



University of HUDDERSFIELD

University of Huddersfield Repository

Nadal, Clare

The Personal Library of Barbara Hepworth: A Case Study in the Interpretation and Curation of Artists' Libraries

Original Citation

Nadal, Clare (2020) The Personal Library of Barbara Hepworth: A Case Study in the Interpretation and Curation of Artists' Libraries. Doctoral thesis, University of Huddersfield.

This version is available at <http://eprints.hud.ac.uk/id/eprint/35386/>

The University Repository is a digital collection of the research output of the University, available on Open Access. Copyright and Moral Rights for the items on this site are retained by the individual author and/or other copyright owners. Users may access full items free of charge; copies of full text items generally can be reproduced, displayed or performed and given to third parties in any format or medium for personal research or study, educational or not-for-profit purposes without prior permission or charge, provided:

- The authors, title and full bibliographic details is credited in any copy;
- A hyperlink and/or URL is included for the original metadata page; and
- The content is not changed in any way.

For more information, including our policy and submission procedure, please contact the Repository Team at: E.mailbox@hud.ac.uk.

<http://eprints.hud.ac.uk/>

**THE PERSONAL LIBRARY OF BARBARA HEPWORTH: A
CASE STUDY IN THE INTERPRETATION AND CURATION
OF ARTISTS' LIBRARIES**

CLARE NADAL

A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield in partial
fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Huddersfield in collaboration with
The Hepworth Wakefield

January 2020

CONTENTS

Abstract	4
Acknowledgements	5
Copyright statement	6
List of illustrations	7
Introduction	15
i. Recent Critical History and Legacies for Hepworth	15
ii. Re-Connecting History, Theory and Practice	24
<u>Part 1: Interpreting and Curating Artists' Libraries</u>	
Chapter 1 Approaches and Historiography	33
i. Approaches and Interpretation	44
ii. Bibliographic Survey	45
iii. Personal Collection	48
iv. Artwork	53
v. Working (Studio) Tool	62
vi. Archive	68
vii. The Politics of Display	69
viii. Archive and Special Collections Displays	70
ix. Studio Museums and the Display of Artists' Living Spaces	74
Chapter 2 The Personal Library of Barbara Hepworth: From St Ives to Wakefield	84
i. Photographic Traces	85
ii. From Studio to Museum	93
iii. A New Home	98
iv. From Library to Archive	104
v. Tools for Interpretation	107
Chapter 3 Curating the Barbara Hepworth Library	118
i. Models of Display	118
ii. Going Live: The Hepworth Book Club	125
iii. Public Programme as Research	136
iv. Reception and Afterlife	143

Part 2 Approaches to the Barbara Hepworth Library

Chapter 4: ‘Proximate and Distanced Communication’: Library as Network	147
i. ‘A Community within a Community’	155
ii. ‘Unpacking’ the Hepworth Library	167
Chapter 5: Library as Tool?	174
i. Reading for Titles	175
ii. Shared Reading: Hepworth, Rainier and Rilke	179
iii. Reading, Writing and Drawing Greece	186
Chapter 6: ‘Only Connect’: From <i>Circle</i> to <i>Single Form</i>	197
i. Re-reading <i>Circle</i> : Unity and Form	200
ii. From <i>Circle</i> to <i>Single Form</i>	212
Epilogue	229
1. Afterlives	231
Illustrations	237
Appendix	306
i. <i>Masterpieces by Barbara Hepworth and Henry Moore</i> marketing materials	
ii. Vitrine texts for Hepworth library display.	
iii. Review of the Hepworth library in Ann Treneman, ‘Notebook: Winter’s here – just look at the gloaming’, <i>The Times</i> , 7 November 2017.	
iv. <i>The Hepworth Book Club</i> programme and handouts	
v. Social media coverage from the Hepworth library display	
Bibliography	330

ABSTRACT

This thesis offers a revisionist account of the work of the modernist sculptor Barbara Hepworth through both the study and display of her personal library housed at The Hepworth Wakefield. In doing so it seeks to offer a non-monographic, non-chronological approach towards her work that invites the contribution of other voices from diverse disciplines and demonstrates the value of different areas of knowledge to the study of Hepworth's work.

Artists' libraries are generally an understudied area of the legacy of an artist, which have an uncertain status as to both value and use. The thesis therefore not only questions what we can learn from Hepworth's library about her attitudes towards reading, but also what is the value of such collections in an artist's legacy? Employing a curatorial methodology is central to answering this question, which uses the model of the 'exhibition as research'.

The thesis is divided into two halves, the first examining the Hepworth library as a case study within the curation and interpretation of artists' libraries more widely, whilst the second approaches the library collection through three different interpretative frameworks. First it considers the library as network through focusing on the interdisciplinary nature of many of Hepworth's working relationships, relationships that tend to be often overlooked in favour of the artist groupings which she was involved with. Secondly it approaches the library as a tool or resource, sometimes used in tandem with Hepworth's own creative writing. Finally it considers the library as a collection, thinking about moments of interrelation between different books. The thesis concludes by reflecting on the changing status of artists' libraries over time and the impact of this for research.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my two supervisors Alison Rowley and Eleanor Clayton for their generosity and support over the past four years. I am grateful for the time they have taken to read over numerous drafts and for the insights and enthusiasm they have shown. Thank you also to Rowan Bailey and Nick Temple for the feedback they have offered at various stages of the research.

As a collaborative doctoral award this research would not have been possible without the support and willingness I have been shown by staff past and present at The Hepworth Wakefield. I would particularly like to thank Meghan Goodeve, Hilary Floe, Amy Stevenson, Emily Riddle, Nicola Freeman, Louisa Wood, Karl Vickers and Matt Kelly. Thank you also to my former supervisor Sam Lackey for her support in the early stages of the project. I am grateful to Robin Schuldenfrei, Anthony Parton and Jon Wood for the assistance they provided in the application process.

A number of individuals are due particular thanks for the generosity they have shown in offering time and insights: Sophie Bowness, Frances Guy, Holly Grange, Ian Massey, Michael Bird, Chris Stephens, Mike Tooby, and Nick Thurston.

I am indebted to the help I have received at countless libraries and archives. Particular thanks are due to Morwenna Roche, Victoria Jenkins and Darragh O'Donoghue at Tate Archive who have answered numerous enquiries and taken time to locate materials for me. I am also grateful for the welcome I have always received from staff at Tate St Ives and the Barbara Hepworth Museum and would especially like to thank Sara Matson, Sam Thorne, Laura Smith, John and Naomi Frears-Hogg. Janet Axten at St Ives Archive has also always provided a wealth of knowledge. Thank you also to Ann Sproat, Karen Atkinson and Paul Stirk at The Henry Moore Institute Library; Claire Mayoh at The Henry Moore Institute Archive; and Hannah Higham and Sylvia Cox at The Henry Moore Foundation. I am also grateful for the help I have received from staff at Special Collections, University of Bradford; Royal Academy of Music Archive; Penwith Society of Arts Archive; Hugh Lane Gallery Dublin; and Special Collections University of Leeds.

Jon Orlek, Claire Booth, Sophie Raikes, Ailsa Read, Julia McKinlay, Victoria Sharples, Caroline McCaffrey Howarth and Melissa Gustin have all provided a supportive research community.

My gratitude goes to the speakers of the Hepworth reading events: Rachel Smith, Lucy Kent, Helena Bonett, Veronica Ryan, and Monty Adkins. Also thank you to the event participants, especially Helen and John Riddle, Gloria Carter and Sean Ketteringham.

Finally I would like to thank my family and friends for their continued support, patience and good humour. I particularly thank Roger Nadal, Amanda Thomas, Natalie Halliday and Dominic Kennedy.

COPYRIGHT STATEMENT

- i. The author of this thesis (including any appendices and/ or schedules to this thesis) owns any copyright in it (the “Copyright”) and she has given The University of Huddersfield the right to use such Copyright for any administrative, promotional, educational and/or teaching purposes.
- ii. Copies of this thesis, either in full or in extracts, may be made only in accordance with the regulations of the University Library. Details of these regulations may be obtained from the Librarian. Details of these regulations may be obtained from the Librarian. This page must form part of any such copies made.
- iii. The ownership of any patents, designs, trademarks and any and all other intellectual property rights except for the Copyright (the “Intellectual Property Rights”) and any reproductions of copyright works, for example graphs and tables (“Reproductions”), which may be described in this thesis, may not be owned by the author and may be owned by third parties. Such Intellectual Property Rights and Reproductions cannot and must not be made available for use without permission of the owner(s) of the relevant Intellectual Property Rights and/or Reproductions.

NOTE ON PRIOR WORK

This thesis continues some of the research from my MA dissertation ‘Barbara Hepworth: Sculpture as Music and Dance’ which was completed at the Courtauld Institute of Art in 2015. Parts of Chapter 5 draw upon this research. Excerpts from Chapters 4 and 5 have also appeared in the below published chapter:

Clare Nadal, ‘Sculpture et le lecture: la bibliothèque de Barbara Hepworth’, in *Barbara Hepworth* (Paris: Éditions du muse Rodin, 2019) pp.58-65.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1. The refurbished large sitting room at Hoglands, reconstructed to how it was in the 1970s, The Henry Moore Foundation. Photo: Steve Gorton.

Fig. 2. Hepworth's copy of E. J. Parlanti *Casting a Torso in Bronze* as displayed in *Hepworth at Work* gallery, The Hepworth Wakefield, February 2017. Photo: the author.

Fig. 3. The reconstructed Francis Bacon Studio at the Hugh Lane Gallery, Dublin, August 2018. Photo: the author.

Fig. 4. Dallas collector Ray Nasher and his wife, Patsy, visiting Henry Moore in 1967. Courtesy Charles Gimpel.

Fig. 5. The ground floor plan of Hoglands in the early 1970s. Photo: Martin Lubikowski.

Fig. 6. The table in the large sitting room at Hoglands displaying Moore's collection of found objects and ethnographic artefacts. The Henry Moore Foundation.

Fig. 7. The bookcase in the large sitting room at Hoglands in the late 1980s containing publications and small works on paper from Moore's fine art collection. The Henry Moore Foundation.

Fig. 8. La Mansana de Chinati, West Building, library with works by Dan Flavin and Donald Judd and furniture by Donald Judd.

Fig. 9. Kader Attia's installation *Continuum of Repair: The Light of Jacob's Ladder* (2013) at the Whitechapel Gallery.

Fig. 10. Meschac Gaba, *Library* from *Museum of Contemporary African Art*, 1997-2002, mixed media, Tate.

Fig. 11. *Unpacking My Library*, parallel project at Stirling Pavilion, Giardini, *Vive Arte Viva*, 57th International Art Exhibition at la Biennale di Venezia, 2017. Photo: Haupt and Binder.

Fig. 12. La Mansana de Chinati, West Building, library with furniture by Donald Judd.

Fig. 13. La Mansana de Chinati, West Building, permanent installation of works by Donald Judd. Judd Foundation. Photo: Todd Eberle.

Fig. 14. *Martha Rosler Library* installation, Stills, Edinburgh. Photo: Stills, Edinburgh.

Fig. 15. Leaf from *The Human Figure in Motion* with black over-painting by Francis Bacon and folds secured with large sewing needle. Dublin City Gallery, The Hugh Lane.

Fig. 16. Alberto Giacometti, *After Egyptian Sculptures: Head of Rohotep and Head of Nefret*, c. 1949, ballpoint on *Photographic Encyclopaedia of Art*. Collection Fondation Giacometti Paris.

Fig. 17. Henry Moore working on a lithograph in the Gidmore graphic studio. Photo: Gemma Levine.

Fig. 18. The level 1 floor plan of Modern Two (Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art), showing the Gabrielle Keiller Library, Reading Rooms and Penrose Gallery (Room 3). National Galleries of Scotland.

Fig. 19. Installation view of *Publishing Surrealism: Roland Penrose's Library*, Gabrielle Keiller Library, Scottish National Gallery, November 2017. Photo: the author.

Fig. 20. Francis Bacon's bedroom at 7 Reece Mews, 1998. The Hugh Lane Municipal Gallery of Modern Art and The Estate of Francis Bacon. Photo: Perry Ogden.

Fig. 21. Vitrine containing books from Francis Bacon's library, displayed alongside the Francis Bacon Studio at the Hugh Lane Gallery, Dublin, August 2018. Photo: the author.

Fig. 22. Installation view of *Francis Bacon: A Terrible Beauty*, The Hugh Lane Gallery, Dublin, October 2009- March 2010. Photo: Dublin City Gallery, The Hugh Lane.

Fig. 23. Barbara Hepworth's studio at the Mall, Hampstead, c.1933. Photo: Paul Laib. Hepworth Estate.

Fig. 24. Barbara Hepworth at Mall Studios, Hampstead, 1932. Photo: attributed to Ben Nicholson. Hepworth Estate.

Fig. 25. The Mall Studio with the octagonal side table, 1932-3. Photograph by either Hepworth or Ben Nicholson mounted in Hepworth's photograph album of the 1930s. The Hepworth Family Photographic Collection.

Fig. 26. Three photographs of Hepworth in the Mall Studio with the octagonal side table, 1932-3. Photographs by Ben Nicholson mounted in Hepworth's photograph album of the 1930s. The Hepworth Family Photographic Collection.

Fig. 27. Spread from *Barbara Hepworth: A Pictorial Autobiography* showing images of Trewyn Studio.

Fig. 28. Spread from the *Pictorial Autobiography* showing photographs of Hepworth in Trewyn Garden used in exhibition catalogues.

Fig. 29. Trewyn Studio, upper room, October 1949. Photo: Studio St Ives, Tate Archive.

Fig. 30. Trewyn Studio, January 1959. Photo: Studio St Ives.

Fig. 31. Hepworth in the studio beside the antique table, July 1963. Photographer unknown. The Hepworth Family Photographic Collection.

Fig. 32. Barbara Hepworth reading in the studio, 1964. Courtesy St Ives Archive

Fig. 33. Hepworth in the studio beside the antique table, July 1960. Photo: RW Kochalski. The Hepworth Family Photographic Collection.

Fig. 34. Hepworth sitting in one of her Jacobson Egg chairs in the studio, April 1973. Photo: Jorge Lewinski. The Lewinski Archive at Chatsworth/Bridgeman Images.

Fig. 35. Hepworth seated in the studio, July 1960. Photo: R W Kochalski. The Hepworth Family Photographic Collection.

Fig. 36. Hepworth photographed by John Hedgecoe, date unknown.

Fig. 37. The Barbara Hepworth Museum in 1980. Photo: Tate Gallery.

Fig. 38. The archival display on the ground floor of the Barbara Hepworth Museum, 1976. Photo: Tempest, St Ives.

Fig. 39. One of Hepworth's copies of Dag Hammarskjöld *Markings*. As displayed in *Hepworth at Work* gallery, The Hepworth Wakefield. Photo: the author

Fig. 40. Press installation photograph showing Hepworth's collection of ancient objects in *Hepworth at Work* gallery. Photographer unknown.

Fig. 41. Double page spread from *Barbara Hepworth: The Plasters: The Gift to Wakefield* (2011) showing installation photograph of the plasters gallery. Photo: Jonty Wilde.

Fig. 42. Installation view of *Masterpieces by Barbara Hepworth and Henry Moore*, The Hepworth Wakefield, 2017. Photo: Stuart Whipps. Courtesy The Hepworth Wakefield.

Fig. 43. Installation view of the Barbara Hepworth Library in *Masterpieces by Barbara Hepworth and Henry Moore*, The Hepworth Wakefield, 2017. Photo: Jenny Briggs. Courtesy The Hepworth Wakefield.

Fig. 44. Installation view of the Barbara Hepworth Library virtines in *Masterpieces by Barbara Hepworth and Henry Moore*, The Hepworth Wakefield, 2017. Photo: Stuart Whipps. Courtesy The Hepworth Wakefield.

Fig. 45. Installation view of the Barbara Hepworth Library virtines in *Masterpieces by Barbara Hepworth and Henry Moore*, The Hepworth Wakefield, 2017. Photo: Stuart Whipps. Courtesy The Hepworth Wakefield.

Fig. 46. Installation view of *Anthea Hamilton Reimagines Kettle's Yard*, The Hepworth Wakefield, 2016. Photo: Stuart Whipps.

Fig. 47. The Hepworth Book Club reading event, 26 August 2017.

Fig. 48. Double page spread from *The Hepworth Wakefield: Art and Artists* (2017) showing installation photograph of Hepworth's tools and workbench in *Hepworth at Work* gallery. Photo: Jerry Hardman-Jones.

Fig. 49. Double page spread from *The Hepworth Wakefield: Art and Artists* (2017) showing installation photograph of Hepworth's collection of ancient and found objects in *Hepworth at Work* gallery. Photo: Jerry Hardman-Jones.

Fig. 50. Double page spread from *The Hepworth Wakefield: Art and Artists* (2017) showing the display of the Hepworth library as part of the exhibition *Masterpieces of Barbara Hepworth and Henry Moore*. Photo: Jerry Hardman-Jones.

Fig 51. Double page spread from *The Hepworth Wakefield: Art and Artists* (2017) showing the display of the Hepworth library as part of the exhibition *Masterpieces of Barbara Hepworth and Henry Moore*. Photo: Jerry Hardman-Jones.

Fig. 52. Installation view of *Masterpieces by Barbara Hepworth and Henry Moore*, showing *Genesis III* (1966), *Moon Play* (1972), *Moon Landscape* (1973), *Six Forms on a Circle* (1967) and *Group of Magic Stones* (1973), The Hepworth Wakefield, 2017. Photo: Stuart Whipps. Courtesy The Hepworth Wakefield.

Fig. 53. *Abstraction creation art non figuratif*, 1933, no. 2, front cover and page showing statement and sculpture by Barbara Hepworth, Tate Archive.

Fig. 54. *Abstraction creation art non figuratif*, 1934, no. 3, front cover and page showing the sculpture of Barbara Hepworth, Tate Archive.

Fig. 55. *Cahiers d'Art*, 1938, no.1-2, showing Herbert Read's article 'L'art contemporain en Angleterre', Tate Archive

Fig. 56. *This Changing World: A series of contributions by some of our leading thinkers to cast light upon the patterns of the modern world* ed. J. R. M. Brumwell (1945).

Fig. 57. 'Working holiday on Tresco, Isles of Scilly, June 1967: Sir Herbert Read, Professor A Hammacher, F E Halliday, Mrs Halliday, Priaulx Rainier, myself and my niece' as shown in the *Pictorial Autobiography*.

Fig. 58. Barbara Hepworth, *Forms in Red : Drawing for Sculpture with Colour* , 1941, gouache and pencil, Private Collection.

Fig. 59. Double page spread from Oliver Whicher's *Projective Geometry: Creative Polarities in Time and Space* (1971) showing Hepworth's *Corinthos* (1954-5), The Hepworth Wakefield Archive.

Fig. 60. Double page spread from Alan Watts' *The Way of Zen* (1958), The Hepworth Wakefield Archive.

Fig. 61. Barbara Hepworth, *Spring, 1957 (Project for Sculpture)*, 1957, oil and ink on board, 61.3 x 44.7 cm, Tate.

Fig. 62. Barbara Hepworth, *Perigord*, 1958, oil, ink and pencil on board, 48.3 x 36.2 cm, Tate.

Fig.63. Hepworth's notes inside Mary Baker Eddy *Science and Health*, The Hepworth Wakefield Archive.

Fig. 64. Barbara Hepworth, *Makutu*, 1969, cast 1970, bronze, Tate.

Fig. 65. Hepworth's notes for titles inside *Oxford Dictionary of Pocket English*, The Hepworth Wakefield Archive.

Fig. 66. Hepworth's notes for titles inside *A Dictionary of Science*, The Hepworth Wakefield Archive.

Fig. 67. Hepworth's notes for titles inside *A Dictionary of Science*, The Hepworth Wakefield Archive.

Fig. 68. Barbara Hepworth, *Hollow Form with Inner Form*, 1968, bronze, Tate.

Fig. 69. Hepworth's notes for titles inside *Jarrold's Dictionary of Difficult Words*, The Hepworth Wakefield Archive.

Figure 70. Hepworth's notes for titles inside *Jarrold's Dictionary of Difficult Words*, The Hepworth Wakefield Archive.

Figure 71. Hepworth's notes for titles inside *Jarrold's Dictionary of Difficult Words*, The Hepworth Wakefield Archive.

Fig. 72. Barbara Hepworth, *Forms in Movement (Pavan)*, 1956-9, cast 1967, bronze, 77.5 x 108 x 58.5 cm, Tate.

Fig. 73. Barbara Hepworth, *Curved Form (Pavan)*, 1956, 91.4 cm, The Hepworth Wakefield

Fig. 74. Barbara Hepworth, *Forms in Movement (Galliard)*, 1956, copper, Gimpel Fils.

Fig. 75. *Contrapuntal Forms* at the Festival of Britain, South Bank London, 1951. Photo: Anthony Panting.

Fig. 76. Barbara Hepworth, *Standing Form (Motet)*, elm with strings, 1960.

Fig. 77. Hepworth's copy of *Spem in Alium*, including a written inscription from Priaux Rainier. Tate Archive.

Fig. 78. Hepworth's copy of *The Selected Letters of Rainer Maria Rilke* with notes inserted from Priaux Rainier.

Fig. 79. Extract from a letter from Rainier to Hepworth showing her plans for her setting of Rilke's *Sonnets to Orpheus*, Tate Archive.

Fig. 80. Sculpture record showing Barbara Hepworth, *Orpheus (Maquette 1)*, 1956, The Hepworth Wakefield.

Fig. 81. Barbara Hepworth, *Orpheus (Maquette 2) (Version II)*, 1956, brass and cotton string, 11.4 x 43.2 x 41.5 cm, Tate.

Fig. 82. Barbara Hepworth, *Theme on Electronics (Orpheus)*, 1956, Phillips Electronics, Dorking.

Fig. 83. Barbara Hepworth, *Stringed Figure (Curlew) (Version II)*, 1956, edition 1959, brass and cotton string, 53 x 75.5 x 49cm, Tate.

Fig. 84. Barbara Hepworth, *Cantate Domino*, 1958, bronze, 209.8 x 55 x 50.8 cm, Tate.

Fig. 85. Barbara Hepworth, *Ascending Form (Gloria)*, 1958, bronze, Hepworth Estate.

Fig. 86. Page from *Barbara Hepworth: Drawings from a Sculptor's Landscape* (1966) showing Delphi, theatre and temple of Apollo; Epidauros, the theatre; and Mycenae.

Fig. 87. Page from R H Wilenski, *The Meaning of Modern Sculpture*, showing *Bird* from Horyuju Temple, Japan (left) and *Shoot of Flowering Ash* from Karl Blossfeldt's *Art Forms in Nature, First Series* (right).

Fig. 88. Page from *The Meaning of Modern Sculpture* showing Barbara Hepworth *Musician* (left) and Egyptian carving *Chertihotep* (right).

Fig. 89. Double page spread from Antoine Bon *In Greece* showing Santorin, Greece. The Hepworth Wakefield Archive.

Fig. 90. Double page spread from Lord Kinross *Portrait of Greece*, showing Phira, Greece.

Fig. 91. Double page spread from Lord Kinross *Portrait of Greece*, showing Patmos, Greece. The Hepworth Wakefield Archive.

Fig. 92. Double page spread from Lord Kinross *Portrait of Greece*, showing the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, Greece. The Hepworth Wakefield Archive.

Fig. 93. Barbara Hepworth, *Curved Form (Delphi)*, 1955, Guarea wood, paint and string, di106.7 x 787.7 x 81.3 cm, National Museums, Northern Ireland.

Fig. 94. Barbara Hepworth, *Configuration (Phira)*, 1955, Guarea wood, 68 x 79 x 75 cm, Leeds Art Fund (Leeds Art Gallery).

Fig. 95. Barbara Hepworth, *Bronze Form (Patmos)*, 1962-3, bronze, 65 x 4 x 95 x 24.1cm, Tate.

Fig. 96. Barbara Hepworth, *Pierced Form (Epidauros)*, 1960, painted guarea wood on a painted wood base, 74 x 67.6 x 36 cm, Tate.

Fig. 97. Page from Greek Sketchbook showing sketches of Epidauros, 1954, Tate Archive.

Fig. 98. Page from Greek Sketchbook showing Patmos, Tate Archive.

Fig. 99. Page from Greek Sketchbook showing colour washes, Tate Archive.

Fig. 100. Page from Greek Sketchbook showing Mycenae with figure in the landscape, Tate Archive.

Fig. 101. Page from Greek Sketchbook showing drawings of Neolithic and Cycladic Figures

Fig. 102. Koré sculpture in Christian Zervos' *L'Art en Grèce du Troisième Millénaire au IVe Siècle avant notre ère* (1946).

Fig. 103. Barbara Hepworth, *Marble Form (Coré)*, 1955-6, serravezza marble, Richard Green Gallery, London.

- Fig. 104. Hepworth's copy of J D Bernal, *The Origin of Life* (1967), The Hepworth Wakefield Archive.
- Fig. 105. Hepworth's copy of Henri Focillon, *The Life of Forms* (1948), The Hepworth Wakefield Archive.
- Fig. 106. Double page spread from *Circle: International Survey of Constructive Art* (1937), showing 'A Detail of the Leaf of the Victoria Regia' (left) and 'Concrete Construction in the Fiat Factory at Torina' (right).
- Fig. 107. Page of *Circle* showing 'Equipotential surface of two like charges' (above) and Barbara Hepworth *Two Forms* (below).
- Fig. 108. Page of *Circle* showing Ben Nicholson *Relief* and Stonecarving from Tiahuanaco, Peru.
- Fig. 109. Double page spread from *Circle* showing photographs of Stonehenge taken by Walter Gropius.
- Fig. 110. Photographs of Stonehenge and Men-an-Tol from Carola Giedion-Welcker, *Modern Plastic Art: Elements of Reality: Volume and Disintegration* (1937)
- Fig. 111. Spread from Carola Giedion-Welcker, *Modern Plastic Art*, showing Dolmen des Marchands, Lochmariaquer, Bretagne (left) and Constantin Brancusi, *Le Poisson*, 1918-28 (right)
- Fig 112. John Piper, 'Prehistory from the Air', *Axis*, No. 8, Early Winter 1937.
- Fig. 113. Barbara Hepworth sculpture record showing *Single Form (Stela)*, 1937, white marble, BH 91, Hepworth Estate.
- Fig. 114. Sculpture record showing Barbara Hepworth, *Single Form*, 1937, lignum vitae, BH 92, Hepworth Estate.
- Fig. 115. Sculpture record showing Barbara Hepworth, *One Form (Single Form)*, 1937, plane wood, BH 94, destroyed.
- Fig. 116. Sculpture record showing Barbara Hepworth, *Single Form*, 1937, sycamore, BH 97, whereabouts unknown.
- Fig. 117. Sculpture record showing Barbara Hepworth, *Single Form*, 1937-8, holly wood, BH 102, Leeds Museums and Galleries.
- Fig. 118.. Sculpture record showing Barbara Hepworth, *Single Form*, 1937-8, sandalwood, BH 103, Dag Hammarskjöld Museum, Backakra, Sweden.
- Fig. 119. Barbara Hepworth, *Single Form (Eikon)*, 1937-8, cast 1963, bronze, Tate.
- Fig. 120. Sculpture record showing Barbara Hepworth, *Single Form (Chûn Quoit)*, 1961, bronze, BH 311, private collection.
- Fig. 121. Sculpture record showing Barbara Hepworth, *Single Form (September)*, 1961, walnut, BH 312, Tate.

- Fig 122. Sculpture record showing Barbara Hepworth, *Single Form (Memorial)*, 1961, bronze, BH 314, Wandsworth Borough Council, London.
- Fig. 123. Barbara Hepworth, *Single Form (Dryad)*, 1945-6, Cornish elm, Hepworth Estate.
- Fig. 124. Barbara Hepworth, *Single Form (Antiphon)*, 1953, boxwood, Hepworth Estate.
- Fig. 125. Page from A M Hammacher *Barbara Hepworth* (1968) showing *Figure (Churinga)* (1952), *Single Form (Antiphon)* (1953) and *Phoenix* (1954).
- Fig. 126. One of Hepworth's copies of Dag Hammarskjöld, *Markings* (1964), The Hepworth Wakefield Archive.
- Fig. 127. Hepworth's copy of *The Servant of Peace*
- Fig. 128. One of Hepworth's copies of *United Nations News* (1961).
- Fig. 129. Hepworth's copy of Sten Soderberg, *Hammarskjöld: A Pictorial Autobiography* (1962).
- Fig. 130. Hepworth's copy of *Your United Nations: The Official Souvenir Guide Book, Twelfth Edition* (1964).
- Fig. 131. Page from Hepworth's copy of *Your United Nations: The Official Souvenir Guide Book, Twelfth Edition* (1964) showing the UN Meditation room.
- Fig. 132. Page from Hepworth's copy of *Your United Nations: The Official Souvenir Guide Book, Twelfth Edition* (1964) showing plan of UN buildings
- Fig. 133. *Single Form* unveiling ceremony at the United Nations, 11 June 1964. Photo: Teddy Chen.
- Fig. 134. A page from Hepworth's copy of *Markings* (1964) showing the poem 'Single Form'.
- Fig. 135. Aerial view of the unveiling of *Single Form*, 11 June 1964. Photographer unknown.
- Fig. 136. Installation view of the Barbara Hepworth library as part of the exhibition *Barbara Hepworth* at Musée Rodin, 2019. Photo: the author.
- Fig. 137. Spread from the exhibition catalogue accompanying the exhibition *Barbara Hepworth* at Musée Rodin, showing books from Hepworth's library.

Introduction

This thesis is the outcome of a collaborative doctoral project centred on the personal library of Barbara Hepworth held at the archive of The Hepworth Wakefield. The nature of this project – a collaborative doctoral award between the University of Huddersfield and The Hepworth Wakefield – is central to the form that the thesis takes, and underpins both its approach and methodology. Proposing the library of Barbara Hepworth as object of study, the thesis asks what a reading and curation of this collection of books can bring to an understanding of Hepworth’s wider artistic practice. This introduction outlines the key frameworks and approaches that underpin this research and the reasoning for making Hepworth’s library the central focus of the PhD.

Recent Critical History and Legacies for Hepworth

To enter discussion on the viability of Hepworth’s personal library as a mechanism for re-interpreting her work, it is first necessary to provide a survey of Hepworth’s recent critical history to demonstrate how the library might intervene on the existing literature. To do this I look particularly to those historiographies provided by Penelope Curtis and Helena Bonett in 1998 and 2018 respectively. What follows is not intended to duplicate those surveys and thus does not set itself out to be a complete review, but rather draws upon those points in Curtis and Bonett’s accounts that I deem of importance to the thesis. As indicated in the section heading, I am primarily focusing on Hepworth’s critical history *after* her death rather than during her lifetime to focus on the current critical positions offered in the narrative of her work.

In her 1998 text *Barbara Hepworth*, published by Tate Publishing as part of their series of monographs on artists within the Tate collection, Curtis writes that ‘the year after Hepworth’s death in 1975 were fallow, however they are measured.’ During this period there

were few solo exhibitions of her work and little new in the way of publications.¹ At the same time Hepworth's reputation became more closely linked with St Ives with the opening of the Barbara Hepworth Museum in 1976, her inclusion in the landmark Tate 1985 exhibition *St Ives 1939-64: Twenty Five Years of Painting, Sculpture and Pottery* and the opening of Tate St Ives in 1993. Whether related or a point of coincidence, Curtis notes that during this period there was also a tendency for studies of Hepworth – when they were published – to become more national, 'at once more localised; either national or fragmentary'.²

Whilst the establishment of the Barbara Hepworth Museum and her posthumous renewed connections to Tate with the Gift of the museum to Tate in 1980 (in which her son in law and executor of her estate, Sir Alan Bowness was instrumental) cemented Hepworth's reputation in one sense, in another it also closed it down to further reinterpretation.³ As Helena Bonett writes, this 'success' meant that her narrative became 'naturalised over time, meaning that what was once part of a complex, contingent and even revolutionary dialogue has become assimilated, received and uncomplicated, which [...] has caused a concomitant critical neglect.'⁴ Similarly, Hepworth's own acceptance and promotion from within the 'boys' of modernist circles, including figures such as Herbert Read and Adrian Stokes, is one

¹ Penelope Curtis, *Barbara Hepworth* (London: Tate Publishing, 1998, repr. 2013) p. 74. Curtis lists museum exhibitions in Edinburgh, the Yorkshire Sculpture Park, Wakefield and Swansea as exceptions during this period.

² *Ibid.*

³ In 1976, in line with Hepworth's wishes, the executors of her estate offered Trewyn Studio and the larger part of the collection of sculpture as an outright gift to the nation. In 1980 the museum and a major group of works of art were handed over to the Tate. See Sophie Bowness' chapter 'The opening of the Museum and the gift to the nation' in Sophie Bowness, *Barbara Hepworth: The Sculptor in the Studio* (London: Tate Publishing, 2017) pp. 129-33. As Richard Morphet notes, with this gift, in addition to the sixteen works that Hepworth had presented to the gallery during her lifetime, the two she bequeathed in her Will, and subsequent gifts and purchases from other individuals, Tate now own 58 sculptures and 9 paintings and drawings by Hepworth. See Richard Morphet, 'Preface', in Matthew Gale and Chris Stephens, *Barbara Hepworth: Works in the Tate Collection and Barbara Hepworth Museum St Ives* (London: Tate Publishing, 2001, repr. 2015) p. 6.

⁴ Helena Bonett, 'Artistic Legacy and Patrimonial Knowledge: A Case Study of Barbara Hepworth at Tate', unpublished PhD thesis, Royal College of Art, Dec. 2018, p. 69.

reason given for the lack of critical attention bestowed by feminist revisionist art historical writing.⁵

A crucial intervention into the literature – still arguably the most significant intervention to date – came in 1994 with the publication of an edited critical volume, the result of a Critical Forum organised to coincide with the 1994 Tate Liverpool exhibition *Barbara Hepworth: A Retrospective* curated by Curtis and Alan Wilkinson. What made the Critical Forum effective was its two pronged approach: providing both the first real sustained reflection upon Hepworth's critical position and reputation, and providing a major new intervention into the field of study. In his introduction, editor David Thistlewood offered a compelling reasoning for what he termed the 'critical inertia' that lay around Hepworth, stating:

Current interest in Hepworth is broadly dedicated to alternative, and to a large extent mutually antagonistic, purposes. One of these is to intensify knowledge of Hepworth within the terms of those absolutist critiques with which she is familiarly associated; the other is to liberate her from such critiques as the means of revising fundamentally the appreciation of her achievements. The critical field as a whole is straining to accommodate both tendencies, and many individual studies also bear evidence of the resulting tensions.⁶

The two camps of opposing critical approaches might be defined as those voices from within the critical establishment focused around Tate and those from outside. As Thistlewood notes, the problem was somewhat acerbated by Hepworth's own 'courting of absolutist recognition

⁵ Claire Doherty, 'The Essential Hepworth? Re-reading the Work of Barbara Hepworth in the Light of Recent Debates on 'the Feminine'', in *Barbara Hepworth Reconsidered: Tate Gallery Liverpool Critical Forum Series, Vol. 3* ed. David Thistlewood (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1996) p. 164. Doherty states: '[Hepworth] is conspicuous by her absence in key feminist texts. Despite the fact that the moment of her death fell at the very awakening of feminist art historical research in this country, it would seem that Hepworth could never be embraced as a heroine of the modern women's art movement'. To these reasons Penny Florence also adds that 'The revisionist discourses of art history, whether 'new', 'socio-historical' or 'feminist', have not recently centred on the kinds of issue [Hepworth] herself was preoccupied with, nor on critical questions that relate in a clear or obvious way to her thinking or practice'. See Penny Florence, 'Barbara Hepworth: the Odd Man Out? Preliminary Thoughts about a Public Artist', *Barbara Hepworth Reconsidered*, p. 23.

⁶ David Thistlewood, 'Introduction: Contested Significance in the Work of Barbara Hepworth: Absolutist and Relativist Interpretations', in *Barbara Hepworth Reconsidered*, p. 11.

in what seems to have been her positive wish for comparison with her male contemporaries.’⁷ This is corroborated by Curtis, who writes of Hepworth’s lack of interest in the young women from feminist circles who were becoming interested in her work in the 1970s, who Hepworth did not regard as ‘valuable’.⁸ Thistlewood’s own answer to the problem of the battle of critical standpoint was to bring both sets of voices to the table: from the ‘re-evaluation of Hepworth within conventional paradigms’, to the ‘recognition of her achievements within newly perceived or newly posited structures of relationship’.⁹ As Curtis, herself one of the contributors, wrote on the selection process: ‘the diverse backgrounds of invited contributors was thought desirable, but also recognised as inevitable due to the relatively uncoordinated nature of research on the artist’.¹⁰ Such ‘diverse backgrounds’ of the contributors marked a distinct contrast with most of the other literature on Hepworth published since her death, much of which had come from the auspices of the Tate, authored by a small pool of recurring names closely associated with Bowness.¹¹ Many of the Critical Forum contributors would not specifically be described as ‘Hepworth scholars’ per-se, but rather brought approaches and interests from their own research to the study of Hepworth. These included a particularly large proportion of academics and critics with approaches allied to both feminism and psychoanalysis, including Penny Florence, Anne Wagner, Katy Deepwell and Claire Doherty.

Looking back on the Critical Forum from a point of retrospect in 2005, Wagner wrote that this was the text ‘that has done the most to expand the terms in which the artist’s work,

⁷ *Ibid.*, p 19.

⁸ Penelope Curtis qtd. in Sarah Crompton, ‘Some Sense of Eternity’, *Guardian*, 13 June 2015.

⁹ David Thistlewood, ‘Barbara Hepworth: Absolutist and Relativist Interpretations’, pp. 19-20.

¹⁰ See Penelope Curtis, ‘What is Left Unsaid’, in *Barbara Hepworth Reconsidered*, p. 161. Thistlewood also states that a Critical Forum should bring together ‘scholars who are extending and consolidating conventional interpretation, others who are proposing alternative, and an informed audience of respondents who can be immensely selective and synthetic in their receptions of presented views’. See Thistlewood, ‘Barbara Hepworth: Absolutist and Relativist Interpretations’, p. 1.

¹¹ In addition to Hepworth’s presence in the Tate 1985 *St Ives 1939-64* exhibition, which was curated by David Brown, overseen by Bowness, and included a personal memoir by David Lewis, who for a short time served as Hepworth’s secretary, in 1982 the Tate published *Barbara Hepworth: A Guide to the Tate Gallery Collection at London and St Ives, Cornwall*. Catalogue entries were compiled by Tate curator David Fraser Jenkins and a preface was written by Bowness. For further details of Hepworth’s relationship with Tate, see Bonett, ‘Artistic Legacy and Patrimonial Knowledge’, p. 68.

project and context are discussed.’¹² This she directly equates with the Critical Forum format; as she notes, the Tate Liverpool retrospective sparked new interest in Hepworth’s work but much of this new research was presented in ‘catalogue’ format, such as Matthew Gale and Chris Stephens’ updated catalogue of Hepworth’s work in the Tate collection, published in 2001.¹³ For Wagner, the catalogue format seemed to ‘bar any larger revisionist argument’ such as she associated with the then recent publication of Alex Potts’ *The Sculptural Imagination*.¹⁴ The flaws of the catalogue format can also be seen in the most recent major Hepworth retrospective to date, that held at Tate Britain in 2015. Both the exhibition and accompanying catalogue offered many correctives to those ‘localised’ and ‘national’ accounts of Hepworth that Curtis had discussed in 1998, instead seeking to offer a reminder ‘that in her heyday, in the 1950s and 1960s, Hepworth was a major international figure’,¹⁵ with essays offering perspectives on new aspects of her work, including religion, film and photography. Nonetheless the catalogue was still very much located in a traditional art historical mode. Indeed it is important to note that the Critical Forum was itself *not* the accompanying exhibition catalogue for the Tate Liverpool exhibition. The exhibition was in fact accompanied by a much more traditional - though very scholarly - publication by Curtis and Wilkinson, which dealt with Hepworth’s work chronologically by those periods she had originally divided her own autobiographical statements into in her 1952 monograph by Herbert Read.¹⁶ As Thistlewood noted,

¹² Anne Wagner, *Mother Stone: The Vitality of Modern British Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), p.280.

¹³ This catalogue was produced based upon research conducted as part of a cataloguing project funded by the Getty Grant Program. See Richard Morphet, ‘Preface’, in Matthew Gale and Chris Stephens, *Barbara Hepworth: Works in the Tate Collection*, p. 6.

¹⁴ Anne Wagner, *Mother Stone*, p. 280.

¹⁵ Penelope Curtis and Chris Stephens, ‘Introduction’, in *Barbara Hepworth: Sculpture for a Modern World* (London: Tate Publishing, 2015) p. 8.

¹⁶ Curtis writes on the catalogue: ‘[it] was limited in its range; the four texts, by the two curators, followed a broadly chronological survey of the artist’s life and work. It was designed to stand also as a book with a long shelf life for a more general public. It was always the gallery’s intention to broaden the debate through the vehicle of the Critical Forum and its subsequent publication.’ See Curtis, ‘What is Left Unsaid’, p. 161.

the retrospective exhibition is not the best medium for positing new meaning: it consolidates a reputation while signalling potential for its revision and enhancement. When it addresses the causes of critical injustice [...] it does so with circumspection so as not to sour a predominantly celebratory occasion.¹⁷

Here Thistlewood sums up in a sentence the limitations that beset both the 1994 Tate Liverpool and the 2015 Tate Britain exhibitions (and their accompanying catalogues).¹⁸ By contrast, he writes, ‘the Critical Forum is not affected by such inhibition, and the event [...] stimulated bluntness on the reasons for Hepworth’s previous marginalisation, besides a range of speculation on the most appropriate lines of rehabilitation’.¹⁹ It is also worth noting that the Critical Forum was a joint publication between Liverpool University Press and Tate Liverpool (as opposed to being simply a gallery press as with the 1994 and 2015 exhibition catalogues), and to speculate upon the certain level of freedom this entailed. To date, the Critical Forum is the only university press publication that exists solely on Hepworth, although Hepworth does clearly feature heavily in Wagner’s *Mother Stone*.²⁰

In what I would argue is something of an oversight, Bonett offers little engagement with the moment of the Critical Forum and instead seeks to call into question the art historical method itself as a viable mode for being able to account for the full legacy of Hepworth’s work. As she writes;

The principal methodology employed to address Hepworth’s legacy over the decades, therefore, has been archive-based, art-historical research, which has been the driving mode employed for both written publications, museum cataloguing and curated

¹⁷ David Thistlewood, ‘Barbara Hepworth: Absolutist and Relativist Interpretations’, p. 2.

¹⁸ Penelope Curtis echoes this view in her essay in the Critical Forum, in which she begins: ‘Sometimes, after working on an exhibition for a long time [...] one suddenly realises that one hasn’t said what one most wanted to say. Essays are written to fit particular slots in a catalogue, the leaflet has to be a comprehensive general introduction, even one’s preface gets published under another name. So it’s nice to have another chance.’ See Curtis, ‘What is Left Unsaid’, p. 155.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ See Amy Ingrid Schlegel’s discussion on what she terms the ‘viability’ (or lack thereof) of artists who are women for academic press monographs. As she notes, ‘The publishing industry looks most favourably upon books about...individuals...[which] explains the steady stream of studies on Picasso and Matisse being published year after year’. See Amy Ingrid Schlegel, ‘Codex Spero: Rethinking the Monograph as Feminist’, in *Singular Women: Writing the Artist* eds. Kristen Frederickson and Sarah E. Webb (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003) p. 203 <<https://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=kt5b69q3pk;brand=ucpress>>. Accessed 10 Nov. 2019.

exhibitions. Through its focus on biographical and document-based interpretation, this dominant methodology has blind spots for certain areas of knowledge, including tacit, ephemeral knowledge.²¹

She continues:

The methodology of archive-based, art-historical research also favours biographically driven, monographic interpretations that privilege artistic connections structured within a chronological timeline. While such an approach provides important insight for interpretations of Hepworth's work and career, it can give the impression of there being a 'given life' and, as such, can naturalise and suggest completeness for what is an interpretation of available source material. In its chronological basis, the approach can also suggest a patrimonial-influence model predicated around artistic intentionality, with notions of cause and effect, that does not reflect the contingencies and complexities of Hepworth's legacy.²²

Here Bonett makes a key point: namely that adherence to traditional chronological and monographic approaches - often symptomatic of the art historical method - pose substantial limitations in approaching Hepworth's work. Proposing the study and curation of Hepworth's personal library as the object of this PhD is one way in which I aim to offer a non-monographic, non-chronological approach to viewing Hepworth's work that might also offer an alternative to the archival art-historical mode that Bonett critiques. However, as I shall demonstrate, the example of the Critical Forum also offers an important methodological model.

Although the library is part of an archive (its categorisation is something I will reflect upon in subsequent chapters), this is *not* a traditional art-historical archival study. Nor is the curation of the library merely an 'add-on' to the thesis, a 'public outcome' of the project. Rather, as earlier stated, it is integral to both its mode of thinking and writing. The library, by its very nature, also defies a monographic or chronological approach as I shall now demonstrate. A library is a collection of many different voices, in this case the majority of them *not* Hepworth's. In this sense, any study of a library offers a challenge to the tendency in monographic writing that Nedira Yakir has described to foreground 'the subject's voice

²¹ Helena Bonett, 'Artistic Legacy and Patrimonial Knowledge', p. 74.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 76.

[...] inevitably [distorting] the social context and particularly that of professional fields-networks. The individuated focus necessitates foregrounding the subject at the expense of the broader influences and conditions'.²³ The books in Hepworth's library are literally those 'broader influences and conditions', which entail a multiplicity of voices, many from outside of art entirely.

The question of *whose* voices are heard is particularly important for Hepworth. In this case it is not so much a matter of the subject's voice being foregrounded at the expense of others, but of there being a value hierarchy accorded within the other voices that might be heard. In 1998 Penelope Curtis noted that 'Hepworth's life is not simply about sculpture and her relationships with three men: Skeaping, Nicholson and Read'.²⁴ In 2015 Curtis and Stephens similarly wrote, 'Too often Hepworth has been considered in relation to other, generally male, colleagues'.²⁵ Whilst the gap of seventeen years has no doubt seen more voices enter into dialogue around Hepworth, the fact that Curtis and Stephens felt it necessary to reiterate this point is indication of how these particular – often male – voices have become privileged in the narrative. This is not to suggest that these male voices should be disregarded altogether, in fact it is something that Wagner specifically warns against, arguing that such a possibility 'is better avoided, in that it misrepresents both the nature of individual identity and the formation of an artistic idiom.'²⁶ Rather it is about adding to those voices, and where possible, also thinking about the voices of other women within the narrative. Katy Deepwell has discussed the need to 'move away from women defined principally through their

²³ Nedira Yakir, 'Wilhelmina Barns-Graham and Margaret Mellis: The Gendered Construction of 'St Ives' Display, Positioning and Displacement', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Plymouth, Dec. 2002, p. 70. Also see Schlegel on the possibility of writing an 'unconventional' feminist monograph in which the monograph is rethought as feminist and might be 'thematically driven and issue orientated' in 'Codex Spero', p. 204.

