leonardo, whose work he immediately set about learning by copying. He also became aware of the human insights of the older master: *The Last Supper*, with its collective ebb and flow of human cognition, is the blueprint for the bodily rendition of insight, exchange and learning in the *School of Athens*. For *Saint Catherine*, however, Raphael adapted the lithe figure that Leonardo had devised for his now-lost painting of *Leda and the Swan* (about 1504). Raphael's drawn copy is in the Royal Collection at Windsor (inv. RCIN 912759).

That was not sufficient, however: the energy of Saint Catherine's movement and modelling choices such as the turn of her head and the bend of her left leg, are derived from the statue of *Saint Matthew* that Michelangelo was then carving for Florence's cathedral (and, as usual, would leave unfinished, trapped in its marble block). Raphael's drawing after it is in the British Museum (inv. 1855,0214.1). The two artists seem to have enjoyed a cordial relationship at this time, but that would soon change as they relocated to Rome and began competing for commissions. Decades after Raphael's death, Michelangelo still seethed at what he saw as his younger rival's theft of his ideas. And you can see why: Raphael built his art through the intense study of others, assimilating their inventions seamlessly into his own idiom. Raphael's *Saint Catherine*, thus, is his perfect synthesis of his three greatest individual influences.

While he intermittently designed for sculpture, Raphael never carved at a professional level. But his thinking was always three-dimensional, and his appropriations from Michelangelo served as a shortcut to the language of classical sculpture, by way of the greatest living practitioner. Specifically, *Saint Catherine* calls to mind with pose and with the position of her right hand across her breast especially, the so-called *Venus Pudica* of antiquity. This graceful conception of a nude woman hiding her private parts was the artistic model *par excellence* of female modesty and beauty in European culture.

Fig. 4: Raphael, Saint Catherine of Alexandria*, 1507-9. Black chalk heightened with white on four joined sheets of beige paper, pricked for transfer, 58.7 x 43.6 cm. © Musée du Louvre, Paris.*

Once he had established his figure, Raphael proceeded carefully, preparing a full-size cartoon which today survives in the Louvre (inv. 3871) (Fig. 4). It combines the necessary outlines with tonal rendering to help while painting. Infrared reflectography reveals that the design was transferred to the panel by pouncing charcoal dust through small holes made in the paper along the contours; the modelling was hatched onto the panel using the point of a brush. Raphael changed the position of the saint's head and eliminated the drapery knot on her right shoulder, but otherwise largely kept to the cartoon design as he painted.

Raphael's palette at this moment in his career was characterised by cool clarity, with shadows pooling gently in recesses without ever providing overwhelming contrasts. The combination of bottle green, wine red and lilac of Saint Catherine's dress both differentiates and integrates her into the muted greens and browns and the airy blues of the humid morning landscape. At the Gallery, the picture is often displayed next to the Certosa panels by Perugino (about 1496-1500), which with their similarly conceived but more sensually rendered natural setting reminds us that Raphael's primary interest was in the figure. Take the dandelion seed head – a bitter herb symbolic of martyrdom – at lower left: Raphael's description is comparatively schematic when you think of similar details by Perugino or Raphael's great German contemporary Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) for example. It is the *idea* of the plant, rather than its physical manifestation.

Ultimately, it is Saint Catherine's union with nature, however that matters: her ecstatic turn, lips parted, towards the divine manifestation – which Raphael interestingly renders with the archaic technique of gilding. This union is reflected in the forms that animate the composition: the instinctive curves and circular motion of Raphael's drawing hand. The saint's movement is accentuated by the swirl of yellow lining, which seems to continue across her chest in the form of a transparent veil. At the same time, the round or curving forms of the dandelion, the wheel and the studs along its circumference, her green belt, the gem fastening her bodice, the bands in her hair – which itself spirals in the manner of Leonardo's renditions of flowing locks – and indeed her gilded halo, create an ineffable sense of structure across the composition.

This is Raphael's gift: his innate sense as an artist of the cosmic harmony of which we are part. His multi-figure ensembles follow its logic – in the most successful cases, such as the *School of Athens*, to such a delicate extent that one could not imagine removing anything without collapsing the whole. Raphael's figures interact and respond to each other, they are interdependent. In that sense, he visualises the vitality of human relationships and community to civilisation. And this principle is inherent even in a single-figure composition such as *Saint Catherine*. The saint is reacting to something beyond the picture, beyond her – something of which she is inextricably part. Raphael's vision is one of belonging, a promise of who we might be if we but recognised who we are.

Dr Matthias Wivel is Curator of Sixteenth-Century Italian Paintings at the National Gallery in London, where he has curated Michelangelo and Sebastiano *(2017),* Lorenzo Lotto Portraits *(2018–19),* Titian – Love, Desire, Death *(2020) and the upcoming* Raphael *retrospective marking the 500th anniversary of the artist's death.*

Celebrating Raphael

Throughout the world this year there are exhibitions to mark the five-hundredth anniversary of the death of Raphael, that most influential and treasured of Renaissance artists. In London, this year's major *Raphael* exhibition at the National Gallery has now been postponed until 2022 because of the coronavirus pandemic.

In Rome, however, the Scuderie del Quirinale have re-opened *Raffaello* 1520-1483 until 30 August: it is an ambitious exhibition arranged chronologically backwards through his short life from a reconstruction of his tomb in the Pantheon, and his late paintings, to his beginnings in Urbino. Visitors, who cannot get to Rome, can access the excellent online presentation at www.scuderiequirinale.it.

Other exhibitions in Italy are in Urbino and Milan, and elsewhere in Berlin and at the National Gallery of Art in Washington.

Possessing the past: who should own antiquities?

Dominic Selwood

In February 2020, newspapers and the internet reported that Greece was manoeuvring in the trade negotiations between the UK and the European Union to require the British Museum to deliver the Elgin Marbles (Fig. 1) to Athens.[1] It was the most recent move in what has become an increasingly high-profile dispute.

The opening salvo of the current campaign was fired in 2014, when the Hollywood actor George Clooney backed the Greek position, observing that it was 'probably the right thing to do'.[2] Later that year, his wife, the barrister Amal Clooney, teamed up with Geoffrey Robertson, both human rights lawyers, to embark on a media campaign promoting the idea that Lord Elgin had stolen the marbles.[3] In Britain, this brought the debate to a sufficiently wide audience for Jeremy Corbyn, then Leader of the Opposition in Parliament, to declare that if he became prime minister, he would return the sculptures to Greece.[4]

Debates like this one on the Elgin Marbles are about cultural ownership. They have become more prominent in recent years, coalescing around sensitive collections. In Britain, the target is frequently the Elgin Marbles and Benin Bronzes, both in the British Museum, but this is a global discussion. Speaking in Ouagadougou in 2017, President Macron of France expressed the hope that French museums would return everything acquired from colonial Africa, neatly locating the debate into a broader reassessment of colonial legacies, which has seen related movements like the 'Rhodes Must Fall' campaign in Oxford.[5] Underlying all these is a theme that demands the undoing of perceived past wrongs, especially imperial ones. This seems, on its face, a liberal approach to managing the world's heritage. It recognizes that powerful cultures have been able to seize the patrimony of weaker ones, and draws on a modern sense of legality and morality to propose that cultural artefacts belong — and make best sense — in the places they were made.