²⁴ Penelope Curtis, *Barbara Hepworth*, p. 86.

²⁵ Penelope Curtis and Chris Stephens, 'Introduction', p. 9.

²⁶ Anne Wagner, *Mother Stone*, p. 280. A relevant argument to consider here is that of Michael Hatt and Charlotte Klonk on the artist Artemisia Gentileschi, who they argue 'has far more in common with the work of her male contemporaries than of other women artists.' To attempt to remove Gentileschi from this context then is misrepresentative and unproductive. See Michael Hatt and Charlotte Klonk, *Art History: A Critical Introduction to its Methods* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006) p. 151.

relationships to men' and that 'their own relationship as women to other women...[needs] to become a greater part of our understanding of women's lives and experiences in the twentieth century'.²⁷ For Hepworth, this is certainly something that needs to happen, with Bonett noting that women such as Margaret Gardiner and Priaulx Rainier, are never foregrounded in discussion to the same extent as male colleagues, such as Moore, Gabo and Nicholson.²⁸ In the library, however, the names of Read, Skeaping and Nicholson all appear, but so to an equal extent do those of Rainier, Gardiner and E H Ramsden. As such, the thesis is able to give equal space to discussion of both groups. In addition to the obvious gender distinction between the two lists, it is also of significance to note that all the men named are artists (with the exception of Read, the art critic), whereas in the case of the women, only Ramsden was directly connected with the art world. Does this suggest that perspectives from within art rather than from without have traditionally been more valued in the narrative on Hepworth? As earlier stated, with many of the voices of the library coming from outside art (art books make up just one, although albeit the largest, section), this immediately invites a much wider interdisciplinary approach.

Whilst technically the library might be studied in a chronological manner or by author, this is not my intention, nor is it viable to do so. In cases where a book contain no annotations, notes or inscriptions, or there is no mention of it in correspondence or Hepworth's writing, the only guide of its chronology within Hepworth's life is by its publication date. Books may not have been obtained at the time of publication (particularly in the case of books acquired second-hand); therefore paying too close an attention to publication dates is liable to pitfalls. Even if books were acquired new, there is no guarantee that they were necessarily read straight away. Moreover, a book is not something read once to then be put away forever more. From correspondence, it is clear that there were writers, such

²⁷ Katy Deepwell, 'Introduction', in *Women Artists and Modernism* ed. Katy Deepwell (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), p.11.

²⁸ Helena Bonett, 'Artistic Legacy and Patrimonial Knowledge', p. 148.

as the poet Rainer Maria Rilke and the Christian Scientist, Mary Baker Eddy, who Hepworth returned to repeatedly throughout different periods of her life. Thus the library necessitates an approach that goes beyond the 'cause and effect' chronological model that Bonett repudiates, a reminder that time, or an artist's career, is not a simple case of linear development, but one where ideas are tested, returned to and redeveloped.²⁹

Re-Connecting History, Theory and Practice

Feminist interventions in art history since the 1970s have challenged the monographic view of art history as a progressive succession of works and movements.³⁰ As early as 1971 Linda Nochlin stated that

Art is not a free autonomous activity of a super-endowed individual, "influenced" by previous artists and more vaguely and superficially by "social forces," but rather [...] occurs in a social situation, is an integral element of this social structure, and is mediated and determined by specific and definable social institutions, be they art academies, systems of patronage, mythologies of the divine creator, artist as he-man or social outcast.³¹

Thus, in taking the library as a central focus to produce a study that moves beyond a chronological reading of Hepworth's work itself, I draw upon a history of feminist politics in

²⁹ Bonett offers the example of Hepworth using memories of the Spanish Civil War to inform her works in the late 1960s that referenced the current Vietnam War. See Bonett, 'Artistic Legacy and Patrimonial Knowledge', p. 163.

³⁰ See for example Griselda Pollock's critique of Alfred Barr's famous chart of the development of modern art for the 1936 exhibition *Cubism and Abstract Art* at the Museum of Modern Art in the essay 'Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity' in Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Feminism, femininity and the Histories of Art* (London: Routledge, 1988, repr. 2003) pp. 70-2. Also see Katy Deepwell's introduction to *Women Artists and Modernism*, p. 3. For a historiography of early feminist methods within art history, see Thalia Gouma-Peterson and Patricia Matthews, 'The Feminist Critique of Art History', *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 69, No. 3, Sept. 1987, pp. 326-57

³¹ Linda Nochlin, 'Why have there been no great women artists?' (1971) in Linda Nochlin, *Women, Art, and Power and Other Essays* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989) p. 158. More recently Griselda Pollock has written on the method of feminist interventions in art history as follows: 'what makes critical feminist studies in the visual arts different starts with the various possibilities we claim for tracking relations among artworks [...] so that artworks can speak of something more than either the abstract principles of form and style or the individualism of the creative author'. In order to do this, Pollock uses the work of Sigmund Freud and Aby Warburg, who as she argues offer 'theoretical resources and feminist counter-moves against the phallogocentric and nationalist heroic narratives that still shape the discipline of art history'. See Griselda Pollock, *Encounters in the Virtual Feminist Museum: Time, Space and the Archive* (London: Routledge, 2007) p. 10-12.

art history that has challenged the chronological model of the life of the great (male) artist as the organising principle for the study of the artwork. One suggestion that has been proposed as an alternative to the chronological model is that of the case study/dossier approach offered by Leonie O'Dwyer in her thesis 'Helen Chadwick: A Critical Catalogue Raisonné'.³² Based upon providing a reading of Chadwick's practice directly through the material available in her archive, O'Dwyer's thesis is of particular relevance in taking the archive of an artist as the starting point, and one of the few other doctoral projects that I am aware of that is structured in this way. Taking particular documents from the archive as the starting point of each chapter, O'Dwyer seeks to ask what the material reveals about the nature of Chadwick's emerging practice.³³ My approach is less about focusing on particular books for each chapter, but rather seeking to read the library through a particular frame or connecting theme, to ask what such a reading can bring to understanding of Hepworth's work.

As previously stated, this thesis is neither just an archival study of Hepworth's personal library *nor* simply a curatorial exercise in curating an artist's library. It is both. It asks how new readings might be created on Hepworth's work through *both* a reading and curation of her library. As such, I regard this thesis as sitting within the *history-theory-practice* framework, in the understanding of this triangular approach advocated by Griselda Pollock. For Pollock, such an approach offers the possibility of privileging 'neither the historical nor the contemporary, neither theory nor practice, by putting them all into a constructed correspondence'.³⁴ Given Bonett's desire for studies on Hepworth to move into realms beyond art history, this is significant as it allows the breaking of 'traditional

³² Another important example of the case study model in action is Pollock's *Vision and Difference*, which she describes as 'a series of interlinked case studies (themselves exemplary of the new model of non-linear study of histories of art)'. See Pollock, 'Introduction to the Routledge Classics Edition', in *Vision and Difference*, p. xxxiv.

³³ Leonie O'Dwyer, 'Helen Chadwick: A Critical Catalogue Raisonné', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2012, p. 30.

³⁴ Griselda Pollock, 'Preface', in *Generations and Geographies in the Visual Arts: Feminist Readings* ed. Griselda Pollock (London: Routledge, 1996) p. xii.

boundaries of art history which segregate that art history from criticism, distancing art history from the production of living culture and thus disavows its own investments in the writing of history.’³⁵ Seeking to approach Hepworth’s personal library in light of Pollock’s usage of the framework, my research aims to bring history, theory and practice into such a ‘constructed correspondence’ through bringing together the library as it was in Hepworth’s lifetime – *the historical* – alongside the library in its museological role as a collection of objects housed within The Hepworth Wakefield *today*.

If approaching the library through bringing together both its historical significance and its position today is one way of bringing the historical into dialogue with the contemporary, another that I utilise is that of looking to models from contemporary art itself. As Pollock states, it is important that both the ‘study of art’s pasts’ are able to ‘engage with the projects and practices of living culture’, but also that the reverse may happen, namely that ‘the encounter with the projects and practices of contemporary artists’ be permitted ‘to challenge and reshape the terms of the study of past art [...] Working on Mary Kelly as necessary to thinking about Mary Cassatt and vice versa’.³⁶ This is even more pertinent when looking at artists’ libraries, for, as I discuss in Chapter 1, much of the interest in libraries within art has come from within contemporary art itself. Therefore, the approaches of artists have been particularly important for informing my approach in this thesis. Indeed, one of the most satisfying juxtapositions I have found has been approaching Hepworth’s library alongside the *Martha Rosler Library*, the project in which artist Martha Rosler lent items from her personal library to tour as part of a temporary reading room that was installed in different cities across the world. This is not to suggest that there is any direct relation

³⁵ Griselda Pollock, ‘The Politics of Theory: Generations and Geographies in Feminist Theory and the History of Art Histories’, in *Generations and Geographies in the Visual Arts*, p. 3. Also see Alison Rowley for discussion on what historic/contemporary juxtapositions are seen as ‘acceptable’ in art history. As she writes on her own positioning of Martha Rosler and Helen Frankenthaler: ‘even in the various discourses of feminism’s engagement with art history and criticism it is still unthinkable’ to set the two together. See Alison Rowley, *Helen Frankenthaler: Painting History, Writing Painting* (London: I B Tauris, 2007) xiii.

³⁶ Griselda Pollock, ‘Introduction to the Routledge Classics Edition’, *Vision and Difference*, p. xxxv.

between Hepworth and Rosler – on the surface certainly there is little to connect them. Rather, to take from David Thistlewood’s writing on the Critical Forum, such a ‘collision [...] shakes out tentative proposals about Hepworth which would not otherwise occur due to her default grounding in grossly familiar comparators’ (Thistlewood is here speaking of Emma Roberts’ comparison of Hepworth with Mark Rothko).³⁷ Indeed, Thistlewood’s statement is further evidence of the need to widen the list of voices surrounding Hepworth, since new readings are not permitted to arise if she remains placed within the same familiar set of co-ordinates.

That Rosler and other contemporary artists might offer relevance for looking at Hepworth becomes even less surprising given the interest in, and responses to Hepworth shown by a number of contemporary artists in recent decades. Back in 1994 Thistlewood predicted that she might well ‘become accepted as one of a growing number of ‘antecedent ‘postmodernists’: a relativist before her time’.³⁸ To date, responses to Hepworth have been undertaken by artists including, Veronica Ryan and Linder Sterling, who have both undertaken residencies in St Ives, and Charlotte Moth, who produced a new film and archival intervention at Tate Britain in 2015.³⁹ What is it about Hepworth that makes her so appealing or relevant to practising artists today we might ask? Certainly, the fact that all the artists I have listed above are women is no coincidence – with Hepworth’s gender and position within predominantly male modernist circles one point of interest. What is also significant is that in many of these artists have responded to what might be termed more ‘peripheral’ aspects of Hepworth’s narrative, aspects that have been given less of a focus in art historical accounts.

For example, Linder, in her research into Hepworth, looked particularly into the idea of

³⁷ David Thistlewood, ‘Barbara Hepworth: Absolutist and Relativist Interpretations’, p. 19. See Emma Roberts’ essay in Thistlewood’s volume ‘Barbara Hepworth Speculatively Perceived within an International Context’, pp. 185-201. Also see Robert’s doctoral thesis, ‘Barbara Hepworth: The International Context’, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Liverpool, Dec. 1996.

³⁸ David Thistlewood, ‘Barbara Hepworth: Absolutist and Relativist Interpretations’, p. 20.

³⁹ For further details of contemporary artists’ responses to Hepworth, see Helena Bonett, ‘Artistic Legacy and Patrimonial Knowledge’, pp. 82-5.

costume – Hepworth’s participation in the fancy dress Penwith Arts Balls, as well her set and costume designs for *Electra* at the Old Vic in 1951 and Michael Tippett’s opera *The Midsummer Marriage* at Covent Garden in 1955.⁴⁰ Also important, is the fact that many of these projects lie in the remit of public programmes, artists residencies, live performance and archival intervention, rather than major exhibition projects (Linder’s exhibition at The Hepworth Wakefield alongside Alice Channer and Jessica Jackson Hutchins is one exception). This is not to suggest they are not important projects, but rather that platforms such as public programmes and performance also offer the potential to facilitate major new work on Hepworth. What it has however meant though - no doubt in part due to the ephemeral nature of such projects and partly on account of the unspoken hierarchy that still places less value upon such artistic responses in contrast to scholarly art historical work - is that these projects are mostly kept separate to the more mainstream art historical studies. As Bonett aptly observes, very rarely are such projects included within bibliographies on Hepworth.⁴¹

It is against this pattern of the separation of art historical scholarship from the work of public programming and live performance that the thesis seeks to situate itself. This divide is also one that exists between exhibition projects and their accompanying public programmes, which will be expanded upon further in subsequent chapters. For example, whilst the Tate Britain 2015 exhibition (and catalogue) regularly will be cited in scholarly writing, it is rare to see any of its attached public programmes – including an event that brought together a number of the contemporary artists working around Hepworth - mentioned in the literature.⁴²

To bring together art historical analysis and curatorial practice (including the practice of

⁴⁰ See Linder, ‘Discovering the Essence of Hepworth’, *Tate Etc*, Issue 34, Summer 2015 <<https://www.tate.org.uk/tate-etc/issue-34-summer-2015/discovering-essence-hepworth>>. Accessed 11 Nov. 2019.

⁴¹ Helena Bonett, ‘Artistic Legacy and Patrimonial Knowledge’, pp. 82-3.

⁴² Details of the event ‘Contemporary Artists on Barbara Hepworth: Linder, Alice Channer and Charlotte Moth’ can be found on the Tate website. <<https://www.tate.org.uk/whats-on/tate-britain/talk/contemporary-artists-on-barbara-hepworth-linder-alice-channer-and>>. Accessed 7 Dec. 2019.

public programmes) is one way in which I seek to bring together the theory and practice elements of the *history-theory-practice* framework. Indeed the theory/practice divide between the museum and the academy is itself a much wider problem as the research project *Tate Encounters* and associated book *Post-Critical Museology: Theory and Practice in the Art Museum* aimed to demonstrate. As authors Andrew Dewdney, David Dibosa and Victoria Walsh stated, typically ‘the museum is posited as the concrete operational sphere considered as the object of abstract reflection by the academy’.⁴³ To position a curatorial exposition of the Hepworth library as more than a tangible ‘outcome’ of my research, undertaken in the ‘concrete operational sphere’ of the museum, I chose to adopt the ‘exhibition as research’ model proposed by theories of the ‘curatorial’ as discussed by Paul O’Neill and Mick Wilson. Central to this concept is the ‘recognition of the exhibition itself as a potential mode of research action, which exceeds the familiar (but nonetheless noteworthy) idea of research activities being conducted in order to generate exhibitions’.⁴⁴ For O’Neill and Wilson, significantly the ‘curatorial’ also allows a means for ‘moving beyond an understanding of exhibitions as the main outcome of curating-as-production.’ Forms of practice operating alongside the main work of exhibition making – as in the public programme – are embraced under the umbrella of the ‘curatorial’.⁴⁵ Whilst ‘the curatorial’ as a philosophy has been most closely with contemporary art, its concerns are nonetheless also appropriate for historical subjects, and it has been used successfully for projects dealing with modern rather than contemporary art.⁴⁶

⁴³ Andrew Dewdney, David Dibosa and Victoria Walsh, *Post Critical Museology: Theory and Practice in the Art Museum* (London: Routledge, 2013) p. 221.

⁴⁴ Paul O’Neill and Mick Wilson ‘An Opening to Curatorial Enquiry: Introduction to Curating and Research’, in *Curating Research* eds. Paul O’Neill and Mick Wilson (London: Open Editions, 2015) p. 17.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p. 12.

⁴⁶ Bonett used the curatorial as an approach in her PhD ‘Artistic Legacy and Patrimonial Knowledge: A Case Study of Barbara Hepworth at Tate’ to address Hepworth’s legacy and interpretation, including through the museological context of the Barbara Hepworth Museum. This was in part achieved through Bonett producing a new film *Trewyn Studio* (in collaboration with Jonathon Law) in 2015, in which she interviewed Alan Bowness on his decision making regarding the transformation of Trewyn Studio into the Barbara Hepworth Museum. See Helena Bonett, ‘Artistic Legacy and Patrimonial Knowledge’, p. 227.

The model of the ‘exhibition as research’ has also determined the structuring principle that the thesis takes, which might be described as a ‘back-to-front’ structure. The first half of the thesis is devoted to providing a study of the interpretation and curation of artists’ libraries, within which the Hepworth library is proposed as a central case study. Providing a wider survey of artists’ libraries was necessary to undertake in Chapter 1 due to the uncoordinated nature of research currently available on the subject and the lack of precedent for the exhibiting of such collections. Due to problems of classification which I probe further in Chapter 1, artists’ libraries tend to be pigeon-holed either into studies of the studio or the archive, into neither of which do they sit entirely comfortably. Building upon the research questions laid out in this chapter, Chapter 2 provides a history of the Hepworth library, both during and after Hepworth’s lifetime and the circumstances that led to its gift to Wakefield alongside the Hepworth Family Gift, a key impetus for the opening of The Hepworth Wakefield in 2011. Through surveying the early display decisions made by the gallery’s first curators, I question the status which the library was accorded within the Gift. Chapter 3 provides an account of the curatorial project I undertook at The Hepworth Wakefield to provide the first public display of the Hepworth library and an associated public programme, as part of the collection display *Masterpieces of Barbara Hepworth and Henry Moore*. The fact that this chapter is placed centrally in the thesis rather than as the final chapter, as might have been expected, is central to the ‘exhibition as research’ methodology and also reflects the sequence of events underlying the project. The exhibition was not the culmination of the research but something that took place during the second year of my PhD, almost exactly half way throughout the research period. As a ‘research exhibition’, its aim was not only to showcase the library as a collection, but in doing so to generate new responses and discussion, to which end a public programme of reading events were central.

The first part of the thesis, including the survey of the different modes of interpretation adopted for the study of artists' libraries of Chapter 1 and my own experience of displaying the Hepworth library, directly feeds into the second part of the thesis, which offers readings of the library through three frames. Chapter 4 interrogates the friendships and networks that underpin Hepworth's library, analysing the role that these that this intellectual landscape held for Hepworth, particularly in its interdisciplinary nature. Drawing on Michael White's proposal of communication within the early 20th century avant-garde being comprised of both 'proximate and distanced' forms of communication,⁴⁷ I consider the sharing of books within the wider context of print and journal culture that became a crucial form of communicating at a time of forced relocations during the interwar and wartime periods. Chapter 5 returns to an approach to library making discussed in Chapter 1 – namely that of the library as 'working tool'. Focusing on three instances in which Hepworth may be seen to be actively using books as research tools, in drafting ideas, in using Rilke's *Sonnets to Orpheus* to inform her *Orpheus* series, and in conjunction with the Greek sketchbook produced during her 1954 voyage to Greece, the chapter questions the role books played for Hepworth in the making process itself. In Chapter 6 I return to the subject of the interdisciplinary, examining the library as a collection – in the manner suggested by Alexander Alberro of the relationship between texts, rather than the Jean Baudrillard/ Walter Benjamin understanding of a collection as relationship between collector and collected – thinking about shared ideas that emerge between different texts. By focusing on one book, *Circle: International Survey of Constructive Art* (1937), and one artwork, the *UN Single Form* (1961-4), I contend that many of the same ideas are shared within these two works, though they are set apart both historically and geographically across a period of almost 30 years. As I demonstrate, many of the ideas contained in these two works also find voice in

⁴⁷ Michael White, 'Circulars and Squares: Abstraction and Internationalism Between the Wars', in Paul Denison et. al., *Modern Art and St Ives: International Exchanges 1915-65* (London: Tate Publishing, 2014) p. 36.

texts found within Hepworth's library. As such, *Circle* and *Single Form* might be considered to encapsulate, or to translate, those ideas underpinning the library. The thesis purposely finishes with an epilogue rather than conclusion, which considers the afterlife of the library. Making this distinction is important due to a decision made in late 2018 for the Hepworth library to be moved to a new permanent home at Tate Archive. In the Epilogue I explore the implications of this decision for future interpretation and research on Hepworth, as well as for the changing status of artists' libraries more widely.

Part 1: Interpreting and Curating Artists' Libraries

Chapter 1: Approaches and Historiography

As a precursor to addressing the Hepworth library in full, this chapter offers a wider remit, namely to approach the concept or 'phenomena' of the artist's library in its own right.

Writing in 2012 in the introduction for his edited anthology *The Studio* in the Whitechapel Gallery *Documents of Contemporary Art* series, curator Jens Hoffmann stated: 'the topic of the studio [...] is due for a more profound critique, just as the museum, the art school and the commercial gallery have been increasingly scrutinised'. Amongst this list of subjects deemed worthy of 'critical examination' which 'art has questioned and analysed over the past four decades', the (artist's) library might arguably be added.¹ Although a number of studies of individual artists' libraries do exist, of which I will enumerate on further within this chapter, the lack of a more coherent body of scholarship means that the parameters of study are not set out. What and why are we looking at artist libraries? What are the questions we should be asking (and answering) of these collections? Before progressing to address the approaches that have been utilised towards the acquisition, interpretation and display of individual artists' libraries historically, I will first consider some of these questions, and the tools and sources that might be harnessed for the study of the artist's library.

When surveying the relationship between the acquisition of artists' libraries and their subsequent exhibition or study through research and publication, a curious pattern emerges: artists' libraries are regularly collected by institutions but rarely thereafter subject to further study or exhibition. If we are to judge by the number of artists' libraries that have been acquired by museum archives and research institutions, including those of Henry Moore,

¹ Jens Hoffmann, 'Introduction: The Artist's Studio in an Expanded Field', in *The Studio: Documents of Contemporary Art* ed. Jens Hoffmann (London: Whitechapel Gallery and the MIT Press, 2012) p. 12.

Georgia O’Keefe, Helen Chadwick and David Jones,² artists’ libraries are valued as important acquisitions, but there seems to be a lack of consensus as to what should be done with them beyond merely retaining them. Beyond the cursory publishing of a list of the contents of these libraries within a catalogue raisonné or similar publication, few or none of the examples listed above have been subject to further research or exhibition.³ One example of an artist’s library that has been subject to rigorous and intensive scholarship is that of Francis Bacon, acquired by the Hugh Lane Gallery in Dublin alongside the studio of Bacon. Consisting of over 1200 books in total, 570 found within the studio itself, and a further 670 located in the kitchen and bedroom of 7 Reece Mews, Bacon’s London residence and at Dale Farm, Suffolk, a rarely used second property owned by Bacon, a joint research project between the Hugh Lane Gallery and Trinity College Dublin was established to catalogue and research the books and publications.⁴

The webpage for the project, ‘Bacon’s Books: Francis Bacon’s library and its Role in his Art’, offers a rationale not only for the project itself but for the collecting and researching of an artist’s library. The text begins thus:

The personal library of an artist is widely recognised as an invaluable resource for exploring and understanding their work [...] the Francis Bacon library represents an invaluable, but so far under-exploited resource for illuminating the imagery of this towering figure of twentieth-century visual expression.⁵

It continues:

² See Alexander Davis, *Libraries of Artists and Writers* (London: Art Design Photo, 2008) for what I have found to currently be the only existing bibliographic survey of artists’ libraries in existence. Nonetheless Davis’ list is not conclusive – significant absences include the libraries of Barbara Hepworth and Donald Judd – and the focus is primarily those libraries for which published material exists.

³ Publishing a list of the contents of an artists’ library within a catalogue raisonné or exhibition catalogue is relatively common. Key examples include *Henry Moore Bibliography: Vol. 5*; compiled and edited by Alexander Davis (Much Hadham: The Henry Moore Foundation, 1994) ; *Jackson Pollock : A Catalogue Raisonné of Paintings, Drawings and Other Works :Vol. 4* eds. Francis Valentine O’Connor and Eugene Victor Thaw (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1978) ; and Eugene Tsai and Cornelia Butler, *Robert Smithson* (Los Angeles: Museum of Contemporary Art, 2004). Other examples can be found within Davis’ text.

⁴ ‘Bacon’s Books: About Bacon’s Books’, *Hugh Lane Dublin* <<http://www.hughlane.ie/baconsbooks>>. Accessed 28 Aug. 2019.

⁵ ‘Bacon’s Books: Francis Bacon’s library and its Role in his Art’, Trinity College Dublin <http://www.tcd.ie/History_of_Art/research/centres/triarc/bacon.php>. Accessed 2 Oct. 2018.

Artist's libraries provide an invaluable insight into: (i) the latent interests that stimulate the acquisition of selected books in the first place (ii) book illustrations that inform or influence the artist's approach to imagery, and (iii) potential sources of intellectual inspiration that may emerge in the work.⁶

Arguably these two passages of text provide one of the clearest reasonings to be found regarding the question I earlier posed: namely what is the value of looking at artist libraries? It is therefore valuable to approach the passages in greater depth. The second text claims to offer three reasons for studying an artist's library: firstly its ability to reveal an artist's own interests, secondly for specific sources of imagery in the work, and thirdly for intellectual inspiration that may emerge in artwork. Of these three, the second aim is emphasised, with the earlier passage emphasising the project's ability to reveal Bacon's own source imagery. What we have here is a highly visual basis for the rationale of studying an artist's library. But this principally works if the work is figurative – what if the work is abstract and such sources are less easily decipherable? The approach also assumes a direct and importantly *visible* transference from library to artwork which again is problematic; in practice such sources of 'intellectual inspiration' may not have a visible impact on the artwork that is readable in this way. What I am here intimating is that such a rationale may only work for a particular artist or a specific type of artwork. Moreover, as Alexander Davis suggests, we might come up against the challenge of discovering books not included 'which would have been expected to have a place in the subject's shelves.'⁷ With all libraries, even those ostensibly 'complete', loss, disposal or the reading of borrowed texts has to be considered when assessing the library's contents. What other rationales might we therefore use when approaching the artist's library?

Any rationale based on how a text might inform an artwork, both in terms of visual sources and intellectual content is based on the implicit assumption that the most important

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Alexander Davis, *Libraries of Artists and Writers* (London: Art Design Photo, 2008) p. 5.

books in an artist's library are those most frequently read and consulted, if we are to assume that almost all libraries will contain books left unread by their owners. By contrast, in his essay 'The Catalogue of Robert Smithson's Library', Alexander Alberro argues:

whether or not [Smithson] actually read all of the books or listened to all the records in his possession is of little importance [...] Discerning the idiosyncratic structure of Smithson's is presently more relevant than determining which text the artist carefully read (or read at all!) and which records he regularly listened to, since the particular items that he chose to gather together provide a glimpse of his cultural landscape. It also enables us to gain a better understanding of the intellectual milieu of New York artists during the 1960s as they read their way through the studied coolness of the French *nouveau roman*, the hyper-sensual psychedelia of Aldous Huxley [...] and many other modes of writing that characterised the period. Mining Smithson's library is like biting into a Madeleine, each book and record triggering what Benjamin referred to as a crowd of memories, providing a whiff of a previous time.⁸

For Alberro, what is of importance is less a library's ability to illuminate individual artworks or a series, but rather the 'time capsule' it might offer for the present reader or viewer.⁹ In this sense, the library may offer more than a perspective on that individual artist, but rather a lens through which to approach the wider 'cultural landscape'. Therefore, the question of what has been read and what not becomes entirely arbitrary. What is instead of greater interest is the wider nature of the collection and of individual titles' relations to one another. He writes: 'it is not enough to simply list the contents in Smithson's library for its essential substance is what it contains in addition to the sum total of the parts - the 'make up', the character, the personality'.¹⁰ The importance of surveying a library becomes about discerning its 'character' or 'personality', rather than ascertaining which titles might relate to specific artworks.

This is a view that acknowledges the library as a collective entity rather than just a series of individual items; as curator Anna-Sophie Springer writes, 'books are in themselves already more than mere containers of information, they are also modes of connectivity and

⁸ Alexander Alberro, 'The Catalogue of Robert Smithson's Library' (2004), repr. in *The Studio: Documents of Contemporary Art*, p. 149.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.150.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.149.

interrelation, making the library a meta-book containing illimitable intertextual elements.’¹¹ To read the library in this manner it is important to first see how the different texts relate to one another. To do so, it is necessary to implement a system of organisation with which to categorise or group together different books. Alberro suggests that the principles of diachronic and taxonomic order may here be utilised, the two systems typically used within archive organisation.¹² Here we return to questions of value and importance: which system of organisation is of greater use? Alberro argues that the diachronic systems of the order in which each book was acquired and the chronology of the dates of publication are limiting due to their inability to reveal ‘little of their subsequent use value...[or] what they came to mean to the artist’. Instead he favours taxonomic orders of ‘categories of authorship, genre, subject matter, medium [...] each of which endows the inventory with a particular logic’.¹³ However, dismissing the diachronic outright seems short-sighted: whilst they may not be able to outright reveal a book’s significance to the artist, by charting when books were acquired patterns of interest may emerge that can increase understanding of Smithson’s ‘cultural landscape’. Conversely, taxonomic orders, unless known to have been instigated by the artist themselves, may arguably be said to offer little in the way of elucidating Alberro’s notion of ‘use value’ or meaning for the artist, although may be an excellent tool for the researcher in starting to break down what may initially appear an impenetrable list of titles.

One artist who left behind traces of an instigated taxonomic order is Smithson himself. The catalogue of Smithson’s library, compiled in 1973 by Valentin Tatransky, is

¹¹ Anna-Sophie Springer ‘Melancholia of the Paginated Mind: The Library as Curatorial Space’, in *Fantasies of the Library* eds. Anna-Sophie Springer and Etienne Turpin (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2016) p. 13.

¹² Allan Sekula provides further discussion of taxonomic and diachronic orders within archives in his article ‘Reading an Archive: Photography between Labour and Capital’: ‘Normal orders are either taxonomic or diachronic (sequential); in most archives both methods are used, but at different, often alternating, levels of organisation. Taxonomic orders might be based on sponsorship, authorship, genre, technique, iconography [...] Diachronic orders follow a chronology of production or acquisition [...]’ See Allan Sekula, ‘Reading an Archive: Photography between Labour and Capital’ in *Visual Culture: The Reader* eds. Jessica Evans and Stuart Hall (London: Sage Publications, 1999) p. 185.

¹³ Alexander Alberro, ‘The Catalogue of Robert Smithson’s Library’, p. 150.

arranged according to the taxonomic principle of subject matter. Reproduced for the exhibition catalogue accompanying the 2004 Smithson retrospective held at the Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, the library catalogue list includes a note stating that ‘though the categories represented here are Tatransky’s, Smithson’s books were ordered according to subject matter (art, film, fiction and poetry etc).’¹⁴ If we take Smithson’s categorisation and organisation of volumes as significant to establishing the library’s meaning, we may argue that that meaning stretches beyond the individual books themselves to the wider collection, its situation and arrangement, that which artist Anton Vidokle terms the ‘installation’ of the library, its ‘totality’.¹⁵ Indeed in some situations, if an artist’s library is not accessible or has not been preserved as a collection after the artist’s death, documentation of its ‘installation’ through archival photography may be the only means available through which it can be researched. As Davis notes, ‘our knowledge of Sol Le Witt’s library, and that of Buzz Spector come to us through photographs of their shelves, rather than their lists.’¹⁶ Alberro’s notion of the library’s ‘essential substance’ equalling ‘what it contains **in addition** to the sum total of the parts - the ‘make up’ is here significant (my emphasis). As he states later in the essay, ‘The most apt way to order Smithson’s library is with the conjunction ‘and’: science *and* religion; modernism *and* mass culture, what is present *and* what is missing’.¹⁷ The small conjunction ‘and’ might be taken as the significant rationale for approaching any artist’s library. Following Alberro, we could say that meaning is conveyed through the individual book *and* its relationship to other books around it *and* to the apparatus of its installation *and* to the artworks created by its owner. Rather than being a question of ascertaining one

¹⁴ ‘Catalogue of Robert Smithson’s Library: Books, Magazines, and Records’; compiled by Valentin Tatransky, repr. in Eugene Tsai and Cornelia Butler, *Robert Smithson* (Los Angeles: Museum of Contemporary Art, 2004) p. 249.

¹⁵ Anton Vidokle, in Stephen Wright, ‘Artistic Agency in the Absence of the Public - Interview with Anton Vidokle’, in *Martha Rosler Library* eds. Paul Domela and John Byrne (Liverpool: Liverpool Biennial, 2008) p. 21.

¹⁶ Alexander Davis, *Libraries of Artists and Writers*, p. 5.

¹⁷ Alexander Alberro, ‘The Catalogue of Robert Smithson’s Library’, p. 150.

defining element of importance, meaning is created through the conjunction of the different factors brought together.

Also related to the problem of establishing a rationale for approaching the artist's library is the difficulty of categorisation. The paucity of an established systematic body of literature on the artist's library is accompanied by a concomitant lack of certainty of how it should be defined or categorised. That this is indeed a problem is evident through a cursory examination of both the small body of existing literature and the categories assigned to those libraries that have been collected and/or displayed. Take the following short passage from the *Guide to the Henry Moore Institute Archive*. Describing the 'complementary' nature of the sculpture, library and archive collections, where 'related material is often held in all three areas', the Guide states:

The library is a specialist art reference library for the study of sculpture and covers all periods and types of sculpture on an international basis [...] There are also books that have been transferred from artists' archives to the library, including those of Helen Chadwick, Willi Soukop, Leon Underwood, Paule Vézelay, and Austin Wright.¹⁸

For the 'specialist art reference library', the rare or unique book found within the artist's library is the factor of greatest importance, and thus justification for breaking up a personal collection for the greater benefit of the library in question. The notion of the 'related' sculpture, library and archive collections is even more clearly expounded by Penelope Curtis in her introduction to the Henry Moore Institute exhibition catalogue *The Sculpture Business: Documents from the Archive*, where she speaks of '[the] ambiguous status of some of the material we acquire, and its sometimes almost arbitrary allocation to the Archive, the Library's general or Special Collections or to the Sculpture Collections'. Curtis attributes this ambiguity to 'the increasingly fluid nature of modern sculpture...[which] demands that these

¹⁸ Victoria Worsley, 'Introduction', in *Guide to the Henry Moore Institute Archive*; compiled by Victoria Worsley (Leeds: Henry Moore Institute, 2005) p. 6.

collections interweave and interpenetrate in the most flexible of terms.’¹⁹ Although Curtis’ argument is media specific to sculpture, the ‘ambiguous’ status of the artist’s library arguably extends beyond medium specificity, since such questions of categorisation would still exist regardless of whether the artist in question was a painter, sculptor or working in another medium. Indeed, we might instead argue that how an artist’s library is categorised and displayed may very well be influenced by the particular perspectives or interests which the institution or museum to which it belongs brings. At the Henry Moore Institute, where, as Curtis notes, the archive is valued as ‘an integral part of our activities’, the library of Helen Chadwick has been transferred to the archive to be included as part of the papers of Helen Chadwick.²⁰ By contrast, at the Henry Moore Foundation in Hertfordshire, many of Moore’s books are retained and displayed within Hoglands house, as part of a reconstruction of the house which aims to be as accurate and authentic as possible [Fig. 1]. At The Hepworth Wakefield, select volumes from Hepworth’s library are exhibited in Perspex vitrines alongside her working tools in the *Hepworth at Work* gallery to demonstrate how they were used to guide her working practice [Fig. 2].

Within published material the artist’s library also comes to take on these same categories of archive, studio or ‘studio-home’, defined by art historian Jon Wood as those sites where the artist’s studio and residence are part of the same property.²¹ Hoffman’s *Studio* anthology includes two texts devoted to the artist’s library, namely Alexander Alberro’s ‘The Catalogue of Robert Smithson’s Library’ (2004) and Elena Filipovic’s ‘If You Read Here...Martha Rosler’s Library’ (2007). By contrast, in the Centre Pompidou publication

¹⁹ Penelope Curtis, ‘Introduction’, in *The Sculpture Business: Documents from the Archive* ed. Penelope Curtis (Leeds: Henry Moore Institute, 1997) p. 6.

²⁰ The *Guide to the Henry Moore Institute* notes that the Helen Chadwick Archive is divided into a number of series. In addition to three major series there are ‘a number of smaller series which include press cuttings and personal papers’. The ‘smaller series’ includes ‘selected books from her library which were important in relation to particular works’. See catalogue entry for Helen Chadwick in *Guide to the Henry Moore Institute Archive*, pp. 20-3.

²¹ Jon Wood, ‘A household name: Henry Moore’s studio-homes and their bearings, 1926-46’, *Henry Moore: Critical Essays* ed. Jane Beckett and Fiona Russell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003) pp. 20-29.

L'Atelier Brancusi, a catalogue of 'Livres, Catalogues, Périodiques' and an essay on 'La Bibliothèque de Brancusi' are both included within Doïna Lemny's section of the text devoted to 'Archives'.²² One reason that the artist's library may be said to sit easily within the category of the studio or studio-home is on account of the studio's potential to be multipurpose. Speaking of the studio as 'an expanded concept' in his introduction to the Whitechapel anthology, Hoffman argues that 'it would be wrong to believe that [the studio's] only function is to be a site for the creation of artworks'.²³ According to curator Mary Jane Jacob, other functions that the studio might come to take on include those of 'workshop, lab, factory, sanctum, lounge, home and social network'.²⁴ Might not library be added to this list, particularly if we are to consider the number of artist studios which include libraries or shelves of books within them? An interesting example of the conflation between definitions of the artist's library as studio or archive is that of Francis Bacon's studio. As previously mentioned, books formed a major part of Bacon's studio – over 570 were found in Reece Mews in addition to 1300 loose leaves torn out of books, 200 magazines and 246 newspapers.²⁵ As such, for the gallery visitor at the reconstructed Bacon studio at the Hugh Lane Gallery, books and other printed material form a key visual presence, to which the eye is immediately drawn [Fig. 3]. Significantly however, in the process of removing the studio from London and reconstructing in Dublin, every item found in the space –from tools, to books, to slashed canvases - were recorded and documented to form both a computerised database and an 'archive'.²⁶ As Hugh Lane Director Barbara Dawson writes, the hope was

²² See *L'Atelier Brancusi* (Paris: Éditions du Centre Pompidou, 1997).

²³ Jens Hoffman, 'Introduction: The Artist's Studio in an Expanded Field', in *The Studio: Documents of Contemporary Art*, p. 12.

²⁴ Mary Jane Jacob, 'Preface', *The Studio Reader: On the Space of Artists* ed. Mary Jane Jacob and Michelle Grabner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010) p. xiii.

²⁵ Margarita Cappock, *Francis Bacon's Studio* (London: Merrell, 2005) p.87.

²⁶ For accounts of this process see Barbara Dawson, 'Francis Bacon's Studio: The Dublin Chapter', in Margarita Cappock, *Francis Bacon's Studio* (London Merrell, 2005); Barbara Dawson, 'Francis Bacon: A Terrible Beauty', in *Francis Bacon: A Terrible Beauty*; curated by Barbara Dawson and Martin Harrison (Göttingen: Steid, 2009); and David Getsy, 'The Reconstruction of the Francis Bacon Studio in Dublin', repr. in *The Studio*

that ‘this heap of detritus would metamorphose into a significant archive, a *locus classicus* illuminating the processes, methods and concerns of Francis Bacon.’²⁷ Thus, the books in Bacon’s studio transition from ‘resource materials’ as Dawson terms them, to becoming catalogued items within this new studio archive.²⁸

We might argue that is this process of transitioning that is what makes the artist’s library able to be categorised as an archive. I will here explain this in further depth with reference to two definitions of the archive. In *The Big Archive: Art from Bureaucracy*, Sven Spieker writes, ‘archives contain paperwork that no longer circulates in the bureaucracy, paperwork that has lapsed and become garbage’.²⁹ This definition makes it clear that the document or item in question has changed or lost its original purpose and it is on this basis that it enters the archive.³⁰ Building on Spieker’s text, curator Lisa Le Feuvre writes:

archival material is not artwork, rather it is all that surrounds the production, distribution and reception of sculpture [...] An archive of sculptors’ papers is full of matter that is no longer of use to the artist [...] from letters to tools, photographs to sketchbooks [...] notes in margins [...] While this material may be of no use to the artist through whose hand it became relevant for telling the story of sculpture, it is of infinite use to historians, curators, artists and all those interested in developing the study of that account. In the hands of these researchers this cast of ‘garbage’ comes to shape future sculptural thinking.³¹

Reader: On the Space of Artists eds. Mary Jane Jacob and Michelle Grabner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

²⁷ Barbara Dawson, ‘Francis Bacon: A Terrible Beauty’, in *Francis Bacon: A Terrible Beauty*; curated by Barbara Dawson and Martin Harrison (Göttingen: Steid, 2009) p. 51.

²⁸ Barbara Dawson, ‘Francis Bacon’s Studio: The Dublin Chapter’, in Margarita Cappock, *Francis Bacon’s Studio*, p. 12.

²⁹ Sven Spieker, *The Big Archive: Art from Bureaucracy* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2008) p.ix.

³⁰ The National Archives defines archives as ‘collections of documents or ‘records’ which have been selected for permanent preservation because of their value as evidence or as a source for historical or other research. Records are created by the activities of organisations and people; they serve an active purpose whilst in current use and some of them are later selected and preserved as part of an archival collection’. See ‘Archive Principles and Practice: A Guide for Non-Archivists’, *The National Archives* <<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documents/archives/archive-principles-and-practice-an-introduction-to-archives-for-non-archivists.pdf>>. Accessed 28 Aug. 2019.

³¹ Lisa Le Feuvre, ‘Introduction’, *Active Archives: Henry Moore Institute Essays on Sculpture*, No. 73, July 2015, pp. 2-3.

As Le Feuvre explains, the process of transition also changes for *whom* the material that forms an archive becomes useful. In its original function, the material's use lay in that of the artist to whom it belonged. Now as archival material, its interest is principally to the historians, researchers or curators who wish to study it, who will use it in a substantially different way to the artist originally did. We might suggest that it is this that distinguishes an artist's library from any other public library – i.e. the private library from the public one – namely that the interest for the researcher lies in what is revealed of the maker and/or the (art)work, rather than the mere content of the texts themselves. In this way, the personal library comes to resemble the private collection – indeed 'book collection' can be an alternative title to 'library'. The artist's library is also distinguished from that of the public library in that whilst both are based on collections of mass produced published materials (in contrast to the archive which privileges the authentic 'original' document),³² one of the attractions of the artist's library is the presence of notes, underlinings or annotations in the artist's hand. Such additions by the artist makes the particular copy of the text 'unique' from any other edition, although they also leave the door open to the books becoming fetishised objects. As a collection of such 'unique' artefacts, can the artist's library thus be viewed as more akin to the definition of archival material than that of a library collection? Libraries and archives also differ in their expectations towards display based on this very question of 'uniqueness'. As a collection of mass-produced objects, the library is orientated towards use over display, with only those 'prize pieces' – usually from rare books or Special Collections –

³² This was discussed by Nick Thurston in his paper 'Libraries of Disquiet: Temporary Public Libraries as Works of Art', *Speculative Libraries* Academic Session, Association of Art Historians Annual Conference 2017, Loughborough University, 7 Apr. 2017. Ann Sophie Springer writes on the subject: 'Libraries are akin to the archive and the museum in that all three types of institutions exist in order to collect, research and make accessible objects that carry information in material culture [...] Yet while museums typically house 'original objects' [...] the library is a space of mass production and reproduction leading to slightly different conditions. Among these, perhaps one of the most fundamental is that the library's primary function privileges use over display and presentation, whereas museums and archives normally store objects only *after* the time of their utility has expired.' See Anna-Sophie Springer 'Melancholia of the Paginated Mind: The Library as Curatorial Space', in *Fantasies of the Library*, pp. 7-9.

put on display, the very items most akin to archive material. As 'unique' items, archives tend to share use with display on a more equal footing. Arguably, it is the 'uniqueness' of the artist's library, along with its relation to its maker and their work - in the manner of a personal collection - that gives it a claim to be exhibited.

I have used the above discussion to introduce some of the key issues regarding approach, purpose and classification that surround the artist's library. These in themselves are based upon the interests and aims of both the original artist and those of the museum or institution with which the library later comes to reside. How the library comes to be categorised in its new home will also thus determine how it comes to be approached and interpreted, and in many cases the designated categorisation will also be utilised as an interpretative framework. This is not to say that any one library can only be interpreted through one approach, and in the next section, I will demonstrate how different approaches have the power to produce contrasting readings of the same individual library. It is not my aim to survey these different interpretative approaches uncritically: rather through interrogation I hope to reveal their flaws and shortcoming, which have been key in shaping the approach of enquiry that I have developed for Hepworth's library.

Approaches and Interpretation

In this section, I will address the significance of five different interpretative approaches for artists' libraries: namely those of the bibliographic survey, the library as collection, the library as artwork, the studio tool, and finally the archive. The artists' libraries surveyed are all taken from within modern and contemporary art. This is not to say that there are not noteworthy examples of artists' libraries that go as far back as antiquity; for example key earlier examples might have included the library of Michaelangelo or that of John Ruskin. However, within the parameters of this thesis there is not the scope to develop a history of

artists' libraries throughout the ages. Moreover, for the focus of the thesis, addressing examples of artists' libraries from a comparable historical frame – i.e. modernism and the contemporary – seemed of greatest value for the subject under consideration, Hepworth's own library. The relationship of art and text within the twentieth century is also significant, including amongst other factors, the rise of the artist's book as a medium, artist-writer collaborations, the increasing presence of artworks that included within them text, and the production of book-like objects as artwork or 'book sculpture'.³³ All of these are factors important to be considered within any enquiry into the role of the artist's library within the twentieth century. Within my survey of the methods of collection, preservation, interpretation and display of artists' libraries within the modern and contemporary periods, I include two exceptions of libraries belonging to twentieth century writers rather than artists, namely those of Walter Benjamin and Herbert Read. I have included these examples on account of their value to this study: Benjamin's canonical essay 'Unpacking my Library: A Talk about Book Collecting' forms a key addition to the literature of the field, whilst Read, as poet, writer and art critic, had a key relationship to modern art, as well as a close personal association to Hepworth. For the purpose of this project, no less, the Herbert Read library, situated as it is within the Herbert Read Collection in the Brotherton Library at the University of Leeds, exists within significant proximity to Hepworth's library at The Hepworth Wakefield. Both libraries then have the potential to contribute to how the narrative of modern art is told within the Yorkshire region.