The legal aspect is the most straightforward. Today, no reputable museum would accept or acquire stolen objects, and there are national and international sanctions to enforce compliance with laws and regulations requiring robust proofs of provenance. For objects acquired in the past, the law is less useful. A good example is the Magdala Treasures, some of which are in the V&A. In 1868, Emperor Tewodros II of Abyssinia seized British and European hostages, and the British public demanded something be done. In response, the government put 13,000 soldiers from British India on to ships bound for east Africa, then marched them 400 miles inland to Magdala. Tewodros committed suicide rather than suffer a military defeat, and once the army had freed the hostages it took treasures from Tewodros's palace

Fig. 1: Archibald Archer, The Temporary Elgin Room at the British Museum, 1819*. Oil on canvas, 94 x 132.7 cm.*
© The British Museum, London.

to defray the expedition's enormous costs.[6] In 1868, the British Indian army was not acting in a way that rendered it guilty of any offence. Victors down the ages on every continent have seized valuables from the vanquished to pay their soldiers, and plunder was for centuries a normal part of conflict, as seen on the Arch of Titus in Rome, with its depiction of the Roman legions carrying off the Menorah and sacred vessels from the Temple in Jerusalem.[7]

Today's international laws of armed conflict permit seizing the wealth and property of an enemy state, but forbid pillage, which is usually defined as taking private property during war.[8] Assuming for the moment that Tewodros's treasures were private property — which is by no means certain — it is an axiom of most legal systems that laws do not take effect retrospectively, so today's legal norms cannot be back-projected into earlier centuries. Modern courts, therefore, have few mechanisms for settling historic cultural ownership disputes.

In the tragedy *Antigone*, Sophocles eloquently portrayed a conflict between man-made laws and a higher imperative. In the cultural property debate, this higher imperative appears as an argument for the morality of restitution. The Elgin Marbles are a good example. In 1816, a Select Committee of Parliament carefully investigated Lord Elgin's acquisition of a selection of sculptures from the Parthenon, and concluded that the Ottoman authorities in Athens had issued him with the necessary permits to remove and ship sculptures from the Acropolis.[9] Parliament then purchased the sculptures from Elgin, before entrusting them to the British Museum.

In 2015, after considering legal advice prepared by Clooney and Robertson, Greece concluded it had little chance of being awarded the sculptures in any court, so declared it would instead pursue them via 'diplomatic and political' means.[10] In other words, Greece has switched its focus to advocating a moral rather than a legal right to the sculptures.

In the context of cultural artefacts, moral claims are usually founded on the assumption that objects belong, and can best be appreciated — understood, even — in their original context. However, this is far from universally accepted. Why should an object belong where it was made? A tin of Gascon duck *confit*, a handmade *katana* from Kyoto, and a painting by Mark Rothko can all end up being enjoyed anywhere in the world. They can legitimately be bought and sold with the French, Japanese, and U.S. governments having no special claim over them. When an object has 'Made in France' stamped on its underside, no one interprets this as 'and belongs and must remain in France'.

The objects humanity makes have travelled for as long as people have walked and sailed. They have been gifted, traded, and seized throughout history, and archaeologists rely on their movements to understand the spread of cultures, drawing important conclusions from finding Greek *amphorae* in China or Arabic coins in Scandinavia.

In this context, it should be noted that the overwhelming majority of artefacts in the world's large museums were acquired legitimately. For instance, the 2.4-metre statue of Hoa Hakananai'a in the British Museum is regularly described as stolen from Easter Island, but in fact it was gifted to the captain of a British ship by the islanders. He presented it to Queen Victoria, and she wished that it be displayed in the museum so scholars and the public could appreciate it.

There is also an educational angle that arguments about repatriation miss. Easter Island has over 1,000 *moai* statues similar to Hoa Hakananai'a. Some hardy travellers undertake the 2,300-mile journey from Chile's west coast to see them, but many more — six million a year — see Hoa Hakananai'a in London where, for 150 years, he has been one of Easter Island's most effective ambassadors, inspiring wonder and appreciation. The Elgin Marbles perform a similar function. Their arrival in London in the early 1800s caused such a stirring of philhellenic enthusiasm for the ancient Greek ideals of liberty that many young Britons went to fight in the Greek war of independence, helping to restore Greek government and culture after 376 years of Ottoman rule.

Even if restitution became the fashion, the practicalities pose significant conceptual challenges. If the Taliban or the Islamic State had demanded artefacts be returned from abroad so they could be destroyed, should the world's museums have complied? And how are multiple simultaneous claims to be managed? Artists have always travelled and worked internationally, and countries' borders have always ebbed and flowed. So these problems are real. France has just as arguable a moral claim to the *Mona Lisa* as Florence, as it was in Leonardo da Vinci's possessions when he died there. As does Britain over the Bayeux Tapestry, which most experts believe was stitched in Kent. Who is going to decide which country should have these objects? And how will they reach their decisions?

History is rarely tidy, so objects inevitably have multiple identities. The *Codex Amiatinus* was created around AD 700 at the Wearmouth-Jarrow Abbey in Northumbria, but has been in Tuscany for the past 1,300 years, where it has been part of the region's intellectual and spiritual life. The codex is, therefore, simultaneously an Anglo-Saxon and an Italian book, and the same is true of the Acropolis sculptures in the British Museum, which are simultaneously the Parthenon Sculptures and the Elgin Marbles.

The debate around cultural ownership is important, because its outcome will shape what future experience of museums, galleries, and collections the public will have. It will decide whether encyclopaedic, universal museums have a place in the modern world, or if their time has passed. Their eighteenth-century founders in the Age of Enlightenment — in London, Paris, Saint Petersburg, Berlin, and elsewhere — dreamt of teaching visitors the full human story, guiding them through the interlocking evolution of the world's civilizations. Their vision was liberal, fostering an understanding, appreciation, and tolerance of the past and present in other countries. Returning all cultural objects to their homelands will end this vision of universal knowledge and experience. It will mean that each culture will gaze only in on itself, defining culture in nationalistic terms. With the global rise of nationalism, now is the time to defend museums as part of the education of tolerance.

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Notes

1 Daniel Boffey, 'Michel Barnier Rejects UK Call for Canada-style Trade Deal', *The Guardian*, 18 February 2020.

2 Mark Brown and Helena Smith, 'George Clooney, Bill Murray and Matt Damon Back Return of Elgin Marbles', *The Guardian*, 11 February 2014.

3 Geoffrey Robertson, Norman Palmer, Amal Clooney, *The case for the return of the Parthenon Sculptures*, unpublished legal advice to the Greek government, 31 July 2015.

4 Jane Dalton, 'Corbyn Vows to Return Elgin Marbles to Greece if He Becomes Prime Minister', *The Independent*, 3 June 2018.

5 Emmanuel Macron, 'Le Discours de Ouagadougou d'Emmanuel Macron, 28 novembre 2017', Le Monde, 29 November 2017; Jessica Elgot, 'Oxford Students Campaign to Remove 'Racist" Rhodes from College', *The Guardian*, 18 December 2015.

6 A. F. Shepherd, *The campaign in Abyssinia* (Bombay: The Times of India, 1868).

7 Leon Yarden, *The spoils of Jerusalem on the Arch of Titus: a re-investigation* (Stockholm: Swedish Institute, 1991).

8 For spoils of war, see Jean-Marie Henckaerts and Louise Doswald-Beck (eds), *Customary international humanitarian law*. (Cambridge. Cambridge University Press, 2005), vol. 1, pp. 1029–36. For pillage, ibid., pp. 1076–122.

9 *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Earl of Elgin's Collection of Sculptured Marbles &c.* (London: John Murray, 1816), p. xxvi.