Bibliographic Survey

The bibliographic survey is the approach best fitting the aim of using the artist's library to greater illuminate the interests or sources behind particular artworks. This method is

³³ For further discussion of these developments, see Johanna Drucker, *The Century of Artist's Books* (New York: Granary Books, 1995) and Simon Morley, *Writing on the Wall: Word and Image in Modern Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2003).

interested primarily in the individual texts themselves rather than their situation, method of display in the artist's house or studio, or any other external matter. A key example of this method at work is Alexander Davis' essay 'Henry Moore's Library: A Commentary' in the *Henry Moore Bibliography: Volume 5*. This essay provides an explanation or analysis of the checklist of 'Henry Moore's Library', which is reproduced alongside the essay. As such, the essay's prime function seems to be to illuminate some of the titles on this list and their significance to Moore's own work. Whilst some contextual background is offered on where the books were located on the Hoglands estate, 'each day Moore took an armful of the newest publications to place on the latest shelving erected in his studios', it remains as just that, contextual information rather than being interrogated for its wider significance.³⁴

The bibliographic survey is a model that privileges those books more widely consulted over those left unread: as Davis recalls:

Moore was enthusiastic when I suggested to him that the Bibliography should also contain a list of the books in his library. He suggested that we look through the shelves together so that he could tell me the ones he had found most useful over the years. Unfortunately he became infirm shortly afterwards and I was never able to benefit from this offer.³⁵

Although he states that he was not able to benefit from Moore's own input, Davis' approach is nonetheless guided by this aim of usefulness. It is also an approach that favours literary texts: although as he states, 'every conceivable type of publication was involved; not just art publications but newspapers, magazines, theatre programmes, novels..and so on.', the second of the essay's two halves is itself entitled 'Henry Moore, Writers and Literature: A Bibliographic Survey'.³⁶ In this section Davis interrogates those individual texts and authors (primarily novelists and poets) whom he believes would have had an especial 'appeal' to

³⁴ Alexander Davis, 'Henry Moore's Library: A commentary' in *Henry Moore Bibliography: Volume 5: Index 1986-1991*; compiled and edited by Alexander Davis (Much Hadham: The Henry Moore Foundation. 1994) p. 86.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 86-7.

Moore. As he does so it is with a primarily visual eye, which focuses on the potential for the translation of such texts into figuration within Moore's practice. As he writes on Hardy: 'Hardy's influence on Moore is probably more one of outlook than specific incidents. Moore's evident appreciation of the epic grandeur of fictional characters appears transmuted into his own depictions of timeless archetypal figures.'³⁷ This passage exposes one of the main problems with the bibliographic survey, namely the problematic of creating limited or one dimensional readings. Davis quotes from Joan Hardy's writing on Hardy, in which she states, 'Hardy in his novels is a painter using words as his medium, instead of paint'.³⁸ We might argue that Davis himself treats Hardy as a painter, removing the textual specificity of the novel and instead just treating Hardy's visual characterisation as a source image for Moore's own figures. The question of the significance of this source material being textual rather than image based is not addressed. It is no surprise that in the same section Davis also discusses Moore's illustrations for literary works, including for Edward Sackville-West's *The Rescue* (1945), *Poetry London* and W H Auden's poems. Davis' interpretation of the relationship between Moore and his library seems to fall into that category designated by Simon Moreley in his explanation of the interactions between the verbal and visual in art as the *trans-medial relationship*, that which is characterised by processes of transposition or substitution.³⁹ Hardy, for Davis, is taken and transposed into Moore's own sculpture with no further explanation offered.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

³⁸ Joan Grundy, *Hardy and the Sister Arts*, qtd. in Alexander Davis, 'Henry Moore's Library: A commentary', p. 88.

³⁹ Simon Moreley, *Writing on the Wall: Word and Image in Modern Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2003) pp. 10-13. Moreley identifies four kinds of interactions between visual and verbal signs: the *trans-medial relationship* mentioned; the *multi-medial relationship*, where word and image exist more closely, such as text included in a painting; the *mixed-media relationship*, in which word and image are only minimally separated, as in a poster; and the *intermedia relationship*, where the distinction between word and image breaks down and the work takes on a hybrid form.

Personal Collection

Nonetheless, Davis' is not the only approach that may be utilised to read Moore's library.

With reference to Moore's dual status as both artist and collector, I wish now to demonstrate the ways in which his library may be said to fit within his wider collecting activities. In order to do this, it is necessary to first outline the ways in which a personal library may be read as a collection, before demonstrating how Moore's library can be said to meet this criteria. To do so, I will offer a reading of two essays, which set out the characteristics of collecting: Walter Benjamin's 'Unpacking my Library: A Talk about Book Collecting' and Jean Baudrillard's 'The System of Collecting'. It is through reading Benjamin's essay against the Baudrillard text that his position as a collector becomes apparent. As Benjamin states, although many different people may purchase or collect books, it will be with varying aims or purposes; it is through establishing the nature of these aims that the collector may be identified. He writes:

The purchasing done by a book collector has very little in common with that done in a bookshop by a student getting a textbook, a man of the world buying a present for his lady, or a businessman intending to while away his next train journey [...] Property and possession belong to the tactical sphere. Collectors are people with a tactical instinct; their experience teaches them that when they capture a strange city, the smallest antique shop can be a fortress, the most remote stationery store a key position. How many cities have revealed themselves to me in the marches I undertook in the pursuit of books!⁴⁰

The use of the metaphor of war and conquest here to describe the act of acquiring a collection is by no means inconsequential. As Benjamin states elsewhere in the essay:

the most profound enchantment for the collector is the locking of individual items within a magic circle in which they are fixed as the final thrill, the thrill of acquisition, passes over them. Everything remembered and thought, everything conscious, becomes the pedestal, the frame, the base, the lock of his property.⁴¹

Collecting then, for Benjamin, is about tactical possession, one that can be likened to the tactics deployed in war for the conquest of a city, fortress or castle. This is also in keeping

⁴⁰ Walter Benjamin, 'Unpacking my Library: A Talk about Book Collecting', in *Illuminations*; edited and with an introduction by Hannah Arendt (London: Pimlico, 1999) p. 64.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

with Baudrillard's definition of collecting as 'a mental realm over which I hold sway, a thing whose meaning is governed by myself alone. It is all my own, the object of my passion.'⁴²

But how else are we to define *possession* itself, other than that which is owned and its meaning determined by the owner? For Baudrillard, the possessed object is distinguished from that of the utilised object by virtue of its being divested of function. This is not to say that an object might not begin life as a *functional object* before it is transformed into a *possessed object*. As he writes: '[Possession] applies to that object once it is *divested of its function and made relative to a subject*'. The 'object pure' is 'abstracted from any practical context' at which point 'it ceases to be a carpet, a table, a compass, a knick knack and instead turns into an 'object' or a 'piece'[...] its meaning is entirely up to the subject.'⁴³

The notion of a library that is not used may initially seem paradoxical, but this is not the case for Benjamin. Instead he states:

The book borrower of real stature [...] proves himself to be an inveterate collector of books not so much by the fervour with which he guards his borrowed treasures [...] as by his failure to read these books [...] And the non-reading of books, you will object, should be characteristic of collectors? This is news to me, you may say. It is not news at all. Experts will bear me out when I say that it is the oldest thing in the world.⁴⁴

Benjamin lived out this ethos himself: as Hannah Arendt notes in the introduction to the *Illuminations* volume, his own library contained collections of rare children's books and of books by mentally deranged authors, yet since he was 'interested neither in child psychology nor in psychiatry, these books, like many others among his treasures, literally were not good for anything, serving neither to divert nor to instruct.'⁴⁵ Moreover Benjamin states that one of his rationales or rules of collecting was that 'no book was allowed to enter it without the

⁴² Jean Baudrillard, 'The System of Collecting', repr. in *The Cultures of Collecting*, eds. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (London: Reaktion Books, 1994, repr. 1997) p. 7.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

⁴⁴ Walter Benjamin, 'Unpacking my Library', pp. 63-4.

⁴⁵ Hannah Arendt, 'Introduction: Walter Benjamin: 1892-1940', *Illuminations*, p. 47.

certification that I had not read it'.⁴⁶ He also equates the collector's attitude with that of the child's, 'the childlike element which in a collector mingles with an element of old age'.⁴⁷ As Arendt argues, 'collecting is the passion of children, for whom things are not yet commodities and are not valued according to their usefulness',⁴⁸ and thus Benjamin's non-use of the books is that of the child's, who collects objects without intending any significant use for them. Benjamin defends this attitude in the essay with the anecdote of an answer offered by Anatole France when questioned by a 'philistine' as to whether he had read all the books in his library. Anatole replied, Benjamin informs the reader, with the response: "Not one-tenth of them. I don't suppose you use your Sèvres china every day?"⁴⁹ The comparison of a library with Sèvres porcelain is additionally revealing: as a beautiful ceramic object, the Sèvres china exists to be displayed, whether that be in the home or within a museum display. Collections, then, as Roger Cardinal has written, 'ultimately exist to be *shown*, and implicitly to be shown to impress.'⁵⁰

Thus, three main characteristics of collections can here be distinguished from Baudrillard and Benjamin's texts: namely that of possession, which in turn leads the object to lose its function and instead be transformed into the 'object pure', that which exists to be displayed and admired. So how can Moore's library be said to meet these criteria? Whilst it is widely known that Moore kept books and publications across the Hoglands estate, both in the house and studio spaces,⁵¹ I will here focus particularly on the library housed in the large sitting room of the house, which I argue held a distinct function from the other books around the estate. In order to elucidate this, it is necessary first to outline the function of this room to

⁴⁶ Walter Benjamin, 'Unpacking my Library', p. 64.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁴⁸ Hannah Arendt, 'Introduction: Walter Benjamin: 1892-1940', p. 46.

⁴⁹ Walter Benjamin, 'Unpacking my Library', p. 64.

⁵⁰ Roger Cardinal, 'Collecting and Collage-making: The Case of Kurt Schwitters', *The Cultures of Collecting*, p. 71.

⁵¹ Martin Davis has described Hoglands as 'packed with books. These filled every shelf, vying for spaces with maquettes, bones, objets trouvés and artworks.' See Martin Davis, 'Moore's personal archive', in *Hoglands: The Home of Henry and Irina Moore* (Aldershot: Lund Humphries, 2007) p. 155.

understand the library's function within it. The large sitting room was part of the 1960 extension to the house and was used principally for entertaining guests and visitors, aided no doubt by its easy access (it was the first room as one entered the house through the entrance hall) and views overlooking the grounds where sculpture was shown in the open air [Figs. 4-5].⁵² As Jon Wood states:

the traditional visit [...] by appointment [...] started with tea in Moore's living room at 'Hoglands' and ended in a tour of the studio and workshops. The large 'living room' of Hoglands therefore was not really a private space (as the rest of the house was) but a reception room, a place both to receive and host visitors and to conduct business.⁵³

The large sitting room functioned not only as a space for hosting but also for *display*, for both Moore's own artwork and works from his own personal collection. Whilst this collection extended throughout the house, the works selected to be shown in this space were those which 'Moore most wanted to be photographed and interviewed with, thus contributing to his public image'.⁵⁴ These consisted of works that would cement his place within the history of art, including those by Rembrandt, Rodin, Seurat and Courbet. Meanwhile works by his own British contemporaries were 'relegated to less public areas of the house, or abandoned to storage in the attic'.⁵⁵ Nonetheless, the room housed and displayed not only works from Moore's fine art collection but also ethnographic objects and his collection of found objects. According to Anita Feldman Bennet, all works possessed 'equal status' and were selected on accounts of sharing the 'primary concerns and themes' that occupied Moore in his own work.⁵⁶ The importance of the space as a stage on which to present works from Moore's collection is highlighted by the fact that the coffee table was never actually used but instead was re-purposed as what David Mitchinson terms 'a pedestal-like surface for the display of

⁵² Anita Feldman Bennet, 'The Sculptor as Collector', *Hoglands*, pp. 123-4.

⁵³ Jon Wood, 'A household name', p. 19.

⁵⁴ Anita Feldman Bennet, 'The Sculptor as Collector', pp. 123-4.

⁵⁵ Anita Feldman Bennet, 'A Sculptor's Collection', in *Henry Moore: Sculpting the Twentieth Century* ed. Dorothy Kosinski (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001) p. 53.

⁵⁶ Anita Feldman Bennet, 'The Sculptor as Collector', p. 126.

ethnographic pieces interspersed with *objets trouvés*, Moore's sculptures and Irina's plants' [Fig. 6].⁵⁷

Alongside the coffee table, the room was also dominated by a full-height bookcase that took up the right-hand wall for the first third of the room [Fig. 7]. Like the coffee table, this functioned not only for the storage and display of books but also for a selection of drawings and ethnographic pieces.⁵⁸ Complementing the art historical nature of the fine art on display in the room, the books housed in this shelving consisted of Moore's collection of books on historic art and artists in broad chronological groupings. Moore's bedroom, by contrast, held a personal miscellany of books of all subjects and from each decade of his life.⁵⁹ Returning to Feldman Bennet's assertion that Moore chose those works that he wished to be photographed with in this room to contribute to his 'public image', it is clear how the presence of his art historical library could feed into the image presented by his collection of fine art and ethnographic artefacts. Moreover, the fact that the bookshelf was also used to house drawings from this collection establishes not only a sense of equivalence between the library and the art collection, but also sense of equality. Moore himself emphasised the connection between his library and his collection of found objects in referring to the latter as his 'library of natural forms'.⁶⁰ Returning to Benjamin and Baudrillard, we can thus see how the siting of Moore's art historical books in the large sitting room can be said to meet the characteristics of a collection: displayed alongside Moore's other collections they became possessed objects, in a space associated with display rather than work.

⁵⁷David Mitchinson, 'Introduction : Hoglands – a house, home and business', *Hoglands*, p. 16.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁵⁹Martin Davis, 'Moore's Personal Archive', *Hoglands*, p. 155.

⁶⁰Anita Feldman Bennet, 'The Sculptor as Collector', p. 131.

Artwork

As with those individual libraries which may be approached with more than one method (as demonstrated with Moore's library), there are also approaches that may be said to overlap with one another. One example of such overlap is between the library as *collection* and as *artwork*. In the previously referenced essay by Roger Cardinal, 'Collecting and Collage-making: The Case of Kurt Schwitters', Cardinal makes the case that Schwitters' collages may be read as both artwork and collection. Using the definition offered by Krzysztof Pomian of a collection as 'a concerted gathering of selected items which manifest themselves as a pattern or set, thereby reconciling their divergent origins within a collective discourse',⁶¹ Cardinal writes:

To recognise that the components of a given collage have a corporate impact is to acknowledge that they form a systematic ensemble. It follows that the collage is in fact a collection [...] The final element that, I believe, clinches my comparison is that there is almost always an intention eventually to place the collage or the collection on display. Both ultimately exist to be *shown*, and implicitly to be shown to impress.⁶²

A collection then is defined by being composed of a group of items – what Baudrillard termed 'a succession of terms'⁶³ – that together form a cohesive set. For collage, and other multi-part artworks, in which the individual parts can be said to form a whole, the same principles also apply. One artist's library that can be said to fall between definitions of an artwork and a collection is that of Donald Judd. In the mid 1970s, Judd moved from New York City to the town of Marfa in West Texas. In 1973 he purchased two former aircraft hangers, subsequently known as 'The Block', which he hoped to turn into both a living and working space, as well as providing space for a permanent installation of his own art.⁶⁴ The West Building houses his personal library, which famously includes over 13000 items,

⁶¹ Krzysztof Pomian qtd. in Roger Cardinal, 'Collecting and Collage-making', p.71.

⁶² Roger Cardinal, 'Collecting and Collage-making', p. 71.

⁶³ Jean Baudrillard, 'The System of Collecting', p. 12.

⁶⁴ Marianne Stockebrand, 'The Journey to Marfa and the Pathway to Chinati', in Marianne Stockebrand, *The Vision of Donald Judd* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010) p. 18.

alongside his studio and an additional room containing his own artworks.⁶⁵ As with Moore's library, to read the Judd library as a collection requires visual analysis of photographs of the library in situ. Anna-Sophie Springer describes Marfa as Judd's 'Gesamtkunstwerk' – a total artwork - where he designed the architectural modifications, the interior design and a large portion of the furniture. In the library, the shelves, tables and chairs are all Judd's own minimalist design.⁶⁶ It is clear therefore that in designing The Block, Judd thought of the space as one of display as well as use, with the library itself a carefully curated space, containing not only his own shelving units and furniture but also artworks by both himself and other artists, including Dan Flavin [Fig. 8]. As a collection, the library is cohesive and systematic, with the books grouped predominantly by themes, also determined by Judd himself.⁶⁷ Today the aesthetic value of the library is recognised through its inclusion as one of the highlights in guided tours of The Block at the Judd Foundation.⁶⁸

It is not uncommon to see libraries as contemporary art projects, for example the *Martha Rosler Library*, which I will discuss in more depth later in this chapter. Indeed much of the interest in artists' libraries has come from the practice of contemporary art rather than art historians themselves. In answering why this should be the case, one such reason seems apparent, namely the aforementioned rise of the artist book in the twentieth century and associated developments, including books as sculpture. Within Conceptual Art, the adoption of publication by artists as a medium to disseminate work is of especial relevance, as is the rise of groups such as Art and Language, including their publication of the journal *Art-Language* and associated indexing projects.⁶⁹ For the Association of Art Historians Annual Conference 2017, artist and lecturer Nick Thurston convened the panel *Speculative Libraries*,

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁶⁶ Anna-Sophie Springer, 'Reading Rooms: Reading Machines', in *Fantasies of the Library*, n.p.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ 'Marfa Travel Guide', Judd Foundation <<http://judd.wpengine.com/visit/marfa/>>. Accessed 29 Aug. 2019.

⁶⁹ For further discussion of Art and Language see Andrew Wilson's essays 'Uses of Language' and 'Publication as Information as Artwork' in *Conceptual Art in Britain 1964-1979* ed. Andrew Wilson (London: Tate Publishing, 2016).

with speakers including artists, archivists, historians as well as art historians. In his own research paper, 'Libraries of Disquiet: Temporary Public Libraries as Works of Art', Thurston offered three definitions of what the library as artwork could be. The library as *symbolic gesture* is a symbolic entity in which the artwork refers to the idea of the library, such as Kader Attia's installation *Continuum of Repair: The Light of Jacob's Ladder* (2013) at the Whitechapel Gallery [Fig. 9]. The *speculative library* is an artwork which simultaneously doubles as a functioning library, for example the *Martha Rosler Library*. Finally the library as *grey area* - taken from the term 'grey literature' used by archivists to delineate material not fitting into standard archival categories - exists when the library is represented as what Thurston terms a 'para-artwork', to enable the narration of private experiences.⁷⁰ Such an example includes the 2013 Tate Modern presentation of Meschac Gaba's *Museum of Contemporary African Art* (1997-2002), a 'museum within a museum' that contained many of the expected components of the institution, including a library [Fig. 10].⁷¹ It is also not uncommon to see contemporary art projects which construct new libraries, from asking artists and curators to select significant titles from their own libraries or books that reflect their practice. A recent example of this was the parallel project *Unpacking My Library* at the 2017 Venice Biennale, which invited the artists of both the curated exhibition *Viva Arte Viva* and the National Pavilions to compile lists of their favourite books to be displayed in the Sterling Pavilion. These lists were then reproduced in the exhibition catalogue and subsequently included as part of the Biennale Library of the Historical Archives of Contemporary Art [Fig. 11].⁷²

⁷⁰ Nick Thurston, 'Libraries of Disquiet: Temporary Public Libraries as Works of Art', *Speculative Libraries* Academic Session, Association of Art Historians Annual Conference 2017, Loughborough University, 7 Apr. 2017.

⁷¹ 'Meschac Gaba: *Museum of Contemporary Art*', Tate Modern Press Release, 1 May 2013 <<https://www.tate.org.uk/press/press-releases/meschac-gaba-museum-contemporary-african-art>>. Accessed 29 Aug. 2019.

⁷² '57th International Art Exhibition Biennale Arte 2017: *Viva Arte Viva*', La Biennale di Venezia <<http://www.labiennale.org/en/art/2017/57th-international-art-exhibition>>. Accessed 29 Aug. 2019.

If Judd's library is considered a 'work of art', then it is the category of *speculative library*, which, as a functioning library, it sits within. It is precisely its status as *Gestamkunstwerk* that allows the Judd library to be seen as an artwork: as curator Elena Filipovic writes, 'the ensemble [...] is less a library of its owner's thousands of volumes than a piece of Minimalist sculpture.'⁷³ With its specially designed furniture by Judd, which itself bears much resemblance to his own sculptural pieces, the library does not look out of place in the context of the displays of artwork in the adjoining spaces [Figs.12-13]. Due to the circumstances of its preservation by the Judd Estate following his death, the library has latterly also attained something of the reverence and fetishism associated with both art objects and collections. According to Anton Vidokle and Stephen Wright, Judd expressly stipulated in his Will that all artworks should be 'preserved where they are installed'. Whether this was intended to also apply to his library is open to conjecture, however the estate made a provision that no object in the building should be moved. As a result, the books cannot be touched and instead exist in a state of 'fundamental intangibility [...] radically useless in their mausoleum state'.⁷⁴ Like Benjamin's 'non-reading of books', many of the books within the Judd library still remain shrink-wrapped in plastic – a certain sign of non-reading.⁷⁵ As Vidokle rhetorically asks, 'Can one really call this a library?'⁷⁶ We might answer 'no' if one is thinking of traditional definitions of institutional libraries as associated with values of use and access. However, this library is not this, but rather seems to come closer to definitions of the collection or artwork – the very fact that Judd acquired over 13000 titles, more than he could ever hope to read, is suggestive that his motivations were based on collecting and sequence over use. As Baudrillard states, for collectors, 'the serial aspect of [collecting]... is evident in all cases'. He distinguishes between 'serial motivation', collecting

⁷³ Elena Filipovic, 'If You Read Here....Martha Rosler's Library', in *Martha Rosler Library*, p. 28.

⁷⁴ Stephen Wright, in 'Artistic Agency in the Absence of the Public – Interview with Anton Vidokle', *Martha Rosler Library*, p. 18.

⁷⁵ Anton Vidokle in 'Artistic Agency in the Absence of the Public', p. 18.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

undertaken for ‘the pure imperative of association’, and ‘real’ or ‘dialectical’ motivation, in which the collector demonstrates ‘genuine interest’ in the collected object.⁷⁷ The fact that many of Judd’s volumes remain shrink-wrapped and unread is perhaps indicative that they were acquired for the purposes of such ‘serial’ motivation – to be collected rather than to be read.

Judd’s library serves as one example of the library-cum-artwork; another very different example is the aforementioned *Martha Rosler Library*. As I argue, in functioning as a ‘working’ library, the *Martha Rosler Library* is in many ways the antithesis of Judd’s ‘mausoleum’-like library. Unlike Judd’s library, Rosler’s is decidedly *not* a collection, and thus arguably goes against many of the criteria laid out by Benjamin and Baudrillard. Vidokle describes the project as follows:

[Martha] told me that she also has a lot of books at her house, so many in fact that they were blocking all the space and she had to navigate around piles of books everywhere. So I asked her if she would lend us her books to set up a small public library at the e-flux storefront in New York’s Lower East Side, and she said yes. At first I did not really believe she meant it – after all, we’re talking about a book collection that she had started some thirty years ago in California and I could not really imagine she would part with it, even temporarily, but a week or so later I emailed her about it and she said yes again. I went to her house, saw the books, and we started planning the project.⁷⁸

This was the beginning of a year project that toured from New York to various European locations, including Frankfurt, Berlin, Liverpool and Edinburgh between 2005 and 2008. What marks the key difference between the *Martha Rosler Library* and that of Judd is the concept of use. Even within his own lifetime Judd was reputed to not like his books to be handled by others and to insist on keeping them clean and not cracking the spines of paperbacks.⁷⁹ By contrast, the *Martha Rosler Library* was a personal library turned into a public one, in which visitors were welcome to spend time consulting the books, with the

⁷⁷ Jean Baudrillard, ‘The System of Collecting’, pp. 22-23.

⁷⁸ Anton Vidokle in ‘Artistic Agency in the Absence of the Public’, p. 18.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

installation including the provision of reading furniture and materials, such as tables, chairs and plants, to make this possible, and a comfortable environment, in addition to a live programme of lectures, roundtable discussions and reading groups [Fig. 14].⁸⁰ It was marked not only the generosity of its owner, but also by an approach which, as Elena Filipovic notes, was neither ‘beguiling or precious’;⁸¹ with the books sent out into the world to be used by the public.

As both public library and artwork, John Byrne and Paul Domela argue that the *Martha Rosler Library* has a complicated status, ‘troubling’ the visitor to decide how to react to it⁸² – Rosler’s notion of the decoy, that appears to undertake one certain function but actually is a camouflage designed to lure in the visitor to have to construct the work’s meaning for themselves.⁸³ However I contend that this ‘conundrum’ extends to a third level, which Byrne and Domela do not consider: namely that of the *personal* library of Martha Rosler translated into the *public* library of *Martha Rosler Library*. As personal library, public resource and as artwork each of these different variants has the potential for producing varied readings. I will now examine all three beginning with the latter of these two variants, namely the conjunction of public library-cum-artwork in the *Martha Rosler Library*.

As library-cum-artwork - Thurston’s definition of the *speculative library* – the *Martha Rosler Library* exists within the paradox that Byrne and Domela speak of:

The project troubles the visitor on more than one level – one of which is the double status of the collection as both an artwork and a public resource. Our response to this conundrum will govern to a greater or lesser degree, how we will use, interact or even reject the library (as either an artwork, an important collection of books, or both). As an artwork it operates between ontological fact and its epistemological existence as a socially produced (and historically identifiable) construct. As a resource, its status is similarly suspended by the conditional nature of its invitation, This is not a collection

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁸¹ Elena Filipovic, ‘If You Read Here....Martha Rosler’s Library’, p. 28.

⁸² John Byrne and Paul Domela, ‘Martha Rosler Library in Liverpool’, in *Martha Rosler Library*, pp. 1-2.

⁸³ Martha Rosler, in Stephen Wright, ‘Deinstrumentalising Knowledge – Interview with Martha Rosler’, in *Martha Rosler Library*, p. 7.

that enters the public sphere as being and entitlement, but a personal gesture, which brings forth a public in a mutual production. This copossibility of *Martha Rosler Library* – the coexistence of contradictory possibilities - constantly returns us to our relationship (and response-ability) to the work itself.⁸⁴

Upon encountering the library, the exhibition visitor is presented with a choice – whether to engage with the work as an artwork or a resource (or both). The decision made necessarily will come to dictate the manner of the interaction and the expectations or pre-formed assumptions that come with this. This is deliberately done on Rosler’s part, for, as Filipovic writes, the project was ‘explicitly directed against the passive, contemplative visual habits that art displays typically reinforce’.⁸⁵ In contrast to the usual art exhibition in which reading is ‘typically relegated to the margins – hallway, exit area, bookshop’, in Rosler’s project it instead becomes the central activity.⁸⁶ And it is precisely because of its paradoxical form as library-cum-artwork that this was able to happen, to make the viewer question their preconceived expectations of how to act within an exhibition setting.

This concept of use over passivity and of engaged reading also reflects the library’s other status, as the personal library of Martha Rosler, just one example of the way in which the project is able to allow the library’s original form to infiltrate and influence the way it is received within the exhibition space. Displayed ‘uncensored, unedited without the kind of house-cleaning that left the dirty laundry outside of view’, the library’s curation in its various different tour venues allowed for reminders of traces of its original location within Rosler’s home.⁸⁷ In particular this included retaining the presence of roughly torn toilet paper which had been used to provide page markers within the individual texts.⁸⁸ Visitors were to be reminded that it was not just any public library, but someone’s personal library temporarily lent out to a public space.

⁸⁴ John Byrne and Paul Domela, ‘Martha Rosler Library in Liverpool’, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁵ Elena Filipovic, ‘If You Read Here....Martha Rosler’s Library’, p. 31.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

Rosler's desire to enable active reading rather than passive spectatorship within her exhibitions is not only a concept limited to *Martha Rosler Library*, but rather something that acts as a guiding principle within her practice.⁸⁹ It is therefore only to be expected that it should also guide her own use of her personal library. Answering the question 'how do you use your library?' in her interview with Stephen Wright, Rosler replies:

I use it to learn things, to be inspired, to follow trains of thought. It is true that it would not be unusual for me to be reading something and to 'have an idea' – but an idea about the same thing I was picking up the books for. That is, if I am interested in finding out about torture, it is because I am wondering how to communicate something about torture that is within my grasp. So I am looking for a kind of underpinning of knowledge to help me think about what I could produce, even when there is nothing visibly translated into the work. Being able to read rational, or poetic, discussions of things opens a pathway; seeing how words define, encircle or layout a field I am interested in helps me to insert myself and 'make something'.⁹⁰

Returning to the initial question I posed at the opening of this chapter of how and why an artist's library should be approached, Rosler's response to Wright reads very much as a statement or manifesto of her own use of the library, one that significantly does *not* rely on visual translation. Not only a challenge to Judd's shrink-wrapped books, it also acts as the antithesis to Benjamin's 'non-reading' of books, instead promoting values of use, learning and knowledge as opposed to possession and inaccessibility.

This is not the only aspect in which Rosler opposes Benjamin's approach: her total rejection of biographical readings of her library also refutes his insistence on the importance of reading a collection for traces of its owner. As she states:

The one thing about the library that I never anticipated was that people would see it as a portrait of *me*. That is the *least* interesting interpretation that could possibly exist. Why see it as a symbolic creation? Why not see it as a *library*, with books from

⁸⁹In her essay, Filipovic places the project within the context of Rosler's larger body of work, including a number of other exhibitions which also include reading areas. These include *Fascination with the (Game of the) Exploding (Historical) Hollow Leg* (1983) at the Sibell-Wolle Fine Art Gallery in Colorado, which featured a forum on activism and reading groups on World War II; and *If You Lived Here...* (1989-92) at Dia Foundation, New York, which included shelves and tables lined with pamphlets and books on homelessness. See Elena Filipovic, 'If You Read Here....Martha Rosler's Library', pp. 30-31.

⁹⁰Martha Rosler, in Stephen Wright, 'Deinstrumentalising Knowledge – Interview with Martha Rosler', p. 10.

diverse sources and pamphlets and other things? Because otherwise you have abstracted it to the point where it's offering you nothing. SO I am horrified by the library-as-portrait [...] it literally never occurred to me that somebody [...] went immediately to portraiture, which means that they didn't have to see it as an open invitation to anything, but only as ruins, like if we decipher this, we'll have the story of Martha Rosler. No, no, no, no, wrong! Look through THE artist, THIS artist, to the basis of practice of AN artist.⁹¹

We may here contrast Rosler's rejection of biographical readings against Baudrillard's statement that 'the image of the self is extended to the very limit of the collection'⁹² or Benjamin's view that 'the phenomenon of collecting loses its meaning as it loses its personal owner'.⁹³ As Rosler states, the 'library-as-portrait' approach is flawed because it causes the library to become 'abstracted it to the point where it's offering you nothing'. Read through the lens of Baudrillard and Benjamin, this abstraction process could be treated as the effect of possession. For not only does possession cause the object in question to become, in Baudrillard's words, '*made relative to a subject*' (in this case the subject being Rosler herself), in doing so 'all objects [...] become equivalent, thanks to that process of passionate abstraction'.⁹⁴ Through possession objects lose their individual personality, thus becoming abstracted and no longer able to offer meaning.

If Rosler's library is the antithesis of Benjamin's, it may in fact come closer to that definition offered by Arendt to delineate the (imagined) opposite of what Benjamin's library represents, namely the 'working tool'. Arendt writes:

behind the facade of the free-lance writing he led the considerably freer [...] life of an *home de lettres* whose home was a library that had been gathered with extreme care but was by no means meant as a working tool; it consisted of treasures whose value, as Benjamin often repeated, was proved by the fact that he had not read them – a library, then, which was guaranteed not to be useful or at the service of any profession.⁹⁵

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁹² Jean Baudrillard, 'The System of Collecting', p. 12.

⁹³ Walter Benjamin, 'Unpacking my Library', p. 68.

⁹⁴ Jean Baudrillard, 'The System of Collecting', p. 8.

⁹⁵ Hannah Arendt, 'Introduction: Walter Benjamin: 1892-1940', p. 28.

Thus if Judd's library is to be read as artwork-cum-collection, Rosler's might be designated as artwork-cum-tool. Whilst I spoke earlier of the way in which Rosler's interview can be said to offer a manifesto or statement of how she uses her library, this is also one that offers a wider significance. As Rosler states, 'THIS artist' can stand for 'the basis of practice of AN artist'; in other words, her library might offer an insight into ways of approaching the practices of other artists' work. With this in mind, the 'working tool' of Rosler's library may be taken as a framework with which to approach other artists' libraries, which I will now discuss in further detail.

Working (Studio) Tool

If the artist's library is to be valued for its ability to assist within the making process, as that thing that allows one to 'insert' oneself and 'make something' to paraphrase from Rosler, then it may be regarded as a tool, in the same vein as any other artist's working equipment. In that case we may read a library as we would with any other preliminary material, such as sketchbooks for example. As Martin Harrison has written in defence of the Bacon studio archive, which, as previously mentioned, contains books and other printed material:

Certain critics have maintained an implacable resistance to this vast archive, arguing that the urge to investigate Bacon's aims and methods is inimical to a deeper understanding of the paintings. Yet it is no more or less relevant than the study of a traditional artist's preliminary drawings or sketches. For Bacon this base material functioned in an equivalent way and he endowed these scattered, torn but charged fragments with similar properties.⁹⁶

Books may be used in the manner of quasi-notebooks or sketchbooks, or else their contents taken as references or source material in the process of making work. For this reason I have titled this section the 'working (studio) tool' as very often the library as tool or 'resource' - to quote from Barbara Dawson - becomes closely allied to the studio, in some cases being physically located within the walls of the studio space itself. Or else, as earlier discussed, the

⁹⁶ Martin Harrison, 'Latent Images', in *Francis Bacon: A Terrible Beauty*, p. 71.

studio becomes an ‘expanded field’, which extends to include the library, even if not physically located in that space traditionally designated as ‘the studio’. Primarily focusing on the examples of Bacon and Moore, I will now investigate the potential of the ‘tool’ as method for reading the artist’s library in the context of other studio or preliminary materials.

At the Hugh Lane Gallery in Dublin, alongside the reconstructed Bacon studio sits the ‘microgallery’, a resource space which contains a browsable edited version of the detailed archive database created at the time of archiving and moving the studio contents to Dublin. On individual monitors the gallery visitor is able to search the studio contents. These are divided into taxonomic categories, including ‘books/catalogues/magazines’, ‘artists’ materials’, ‘photographs’, ‘works on paper’ and ‘canvases’. All categories are represented on an equal status, with no additional value offered to ‘works on paper’ or ‘canvases’ over ‘furniture’ or ‘artists’ materials’. Amongst the categories, ‘books/catalogues/magazines’ are presented as equivalent to any of the others, the implication being that all are tools or preliminary material that originated in the studio – now archived – that can be approached in this same way. The fact that, as earlier discussed, books and loose and torn leaves possess such prominence within the Bacon studio is on account of Bacon’s specific working method. Barbara Dawson describes it thus:

Francis Bacon’s chaotic working methods using photographs and printed images – usually torn from books – first became widely known when Sam Hunter’s two photographs of his studio at 7 Cromwell Place [...] were published in 1952. This pattern of images collection was repeated with monumental significance in 7 Reece Mews [...] There, photographs, magazines, newspapers and books were piled on the shelves about the floor in the midst of abandoned and slashed canvases.⁹⁷

Bacon was known both for his manipulation of printed image and text and for making drawings and handwritten notes in his books. The results produced through these methods are entered on the microgallery database under the discrete categories of ‘drawings on paper’,

⁹⁷ Barbara Dawson, ‘Francis Bacon: A Terrible Beauty’, p. 51.

‘interventions’, ‘mounted images’ and ‘handwritten notes’. Whilst most of these categories require no further explanation, it is of value to offer some greater interrogation of ‘interventions’. These involved a physically destructive process of cutting or tearing photographs or illustrations from books, which were then to be joined to other printed material through gluing or conjoining with safety pins or paper clips [Fig. 15].⁹⁸ It is important to here note the significance of this physical destruction and the condition with which Bacon treated his books. Far more extreme than Rosler’s lack of preciousness over her books, this act of mutilation marks the other end of the spectrum to Judd’s obsessive protection over the books in his library. Margarita Cappock suggests that for Bacon ‘printed images were free images not at all bound by the texts they illustrated’⁹⁹ and in this sense his mining of books for images may not have always been connected or indeed motivated by the subjects their texts described. This is just one example of the way in which assigning significance to texts or subjects within an artist’s library can be misleading without reference to the wider context of work. Similarly, drawings made using the blank end papers of books and catalogues did not always bear a relation to the contents of the texts within which they were found but instead reflect Bacon’s habit of using any material he had to hand when making sketches or notes, including on envelopes and airmail notepaper.¹⁰⁰

One artist for whom there is a more tangible relationship between drawings made in books and the contents or subject of the text in question is Alberto Giacometti. At the 2017 Giacometti retrospective held at Tate Modern, a section of the exhibition was devoted to the influence of Egyptian sculpture on Giacometti’s work. Here books on Egyptian sculpture containing Giacometti’s own ballpoint copies of the texts’ illustrations were displayed

⁹⁸ Margarita Cappock, *Francis Bacon’s Studio*, p. 103.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 171-82.

alongside other related drawings and sculptures [Fig. 16].¹⁰¹ Between Bacon and Giacometti are demonstrated two very different approaches to both the use of libraries as visual source material and for using the book as a quasi-sketchbook. The notion of using a library as a note-gathering method is also one that was utilised by Moore. In addition to the art historical books located in the large sitting room discussed previously, other books were located around the estate, including in Moore's bedroom, personal sitting room and in the studios [Fig. 17]. The studios, or specifically the maquette studio, were also the place where Moore kept his collection of found natural objects, in addition to those housed within the large sitting room.¹⁰² Mary Moore has written that Moore's 'collection of natural objects and pebbles too, had much the same function as his collections of books, postcards and sketchbooks'.¹⁰³ As with the Bacon archive database, we have here the same sense of equivalence between different tools and resources. The overriding 'function' of each of these different artefacts was what Mary Moore terms the gathering of 'images' to provide 'notes for an internalised vocabulary of form'.¹⁰⁴ Like Bacon, this 'note-gathering' also included making written notes to find ways of expressing this 'everyman's vocabulary' directly in his writing: 'daily life was a constant journey to enlarge and discover ways of using and expressing this'.¹⁰⁵ For both artists then, books functioned as a 'note-gathering' tool, both to be used themselves as notes, and for physical handwritten or drawn notes.

¹⁰¹ See Alberto Giacometti, *After Egyptian sculptures: Head of Rohotep and Head of Nefret*, c.1949, ballpoint on *Photographic Encyclopedia of Art*, repr. in Lena Fritsch and Frances Morris (eds.), *Giacometti* (London: Tate Publishing, 2017) p. 15. Frances Morris notes that Giacometti began this practice of copying reproductions of art in books or magazines in 1912, encouraged by his father. See Morris, 'Introduction', in *Giacometti*, p. 12.

¹⁰² Moore used his collection of found natural objects for making maquettes. Richard Calvocoressi describes the process as such: 'a found object such as a flint, pebble, shell, bone, fragment, piece of driftwood or tree root [was] picked up in the ploughed fields around Moore's home [...] in the garden, or on visits to the seashore. After long handling and looking, Moore might press it into clay and reshape it or combine it with another found object, before pouring plaster into its hollows and then working on the soft surface, building up, paring down, incising'. See Richard Calvocoressi, 'The Possibility of Touch', in *Henry Moore: Wunderkammer, Origin of Forms* (London: Gagosian Gallery, 2015) p. 9.

¹⁰³ Mary Moore, 'Foreword', *Henry Moore: On Being a Sculptor*; with a foreword by Mary Moore (London: Tate Publishing, 2010) p. 11.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

Archive

In contrast to the methods or approaches to the artist's library so far discussed, which focus on how an artist used their library or the manner in which they regarded it, approaching an artist's library as an archive requires a shift in focus to interpreting the library *after* it leaves the artist and is archived. Approaching the artist's library then as an archive, means interpreting it through a framework imposed by someone other than the artist themselves. As mentioned previously, it is not uncommon for an artist's library to be included within an archive of an artist's papers. In this section I will address two examples of where this has taken place: namely the library of Helen Chadwick within the Helen Chadwick Archive at the Henry Moore Institute; and the Herbert Read Library within the Read Collection at Special Collections at the University of Leeds. Since archiving is a process that happens after the library has left the artist, how we come to later interpret the now archived library is necessarily determined by how it has been edited by the managing archivist. By 'editing' I refer to decisions made by the archivist or institution as to aspects such as how much of a library to acquire and how it should be catalogued and ordered. Artists' libraries are not always acquired complete and whole: in some cases they may be divided between an institution and the artist's family or estate, or shared between more than one institution. When the Helen Chadwick Archive was negotiated for acquisition by the Henry Moore Institute Archive, a selection of books were made by the then archivist based on a rationale of choosing books that had clear connections to specific artworks, or those that contained a high level of annotations.¹⁰⁶ When approaching the library in its current home at the Henry Moore Institute, we must therefore be mindful of what is not there as well as what is. If we take Alberro's rationale of approaching the library through attention to its 'makeup' and the

¹⁰⁶ As told to the author in conversation with Claire Mayoh, current archivist at the Henry Moore Institute, Nov. 2017.

relation of individual texts to one another, we are obliged to remember that any conclusions drawn will be influenced by the effect of this editing process.

Similarly once acquired by the institution, the artist's library must be catalogued and ordered. When managing their collections, archivists apply the two principles of *provenance* and *original order*.¹⁰⁷ As Sven Spieker writes, in doing this the archives 'refer their users back to the conditions under which they emerged [...] the media that helped produce them, the business of which, the techniques and technologies that were critical for their emergence'. He continues: 'it is these conditions – this place – rather than meaning (or history) that the [...] archive aims to reconstruct: not simply content, but the formal (administrative) and technical conditions for its emergence.'¹⁰⁸ For the artist's library, maintaining these principles allows us to gauge a sense of how the artist ordered or thought of their library. For example, the Herbert Read Library, when acquired by the University of Leeds was able to be maintained in the same order as the books were ordered on the shelves in Read's house, which was itself loosely of a thematic order, with some of Read's own writing interspersed.¹⁰⁹ However it is not always possible to maintain this original order in the case of this knowledge having been lost or the collection broken up. In this case, an archivist might instate an order according to taxonomic principles of subject matter or genre. How differently is our interaction with an artist's library mediated according to whether it is ordered through the principle of original order or through instated taxonomic orders?

¹⁰⁷ See 'Archive Principles and Practice: A Guide for Non-Archivists', The National Archives <<http://nationalarchives.gov.uk/archives-sector/advice-and-guidance/managing-your-collection/caring-for-archives/>>. For further discussion of the origins of the principle of provenance in archival systems, see Sven Spieker's chapter '1881 Matters of Provenance (Picking up after Hegel)' in *The Big Archive: Art from Bureaucracy* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2008) pp. 17-33.

¹⁰⁸ Sven Spieker, *The Big Archive*, p. 18.

¹⁰⁹ As told to the author in conversation with Richard High, Librarian, Leeds University Library Special Collections, Nov. 2017. In his essay 'Books and the Child', Benedict Read writes: 'My father had an enormous library – 14,000 volumes, now in the University of Leeds Special Collections. It spread all over the house; my mother used to say to visitors 'we have books the way some people have mice' (we had them too).' See Benedict Read, 'Books and the Child', commissioned on the occasion of the exhibition *Herbert Read and Artists' Books* at the Stanley and Audrey Burton Gallery to accompany the sixteenth *Leeds International Contemporary Artist's Book Fair*, March 2013.

As an archive collection, the artist's library risks the same problem of becoming abstracted, losing its specificity, and becoming equivalent to all other items within the archive like that experienced by the personal collection. That this should be the case is not entirely surprising given the similarities that exist between archive collections and those of personal collections; as Spieker observes, 'still there seems to be little consensus as to....how [an archive] might be distinguished from other types of collections'.¹¹⁰ Like the effect of possession in a collection eliminating an object's former meaning or purpose, the 'unity of an archive is first and foremost that imposed by ownership'.¹¹¹ The Herbert Read Library is now defined by its position within the Read Archive rather than its specific relation to Read himself, despite the efforts to maintain authenticity through preserving the principle of original order. As Allan Sekula writes, the archive suffers 'a loss, an *abstraction* from the complexity and richness of use, a loss of context. Thus the specificity of 'original' uses and meanings can be avoided and even made invisible'.¹¹² These losses include those caused by removals to the objects, often carried out with the aim of conservation or keeping items together. For example letters, notes or cards found within books may be removed and stored elsewhere. Ben Read writes that whilst acting as 'unofficial librarian' for his father he found a letter from Kandinsky tucked in a catalogue: 'I brought it to my father's attention and I am sorry to say it was included in the manuscripts and papers that went to the University of Victoria, British Columbia in the mid 1960s'.¹¹³ Similarly, postcards found in the pages of Read's books were removed and placed in melinex sleeves for protection and are now filed separately to the books they were originally housed within. Unlike the toilet paper makeshift page markers found in Rosler's books, the archivist must prioritise conservation and preserving the archive for future use, meaning that delicate items have to be stored separately in

¹¹⁰ Sven Spieker, *The Big Archive*, p. 4.

¹¹¹ Allan Sekula, 'Reading an Archive: Photography between Labour and Capital' in *Visual Culture: The Reader* eds. Jessica Evans and Stuart Hall (London: Sage Publications, 1999) p. 183.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ Benedict Read, 'Books and the Child', n.p.

protective packaging. Does this ‘loss’ of original context and usage cause an ensuing loss of aura? Significantly, the archive formed an important source for Benjamin’s canonical essay ‘The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction’ (1935-6).¹¹⁴ Like an archive, methods of technical reproduction, including film and photography, function as collections of traces when the original has disappeared. Just as film and photography will very often only reproduce part an original object, so too will an archive always remain incomplete.¹¹⁵ The loss of aura experienced through reproduction may therefore form an equivalent to that experienced in the archiving process.

The Politics of Display

I began this chapter by stating the chief problematic with artists’ libraries: namely that whilst their value is acknowledged and many have been collected and preserved by institutions, there is a lack of consensus of what should be done with them following this, and as such few have been subject to further research and exhibition. Issues that have no doubt contributed to the lack of exhibitions of artists’ libraries are those of access, lack of suitable display space and conservation issues. I shall approach each of these in turn for further explanation. Those libraries acquired by museums and public archives tend to be stored in standard archival storage systems, which rarely have public access and limited or no display areas. Since archival storage is generally separate to archival reading rooms or viewing areas, it means that collections are rarely ‘browsable’ and instead readers are permitted to request to view a limited number of items.¹¹⁶ For artists’ libraries, which often amount to thousands of volumes, this immediately poses a problem. Whilst many artists’ libraries titles are

¹¹⁴ Sven Spieker, *The Big Archive*, p. 26.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-7.