10 H. Smith, 'Greece Drops Option of Legal Action in British Museum Parthenon Marbles Row', *The Guardian*, 13 May 2015.

'A masculine and daring spirit': Angelica Kauffman

Kate Retford

The centrepiece of the publicity for the Royal Academy's intended Angelica Kauffman exhibition was the artist's *Self-Portrait … between the Arts of Music and Painting* (1794, Fig. 1).[1] Kauffman (1741–1807) may look young in this painting, but this was a reflective, retrospective work, executed when the artist was in her mid-50s. Kauffman was looking back at an early decision she had made in her life: whether to pursue her talent as a soprano singer, or to follow the professional path laid by her painter father, Joseph Johann Kauffman. In the picture, Kauffman engages with a vogue amongst eighteenth-century artists for playing with the theme of the Choice of Hercules, deciding between the easy life of pleasure offered by Vice, or the rocky, uphill road presented by Virtue. This story had become totemic, thanks to a seminal essay by the 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury on how an artist should represent the story, capturing the pivotal moment at which Hercules elects to follow the uphill path of righteousness.[2] Shaftesbury's recommended visualisation had been played on by a number of painters in the period, not least Joshua Reynolds in his mock-heroic image of the actor David Garrick torn between playing comedy and tragedy (the joke being that he was equally well versed in both).[3]

Kauffman, likewise, could have gone either way. In her painting, the heavy morality of the Hercules model is neutralised, as we see her affectionately grasping the hand of Music, seated with upturned face and mournful eyes, saying her goodbye. The moral content of Hercules's choice may have gone, but Painting is a notably more vigorous figure, her body tensed as she points emphatically up to the temple of Fame, her scarf billowing out behind her. Instead of flowers entwined in her hair, this figure has a more austere headscarf: instead of a rich red dress, she is garbed in sombre blue. Her face is depicted in severe, classical profile, her lips parted as she urges Kauffman to begin her career as a painter. Kauffman's outstretched left hand not only indicates her decision; it also reaches out to take the palette and brushes.

Kauffman, in 1794, was in the last phase of her long and impressively successful artistic career.[4] Trained by her father, she had worked in her native Switzerland, Austria and Italy before arriving in England in 1766, an ample reputation preceding her. She was already a member of the Academies in Bologna, Florence and Rome before, famously, she was elected as one of the forty founding members of the Royal Academy in London in 1768. In England, she secured royal patronage, was involved in a prestigious scheme to decorate St Paul's Cathedral (never carried out), and executed a series of ceiling paintings for the Academy's premises at Somerset House in 1780. One of the various

Fig. 1: Angelica Kauffman, Self Portrait of the Artist Hesitating between the Arts of Music and Painting*, 1794. Oil on canvas, 147 x 215 cm. Nostell Priory, Yorkshire (National Trust).*

strings to her artistic bow was her capacity as a portraitist: indeed, she whetted the appetite of the English for her portraits before her arrival by sending a striking portrait of David Garrick – twisted around in his chair to look straight into the eyes of the artist/viewer – to a London exhibition in 1765, before travelling herself from Italy (Fig. 2).[5] Once set up in London, she began charging 20 guineas for a head and shoulders: less than Reynolds, already at the top of the tree, but on a par with Thomas Gainsborough, at that time based in Bath.[6] Working as a portraitist was a fraught business for a woman. The following decade, Samuel Johnson famously declared: 'Public practice of any art …. And staring in men's faces, is very indelicate in a female'.[7] Yet Kauffman managed to pull this off, not least, it seems, because of her much vaunted physical attractions as well as her noted accomplishments: beautiful and possessed of a rather spiritual, ethereal air by all accounts, as well as musical, well-read and well-travelled.[8]

If portraiture was challenging work for a woman, then it is still more remarkable that Kauffman achieved most fame as a history painter. The Academy was founded with a view to establishing a British School of History Painting, regarded as the most elevated of the genres in requiring skill in depicting the human body, requisite knowledge of history and mythology, and the imagination to visualise great heroes at great moments. It was also an avowedly masculine genre, both in needing training provided by life classes, and as characterised by academics such as Reynolds as 'manly, noble and dignified'.[9] Yet Kauffman, remarkably, established a reputation painting scenes from Virgil, Homer,

Fig. 2: Angelica Kauffman, David Garrick*, 1764. Oil on canvas, 84 x 69 cm. Burghley House, Lincolnshire. Wikimedia Commons.*

Boccaccio and Tasso. Critics of the time tied themselves in knots trying to rationalise the production of such work by a woman. A particularly interesting piece appeared in *The London Chronicle* in 1777: 'It is surely somewhat singular, that while so many of our male artists are employed upon portraits, landscapes, and other inferior species of painting, this lady should be almost uniformly carried, by the boldness and sublimity of her genius, to venture upon historical pieces'[10]. The reviewer then resorts to the explanation settled on fairly generally: that of exceptionalism. Kauffman is a remarkable woman, at once charming and beautiful ('Miss Angel', as labelled by Reynolds), but also somehow possessing, according to this critic, a 'masculine and daring spirit'.

However, the review also notes that Kauffman, in 'retain[ing] so much of the softness natural to her sex', 'always pitches upon such historical subjects as have in them a strong mixture of the tender and pathetic'. Kauffman's history paintings, it has often been noted, typically depict moments of tenderness, love and domesticity. In *Hector taking leave of Andromache* – one of the paintings which Kauffman sent to the first Academy exhibition in 1769 – the hero bids his wife and son a fond farewell as he departs for the battlefield (Fig. 3). Furthermore, the male bodies in these history paintings are hardly the exemplars of the Antique or the Renaissance, but notably androgynous, sometimes decidedly feminine, typically rather indeterminate in contour and physique. Hector, the great warrior, son of the King of Troy, is a prime example, with his delicate features and his body almost entirely concealed by his red cloak. It was a quality commented on in the period, the satirist John Wolcot spitefully rhyming in 1794:

'Her dames so Grecian! Give me such delight!
But, were she married to such gentle males
as figure in her painted tales,
I fear she'd find a stupid wedding night'.[11]

On the one hand, Kauffman undoubtedly did not have the opportunity to study the male body afforded to men in her profession. Every undergraduate art history student is, at some point, shown Johan Zoffany's portrait of the Royal Academicians, gathered around a naked male model being 'set' by George Michael Moser, Keeper of the Academy (Fig. 4). It is then pointed out that Kauffman and the other woman amongst the forty founding members, Moser's own daughter, Mary, are shown as portraits hanging on the wall, unable to be in the presence of a naked man. Yet, surely, the men in Kauffman's history paintings have such a pronounced tendency towards androgyny or femininity as to make a pronounced statement about her lack of capacity with the kind of male physique and musculature preferred in the academic tradition, actively advertising her lack of knowledge of the male body? Surely these figures perform much the same function as Kauffman's renown for beauty, charm and grace, helping to offset her remarkable challenge to the gender norms of the period?

But this can also be seen as more than a defensive strategy. Kauffman's work was notably popular amongst female patrons, aligning themselves with both the lauded qualities of the artist and those expressed in these paintings. *Hector taking leave of Andromache* was one of a series of mythological and historical scenes by Kauffman purchased by Theresa Parker and her husband for Saltram in Devon. Theresa described it as 'the prettiest, and I think the best she ever did'.[12] But these 'pretty' history paintings were not only attractive to women patrons with whom Kauffman fared particularly well: they were more broadly popular, widely circulated in the print market, and reproduced in interiors of the period, adorning commodes, fire screens and vases and displayed as inset paintings in interiors by Robert Adam (as at Kedleston Hall in Derbyshire, or Newby Hall in Yorkshire).

Fig. 3: Angelica Kauffman, Hector taking leave of Andromache*, 1768. Oil on canvas, 134.5 x 178 cm. Saltram, Devon (National Trust).*

Fig. 4: Johan Zoffany, The Academicians of the Royal Academy*, 1771-2. Oil on canvas, 101.1 x 147.5 cm. Royal Collection Trust. © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2020.*

This was palatable history painting which even the moneyed classes – deemed deficient in their tastes and patronage by frustrated British artists – could appreciate, introducing elegance and evidence of learning into their neoclassical interiors. Kauffman was thus able at once successfully to navigate her position as a woman history painter and secure herself a prime spot in the eighteenth-century art market.

Kate Retford is Professor of Art History at Birkbeck, University of London. She has published widely on eighteenth-century British art, particularly on portraiture and the country house art collection. Her most recent work includes The Georgian London Town House: Building, Collecting and Display*, co-edited with Susanna Avery-Quash (Bloomsbury Academic, 2019), and her monograph,* The Conversation Piece: Making Modern Art in Eighteenth-Century Britain *(Yale University Press, 2017). Kate is currently working on a book about print rooms in eighteenth-century country houses.*

Notes

1 For Kauffman's self-portraiture, see Angela Rosenthal, 'Angelica Kauffman ma(s)king claims', *Art History*, 15, 1 (1992), pp.38-60.