¹¹⁶ The subject of the lack of ‘browsable’ access to libraries held in archive collections was posed in roundtable discussion in the symposium: *Future Legacies: Collections, Collecting and Artists’ Books*, University of Leeds, 21 Apr. 2017. One exception to this is the Helen Chadwick Library at the Henry Moore Institute, which is stored in archival shelving within the main archive reading room. Whilst this is a locked shelving cabinet, it does nonetheless mean that readers can ‘browse’ the bookshelves as one might do in a public library.

catalogued on contents lists, this is still unable to substitute for the phenomenological experience of browsing a shelf. Related to the issue of access is that of available display space: not all museums with archives have dedicated archive galleries to host displays from their collections. Finally, artists' libraries, like all other library and archival material, are subject to the same conservation problems that affect works on paper, namely sensitivity to light and temperature, limiting both the conditions and duration for which they may be displayed. When able to be exhibited, the method of display is typically guided by the designated categorisation of the library in question, which generally fall within those approaches offered above. As such, these mechanisms of display are often subject to the same problems and flaws that beset the approaches themselves, of which I will demonstrate below.

Archive and Special Collections Displays

There are two kinds of display that typically characterise archival or special collections' displays of artists' libraries. The first is a small display, usually held within a designated archive or special collection, which selects notable works from an artist's library to be shown within a small self-contained display. Very often such displays will privilege rare titles found in an artist's book collection, in particular artists' books, or those volumes containing extensive notes or drawings executed by the artist in question. Examples include the 2013 exhibition *Herbert Read and Artists' Books* at the Stanley and Audrey Burton Gallery at the University of Leeds, drawn from the Herbert Read Library; and the 2017 exhibition *Publishing Surrealism: Roland Penrose's Library* held in the Gabrielle Keiller Library at the Scottish Gallery of Modern Art in Edinburgh. The second manner of display involves the display of material from an artist's library as supporting archival material within a larger exhibition, very often a monographic retrospective of an artist. Such exhibitions include the 2016 Paul Nash exhibition at Tate Britain and the 2017 Alberto Giacometti retrospective at Tate Modern. I will now explore both of these paradigms in further depth.

It is important to acknowledge that the first display mechanism is limited to those galleries, libraries or archives that have dedicated display spaces for special collections or archival material, which is by no means most. Anna-Sophie Springer offers the following analysis of these exhibitions and displays:

It is important to point out, however, that the majority of these exhibitions still function according to the traditional matrix of curating: they are compartmentalised by genre and chronology, and based upon the aura of rare acquisitions and strange ephemera [...] These exhibitions often present fascinating content while retaining a conventional form; as such, they do very little to experiment with or activate the discourse around the curatorial itself. Regarding book-themed exhibitions, it is usually younger artists and the graphic-design scene that produce more challenging formats; yet, such exhibitions tend to occur in independent project spaces or in the context of art book fairs, not in libraries.¹¹⁷

Springer makes two key observations in this text: firstly that such exhibitions are limited to celebrating 'rare acquisitions and strange ephemera', and secondly that their form is relatively conventional and does not allow potential for experimental formats or curatorial strategies. To quote Benjamin, this is the kind of display that enumerates the 'prize pieces of a library', something he regards with scepticism, as being 'presumptuous'.¹¹⁸ In a sense, such exhibitions tend to submit to the kind of fetishising of objects that Rosler has tried to counteract. Meanwhile, isolated from both the wider library itself and the context of the artist and artwork, instead presented as singular autonomous objects, they suffer the same loss of context as that associated with the archiving process.

One example of a gallery and display space that has attempted to mitigate some of these problems associated with the loss of context is the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, and specifically the displays within the Gabrielle Keiller Library. In his essay 'How Surrealism came to Scotland', former director Richard Calvocoressi recalls the evolution of the Keiller Library following the acquisitions of the Roland Penrose Archive and Library and

¹¹⁷ Anna-Sophie Springer, 'Melancholia of the Paginated Mind: The Library as Curatorial Space', pp. 129-30.

¹¹⁸ Walter Benjamin, 'Unpacking my Library', p. 61.

the Keiller Bequest (including Keiller's own library).¹¹⁹ With the addition of these acquisitions, the gallery was in need of further space and was able to take over the former Dean Education Centre (what is now Modern Two) to house the new collections of Dada and Surrealism and provide additional exhibition galleries. Calvocoressi writes that given the large portion of the acquisition consisting of archival and library materials, he felt it was necessary to create a dedicated space for these materials in the new gallery: 'I was keen we should create an area in the building [...] where visitors could appreciate the book as a work of art, integrated with the main displays of painting and sculpture and not relegated to a distant corridor or basement as so often happens in museums'.¹²⁰ Not only does Calvocoressi reference the lack of archival display space generally accorded to collections within museums, but he focuses on the need for such spaces to be integrated within the museum's main collections – a process that helps reduce the issues associated with the loss of context often found in such displays. The result was a suite of three specially designed rooms: the Gabrielle Keiller Library, a small display library; the Penrose Gallery, a gallery space dedicated to hosting changing displays from the Dada and Surrealism collections; and a reading room for researchers [Fig. 20]. Positioned centrally on the ground floor when entering Modern Two, these work against the tendency for archive and library material to be 'relegated' to those distant corridors and basements that Calvocoressi speaks of. Referencing the historical integration of libraries and art galleries that characterised many nineteenth century municipal galleries, this suite of rooms emphasises the important relationship between the different kinds of material. The Keiller Library itself functions as a unique display-cum-storage space. Set against the wooden bookshelves and cupboards that house

¹¹⁹ The Roland Penrose Archive and Library were acquired in 1994 and include over 10,000 volumes belonging to Penrose. The Keiller Bequest entered the Gallery of Modern Art's collection following Keiller's death in 1995. For further details see Richard Calvocoressi, 'How Surrealism came to Scotland' in *Surrealist Encounters: Collecting the Marvellous: Works from the collections of Roland Penrose, Edward Jones, Gabrielle Keiller and Ullmer and Heiner Pietzsch* eds. Annabelle Gorgen, Keith Hartley and Saskia van Kampen-Prein (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 2016) pp. 228-32.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

material from both the personal libraries of Penrose and Keiller are vitrines and glazed drawers that can be used for temporary displays. Calvocoressi also negotiated the long term loan of two of Penrose's cabinets of curiosities from his son, Anthony Penrose. As such, without resorting to direct reconstruction – of which I shall speak of in more depth further on – temporary displays are able to sit within the context of the wider artists' libraries and personal collections.

Nonetheless, despite Calvocoressi's unique interventions, such temporary displays are themselves still subject to the same conventionality of form that Springer identified. A recent exhibition, *Publishing Surrealism: Roland Penrose's Library*, encountered these issues. Although the exhibition claimed to 'explore the contents of Penrose's library', its focus, in keeping with its title, was specifically focused on Penrose's role as patron and collector of Surrealist publishing.¹²¹ As such, the exhibition's focus was primarily on those 'rare acquisitions and strange ephemera', to quote Springer, in this case Penrose's collection of Surrealist artists' books, with Max Ernst's *Une semaine de bonté* (1934) forming the centrepiece of the exhibition [Fig. 19]. In this way the exhibition was based on using the library materials displayed to illustrate the curator's preformed argument about Penrose's role within publishing. This tendency to use artworks or artefacts to illustrate a pre-existing argument is something that narratologist Mieke Bal has critiqued within art writing, but also could arguably be applied to curation. In *Louise Bourgeois' Spider: The Architecture of Art-Writing*, Bal speaks of her hope to 'redirect art writing to the art it writes about but too often subordinates and subjects to the derivative status of illustration of the art-writer's argument'.¹²² She defines this tendency as an *anterior* narrative mode, in which 'the work is

¹²¹ Exhibition wall text, *Publishing Surrealism: Roland Penrose's Library*, Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, Nov. 2017.

¹²² Mieke Bal, *Louise Bourgeois' Spider: The Architecture of Art-Writing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001) p. 7.

considered an *illustration* of the narrative that precedes it and to which it is subordinated, its success being measured in terms of the degree to which it matches the story'.¹²³ Like art writing, exhibition making also deploys the use of narrative strategies in which to tell a story, and thus such exhibitions can also be said to deploy this same *anterior* mode. This is also something utilised within those larger exhibitions in which library material is shown in the context of supporting archival vitrines, alongside material including ephemera, correspondence, notebooks and diaries. In such cases the hierarchy is extended so that the archival displays are used to support or illustrate the artworks, which are themselves chosen to represent a curatorial narrative. Take for example the 2017 Tate Modern Giacometti exhibition, in which books on Egyptian sculpture containing Giacometti's own ballpoint copies of photographic reproductions were displayed alongside drawings and sculptures that referenced this interest, themselves used to advance an argument on the significance of Egyptian sculpture for the sculptor's own development. In this way we can see how this mode of display builds upon the interpretative model of the bibliographic survey, with the emphasis on individual titles and their significance or power to illustrate artworks on display. Placed in these archival vitrines, these texts were separated from their context within Giacometti's wider library, with no interpretation offered as to how they might fit within his overall reading practices.

Studio Museums and the Display of Artists' Living Spaces

The display of artists' libraries also falls within a phenomenon of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries: namely the reconstruction of artists' studios within museums and galleries, or the preservation of them within the original location as 'studio museums', often

¹²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

also including the display of the artists' living spaces in the case of the studio-home.¹²⁴ As mentioned previously, many artists' studios contain libraries as 'studio tools' and thus the libraries are very often included in reconstructions. Or in the case of those 'house museums', libraries that were found within an artist's living spaces are often retained, presented within their original display furniture. For the purpose of this chapter I will address one example of a library included in a studio reconstruction and one within a house museum: the former, the parts of Francis Bacon's library included within the Hugh Lane reconstruction, and the latter, the display of Moore's library within Hoglands house at the Henry Moore Foundation. Whilst in many cases the display of artists' libraries in situ in either the studio or house museum negates the issues of the loss of context and collective entity that I discussed with reference to archive and special collections' displays, it does however pose other problems. These are those issues associated with the reconstruction of artists' studios and living spaces, itself a highly critiqued subject. In this section I will address the critique of studio reconstruction offered in three essays: Albrecht Barthel's 'Brancusi's Studio: A Critique of the Modern Period Room' (2006); Jon Wood's 'The Studio in the Gallery?' (2005); and David Getsy's 'The Reconstruction of the Francis Bacon Studio in Dublin' (2002). Through discussion of the essays' subjects of critique, I will endeavour to demonstrate how these problematics of display also impact on how the libraries shown within the museums are viewed and interpreted.

Barthel's essay examines the three subsequent reconstructions of Brancusi's Montparnesse studio, following its demolition in 1961 due to ongoing decay to the original building. Barthel sees the concept of 'reconstruction' as deeply problematic; as he writes, 'The 1961 demolition irrevocably destroyed Brancusi's studio. Three subsequent

¹²⁴ The Watts Gallery-Artists' Village have established the Artist's Studio Museum Network which consists of listings of single-artist museums, house museums and studio museums from across Europe. See Nicholas Tromans 'Re-opening the studio of George Frederick Watts' <<http://www.artiststudiomuseum.org/news/european-network-artists-studio-museums/>>.

reconstructions of the studio would fail to recapture what had been lost in the demolition, even though they would display Brancusi's sculptures in their original configuration'¹²⁵ For Barthel, accurate reconstruction in terms of layout and configuration is not enough to retain the studio's original 'aura'. We might read this passage against Daniel Buren's canonical essay 'The Function of the Studio' (1971), in which he describes the process of the transferral of artwork from studio to gallery. Buren states that 'torn from their context, their 'environment', they had lost their meaning and died, to be reborn as forgeries.'¹²⁶ Buren's essay raises the issue of how an 'original' artwork may become a 'forgery' through the loss of aura associated with relocation. In the same way, in their removal, 'original' studio objects and layouts are unable to recapture what had been lost before demolition. In part this is due to geographical relocation; as Jon Wood writes on the relocation of the Brancusi and Bacon studios: 'Whatever the curatorial and museological strategies later adopted, the original social, economic and geographical contexts of these studios were immediately erased. The studios [...] would from now on belong to the art world.'¹²⁷ The significance of this geographical relocation may be better explained with reference to Benjamin's 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' essay if we equate *reproduction* with *reconstruction*. For Benjamin, the reproduced artwork lacks one core quality: 'its presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happened to be'.¹²⁸ Losing its original geographical and spatial location, the reconstructed studio, itself a 'reproduction' of its original, also loses the history and meaning associated with its earlier life.

In many of the cases of studio reconstructions and museums, due to conservation requirements access to the space is limited or restricted to viewing from behind glazing. It is

¹²⁵ Albrecht Barthel, 'Brancusi' Studio: A Critique of the Modern Period Room' (2006), repr. in *The Studio: Documents of Contemporary Art*, p. 130.

¹²⁶ Daniel Buren, 'The Function of the Studio' (1971), repr. in *The Studio: Documents of Contemporary Art*, p. 88.

¹²⁷ Jon Wood, 'The Studio in the Gallery?' (2005), repr. in *The Studio: Documents of Contemporary Art*, p. 138.

¹²⁸ Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', in *Illuminations*, p. 214.

this experience that transforms the studio into the ‘museum period room’, more often associated with the heritage country house than the art gallery. As Barthel states, the effect of the period room’s inaccessibility is the sequestering of artworks to the status of ‘relics, to be admired with an uncritical attitude of reverent appreciation – a cult based on humbling distance’.¹²⁹ He continues: ‘The installation also evokes the ostentation of precious goods, pristine for the sake of market value, as much displayed as guarded in their showcase’.¹³⁰ Transformed from a space associated with work and activity, the reconstructed studio becomes one of stasis and fetishisation, more akin to that of the private collection than the artist’s working space. As Jon Wood writes, the effect of this ‘fish tank’-like effect is that visitors are provided with an ‘unreal experience’: ‘Brancusi himself, of course, would never have seen his studio from the outside in’.¹³¹ Such unreality might be better explained if we return to the analogy of reconstruction with reproduction, in the Benjaminian sense. For, as Benjamin states, the effect of the camera angle, whether a close up or a cropped image creates a sense of unfamiliarity: ‘it reveals entirely new formations of the subject’,¹³² just as the ‘fish tank’ provides views that would have never existed in Brancusi’s original Montparnesse studio. Unreality may also extend into fiction, which is something that David Getsy discusses in his essay on the Bacon studio. Getsy writes:

The installation [...] stages access to a fictitious interiority...the viewer searches for clues and personalia in and amongst the rubbish. Reading the headlines on discarded newspapers or looking at photographs strewn across the floor, spectators can easily be fooled into thinking that they are gaining privileged access into Bacon’s private space. The initial shock of the chaos of the studio fades, however, as one begins to recognise how its contents have been subtly arranged. Too many of the photos and books are legible from the doorway[...] Despite its overwhelming mess and disarray, the space is a carefully orchestrated artifice [...]¹³³

¹²⁹ Albrecht Barthel, ‘Brancusi’s Studio: A Critique of the Modern Period Room’, p. 133.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ Jon Wood, ‘The Studio in the Gallery?’, pp. 138-9.

¹³² Walter Benjamin, ‘The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction’, pp. 229-30.

¹³³ David Getsy, ‘The Reconstruction of the Francis Bacon Studio in Dublin’, in *The Studio Reader: On the Space of Artists*, pp. 101-2. `

It is not only the subtle orchestration of the space that makes it fictitious but rather what Getsy terms the ‘problem of attempting to freeze one final moment in the history of an ever-changing environment.’¹³⁴ As a constantly changing space, attaching too great a significance to this final frieze-like snapshot is liable to create unreliable readings.

Another issue with reconstruction discussed by both Getsy and Wood is that of the privileging of complete and accurate reconstruction over critical engagement with the studio as a space of making. Take the Bacon studio reconstruction for example: describing the decisions and processes taken in transferring the Reece Mews studio to Dublin, Barbara Dawson was clear to emphasise the importance of every individual object remaining in its original position: ‘the archaeologists [...] were [to] remove piece by piece, but [...] do so in such a way as to ensure complete reconstruction, we wanted to have a record of how and where each item was found’.¹³⁵ In many ways ‘complete reconstruction’ is a fantasy, since this only puts the studio back to its final frieze-like snapshot, the incidental way it was left after the artist’s death. Moreover, there is often a sense that this complete reconstruction negates the need for further critical engagement, that the studio itself provides the engagement. As Getsy states, ‘there is little attempt in the installation to discuss how Bacon actually used his studio and what it allowed him to do in painting.’¹³⁶ Complete reconstruction can also lead to those significant items becoming lost behind those more trivial: in all the chaos of Bacon’s studio for instance, it is difficult to discern what is important.

Through close reading of the essays of Barthel, Getsy and Wood, I have identified three main areas of critique of the studio reconstruction and museum, which have the

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

¹³⁵ Barbara Dawson, ‘Francis Bacon’s Studio: The Dublin Chapter’, in Margarita Cappock, *Francis Bacon’s Studio* (London: Merrell, 2005) p. 16.

¹³⁶ David Getsy, ‘The Reconstruction of the Francis Bacon Studio’, p. 102.

potential to impact the display of libraries within these spaces: firstly the problems associated with reconstruction; secondly the viewing issues they entail; and finally the lack of criticality they often possess. Although the Francis Bacon library is contained within a studio reconstruction in comparison to the Moore library's situation within a house museum (Hoglands), reconstruction is nonetheless an issue that affects both libraries. Crucially, due to extensive renovation works on Hoglands that took place in 2005, the entire house had to be emptied, meaning that the interior as the visitor now sees it is itself a reconstruction.¹³⁷ One of the issues associated with reconstruction that affects the display of Bacon's books within the Hugh Lane display is that Bacon's original studio at Reece Mews was itself a studio-home, one of a row of converted former coach houses. From the ground floor garage a steep flight of steps led up to the first floor where the studio was situated alongside a bedroom and kitchen.¹³⁸ Books were not only found in the studio but also the kitchen and bedroom [Fig. 20].¹³⁹ Although 'Donation 2' of Bacon's Books is now in the collection of the Hugh Lane these were acquired after the initial gift of the studio and thus were not included in the studio installation.¹⁴⁰ Neither did the studio installation include any of the other rooms from the Reece Mews house besides the studio itself, although the stairs that led up to the first floor have been retained underneath the gallery floor, visible through a Perspex plane, alongside the two windows at the rear end of the studio, to allow the visitor a sense of scale and context. As a result, the books found in the studio have lost their context to those found in the rest of the house, and there is no interpretation in the gallery to explain how the two

¹³⁷ Over 3500 publications were still left in Hoglands when the house was emptied for renovation in 2005, and many of these have been put back in their original locations. Books owned by Moore are now found on shelves in the large sitting room, small sitting room and office at Hoglands, whilst others are stored in the Henry Moore Foundation Archive on site. See Martin Davis, 'Moore's Personal Archive', p. 155.

¹³⁸ Gallery wall text, *Francis Bacon Studio*, Dublin City Gallery The Hugh Lane, Aug. 2018.

¹³⁹ The 670 books found in the kitchen and bedroom of Reece Mews and at Dale Farm in Suffolk were gifted from the Estate of Francis Bacon to the Hugh Lane and are known as 'Donation 2'. See 'Bacon's Books: About Bacon's Books' <<http://www.hughlane.ie/baconsbooks>>.

¹⁴⁰ Although Donation 2 has been catalogued and a browsable version of the database is accessible on the Hugh Lane website, none of the books have as yet been exhibited. As told to the author in email correspondence with Barbara Dawson, director of the Hugh Lane, Sept. 2018.

collections were linked. Returning to Benjamin's reproduction, this incomplete 'reproduction' of Bacon's books may be likened to the camera documenting the performance of the film actor who 'need not respect the performance as an integral whole' but may continually change 'position with respect to the performance'.¹⁴¹ Just as the camera will change angle and focus on particular elements of movement and action, so too is the studio reconstruction only a finite trace of the original Reece Mews residence.

Both the libraries of Moore and Bacon presented in their respective reconstructions/museums are also beset by issues of limited or restricted viewing. The visitor to the Bacon studio is not able to enter the studio space but view it through three designated vantage points: a glass window where the door would have stood, two peep-holes inserted into the wall of the outer box that holds the studio within, and the aforementioned two adjacent windows that stood at the end of the room. The views offered by these vantage points are necessarily limited, creating the snapshot effect we might associate with photography. Moreover, by retaining the cluttered chaos Bacon left the studio in, many objects become obscured. Ironically, one is able to attain a better sense of what is in the studio itself from browsing the database in the microgallery rather than from the installation itself. Similarly, although not cluttered, both movement and viewing is restricted inside Hoglands. With entry by guided tour only, the visitor is not able to navigate the spaces at leisure. Whilst movement is not physically restricted by rope barriers in the case of many period rooms, visitors are however required to wear protective covering over outer footwear. Neither is the complete house on view but rather tours are restricted to the ground floor spaces. As such for both reconstructions, the viewer is permitted to undertake limited glimpses of the libraries in situ but no detailed viewing.

¹⁴¹ Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', p. 222.

For both reconstructions/museums, there are also issues of a lack of critical engagement and interpretation on offer. For Hoglands, unlike the outdoor studios at the Henry Moore Foundation, which include some display boards explaining what each of the different studio spaces were used for, the house has been retained as a domestic space, rather than transforming it into a more recognisable museum. As such there is no written interpretation in any of the spaces and instead the visitor is reliant on verbal interpretation offered by the house guides. The presentation of Moore within the house is primarily focused on Moore the man, the space as social space rather than how its contents might have related to the activities taking place in the outdoor studio. Anecdotal items are left in sight lines - Irina's hand bag, trays of liqueurs - the suggestion is that Moore is only briefly absent, though we know from the stasis of the spaces and the strict conservation regulations that this is not the case. As Daniel Buren has written, these reconstructions 'make you feel a little closer to the artist, as a film might do; it's sentimental, it's curious, it's charming', but it is not critical.¹⁴² Similarly, the interpretation for the Bacon installation is limited, with text panels either focusing on the history of the studio removal rather than the significance of the studio to Bacon's art, or else given over to the artist's own words. Sitting in the gallery alongside the studio itself are several vitrines containing items extracted from the studio itself. One is given over to a selection of texts from Bacon's library [Fig. 21]. Whilst this display allows the viewer a less obstructed viewing experience with these texts as opposed to those in the installation, no labelling information is provided for the artefacts on display. There is no explanation as to their significance, or why it is important that these particular items should be singled out to be shown. The microgallery offers more satisfactory interpretation with the computer terminals allowing the visitor to browse the archive database, with audio receivers providing explanation for each of the items. However, again this seems to be a case of

¹⁴² Daniel Buren, 'The Function of the Studio Revisited: Daniel Buren in Conversation', repr. in *The Studio Reader*, pp. 164-5.

technology having to compensate for what the studio is not able to provide itself; as Wood writes, the technology ‘is used to provide a ‘total experience’ for what effectively cannot be experienced’.¹⁴³

One solution that the gallery has managed to utilise to compensate for the lack of substantial critical interpretation in the installation is through instigating a series of temporary exhibitions to enable a closer examination of the studio contents and its role in Bacon’s art. So far there have been two such exhibitions: the 2000 *Francis Bacon in Dublin* curated by David Sylvester in acknowledgement of the bequest of the studio; and the 2009 *Francis Bacon: A Terrible Beauty*, which aimed to use the studio contents to show new insights into Bacon’s work. As Barbara Dawson stated, the exhibition aimed to begin ‘with the studio and new information on Bacon’s work imported by the studio’.¹⁴⁴ For the first time since the archiving process took place, the exhibition would display the archive material ‘in all categories’ alongside finished paintings [Figs. 22].¹⁴⁵ As installation images attest, the archival material was not only shown alongside the finished paintings in vitrines to support or illustrate the work in the normal manner of the *anterior* narrative, but were also displayed framed or under glass on the walls in the manner of an artwork. By juxtaposing artworks and studio material on an equal hierarchy, the exhibition began to show what the studio allowed Bacon to do in his art – as Getsy has observed one of the problems of the studio, unlike other reconstructions, is that it ‘has had its art extracted’.¹⁴⁶ Although the Henry Moore Foundation also has a temporary space, the Sheep Field Barn, which sits amongst the studios and other outbuildings on the estate, and which is dedicated to showcasing exhibitions drawn from the Foundation collections, to date these displays have not included exploration of the contents of Hoglands, including Moore’s library.

¹⁴³ Jon Wood, ‘The Studio in the Gallery?’, p. 138.

¹⁴⁴ Barbara Dawson, ‘Francis Bacon: A Terrible Beauty’, p. 54.

¹⁴⁵ Barbara Dawson, ‘All changed, changed utterly...’, in *Francis Bacon: A Terrible Beauty*, p. 7.

¹⁴⁶ David Getsy, ‘The Reconstruction of the Francis Bacon Studio’, p. 102.

This chapter was based on the premise of setting out to interrogate the tools, sources and questions that might be needed for the study of an artist's library through providing a survey and assessment of the approaches and display methods that have been utilised historically within scholarship on modern and contemporary artists' libraries. There is currently a lack of a cohesive body of literature on artists' libraries, which is largely due to the difficulties of categorisation. Artists' libraries may find a home in categories as diverse as archives, the artists' studio, the personal collection, or the library's special collections, depending on the decisions made by both the artist themselves and the institutions to which the library is received following the artist's death. The fact that the artist's library displays the potential for such versatility is testimony to its value for scholarship within all of these different areas. However it is also at the expense of establishing a defined field of study, which is something that this thesis aims to rectify. Through examining the approaches and display methods used in other individual studies, I have endeavoured to expose some of the flaws and pitfalls to be avoided, including the problems of biographical readings, treating the library in purely visual terms, issues with reconstruction and a lack of criticality, and problems associated with a loss of context affecting both those libraries displayed in studio reconstruction and archival display. This exploration of the questions which should be asked of the artist's library as well as the issues to anticipate and counteract will now guide this subsequent study of the role of Hepworth's library in both her art practice and the exhibition of her work.

Chapter 2: From St Ives to Wakefield

I don't know how Barbara ever found the time to read – but she did. She read widely, not only books and newspapers but also the weekly papers, the literary and art magazines and poetry.¹

The above passage is taken from the memoir to Barbara Hepworth written by Margaret Gardiner, founder of the Pier Arts Centre in Orkney and long term friend of Hepworth, and first published in 1982. As the above passage suggests, despite the difficulties of balancing work and family life, reading was something Hepworth nonetheless prioritised, with a particular emphasis on reading widely, from poetry to current affairs. Gardiner's text continues: 'Barbara's letters to me were sprinkled with comments on what she was reading'.² This was not merely unique to the letters of Hepworth and Gardiner, but something that extended wider to much of Hepworth's personal correspondence, including that with friends such as writers and critics Herbert Read and E H Ramsden, the composer Priaulx Rainier and the church minister, the Reverend Donald Harris. Again, a cursory glance over this list reveals a focus on different subjects, disciplines and lines of interest. Building upon the frameworks of interpretation discussed in the previous chapter, this chapter offers an account of the library both within Hepworth's own lifetime and its subsequent afterlife at The Hepworth Wakefield. Reflecting upon the decisions that were made regarding the library after Hepworth's death, I discuss how these come to dictate the manner in which we come to encounter the library today (as an archive). This provides a context in which to situate the PhD intervention I undertook to exhibit the previously undisplayed library at The Hepworth Wakefield, which I discuss in the following chapter.

¹ Margaret Gardiner, *Barbara Hepworth: A Memoir* (Edinburgh: Salamander Press, 1982) p. 57.

² *Ibid.*

Photographic Traces

In Chapter 1 I opened discussion on the manner of tools and sources that might be utilised for the study of the artist's library, one of which is archival photography. One history of Hepworth's library may be told through tracing its presence within photographs of Hepworth herself, her work and her studio spaces. This reading acknowledges the Hepworth library as both a collection of books and the space within which they are held, the *Oxford English Dictionary's* definition of a library as 'a **place** set apart to contain books for reading, study, or reference' (my emphasis).³ It also offers the opportunity to consider the relationship between the library and other objects within Hepworth's spaces, as I similarly demonstrated through photographic analysis of the libraries of Moore and Judd in Chapter 1. In doing so, I return to the approaches of library making laid out by Alexander Alberro and Anton Vidokle in their respective texts on the Robert Smithson and Martha Rosler libraries discussed in Chapter 1. Specifically I invoke Vidokle's notion of the library as 'totality [...] not just the books themselves [...] All the objects in it – the shelves, tables, chairs.'⁴

In the 1930s Hepworth and Nicholson extensively photographed each other in their shared working and living environment in the Mall Studios, something that Rachel Smith has suggested may have been partially motivated by Hepworth's acquisition of a new Zeiss Ikon camera by 1930.⁵ In addition to their own photographic experiments, in 1933 they also commissioned the photographer Paul Laib to document their studio interior and individual artworks, with some of these photographs included in the 1934 publication *Unit I: The*

³ See 'library', *Oxford English Dictionary*

<<https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/107923?rskey=SJnDeK&result=1#eid>>. Accessed 13 June 2019.

⁴ Anton Vidokle in 'Artistic Agency in the Absence of the Public: Interview with Anton Vidokle', *Martha Rosler Library*, p. 21.

⁵ Rachel Rose Smith, 'Modern Art Movements and St Ives 1939-49', unpublished PhD thesis, University of York, Sept. 2015, p. 91.

Modern Movement in English Architecture, Painting and Sculpture [Fig. 23].⁶ The Mall Studio was a studio-home, where Hepworth both lived and worked, and where she seems to have established a set up of having both a domestic space and a working studio space that she would later replicate at Trewyn Studio in St Ives. Significantly, although it was Laib's image of Hepworth's working rather than living space that was included for publication in *Unit 1* in accordance with the stipulation that all members of the group should include a photographic portrait, an image of their hands and finally a photograph of their empty studio (see fig. 23),⁷ it is the domestic space that appears most often in Hepworth and Nicholson's photos [Fig. 24]. Similarly, as Anne Wagner has observed, Hepworth's *Unit 1* statement also prioritises 'personal feelings and ordinary things [...] objects seen and felt'.⁸ As Hepworth writes,

Objects that we place near to each other, in their different aspects and relationships create new experience. A scarlet circle on the wall [...] weighty pebbles, dull grey, some gleaming white, all these move about the room [...] and nearly always give a tremendous feeling of work – because they are so much a part of the different seasons and varied light and quality of each day.⁹

She continues 'the predisposition to carve is not enough, there must be a positive living and moving towards an ideal'.¹⁰ Whilst, as Wagner notes, such a statement may be read in line with Hepworth's own following of Christian Science that '*thought* itself was for her radically disembodied',¹¹ her phrase 'positive living' suggests the need to harness her immediate world and objects around her into carving itself. Amongst these various objects are shelves of

⁶ Paul Laib photographed artworks and studios of many of the major British artists between 1900-1945, including both society portraitists John Singer Sargent and members of the avant-garde such as Hepworth and Nicholson. In 1974 the collection of Laib's 22,000 glass plate negatives were gifted to the Courtauld Institute by Patrick De Laszlo (son of the artist Patrick De Laszlo, one of Laib's most frequent artist clients) to form the De Laszlo Gift. In 2017 the exhibition *Camera, Obscured: The Fine Art Photography of Paul Laib* was held in the Book Library Foyer at the Courtauld Institute. For further details see Barbara Thompson, 'The De Laszlo Gift', *Art and Architecture* <http://www.artandarchitecture.org.uk/stories/thompson_delaszlo.html>.

⁷ Anne Wagner, *Mother Stone: The Vitality of Modern British Sculpture*, p. 144.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

⁹ Barbara Hepworth, Statement in *Unit 1: the Modern Movement in English Architecture, Painting and Sculpture* ed. Herbert Read (London: Cassell, 1934) pp. 19-20.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 20

¹¹ Anne Wagner, *Mother Stone: The Vitality of Modern British Sculpture*, p. 147.

books, a number housed in an octagonal side table, as seen in photographs taken by Hepworth and Nicholson, including a series of self portraits taken in the reflection of a circular mirror [Figs. 25-6]. Whilst the view of the books in the photographs is too distant to be able to discern specific titles or orderings – the shelves are situated in the rear corner of the room – what they do reveal is the non hierarchical integration of books, other domestic objects and artworks in the space. Whilst the integration of books, artworks and other objects might initially suggest a reading of Hepworth’s library in the manner of a *personal collection* in line with that which I proposed for Moore’s library in Chapter 1, it is important to notice the difference at play here. As Lee Beard has written on Laib’s photographs of the Mall Studio, ‘[these] images highlight the extent to which Hepworth and Nicholson wished to convey to a wider audience their **aesthetic position** that art and living, or as Hepworth would put it, working and living, should be treated as one and the same’ (my emphasis).¹² As Beard aptly notes, such staging in the Mall Studios photographs, though arguably still creating a particular public image, is less about the individual status of objects but rather the ‘aesthetic position’ produced.

Hepworth, Nicholson and their triplets moved to Cornwall in 1949 at the outbreak of war. Their Hampstead friend, Adrian Stokes and his wife, the artist Margaret Mellis, had taken a house in Carbis Bay. As Hepworth recalls in her *Pictorial Autobiography*:

Adrian Stokes [...] invited all of us for a holiday; and he added, if war broke out he would give shelter to the children, as a glass-roofed studio in London was no place for them. For about four months he and his wife gave us shelter, warmth and kindness until we found a way to live.¹³

An account of their journey to Cornwall is offered by Margaret Gardiner in her *Memoir*, who states: ‘So, one afternoon in late afternoon in late August, 1939, they all piled into the ancient

¹² Lee Beard, ‘Reflections on a Relationship: Barbara Hepworth and Ben Nicholson, The Early Years’, in *Barbara Hepworth: Sculpture for a Modern World*, p. 24. Penelope Curtis also highlights the fact that many of the objects in the studio, including textiles, curtains and ceramics were ones designed by Hepworth and Nicholson themselves in the hope of alleviating financial hardship. See Curtis, *Barbara Hepworth*, p. 13.

¹³ *Barbara Hepworth: A Pictorial Autobiography* (London: Tate Publishing, 1985, repr. 2008) p. 41.

car and drove to Cornwall, arriving at midnight in pouring rain.’¹⁴ The impression offered by Gardiner is that of a journey made in haste, presumably within the minimum of luggage able to fit in the ‘ancient car’. This is corroborated by Hepworth’s own account, in which she writes: ‘At the most difficult moment of this period I did the maquette for the first sculpture with colour, and when I took the children to Cornwall five days before war was declared I took the maquette with me, also my hammer and a minimum of stone carving tools.’¹⁵ If Hepworth was taking only the ‘minimum’ of carving tools it seems likely that books may have also had to be sacrificed in the move.¹⁶ Certainly, the Hepworth library as it exists today at The Hepworth Wakefield contains a dearth of pre-war material, as I shall discuss in further detail later in the chapter. The Mall Studios were themselves subject to bombing during the war, which destroyed some sculptures that remained there and may have also damaged or destroyed any books that remained in the space.¹⁷

Despite this, Hepworth recalls this early wartime period at Carbis Bay as one of ‘extensive’ reading. In the text entitled ‘the war, Cornwall, and artist in landscape 1939-1946’, included as one six autobiographical statements for Herbert Read’s 1952 monograph *Barbara Hepworth: Carvings and Drawings*, she writes:

At that time I was reading very extensively and I became concerned as to the true relationship of the artist and society. I remember expecting the major upheaval of war to change my outlook; but it seemed as though the worse the international scene

¹⁴ Margaret Gardiner, *Barbara Hepworth: A Memoir*, p. 61.

¹⁵ Barbara Hepworth, Statements for *Barbara Hepworth: Carvings and Drawings*; with an introduction by Herbert Read (London: Lund Humphries, 1952), repr. in *Barbara Hepworth: Writings and Conversations* ed. Sophie Bowness (London: Tate Publishing, 2015) p. 66.

¹⁶ This is also the opinion of Sophie Bowness who suggested to me that Hepworth would have unlikely had the funds to be able to arrange additional transport of books and other belongings to Cornwall. As told to the author in conversation, March 2018. Rachel Smith has highlighted a little mentioned detail that in 1939 Margaret Gardiner financed a van to deliver some additional carvings by Hepworth and paintings by Nicholson from London to St Ives. However, there is no suggestion that this delivery contained any additional belongings. See Rachel Smith, ‘Modern Art Movements and St Ives’, p. 53.

¹⁷ In the *Pictorial Autobiography*, Hepworth writes that three large works over 10 feet high were all damaged in the war and a number of maquettes were all lost. See *Barbara Hepworth: A Pictorial Autobiography*, p. 41.

became the more determined and passionate became my desire to find a full expression of the ideas which had germinated before the war broke out.¹⁸

This extract makes it clear how reading, for Hepworth, became directly related to the events unfolding at the time: living through the horror of war her mind turns to what role the artist might offer society. This period of extensive reading was also one in which Hepworth ‘was not able to carve at all’ but ‘in the late evenings, and during the night...did innumerable drawings in gouache and pencil.’¹⁹ It seems more than pure coincidence that at a time in which Hepworth was restricted as to what work she could undertake, she instead turned to reading. In much of the literature on Hepworth this section of text is quoted, but with no mention of her discussion of reading; as Chris Stephens writes, ‘Restrictions of space and materials, and the pressures of family life, meant Hepworth could only produce a few plaster maquettes [...] For a couple of years she was forced largely to confine her artistic activities to drawing.’²⁰ Instead, I argue that the lack of carving opportunities during the wartime period was compensated not only by drawing but also by a period of intensive reading. A lack of photographic material exists documenting the three houses which Hepworth occupied in Carbis – first Little Park Owles, Stokes’ house, then from December 1939, the house Dunluce, and finally in 1943, Chy-an-Kerris – and as such it is not possible to trace this ‘extensive’ period of reading through photography.

Although Hepworth would remember the move to Chy-an-Kerris as one of a ‘release from what had seemed an almost unbearable diminution of space’ where she was finally blessed with her own ‘studio workroom’,²¹ by 1949 she was once again in need of space for work.²² It was at this point that she purchased Trewyn Studio in St Ives, which had come up

¹⁸ Barbara Hepworth, Statements for *Barbara Hepworth: Carvings and Drawings*, in *Barbara Hepworth: Writings and Conversations*, pp. 66-7.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

²⁰ Chris Stephens, *St Ives: The Art and the Artists* (London: Pavilion, 2018) p. 43.

²¹ Barbara Hepworth, Statements for *Barbara Hepworth: Carvings and Drawings*, p. 67.

²² Penelope Curtis suggests that this was specifically needed in order for her to execute her first large-scale commission, for the 1951 Festival of Britain. See Curtis, *Barbara Hepworth*, p. 18.

for auction. When her marriage with Nicholson broke down at the end of 1950, Hepworth moved to live in Trewyn permanently. At this point, the studio (and accompanying garden) became closely tied to the construction of her public image through its inclusion in photography. As both Chris Stephens and Helena Bonett have observed, Hepworth's sculptures and her very person were regularly photographed in the context of Trewyn, and specifically the garden, including a tendency to include images of the artist in her garden with her work in catalogues and articles from the 1960s onwards.²³ The *Pictorial Autobiography* alone features twenty images of Trewyn, including the garden and outdoor spaces, as well as spreads from catalogues that used images of Hepworth in the garden [Figs. 27-8].²⁴ From the 1950s until her death, Hepworth was regularly photographed at work in her studio and garden by many well known studio and portrait photographers of the time, including Roger Mayne, Jorge Lewinski, Ida Kar and John Hedgecoe.²⁵ At this point images of the library thus begin to appear again.

The significance of the acquisition of Trewyn for Hepworth's work and life is something that is emphasised in both more recent historical accounts and those from writers in Hepworth's own lifetime, in addition to the artist herself. As Sophie Bowness states at the beginning of *Barbara Hepworth: The Sculptor in the Studio*:

The centrality of Trewyn to Hepworth's art and life is brought to the fore. The Studio provided the space and seclusion that were vital for her work, yet it was also situated at the centre of the community of St Ives, to which she was deeply committed.²⁶

²³ Chris Stephens, "A Sort of Magic", in Miranda Phillips and Chris Stephens, *Barbara Hepworth Sculpture Garden* (London: Tate Publishing, 2002, repr. 2012) p. 9.

²⁴ Helena Bonett, 'From Studio to Museum: Barbara Hepworth's Trewyn Studio', *Barbara Hepworth* seminar, Tate Britain, Mar 2013.

²⁵ Helena Bonett discusses the impact of Trewyn Studio and garden on Hepworth's public persona through photography and film in the paper 'From Studio to Museum: Barbara Hepworth's Trewyn Studio', *Barbara Hepworth* seminar, Tate Britain, Mar 2013. Inga Fraser also provides an account of the different photographers Hepworth worked with in the essay 'Media and Movement: Barbara Hepworth beyond the Lens' in the Tate 2015 exhibition catalogue *Barbara Hepworth: Sculpture for a Modern World*, pp. 73-83. For a general discussion of the studio photography genre see Mary Bergstein, "The Artist in His Studio": Photography, Art and the Masculine Mystique', *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 18, No. 2, 1995, p. 46.

²⁶ Sophie Bowness, *Barbara Hepworth: The Sculptor in the Studio* (London: Tate Publishing, 2017) pp. 7-8.

She cites a number of instances of Hepworth writing in correspondence to friends in which she spoke of the impact of Trewyn, including several letters to Norman Capener, where she described it as affecting ‘my whole life & work most profoundly’.²⁷ David Lewis also recalls the effects ‘both physical and metaphorical’ that Trewyn had on Hepworth.²⁸ For Hepworth, it was not only the overall environment of Trewyn that was significant for her work, but the individual spaces found there and the different usages that they might be put to. As Sophie Bowness writes, ‘Hepworth used the different spaces at Trewyn – the upper room of the Studio, the pair of workshops, the carving yard and the garden....[and] their character and function evolved according to her needs’.²⁹ Imke Valentien argues for a distinction in the function of the different spaces of Trewyn based on a divide between the interior and exterior spaces. For Valentien, the upstairs living space was one devoted to ‘creative writing and composition of forms’, whilst the outdoor workshops were Hepworth ‘at work, not developing intellectual ideas on paper[...] the labour, the hard work.’³⁰ Between this divide of indoor upstairs space and outdoor workshop lies the garden, adapted to form a setting for her sculpture, containing the outdoor hut (or summerhouse) - ‘a place in which to rest, write and think’ -³¹ and the greenhouse, where Hepworth stated that ‘no stone dust’ was to be found, ‘only books & pencils’.³²

Hepworth’s books then, were primarily kept in the upstairs space, which was gradually transformed from the carving studio she had initially used it as when she first

²⁷ Barbara Hepworth to Norman Capener, 31 Aug. 1949, private collection, qtd. in *Ibid.*, p. 7. Bowness also cites similar correspondence to both Ludo Read, wife of Herbert Read, and Philip James, Director of Art at the Arts Council.

²⁸ David Lewis, ‘Barbara Hepworth: A Memoir’, in *Barbara Hepworth Centenary* (London: Tate Publishing, 2003) p.10.

²⁹ Sophie Bowness, *Barbara Hepworth: The Sculptor in the Studio*, p. 9.

³⁰ Imke K Valentien, ‘The Museum as Image of the Artist: A Critical Analysis of Barbara Hepworth’s Studio and Garden in St Ives, Cornwall’. MA Dissertation. Courtauld Institute of Art, 1994, pp. 11-14.

³¹ Sophie Bowness, *Barbara Hepworth: The Sculptor in the Studio*, p.74.

³² Barbara Hepworth to Herbert Read, 30 Dec. 1965. University of Leeds Special Collections, BC MS 20c Herbert Read.

purchased the studio into a domestic living space, which functioned as ‘bedroom, living and receiving room and office’³³. As the earlier quoted extract from her letter to Read demonstrates, books were also taken into the upper greenhouse and selected volumes pertaining to technical aspects of sculpting were also found in the Palais de Danse, Hepworth’s second studio that she purchased in 1961, such as a copy of Buck & Hickman Ltd.’s *General Catalogue of Tools and Supplies for all Mechanical Trades* (1964).³⁴ From examining the archival photographic material showing the upstairs space, a small shelf of books can be seen present near the fireplace from the time the space functioned as a carving studio [Fig. 29]. By 1959, this small shelf appears to have been replaced with a larger bookcase placed next to the door leading into the garden, housing books with plants, sculptures and paintings displayed atop of the case [Fig. 30]. There are also a number of photographs taken in the 1960s and 1970s that present Hepworth in the upstairs studio space, either reading or with the library in the background [Figs. 31-6]. This is not to suggest that the photographs were *deliberately* taken with a view to providing an image of the library, but that in documenting the upstairs space they allow for such analysis. The photographs are not connected in any way: they are the work of different photographers (two by R. W. Kochalski, one by Jorge Lewinski, one by John Hedgecoe and two in which the photographer is unknown) and span the years of 1960 to 1973. Significantly, until the publication of Sophie Bowness’ 2017 text, only one of these photographs had been published in the literature on Hepworth (the image of the antique table), meaning that they were not readily available as a source of analysis on the artist.

³³ Sophie Bowness, *Barbara Hepworth: The Sculptor in the Studio*, p. 97. Janet Axten notes that when Hepworth first moved into Trewyn to live, she initially lived and slept in the downstairs part of the house and used the upstairs room as an indoor studio. See Janet Axten, *Gasworks to Gallery: The Story of Tate St Ives* (St Ives: Janet Axten and Colin Orchard, 1995) p. 43. Bowness states that as the upper room was gradually transformed into a living space rather than working space, for a time it became a hybrid live/work space. See Bowness, *Barbara Hepworth: The Sculptor in the Studio*, p. 34.

³⁴ See Sophie Bowness, ‘The Library of Barbara Hepworth’, Dec. 2006 – Nov. 2016, The Hepworth Wakefield Archive.

In the photographs, particularly those that date from the early period of Hepworth's time in Trewyn, in which the upstairs space was still functioning as a working space or at least a hybrid space, the library is often presented as a backdrop to sculpture, which is set atop work benches and stools, surrounded by tools. Whilst noting the potential for staging in these images, they nonetheless present the library in a working space in a manner that may be read in the light of a *studio tool*, akin to those examples of the libraries of Moore and Bacon discussed in Chapter 1. Moreover, as Marsha Meskimmon has written, the idea of conjoining the library and the studio is one that has a historical precedent dating back to the Renaissance concept of the studio as part of a wider cultural and intellectual community'.³⁵ In the later photographs, the working space/hybrid space is replaced with a more decidedly domestic setting. However, this in itself also has affinity with those contemporary definitions of the studio discussed in Chapter 1, in particular Mary Jane Jacob's notion of the studio as 'sanctum, lounge and social network'.

From Studio to Museum

On the night of 20 May 1975 a fire broke out in the upstairs room at Trewyn, speculated to be caused by Hepworth falling asleep with a lighted cigarette. Though neighbours attempted to rescue her, it was to no avail.³⁶ Less than a year after her death the Barbara Hepworth Museum opened to the public, with the official opening taking place on 10 April 1976. As early as 1972 Hepworth had provided a written memorandum to her Trustees stating her desire that they should

take into consideration the practicability of establishing a permanent exhibition of some of my works in Trewyn Studio and its garden. I favour such an idea possibly with small sculptures, carvings and drawings being shown on the first floor, my

³⁵ Marsha Meskimmon, *Women Making Art: History, Subjectivity, Aesthetics* (London: Routledge, 2003) p. 82. Meskimmon goes on to suggest that the legacy of this 'wider' concept of the studio was one which was 'reaffirmed' in the twentieth century, especially for women, for whom 'the significance of both libraries and studios' was 'vital' as they 'sought to expand their access and status within professional circles'.