2 Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, *A Notion of the Historical Draught or Tablature of the Judgment of Hercules* (London, 1713).

3 1760, Waddesdon Manor.

4 The most important books on Kauffman are Angela Rosenthal's *Angelica Kauffman: art and sensibility* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), and the collection of essays edited by Wendy Wassyng Roworth, *Angelica Kauffman: a continental artist in Georgian England* (London: Reaktion, 1992).

5 Burghley House Picture Collection: 'Signed on the reverse: 'Angelica Kauffman pinxt Ano 1764 in Naples' '

6 Angela Rosenthal, 'Kauffman and portraiture', in Roworth, *Angelica Kauffman*, pp. 106-10. According to the National Archives currency converter, this was equivalent to 210 days' wages for a skilled tradesman.

7 James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, 5 vols (London: John Murray, 1835), V, p. 309.

8 See Amanda Vickery's recent essay on Kauffman's 'brand': 'Branding Angelica: reputation management in late eighteenth-century England', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 43, 1 (2020), pp. 3-24.

9 Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, ed. Robert R. Wark (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 153 (Discourse VIII).

10 *The London Chronicle*, 29 April 1777.

11 [John Wolcot], 'Lyric Odes to the Royal Academicians for 1782', in *The Works of Peter Pindar*, 3 vols (London: John Walker, 1794-6), I, p. 45.

12 British Library Add. Mss. 48,218, f. 212, Theresa Parker to Frederick Robinson from Saltram, 24 August 1775.

The formation of a sculptor: the early work of Henry Moore

Hannah Higham

From a young age Henry Moore (1898-1986) appears to have been honing his sense of sculptural form. He described the environment of his childhood, Castleford in Yorkshire, as one of pyramidal slag heaps above a cavernous world of mines below, with the awesome rocky outcrops of the surrounding moors beckoning weekend adventures. At age 11, during a Sunday school class, Moore first learnt of an artist named Michelangelo. He later declared that it was from this moment on he knew he wanted to be a sculptor. Both in form and imagination a sense of history and pre-history, land and art, appears to characterise the origins of Moore's artistic development.

In September 1919, Moore enrolled at Leeds School of Art, finally able to pursue his dream after an aborted attempt at teacher training and active service during the First World War. Leeds offered the academic grounding required – architectural and perspectival drawing as well as from life and the antique. In sculpture, the curriculum was largely focused on modelling in clay rather than the stone carving Moore yearned for. While institutional instruction concentrated on technique rather than creativity, Moore found ample inspiration in his rapidly developing network of fellow students and supporters, including the then vice-chancellor of the University of Leeds, Sir Michael Sadler. Sadler's remarkable collection, including works by Gauguin, Cézanne, Kandinsky and Picasso opened for Moore a new world of form, composition and colour.

On graduating from Leeds, Moore was awarded a

Fig. 1: Henry Moore, Standing Nude Girl, One Arm Raised*, 1922. Chalk, pen and ink, crayon, wash on paper, 33.5 x 15.5 cm. The Henry Moore Foundation: gift of the artist. Photo: Sarah Mercer. Reproduced by permission of The Henry Moore Foundation.*

scholarship to continue his studies at the Royal College of Art in London. In autumn 1921 he made the journey south. He had barely enrolled when he decided to visit Stonehenge. The ancient site had held a fascination for artists since the middle ages and archaeological discoveries in the early twentieth century created a renewed surge of interest. Moore's impatience to see it resulted in him doing so by moonlight on the evening of his arrival. The towering masses of ancient stone left a lasting impression.

Moore recognised Stonehenge as a highly wrought work of art. In the 1930s, the contributors to the publication *Circle: International Survey of Constructive Art*, which included Barbara Hepworth, Walter Gropius, Naum Gabo, alongside Moore and others, articulated this understanding as a justification for abstraction.[1] The forms that were used by these artists were not novel or inhuman, but inevitable modes of expression employed over various phases of human experience. While in 1921 Moore recognised the powerful, primal form of Stonehenge, its impact on his work was not explicitly seen for another ten years. More immediately, a complementary but different type of primitivism had captured his imagination, one stimulated by his fellow artists and the plethora of ideas conjured by the varied museums of London – in contrast to the traditional academic nature of his studies at the Royal College of Art.

In assessing the development of Moore's style and career, scholarship has often privileged the radical over the traditional – his engagement with the British Museum and the avant-garde of Paris prized more highly than teaching offered by the Royal College. It is true that the tendency toward the classical ideal, which still characterised the syllabus, held little interest for Moore at this time. The Victorian casts of antique sculptures that had received an annual whitewash, blurring any sensitivity of form, left Moore determined to remove 'the Greek spectacles from the eyes of the modern sculptor'.[2] Concurrently, he was receiving perhaps his most fundamental training as an artist. Hours of life drawing classes resulted in Moore's profound understanding of the human body, which would underpin his entire career. The academic drill schooled his vision and in early studies of the figure we see the seeds of Moore's sculptural sensibility taking hold – likeness forsaken in favour of grappling with weight and the disposition of volume (Fig. 1). So important were these classes to Moore that he continued them, with his tutor Leon Underwood, beyond the walls of the college.

Moore's extra-curricular activities were largely focused on an absorption of art not offered by the academy. He was perhaps more inclined toward the teaching of Underwood as he was a sculptor and moreover, one who championed a new visual language informed by non-western art. Moore visited the British Museum twice-weekly, fascinated by the galleries of Assyrian, Egyptian, Babylonian, Oceanic,

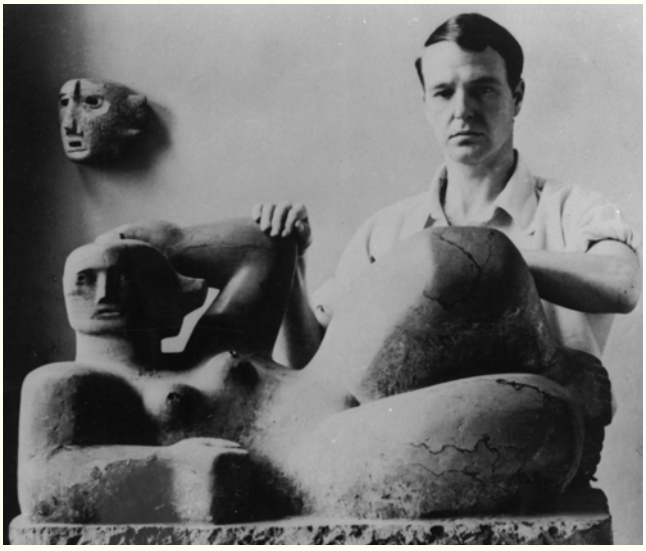

Fig. 2: Henry Moore with his Reclining Figure*, 1929. (Hornton stone, 54 x 82 x 37 cm.) The sculpture is now in Leeds Art Gallery (Leeds Museums and Galleries). Photo: Henry Moore Archive. Reproduced by permission of The Henry Moore Foundation.*

Fig 3: Henry Moore, Mother and Child*, 1930. Ironstone, height 15 cm. Henry Moore Foundation: acquired 1998. Photo: Henry Moore Archive. Reproduced by permission of The Henry Moore Foundation.*

Pre-Columbian and Byzantine art. His sketchbooks from this period show the methodical study of a world tradition of sculpture. Moore recognised qualities he had felt at Stonehenge: an immediacy of archetypal forms which could speak to essential truths. Moore took his lead in the appreciation of 'primitive' art from the circles of avant-garde artists he admired, among them Alexander Archipenko, Ossip Zadkine, Constantin Brancusi, Henri Gaudier-Brzeska and Jacob Epstein. These artists believed that the power of non-classical art lay not only in its lexicon of forms but in its irrevocable execution and use of material. They championed the notions of 'direct carving' and 'truth to material' which abandoned the use of preliminary models and allowed the physical properties of the stone or wood to suggest the final form. Moore readily embraced the credo. Furthermore, he recognised that while working in this way broke with the traditional canon, it nonetheless formed a bridge to an even more ancient art. The material itself had atavistic properties.

The deities of Mexican sculpture held a particular fascination for Moore, who notably singled out their 'stoniness' for praise.[3] The Toltec-Mayan carvings of Chacmool figures are likely to be responsible for the development of the artist's iconic *Reclining Figure* of 1929 (Fig. 2). Carved in Hornton stone, the work incorporates the Chacmool pose – the figure reclining on its back with knees raised and head twisted to the front. It is a pivotal work for Moore, the first major manifestation of a career-long theme, arrived at through the assimilation of all he had learnt in the previous eight years. Crucially, Moore deliberately retains the evidence of the rough-hewn block, augmenting the expressive power of the figure and underscoring the connection between form and material.

Determined to discover alternatives to white marble, Moore explored the collections of the Geological Museum. He learnt of British native stones such as Hornton, used for the *Reclining Figure*, Hopton Wood, Mansfield and Portland stones. Neighbouring museums were also extremely influential – the mathematical models of the Science Museum precipitated a series of stringed works, and the bones and shells of the Natural History Museum would inspire an untiring interest in nature's sculpture. Moore was simultaneously amassing his own collection of bones, stones and shells, whose metamorphic potential he explored repeatedly and obsessively. Such practice is manifest in the small ironstone *Mother and Child* (Fig.3) carved on holiday in Norfolk – true to material, the small cobble circumscribes the form.

Fig. 4: Henry Moore, The Helmet*, 1939-40. Bronze, 31 x 24.5 x 15.5 cm. The Henry Moore Foundation: gift of Irina Moore, 1977. Photo: Nigel Moore. Reproduced by permission of The Henry Moore Foundation.*

In the 1920s Moore also made his first visits to the Wallace Collection. Here he understood a different type of truth to material. He was engrossed by the armoury, recognising potent sculptural forms inextricably linked to human history and the human body – metallic forms – their power conveyed through the combination of form and material. Moore began experimenting with casting in the early 1930s and by the end of that decade had arrived at the first of his seminal series of Helmet Heads. The internal-external forms of *The Helmet* (Fig. 4) juxtapose strength and fragility and evoke an ambivalent relationship between protection and entrapment as anxiety about the emerging political situation gripped the nation.

By the 1930s Moore had established the core tenets of his style and subject matter. Over the previous ten years he had internalised a vast archive of form and meaning which equipped him to produce work which could convey complex ideas, transcend time and geography and address the universal human condition.

Dr Hannah Higham is the Curator at the Henry Moore Foundation. She has published widely on both Henry Moore and the subject of sculpture. Recent projects have included editing the exhibition catalogue Becoming Henry Moore *in 2017 and co-authoring* Henry Moore: the Helmet Heads *in 2019 to accompany the exhibition of the same name at the Wallace Collection, London.*

Notes

1 John Leslie Martin, Ben Nicholson and Naum Gabo, eds., *Circle: International Survey of Constructive Art* (London: Faber and Faber, 1937).

2 Henry Moore in *Architectural Association Journal*, May 1930, reprinted in *Henry Moore, writings and conversation*, edited by Alan Wilkinson. (Aldershot: Lund Humphries, 2002), p. 187.

3 Henry Moore in c. 1923, Wilkinson, op. cit. p. 97.

Editor's note: *the following two articles were written to mark the two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of John Tenniel, and to coincide with the Victoria & Albert Museum's major* Alice in Wonderland *exhibition, entitled* Alice: Curiouser and Curiouser.

John Tenniel (1820-1914)

Barrie MacDonald

'There was a table set out under a tree in front of the house, and the March Hare and the Hatter were having tea at it: a Dormouse was sitting between them, fast asleep, and the other two were using it as a cushion… . The table was a large one, but the three were all crowded together at one corner of it. "No room, no room!" they cried out when they saw Alice coming. "There's plenty of room," said Alice indignantly, and she sat down... .'

This deliciously whimsical beginning to 'A Mad Tea-Party' is one of many memorable combinations of words and picture in *Alice in Wonderland*: the words by Lewis Carroll complemented by the illustrations of John Tenniel in this undisputed classic of English literature (Fig. 1).

After formal training as an artist at the Royal Academy of Arts, John Tenniel began illustrating books, among them an edition of *Aesop's Fables* published in 1848. He was also a painter, and was commissioned to paint a fresco in the Hall of Poets in the House of Lords in 1845. Then, from 1850 until his retirement in 1901, he was a political cartoonist for *Punch*, the leading Victorian satirical magazine, producing over two thousand cartoons reflecting and often influencing public attitudes to the enormous political and social changes in Britain in the Victorian era (Fig. 2).

However, for most people the name of John Tenniel will be forever associated with *Alice*. Lewis Carroll, the adopted pseudonym of Oxford academic Charles Lutwidge Dodgson, originally told the story to Alice, Lorina and Edith Liddell, children of the Dean of Christ Church, and his friend Reverend Robinson Duckworth, on a memorable boat trip on the River Thames at Oxford in July 1862. Alice asked Carroll to write it down, the result being a handwritten manuscript entitled *Alice's Adventures Under Ground*, completed in February 1863. Carroll drew his own illustrations, some 37 in all, in the caricature-style prevalent at the time, but he was an amateur artist. His drawings are sketchy, often anatomically incorrect, and showed the influence of the Pre-Raphaelite artists: his Alice is clearly based on a painting he owned, Arthur Hughes' *The Lady with the Lilacs* (1863).

Friends of Carroll encouraged him to find a skilled artist to illustrate a published version and, as animals were so important to the story, John Tenniel was chosen because of the success of his *Aesop's Fables*. This new version of *Alice*, now entitled *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, was greatly expanded from the original, almost doubling its length and adding some of its most memorable characters, including the Mad Hatter, the March Hare, the Duchess, and the Cheshire Cat. Carroll liked Tenniel's 'grotesque' style

Fig. 1: John Tenniel, 'A Mad Tea-Party' *from* Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 1865.*

of strange creatures, creating a disturbing dream world somewhere between reality and fantasy.

Tenniel took a year to create the 42 illustrations, the slow progress frustrating Carroll. Tenniel had, most probably, seen Carroll's own illustrations, and it is highly likely they helped shape his drawings for the book. Certainly, author and artist collaborated closely in the creation of the new characters; the Mad Hatter, for example, was reputedly based on an eccentric Oxford character called Theophilus Carter introduced to Tenniel by Carroll.

Tenniel brought a greater sophistication to the work but, nonetheless, within his artistically rendered illustrations lies Carroll's original vision. Realising Carroll's social caricatures in the animal characters, Tenniel gave them recognisable human traits; the White Rabbit, for example, is portrayed as a smartly-dressed country gentleman looking at his pocket watch and fretting about being late. A satirical joke against the Victorian love of mock turtle soup, based on cheap cuts of meat, is the portrayal of the Mock Turtle with a calf's head and hooves protruding from a turtle shell. In Alice's encounter with the Dodo, Tenniel added the Monkey in the background, no doubt as a reference to the current debate on Charles Darwin's evolution theories. And the inseparability of the words and pictures is emphasised when Alice first meets the Gryphon, and the reader is informed 'if you don't know what a Gryphon is, look at the picture'. It was a troublesome collaboration as both men were

Fig. 2: John Tenniel, A Self-portrait*, c. 1889.*

perfectionists: on hearing that Tenniel was dissatisfied with the quality of the first printing in July 1865, Carroll ordered the scrapping of the first edition at his own expense.

Following its phenomenal success, Tenniel collaborated once more with Lewis Carroll on *Through the Looking-Glass and What Alice Found There*, published in 1872, in which Alice encounters more fantastical characters including Tweedledum and Tweedledee, the Walrus and the Carpenter, and the Jabberwocky, and for which he provided another 50 illustrations. However, again, this was not a happy collaboration, and Tenniel never illustrated books again. He later wrote: 'It is a curious fact that with *Through the Looking-Glass* the faculty of making drawings for book illustrations parted from me …'. From then on he concentrated on his work for *Punch*, for which he was knighted by Queen Victoria in 1893, a rare honour for an illustrator and cartoonist.