³⁶ Brian Pedley, 'A garden of sculptural delights', *The Times*, 11 Jan. 2003.

working studio being shown as closely as possible as it had been in my lifetime and a few large works being shown in the garden.³⁷

Although demonstrating a clear vision here for what the museum might look like, Hepworth also left her Trustees a flexibility and freedom to execute plans for the museum in the most appropriate way that they saw fit: 'I leave it to you to decide how and whether this project can be realised', she stated.³⁸ It is also significant that from the beginning Hepworth never envisaged the upstairs room to be a replica of her own domestic living arrangements, but to function more in the manner of an 'exhibition' space than the outdoor studios, which she did want to be 'shown as closely as possible' to how they had been in her own life. In addition to Hepworth's own vision for the museum, another circumstance to directly impact on how the museum developed was that of the fire itself. In an interview with Helena Bonett for the 2015 film *Trewyn Studio*, Alan Bowness candidly reflected on the aftermath of the fire and how it influenced his decision making regarding the museum. As Bonett discusses in her PhD thesis, this film marked an important moment as 'the widely held understanding' had been that the preservation of the studios and the museum layout more generally was 'a direct and unmediated expression of Hepworth's authoritative and legally binding intentions', yet the film is able to demonstrate that in reality the situation is 'more complex and ambiguous'.³⁹ It also marked the first time on record that Bowness detailed his curatorial process and the decision-making involved.⁴⁰ It is of no small coincidence that this was achieved through the medium of oral history rather than a standard written historical account; as Bonett reflects,

the filmed interview method allowed for a more discursive, embodied, performative aspect to his narration that responded directly to encountering the different areas of

³⁷ Barbara Hepworth, 'Memorandum to Trustees', 20 Feb. 1972, qtd. in Sophie Bowness, *Barbara Hepworth: The Sculptor in the Studio*, p. 87.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Helena Bonett, 'Artistic Legacy and Patrimonial Knowledge: A Case Study of Barbara Hepworth at Tate', p. 16.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

the museum as he moved through them and therefore to what he saw, felt and touched in each space as well as what he knew.⁴¹

As such, the candid account offered by Bowness and the particular knowledges it imparts can at least in part be attributed to the oral history interview method chosen.

In the film Bowness states that the fire ‘blackened the whole place’, leaving burn marks on the floor and meaning that the bed and many burnt papers had to be disposed of. As such he decided that ‘the only sensible thing was to clear the space’.⁴² According to Sophie Bowness, Bowness made the decision to present the upstairs in such a way as to ‘evoke Hepworth’s first years at Trewyn, when it was a carving studio and not yet a living space.’⁴³ This decision to prioritise and recapture a particular time frame in the studio’s history would have implications for future interpretation, not least in the emphasis it would place on the space as a working rather than domestic space. Although Bowness left some furniture in the room to offer ‘a flavour of what it was like in the early days’ – with armchairs, rugs and ceramics placed on the mantelpiece and some sculptures seated on tables and cupboards rather than conventional plinths – overall little sense of the space as a domestic space is retained [Fig. 37].⁴⁴ Prioritising the working space over the domestic is in itself loaded, suggesting a particular set of values in place. Bonett suggests that

The changes that Bowness made were principally reflections of his training as an art historian and background in curating exhibitions of modern art [...] whereby modernist aesthetic qualities are valued over those of the everyday and domestic. Consequently, the choice, for instance, to clear out Hepworth’s ‘clutter’ from the upper floor is in keeping with the valuing of the clear, white modernist aesthetic as found in exhibitions of modern art at this time.⁴⁵

Ironically, although Bowness stated that he did not ‘want the place to look like a museum’, in the adherence to modernist aesthetics through the white-walled appearance – evoking the

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 132-3.

⁴² Alan Bowness, in *Trewyn Studio*, dir. Helena Bonett (in collaboration with Jonathon Law), 2015.

⁴³ Sophie Bowness, *Barbara Hepworth: The Sculptor in the Studio*, p. 92.

⁴⁴ Alan Bowness, in *Trewyn Studio*, 2015.

⁴⁵ Helena Bonett, ‘Artistic Legacy and Patrimonial Knowledge’, p. 120.

space as it was when Hepworth first acquired it – and the lack of reference to the previous function of the space, in many ways it does come closer to that of a gallery than either a house or workspace.⁴⁶ Hepworth's books suffered some smoke damage and blackening to the spines in the fire, and as such Bowness chose not to include them in the museum. Their future life would not be connected with that of the museum's, and thus they are generally absent from accounts focusing on the museum itself. What is more, by not including the books in the museum, and therefore meaning that they were not on public view, there was less impetus offered for new accounts of their significance within Hepworth's own life. This was also further exacerbated by the decision to focus the upstairs room display on the early period in Trewyn's history, when it was still a carving studio, rather than a living space, office and reading space. Given the curatorial focus, art historical accounts have also tended to mostly concentrate on this early period; as Sophie Bowness states of her 2017 text, 'Hepworth's early years at Trewyn are a particular focus of this account'.⁴⁷

Bowness' decision to clear out the upstairs space was a logic he applied to the other areas of Trewyn, including the downstairs area and the garden, although areas of the outside studios were left with strict instructions to not be altered.⁴⁸ This involved removing a number of sculptures from the now crowded garden and also taking out the kitchen and bathroom in the downstairs space, instead turning it into a museum space containing an archive display with letters, photographs and ephemera that could narrate a chronological account of Hepworth's life [Fig. 38]. Bowness states,

It was a bit shabby by '75 and it's not so interesting when you walk into somebody's house to see what their gas stove, electric stove, was like, what the fridge was like and

⁴⁶ Alan Bowness, in *Trewyn Studio*, 2015.

⁴⁷ Sophie Bowness, *Barbara Hepworth: The Sculptor in the Studio*, p. 8.

⁴⁸ On the cupboards within the outside workshops, Bowness stated: 'I simply didn't open anything; I thought it was much safer. And my strict instructions were nobody was to do anything to them; they were just to be left exactly as they were. And, as I've said already, I'm not an expert and I couldn't possibly tell you what really is in these cupboards, so it seemed best just to leave them.' Alan Bowness, in *Trewyn Studio*, 2015, qtd. in Helena Bonett, 'Artistic Legacy and Patrimonial Knowledge', p. 128.

all this kind of stuff. So I thought, well, we can do without that and just try to present Barbara as a person down here through these maxims and the arrangement of photographs [...] I thought there was not much point in keeping Barbara's bathroom and washbasin and the loo, adjacent, so we cleared it out [...].⁴⁹

Not only does this quotation demonstrate the same lack of value placed on the role of the domestic as a source of knowledge as that placed on the upstairs space, but moreover it suggests a prioritising of presenting Hepworth the artist, rather than Trewyn the space used by Hepworth. Ironically, although in one sense the museum prioritises the experience of seeing Hepworth's work in the very space it was made - 'discover the magical home and unique garden of artist Barbara Hepworth' a 2016 events guide states - by clearing the spaces this very sense of 'home' is in many ways now lost.⁵⁰ Perhaps in his desire that the museum should not 'look like a museum' Bowness chose to include no text panels explaining the different functions that the spaces had held during Hepworth's lifetime, the only textual interpretation being quotations from Hepworth printed on the walls of the downstairs archive space (see figure 6). However, perhaps to stand in for the lack of interpretation, Bowness did write a *Guide to The Barbara Hepworth Museum and Sculpture Garden*, which does provide details of the functions of the different spaces, including one reference to the library: 'The studio was damaged in the fire that caused the artist's death, though no works of art were destroyed, much of the furniture and the artist's books cannot be exhibited.'⁵¹ Since its original publication, this guide has been reprinted in a number of different editions, including a 40th anniversary edition in 2016, with the different editions available to purchase from the museum shop for a small sum of money. However, during a recent visit to the museum in June 2019 I observed that the guide was no longer on sale. Whilst copies of Sophie Bowness' *Barbara Hepworth: The Sculptor in the Studio* and other related texts are available for purchase, if the museum visitor does not choose to pay the £16.99 for this it now means that

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 122-3.

⁵⁰ 'Barbara Hepworth Museum and Sculpture Garden: Events and Activities', 2016.

⁵¹ Alan Bowness, *A Guide to the Barbara Hepworth Museum and Sculpture Garden* (St Ives: Lund Humphries, 1976) n. p.

no other textual interpretation about the spaces is available. As such, the activities that took place in these spaces, including reading and writing, become even further invisible.

A New Home

Bowness' decision to turn back the clock to the early days of Hepworth's time at Trewyn, combined with the fire damage to Hepworth's books has meant that the library is now absent from the presentation of the upstairs space in the Barbara Hepworth Museum, whilst the lack of interpretation available means that no reference is now made to its prior existence. Of course the unanswerable question remains as to whether the books would have still been included in the museum had they not been subject to fire damage. Although Sophie Bowness states that the fire made the books 'unsuitable for display', there is no certainty that they would have been included had the fire not occurred.⁵² Revealingly, Bonett suggests that whilst Hepworth specified in her Will that her tools and equipment should be included in the museum display, this included no mention of personal items, such as books, photographs or furniture.⁵³ Bowness' decision to 'clear' the interior space of Trewyn Studio and not display Hepworth's library and other objects affected by fire damage would not only come to influence the future interpretation of the studio and museum, but also determine the future life-story of the library itself.

In the 1990s the Hepworth Estate began to focus its attention on the city of Wakefield – Hepworth's hometown – and build upon her presence there already established with the acquisition of works in her own life time by the Wakefield Art Gallery.⁵⁴ As Frances Guy

⁵² Sophie Bowness, *Barbara Hepworth: The Sculptor in the Studio*, pp. 96-7.

⁵³ Helena Bonett, 'Artistic Legacy and Patrimonial Knowledge', p. 182. In her Will Hepworth stated that she wishes her Trustees to select 'such sculptures and other works executed by me in any medium and such of my tools and other equipment [...] as being suitable for exhibiting [...]'. Barbara Hepworth, 'Last Will and Testament', 20 Feb. 1972, clause 9a, p. 12. I am indebted to Helena Bonett for kindly sharing this document with me.

⁵⁴ Full listings of Hepworth's work held in the Wakefield Art Gallery fine art collection are provided in See *Wakefield Art Gallery: The Fine Art Collection*; compiled by Antonino Vella and Mary Matthews (Wakefield:

writes, the hope was that in time Hepworth would ‘become as much associated with Wakefield as [...] with St Ives and the significance of those early artistic stirrings in Yorkshire [...] acknowledged in a gallery dedicated to her name.’⁵⁵ In October 1997, a formal offer was made from Sir Alan Bowness, on behalf of the Estate’s trustees, of the Gift of a ‘collection of twenty plus original plaster sculptures’ to the City of Wakefield. His letter to Gordon Watson, then manager of Wakefield Council’s Museums and Arts Service, also stated that ‘certain unfinished sculptures, tools and workshop equipment might be added to the gift if appropriate’.⁵⁶ In the event, the final Gift consisted of 44 prototypes, in plaster, aluminium and wood, alongside a small number of unfinished works and fragments, studio materials, tools and templates designed to ‘complement those in the studios of the Barbara Hepworth Museum, St Ives’.⁵⁷ Included within this additional material was a selection of books from Hepworth’s library, which Hepworth had bequeathed to Bowness in her will.⁵⁸

Reflecting upon Wakefield’s acquisition of the Hepworth library, I will now examine the historical role the library came to be assigned within the Hepworth Family Gift and how this

Wakefield Museums and Arts, 2003) pp. 55-6. For further discussion on the collecting of Hepworth’s work by Wakefield Art Gallery, see Frances Guy, ‘Coming Home: Barbara Hepworth and the Wakefield Art Gallery collection’, in *Barbara Hepworth: The Plasters*, (London: Lund Humphries, 2011) pp. 11-15. Guy was Head of Collections and Exhibitions at The Hepworth Wakefield until 2015.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁵⁶ Alan Bowness to Gordon Watson, 2 Oct. 1997. The Hepworth Wakefield Archive, THW 1/2/10/2. Also see Gordon Watson, ‘Developing The Hepworth Wakefield to start of construction, 1996 to 2007’, in *Barbara Hepworth: The Plasters*, pp. 17-21.

⁵⁷ Sophie Bowness. ‘Catalogue of the Plasters and other Prototypes in The Hepworth Gift’, in *Barbara Hepworth: The Plasters*, pp. 99-100.

⁵⁸ Hepworth stated in her will: ‘to my son-in-law the said Alan Bowness, my writings and notebooks, one copy of my record book of my works and one copy of my stock book, all my other books, my reference library’. See Barbara Hepworth, ‘Last Will and Testament’, clause 6b, p. 8. Although the books from Hepworth’s library accompany the Family Gift, they were however acquired separately to the other items in the Gift. Because Hepworth left her library directly to Alan Bowness in her will, the books were proposed as part of separate gift from Bowness directly, which consisted of six paintings (including works by Ivon Hitchens, Alan Davies and John Hoyland) and ‘10 boxes of books’, the selection of the library given to Wakefield. See ‘Proposal for Acquisition Form’, 18 Dec. 2006, The Hepworth Wakefield Archive. As such, the books arrived in Wakefield much earlier than the rest of the Gift; a note from M Matthews dated March 2009, states that the books are ‘currently downstairs in the ceramic/sculpture store’. See note from M Matthews in ‘List of books owned by Barbara Hepworth’, Dec. 2006, The Hepworth Wakefield Archive. In email correspondence between Sophie Bowness and Frances Guy in 2009, Bowness wrote that ‘Barbara’s own books (part of the collection is already in Wakefield and has been catalogued by me; I still have the remainder to catalogue in London) and a group of Hepworth catalogues (mainly in St Ives – the idea is to give Wakefield as full a set as possible) are also earmarked for Wakefield’. Sophie Bowness to Frances Guy, 21 Aug. 2009, The Hepworth Wakefield Archive. In 2016 Bowness presented books from this remaining set to The Hepworth. The contents of both donations are included in Sophie Bowness’ catalogue ‘The Library of Barbara Hepworth’, Dec. 2006-Nov. 2016.

determined the manner in which the collection was displayed (or not). This will form a context within which to reflect upon the intervention of this PhD research in the following chapter, specifically the knowledge and understanding gained through the live staging of the library and the models of display and encounter selected.

It is a well documented fact that the Hepworth Family Gift was one of the key factors behind the development of The Hepworth Wakefield. By the late 1990s Wakefield Council had already begun to investigate the potential of developing a new gallery to replace the Wakefield Art Gallery, which was in desperate need of more space to display the collections. In Bowness' original offer letter he had stated that the offer was based on the understanding that 'a building of architectural distinction and museum standard' would be made available for the gift.⁵⁹ The offer of the Hepworth Gift thus added impetus and priority to the new gallery project. Bound up in this way, the archive material pertaining to the Hepworth Gift held in the archive at The Hepworth Wakefield contains a large amount of material documenting the discussions regarding how best to display the Gift in the newly designed galleries. From the outset it was decided that there would be two galleries, 'the Sculptor at Work interpretative gallery [...] alongside, but separate from, the plaster gallery...[to] demonstrate the working process behind the creation of the plasters'.⁶⁰ Although it was clear that the main objective for the 'Sculptor at Work' gallery (what is now *Hepworth at Work*) was to show the techniques behind the creation of the plasters, the initial brief also lists the objective of showing 'objects and places of inspiration to Hepworth' and illustrating 'the nature of her working *environment*'.⁶¹ Suggested display material includes 'Hepworth's writings', 'objects of inspiration (stones, shells etc)' and 'Hepworth's collection of ancient

⁵⁹ Alan Bowness to Gordon Watson, 2 Oct. 1997. The Hepworth Wakefield Archive, THW 1/2/10/2.

⁶⁰ 'Wakefield Waterfront Gallery and Centre for the Creative Arts Barbara Hepworth Gallery Initial Brief', Apr. 2004. The Hepworth Wakefield Archive, THW 1/2/10/2.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

objects'.⁶² As such, the material considered for this gallery may loosely be described as falling into three categories: those of documentation, tools and other material related to the working studio environment, and Hepworth's own personal collections.⁶³ There is no mention of the Hepworth library in this document but arguably this may be attributed to the brief being dated two years earlier than the formal proposal to acquire the books: by this point the possibility of including the library in the Gift may not have yet been discussed.

Mention of the library is however present in the minutes from a planning meeting regarding the *Hepworth at Work* gallery held in 2008. Under an item titled 'BH inspiration: Stones and Heads', the Minutes state:

WAG thought that this maybe misleading as there is not a direct link between these objects and any of BH pieces. SB agreed that there was not a literal link but they would have certainly inspired her. SW suggested that BH political and intellectual influences could be highlighted in this location for example key volumes/books from the library.⁶⁴

It is clear here that the library was thus considered in the planning process as significant material to be included in this 'inspiration' or personal collection section. Despite this, the finalised display contained only two volumes from the library: a copy of E J Parlanti's *Casting a Torso in Bronze* shown alongside material demonstrating the lost wax casting process, and one of Hepworth's copies of Hammarskjöld's *Markings* , displayed alongside material documenting the UN *Single Form* commission [Fig. 39]. As such, the chosen volumes reflect the desire to illustrate practical working techniques and to document Hepworth's public commissions, rather than focus on those 'political and intellectual influences' that Wallis had spoken of. Nonetheless the final display did still contain

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Sophie Bowness is clear to emphasise however that Hepworth 'was not a collector in any serious way'. Sophie Bowness, 'Hepworth at Work: Notes and Suggestions for Display', 9 Sept. 2009, The Hepworth Wakefield Archive.

⁶⁴ 'Minutes: Hepworth at Work Gallery', Wakefield Metropolitan District Council, 8 Dec. 2008, The Hepworth Wakefield Archive. 'WAG' here refers to Gordon Watson, 'SW' to Simon Wallis, director of The Hepworth Wakefield, 'SB' to Sophie Bowness, and 'BH' to Barbara Hepworth.

Hepworth's collections of natural, found objects and ancient objects. [Fig. 40]. The Gift also includes a collection of work by other artists that Hepworth had acquired, including ceramics by Bernard and Janet Leach and artworks by John Wells and Pierre Soulages. However with the exception of a painting by Guy Worsdell of *Hepworth at work on The Bride from The Family of Man* (1970), none of these works were included in the displays. Instead, they were absorbed into the fine art collection rather than being kept as a separate collection of works owned by Hepworth.⁶⁵ Again this decision is in keeping with the overall rationale to focus on material that had a documentary role or that could reveal more of Hepworth's working processes. The question of how the displays were presented also applies to their mediation through published material. The first publication to feature the Hepworth Family Gift, *Barbara Hepworth: The Plasters: The Gift to Wakefield*, was published in 2011 to coincide with the opening of the new gallery.⁶⁶ Through its very title, the text emphasises from the outset that its focus is on the plasters specifically, rather than the Gift as a whole. Inside, although the plasters are richly illustrated through detailed catalogue entries and installation photographs of the plasters gallery, images of the *Hepworth at Work* gallery are not included, although many of the working techniques it demonstrates are discussed in Sophie Bowness' essay 'Barbara Hepworth's Studio Practice: Plaster for Bronze' [Fig. 41].

What this discussion of the decisions made in the initial displays of the Hepworth Gift (and its mediation through publication) has endeavoured to demonstrate is the way in which every curatorial decision made over what to display- and equally importantly what *not* to display -comes to determine meaning and the narrative the gallery tells. As Peter Vergo has written:

⁶⁵ For a full list of the artworks by other artists included in the Gift, see 'The Hepworth Estate's Gift to Wakefield', July 2010, The Hepworth Wakefield Archive.

⁶⁶ This text followed on from the two 2003 volumes published on the Wakefield Art Gallery and its art collection. See *Wakefield Art Gallery: The Fine Art Collection*; compiled by Antonino Vella and Mary Matthews (Wakefield: Wakefield Museums and Arts, 2003) and *Wakefield Art Gallery: An Illustrated Guide*; compiled by Antonino Vella and Mary Matthews (Wakefield: Wakefield Museums and Arts, 2003).

Whether we like it or not, every acquisition [...] every juxtaposition or arrangement of an object or work of art, together with other objects or works of art, within the context of a temporary exhibition or museum display means placing a certain construction upon history[...] Beyond the captions, the information panels, the accompanying catalogue [...] there is a subtext comprising innumerable diverse, often contradictory strands, woven from the wishes and ambitions, the intellectual or political or social or educational aspirations and preconceptions of the museum director, the curator, the scholar [...] to say nothing of the society, the political or social or educational system which nurture all these people and in so doing left its stamp upon them.⁶⁷

If we are to read the Hepworth Gift displays as a statement of the ‘intellectual, or political or social educational aspirations’ of the early curatorial agenda in the manner that Vergo suggests, we may read the decision to only display limited volumes from the library as a prioritising of the technical aspects of sculpture over those other ‘political and intellectual’ influences, with the express aim being to foreground the plasters and the techniques that lay behind their creation. Whilst an early planning document for *Hepworth at Work* states that the gallery design was specifically thought out to ‘allow potential for some change in the displays and, therefore, flexibility in the labelling system used’,⁶⁸ thus perhaps anticipating the opportunity to display items of the Gift not included in the original layout in later iterations. In the event, however, the labels were screen-printed onto the displays, making any changes laborious and costly.⁶⁹ Of course it is also important to mention the other factor of conservation, and the fire damage sustained to the books, which had led Bowness to not include them in the Barbara Hepworth Museum displays originally. As a result, the Hepworth library was transferred to the new archive at The Hepworth Wakefield, where a pair of specially designed open-access shelves had been included in the archive’s design to house the library contents. The library was catalogued by an archivist along with the rest of the archive material belonging to the gallery, such as the Wakefield Art Gallery papers dating back to the 1930s, and like the rest of the archive it was not accessioned or entered onto the museum

⁶⁷ Peter Vergo, ‘Introduction’, in *The New Museology* ed. Peter Vergo (London: Reaktion Books, 1989) pp. 2-3.

⁶⁸ ‘Hepworth at Work: Comments on Design’, undated, The Hepworth Wakefield Archive.

⁶⁹ Information from Eleanor Clayton, 9 Apr. 2019.

database, which is a system for recording works of art only.⁷⁰ In the early years of The Hepworth Wakefield, the curators did discuss ideas for how it might be displayed, although none of these came to fruition.⁷¹ The collection was occasionally accessed by visiting researchers and sometimes selected volumes of interest might be included in small handling sessions on heritage open days.⁷² Beyond this, the library mostly sat dormant in the archive for the first five years of The Hepworth Wakefield's life, generally little known about.

From Library to Archive

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, understanding of the Hepworth library necessarily comes to be dictated by the manner in which it exists today. One way this comes to affect the potential for interpretation is the fact that the library was broken up after Hepworth's death, meaning that the library that came to form an archive at Wakefield is in fact *incomplete*.

Hepworth's library was broken up before her death: in her will she bequeathed her catalogues to the Tate and her library to her son in law, Alan Bowness, a large portion of which Bowness gifted to The Hepworth Wakefield, retaining selected volumes to be kept by the Hepworth Estate.⁷³ Selected books, catalogues and periodicals were also lent by Bowness to the Barbara Hepworth Museum to be displayed in the ground floor archive displays.⁷⁴ The catalogues given to the Tate were not maintained as a personal collection but integrated into the Tate Library collection although a contents list can be found with Hepworth's archive lists in the

⁷⁰ Information from Eleanor Clayton, 13 Sept. 2019. Interestingly M Matthews' note from 2009 states that 'the books have not been accessioned or sorted', suggestive that accessioning was considered when the books originally arrived at the old Wakefield Art Gallery. See M Matthew's, Note attached to 'List of books belonging to Barbara Hepworth', Dec. 2006, The Hepworth Wakefield Archive.

⁷¹ Information from Sam Lackey, Curator at The Hepworth Wakefield, Jan. 2016.

⁷² Information from Amy Stevenson, Assistant Curator at The Hepworth Wakefield, Jan. 2016.

⁷³ Hepworth stated in her will: 'to my son-in-law the said Alan Bowness, my writings and notebooks, one copy of my record book of my works and one copy of my stock book, all my other books, my reference library...to the Tate Gallery another copy of my book of records and all catalogues of exhibitions either of my work or which I have participated or of works by other persons', see Barbara Hepworth, 'Last Will and Testament', 20 Feb. 1972, clause 6b, pp. 8-9.

⁷⁴ See Sara Matson, 'Studio objects Tate Board Note acquisition', June 2016, in Helena Bonett, 'Artist Legacy and Patrimonial Knowledge', n.p. Matson notes that these items were not part of the 2016 formal gift of the studio contents of the house, workshops and greenhouse at the Hepworth Museum presented by the Hepworth Estate.

Tate Archive.⁷⁵ Hepworth's music books and scores are also held at Tate Archive, whilst her records have been retained by the Hepworth Estate.⁷⁶ A number of publications on the United Nations are also separately catalogued with the material related to the UN Secretary Dag Hammarskjöld, to whom Hepworth's *Single Form* (1961-4) UN commission was dedicated, at the Hepworth collection at Tate Archive.⁷⁷ In addition, a small group of books and catalogues were given to Kettle's Yard by the Hepworth Estate in 1983, a list of which is held in The Hepworth Wakefield Archive.⁷⁸ These lists, alongside that compiled by Sophie Bowness, which documents the books given to Wakefield and those still in the Estate possession (but not those at Tate or Kettle's Yard), are invaluable tools for approaching the wider 'whole' of the library, alongside access to the Wakefield books themselves.⁷⁹ Nonetheless, the act of splitting the collection nonetheless comes to dictate any encounter with it today.

As previously discussed, the scope of the library (both that held at Wakefield and the wider collections) is itself primarily post-war, with the majority of publication dates of texts from the mid 1940s and beyond. Though at Wakefield there are books that date back to the pre-war era, including a series of volumes of D H Lawrence novels from the 1930s; a copy of Mary Baker Eddy's *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures* (1875), inscribed 'Wakefield March 1926' by Hepworth's father; Eddy's *A Complete Concordance to Science and Health* (1903), inscribed 'Jocelyn Barbara Hepworth 1924'; and even Lewis Carroll's

⁷⁵ See 'List of Items for Tate Gallery Archives', TGA 20132/3/4/1/2. Within the sub-series of Hepworth lists there is also a list of books and catalogues gifted to Hepworth, see TGA 20132/3/4/3/7.

⁷⁶ For Hepworth's music books, see Tate Archive TGA 20132/4/6.

⁷⁷ These publications include two editions of the *United Nations News* from 1960 and 1962, *How to find out about the United Nations* (1958), a brochure entitled *The Quest for Peace: The Dag Hammarskjöld Memorial Lectures* (1965), and *Dag Hammarskjöld and Backakra: A Short Guide from Swedish Touring Club*, on the back of which Hepworth has written 'visit to the Dag Hammarskjöld museum in Backakra'. See Tate Archive, TGA 20132/2/1/25.

⁷⁸ See 'Gift of the estate of Barbara Hepworth', The Hepworth Wakefield Archive. These books were gifted to Kettle's Yard to help boost their sculpture collection and in most cases are texts for which duplicates existed in the Hepworth library. As told to the author in conversation by Sophie Bowness, 7 Oct. 2016.

⁷⁹ See Sophie Bowness, 'The Library of Barbara Hepworth', n. p.

Alice in Wonderland (1865), containing a certificate for ‘Holiday Competition Prize, 1910, Wakefield Girls’ High School’, these are a minority. Two speculative explanations seem to exist: it is possible that Hepworth accumulated fewer books in the pre-war era, perhaps due to a lack of available funds to purchase books, or due to borrowing from libraries or other sources. Alternatively, it may be that her collection was once more extensive but books were lost or disposed of during her lifetime. Of the two possible explanations for the lack of books retained from the pre-war era the latter seems the more credible, particularly in view of Hepworth’s wartime move to St Ives and the lack of possessions that she would have been able to transport at this time. Also supportive of this argument is the similar lack of correspondence and writings in existence from the pre-1940s.⁸⁰ Although Alan Bowness suggests that this was due to choice rather than necessity, with Hepworth choosing not to retain much correspondence from this period, it also seems likely that the same requirement to only take the minimum of possessions on moving to Cornwall would have also applied to correspondence.⁸¹

The geographical relocation of the Hepworth library from St Ives to The Hepworth Wakefield Archive has also physically altered the individual items as they have been subject to reclassification in line with archive procedures on entry into the institution. A ‘Hepworth Library’ ink stamp was made, with which all books were stamped, defining them as a new collection. Due to not knowing exactly how Hepworth ordered her books or if she employed any taxonomic or diachronic systems of order – a result at least in part due to the fire in the studio - when cataloguing the books, Sophie Bowness implemented her own taxonomic orders based on subject matter. Books are now grouped under the seven categories of art,

⁸⁰ In Sophie Bowness’ 2015 anthology *Barbara Hepworth: Writing and Conversations*, writings authored in the 1950s, 60s and 70s markedly outnumber those written in the 1930s and 1940s. Whilst requests for interviews and the inclusion of artists’ statements in published volumes no doubt increased rapidly in the post-war period as Hepworth’s own international reputation grew, the contrast in the amount of writing that exists between the pre and post-war periods is significant.

⁸¹ See Anne J Barlow, ‘Barbara Hepworth and Science’, in *Barbara Hepworth Reconsidered*, p. 106.

architecture, archaeology; literature; music; history and politics; science and natural history; religion and philosophy; and miscellaneous (which includes Hepworth's collection of cookery books and other reference texts, such as dictionaries and encyclopaedias).⁸² As with the Herbert Read library discussed in Chapter 1, in cases where letters or other ephemera were inserted between pages of books, this material was removed to be re-housed in appropriate archives.⁸³ Whilst the logic for making such decisions is clear – keeping like material together and aiming to make each individual archive collection as 'complete' as possible – in terms of retaining meaning, any possible associations created by the conjunction of material is lost through their separation. Indeed, if we refer to the archival principles of *provenance* and *original order*, it could be argued that retaining inserted material in the places into which they were placed is the truest way of upholding these principles. Nevertheless, ultimately *original order* becomes of secondary importance to the *conservation* of such items, which dictates that they are safer stored in correspondence files than inserted into books.

Tools for Interpretation

As mentioned previously, prior to this study the library had only been consulted by a select number of academic researchers, and very few references had been made to it in publications. Hepworth is a conspicuous exception to many of the artists discussed in Chapter 1 in not having a library contents list included within a catalogue raisonné or equivalent publication. That this is the case reflects the fact that no up to date catalogue raisonné has yet been published since Hepworth's death, although a catalogue raisonné is currently being revised

⁸² Sophie Bowness, 'The Library of Barbara Hepworth', n. p.

⁸³ For example, letters found inserted into books were re-housed in the collection of the remaining personal papers of Barbara Hepworth at Tate Archive, TGA 20132.

for publication under the direction of Sophie Bowness.⁸⁴ Examples of exceptions, where the library had been mentioned in previous publications include discussion of Hepworth's religious books in Lucy Kent's 2016 PhD 'Modern Gods and Religion in England 1900-1950'; references to her reading of the poet Rainer Maria Rilke in Rachel Smith's article 'Figure and Landscape: Barbara Hepworth's Phenomenology of Perception' for *Tate Papers* (2013); and the significance of Henri Focillon's *The Life of Forms in Art* (1934) in Anne Barlow's essay 'Barbara Hepworth and Science' in Thistlewood's edited volume *Barbara Hepworth Reconsidered*.⁸⁵ Miranda Phillips' essay 'Trewyn Studio – Barbara Hepworth's Garden in St Ives' also acknowledges the importance of Will Arnold-Foster's *Shrubs for the Milder Counties* (1948) on Hepworth's planning of her garden at Trewyn.⁸⁶ However, what these examples all have in common is that they use selected texts to support a preformed argument about a particular aspect of Hepworth's work – science, religion, horticulture or poetry. In this way they approach the library collection in much the same way as those

⁸⁴ Two catalogue raisonnés were published during Hepworth's lifetime: J. P. Hodin's *Barbara Hepworth*; with a catalogue of works by Alan Bowness (London: Lund Humphries, 1961); and *The Complete Sculpture of Barbara Hepworth 1960-69*; edited by Alan Bowness (London: Lund Humphries, 1971). The Hepworth Estate website states that the new catalogue raisonné 'will catalogue for the first time the works of 1970–75, as well as bringing the two previous catalogues up to date'. See 'The Catalogue Raisonné of Hepworth's Sculptures' <<https://barbarahepworth.org.uk/catalogue/>>. Hepworth was herself known for maintaining detailed sculpture records of her work. One set of her sculpture records is in the Tate Archive and another was gifted to The Hepworth Wakefield by the Hepworth Estate. The Tate set has been digitised and can be viewed online. See 'Barbara Hepworth's sculpture records comprising photographs and notes compiled under the sculptor's supervision', Tate Archive, TGA 7247 <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/archive/tga-7247/barbara-hepworths-sculpture-records-comprising-photographs-and-notes-compiled-under-the->. Accessed 9 Oct. 2019.

⁸⁵ See Lucy Kent, 'Modern Gods and Religion in England 1900-1950', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2016; Anne J Barlow, 'Barbara Hepworth and Science', in *Barbara Hepworth Reconsidered*, pp. 95-107; and Rachel Rose Smith, 'Figure and Landscape : Barbara Hepworth's Phenomenology of Perception', *Tate Papers*, No. 20, Autumn 2013 <<http://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/20/figure-and-landscape-barbara-hepworths-phenomenology-of-perception>>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2020.

⁸⁶ Hepworth met Will Arnold-Foster in 1948 and later made several visits to his home, Eagles Nest (later the home of Patrick Heron), where she encountered the impressive garden he had created. Phillips notes that inside the covers of Hepworth's copy of *Shrubs for the Milder Counties* are sheets of paper that appear to be 'shopping lists' of plants for the garden at Trewyn. Phillips' essay was published before the Hepworth library was deposited in Wakefield – she notes that Sophie Bowness now owns Hepworth's copy of Arnold-Foster's text – and it appears that in the transferral of the library to Wakefield the pages of notes in *Shrubs for the Milder Counties* were one of such inserts to be removed. See Miranda Phillips, 'Trewyn Studio – Barbara Hepworth's Garden in St Ives', in Miranda Phillips and Chris Stephens, *Barbara Hepworth Sculpture Garden, St Ives*, pp. 12-18.

archive displays discussed in Chapter 1, in which materials are used to illustrate a pre-existing curatorial argument or to act as supportive documentation for a particular artwork.

There are however two texts which begin to offer something of a wider reaching appraisal of Hepworth's reading activity. The first is Emma Roberts PhD thesis, 'Barbara Hepworth: The International Context', which includes this reflection as part of examining Hepworth in an international context. As she states, 'from the 1930s onwards, Hepworth read widely and believed that she was in touch with the international *Zeitgeist*.'⁸⁷ The equation of reading with an international outlook that Roberts identified is something that I consider in the final chapter of the thesis. Roberts follows up her initial statement with the observation that Hepworth's friend the writer E H Ramsden, also 'seemed to emphasise this, thereby linking Hepworth with international currencies of thought.'⁸⁸ The significance of Ramsden actually placing Hepworth's work alongside some of the very texts that she (Hepworth) was reading is discussed in the second half of this thesis. In their introduction to the volume *Barbara Hepworth: Works in the Tate Collection and the Barbara Hepworth Museum St Ives*, Matthew Gale and Chris Stephens trace the development of Hepworth's intellectual and ideological beliefs, and in so doing touch upon certain examples of writers who Hepworth read. In particular they note the importance of psychology and the writings of Carl Jung and Alfred Adler, and of organicism and D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson's *On Growth and Form* (1917), stating that 'Hepworth's conception of her work in relation to the landscape and to natural laws and processes was validated by a number of diverse texts in circulation at the time'.⁸⁹ Interestingly, although as Gale and Stephens note, Jung featured in Hepworth's wartime letters to Herbert Read, there are none of his writings nor that of D'Arcy Wentworth

⁸⁷ Emma Roberts, 'Barbara Hepworth: The International Context', p. 12.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*.

⁸⁹ Matthew Gale and Chris Stephens, *Barbara Hepworth: Works in the Tate Collection*, pp. 18-9. The idea of Hepworth's conception of her work in relation to landscape as being underpinned by theories of perception and consciousness is further developed in Smith's paper, 'Figure and Landscape: Barbara Hepworth's Phenomenology of Perception', in which she offers a reading of Hepworth's work through the writing of Maurice Merleau-Ponty.

Thompson's to be found in her library today, although there are a number of texts on Adler.⁹⁰ Gale and Stephens also note Hepworth's interest in Zen, encompassed in her reading of Eugen Herrigel's *Zen and the Art of Archery* (1956), and the Christian writers Teilhard de Chardin, Søren Kierkegaard and Thomas Traherne.⁹¹ Whilst their introduction arguably provides the most comprehensive summary of Hepworth's reading to date, it is nevertheless not exhaustive. Nor is its intention to be solely a review of her reading, but rather something that touches upon this in mapping out her 'strongly held intellectual and ideological, as well as aesthetic, beliefs'.⁹² Given its potentially expansive scope, my own account of Hepworth's library tends to give less significant focus to those areas of reading which have already been covered extensively in individual studies, in favour of illuminating those less documented texts and authors. However, its specific focus is also determined by the particular nature of my encounter with the collection at The Hepworth Wakefield Archive, as I expand upon further below.

As artist Stephen Sutcliffe and arts organisation Pavilion have discussed, when an archive of an artist is consulted, it tends to occur some way into the research process, at a point in which the researcher can use archival materials to support or confirm pre-existing research on a particular artist or artwork. It is far less common to see archives approached from the reverse way round – in other words, taking the archive as the first point in the research process, and using the material gleaned from this experience to reflect back upon a subject, artist or artwork.⁹³ This is the approach that Sutcliffe and Pavilion have taken in their

⁹⁰ These are Phyllis Bottome, *Alfred Adler: Apostle of Freedom* (1957) and Lewis Way, *Alfred Adler. An Introduction to his Psychology* (1956). Hepworth's copy of Bottome's text, dated May 1957, is dedicated to her by the author and her husband Ernán Forbes-Dennis, who Hepworth knew in St Ives. In his autobiography *Indifferent Honest* (a copy of which is in Hepworth's library), Frank Halliday recalls first being introduced to Hepworth and Nicholson at the 'house of our neighbours' Bottome and Forbes-Dennis. See Frank Halliday, *Indifferent Honest* (London: Duckworth, 1960) p. 122.

⁹¹ Matthew Gale and Chris Stephens, *Barbara Hepworth: Works in the Tate Collection*, pp. 19-20

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁹³ Stephen Sutcliffe in conversation with Pavilion and William Fowler, Curator of Artists' Moving Image at BFI National Archive, Treasures of the Brotherton Gallery, University of Leeds, 19 Sept. 2019. This in-conversation

recent curation of the library and archive of Herbert Read at the Treasures of the Brotherton Library Gallery at the University of Leeds. As they state, ‘going straight into the archive’ rather than undertaking in-depth research first is a freeing experience, in which the artist or researcher is able to respond to what they find, noting those objects that initially ‘jump out’.⁹⁴ This is a different way of encountering an archive to that often undertaken by the researcher, instead having more in common with the role undertaken by an archivist or cataloguer. It is the archivist’s job to look through material systematically and *completely*, ascertaining the scope of the archive, whereas, from research previously undertaken, the researcher will establish an *edited* shortlist of items to be viewed before a visit.⁹⁵ Likewise, it is unusual to see an archive of an artist made the central study of research inquiry – more often an element of the artist’s work will be studied with references made to archival material. Rarely is an artist specifically read through the remits of the available material in that particular archive.

One of the few examples of a study that takes this approach is in the aforementioned thesis of Leonie O’Dwyer, ‘Helen Chadwick: A Critical Catalogue Raisonné’. Although O’Dwyer’s title does not make specific reference to it, her study is in fact wholly based upon a study of the Helen Chadwick Archive housed at the Henry Moore Institute in Leeds. In her introduction O’Dwyer states that her study ‘aims to determine the significance **of the archive** [...] in the historical construction of the artist Helen Chadwick’ (my emphasis).⁹⁶ Both Chadwick’s study and Sutcliffe and Pavilion’s curatorial approach have significance in relation to the approach that this thesis takes. As with O’Dwyer, the library of Barbara Hepworth (now an archive) is used in this thesis as the central mechanism to approach the work of Hepworth. Moreover, like Sutcliffe and Pavilion, I went ‘straight into the archive’

event accompanied the exhibition *Art in an Electric Atmosphere: The Library and Archive of Herbert Read* at the Treasures of the Brotherton Gallery, which is co-curated by Stephen Sutcliffe and Pavilion.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ The need for a researcher to identify particular material ahead of a visit is another symptom of the issue of the lack of ‘browsable’ access on offer to libraries or archives discussed in Chapter 1.

⁹⁶ Leonie O’Dwyer, ‘Helen Chadwick: A Critical Catalogue Raisonné’, p. 11.

very early on in the research process. During the first year of my PhD, I did indeed work on the library in a cataloguing capacity, undertaking the cataloguing of a later acquisition of books that were given to the gallery in 2016 from Sophie Bowness.

It was this experience of methodically surveying and cataloguing the books that defined my early research on the Hepworth library. Due to the lack of pre-existing research on the library, it was largely an unmediated encounter entered with few pre-conceived ideas or expectations. The sole text currently in existence giving any guidance on how the collection might be approached is the catalogue and notes on the library compiled by Sophie Bowness. Although in the previous chapter I argued that taxonomic systems of categorisation tend to offer little insight into their subject unless known to have been instigated by the artist themselves, the taxonomic order utilised by Bowness does provide an important function. Namely, that its delineation of the scope of the library by subject area permits the books to be read as a *collection* (in Alberro's rather than Benjamin's sense of the term), where relationships between different areas of interest may be considered. The 'Notes' section in Bowness' catalogue also provides some illuminating insights into how Hepworth might have used her library. Bowness writes, 'the items on this list constitute Hepworth's personal library; it also includes some publications (catalogues, magazines, reviews, principally) on her work or that refer to it, but not all by any means.'⁹⁷ Here Bowness sets up an important distinction: between the 'personal library' and other 'publications' that refer to Hepworth's work. This distinction might be defined as the difference between those books actively collected by Hepworth or gifted to her by friends as important reading matter, and those that she gathered or was sent as a record of their reference to her work. Displaying an inherent archiving impulse, Hepworth would take care to acquire all published texts which contained mention or reproduction of her work. As such, the library might be said to be divided

⁹⁷ Sophie Bowness, 'The Library of Barbara Hepworth', n. p.

between a reading and a documentary function, the latter following the life of her sculpture in both print and through exhibition.⁹⁸

Bowness also notes that Hepworth wrote her name in a number of books, suggestive that the texts in question were those which she regarded as particularly important. Whilst, as Roger Cardinal has written, the act of signing a book not only practically ‘ensures that [...] ownership will never be in dispute’, it also draws the text ‘into the orbit of present possession, thus designating the item as a signifier within the chain of signified that is his personal library (in turn a species of autobiography)’.⁹⁹ By signing selected texts, Hepworth - consciously or unconsciously - was drawing a connection between both the texts and herself as ‘possessor’, and the individually signed texts themselves as those special ‘chosen’ books. One of the first tasks I therefore undertook was to compile a list of those books in which Hepworth had written her name – this also with a view to scoping out the selection of which books to include within the library display. Surveying the list it became clear that many of these books which Hepworth had signed also contained inscriptions from the friends who had gifted the books. From this I compiled a second list of the names of these donors. In many cases, the same names occur several times, repeatedly gifting books – Priaulx Rainier, Ben Nicholson, J D Bernal and Herbert Read are all examples. From this list a picture may be gleaned of networks of sharing books amongst friends, which I shall discuss in further detail in Chapter 4.

⁹⁸ For example see her letter to Jacob Blaustein, benefactor of her 1964 *Single Form* memorial commission to Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary General of the United Nations, in which she discusses gathering together different versions of Hammarskjöld’s *Markings* for her archive: ‘The English version of “Markings” by Dag had a photograph of “Single Form” on the jacket [...] My friends in America have sent me a copy of the American version for my files’. Barbara Hepworth to Jacob Blaustein, 1 Dec 1964. Tate Archive, TGA 20132/2/1/2/11. For discussion of Hepworth as archivist see Helena Bonett, ‘The Sculptor as Archivist: Interpreting Barbara Hepworth’s Legacy’, in *Active Archives: Henry Moore Institute Essays on Sculpture*, No. 73, July 2015, pp. 26-31.

⁹⁹ Roger Cardinal, ‘Collecting and Collage-making’, pp. 68-9.

Besides the library itself and Bowness' catalogue notes on it, the main other source of information on the library available comes from Hepworth's own written texts. Despite her strong archival impulse, Hepworth is not known to have maintained notebooks detailing texts read in a manner akin to that of a number of well known writers.¹⁰⁰ Likewise, other than the annotations she made in her books themselves, there is only one known notebook in which she made notes from the texts she was reading, in this case quotations from Mary Baker Eddy's *Science and Health*.¹⁰¹ Instead, the main documentation of her reading activity comes from both private and public writing, in the form of personal correspondence and published writings and interviews. Whilst Hepworth's personal correspondence, especially that with Read and Nicholson, has been widely quoted from in much of the Hepworth literature, with the exception of well known texts such as the *Pictorial Autobiography* and Hepworth's statements for *Unit 1* and *Circle*, less of her published writing is well known. As Sophie Bowness has noted, this reflects the fact that much of the published material is out of print and inaccessible.¹⁰² Until the publication of Bowness' edited volume *Barbara Hepworth: Writings and Conversations* in 2015 there was no collected volume bringing together Hepworth's writings in the manner of such texts published for many of her contemporaries.¹⁰³

Bowness' text has been one of the most important resources on Hepworth to be published in recent years. Whilst this thesis does not purport to provide an indepth analysis of Hepworth's writing, the relationship of reading and writing is crucial – there are many

¹⁰⁰ See for example Ursula Marx's analysis of the reading notebooks of Walter Benjamin in the essay 'Tree of Consciousness: Benjamin as Archivist', in *Walter Benjamin's Archive: Images, Texts, Signs* eds. Ursula Marx et. al. (London: Verso, 2015) n.p.

¹⁰¹ I am indebted to Lucy Kent for making me aware of the existence of this notebook, which is in the care of Sophie Bowness. In her PhD thesis, 'Modern Gods: Art and Religion in England 1900-1950' Kent writes: 'Following Nicholson's example, [Hepworth] filled a composition book with quotes from Eddy's writings. Nicholson's responses to her own letters often included his own notes from *Science and Health* for her.' See Lucy Kent, 'Modern Gods and Religion in England 1900-1950', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2016, pp. 116-7.