Tenniel remains one of the most influential visual artists from this golden age of the English illustrated printed book. *Alice* is probably the most illustrated book of the past 150 years, with many notable artists attempting it, including Arthur Rackham, Mervyn Peake, Salvador Dali, Walt Disney and Ralph Steadman; but it will always be associated with Tenniel, whose indelible images have imprinted themselves on the imagination of generations of readers.

Barrie MacDonald worked as a librarian for the BBC, then the Independent Television Commission until retirement, since when he has gained an MA in the History of Art at Birkbeck. He is the editor of the London Art History Society Review.

The woodblocks of Tenniel's illustrations for *Alice*

Michael Wace

The survival of the engraved woodblocks for Tenniel's illustrations for Carroll's two books about Alice is of particular importance – not only because of the record they provide of his masterly drawings but also because it is unusual for blocks of this kind to survive for so long – in this case, over 150 years.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the method used for reproducing an artist's work for books of this quality was as follows: the artist would prepare his or her artwork (usually to a size specified by the publisher); the images would then be engraved by craftsmen-engravers on to boxwood blocks; finally, proofs would be taken of the images and passed to the artist and publisher for approval or comment. Several such proofs of Tenniel's drawings for the Alice books have survived which show his concern for accuracy and the effect that he wanted in the final reproduction (Fig. 3).

The next stage in the process was to lay a lead or wax sheet over the approved blocks and accompanying type. A mould was then made from which a metal printing plate was cast by electrolysis – an electrotype. The final version was then printed, ready for binding. Boxwood, hard and durable, was the wood preferred but in spite of these qualities not many such blocks from this period have survived, partly because boxwood was expensive and blocks would be recycled for new engravings and partly because, if engravers and publishers decided they had no further use for them as new methods of reproduction came into use, the blocks would be sold off or destroyed.

In the case of the *Alice* books, the blocks were kept by Macmillan – the publishers of both *Alice* books – because they were the 'masters' from which new printing plates could be made (electrotypes did not last forever). Furthermore, Carroll, who had paid both Tenniel and the commercial engravers for their work, wrote to Alexander Macmillan in June 1867: 'I can hardly doubt that they [the blocks] are being carefully kept ... and that they are safe from all possibility of damage'. And so, after the initial printings of both books had been completed, the blocks were carefully wrapped and stored face-down in two metal deed-boxes and deposited in Macmillan's bank. It seems likely that they would have been used from time to time for casting new electros and for this purpose they would have been dispatched to the printer, Richard Clay, in Bungay. These occasions excepted, it is probable that the blocks remained undisturbed. With the new developments in printing technology and the widespread use of photolitho printing in the trade in place of letterpress, electros became redundant and retaining engraved woodblocks as masters was no longer necessary. Thus, as time went by, the blocks in the boxes in the bank were forgotten – until some 35 years ago.

At that time, I was responsible for Macmillan's children's books list: until that time, with others in the company, I had assumed that the blocks had long ago found a home in some appropriate institution, here or in the USA. Only a few of Tenniel's *Alice* drawings now exist and these are

Fig 3: A proof of 'Snowdrop, my pet!' *with Tenniel's handwritten instructions to the engraver. His directions include 'insert piece of wool', 'kitten more fluffy, less like china', and 'rug, cat & kitten lighter in parts'.* Through the Looking-Glass and What Alice Found There*, 1872.*

mainly sketches. To find that these blocks had survived, that we could handle these 'originals' and that they were in Macmillan's possession, was an exciting moment for me and immediately aroused considerable interest from the media with good press coverage which, in the 1980s, children's books rarely received.

So, what to do next? I knew that the blocks had never been used for printing editions of the Alice books and my first thought was to use them in just that way but I soon realised the impracticalities of doing so. They would have to be printed letterpress, by the 1980s a method scarcely used for commercially published books and, if substantial printing quantities were called for, stereo or electrotype plates would be needed and Macmillan would not be able to claim that the books were printed from the original blocks.

Whatever was decided, the right next step was to have the blocks examined by an expert. Iain Bain, world authority on the wood engravings of Thomas Bewick, examined the blocks and said they were in excellent condition and, properly handled, could be printed from without damage.

Our decision was to produce a limited edition of high-standard prints from the blocks on their own, that is, without Carroll's text. The work, undertaken by Jonathan Stephenson at the Rocket Press, was completed in 1988 in an edition of 250, with each print inserted into a separate folder, with the 92 prints (the missing 'Dodo' print was taken from an electro) in two substantial solander boxes and accompanied by an extended essay by Leo John de Freitas. A handsome production and a worthy monument to Tenniel's contribution to Carroll's masterpieces.

As for the blocks themselves, they are now safely deposited with the British Library.

Michael Wace has worked as an editor with several different publishers but principally with Macmillan. In the 1980s and early '90s he was the publisher for the Children's Books division with a particular interest in illustrated books for young children. In addition to publishing the prints of Tenniel's illustrations for the Alice *books, he was also responsible for a fine press edition of* The Hunting of the Snark*, printed using the original woodblocks for Henry Holiday's illustrations.*

Ernst Barlach, sculpture, and the 'terrible year' 1937

Deborah Lewer

A poignant sculpture, carved in oak by the German artist and dramatist Ernst Barlach (1870-1938) stands today in the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art in Edinburgh (Fig. 1). Made in 1936-37, it consists simply of the slight, composed figure of a woman, shrouded in a robe. Her posture and facial expression are dignified but sombre, suggestive of silent contemplation, despair, or quiet grief. Her face bears a strong resemblance to that of Barlach's close friend, fellow sculptor and printmaker, Käthe Kollwitz. The figure personifies *The Terrible Year 1937*. The title, given after the work's completion, was a personal and political response to Barlach's own persecution and to the oppression of modern, progressive German culture under National Socialism. Just before he died in 1938, Barlach said: 'The year 1937 destroyed a great deal, within and outside my own presence, probably more than can be re-built.'[1]

Barlach was just one of the many modern artists, Expressionists, especially, who were ridiculed, disempowered and denounced by the Nazis' escalation in 1937 of the campaign against so-called 'Degenerate Art' (*Entartete Kunst*). Considered in the face of the terror and genocide perpetrated in the name of National Socialist ideology, his fate was not the worst. His case is worth sketching though, for the sense it provides of the shifting and often contradictory terrain of German cultural and ideological politics in the 1930s, and of the myriad forms that the political instrumentalisation of art could take.

Fig. 1: Ernst Barlach, The Terrible Year 1937*, 1936. Oak, 142.00 x 31.00 x 28.50 cm. © National Galleries of Scotland. Purchased with assistance from the Art Fund (William Leng Bequest) 1987*

Barlach was a prolific artistic polymath, equally influential as a sculptor, printmaker and dramatist. He lived and worked from 1910 in the small provincial town of Güstrow, in the flat landscape of Mecklenburg, between Berlin and the Baltic coast to the North. It was a region to which he was profoundly attached. Much of Barlach's early reception in Germany – particularly among his more conservative admirers – emphasised his apparent 'authenticity' and rootedness in that region and its traditions. Barlach himself contributed readily to this earthy image, insisting he wanted to be nothing but a '*plattdeutscher Bildhauer*' – a Low German carver.[2] He was neither a socialist nor a fascist, but like others of his generation, he was at times attracted to some of the thinking of the so-called 'conservative revolution' in 1920s Germany.[3]

His was a distinctive form of Expressionism, though he did not associate himself with the term. It is characterised by bold, sweeping, simplified forms and by a deep, humane, engagement with spiritual, religious and social themes. In spite of his image as a quintessentially 'German' artist, his work came under attack from the nationalist Right from 1929 onwards. They stirred up animosity by denouncing the pacifism of Barlach's works and 'slavic' faces of his figures. Works by Barlach were among the many removed in a 'cleansing action' from the regional museum in Weimar in 1930, for example, where the National Socialist German Workers' Party (*Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* – NSDAP) had already established local power. Yet his is one of many cases illuminating the paradoxes and inconsistencies of the era. Some nationalists approved of what they saw as the 'Nordic' qualities of some Expressionism, most notably Barlach's, as well as that of Emil Nolde. Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's Propaganda Minister, had long expressed admiration for Barlach's work. After a visit to the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne in 1924, Goebbels had noted in his diary that he was 'gripped by a sculpture, Barlach's *Der Beserker*. The true spirit of expressionism! Brevity raised to the level of grandiose interpretation'.[4] He was said to keep a Barlach sculpture in his study. The artist himself believed the Propaganda Minister owned two of his works.[5] In June 1933, Barlach was asked to become President of a 'ring' of artists associated with the National Socialist German Student League. In November, he was invited by Goebbels along with other prominent modernist artists to attend the opening ceremony of the Reich Chamber of Culture (*Reichskulturkammer*). He declined both invitations.[6]

Fig. 2: Ernst Barlach, The Magdeburg Cenotaph*, 1929. Oak, 255 x 154 x 75 cm. Magdeburg Cathedral. Permission to reproduce under the terms of the GNU Free Documentation License.*

Fig. 3: Ernst Barlach, Güstrow Angel/The Hovering One*, Bronze cast replacing the destroyed 1927 original, Güstrow Cathedral. Photograph: Jens Burkhardt-Plückhahn. Creative Commons Attribution Share Alike License.*

In the light of Barlach's later fate and persecution, such details show how National Socialist thought and policy with regard to modern art in Germany was neither unanimous nor consistent.

In 1934 and 1935, Barlach attracted the aggressive attention of the NSDAP head in Mecklenburg, Friedrich Hildebrandt. He publicly insisted that 'German nature' was 'alien' to the region's most famous artist.[7] A particular focus of the attack on Barlach's work across Germany was the artist's major monuments and memorials. Several were made in memory of those who fell in the First World War. In 1929, Barlach had carved in oak a solemn, moving, and resolutely anti-heroic memorial to the dead of the First World War for the Cathedral of Magdeburg (Fig. 2). It was a large work (2.55m high), showing a group of mourners and victims – the dead and the shattered – around a cross inscribed with each of the war years. The Nazi ideologue Alfred Rosenberg dismissed it as 'half-idiotic introspective Miró variations of undefined human sorts with Soviet helmets.'[8] It was the first of a series of major sculptures by Barlach to be removed, followed by others in Kiel, Lübeck and Güstrow in the 'terrible year' of 1937. The Güstrow memorial, a distinctive 'floating' figure with crossed arms (sometimes known as the 'Hovering Angel'), hanging from a dark chain within the North transept of the cathedral there, was sold for scrap metal and melted down[9] (Fig. 3). The few hundred marks it raised were transferred to the funding of a Nazi 'hall of honour'.[10] A large relief depicting a mourning mother with a child clinging to her in Hamburg was removed in 1938 and replaced with an approved monument intended to communicate triumph, power and by extension, enthusiasm for war – in the form of a large phoenix-like eagle rising from the ashes.

In total, 381 works by Barlach were removed from German museums. Barlach commented ruefully on his status as a '*Kulturschänder*' – a 'defiler of culture'.[11] Among the hundreds of works crammed into the notorious exhibition of '*Entartete Kunst*' ('Degenerate Art') in Munich in 1937, visitors would have seen a small sculpture of two men in long robes, embracing. It was a 1926 representation of Christ and the disciple Thomas. Known under the title *The Reunion* (and sometimes as *Christ and John*), its simple, powerful forms suggest the intimacy and the emotion in their meeting. The disciple is slightly bowed as he is both embraced and supported by Christ, into whose face he gazes. A version in mahogany was shown in an 'anti-bolshevist' exhibition in Nürnberg in 1937. The bronze version exhibited for public derision in Munich was one of three recently 'purged' from museums in Kiel, Hannover and Frankfurt.[12] Vulnerability and compassion had no place in the visual language of a fascist culture that prized conformity, strength and unquestioning military readiness.

Barlach spent his final years in what became known by the diffuse term 'inner emigration', staying in Germany at a time when almost all the other major surviving artists whose work had been pronounced 'degenerate' had long since gone into exile in Spain, Switzerland, Scandinavia, Palestine or the USA and to Britain. He died in a clinic in Rostock of a heart attack in 1938. He had been just one of countless victims of the destruction of modern art by the Nazis. More than just a question of censorship, this wholesale assault represented a brutal instrumentalisation of German art and wider culture. It was to have ramifications for generations after 1945, on both sides of the Cold War divide and afterwards.

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Notes

1 Ernst Barlach, letter to Ludwig Carrière, 28.6.1938, in Ernst Barlach, *Die Briefe II*. 1925-1938, ed. Friedrich Dross (Munich: Piper, 1969), pp. 778-9.

2 Alfred Werner, 'The Letters of Ernst Barlach', in *Art Journal*, vol. 29, no. 2, Winter 1969-1970, pp. 200-1.

3 *See* James Van Dyke, 'Ernst Barlach and the Conservative Revolution', in *German Studies Review*, vol. 36, no. 2, May 2013, pp. 281-305.

4 Quoted in Peter Paret, *An artist against the Third Reich: Ernst Barlach 1933-1938* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 17.

5 Barlach, letter to Karl Barlach 11.1.1936, in Barlach, *Die Briefe II*, pp. 605-7.

6 Paret, op. cit., p. 59.

7 Paret, op. cit., p. 81, p. 94.

8 Alfred Rosenberg, 'Revolution der bildenden Kunst, 1933' (first published in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, 7.7.1933) in Uwe Fleckner and Maike Steinkamp eds., *Gauklerfest Unterm Galgen. Expressionismus Zwischen "Nordischer" moderne und "Entarteter"* Kunst (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), pp. 204-7.

9 A second cast made from the original model has hung since 1952 in the Antonine church in Cologne; it came to London in 2015 for the *Germany: Memoirs of a Nation* exhibition at the British Museum.

10 Naomi Jackson Groves, Ernst Barlach. *Leben im Werk* (Königstein im Taunus: Langwiesche, 1972), p. 101.

11 Barlach, letter to Alfred Heuer 11.8.1937, in Barlach, *Die Briefe II*, p. 718.

12 For research on all objects confiscated as 'Entartete Kunst', including the three bronzes and one wood version of this work by Barlach, see the online *Datenbank zum Beschlagnahmeinventar der Aktion "Entartete Kunst", Forschungsstelle "Entartete Kunst"* at www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/db_entart_kunst.

Andover: an expanded town (1961-76)

Adam Coleman

In January 1961, Hampshire's *Southern Daily Echo* announced the approval of plans for the redevelopment of the town of Andover. Plans put before Andover's Joint Town Development Planning Committee, it reported, had been 'designed for the Space Age – with the most modern planning principles known in this country embodied in its making, yet attempting to marry the character of the old town into that of the new'.[1] Accompanying the report was an artist's impression that showed the town's rusticated nineteenth-century Guildhall behind a futuristic raised walkway on which shoppers wandered as vehicles sped by at a lower level (Fig. 1). Such 'Space Age' visions were far from uncommon in the early 1960s;[2] but what *was* unique about this plan was that it had been prepared by the London County Council, an urban authority over 60 miles away.