¹⁰² Sophie Bowness, 'Introduction', in *Barbara Hepworth: Writings and Conversations*, p. 7.

¹⁰³ For example, a volume entitled *Henry Moore: Writings and Conversations* edited by Alan Wilkinson was published by the University of California Press in 2002.

instances in which she can be seen writing about ideas that she has read about in books - and therefore Bowness' text has proved vital for undertaking of this research. Very astutely, Bowness' selection of texts included not only those published in the context of modern art, including statements for art periodicals and exhibition catalogues, but those less expected non-art platforms, such as *The Christian Science Monitor* and *Peace News*. Likewise, Bowness includes not only texts written by Hepworth on her art, but also those on a whole range of subjects, including a letter written to *The Times* on the hydrogen bomb, a statement on nuclear weapons included in *The Times* and *The Sunday Times*. As she writes in her introduction to the volume, 'in counterpoint to Hepworth's reflections on the creative process, the writings and interviews reveal an artist who had an extensive engagement with contemporary politics and society'.¹⁰⁴ Unsurprisingly, many of these subjects are also to be found within the pages of books in her library. Indeed, in a number of cases published texts reference important books by name, with the same books often discussed in letters with multiple friends. Two writers that Hepworth mentions extensively in both correspondence and published texts are the poet Rainer Maria Rilke and the composer Igor Stravinsky. The significance of both Rilke and Stravinsky for Hepworth is discussed further in subsequent chapters. Correspondence and published texts also contain more general statements from Hepworth in which she discusses the wider significance of reading to her own creative routine. As she states in the *Pictorial Autobiography*, 'I detest a day of no work, no music, no poetry'.¹⁰⁵ Or in a letter to E H Ramsden, 'it's only through living and feeling, reading and feeling, carving and feeling that I believe and have faith'.¹⁰⁶ In both cases, reading is spoken of as part of a wider creative routine, where carving, poetry and music are all treated as of equal importance. Indeed, as she writes in her statements for Read's 1952 monograph, the 'things' that 'make up my usual working day[...] listening to music, and thinking about its

¹⁰⁴ Sophie Bowness, 'Introduction', *Barbara Hepworth: Writings and Conversations*, p. 9.

¹⁰⁵ *Barbara Hepworth: A Pictorial Autobiography*, p. 20.

¹⁰⁶ Barbara Hepworth to E H Ramsden, 'Saturday' 1944. Tate Archive TGA 9310/1/1/31.

relation to the life of forms; the need for dancing as a recreation, and where dancing links with the actual physical rhythm of carving....these things are daily expressions of the whole'.¹⁰⁷ Perhaps then, this idea of the 'whole' is an insightful lens through which to view Hepworth's approach to reading and other creative activities.

The above description of the library's journey from St Ives to Wakefield, and how it was 'edited' after Hepworth's death details its situation as of January 2016, the time at which I commenced my doctoral research. My proposal had identified the library as a research topic to form part of a wider project that would address the role of poetry in the work of Hepworth and Moore.¹⁰⁸ In my first supervisory meeting, it was suggested that I should put forward a project to form the basis of a curatorial outcome as was a requirement of the collaborative doctoral model.¹⁰⁹ The Hepworth library seemed the obvious choice for this: as a part of the collection that had not yet been on display, The Hepworth Wakefield was supportive of a project that would permit more of the collection to be showcased. In the next chapter, I provide an account of curating the Hepworth library and how this experience came to shape my research around the library.

¹⁰⁷ Barbara Hepworth, Statements for *Barbara Hepworth: Carvings and Drawings*; with an introduction by Herbert Read (London: Lund Humphries, 1952) n.p., repr. in *Barbara Hepworth: Writings and Conversations*, p. 72.

¹⁰⁸ I applied for a collaborative PhD between the University of Huddersfield and The Hepworth Wakefield, which, entitled 'Barbara Hepworth and Henry Moore: Contemporaries in Context', invited proposals on any aspect of the two sculptors' work.

¹⁰⁹ When the PhD collaboration was initially set up with The Hepworth Wakefield, it was with a view to the PhD candidate working on an exhibition of Moore and Hepworth that Frances Guy, then Head of Collections and Exhibitions at The Hepworth Wakefield, was planning with, Sebastiano Barassi, Head of Collections and Exhibitions at the Henry Moore Foundation. In the end the exhibition did not come to pass and thus the PhD candidate was invited to propose their own curatorial outcome.

Chapter 3: Curating the Barbara Hepworth Library

In Spring 2016 my proposal to display the library was formerly approved by The Hepworth Wakefield Collections and Exhibitions team. Whilst it had initially been thought that the library would form a stand-alone archival display, curator Eleanor Clayton, who had recently taken over the supervisory role for the PhD collaboration,¹ suggested that the library display might be included as part of the collection display *Masterpieces of Barbara Hepworth and Henry Moore* that she was planning for Spring 2017.² This display hoped to showcase the Wakefield Permanent Art Collection's holdings of Hepworth and Moore, whilst also marking the transition from a structure of year long collection displays (with substantial loans), to a model of continuous display drawn solely from the collection (and long term loans) with regular change-over of individual works to showcase different parts of the collection. As part of this new model, it had been decided that Gallery 3 would now be permanently devoted to Hepworth's work, in addition to the *Hepworth at Work* and *Plasters* permanent displays. The library would therefore be displayed as part of this new Hepworth display in Gallery 3, shown in the context of Hepworth's artwork [Fig. 42].

Models of Display

Displaying the library alongside Hepworth's art offered the library to be seen as a form of 'archival intervention'. Discussed in *Active Archives*, issue 73 of the Henry Moore Institute journal *Essays on Sculpture*,³ archival intervention is described in Lisa Le Feuvre's

¹ The curatorial supervisor for the PhD was initially Dr Sam Lackey. Clayton took over this role when Lackey left her role at The Hepworth Wakefield in April 2016.

² In my PhD interview, I had proposed a display of Hepworth's library and/or examples of Moore and Hepworth's illustrations for literary works to be shown in the *Yorkshire in Pictures Gallery* (what is now Gallery 6a). This smaller gallery had previously hosted a number of exhibitions that drew upon archival materials or works on paper, for example *Albert Wainwright* (Autumn 2013).

³This edition of the journal developed out of 2014 Association of Art Historians conference session *Archival Interventions in Sculpture* convened by Dr Rowan Bailey from the University of Huddersfield.

introduction as one in which archival matter ‘becomes inserted into cultural discourse [...] it leaves the safety of its orderly and climate controlled classification and intervenes in the surrounding world’.⁴ A related definition is offered by Helena Bonett, who speaks of the ‘different types of archival spaces and objects and the effect they have on the interpretation of their subject’.⁵ In both Bonett and Le Feuvre’s definitions, archival intervention is characterised by the ability of this material to intervene and influence the interpretation of its subject (both maker and artwork). In the case of the Hepworth library, a presentation of the books might therefore ‘intervene’ on, and effect the interpretation of the surrounding artwork (and vice versa).

Although neither Bonett or Le Feuvre directly refer to it, the positions offered by both are dependent on the privileging of a viewer-response. This is in contrast to the traditional *transmission* model of the modernist museum, whose ‘communicative aim’ Eilean Hooper-Greenhill describes as

to enlighten and to educate, to lay out knowledge for the visitor such that it may be absorbed [...] Underlying this approach to communication is a particular view of knowledge and of learning . The ‘transmission’ model of communication understands communication as a linear process of information-transfer from an authoritative source to an uninformed receiver. Knowledge is seen as objective, singular and value free.⁶

As Greenhill astutely notes, in this model the viewer simply ‘absorbs’ the information that they are given without being permitted to create their own meanings. As an unspoken challenge to the transmission model, in 1991 the late art historian Michael Baxandall proposed a new model for an exhibition where, ‘rather than one static entity representing another’ the exhibition would be based on the premise of a ‘field in which at least three

⁴ Lisa Le Feuvre, ‘Introduction’, *Active Archives: Henry Moore Institute Essays on Sculpture*, No. 73, July 2015, p. 3.

⁵ Helena Bonett, ‘Curating Barbara Hepworth’s Archive at Tate’, paper delivered as part of the symposium *Report on the Archive*, Birkbeck College, University of London, 5 July 2013.

⁶ Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, ‘Changing Values in the Art Museum: Rethinking Communication and Learning’ in *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts* ed. Bettina Messias Carbonell (Massachusetts: Blackwell, 2005) p. 560.

distinct terms are independently in play – makers of objects, exhibitors of made objects, and viewers of exhibited made objects.’ This model lays emphasis on the viewer ‘moving about in the space between object and label...[as] highly active. He is not a passive subject for instruction’.⁷ Following Baxandall’s argument, for archives to intervene on the spaces and objects around them it is also necessary for the viewer to be active rather than passive, responding to the interaction between archive object, artwork and exhibition space. This approach also has parallels with that of the ‘curatorial’ as voiced by Paul O’Neill and Mick Wilson in their argument for the need ‘to realise curating as an entanglement of actors, rather than exclusively a matter of presenting discretely authored, clearly bounded ‘works’’.⁸ If, as Simon Sheikh writes in his essay ‘Towards the Exhibition as Research’, ‘the idea of the research exhibition’ is one ‘in which the exhibition is not only a vehicle for the presentation of research results (in both senses) but also a site for ongoing research around the formats and thematic concerns of the exhibition’, then some of this ‘research’ may arguably take place through visitor-response.⁹ Another way that such research may be generated is through those elements that ‘would otherwise be thought of as formal means of transmitting knowledge – such as design structures, display models and perceptual experiments’ but ‘is here an integral part of the curatorial mode of address, its content production, its proposition.’¹⁰ This view that display models and structures might act as the mechanism for allowing such research to take place provided a powerful argument for the need for close consideration of specifically *how* the library should therefore be displayed.

⁷ Michael Baxandall ‘Exhibiting Intention: Some Preconditions of the Visual Display of Culturally Purposeful Objects’, in *Exhibiting Cultures : The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* eds. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington : Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991) pp. 36-8. Also see Nicholas Serota’s discussion of this debate in *Experience of Interpretation: The Dilemma of Museums of Modern Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996, repr. 2004) p. 55. Here Serota advocates ‘each of us, curators and visitors alike...[becoming] more willing to chart our own path, redrawing the map of modern art, rather than following a single path laid down by a curator’.

⁸ Paul O’Neill and Mick Wilson ‘An Opening to Curatorial Enquiry: Introduction to Curating and Research’, in *Curating Research*, p. 15.

⁹ Simon Sheikh, ‘Towards the Exhibition as Research’, in *Curating Research*, p. 40.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

As stated in Chapter 1, the display of artists' libraries is typically guided by the designated categorisation to which such a collection is assigned by the museum or institution to which it belongs. Although the 'official' categorisation of the Hepworth library at The Hepworth Wakefield is as archival material, as I demonstrated in the previous chapter, the library may also be read both in light of a studio tool and as a personal collection. Deciding how best to display the library was therefore also dictated by the categorisation I chose to base my curation upon. As discussed in Chapter 1, the concept of studio reconstruction is inherently problematic, often leading the studio to take on a 'relic'-like guise, in the words of Barthel. Applying a reconstructive approach to the curation of the Hepworth Library display was itself neither desirable nor practically possible due to the dearth of archival photography available showing detailed views interior of Trewyn Studio from Hepworth's lifetime. Nonetheless, in the display's location in Gallery 3, adjoining onto *Hepworth at Work*, the library display was brought into a direct relationship with the studio artefacts. Although *Hepworth at Work* is not a direct reconstruction of Hepworth's St Ives studio – its aim was to tread the 'line between all-out recreation of a particular environment (i.e. the studio at the Palais) and a too formal didactic display' - its inclusion of a work bench, tools and uncarved blocks of wood and stone provides a feeling of the studio museum environment.¹¹ To avoid any potential duplication, I therefore chose not to present the library in the manner of a studio tool, instead leaving visitors to draw connections between the two galleries if they so chose. For this reason, all display furniture was purposely kept to a clean modernist white to prevent it being mistaken for a recreation of the domestic space of Trewyn Studio. Since *Hepworth at Work* also contained a number of the ancient objects and 'objects of inspiration' collected by Hepworth, I similarly chose not to frame the library in the manner of a personal collection.

¹¹ 'Hepworth at Work: Comments on Design', undated, The Hepworth Wakefield Archive.

Emphasis was instead placed on the relationship between the books and sculpture, without distraction of extraneous objects.

The most appropriate display model for the library therefore was the archive or special collections display. However, as previously discussed, such displays are beset by a number of inherent failings and flaws which prevent them from being able to fully support the critical weight of the artist's library. In planning the display of the Hepworth library I aimed to devise display solutions to counteract these. Rather than making a selection of items based on the rationale of displaying only that which Anna-Sophie Springer has termed those 'rare acquisitions and strange ephemera' typically found in archival and special collections displays, the rationale I devised for the selection of items for the Hepworth library display was not based on the principle of 'prize pieces' of value or rareness, but prioritising those items which seemed to best reflect Hepworth's reading and working practice to the viewer. To achieve this, the selection that I made was based upon the initial shortlist I had produced of those books which Hepworth had written her name in or which contained inscriptions and dedications from friends. Similarly, to allow books to be seen within the wider context of the library collection rather than as isolated fragments, I chose to show a larger portion of the library than often seen in archive displays. This also ensured that the material was not relegated to being seen as secondary, supportive material in the manner of the examples discussed in Chapter 1.¹²

¹² One curatorial project that was significant to my thinking of how to display archival matter in a manner where it was not regarded as merely supportive material was Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev's *DOCUMENTA (13)*. Central to Christov-Bakargiev's curatorial strategy as the 'Brain' of *DOCUMENTA*, a set of archival material but importantly not 'an archive but a set of elements that mark contradictory conditions and committed positions of being in and with the world' See Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev, 'The dance was very frenetic, lively, rattling, clanging, rolling, contorted and centred for a long time', in *DOCUMENTA (13): The Book of Books; Catalog 1/3* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2012) p.35. *DOCUMENTA (13)* is one of the examples of the exhibition as research activity that O'Neill and Wilson identify in their introductory essay in *Curating Research*. See O'Neill and Wilson, 'An Opening to Curatorial Enquiry', p. 16.

Due to conservation standards and the value attached to the library, the books were required to be exhibited behind Perspex. Therefore, in discussion with the gallery technicians, I chose to display the books in a display cabinet resembling a book shelf, which was attached to the gallery wall. This permitted visitors the opportunity to ‘browse’ the library’s titles so rarely permitted with artists’ libraries and ascertain of sense of Alberro’s notion of the overall ‘make-up’ or ‘character’ of a library, as discussed in Chapter 1. To retain a feeling of a bookshelf, most books were shown on their spines, with those with particularly visually important covers shown facing outwards [Fig. 43]. Displaying book jackets was also a way of drawing attention to books as physical designed objects – in the case of publications such as *Circle*, design and typography played key roles, which I address in the second half of the thesis. The act of placing the library volumes in the wall-born display cabinet rather than a vitrine, as is typically the case for archival material, also made an important statement and further prevented the library being read as supplementary to the art. Nonetheless, keeping the library physically separate from the artwork was important to prevent didactic pairings developing between books and sculptures, or to avoid books being mapped onto artworks in the manner of Davis’ reading of Moore’s library discussed in Chapter 1. Interpretation materials were similarly kept intentionally brief (one wall text and two long labels within the vitrine cases) and avoided being overly didactic, in line with the ‘experience vs. interpretation’ debate within museology. As Svetlana Alpers has written on the subject

Perhaps more attention could be paid to the educational possibilities of installing objects rather than communicating ideas about them. Free viewers, in other words, and make them less intimidated about looking. One way of doing this is to pay as much attention to the possibilities of installation as to the information about what is being installed.¹³

¹³ Svetlana Alpers, ‘The Museum as a Way of Seeing’, in *Exhibiting Cultures : The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, p. 31.

Alpers' suggestion about the 'possibilities of installation' has much in common with Skeikh's argument that display mechanisms might themselves form the means through which research might be generated. Allowing visitors close access to 'browse' the books in the wall case would negate the need for extensive interpretation details outlining its contents.

Nonetheless the need for the library to be shown behind Perspex caused certain limitations in regard to visitors being able to handle and read the contents of the books. One solution to this was to include a selection of books displayed open in two smaller free-standing vitrines, where at least selected pages were available to read. Materials selected for these were again drawn from the initial shortlist of books that I had compiled, and aimed to represent key authors, such as Rilke, and texts containing substantial annotations by Hepworth. It was also important the vitrines should display a representative selection from the library, demonstrating the wider ranging and interdisciplinary nature of Hepworth's reading. The first vitrine, entitled 'Creative Collaborations' was therefore devoted to Hepworth's interests across poetry, music, dance and theatre, including her costume and set design for Michel Saint Denis' *Electra* (1951) and Michael Tippett's opera *The Midsummer Marriage* (1953). Books on display included Hepworth's annotated copy of *Electra*, her copy of Lord Kinross' *Portrait of Greece* (1956), showing photographs of Greek amphitheatres, a list of Greek gods and goddesses noted in the front of her copy of *The Pocket Oxford Dictionary of Current English* (1939), and her copy of the *Selected Letters of Rainer Maria Rilke, 1902-1926* (1946), gifted by Rainier [Fig. 44]. The second vitrine was devoted to an exploration of form, which I had identified as a recurring subject occurring across different subjects and disciplines in the library, and of which I will explore further in subsequent chapters. Entitled 'Natural, Spiritual and Cosmic Forms', this included examples of the discussion of form in science through J D Bernal's *The Origin of Life* (1967), religion in Mary Baker Eddy's *Science and Health* and poetry in Dag Hammarskjöld's 'Single Form'

poem in his text *Markings* (1964). The formal significance of Hepworth's own work to other disciplines was alluded to through texts such as G A Jellicoe's *Studies in Landscape Design* (1966), in which Hepworth's drawings were reproduced with the suggestion that 'through such beautiful drawings [...] the landscape architect might come to feel more acutely the relationship between his own land forms and that of the society for whom they are made' [Fig. 45].¹⁴ Whilst the vitrines could clearly provide a greater insight into the contents of books than could be gleaned from just a book spine or book jacket (as in the case of the wall case), displaying selected pages from books was arguably not sufficient to communicate the ideas contained within. It was for this reason that I devised a programme of live reading groups to accompany the display.

Going Live: The Hepworth Book Club

In 2016 The Hepworth Wakefield organised a two-part year long exhibition comprised of a display of highlights from the collection of Kettle's Yard timed to coincide with the period of Kettle's Yard closure for renovation work. This display took place in Galleries 2 and 3 and was the exhibition that immediately preceded *Masterpieces of Barbara Hepworth and Henry Moore* (the last display within the year-long loan structure). The first six months of the exhibition, *Kettle's Yard at The Hepworth Wakefield* presented key pieces from the collection, but to represent the important display decisions Jim Ede made, selected configurations of artworks, furniture and found objects were recreated from the Cambridge house setting. Transplanted from the domestic setting of Kettle's Yard into the modernist spaces of The Hepworth galleries, these recreations were subject to the same loss of aura that Barthes associated with the reconstruction of Brancusi's studio. Indeed the experience of seeing the reconstructions of Kettle's Yard in The Hepworth's galleries was an important

¹⁴ G A Jellicoe, *Studies in Landscape Design*, Volume 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966) p.16. Full details of the texts shown in the vitrines can be found in the Appendix.

factor in my decision not to attempt any kind of reconstruction for the Hepworth library display. However, the second part of the exhibition *Anthea Hamilton Reimagines Kettle's Yard* did indeed provide a playful 'reimagination' – not reconstruction – of Kettle's Yard. Instead of undertaking painstaking reconstructions of the house displays, Hamilton took iconic elements from the house – the spiral staircase, the grand piano – as a starting point to create something new. In an interview discussing her vision for the exhibition, Hamilton speaks of her desire to be able to evoke some of rituals and pastimes associated with the objects found in Kettle's Yard, or as she terms it, the 'idea of taking an act and finding a way to represent it, rather than just the object itself.'¹⁵ This concept of representing an 'act' in addition to just the 'object' itself is of key interest here and may be said to pose one solution to the 'relic' like nature of many studio reconstructions. Objects are not static entities and Hamilton here recognises the need to take into account the activity that surrounds them. For Hamilton this involved placing Turkish Delight on a dish to represent the generosity that surrounded Ede's vision of sharing Kettle's Yard with visitors, and including a grand piano (and associated concert recitals) to suggest the importance of music at Kettle's Yard [Fig. 46].¹⁶

'Taking an act and finding a way to represent it, rather than just the object itself' might also be said to sum up the dilemma of how to enable reading within the display of Hepworth's library. It is also important to note here that generally reading is something that rarely happens to any great extent in art exhibitions; as Elena Filipovic has written, 'as bastions of the visual', in exhibitions 'the textual is typically relegated to the margins –

¹⁵ Anthea Hamilton, in 'Interview between Anthea Hamilton, Andrew Bonacina and Jennifer Powell', *Anthea Hamilton Reimagines Kettle's Yard* eds. Andrew Bonacina and Jennifer Powell (Wakefield: Kettle's Yard and The Hepworth Wakefield, 2016) n.p.

¹⁶ Jim Ede lay out his initial vision for Kettle's Yard as 'a living creation [that] I would give all that I have in pictures and lovely objects....There could be a library there (art perhaps) and there could be evenings of chamber music'. See Jim Ede to David Jones (1956), qtd. in Sebastiano Barassi, 'Kettle's Yard, 1957-73', in *Kettle's Yard House Guide* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 2012) p. 9.

hallway, exit area, bookshop'.¹⁷ To enable reading to take place in the Hepworth library display then, was something which lacked clear precedents. The dilemma was not only limited to the issue of giving visitors access to the contents of Hepworth's books but how to represent the books as actively handled objects rather than as static entities under Perspex. Solutions to these problems were to either include duplicate copies of books found within Hepworth's library that visitors might read and handle, or to devise a form of public programme that would include reading. To include additional books that visitors might handle would have required the creation of a resource area for which, due to the display of sculpture within the gallery, space was not readily forthcoming. Given the role of visitor-response within the display models identified and the aim for the exhibition to be a 'research exhibition', live events also offered the potential for being a knowledge generating activity.

Historically there has been a lack of scholarship devoted to gallery public programming and education; as Alex Hodby has written, 'past practices of curators, and histories of their exhibitions, are comparatively limited. Hence, evidence of historic programming practices are largely absent from the literature. This creates an issue in terms of the available precedents'.¹⁸ Moreover, the relationship between exhibition and learning programmes has tended to see the learning as 'peripheral', and as such whilst a 'lack of documentation and subsequent research' exists for exhibition histories, learning programmes have been 'recorded even less rigorously'.¹⁹ The two issues that Hodby identifies here – the lack of documentation of historic programming and the tendency to see learning or public programmes as 'peripheral' (itself causing such programmes to be even less well recorded) – affected the development of a public programme of live events around the Hepworth library. Given the small list of exhibitions of artists' libraries, there was a general lack of precedent

¹⁷ Elena Filipovic, 'If You Read Here...Martha Rosler's Library', p. 31.

¹⁸ Alexandra Hodby, 'Learning after 'New Institutionalism': Democracy and Tate Modern Public Programme', unpublished PhD thesis, Goldsmiths, University of London, 2018, p. 81.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

for running a concomitant events programme. The only (recorded) events programme run alongside a display of an artist's library was the aforementioned *Martha Rosler Library*. Desirous of making reading a central activity that combated the passive tendencies that many art exhibitions created, the project made the library a functioning public library – including furniture and a photocopier - which included a live programme of lectures and discussions as part of each iteration.²⁰ It is important to here note that the separation of 'exhibition' and 'public programme' seen in museum cultures would not be one that Rosler would subscribe to, but rather see the lectures and discussions as simply a part of a larger project, even if they had to be marketed as something separate.²¹ In this way, her approach allies with that described by Hodby as 'an expanded idea of the exhibition, and thus an expanded idea of *programme*.'²² Indeed the very origin of the public programme lies within artistic practice; as Felicity Allen has written, 'gallery education' is a distinct 'artistic strategy...integrally connected to radical art practices linked to values aired and explored in the liberation movements of the 1960s and 70s.'²³ Arguably Rosler's own work sits within such 'radical art practices' as Allen here describes.

Hodby's idea of the 'expanded programme' was also key for my own conceptualisation of the form that the reading events should take. Following on from the example of Hamilton's piano recitals that took in the exhibition space (on the very grand

²⁰ The *Martha Rosler Library* events that took place in its iteration at Stills, Edinburgh in 2008 are listed on the Stills website. Alongside the more conventional curator's talk and an in-conversation with the artist, also included were talks on Henri Lefebvre and Gaston Bachelard's *The Poetics of Space*. See 'Martha Rosler Library', *Stills Centre for Photography* <<https://www.stills.org/exhibition/past/martha-rosler-library>>. Accessed 25 Feb. 2019.

²¹ Elena Filipovic writes that Rosler has 'regularly made books available in reading areas that were integrated into her exhibitions'. See Elena Filipovic, 'If You Read Here', p. 30.

²² Alexandra Hodby, 'Learning after 'New Institutionalism'', p. 78.

²³ Felicity Allen, 'Situating Gallery Education', *Tate Encounters [E]dition 2*, Feb. 2008, p.2 <http://www2.tate.org.uk/tate-encounters/edition-2/tateencounters2_felicity_allen.pdf>. Accessed 11 Mar. 2019. Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev also writes, 'congresses, meetings and symposia of artists and writers and intellectuals constituted 'public thinking' before 'public programs' took an institutionalised form in art institutions'. See Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev to Leeza Ahmady, 18 July 2011, 'Making *DOCUMENTA (13)*', in *DOCUMENTA (13): Das Logbuch/ The Logbook; Catalog 2/3* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2012) p. 57.

piano included in the installation), I decided that the reading series should similarly take place within the very space of the display itself. This embedded the series as a core part of the exhibition rather than it being held in a separate lecture theatre, as often occurs with talks and lectures accompanying exhibitions [Fig. 47]. This also allowed for discussion of the relationship between the library itself and Hepworth's artwork, a key reason for displaying the two together – as in the already discussed form of archival intervention. The hope was that, by taking place in the gallery space, the reading events would allow audience members to draw connections between the artworks and library display, as well as reflecting on the library's relationship to the other permanent displays of Hepworth in the adjoining galleries (i.e. *Hepworth at Work* and the *Plasters* gallery). This raised the question of the effect a curated programme might offer for the viewer's encounter with the work, in addition to the physical curation of the work itself.

Whilst I have so far discussed decisions that 'I' took, it is important to note that the process of devising both the reading events and the display itself was a collaborative process – involving both staff members and visitors – in keeping with the collaborative PhD model. In this sense, the collaborative doctoral structure has much in common with the methodology developed and recommended by the Tate Encounters project to breach the theory/practice divide of the museum and the academy. That approach is one that authors Dewdney, Dibosa and Walsh describe as consisting of four elements: research conducted collaboratively, fully embedded in the site of research, adopting a transdisciplinary approach, and a reflexive method to the gathering of data.²⁴ Working on the display and reading events as a collaborative researcher, I was not only embedded within the Collections and Exhibitions team at The Hepworth Wakefield, but also the wider team of staff, whose input influenced and shaped the direction the display, events, and my wider research took.

²⁴ Andrew Dewdney, David Dibosa and Victoria Walsh, *Post-Critical Museology*, p. 225.

Dewdney, Dibosa and Walsh define a reflexive methodology as one in which research might pursue its original questions but the design of the research is ‘developmental and dialogic’, where methods are ‘open to change in the process of establishing relationships’.²⁵ As they discuss, undertaking research in this way produces a ‘democratic ethic’, where the ‘relationship between the researcher and researched..[is] not performed as one of observer and the observed [...] but instead understood as the co-extensive generation of knowledge’.²⁶ Similarly, whilst I proposed the original idea of a library display and associated reading programme, two interactions with staff and visitors were particularly key in determining the exact shape these took. The first was an archive session I ran with The Hepworth Wakefield Learning team, on their request to see if there were aspects of my research that might be incorporated into their schools programme. On my presenting an overview of the library to the team, they remarked upon how the different subject areas within the library linked to ideas of cross-curricular learning, and how these different areas of knowledge might be likened to the different subjects found within the national curriculum.²⁷ Up to this point I had predominantly focused on the literature and art sections of the library in accordance with the original focus of my PhD proposal, which was weighted towards the literary and poetic elements of sculpture. The discussion with the Learning team encouraged me to consider the other subject areas within the library more closely from an interdisciplinary approach. The second half of the thesis includes further in depth examination of this idea.

The second important encounter key to the development of this reflexive methodology was gaining the input of visitors when devising the display and reading programme. In February 2017 I was invited to deliver a talk as part of new adult learning

²⁵ Dewdney, Dibosa and Walsh, *Post-Critical Museology*, p. 225.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 228.

²⁷ Discussions with Meghan Goodeve and The Hepworth Wakefield Learning Team, 11 Jan. and 1 March 2017.

programme entitled *Behind the Scenes: An Insider's Guide to The Hepworth Wakefield*, which involved different members of the Collections and Exhibitions team discussing their particular role at the gallery. The session brief described the programme as a 'unique chance to meet and ask questions to key members of the curatorial team', suggestive of an interactive and participatory aim, also enabled through capping the number of places available to a small number.²⁸ The timing of the *Behind the Scenes* series coincided with the planning stages of the Hepworth reading programme (the display opened in May 2017). As such, the talk provided not only the opportunity to discuss the research I was undertaking but also to trial the idea of a reading event. An initial introduction to the research project was followed by an object handling session with selected volumes from the library (all of which were later included in the vitrine displays) and a reading in the plasters gallery from selected material from Hepworth's 'Greek Diary' and 'A Sculptor's Landscape' essay. Whilst it was not possible to replicate the object handling session for the reading programme itself due to the museum and conservation standards discussed previously, aspects from the reading element of the *Behind the Scenes* talk could however be replicated for the subsequent library programme. The *Behind the Scenes* attendees were invited to offer feedback on the gallery reading and input on how they felt the library programme should be structured.²⁹ The feedback indicated that the attendees wished for the readings to have a more interactive element, through copies of the reading material being distributed to allow for active engagement with the texts rather than merely passive listening.³⁰ Such an insight is in keeping with shift away from the *transmission* model of the museum outlined earlier, where visitors have greater agency. Nonetheless, attendees also stated that they would like the sessions to offer an interpretative or explanatory function, particularly on some of the more complex ideas found within some of the library texts, such as the teachings of Christian

²⁸ 'Behind the Scenes: An Insider's Guide to The Hepworth Wakefield Non-Formal Learning Brief', Jan. 2017.

²⁹ Several *Behind the Scenes* attendees later became regular attendees at The Hepworth Book Club events.

³⁰ Feedback from *Behind the Scenes* attendees, 21 Feb. 2017.

Science or Hepworth's own references to Classical Greek sites and mythology. In this way, the feedback demonstrated one of the issues sometimes found with the move towards more participatory forms of museum communication, that which curator Anna Douglas has identified as a resistance from museum visitors who wish to hear from the 'expertise' of the curator or academic.³¹

As such, one of the greatest challenges in planning the reading series was determining the format that the events should take, specifically finding a space somewhere between the models of reading group and public talk. Whilst there were precedents for such a series in the historic programming at The Hepworth, in particular the example of the former gallery reading group³² and events programmed around the gallery's fifth birthday in 2016, the events did not have to fit within a pre-existing series and as such there could be a level of flexibility with planning.³³ Part of the reason for such flexibility was on account of the programme being funded through the Postgraduate Researcher Environment Development Fund from the University of Huddersfield, although held at The Hepworth Wakefield.³⁴ This funding source is a reminder that, although in practice the series functioned as any other normal public programme, its purpose was as a test-bed PhD research – in this case to find a way of displaying an artist's library that would go beyond a static display of objects and allow for the communication and discussion of ideas contained within the texts. Whilst both

³¹ Anna Douglas, *Arts-Humanities Research in Collaborative Contexts* seminar series, University of Huddersfield, 16 Apr. 2018.

³² Information from Helen Riddle, *Behind the Scenes* attendee, 21 Feb. 2017.

³³ For the gallery's fifth birthday celebration weekend on 21-22 May 2016, an afternoon of music, dance and immersive visual art was programmed to explore interdisciplinary routes into the collection. See <<https://hepworthwakefield.org/news/the-hepworth-wakefield-celebrates-its-5th-birthday/>>. Accessed 26 Dec. 2019. As Hilary Floe has shown, there were also historic precedents in the programming at the former Wakefield Art Gallery. Floe states that, during the wartime period under founding director Ernest Musgrave, the gallery pioneered 'participatory and interdisciplinary ideas' in education, including group listening with borrowed music records, and discussion and reading evenings with current literature available on art and science topics through collaborating with libraries to turn the museum into a collective reading room'. See Hilary Floe, 'In and Out of Chaos: Viewing Modernism in Britain during the Second World War', *Approaching Thunder: 1940s Britain between Art and Literature* symposium, The Hepworth Wakefield, 23 Sept. 2017.

³⁴ This funding was secured after it was ascertained that there would not be a budget available to support the series from The Hepworth Wakefield.

the display and the event series were integrated into the gallery's regular programme of displays and events, their programming came about as part of PhD research, and thus need to be evaluated as such. As Hodby observes, such activity raises the question of research as a public activity, with the resulting programme of events forming a part of the public record in a 'real world' situation.³⁵ It was this status of the series as what I shall term the 'public programme as research' that caused certain challenges in defining format, particularly in terms of balancing the interests of the researcher, the speakers themselves, the institution and the general public. What I considered the most useful format for the events - in terms of research - might not be what the speakers felt most comfortable with, or the public most wished to attend. In attempting to carry out a democratic, reflexive ethos, in the manner suggested by Dewdney, Dibosa and Walsh, it was important to factor in all of these concerns.

To achieve this, it was necessary to reach a balance between the communication of knowledge by a speaker and active participation by event attendees. As such, all sessions were structured to include discussion time, and in many sessions audience members were invited to participate throughout. Speakers were given the option of delivering a scripted paper or undertaking an unscripted, more informal talk (a mixture of both forms of delivery was carried out). In conversations with my supervisory team, I decided that six monthly events should be programmed,³⁶ with each reading session based around a different theme or area of interest within the library drawn from the research scope and remit of the display itself. As such, texts selected for discussion were (with the exception of André Malraux's *The*

³⁵ Alexandra Hodby, 'Learning after 'New Institutionalism': Democracy and Tate Modern Public Programme', pp. 32-34.

³⁶ Conversations were later held regarding the possibility of extending the programme or undertaking further interventions in the display (funded by The Hepworth Wakefield) at a programming meeting on 1 August 2017. It was suggested that the series might be continued under the umbrella of the new proposed 'first Saturday of the month' programming strand: 'We will research a branded 'first Saturday of the month' strand of programming...designed to build our Vanguard and student audiences. The programme will explore interdisciplinary routes into the collection through discussion events and live performances, and provide a platform for talent in the region across dance, music and literature.' See 'The Hepworth Wakefield Community Engagement Strategy', Dec. 2017. Unfortunately due to limitations of time, resources and budget this proposed extension to the programme was not able to take place.

Voices of Silence) all taken from those included in the display. As with the display, it felt necessary for the sessions to cover a representative selection of the contents of the library itself. In this way, Sophie Bowness' taxonomic orders of subject matter for the library provided a useful barometer for deciding the subject for each talk. Talks focused on Henri Focillon's *The Life of Forms in Art*, Rilke's poetry, Eddy's *Science and Health*, Stravinsky's *Poetics of Music* (as part of a wider discussion on music), and André Malraux's *The Voices of Silence* and James Joyce's *Ulysses* (in the context of modernist writing).³⁷ Making the texts the primary focus of the talks was key to moving away from the tendency to foreground the artist's own voice, which, as with monographic writing, is often found in public programmes. This also aligned the series closer with a much earlier vision of public programming (again informed by art school practice) pioneered by Andrew Brighton, the first Head of Public Events at Tate in 1994, who stated:

There was a tradition in the art schools that I attended. [...] it believes that the discourses of the practice and the reception of art is informed by a range of disciplines (such as philosophy, politics...) and cultural practices (such as cinema, music, poetry...) as well as art criticism and history[...] Most people interested in art are also interested in artists and what prompts them. Artists are in actuality heterodox, but I assumed they were intellectuals...[I] was interested in intellectuals rather than academics.

For Brighton, the public programme should provide a platform to probe these ideas rather than be merely 'an amplification of its curator and catalogue'.³⁸ Similarly, as one of the speakers, Rachel Smith, suggested in her talk on Rilke, Hepworth's library might be used as one way 'to get to know [Rilke], using Hepworth's work and readings to approach him' and

³⁷ Full listings of the programme series are included in the appendix. A historic listing of the event series can also be found on the University of Huddersfield Centre for Sculptural Thinking Research Centre webpages <<https://research.hud.ac.uk/institutes-centres/st/hbc/>>. Accessed 14 Mar. 2019.

³⁸ Andrew Brighton, in Felicity Allen, 'Situating Gallery Education', p. 8. Similar approaches were also advocated by Toby Jackson, the first Head of Education at Tate Liverpool, who argued that the role of education was 'not simply to amplify the role of collections and exhibitions' as an extension of marketing, but to 'engage people with large issues around culture'. See Toby Jackson, in Dewdney, Dibosa and Walsh, *Post-Critical Museology*, p. 26. Sylvia Lahov however notes that pressure to diversify income streams in the 1990s led to a rise in creating 'privileged' opportunities for the public which, due to their success, became the driving force of much of the Adult Education work in the Thatcher years, turning income generation into one of its key objectives. See Sylvia Lahov, in *Post-Critical Museology*, p. 36.

‘to transgress disciplines...to engage with ideas, approaches and forms of literary criticism that might be relevant also to Hepworth.’³⁹

To foreground this idea of the centrality of the texts themselves, I was able to incorporate the *Behind the Scenes* attendees’ suggestion of including a written handout with each session containing excerpts from a selected text from the library, which speakers were asked to prepare.⁴⁰ The inclusion of reproduced sections of text within the handouts provided the impetus for structured discussion of a kind that meant the events could function as *both* talk *and* reading group. Taking the lead from the 1994 Tate Liverpool Hepworth Critical Forum discussed in the Introduction, I invited speakers who were not only Hepworth scholars or specialists to allow for a wider range of viewpoints and approaches. In acknowledgement of the different disciplines represented in the library, it was necessary that some of these contributors should also be from a non-art discipline and as such, the speaker invited to lead the session on music was a musicologist and composer. As with the devising of the series itself, in addition to the approaches and insights of the speakers themselves, the knowledge that might be offered by attendees themselves was also considered of importance. Taking into account the insights of participants not only allowed for a continuation of the democratic, reflexive methodology outlined by Dewdney, Dibosa and Walsh, but also to widen the range of knowledges taken into account when discussing Hepworth. The social anthropologist Sharon MacDonald has defined the different kinds of ‘knowledge’ found in a museum context as:

not only [...] that which is displayed in an exhibition as formal knowledge, of course. It also includes the knowledges (including unreflected upon assumptions) of different parties involved in exhibition-making, their attempts to, for example, gather knowledge about visitors, and the understanding of visitors themselves.⁴¹

³⁹ Rachel Smith, *The Hepworth Book Club*, The Hepworth Wakefield, 30 Sept. 2017.

⁴⁰ All handouts are included in the thesis appendix.

⁴¹ Sharon MacDonald, ‘Exhibitions of Power and Powers of Exhibition: An Introduction to the Politics of Display’, in *The Politics of Display: Museums, Science, Culture* ed. Sharon MacDonald (London: Routledge, 1998) p. 3.

As she states, ‘the understanding of visitors themselves’ is a key part of this knowledge, although, as Eilean Hooper-Greenhill has written, in the transmission model of communication, such knowledge is not considered ‘relevant’.⁴² However, in recent years there has been a shift from the transmission model to what has been termed a *constructivist* model of communication, which is one that, as Helen Charman argues, acknowledges ‘that the construction of meaning depends on the prior knowledge, values and beliefs of the viewer’.⁴³ The library programme was built on the principles of this latter model with the acknowledgement that participants themselves might bring new insights, based on their life experiences and varying knowledges, which would feed into the ‘research exhibition’ model.

Public Programme as Research

One important thing to emerge from the reading programme was a sense of connectivity between sessions, whether this be the recurrence of thematic concerns or that something said in one session that might offer a new way of looking at things in future sessions. In both the first two events, the subject of displaying the library was raised, in particular what the effect was of being able to visually engage with shelves of books. Attendee Ian Massey, an art historian working on ‘St Ives’ art, remarked that seeing the library displayed was a visual way in which Hepworth’s networks and lines of interest might be revealed.⁴⁴ Similarly, at the beginning of her talk, Helena Bonett noted the significance of the opportunity to ‘talk surrounded by Hepworth’s library’. Though she did not explicitly state it, this comment

⁴²As Hooper-Greenhill states, the reason that the knowledge of the visitor is not considered ‘relevant’ in the transmission model is that this ‘approach assumes that the communicator defines the content of the message, and that this is received without modification by the receiver, who, in this process, is rendered cognitively passive. Each individual receiver/learner is understood to receive the same message in the same way’. See Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, ‘Changing Values in the Art Museum: Rethinking Communication and Learning’ in *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts* p. 561.

⁴³ Helen Charman, ‘Uncovering Professionalism in the Art Museum: An Exploration of Key Characteristics of the Working Lives of Education Curators at Tate Modern’, *Tate Papers*, No.3, Spring 2005, p. 3.

⁴⁴ Ian Massey, qtd. in *The Hepworth Book Club*, 27 May 2017.

acknowledged the uniqueness of the setting for such a public programme event. Key to Bonett's reading of the library was the significance of the 'juxtaposition of objects and ideas', which as she noted, could be seen visually through the 'display of books on the shelves', through moments of 'difference and incongruence – such as a cook book alongside a book on natural form'. The significance of such juxtapositions for Bonett did not merely extend to the significance of collecting books on such varying subjects, but also what it meant to be reading these different books at the same time. What, Bonett asked, 'does it mean to be looking at and reading one book, say, on [...] the poems of Rainer Maria Rilke alongside the Christian Science writings of Mary Baker Eddy? How do these things come together in the mind and what does that mix, in turn, create?'⁴⁵

An answer to this question was suggested through the session led by Monty Adkins, who, as not only a musicologist but a composer, raised the question of the process of creativity. Adkins situated his discussion of Hepworth and music within a wider consideration of the relations between art and music, and specifically how individuals 'are influenced by other art forms'. Acknowledging Hepworth's 'music' library as not only the books on music, but also the 'extended library of scores and records, Adkins offered a reading of what it might mean to look at these different things together. As he noted,

it is not that one single piece of music is influencing [Hepworth]...it is many, many different pieces of music, and she is extracting the bare essence, the ingredients...the abstract narrative, what's under the surface. And that for me is what is so interesting about her relationship with music.⁴⁶

Such a view is arguably an insightful way into thinking about Hepworth's relationship with reading more broadly - a view that moves beyond the two dimensional 'a single book inspiring a single sculpture' reading. As he stated, it is the 'many different pieces of music' – we might replace with 'books' – which she brings together, extracting their 'bare essence' to

⁴⁵ Helena Bonett, 'Hepworth as Monteur', *The Hepworth Book Club*, The Hepworth Wakefield, 24 June 2017.

⁴⁶ Monty Adkins, *The Hepworth Book Club*, 29 July 2017.

create something new. Adkins also questioned what it means to look to other disciplines as part of the creative process; ‘instead of thinking within one discipline’, he suggested, ‘you take the ideas of that discipline and literally plonk them in another one’.⁴⁷ This perhaps offers some insight into Hepworth’s statement on Stravinsky’s *Poetics*, that ‘[the] chapter on composition corresponds so exactly to the creation of form that a mere half a dozen words only would need to be changed to make it a statement on sculpture’.⁴⁸ Adkins included excerpts from this very chapter in his talk and handout, and in reading them, what became apparent was a sense of why these might be relevant to Hepworth. Notably, although entitled ‘The Composition of Music’, little of the text is music specific but instead refers to wider ideas of creation, of relevance to not only musicians. As Stravinsky states,

The faculty of creating is never given to us all by itself. It always goes hand in hand with the gift of observation. And the true creator may be recognised by his ability always to find about him, in the commonest and humblest thing, items worthy of note. He does not have to concern himself with a beautiful landscape, he does not need to surround himself with rare and precious objects. He does not have to put forth in search of discoveries: they are always within his reach. He will have only to cast a glance about him.⁴⁹

Given the lack of music specific language, it is easy to see how Hepworth might have thought this chapter could easily be changed into a statement on sculpture.

The idea of books containing unexpected resonances that might not be apparent from reading a title alone could also be seen in the extract selected by Lucy Kent for her reading event on Christian Science. Kent included two excerpts from Eddy’s *Science and Health*, the second taken from a passage entitled ‘Mental Sculpture’.

⁴⁷ Monty Adkins, *The Hepworth Book Club*, 29 July 2017.

⁴⁸ Barbara Hepworth to Priaux Rainier, 28 March 1951. Royal Academy of Music Archive, IPR 3/36/2/31. In an interview twenty years later with Cindy Nemser, Hepworth also similarly states: ‘There’s a beautiful book written by Stravinsky, *The Poetics of Music*. It’s so beautiful because of the whole early description of the flow of the beginning and procedure to the end. You only have to change a word or two and it becomes form.’ Barbara Hepworth, in Cindy Nemser, ‘Conversation with Barbara Hepworth’, *Feminist Art Journal*, Spring 1973, vol. 2, no. 2, repr. in *Barbara Hepworth: Writings and Conversations*, p. 261.

⁴⁹ Igor Stravinsky, *Poetics of Music in the Form of Six Lessons*; trans. Arthur Knodel and Ingolf Dahl (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947) p. 54.

We are all sculptors, working at various forms, moulding and chiselling thought. What is the model before mortal mind? Is it imperfection, joy, sorrow, sin, suffering? Have you accepted the mortal model? Are you reproducing it? Then you are haunted in your work by vicious sculptors and hideous forms [...]The result is that you are liable to follow those lower patterns, limit your life-work, and adopt into your experience the angular outline and deformity of matter models.