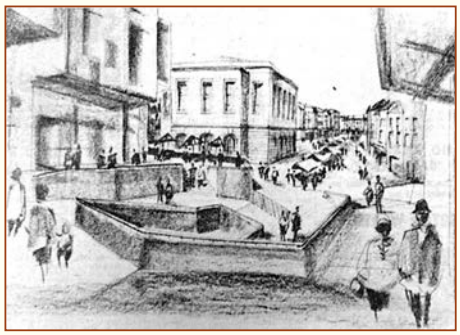

Fig. 1: An artist's impression of Andover town centre*, from* 'A central Andover plan is approved'*, in* Southern Daily Echo*, 5 January 1961. Hampshire Records Office.*

Fig. 2: Photograph of Andover town centre, 1973*. London Metropolitan Archives, City of London, (SC PHL 02 0686 70 13230). © London Metropolitan Archives.*

The plan was the result of an agreement between the London County Council, Andover Borough Council and Hampshire County Council to facilitate the planned expansion of Andover and thereby facilitate the migration of Londoners to Hampshire. The agreement was made through the machinery of the 1952 Town Development Act (TDA). Like the 1946 New Towns Act before it, the TDA was enacted to enable the decentralisation of industry and population from the Britain's overcrowded cities. The New Towns Act and its resulting architectural legacy – including the New Towns of Stevenage, Harlow and Milton Keynes, to name just a few – is well known. By comparison, the TDA – and its resulting Expanded Towns – has been almost entirely ignored by historians.

Through the machinery of the TDA, 69 towns were expanded in Britain. In most cases, it was the 'receiving' authority that led the development. In some cases, as at Andover, it was the 'exporting' authority that took charge. Having had its earlier plans for a New Town at Hook rejected by Hampshire County Council, the London County Council used the powers of the TDA to convince Andover Borough Council and Hampshire County Council to resettle 20,000 Londoners in rural Hampshire.

The original Masterplan (1962) proposed a series of housing zones arranged around a high-density, multi-level 'central area' that combined commercial, recreational and residential functions in two curving 'drums' in an ambitious plan for horizontal segregation, with pedestrians and vehicles travelling at different levels. Like the plan for Hook that inspired it, the original vision would go unrealised.[3] Forced to revise its plan in 1965, the LCC maintained the concept of a high-density core but reduced the scale and extent of development and simplified the core into a more regular, rectangular form. This plan would undergo a third revision, resulting in horizontal segregation and high-density housing being removed. The resulting plan (1967) was a lower-density scheme that came to be celebrated by the Civic Trust upon its opening in 1971 for its 'plain, almost anonymous idiom' (Fig. 2). In the space of a decade, the LCC's radical vision of high-density 'urbanity' had transformed into a conservative reality of anonymous uniformity.

Andover is a fascinating and overlooked case study that highlights the realities of post-war architecture and planning. Overlooked by historians, Andover suggests that Expanded Towns can offer a rich and untapped source for architectural enquiry that warrants primary investigation and a wealth of archival materials just waiting to be examined.

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Notes

1 'A central Andover plan is approved', *Southern Daily Echo*, 5 Jan. 1961, (Hampshire Records Office: 137A13/1).

2 Otto Saumarez Smith, *Boom cities: architect planners and the politics of radical urban renewal in 1960s Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

3 John R. Gold, 'Hook: revisiting the town that might have been', in London County Council, *The planning of a New Town (Studies in International Planning History*) (London: Routledge, 2015, originally published 1961).

Polaroids and participation: Carlos Leppe's *Cita a Ciegas*

Christie Johnson

Seeking to raise awareness and secure justice for those disappeared by Augusto Pinochet's repressive military regime (1973–1990), activists in Chile would publish photographs of victims. One famous campaign of the human rights organisation *The Vicariate of Solidarity* resulted in seven volumes containing portraits of disappeared persons under the title *¿Dónde están?* (Where Are They?, 1979). Photography implied violence, and artists using lens-based media such as the Chilean performance artist Carlos Leppe (1952–2015) drew on this. While important work has been undertaken on photography and performance art produced in Chile under the dictatorship, it has concentrated on the interplay between still photography and painting[1], and drawn mainly on semiotic theories.[2] The relationship between performance and lens-based media deserves attention, and particularly from a perspective that looks at the camera's authorial potential.[3]

One example is the performance-based photographic sculpture *Cita a Ciegas* (Blind Date, n.d. [1982?]) (Fig. 1), a work emblematic of the artist's body-based practice which showed him suffering some form of trial. The close-up focus on Leppe's face, shoulders and torso indicate scant distance between him and the camera operator. He looks straight into the camera for five of the top eight Polaroids, and then squintingly in the third row's final shot. Here, he appeals to the photographer and the audience. If observers other than the artist's collaborators attended this performance, they witnessed a relationship with the camera to which he gapingly supplicated rather than forming their own relationship with him. Polaroid's thick white borders emphasise the camera's framing effect, which the excessive adhesive holding the prints to the rusted support echoes.

Photographic self-portraiture has been described as 'eminently performative and life-giving', creating the possibility for viewer-activated encounters between the photographic subject and the audience.[4] Accordingly, Leppe's work enlists the creative force of imagination. For instance, in the later images, the red implies blood, casting Leppe as the victim of an assault: after making himself up (top-left photograph), did a kiss and a series of punches displace the rouge? Photography's stilling of action is central to the impact of the work. A moving-image recording would have included the flux of continuous micro-actions rather than the select effects of those that the Polaroids have preserved. If these were live images, Leppe's eventual disarray would never have acquired the shadow of violence these photographs have given it. An audience would have known it in fact resulted from smearing his own face with lipstick, rather than an assault. By presenting limited details, the camera endowed the photographs with potential, grasping moments of the scene to create photographic objects that function in the space between the actual event and the record.

Fig. 1: Carlos Leppe, Cita a Ciegas *(Blind Date), n.d. [1982?]. Oxidised brass plate, adhesive, 16 Polaroids, chalk. Image courtesy of Pedro Montes, D21 Gallery, Santiago, Chile.*

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Notes

1 e.g. Ronald Kay, *Del espacio de acá* (Santiago: Metales Pesados, 1980); Osvaldo Aguiló, *Plástica neovanguardista*, ed. Sebastián Valenzuela-Valdivia (Santiago: Écfrasis, 2018 [1983]); Nelly Richard, *Margins and institutions* (Melbourne: Art & Text, 1986); Kate Jenckes, *Witnessing beyond the human* (Albany: SUNY, 2017).

2 e.g. Milan Ivelić and Gaspar Galaz, *Chile, arte actual* (Valparaíso: Ediciones Universitarias de Valparaíso, 1988); Richard, *Margins*; Carl Fischer, *Queering the Chilean way* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan/Springer, 2016); Daniela Berger and others, *Primer encuentro de prácticas curatoriales* (Santiago: Museo Violeta Parra, 2018).

3 Sebastián Vidal shares the artist Gonzalo Mezza's (b. 1949) opinion that the camera plays a part in authorship (*En el principio* (Santiago: Metales Pesados, 2012), pp. 81–82) and Néstor Olhagaray speaks of video as 'more authorial' (Claudia Aravena and Iván Pinto, *Visiones laterales* (Santiago: Metales Pesados, 2018), p. 170), though neither elaborates.

4 Amelia Jones, *Self/Image: technology, representation and the contemporary subject* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 42.

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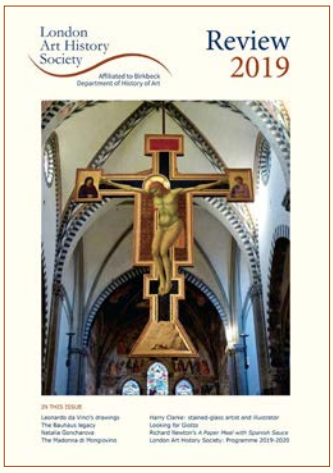

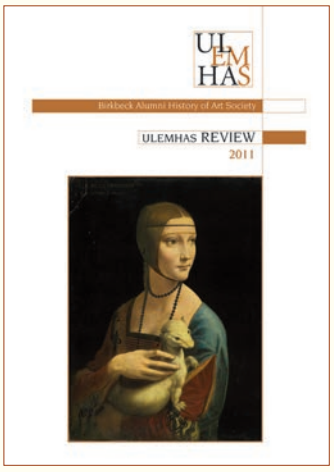

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