To remedy this, we must first turn our gaze in the right direction, and then walk that way. We must form perfect models in thought and look at them continually, or we shall never carve them out in grand and noble lives [...] Let us accept Science, relinquish all theories base on sense-testimony, give up imperfect models and illusive ideals...Let us feel the divine energy of Spirit, bringing us into newness of life and recognising no mortal nor material power as able to destroy.⁵⁰

The significance of Eddy using the metaphor of the sculptor to describe the choice between so-called ‘mortal mind’ and ‘Divine mind’ would surely not have been lost on Hepworth. It is also important to note that another of Hepworth’s favourite writers, Rilke, similarly had an important insight into sculpture from his time writing a monograph on Rodin and observing the sculptor in his studio. As Rachel Smith noted in her talk on Rilke, it seems no coincidence that in 1950, the year Hepworth permanently moved into Trewyn Studio, Rainier would send her a copy of Rilke’s letters with a note enclosed of reading suggestions,⁵¹ including ‘fascinating letters about Rodin at beginning’.⁵² Thus, in answer to Bonett’s original question ‘what does it mean to be reading Rainer Maria Rilke alongside Mary Baker Eddy?’, is that unexpected insights into sculpture from both writers emerge. Even within those moments of ‘difference and incongruence’ that Bonett observed within Hepworth’s library, more subtle moments of connection also emerge. ‘

Another less obvious connection that came through in the sessions was the metaphor of cookery. Discussing Stravinsky’s *Poetics*, Adkins gave a somewhat unexpected

⁵⁰ Mary Baker Eddy, *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures* (Boston, Massachusetts: The Christian Science Board of Directors, 1994) pp. 248-9.

⁵¹ Rachel Smith, The Hepworth Book Club, 23 Sept. 2017.

⁵² Note from Priaulx Rainier in Hepworth’s copy of *The Selected Letters of Rainer Maria Rilke 1906-1926* trans. R F C Hull (London: Macmillan, 1947).

description of the text as an ‘instructional cookbook’.⁵³ Whether done deliberately is uncertain, but one of Adkins’ chosen excerpts from ‘The Composition of Music’ chapter was itself a section in which Stravinsky uses the metaphor of cooking:

The very act of putting my work on paper, of, as we say, kneading the dough, is for me inseparable from the pleasure of creation. So far as I am concerned, I cannot separate the spiritual effort from the psychological and physical effort; they confront me on the same level and do not present a hierarchy.⁵⁴

Hepworth herself often mentions cooking in correspondence and interviews, including the statement in her interview with Cindy Nemser:

I loved the environment and the cooking. I used to cook and go in my studio. I had to have methods of working. If I was in the middle of a work and the oven burned or the children called for me, I used to make an arrangement with music, records or poetry, so that when I went back to the studio, I picked up where I left off. I enjoyed it, you see; it was part of me.⁵⁵

Hepworth’s library itself also includes several cookery books, a material trace of this ‘love’ of cooking that she describes here.⁵⁶ What is interesting is that cooking is something she does in the studio, the place of making, just as Stravinsky also uses the metaphor of ‘kneading the dough’ to describe the act of composition. Artist Veronica Ryan similarly drew attention to the process of cookery after having observed the whisks used by Hepworth to mix plaster in her studio. As Ryan noted,

A whisk [...] has these multi-functions. It is good for mixing plaster and making sure you get the bubbles out, but also it’s a domestic implement [...] I was intrigued by the similarity of cooking and making sculpture. It’s such a similar process, you have all your raw materials, and there’s a process [...] you organise things and in the process

⁵³ Monty Adkins, *The Hepworth Book Club*, 29 July 2017.

⁵⁴ Igor Stravinsky, *Poetics of Music*, p. 54.

⁵⁵ Barbara Hepworth, in Cindy Nemser, ‘Conversation with Barbara Hepworth’, *Barbara Hepworth: Writings and Conversations*, pp. 251-2. To E H Ramsden, Hepworth also describes a creative routine where making is intersected with cooking and other household tasks: ‘I can’t remember what I told you in that letter - I think there was a lot about Rilke & about how I’ve slowly discovered how to create for 30 mins, cook for 40 mins, create for another 30 & look after children for 50 so on through the day. It’s a sort of miracle to be able to do it – I think the secret lies in not resisting the chores & drudgery & in carrying the creative mood on within oneself whilst cooking so that it is unbroken.’ Barbara Hepworth to E H Ramsden, undated. Tate Archive, TGA 9310/1/1/7.

⁵⁶ There are six cookery books in Hepworth’s library; for full details see Sophie Bowness, ‘The library of Barbara Hepworth’, n .p. .

of making it becomes transformed into a different state [...] I'm interested in these metaphorical references in terms of how one thinks.⁵⁷

Such 'metaphorical references' may not just be unique to an individual but also something more collective as the shared language of Adkins, Stravinsky, Hepworth and Ryan demonstrate. However it was only through viewing the talks as a whole series rather than as individual events that such shared thinking could become apparent.

Attendees to the events themselves brought a wide variety of interests and life experiences. Many participants attended multiple sessions meaning that the programme fostered a community who were able to develop familiarity with one another. In addition to those participants who attended due to an interest in Hepworth and her work, the range of subjects and writers discussed in the programme also encouraged the attendance of some individuals with expertise in quite different areas. The implication is therefore that by introducing a model of programme which refuted the traditional biographical approach to art history, new areas of knowledge might be permitted to enter. Felicity Allen has argued that museum learning

[should be]..be both porous and experimental, a liminal space at the edges of the institution...it should be a conduit for different types of knowledge and experience to be channelled into the museum, as well as helping people find and produce the knowledge that interested them that the museum holds.⁵⁸

Whilst Allen's statement is applied widely to museum education generally, it has a particular resonance for the library programme, which as both public programme and PhD research, lacking a clear precedent in terms of model, was necessary 'experimental'. It also hoped to channel in new types of knowledge specifically by shifting the focus away from the traditional artist-dominated model. For example, one participant to the Rilke session held a

⁵⁷ Veronica Ryan, *The Hepworth Book Club*, The Hepworth Wakefield, 28 Sept. 2017. In 2000 Ryan completed a residency at Tate St Ives where she worked in the former studio of Barbara Hepworth using marble gifted by the Hepworth Estate.

⁵⁸ Felicity Allen, 'What does globalisation mean for education in the art museum?', in *It's all Mediating: Outlining and Incorporating the Roles of Curating and Education in the Exhibition Context* eds. Kaija Kaitavuori, Laura Kokkonen and Nora Sternfeld (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013) p. 57.

high level of specialist knowledge on Rilke.⁵⁹ He arrived at the event bringing his own copy of Rilke's poems and offered to undertake a reading of an excerpt from the set text, the *Duino Elegies*. As an experienced and skilled poetry reader, his reading was much appreciated by participants and he was also able to offer specific insights into Rilke. For example, he noted the interest in Rilke by composers, including Harrison Birtwistle's setting of the *Sonnets*.⁶⁰ In Chapter 5 I discuss the significance of the *Sonnets* to both Rainier and Hepworth, including their musical significance.

Significant insights were also brought from another participant, Helen Wilby, who, as a child had attended Wakefield Girls' High School, at which Hepworth also studied. Discussions in the Christian Science event included the teaching of Dalcroze Eurythmics - the technique of teaching rhythmic development through means of bodily expression - at Wakefield Girls' High School during Hepworth's time there, which claimed to restore the body's rhythmic equilibrium through movement and dance.⁶¹ The attendee remarked that although nothing had still been taught under that name during her time at the school, teaching did however include improvising abstract dance around Hepworth's *Forms in Movement (Galliard)* (1956), which had been gifted to the school by the artist in 1959.⁶² What this small anecdote could demonstrate was the continuing importance placed on rhythm, dance and movement at the school, and the very significance of the relationship of sculpture and

⁵⁹ This session was also programmed to coincide with the Wakefield Literary Festival and therefore may have attracted a more literary specialist audience than some of the other events.

⁶⁰ Participant qtd. in *The Hepworth Book Club*, 23 Sept. 2017.

⁶¹ Although initially developed by Emile Jacques-Dalcroze, composer and Professor of Harmony at Geneva Conservatoire, to assist practically with the aural training of pupils, Dalcroze Eurythmics also was itself a manifestation on the focus of the idea of 'rhythm' prevalent in the early decades of the twentieth century. As Lucy Kent has written, the paradigm of 'rhythm' also had a spiritual aspect, with proponents such as Laurence Binyon, author of *The Flight of the Dragon* (1911), arguing for the importance of the models of Eastern art and its integration of spiritual truth which was seen as a 'spiritual rhythm' that passed through the material world. See Lucy Kent, 'Modern Gods and Religion', p. 68-75.

⁶² Helen Wilby, qtd. in *The Hepworth Book Club*, 26 Aug, 2017. In 2016 Wakefield Girls' High School made the controversial decision to auction *Galliard* and another Hepworth sculpture *Quiet Form* (1973) that had also been gifted by the artist. See Josh Halliday, 'Barbara Hepworth sculptures raise £2.2m for her old school', *Guardian*, 16 Jun. 2016 <<https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2016/jun/14/barbara-hepworth-works-raise-2m-old-school-wakefield-girls>>. Accessed 21 Mar. 2019.

dance.⁶³ As such, this oral testimony offers the potential to open up new lines of research enquiry. As anecdotal knowledge, it is of a kind that could never be found in a traditional archival setting. Traditionally, as Nedira Yakir has written, a hierarchy has been maintained between accepting factual oral and written information, with oral testimony often treated with caution but written testimony accepted as factual.⁶⁴ If such a hierarchy is maintained, information such as the anecdote mentioned above might be discounted and therefore potential knowledge lost.

Reception and Afterlife

Between May 2017 and December 2018 the personal library of Barbara Hepworth was displayed at The Hepworth Wakefield for the first, and, as I discuss in the Epilogue, very likely the last time. The display also coincided with the 2017 publication of *The Hepworth Wakefield: Art and Artists*, a follow up to the 2011 *Plasters* text, which provided an updated guide to the permanent collections. Designed to introduce the Wakefield Permanent Art Collection, founded with the establishment of Wakefield Art Gallery 1934, and provide a new publication produced in-house,⁶⁵ the text also offered a wider view of the collection displays, and the role of the *Hepworth at Work* gallery was more clearly foregrounded than it had been in the *Plasters* book [Figs. 48-9]. The publication of the collection guide took place several months after the opening of the Hepworth library display as part of *Masterpieces of Barbara Hepworth and Henry Moore* and as such includes images of the library display [Figs. 50-1]. *Art and Artists* therefore contains a record of the library display, in which it is firmly linked to the rest of the permanent collection in a way that it had not been prior to this.

⁶³ The subject of dance also featured in a number of the different sessions, such as in Monty Adkins' discussion of Hepworth's adoption of the Renaissance 'pavane' and 'galliard' stately dances as titles for sculptures, 29 July 2017. Veronica Ryan also observed that 'Hepworth looks like she trained as a ballerina from her movements', 28 Sept. 2017.

⁶⁴ Nedira Yakir, 'Wilhelmina Barns-Graham and Margaret Mellis: The Gendered Construction of 'St Ives'', p. 37.

⁶⁵ *The Plasters* text had been published by Lund Humphries. Information from Eleanor Clayton, 9 Apr. 2019.

Very unusually for a collection display, a review of the library display was also included in a national newspaper, namely Ann Treneman's 'Notebook' column in *The Times* (see appendix). Significantly this was a Features column, which regularly includes diverse material on subjects including theatre, horticulture and literature, rather than an Arts Review piece. This perhaps once again reflects the interdisciplinary nature of the library and its ability to be seen in a number of different contexts. In her column, Treneman wrote:

the thing I loved most was that one wall shows us Hepworth's personal bookshelf. There are many volumes that I would have expected, such as *Aspects of Form* and *The Field Guide to Rocks and Minerals*. But, also, there was *First Slice Your Cookbook: The Three-Tier Menu Guide* by Arabella Boxer. My personal favourite, though, has to be a thick volume called *Shrubs for the Milder Counties*.⁶⁶

This takes us back to the idea, discussed in Chapter 1, of what is present and what might be missing from an artist's library that we expect to find on the shelves. Or in this case, what is expected to be there and what comes as a surprise, Bonett's idea of 'difference and incongruence'. It is interesting that both Bonett and Treneman picked up on the same moment of juxtaposition – between Lancelot Law Whyte's edited volume *Aspects of Form* (1951) and Arabella Boxer's *The Three-Tier Menu Guide* (1964). When choosing the selection of books for the cabinet I attempted to keep books roughly in the order they appear in the archive – that is by taxonomic categorisation. Juxtapositions that did occur in the display then were not purposeful but rather those that still appear in the moments of moving between different subject areas.

The idea of identifying 'expected' and 'unexpected' volumes in the display suggests that visitors approached Hepworth's library from a preconceived idea of what they think of as a typical Hepworth work. As one comment made on the presence of books on Zen Buddhism texts in the library suggested, 'Zen themes of form, emptiness and circle are so beautifully

⁶⁶ Ann Treneman, 'Notebook: Winter's here – just look at the gloaming', *The Times*, 7 Nov. 2017.

evident in her work'.⁶⁷ Visitor Experience staff at the gallery also noted that a number of visitors also remarked on connections between Hepworth's use of the motif of the circle and her reading of Zen Buddhism.⁶⁸ The display itself included Hepworth's screenprint *Moon Play* (1972) and lithograph *Moon Landscape* (1973), alongside the painting *Genesis III* (1966) and polished bronze sculpture *Six Forms on a Circle* (1967), in which the form of the circle recurs [Fig. 52]. However, whilst visitors drew connections between general ideas of Hepworth's work and the library, this is one of the few examples of connections being drawn between the artworks on display and the library itself. This may have in part been due to the decision to keep the library display separate from the display of sculpture to avoid didactic pairings between individual books and sculptures. In the reading programme itself there were more opportunities to think about connections between the books and artworks on display – where there was a resonance between the ideas of a text discussed and a work(s) on display, these could be literally pointed out by participants.

As discussed in the Introduction, developing the library display and reading programme as part of my doctoral research has driven certain key approaches and emphases that the thesis takes. Inevitably, key texts that I identified for display and which were included in the reading programme are also those which I focus upon in greater depth in the second half of the thesis. In particular, the focuses I developed in the vitrines on form and collaboration are subjects I consider in greater depth. The reading programme itself was devised both in response to the lack of visitor access to Hepworth's books brought about due to museum and conservation standards, and to form a space which could act as a testbed for the PhD research to discuss ideas around the library and its display. Part of the need to create such a platform was due to the lack of pre-existing research on the library and documentation

⁶⁷ Comment made in response to a photograph of the library display from The Hepworth Wakefield on Instagram, 9 Aug. 2017. Images of the how people engaged with the library display through social media are included in the Appendix.

⁶⁸ Information from Eleanor Clayton, 9 Apr. 2019.

surrounding it. As discussed in Chapter 1, there exists a general lack of certainty as to what exactly should be done with artists' libraries beyond the mere collecting of them. As Rachel Smith reflected in her own reading session,

How can we use this new kind of research/perspective productively, in a way that reflects also on our treatment of books and reading in our studies of art and artists. What should we be doing with these texts: e.g. talking about them, displaying them, quoting them, using them as references, foregrounding them?⁶⁹

The experience of discussing different approaches to the library across the different reading sessions has shaped the approaches I bring to talking about the texts in subsequent chapters. In particular, the discussions regarding juxtapositions and connections between different texts - so clearly shown in the visual display of the library – inform my final chapter, in which I consider the connections between texts in the library across both time and space. Chapter 4 also draws on the idea of the library as a network discussed in the reading sessions, thinking about how this collection of books might be read through the traces of friendship, collaboration and dialogue that are contained within it. In this way, I seek to demonstrate how curating the library (in the sense of the curatorial)⁷⁰ can drive a study of the library as a lens through which to approach Hepworth's practice.

⁶⁹ Rachel Smith, *The Hepworth Book Club*, 23 Sept. 2017.

⁷⁰ I here refer to O'Neill and Wilson's definition of the 'curatorial' as 'operating away from, alongside or supplementary to the main work of curating-as-exhibition making'. See O'Neill and Wilson, 'An Opening to Curatorial Enquiry', p. 12.

Part 2 Approaches to the Barbara Hepworth Library

Chapter 4: ‘Proximate and Distanced Communication’: Library as Network

This chapter builds on the idea of the library as ‘network’ posed in the previous chapter. This is a reading that builds on the assumption that the significance of Hepworth’s library lies not only in studying the very content of the individual texts themselves. Rather it proposes that these texts are studied as objects that circulated, that at various times were gifted, lent, or purposely bought. *Who* texts were gifted or lent by, and *when* and *where* they were acquired from thus become key questions we must ask. As such, one way which the Hepworth library may be approached is through the interrelationship of people, time, place and subject matter. What patterns emerge in thinking about the particular historical moment a text was acquired, its subject matter, and from whom and where it was acquired? How do such patterns link with wider narratives of cultural production within the development of modern art in twentieth century Britain? In providing an examination of the places and networks through which Hepworth came to acquire her library, this chapter seeks to provide answers to these questions.

Before interrogating the specifics of the places and networks contained within Hepworth’s library, it is important first look to some theoretical models and approaches that others have adopted to use as tools for discussing these ideas, as well as the way in which networks have typically been written about in relation to the art of St Ives. Writing in 1993, Whitney Chadwick and Isabelle de Courtivron noted that to challenge the traditional view of creativity as ‘an extraordinary (usually male) individual’s solitary struggle for artistic self-expression’ a new wave of writing had risen that had focused on ‘groups, interactions, friendships and mutually enriching influences, which blur our existing notions of heroic

individuality’.¹ In seeking to challenge these pre-existing notions of ‘heroic individuality’, such writing was made possible through feminist interventions in art history begun in the 1970s and 80s, of which I discussed in the Introduction. Such interventions have informed the direction taken (if not explicitly acknowledged) by a branch of more recent art historical writing, which takes the aim of working against monographic approaches that prioritise the artist as individual or within a bound group or movement. The critical framework offered by Sarah Victoria Turner in her 2009 PhD thesis ‘‘Spiritual Rhythm’ and ‘Material Things’: Art, Cultural Networks and Modernity in Britain, c. 1900-1914’, is of particular interest here. Turner writes:

I am not only arguing for the importance of group interaction and professional networks in the context of better understanding artistic practice...but am also suggesting that notions of creative community, fraternalism and friendship were central to the modernist project [...] The question of how one performs rigorous visual analysis whilst at the same time mining artists’ allegiances, associations and relationships for their ideological, social and political significance (for it is a mistake to think that these belong solely to the realm of the personal) presents us with a serious and significant challenge.²

That Turner advocates balancing both visual analysis and accounting for the significance of personal interactions is of particular significance here. As she emphasises ‘mining artists’ allegiances’ belongs to more than just the ‘realm of the personal’ and can instead be combined with visual analysis. Turner goes on to pose some questions that are of key significance for considering relationships and networks within the library. As she asks, ‘where do objects and images fit in this rich web of connections and relationships amongst artists and their peers? [...] Can objects and images preserve traces of relationships and sociability?’³ Arguably, books are one of such ‘objects’ that can ‘preserve traces’ of previous connections. Turner argues for a ‘different kind of art history’ to ‘deal with the social spaces

¹ Whitney Chadwick and Isabelle de Courtivron, *Significant Others: Creativity and Intimate Partnership* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1993) pp. 7-8.

² Sarah Victoria Turner, ‘‘Spiritual Rhythm’ and ‘Material Things’: Art, Cultural Networks and Modernity in Britain, c. 1900-1914’, Unpublished PhD thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2009, p. 30.

³ *Ibid.*

‘in between’ artists, movements, ideas and artworks – a narrative which can trace the threads of connections, the circulation of ideas, information, things, people and weave what lies outside the ‘frame’ (or beyond the object) with that which is within’.⁴ Hepworth’s library might be seen as a space that lies outside the ‘frame’ of her art itself, but in bringing together both a multitude of ideas and subjects, together with traces of networks and contacts, can come to bear upon the reading of her work. Where I hope to use the library to go beyond Turner’s model however is through looking beyond the exclusively artist-based networks to those of mixed disciplines and practices, which are to be found in the library, to see how such conversations and interchange can come to influence the development of visual material. In this way, I also depart from many of the earlier accounts of ‘St Ives’ art in extending focus beyond the purely artist-based networks that existed in the town and beyond.⁵

Whilst Turner’s model offers much potential for considering how relationships, connections and interactions may be generative of art production, what it does not account for is how these function within the confines of, or across geographical location(s), and historical time. As Rachel Smith has written, artworks are inseparable ‘from the agencies associated with place [...] while a work of art may not have been made to engage directly with a place as theme, subject or style, the circumstances of its conception and production are always dependent on specific interrelations connected to that site’.⁶ One approach that offers the potential to unite the association of people and place is that of Griselda Pollock’s *Generations and Geographies in the Visual Arts*, which brings together the two axes of history and

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁵ I place ‘St Ives’ in inverted commas for subsequent discussion of the art produced in St Ives in this period in the manner advocated by Chris Stephens and others. Stephens writes ‘in the art world of the 1950s, if one was referred to as a ‘St Ives artist’ people would have a sense of what that meant. The work that would be brought to mind would be modern, largely non-representational [...] and in some way related to landscape. Commentaries at the time and subsequent retrospective accounts have all inevitably drawn relationships between the art made in St Ives and the place itself. The result is a construct – not an empirical fact – that we might denote as ‘St Ives’ in inverted commas.’ See Chris Stephens, *St Ives: The Art and the Artists*, p. 4.

⁶ Rachel Smith, ‘Modern Art Movements and St Ives’, p. 23.

location to work against traditional art historical methods that only consider decidedly formal values or the individual artist figure.⁷ Pollock writes of the model as follows:

any study of an artwork or its maker needs to be complexly configured through the double areas of history and socio-cultural location, of genealogical time and socially determined semiotic space whose double axes pass through and define the practice which itself creatively refashions its own conditions of existence. Thus any artist is both working from a location that places her/his work in relation to a historical genealogy and a contemporary geopolitical-cultural situation. This automatically produces a pivoted international perspective on the way in which geographical and historical particularity of work by artists must be studied so that there is no single centre against which the artist's historical and geographical particularity can be othered. Each artist works in a singularity of history and location from which, however, something is being said that may have meaning for all of us beyond its point of production and precisely because of its situated articulation as a singular subject position.⁸

As Pollock states one particular advantage of this position is that it negates the possibility for an artist or artwork to find themselves 'othered' against a 'single centre'. In the story of art in St Ives, and specifically of Hepworth, this is not insignificant. As Smith writes, 'although it is increasingly recognised that modernism in St Ives was a collection of individual practices connected by a complex and far-reaching network, geographical centres of art remain central to perceptions of mid-twentieth-century art'.⁹ Similarly displays at Tate St Ives still find themselves subject to the place-led displays of 'St Ives art'.¹⁰

As discussed in the Introduction, for Hepworth this idea of place-labelling is even more acute, as she becomes attached to St Ives both by virtue of her relationship to Tate St Ives and by the Hepworth Museum itself. As Penelope Curtis and Chris Stephens state in

⁷ Griselda Pollock, 'Preface', in *Generations and Geographies in the Visual Arts: Feminist Readings* ed. Griselda Pollock (London: Routledge, 1996) p. Xvi.

⁸ Griselda Pollock, 'Introduction to the Routledge Classics Edition', in *Vision and Difference: Feminism, Femininity and the Histories of Art* (London: Routledge, 1988, repr. 2003) p. xxix.

⁹ Rachel Smith, 'Common Ground: St Ives and Post-War Communities of Exchange', in Paul Denison et. al., *Modern Art and St Ives: International Exchanges, 1915-1965* (London: Tate Publishing, 2014), p. 104.

¹⁰ Smith writes: 'For Tate St Ives, a particular concern has been its potential to embrace artists associated with the town to an unrepresentative degree. Led by curatorial interests, visitor expectations and the Tate's collection, over time the programme has created a loose group of 'St Ives artists' who are regularly included in displays and surrounding materials. This risk was something consciously opposed by early programme directors, who actively denied the prospect of the town's art histories as reducible to a specific group'. See Rachel Smith, 'Modern Art Movements and St Ives', p. 15.

their introduction to the exhibition catalogue for the Tate Britain 2015 retrospective, ‘her work continues to be thought of, most commonly, in relation to her garden and to St Ives and Cornwall. It is too often forgotten that in her heyday [...] Hepworth was a major international figure’.¹¹ By contrast, the *generations and geographies* model allows for this double existence of the local and international. This relationship between the local and the international was something that came to underlie both the Tate Britain 2015 Hepworth exhibition and the 2014 Tate St Ives *Modern Art and St Ives: International Exchanges, 1915-1965* exhibition.¹² Despite this, there are moments in both catalogues where the local and international become positioned as an either/or choice rather than something that may be read in conjunction with one another. As Stephens writes in the *International Exchanges* catalogue, ‘the history of St Ives can be written as an account of the many artists and their associates who came and went in that small town and its surrounding country [...] Or it can be based on certain judgements about quality and relevance; that is, in relation to the best art of its time’.¹³ Instead read through Pollock’s approach, the *geography* of St Ives may be read in conjunction with the *generation(al)* specificity of the art being made internationally at that time.

Pollock’s conception of geography is also one that takes into account the role played by travel and movement: as she states; *generations and geographies* reveal ‘the significance attached to each person’s specific history and relation to histories, each person’s location and relation to cultural and social geographies through diaspora, displacement, revolution, war,

¹¹ Penelope Curtis and Chris Stephens, ‘Introduction’, in *Barbara Hepworth: Sculpture for a Modern World*, p. 8.

¹² In his catalogue essay for the exhibition catalogue, Stephens writes that the exhibition’s aim was to ‘demonstrate that the art made in Cornwall in the 1940s and 1950s was both specific to that place and time and can be – often was – seen as part of longer and wider artistic developments elsewhere’. See Stephens, ‘Between Landscape and Abstraction, the Local and the International’, in *Modern Art and St Ives: International Exchanges*, p. 15.

¹³ Chris Stephens, ‘Between Landscape and Abstraction, the Local and the International’, in *Modern Art and St Ives: International Exchanges*, p. 13.

migration and so forth.’¹⁴ Hepworth’s very decision to relocate to St Ives in 1939 was one based upon the threat of impending war, whilst at the same time, other members of the Hampstead ‘gentle nest of artists’ began to also gradually disperse.¹⁵ This was not a narrative unique to Hepworth and other artists in London and St Ives, but one that affected the avant-garde internationally during the interwar and war time periods of forced relocation and exile. As Michael White has written, it was ‘the interrelated forms of proximate and distanced communication that underpinned the emergence of an international avant-garde in the early twentieth century’.¹⁶ Hepworth’s own networks were similarly underpinned by these same forms of ‘proximate and distanced communication’, and thus so too the formation of her library as I will demonstrate in this chapter.

Two communication channels were key to maintaining contact at distance during the interwar and wartime periods. The first was correspondence, which for Hepworth became a vital source for maintaining communication with her Hampstead networks once she moved to St Ives, and thus comes to take on an important significance when studying her work. Alongside letters, objects were often sent, which included books. It is important then to emphasise that much of Hepworth’s library was formed not only from gifts from friends, but in many cases from gifts sent from a distance with correspondence. Alongside correspondence, another important means for artists to communicate remotely and stand in for the lack of opportunities for physical collaboration at a time of forced dispersion was through artists groups and journals. This led to a large influx of such publications; as Valerie Holman writes, by 1936 Anton Zwemmer’s famous bookshop was offering subscription to

¹⁴ Griselda Pollock, ‘Preface’, in *Generations and Geographies in the Visual Arts: Feminist Readings*, p. xii.

¹⁵ Herbert Read, ‘A Nest of Gentle Artists’, *Apollo*, Vol. 76, Sept. 1962, pp. 536-40, repr. in *Herbert Read: A British Vision of World Art* eds. Benedict Read and David Thistlewood (London: Lund Humphries, 1993) p. 59.

¹⁶ Michael White, ‘Circulars and Squares: Abstraction and Internationalism between the Wars’, in Paul Denison et. al., *Modern Art and St Ives: International Exchanges*, p. 36.

around forty-three international art periodicals.¹⁷ One of the most well known of such publications, *Circle: International Survey of Constructive Art* (1937), initially intended to be an ongoing serial journal rather than a stand-alone publication, even stated its aim of not only promoting the international dissemination of abstract art but also allowing ‘artists – painters, sculptors, architect and writers – the means of expressing their views and maintaining contact with each other’.¹⁸ *Circle* seems to be a text that Hepworth placed high regard upon; in 1969, in a letter to Peter du Sautoy of Faber, *Circle*’s publisher, she wrote, ‘I was quite delighted to hear from you that *Circle* is to be reprinted [...] For years I tried to find a second-hand copy but failed; and I have been so afraid of losing my own 1937 copy, as so many people want to borrow it, that I have had to lock it up’.¹⁹ Her 1937 copy of *Circle* is today held by the Hepworth Estate and was recently displayed in the 2019 exhibition *Hepworth / Nicholson: Sculpture and Painting in the 1930s* held at Hazlitt Holland-Hibbert gallery in London. In the final chapter, I examine the significance of *Circle* as a publication and how the ideas within it link to those found within Hepworth’s library.

Hepworth’s work was also featured in a number of overseas art journals. In 1933, at the end of one of several visits to France with Ben Nicholson during the 1930s, Hepworth and Nicholson were invited to join the Paris-based Association Abstraction-Création.²⁰

¹⁷ Valerie Holman, ‘Barbara Hepworth in Print: Acquiring an International Reputation’, in *Barbara Hepworth: Sculpture for a Modern World*, p. 27. For further discussion of the role of art journals during this period, see Nigel Vaux Halliday, *More than a Bookshop: Zwemmer’s and Art in the 20th Century* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 1991) pp. 45-6.

¹⁸ Leslie Martin, Ben Nicholson and Naum Gabo (eds.), *Circle: International Survey of Constructive Art* (London: Faber and Faber, 1937, repr. 1971) p. v.

¹⁹ Barbara Hepworth to Peter Sautoy, 24 Dec. 1969, The Faber Archive, qtd. in Valerie Holman, ‘Barbara Hepworth in Print: Acquiring an International Reputation’, p. 35.

²⁰ As both Charles Harrison and Valerie Holman have noted, there is some discrepancy in dates between Hepworth’s written testimony and other objective evidence in the dating of this trip. Whilst Hepworth dates the visit to 1932 in her statements for Herbert Read’s 1952 monograph, all other accounts date it as 1933. Charles Harrison, *English Art and Modernism, 1900-1939* (London: Allen Lane/Indiana University Press, 1981) p.256. Sophie Bowness states that Hepworth’s first visit to Paris with Nicholson took place in Easter 1933, at which point they visited the studio of Brancusi and Arp (they met with Sophie Taeuber-Arp, Arp himself being away). It was on this visit they were invited to join Abstraction-Création. However Bowness also notes that Hepworth and Nicholson made an earlier visit to Dieppe in August 1932, which is possibly where the confusion in dates arises from. See Sophie Bowness, ‘Barbara Hepworth et Paris’, in *Barbara Hepworth* (Paris: Éditions du Musée

Subsequently their work was included in the permanent, rotating exhibition of the group, which opened in Paris in December 1933 and reproduced in the second and third issues of the journal published in 1933 and 1934 respectively [Figs. 53-4].²¹ Both artists were also featured in a 1938 volume of publisher Christian Zervos' journal *Cahiers d'Art*, in a feature by Herbert Read entitled 'L'art contemporain en Angleterre' [Fig. 55].²² Whilst Hepworth's library does not contain copies of either *Abstraction-Création* or *Cahiers d'Art*, it seems likely that she would have owned copies; as Sophie Bowness writes, 'It can be assumed that she owned all or almost all the literature that referred to her.'²³ Certainly all the journals editions listed above are to be found in Nicholson's collection of art periodicals at Tate Archive.²⁴ Hepworth and Nicholson's involvement of and collecting of these journals attest to the important role they held in both showcasing their own work and as a resource to keep informed of new artistic developments.

These patterns of movement and exchange that I have described above also came to determine the post-war landscape, with many artists undertaking further relocation in the immediate post-war moment. Deciding to remain in St Ives rather than return to London or emigrate to America as Naum Gabo had, much of Hepworth's post-war communication was still based on the form of 'distanced communication' that White outlines, and thus

Rodin, 2019) p. 33. For further accounts of the France visits also see those by Chris Green and Alan Wilkinson; Christopher Green, 'Hepworth | Nicholson: Sculpture and Painting in the 1930s – 'a perfect unity'', in *Barbara Hepworth | Ben Nicholson: Sculpture and Painting in the 1930s* (London: Hazlitt Holland-Hibbert, 2019) pp. 9-33; and Alan Wilkinson, 'The 1930s: 'Constructive Forms and Poetic Structure'', in Penelope Curtis and Alan Wilkinson, *Barbara Hepworth: A Retrospective* (London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1994) pp. 43-5.

²¹ Charles Harrison, *English Art and Modernism, 1900-1939*, p.260. Also see Valerie Holman, 'Barbara Hepworth in Print: Acquiring an International Reputation', in *Barbara Hepworth: Sculpture for a Modern World*, pp. 30-1.

²² Herbert Read, 'L'art contemporain en Angleterre', *Cahiers d'Art*, No. 1-2, 1938. For further discussion of *Cahiers d'Art*, see Chara Kolokytha, 'Formalism and Ideology in 20th Century Art : Cahiers d'Art, Magazine, Gallery, and Publishing House (1926-1960)', unpublished PhD thesis, Northumbria University, 2016. Also see Kolokytha, 'The Art Press and Visual Culture in Paris during the Great Depression: *Cahiers d'Art*, *Minotaure*, and *Verve*', *Visual Resources*, Vol. 29, Issue 3, pp.184-215 and Poppy Sfakianaki, 'Promoting the Value(s) of Modernism: The Interviews of Tériade and Zervos with Art Dealers in *Cahiers d'Art*, 1927', *Visual Resources*, Vol. 3, Issue 1-2, 2015.

²³ Sophie Bowness, 'The Library of Barbara Hepworth', n.p.

²⁴ See Tate Archive, TGA 8717/6/9.

maintaining correspondence was still of a priority. At the same time, she also came to find new more 'proximate' networks in St Ives and its surroundings. In this next section, I map out the key figures who gifted and shared books with Hepworth and demonstrate the role of such exchanges in facilitating her work.

'A Community within a Community'

In her 1998 Tate monograph on Hepworth, Penelope Curtis offers recommendations for how critical scholarship on the artist might be extended. I here quote extensively to gain a sense of the full context of Curtis' text. She writes:

In terms of the current view of the artist, the hiatus in the literature in the 1970s and 1980s tended to reinforce an enclosed impression of her studio and garden. Until the 1990s, Hepworth's *Pictorial Autobiography* was the only account of Hepworth's life. Its cast of characters was named, but not fully rounded [...] Its effect may have been to stress the single-mindedness for which Hepworth has been reproached. Its impression is, however, quite misleading. Hepworth lived in a much wider world, a much varied world, and was quite capable of sustaining a number of relationships, both long and short term, with a wider range of people.

One way of readjusting the story of Hepworth would be simply to find out more about some of the people who are mentioned briefly in the *Pictorial Autobiography*, particularly those who were not artists and whose stories are less well known. Some – such as Marcus Brumwell, Priaulx Rainier [...] Norman Capener [...] and Nancie and Frank Halliday [...] played important roles in supporting Hepworth emotionally and financially. Others who are even more clearly important to her life, notably Skeaping and Hammarskjöld, have only recently been treated in greater depth. Different names, like that of E H Ramsden, have only just begun to emerge [...]

In some ways it is probably true that Hepworth was on a kind of single track, occupied by her work, but even a cursory examination of her friends and their range of background shows that her story is rather more diverse. Hepworth's life is not simply about sculpture and her relationship with three men: Skeaping, Nicholson and Read. We could round it out by bringing in other disciplines. Music, for example and her friendships with composers like Michael Tippett and Rainier, were very important to Hepworth. Topical concerns must also be given more emphasis. Hepworth was interested in political events, occasionally became involved in petitions or fundraising campaigns, and was affected by them. In the 1930s she joined the group For Intellectual Liberty, of which Margaret Gardiner was secretary, and after the war she became a pacifist and joined CND and the Labour Party [...] She read widely in an effort to penetrate the meaning of her own sculpture, and art in general, more deeply,

and discussed these writers, amongst them Rilke and Lorenz, with Read in their correspondence.²⁵

Curtis lists a number of different names here who she suggests are people who would benefit from greater focus within scholarship on Hepworth. These are advertising agent Marcus Brumwell, composers Michael Tippett and Priaulx Rainier, surgeon Norman Capener, historian Frank Halliday and his wife Nancie Halliday, Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary-General of the United Nations, and writer E H Ramsden. She also makes a number of suggestions of subject areas that it would be useful to cover: music, topical concerns, political events, and the poetry of Rainer Maria Rilke. All of these are also names or subjects that are found within Hepworth's library, whether as subjects and authors of texts, or as the writers of inscriptions within books, gifted as presents to Hepworth. With Curtis' list stated to be based upon those names mentioned in the *Pictorial Autobiography*, it is clear that the people associated with that text and those associated with Hepworth's library are in many cases one and the same. With the same names recurring, it is clear that these are networks which are deserving of greater consideration within Hepworth scholarship.

Inevitably, the 'current view of the artist' Curtis described in 1998 is not now going to look quite the same in 2018, and in certain cases names which she lists have now since received more thorough examination, for example the surgeon Norman Capener.²⁶ However, it is illuminating to read this text against those introductory texts also written by Curtis for the Tate 2015 Hepworth retrospective. The preface for the catalogue, written by Curtis, Lisette Pelsers and Oliver Kornoff, states:

The interpretation of Hepworth has been heavily affected by the persuasive natural environment of Cornwall. Without rejecting the natural landscape, this exhibition

²⁵ Penelope Curtis, *Barbara Hepworth*, pp. 85-6.

²⁶ See Nathaniel Hepburn (ed.), *Barbara Hepworth: The Hospital Drawings* (London: Tate Publishing, 2012). This exhibition catalogue was produced for the 2012 exhibition *Barbara Hepworth: The Hospital Drawings*, which opened at The Hepworth Wakefield before touring to Pallant House Gallery, Chichester and Mascall's Gallery, Paddock Wood, Kent.

seeks to propose other contexts too: the art school, the studio-home, the magazine spread, the cinema screen, the theatre stage, the exhibition pavilion, the cityscape. It suggests other interpretative tools, including political and religious faith [...] ²⁷

Despite having been written seventeen years apart, the two different texts have a remarkably similar message: namely the need for scholarship to engage with a wider ranging remit, including different names, disciplines and contexts. As Curtis wrote in 1998, ‘to attempt to understand Hepworth necessarily involves placing her sculpture within its wider context, for to her way of thinking the one depended on the other’.²⁸ The 2015 Tate exhibition certainly contributed to this desire, with the exhibition and catalogue addressing subjects including religion and Christian Science, photography and print, internationalism and architecture.²⁹ Nonetheless, both catalogue and exhibition were not without their blindspots and absences: referring to Curtis’ original 1998 list, there was still little focus on the role of music or of Hepworth’s specific political outlook, for example her wartime interest in joining the Communist Party.³⁰ Through the networks, places and subjects represented, close analysis of Hepworth’s library now also offers the potential to both expand this focus, as well as to demonstrate how such diverse interests, contexts and networks may be understood in relation to one another.

Curtis’ list may be divided between those ‘distanced’ contacts, many of whom were contacts Hepworth maintained from her time in Hampstead, and those more ‘proximate’, who she met in Cornwall. A number of books in Hepworth’s library contain notes or stamps stating that they were purchased from Downing’s bookshop in St Ives, which was both a

²⁷ Penelope Curtis, Lisette Pelsers and Oliver Kornhoff, ‘Preface’, *Barbara Hepworth: Sculpture for a Modern World*, p. 7.

²⁸ Penelope Curtis, *Barbara Hepworth*, p. 91.

²⁹ See in particular Lucy Kent ‘An Act of Praise’: Religion and the Work of Barbara Hepworth’; Rachel Smith ‘Sculpting for an International Community: Exhibitions through the 1960s’; Penelope Curtis ‘From Bridgewater to Otterlo: Hepworth CIAM and ‘The Synthesis of the Arts’, in addition to those by Valerie Holman and Inga Fraser cited above.

³⁰ Margaret Gardiner’s autobiography *A Scatter of Memories* contains a number of extracts from Hepworth in which she discusses her dilemma of whether to join the Communist Party or not. See Margaret Gardiner, *A Scatter of Memories* (London: Free Association Books, 1988) pp. 189-93.

bookshop and from 1947 also held art exhibitions.³¹ Little mentioned in any of the standard ‘St Ives’ literature, Downing’s however does have a greater presence within oral history accounts, in particular the recorded conversations with artists and those associated with the ‘St Ives group’ made by David Lewis and Sarah Fox-Pitt for the Tate Archive in 1981. These interviews also inform Lewis’ ‘Personal Memoir, 1947-55’ for the catalogue of the Tate Gallery *St Ives 1939-64: Twenty Five Years of Painting, Sculpture and Pottery* exhibition held in 1985, which took the place of a conventional catalogue introduction.³² Lewis had originally hoped that the interviews would also form a second book of ‘‘living memories’ where those who are still around and kicking would talk about our perceptions of the period [...] and try to zone in on the impact of that community [...] and that group of artists and the work that they produced’.³³ Significantly in the double consideration of artwork and community Lewis was aiming for an approach that has much in common with that proposed by Turner. In Lewis and Fox-Pitt’s interview with Terry Frost, Frost hints at the importance of Downing’s:

³¹ See ‘Chronology’, in *St Ives: 1939-64: Twenty Five Years of Painting, Sculpture and Pottery* (London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1985), p. 104. Also see Marion Whybrow, *St Ives 1883-1993: Portrait of an Art Colony* (Woodbridge: The Antique Collectors’ Club, 1994) p. 128.

³² David Lewis was a writer who moved to Cornwall in 1947, later marrying the painter Wilhelmina Barns-Graham in 1949 and working with Hepworth to catalogue her sculptures and drawings for the first time in 1950. He left St Ives in 1956 when his marriage broke up and moved to Leeds College of Art to study architecture, before emigrating to Pittsburgh, where he set up his own architectural practice. Historian Janet Axten describes the process of how his interviews with artists associated with St Ives came to take place in her text *Gasworks to Gallery: The Story of Tate St Ives* in the chapter ‘St Ives Exhibition at the Tate Gallery-1985’. In the proposals for an exhibition of St Ives art to be held at the Tate Gallery in late 1984/early 1985, there were to be 125 works on show from across painting, sculpture and pottery, a scholarly catalogue with an introductory essay produced by David Lewis containing new archive research conducted by taping oral histories of many of the artists concerned with St Ives, in conjunction with the Tate Gallery’s Archive. Axten writes that ‘Lewis was planning to write a book on his return to the Penwith landscape after twenty-five years absence, which would contain the extensive tape recordings of the artists’. In the end this second book project did not come to fruition as Lewis was unable to undertake it due to other commitments. See Janet Axten, *Gasworks to Gallery: The Story of Tate St Ives*, pp. 33-7. For an in depth analysis of these taped oral history interviews, see Nadira Yakir, ‘Wilhelmina Barns-Graham and Margaret Mellis: The Gendered Construction of ‘St Ives’: Display, Positioning and Displacement’.

³³ Transcript for interview with Priaulx Rainier by David Lewis and Sarah Fox-Pitt for a publication of ‘Living Memories’ about art and Cornwall 1935-75. 9 Apr. 1981, pp. 1-2. Tate Audio Visual Archive, TAV 254AB.

Yes, well, we musn't forget also George Downing's Bookshop, which put on the first [Crypt Group] exhibition [...] So that was it, there was Downing's Bookshop and there was the Castle Inn which were very important places'.³⁴

Although Lewis himself makes no mention of the first Crypt Group exhibition at Downing's, he does include discussion of the bookshop in his own 'Personal Memoir' in the 1985 exhibition catalogue:

Another place where you could find exhibitions of the new art was in the small back room of George Downing's bookshop on Fore Street. George was a huge genial man, who made this little gallery available for one-person shows, with no more expectation than the delight, interest and inevitable controversy they would generate. And they did. Nicholson, Hepworth, Leach, Lanyon, Barns-Graham, Wynter and many others had small potent exhibitions there, several with catalogues by Guido.³⁵

Hepworth not only purchased books from Downing's but also was able to benefit from the opportunity to exhibit there.³⁶ Her work was included in a group exhibition with Nicholson, Peter Lanyon and John Wells at Downing's in July 1947, in which she showed three sculptures and four paintings.³⁷ According to Michael Bird, for Hepworth and Nicholson, 'despite the international attention they had been receiving since the war, they took their exhibiting opportunities in St Ives seriously', thus suggesting that both would have recognised the value in Downing's as an exhibition space.³⁸

Later in her life, after Downing's closed in 1957, another source for purchasing books for Hepworth was from the bookseller Peter Rainsford, from whom she also acquired a number of objects that formed her small collection of ancient objects, and which formed part

³⁴ Transcript for interview with Terry Frost by David Lewis and Sarah Fox-Pitt for a publication of 'Living Memories' about art and Cornwall 1935-75, 10 Apr. 1981, p. 15. Tate Audio Visual Archive, TAV 368AB.

³⁵ David Lewis, 'St Ives: A Personal Memoir, 1947-55', in *St Ives: 1939-64: Twenty Five Years of Painting, Sculpture and Pottery*, pp. 26-7.

³⁶ Stephens has written that aside from The Castle Inn, the St Ives Society and the Crypt Group, 'the most visible place [...] to exhibit was at George Downing's bookshop'. Chris Stephens, *St Ives: The Art and the Artists*, pp. 91-2.

³⁷ The sculptures exhibited were *Nesting Stone* (1937), *Sculpture with Colour, Blue and Red* (1943), *Bird Handsculpture* (1945). The paintings were *Drawing for Stone Sculpture*, *Drawing for Wood Sculpture*, *Project and Curved Forms*, all of 1947.

³⁸ Michael Bird, *The St Ives Artists: A Biography of Time and Place* (London: Lund Humphries, 2008) p. 86.

of the Hepworth Family Gift.³⁹ Described in a local newspaper article as a bookshop ‘by appointment only’ which specialised in art books, Rainsford’s bookshop was visited by ‘museum curators, book dealers from other parts of the world, and private book collectors’.⁴⁰ Rainsford was himself an artist who, like Hepworth, was also a member of the Penwith Society of Arts.⁴¹ Recovering little discussed spaces within the ‘St Ives’ literature such as Downing’s and Rainsford’s bookshops does not need to be part of the localised accounts of ‘who knew whom, who drank where, who showed in this gallery in Fore Street, or that one on the Wharf’ that Stephens advises against.⁴² Rather, I contend that through critical engagement with such spaces, we may learn more of how artists like Hepworth were able to gain materials (in this case books) as well as exhibition space to engage with ideas and produce new work whose currency extended far beyond Cornwall. In this sense, the local could enable the international.

As previously mentioned, Hepworth’s networks for discussing the books and ideas she read about existed not only at a distance - through correspondence - but also locally, made up of other creative individuals living in and around St Ives. As she states in Read’s 1952 *Carvings and Drawings*:

In St Ives I was fortunate enough to have constant contact with artists and writers and craftsmen who lived there [...] and there was a steady stream of visitors from London who came for a few days’ rest, and who contributed in a great measure to the important exchange of ideas and stimulus to creative activity.⁴³

³⁹ Sophie Bowness’ catalogue of the library notes that Hepworth’s second copy of Christian Zervos’, *L’Art des Cyclades du début à la fin de l’âge du bronze, 2500-1100 avant notre ère* (1957) was acquired from Rainsford. Hepworth also purchased two ancient objects from Rainsford in 1970: a Neolithic axe-head, c.4000 BC and a Pre-Columbian female face from Highland Mexico, Teotihuacan, c. 400-600 AD. See ‘The Hepworth Estate’s Gift to Wakefield’, July 2010, The Hepworth Wakefield Archive.

⁴⁰ ‘Notes in the West: Book Consultant – Notable Astrologer Need for Permanence’, unknown newspaper article [possibly from *The Cornishman*], c. 1970-71, St Ives Archive.

⁴¹ Rainsford’s work was included in a number of the Penwith Gallery summer exhibitions in the late 1960s.

⁴² Chris Stephens, ‘Between Landscape and Abstraction, the Local and the International’, p. 13.

⁴³ Barbara Hepworth, Statements for *Barbara Hepworth: Carvings and Drawings*, repr. in *Barbara Hepworth: Drawings and Conversations*, p. 67.

Here Hepworth herself shows the way in which she operated between local or ‘proximate’ communication and those ‘distanced’ visitors who made occasional visits to St Ives. For the purpose of examining these modes of communication in further depth, I will now focus on the Cornwall creative networks by dividing them into two periods, based upon Hepworth’s time spent living in Carbis Bay and St Ives itself, with her move to St Ives in 1951 acting as the division between the two. I make this distinction acknowledging the importance of distinguishing between specific time periods and locations – *generations and geographies* – when writing about ‘St Ives art’. This has not always been achieved in the literature, as Nedira Yakir has discussed. Yakir writes of the ‘appropriation of the name of St Ives for the activities of the Constructivists at Carbis Bay’ who were ‘both geographically and stylistically apart from St Ives’, which has led to the construction of ‘a misleading representation of events [...] because their artistic involvement *in* the town of St Ives began only in 1943.’⁴⁴ Yakir’s argument is thus directly relevant to deciphering Hepworth’s Carbis Bay networks from her later St Ives ones.

When Hepworth and Nicholson first made their famous car journey to Cornwall in August 1939 they initially came to stay with friends Adrian Stokes and his wife Margaret Mellis in their house Little Park Owles in Carbis Bay. David Lewis writes that ‘when they were at Little Park Owles, Ben and Barbara kept writing to Miriam and Naum Gabo, encouraging them to come, and Barbara found Faerystones, a small house a few doors down from Adrian’s, for them to move into.’⁴⁵ In September 1939 Miriam and Naum Gabo moved into Faerystones. Miriam Gabo recalls this period as follows: ‘we were all very much together [...] going to Adrian’s almost every evening, and he coming down to talk with Gabo

⁴⁴ Nedira Yakir, ‘Cornubia: Gender, Geography and Genealogy in St Ives Modernism’, in *Women Artists and Modernism*, p. 115-16. Yakir notes that it was in 1943 that Hepworth and Nicholson joined the St Ives Society of Artists, yet they remained living and working in Carbis Bay until their marriage failed and they both moved to St Ives separately.

⁴⁵ David Lewis, ‘St Ives: A Personal Memoir’, in *St Ives: 1939-64*, p. 22.

and borrowing books from one another'.⁴⁶ Whilst this extract does not specifically refer to Hepworth's own role within such discussions, it does make it clear the group were often together to share ideas, as well as for purely social interaction, and it is likely that if Stokes and Gabo were sharing books that this would have also extended to the other members of the group. Certainly in his interview with Mellis, Lewis suggests to her that 'I know that Gabo and Adrian particularly had long discussions and I am sure that Ben and Barbara and you must have been involved in some of those discussions [...]'⁴⁷ Having Gabo, Miriam and Stokes in Cornwall made for a reduced continuation of the Hampstead network, and specifically of *Circle*.⁴⁸

Planning for two proposed follow ups to *Circle* (one which materialised and one which did not) took place after the move to Cornwall: these were the *Circle* postcards and *Circle 2*.⁴⁹ Plans for *Circle 2* persisted during the wartime period, including a history of constructivism, but were eventually blocked by Gabo. Hepworth also proposed a 'wartime chronicle', a quarterly journal to be edited by Read, Lesley Martin, Gabo, Nicholson and herself.⁵⁰ Constructive ideas were also shared with new artist neighbours in St Ives, including Peter Lanyon, who returned to St Ives from London in 1939 and studied with Nicholson from November of that year. Smith suggests that reading material may have been shared between Hepworth, Nicholson and Lanyon, in particular the example of László Moholy-Nagy's book *The New Vision* (1932). She writes, 'both Nicholson and Lanyon's

⁴⁶ Miriam Gabo interviewed by David Lewis and Sarah Fox-Pitt, 28 May 1981, Tate Archive TAV 270AB, qtd. in David Lewis, 'St Ives: A Personal Memoir', p. 22.

⁴⁷ Transcript for interview with Margaret Mellis by David Lewis and Sarah Fox-Pitt, 28 May 1981, p.25. Tate Audio Visual Archive TAV 270AB.

⁴⁸ According to Herbert Read, Gabo arrived in Hampstead in 1935. See Read, 'A Nest of Gentle Artists', in *Herbert Read: A British Vision of World Art*, p. 60. For discussion of the continuity of Constructive ideas in the artists who gathered in Carbis Bay and St Ives after 1939, see Rachel Smith's chapter 'Widening *Circle*: Constructive Ground' in her PhD thesis 'Modern Art Movements and St Ives', pp. 65-120.

⁴⁹ For discussion of the *Circle* postcards see Michael White, 'Circulars and Squares: Abstraction and Internationalism Between the Wars', pp. 36-41, and Rachel Smith, 'Modern Art Movements and St Ives', pp. 95-99. White writes that there were two series of seven postcards, each featuring an image of a single artwork, including works by Hepworth, Gabo, Theo van Doesburg, Marcel Duchamp and Kazimir Malevich.

⁵⁰ Chris Stephens, *St Ives: The Art and the Artists*, pp. 49-50.

familiarity with the book suggests a version was owned by Nicholson or Hepworth in St Ives and would have been accessible to Lanyon as a student of theirs'.⁵¹ Hepworth's library contains a later reprint of *The New Vision*, the third revised edition published in 1946 with 'Abstract of an Artist' as part of *The Documents of Modern Art* series directed by Robert Motherwell.⁵² Nonetheless, given Hepworth and Nicholson's own friendship with Moholy-Nagy in Hampstead, it seems likely they might have also possessed an earlier copy.⁵³

Another important project which continued the legacy of *Circle* into planning for post-war reconstruction, yet which has only so far been considered in Chris Stephens' account of 'St Ives' art, was a series of articles published in *World Review* in 1941 entitled 'This Changing World', edited by Hepworth and Nicholson's friend Marcus Brumwell.⁵⁴ Contributors included Gabo, Bernal, Ramsden, the architectural historian John Summerson and writer Kathleen Raine and the series was introduced by Read.⁵⁵ Not only were a number of these names past contributors to the original publication of *Circle* (Gabo and Bernal), but many of them are also names found in Hepworth's library. Like *Circle*, they comprise a markedly diverse set from across different disciplines and practices, coming together as a unity to discuss dominant domestic and political issues. Discussions and friendships began

⁵¹ Rachel Smith, 'Modern Art Movements and St Ives', p. 102.

⁵² A photocopy of a letter found inserted into the pages from Marcus Brumwell dated 25 November 1947 shows that the book was Brumwell's copy which he lent to Hepworth. For original letter see Tate Archive, TGA 20132/1/25.

⁵³ Hepworth discusses Moholy-Nagy and his new book in a letter to Nicholson in 1933. See Barbara Hepworth to Ben Nicholson, 25 Nov. 1933, Tate Archive, TGA 8717/1/1/147. Nicholson's collection of art and architecture periodicals held at Tate Archive also includes a copy of Moholy-Nagy's edition of Franz Roh's *Fototek*, gifted by Hepworth. See Tate Archive, TGA 8717/6/9/47.

⁵⁴ Chris Stephens, *St Ives: The Art and the Artists*, p. 63. Also see Stephens' essay 'The morrow we left behind': Landscape and the Rethinking of Modernism, 1939-53', in *British Art in the Cultural Field, 1939-69* eds. Lisa Tickner and David Peters Corbett (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012).

⁵⁵ Hepworth's library contains several catalogues of Gabo's work; a copy of John Summerson's *Georgian London*, dedicated to Hepworth from the author; and a copy of Read's *The Weathering of Art*, formerly owned by E H Ramsden. Some of Hepworth's drawings were used to accompany Kathleen Raine's *Stone and Flower: Poems 1935-43*.

before the war in Hampstead could be continued remotely and through visits to St Ives.⁵⁶ In 1944 the essays were reproduced in a single volume entitled *This Changing World: A Series of Contributions by some of our leading thinkers, to cast light upon the pattern of the modern world* and Hepworth's own work was also reproduced [Fig. 56]. In this context her work becomes placed directly amongst *This Changing World's* progressive programme for post-war reconstruction across art, science, architecture and education.

In 1946 the marriage of Stoke and Mellis broke down and both departed Cornwall separately, along with Naum and Miriam Gabo, who moved to America. These moves signalled an end to the period of the 'Carbis Bay Constructivists'.⁵⁷ Although Hepworth and Nicholson remained living and working in Carbis Bay until the breakdown of their marriage in 1951, they were gradually coming to be more involved with networks in St Ives, with their joining of the St Ives Society of Artists in 1943, Hepworth's purchase of Trewyn Studio in 1949 and the founding of the Penwith Society of Artists in 1949. Nonetheless, even as late as 1950 the critic JP Hodin would still label the house of Hepworth and Nicholson (Chy-an-Kerris) as a 'centre' within what he termed a 'Cornish Renaissance'.⁵⁸ With Hepworth's permanent move to St Ives in 1951, this 'centre' transferred to Trewyn, where the studio became a new hub for meeting and the exchange of ideas. As David Lewis recalls:

At Barbara's studio we formed a community within a community. We came at eight and worked until five with exactly an hour off for lunch [...] After five o'clock people would come and sit in the garden or the studio to talk or listen to music. Frequent visitors included Priaulx, the Shakespearean scholar Frank Halliday and his wife Nancie and Bernard Leach. Conversation would almost always resolve around sculpture, music and world events. Barbara had an intense interest in the philosophical

⁵⁶ The chronology for the Tate 1985 catalogue states that wartime visitors to St Ives included Bernal and Margaret Gardiner, John Summerson, E H Ramsden and her partner Margot Eates and Herbert Read. See 'Chronology', pp. 100-101.

⁵⁷ The term 'Carbis Bay Constructivists' was coined by Sven Berlin in the 1940s to describe the group that gathered around Nicholson, Hepworth and Gabo. See Chris Stephens, *St Ives: The Art and the Artists*, pp. 52-3.

⁵⁸ J P Hodin, 'Cornish Renaissance', *The Penguin New Writing*, No. 39, 1950, pp. 114-5.

aspects of politics, particularly socialism, and how they related to art. Sculptural analogies of landscape were always of great interest to her also.⁵⁹

Similar accounts of the community based around Trewyn are also offered in Lewis and Fox-Pitt's interviews with Janet Leach and Frank and Nancy Halliday. Take for example the following extract from the interview with Janet Leach:

DL: [...] there was no division between recreation and work, it was all in fact work whether it was listening to music, having conversation with friends, going out for a meal, all the conversation, everything was dominated by work [...]

JL: we had a phone conversation every day or two or three times a week [...] Barbara being alone at that time, Ben having left. She would have a dinner party [...] and we would go. And then a day or so later I would return the invitation and so on inadvertently. Bernard became more identified with the cultural life of England than he had ever been.⁶⁰

As Lewis states, conversations had at Trewyn were regarded as much as 'work' as the physical act of carving itself, indicative of the importance Hepworth attached to them. Indeed as suggested in the interview with Frank and Nancy Halliday, these group meetings could themselves stimulate the right conditions for the production of work:

NH: Now any new work by Stravinsky, we and Priaulx and anybody else who was interested [would] collect at Trewyn, and listen [...]

DL: She liked to listen to music in the company of her friends as well as alone, I mean music was going on whilst she worked, but she also liked to listen to music in the company of her friends because it stimulated an atmosphere for discussion [...]⁶¹

Both interviews and Lewis' memoir mention the same names – Rainier, Nancy and Frank Halliday, Bernard and Janet Leach – all of whom gifted books to Hepworth and are to be found on Curtis' list of suggested people to research. Both Bernard and Janet Leach also gifted Hepworth examples of their work, some of which are now in the Wakefield Permanent Art Collection, whilst others are on display in the Barbara Hepworth Museum. In addition to

⁵⁹ David Lewis, 'St Ives: A Memoir', pp. 38-9.

⁶⁰ Transcript for interview with Janet Leach by David Lewis and Sarah Fox-Pitt for a publication of 'Living Memories' about art and Cornwall 1935-75, 9 June 1981, p. 15. Tate Audio Visual Archive, TAV 267AB. DL indicates David Lewis and JL is Janet Leach.

⁶¹ Transcript for interview with Frank and Nancy Halliday by David Lewis and Sarah Fox-Pitt for a publication of 'Living Memories' about art and Cornwall 1935-75, 15 Apr. 1981, p. 15. Tate Audio Visual Archive, TAV 255AB. NH indicates Nancy Halliday and DL is David Lewis.

the informal gatherings discussed above, some of the group also took a working holiday to the Isles of Scilly in 1967. This can be seen to continue the working holiday tradition which Hepworth identified as extending back as far as early holidays to Robin Hood's Bay in her youth. As she writes in the *Pictorial Autobiography*, 'I think this idea of a working holiday was established in my mind very early indeed [...] This pattern was repeated in Norfolk, and later in Greece, and several times in the Isles of Scilles.'⁶² There exists little documentation on the Scilly Islands holidays but Hepworth does include a photograph in the *Pictorial Autobiography*, which is captioned 'Working holiday on Tresco, Isles of Scilly, June 1967: Sir Herbert Read, Professor A Hammacher, F E Halliday, Mrs Halliday, Priaulx Rainier, myself and my niece'[Fig. 57].⁶³ As expected, with the exception of Herbert Read, these are not the same names of the wartime Carbis Bay networks. This is also not to suggest that earlier pre-war friends were still not important points of contact, but that a different local network was now in place.

The Penwith itself was another organisation that created its own, if more directly professional network. However, as Lewis writes, when the 'B section' of the Penwith (that designated for non-figurative art) began to split up, it was into a 'Ben-Barbara-Bernard' group set apart from the younger artists that included Terry Frost, John Wells, Bryan Wynter and others.⁶⁴ Thus, even in the Penwith, Hepworth's specific affiliations took a similar shape to those she maintained outside. Roughly then we may mark a divide in Hepworth's local networks between the Carbis Bay and St Ives periods, whilst she continued distanced friendships, mostly from Hampstead, remotely throughout both periods. This problematises the view offered by Smith that for Hepworth 'circumstances at the end of the war had planted the seeds of an increasing solitariness in artistic approach and professional pursuit [...] her

⁶² *Barbara Hepworth: A Pictorial Autobiography*, p. 20.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁶⁴ The Penwith exhibitions were divided into three sections, each with its own jury: A for figurative, B for non-figurative and C for crafts. See David Lewis, 'St Ives: A Personal Memoir', pp. 31-3.

collaborative ideals from the 1930s had broken down and she moved into her own walled home, studio and garden at Trewyn.⁶⁵ Whilst undoubtedly living alone at Trewyn surrounded by a less close-knit artistic network, as these oral history accounts demonstrate she was nonetheless developing new networks with other creative individuals. Conversations were continuing many of the earlier pre-war and wartime discussions regarding politics, socialism, and the role of art within this. The presence of volumes in the library on subject matter directly related to such discussions may be seen to form traces of these less easily recordable interactions described above.

‘Unpacking’ the Hepworth library

To demonstrate the manner of such traces it is necessary to offer the reader an overview of the contents of the library themselves. As such, what follows is in the manner of a short bibliographic survey of the Hepworth Library. Whilst this may seem somewhat contradictory in light of the critique of this method offered in Chapter 1, and certainly goes against Benjamin’s belief in the presumptuousness of enumerating ‘the main sections or prize pieces of a library [...] their history or even their usefulness to a writer’,⁶⁶ I argue that the bibliographic survey here has a purpose minded if it is not considered the sole method of analysis. Whilst the bibliographic survey may fall suspect to limited one dimensional readings, it nonetheless retains a value for allowing the elucidation of what otherwise may very well reach a reader as a long impenetrable list of titles in the form of a library catalogue.⁶⁷ As previously discussed, the Hepworth library as it now exists is primarily postwar in scope and was divided into seven taxonomic groupings when catalogued by Bowness. Whilst in Chapter 1 I offered a note of caution in regard to taxonomic orders unless

⁶⁵ Rachel Smith, ‘Modern Art Movements and St Ives’, p. 179.

⁶⁶ Walter Benjamin, ‘Unpacking my Library’, p. 61.

⁶⁷ Both the published catalogues of the libraries of Moore and Smithson are accompanied by essays (those of Davis and Alberro) to help decipher what otherwise remain dense lists of titles. See Alexander Davis, ‘Henry Moore’s Library: A Commentary’ in *Henry Moore Bibliography: Volume 5* and Alexander Alberro, ‘The Catalogue of Robert Smithson’s Library’ in Eugene Tsai and Cornelia Butler, *Robert Smithson*.

known to have been instigated by the artist themselves, I also qualified this with the acknowledgement that taxonomic systems could be of value to the researcher. Most probably due to the effects of the fire in Hepworth's studio, Bowness did not (or was not) able to retain the archival principle of original order when cataloguing the library but instead implemented the systems described previously. Whilst the loss of original order means that it is no longer able to gauge a sense of how Hepworth ordered her books as a whole, the introduction of Bowness' taxonomic system allows for the identification of recurring ideas within particular subject areas and connections between different categories.

Those books that Bowness identifies as 'publications [...] on her work or that refer to it' (as opposed to Hepworth's 'personal library' proper) are unsurprisingly primarily to be found within the 'art, architecture and archaeology' grouping of Hepworth's library, which is the largest of the different groupings. This subject grouping also includes monographs and exhibition catalogues on many of Hepworth's contemporaries and peers, including the likes of Gabo, Moore, Moholy-Nagy and Paul Klee, one way in which the artistic networks discussed previously can be seen to be mapped out within the library. There are also books devoted to many of the technical aspects of sculpture, such as bronze casting, in addition to anthropological and archaeological texts and a number of books on the history and geography of Greece, which Hepworth visited on her Greek voyage in 1954. I discuss the significance of Greece to Hepworth in further detail in the next chapter.

The second largest section of books in the library is that devoted to literature, which, alongside an extensive collection of D H Lawrence novels, also contains a number of works of modernist fiction, including texts by James Joyce, Virginia Woolf and E M Forster. There are also texts authored by friends of Hepworth's who were writers, including Read and Halliday, demonstrating how her networks of friendship and working relationships came to define the library's remit. The other largest area within this category is Hepworth's collection

of works by the German poet Rainer Maria Rilke, of whom Hepworth discussed in correspondence with a number of friends including Rainier, Ramsden and Read. Sally Festing writes that Rilke became popular in Hampstead in the 1930s following Stephen Spender and J B Leishman's translations from the German.⁶⁸ Hepworth's copy of the *Duino Elegies* is the Leishman and Spender translation, published in 1939, and she also owned two copies of the Leishman 1936 translation of *Sonnets to Orpheus* (the second copy a 1957 reprint). In a letter to Read of 1943 she also stated that a drawing of hers that belonged to him was 'very much a part of my reading of Rilke's First Elegy', which Matthew Gale and Chris Stephens suggest is likely to be the 1941 work *Forms in Red : Drawing for Sculpture with Colour* [Fig. 58].⁶⁹ Whilst in Hampstead, Hepworth had become part of an intellectual art-science circle that included figures such as Bernal, Moore, Read and Julian Huxley.⁷⁰ From her time with Skeaping she had also come to know the South African research anatomist, Solly Zuckerman.⁷¹ Both Bernal and Zuckerman visited the Mall Studios, and Marcus Brumwell recalled Hepworth and Bernal sketching their ideas together on the studio floor.⁷² Hepworth's library is testament to these friendships, containing scientific volumes by both Bernal and Zuckerman, alongside related texts on mathematics and geometry.⁷³ Some of the texts such as Oliver Whicher's *Projective Geometry: Creative Polarities in Time and Space* (1971) also contain examples of Hepworth's work itself, demonstrating the reverse relevance it could offer to scientific investigation [Fig. 59].

⁶⁸ Sally Festing, *Barbara Hepworth: A Life of Forms* (London: Viking Books, 1995) p. 160.

⁶⁹ Barbara Hepworth to Herbert Read, 12 Jan. [1943], Sir Herbert Read Archive, University of Victoria, qtd. in Matthew Gale and Chris Stephens, *Barbara Hepworth: Works in the Tate Gallery Collection*, p.83.

⁷⁰ Anne Barlow, 'Barbara Hepworth and Science', *Barbara Hepworth Reconsidered*, p. 96.

⁷¹ Sally Festing, *Barbara Hepworth: A Life of Forms*, pp. 78-9. Festing notes that Skeaping met Zuckerman at London Zoo where he often went to sketch.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 165. Speaking retrospectively of Bernal's visits to her Hampstead studio, Hepworth recalled the hours 'spent in exciting discussion and drawing, even drawings of the inter-relation of art and scientist within the nature of the universe.' See Barbara Hepworth, 'Tribute to Desmond Bernal' (1972), repr. in *Barbara Hepworth: Writings and Conversations*, p. 251.

⁷³ Hepworth's library contains Bernal's *World Without War* (1958), *The Origin of Life* (1967), *Science in History* (1967), and Zuckerman's *The Social Life of Monkeys and Apes* (1932) and *Beyond the Ivory Tower: The Frontiers of Public and Private Science* (1970).

Margaret Gardiner writes, 'I think that Barbara with her Yorkshire background and early memory of miners and mill hands, was always concerned with politics and social problems'.⁷⁴ Throughout her life Hepworth was involved in many political social campaigns, including as a member of For Intellectual Liberty (FIL) in the 1930s, for which Margaret Gardiner served as secretary, an organisation aimed to be 'a rallying point for those intellectual worker who felt that the condition of the world called for the active defence of peace, liberty and culture'.⁷⁵ In 1954 she became a member of the Labour party and later served on the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament Women's Committee.⁷⁶ As Chris Stephens has observed, the CND was dominated by the 'intellectual liberal elite' - those 'old idealists of the 1930s' - many of whom had been part of Hepworth's Hampstead network.⁷⁷ As a fervent supporter of the United Nations, her friendship with the UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld was memorialised in her *Single Form* (1961-4) commission at the UN headquarters in New York, following Hammarskjöld's death in a plane crash in 1961. It is therefore unsurprising that the 'history and politics' section of Hepworth's library is particularly dominated by writings on or by Hammarskjöld and the UN, as well as the threat of nuclear warfare.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Margaret Gardiner, *Barbara Hepworth: A Memoir*, p. 48.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ Contained within material related to the CND Women's Committee in the Jaquetta Hawkes Archive at the University of Bradford include letters from Hepworth to Jaquetta Hawkes regarding her involvement as a 'sponser' for the Women's Committee. See 'Women's Committee and Meetings: Correspondence 1958-63', The Jaquetta Hawkes Archive, Special Collections, University of Bradford 13/5. Both Hawkes and her husband, J B Priestley, were fundamental in the establishment of the CND in 1958.

⁷⁷ Chris Stephens, 'Henry Moore's *Atom Piece*: The 1930s Generation Comes of Age', in *Henry Moore: Critical Essays*, p. 245.

⁷⁸ Books on the effects of nuclear warfare include Victor Gollancz, *The Devil's Repertoire or Nuclear Bombing and the Life of Man* (London: 14 Henrietta St. [V. Gollancz Ltd.], 1958); and J.D. Bernal, *World without War* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958). This was also a subject Hepworth wrote on in her published writings and letters to newspapers. See in particular, 'Statement on nuclear weapons', 29 Sept. 1961, in *The Sunday Times*, 1 Oct. 1961, and *The Times*, 2 Oct. 1961, repr. in *Barbara Hepworth: Writings and Conversations*, pp. 149-51. The statement was written by Hepworth in consultation with John Bratby, Benjamin Britten. Herbert Read and Graham Sutherland, and signed by 59 artists, musicians and writers, including Henry Moore, J B Priestley and Michael Tippett.

Hammarsköld's philosophical text *Markings*, which was published posthumously in 1963 with Hepworth's UN *Single Form* on the dust jacket, is also to be found in the 'religion and philosophy' section of Hepworth's library. Included in this section are texts on a diverse range of religious and spiritual practices, such as Anglicanism, Christian Science, Zen Buddhism and the Baha'i Faith. Whilst Hepworth practiced hard at Christian Science in the 1930s with Nicholson, by the 1950s she had returned to a more orthodox practice, perhaps due to the effect of personal loss as well as in response to turbulent world politics.⁷⁹ Nonetheless, it is also clear that at this time broadened during this period, with the presence of books on Zen Buddhism and Baha'i faith reflecting her connections to Read and Leach, the latter who converted to the Baha'i faith in 1940.⁸⁰ Zen Buddhism came to hold a particular significance for artists gathering in St Ives from the 1940s, encouraged by the translation of Eugen Herrigel's *Zen in the Art of Archery* (1956) and contact with Zen expert D T Suzuki, who stayed with the potter Bernard Leach in the mid to late 1950s.⁸¹ Hepworth owned a copy of Suzuki's *Zen and Japanese Culture* and would cite Herrigel's text as one of her two favourite books, the other being Stravinsky's *Poetics of Music* (1947). In 1970 the critic Edwin Mullins suggested that her interest in Herrigel's book might offer 'another meaning for her use of strings, and another image conjured up: that of the taut bowmanship

⁷⁹ Alan Bowness stated that 'after the death of her son, Paul, she really moved back to the Church of England...partly because I think Barbara's studio in St Ives, you can look over the tower of the parish church, you see, so she got to know the vicars.' See Lucy Kent 'Interview with Sir Alan Bowness', in Lucy Kent, 'Spirituality and British Modernism: Christian Science influence in the work of Ben Nicholson, Winifred Nicholson and Barbara Hepworth', MA Dissertation, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2012, p. 40. In a letter to the Reverend Donald Harris of St Pauls, Knightsbridge, Hepworth writes: 'I was baptised and confirmed at Wakefield Cathedral and then later attended St Mary Abbott's. But then I got into deep water in my second marriage to Ben. After 15 years living alone, the Bishop readmitted me to my church here and the vicar of St Ives Parish Church is most helpful – so I am now happy again.' See Barbara Hepworth to Reverend Donald Harris, 12 Nov. 1968. Tate Archive TGA 922/1.

⁸⁰ Hepworth's copy of Daisetz Suzuki's *Zen and Japanese Culture* is inscribed 'Barbara - with love Herbert' and dates from 1959. From 1946 Read had attended the conference of Eranos Tagung at Ascona Switzerland where he met Suzuki in 1953. See Lucy Kent, 'Modern Gods and Religion in England 1900-1950', pp. 183-96.

⁸¹ Chris Stephens, 'The Darkness of Menhirs': Landscape and Mysticism in Post-War Cornwall', in *The Dark Monarch: Magic and Modernity in British Art* (London: Tate Publishing, 2009), p. 82. Also see Stephens *St Ives: The Art and the Artists*, pp. 70-2 and 174.

which helps measure the distance and the arc between oneself and a far object.’⁸³

Alternatively, the importance of Zen for Hepworth might be traced with reference to the art of calligraphy, as discussed by Alan Watts in *The Way of Zen* (1957), who stated that ‘closest to the feeling of Zen was a calligraphic style of painting done with black ink on paper or silk’.⁸⁴ Stephens has himself connected Zen Buddhism’s promotion of a state of unknowing and focus on ideas of nature with the development of painting in 1950s St Ives based around ‘matrices of calligraphic marks’.⁸⁵ There remains a clear visual parallel between the series of gestural ink drawings and paintings Hepworth completed in the late 1950s – the same period in which so many of the texts on Zen were published – and the black calligraphic paintings of Zen reproduced in texts such as Watts’.⁸⁶ Works such as *Perigord* (1958) and *Spring, 1957 (Project for Sculpture)* were completed the same year, or the year after the publication of Watts’ text [Figs. 60-62].

References to the ‘spiritual’ also inflect the correspondence of Hepworth and Rainier and included in Hepworth’s collection of musical scores housed in Tate Archive is a handwritten copy of Rainier’s *Sinfonia da Camera*, with the inscription ‘The meaning of the figure/ The eternal beauty and mystery of the act/Of creation and spiritual soaring/Towards the Divine’.⁸⁷ This is one of a number of scores, some by Rainier and others by composers that include Henry Purcell, William Byrd and Benjamin Britten that belonged to Hepworth.⁸⁸ Although these are not themselves included in the formal catalogue of Hepworth’s library

⁸³ See Edwin Mullins, ‘Barbara Hepworth’, in *Barbara Hepworth* (The Hakone Open Air Museum Japan: Sankei Press, 1970), n.p.

⁸⁴ Alan Watts, *The Way of Zen* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1957), p. 177.

⁸⁵ Chris Stephens, *St Ives: The Art and the Artists*, p. 174.

⁸⁶ Gale and Stephens also suggest the influence of the action painting of the Abstract Expressionists and the gestural abstraction of Paris Tachisme on these works. See Gale and Stephens, *Barbara Hepworth : Works in the Tate Gallery Collection*, p. 190. Curtis also writes that Hepworth cited ‘Sam Francis, Soulages and the ‘Tachistes’’ as of particular interest, see Curtis, *Barbara Hepworth*, p. 50. Hepworth owned the etching *Eau-forte XIV* (1961) by Soulages, which is now in the collection of The Hepworth Wakefield. There is also a copy of a Soulages catalogue in her library from an exhibition at Gimpel Hanover Galerie in Zurich and Gimpel Fils, London (1967).

⁸⁷ Handwritten copy of *Sinfonia da Camera* by Priaulx Rainier. Tate Archive, TGA 20132/4/6/8/1.

⁸⁸ For Hepworth’s music books, see TGA 20132/4/6.

produced by Bowness, along with Hepworth's substantial collection of music records they may be seen in light of an alternative or wider encompassing library.⁸⁹ The music section of Bowness' catalogue is the smallest subject area, but perhaps also the most specialised. Texts in this section exclusively cover composers and performers who would have been contemporaries of Hepworth, including Stravinsky, Michael Tippett, Pablo Casals and Kathleen Ferrier. Of these, Stravinsky is the name that occurs most often, perhaps reflecting Hepworth's enthusiasm for his *Poetics of Music*, mentioned in the Nemser interview.

The above survey demonstrates the way in which Hepworth's networks and working relationships may be seen to be mapped out in her library, with the books acting as traces of such contact. The significance of these friendships to a reading of the library is testimony to the role that Hepworth's intellectual circle played in directing her reading. This included sharing the experience of reading a particular text through the 'distanced' communication form of correspondence. One such example of a correspondence series that deals closely with sharing an interest in reading a particular author is that of Hepworth and Rainier, in which, as mentioned previously, the poet Rilke plays an important role. In the next chapter, this shared reading of Rilke is considered in further depth as part of a larger exploration of the library as a resource for Hepworth's work.

⁸⁹ Hepworth's collection of music records is still held by the Hepworth Estate. In the cataloguing of artists' libraries it is not unusual to also include records alongside books. See for example, 'Catalogue of Robert Smithson's Library: Books, Magazines and Records', repr. in *Robert Smithson*.

Chapter 5: Library as Tool?

‘Is it useful to consider using the analogy of a tool - treating a book more like something, that is handled, sometimes used, sometimes not [...] and which provided [Hepworth] with avenues of seeing and creating?’¹

This chapter takes as its starting point the above question posed by Rachel Smith in her reading group. As discussed in Chapter 1, if a library is considered as a tool, it becomes a piece of working equipment, something valued for its ability to assist in the making process. As Smith adeptly notes, a book thus becomes something not only to be visually studied but to be ‘handled’ and used. As a tool, an artist may not only take from a book, but *add* to it, in the manner of notes, annotations, drawings and other mark-making. The book then can be said to become a quasi sketchbook or notepad and its interest now lies not only in its printed text but whatever manner of notes or mark making the artist has left behind. Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev has described the act of note-taking as one which manifests a ‘preliminary moment’, showing ‘the mind in a prologue state...before decisions are taken as to what is to be done, but informs those decisions, and risks taking them’.² What then can we learn from such ‘preliminary moments’? Taking three case studies of Hepworth’s use of annotation and note-taking within her books, this chapter seeks to provide answers to this question. Firstly I examine her practice of note-making in a number of her books, including making lists of potential titles. Secondly I consider her annotations of Rilke’s *Sonnets to Orpheus* as part of her reading of this text with Priaulx Rainier. Finally, I address the role played by the library as a resource for Hepworth’s three categories of form constants, which I read alongside the notebook and sketchbook she produced during her Greek voyage in 1954, examining the relationship between reading, writing and drawing in her practice.

¹ Rachel Smith, *The Hepworth Book Club*, The Hepworth Wakefield, 30 Sept. 2017.

² Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev, ‘Preface’, *DOCUMENTA (13): The Book of Books; Catalog 1/3* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2012) p. 14.

Reading for Titles

It is important to note that few of Hepworth's books are actually heavily annotated; unlike Bacon's mutilations of books, it seems that she was very careful to maintain her books in good condition. With the exception of smoke damage from the fire in her studio, the books in the library are generally well preserved – in some cases Hepworth would even write notes on pieces of paper to insert into texts, to avoid writing directly onto the page itself [Fig. 63]. However, three of the books in the library contain more extensive note-taking, in a manner that appear to be lists of words gathered together as ideas for titles. All three books in question are dictionaries: *The Pocket Oxford Dictionary of Current English* (1939), F.B. Uvarov with D.R. Chapman's *A Dictionary of Science* (1958) and *Jarrold's Dictionary of Difficult Words* compiled by Robert Hill (1948). These form part of a surprisingly large collection of dictionaries, which also include two Maori dictionaries, a dictionary of psychology and a dictionary of music.³ The large range of dictionaries is suggestive of a desire to understand a wide breadth of vocabulary and terminology, significantly across a wide range of disciplines. Whilst none of the other dictionaries contain extensive notes it does seem likely that the Maori dictionaries were also a source for titles. A number of Hepworth's sculptures from 1969 and 1970, including *Makutu* (1969), take their titles from Maori words [Fig. 64].⁴ 'Makutu' means 'to bewitch; a spell or incantation' and according to Alan Bowness, might have been taken from a book sent to Hepworth – likely one of the two Maori dictionaries found in the library. Bowness notes that 'finding names was always a bit

³ These are A.W. Reed, *Maori Picture Dictionary* (1965), *Maori English Maori Dictionary* (undated), Arthur Jacobs, *A New Dictionary of Music* (1958), W.G. Moore, *A Dictionary of Geography* (1957), and James Drever, *A Dictionary of Psychology* (1952).

⁴ Other sculptures with Maori titles include *Apolima* and *Tiki*, both 1969.

of a problem' for Hepworth, perhaps another reason why she gathered together so many dictionaries.⁵

Hepworth's copy of *The Pocket Oxford Dictionary* contains a list of Greek and Roman gods and goddesses within the inside cover. In this case, the list seems to bear little reference to the actual content of the book, as though the blank inside cover was just used as a makeshift notebook [Fig. 65]. However, their significance in showing Hepworth's thinking regarding the importance of Ancient Greece will be discussed later in this chapter in regard to the Greek notebooks. In contrast, the lists found in her copies of *Dictionary of Science* and *Jarrod's Dictionary of Difficult Words* show a more obvious connection between the printed page and the handwritten notes, with Hepworth to be seen searching for words in the dictionaries which she then lists in her notes. These lists also begin to take on a clearer role than the Greek lists as potential titles for works, with a number recognisable as the titles for finished sculptures, such as 'Core', 'Empyrean', 'Galliard', 'Apollo', 'Totem' and 'Churinga'. Whilst it is of course a mistake to read the titles of artworks too literally - as Richard Hobbs writes, titles function as 'a supposed guide to meaning, however treacherous'⁶ - we know from correspondence that Hepworth laid great importance on her titles. Writing to Ramsden she enlists her assistance with fixing her titles:

I've been sitting up late at night trying to fix my catalogues and titles. I'm certain, even convinced, that the right title is absolutely necessary to me [...] I know the feeling and intention of every carving but the exact words are elusive and also I'm very fussy about names and words generally – say some of them often and they become silly – without music.⁷

⁵ Alan Bowness, answers to Tate Gallery questionnaire, 28 Sept. 1983, Tate Gallery cataloguing files, qtd. in Matthew Gale and Chris Stephens, *Barbara Hepworth: Works in the Tate Collection*, p. 258.

⁶ Richard Hobbs, 'Reading Artists' Words', in *A Companion to Art Theory* eds. Paul Smith and Carolyn Wilde (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002) pp. 173-4.

⁷ Barbara Hepworth to E H Ramsden, no date. Tate Archive, TGA 9310/1/1/45. Hepworth also enlisted help from Rainier with her titles with musical references, for example with *Contrapuntal Forms* (1950-1). See Barbara Hepworth to Priaulx Rainier, 4 Feb. 1951. Royal Academy of Music Archive, IPR 3/36/2/12.

As Hepworth states, ‘the right title is absolutely necessary’ if it is to convey the ‘feeling and intention of every carving’. As such, looking at the kinds of words included in Hepworth’s lists - including those that did not come to be chosen for titles of finished sculptures - can provide insight into her thinking around her work. In her interview with Alan Bowness, she states, ‘when I have made something, I think: where did I get that idea from? And then I remember. Bryher is being in a boat, and sailing round Bryher, and the water, the island, the movement of course. If I experience something bodily like that, I often get an idea for a sculpture.’⁸ Assessing the words included in the lists in the *A Dictionary of Science*, a concern with cosmology can be discerned, including words such as ‘Orbit’ and ‘Constellation’ [Figs. 66-7]. However looking at these more closely, it can also be seen that these words refer to an outer form enclosing or circling an inner form, or the relations between forms - ‘Orbit’, ‘Nucleus’, ‘Axial’, ‘Constellation’, ‘Galaxies’. This concern of the relationship between an outer and inner form is a prevailing concern throughout Hepworth’s work, particularly apparent in works such as *Hollow Form with Inner Form* (1968), a two-part sculpture comprised of an inner element enclosed by a larger encasing element [Fig. 68]. Therefore then, rather than simply reading the lists as evidence for Hepworth’s interest in astronomy, they instead show how she was using astronomy for the examples of form relations it offered to her own interests. Again here we can see examples of Hepworth looking to other subjects and disciplines for the formal relevance they were able to offer.

Similarly, in her notes in *Jarrold’s Dictionary* there are a number of words listed that are associated with different musical forms: ‘Ode’, ‘Partita’, ‘Galliard’ and ‘Pavan’ [Fig.69-71].⁹ All of these forms are associated with early music, which in the 20th century received an

⁸ Barbara Hepworth, in Alan Bowness, ‘Conversations with Barbara Hepworth’, in *The Complete Sculpture of Barbara Hepworth, 1960-69* ed. Alan Bowness (London: Lund Humphries, 1971), repr. in *Barbara Hepworth: Writings and Conversations*, p. 233.

⁹ For definitions see Michael Kennedy, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1980). Kennedy defines an ode as a ‘lyrical poem [...] recited to mus. acc. [sic]’, p. 459. A partita is a

important revival, particularly through figures such as the musician and instrument maker Arnold Dolmetsch, whose book *The Interpretation of the Music of the 17th and 18th Centuries* (1915) was especially important. From Priaulx Rainier, and likely through her friendships and collaborations with the composers Benjamin Britten and Michael Tippett, Hepworth too became inducted into this world of early music.¹⁰ From the early 1950s – the time of these meetings - Hepworth began to title her sculptures from these forms of early music, including the use of the aforementioned ‘galliard’ and ‘pavan’ in the sculptures *Forms in Movement (Galliard)* (1956) and the *Pavan* group, which includes *Forms in Movement (Pavan)* (1956-9) in both bronze and concrete and *Curved Form (Pavan)* (1956) [Figs. 72-4].¹¹ The pavan was a slow processional dance common in 16th century Europe, typically paired with the faster, and more sprightly, galliard.¹² Their historic pairing of these two dances is perhaps suggestive that Hepworth saw her *Pavan* and *Galliard* sculptures as intrinsically linked.

Although not included in the list of potential titles that Hepworth made within *Jarrold's Dictionary*, another sculpture of Hepworth's whose title seems to have directly originated from Hepworth's shared listening with Rainier is her 1950-51 Festival of Britain commission *Contrapuntal Forms* [Fig. 75], which she originally intended to subtitle *Motet*. At the recommendation of the Arts Council Director of Art, Philip James, this was later dropped.¹³ The subtitle *Motet* is however used for the 1960 sculpture *Standing Form (Motet)* [Fig. 76]. In a letter to Rainier of 1951, Hepworth asks for her opinion on two alternative

‘variation’, p. 480. A galliard was a ‘lively dance, from 15th cent. Or earlier [...] Often paired or contrasted with the slower pavan’, p. 246.

¹⁰ Hepworth first collaborated with Michael Tippett on the St Ives Festival in 1953 and then again to provide set and costume designs for his opera *The Midsummer Marriage* in 1955. Britten's music was performed in the St Ives Festival, and his partner, the tenor Peter Pears, also performed. In 1968 Britten advised on the selection of music for the film of Hepworth's work made by Westward Television. In 1968, Hepworth lent *Dual Form* (1965) to Snape Maltings Concert Hall for the Aldeburgh Festival. See Sophie Bowness, ‘Rhythms of the Stones’: Hepworth and Music’, in *Barbara Hepworth: A Centenary* ed. Chris Stephens (London: Tate Publishing, 2003) pp. 26-8.

¹¹ See catalogue entry ‘Forms in Movement (Pavan)’ in Gale and Stephens, pp. 154-6 for further details of the *Pavan* series. Other sculptures from this period with musical titles include: *Contrapuntal Forms* (1951), *Stone Sculpture (Fugue II)* (1956), *Wood and Strings (Fugue)* (1956) and *Standing Form (Motet)* (1960).

¹² Monty Adkins, *The Hepworth Book Club*, The Hepworth Wakefield, 29 July 2017.

¹³ Sophie Bowness, ‘Rhythms of the Stones’, p. 24.

titles for *Contrapuntal Forms*: ‘Motet (contrapuntal forms in blue limestone)’ or ‘Motet (Praising) blue stone figures’.¹⁴ The ‘motet’ of the title seems almost certainly to reference Thomas Tallis’ forty-part motet *Spem in Alium*, a score and record of which Hepworth acquired from Rainier [Fig. 77]. In the letter enclosed with the score Rainier writes, ‘Here is the immortal masterpiece by Tallis. I like to think of the moment when you will look at it [...] It is right that you should have the score of this miracle of architecture in sound’.¹⁵ Hepworth replies, ‘I’m determined to understand something of the construction. I must unravel its simplicity and understand its complexity’.¹⁶ Her response offers a sense of the particular appeal of this music for her own work: namely that she could understand its ‘construction’ as she would with a three-dimensional sculpture. As Ezra Pound wrote on Dolmetsch, ‘some of his dicta are, by their nature, applicable only to instrumental music or melody, others are susceptible to a transition into terms of the sister arts.’¹⁷ One concept from early music that Hepworth would take and apply to sculpture is that of *counterpoint* – directly referenced in the sculpture *Contrapuntal Forms* - which refers to the combination of simultaneous musical parts to form a coherent texture.¹⁸ As she writes, ‘this effect of the outer surfaces and quality being in counterpoint with the inner heart is intrinsic to the material’.¹⁹

Shared Reading: Hepworth, Rainier and Rilke

In addition to the important place that was assigned to music in their correspondence, Hepworth and Rainier also shared a mutual love of Rilke’s writing. In this next section, I consider in greater depth the effects of their shared reading of Rilke, and how Rilke was used

¹⁴ See Barbara Hepworth to Priaulx Rainier, 4 Feb. 1951. Royal Academy of Music Archive, IPR 3/36/2/12.

¹⁵ Priaulx Rainier to Barbara Hepworth, 26 June 1950. Tate Archive, TGA 20132/1/164/19. Many of the scores owned by Hepworth were sent by Rainier. These included both scores of early music and of Rainier’s own compositions, which Hepworth was keen to understand better. See for example, Hepworth’s letter to Rainier of 16 August 1950: ‘Will you send me a copy of the score of your Quartet?’. Barbara Hepworth to Priaulx Rainier, 16 Aug. 1950. Royal Academy of Music Archive, IPR 3/36/1/25. See TGA 20132/4/6/8 for Rainier’s scores owned by Hepworth.

¹⁶ Barbara Hepworth to Priaulx Rainier, 16 Aug. 1950. Royal Academy of Music Archive, IPR 3/36/1/25.

¹⁷ Ezra Pound, ‘Vers Libre and Arnold Dolmetsch’, in *The Literary Essays of Ezra Pound* ed. T. S. Eliot (London: Faber and Faber, 1954) p. 438.

¹⁸ Michael Kennedy, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1980) p. 151.

¹⁹ Barbara Hepworth, ‘The Sculptor Speaks’, in *Barbara Hepworth: Writings and Conversations*, p. 156.

by each as a resource for their work. Hepworth and Rainier met in 1949 and soon after developed a regular correspondence. As early as Rainier's third letter to Hepworth, the importance of Rilke to their friendship is established; as Rainier writes, 'Our meeting meant a great deal to me – to have contact with a truly contemporary mind is a rare pleasure and stimulation – as well as the mutual love of Rilke and bananas'.²⁰ A few days later she sent Hepworth a copy of *The Selected Letters of Rainer Maria Rilke 1906-1926* with a list of reading suggestions, which are still to be found in the book today [Fig. 78].²¹ Hepworth's meeting with Rainier led to a number of formal and informal collaborations of a musical nature, which have been well documented – their joint founding of the St Ives Festival of Music and the Arts in 1953 with composer Michael Tippett,²² Rainier's composing of a new score to accompany the 1953 BFI film *Figures in a Landscape: Cornwall and the Sculpture of Barbara Hepworth* directed by Dudley Shaw, as well Hepworth's use of musical titles for sculptures during this period.

What however has been less closely considered is what outcomes their shared reading of Rilke produced. We know that Hepworth and Rainier played an important part helping each other with their respective work; 'I like it when you write about my work', Hepworth would write to Rainier, 'It teaches me a lot'.²³ In summer 1950 Hepworth invited Rainier to stay in St Ives, which established the pattern of Rainier dividing her time between London and St Ives, eventually leading to her acquiring her own studio in the town. This meant that she was also able to assist Hepworth in person as well as remotely through letters. As she recalled in her interview with Lewis and Fox-Pitt, 'One Sunday [Barbara] asked me to come

²⁰ Priaulx Rainier to Barbara Hepworth, 11 March 1950. Tate Archive, TGA 20132/1/164/3.

²¹ Rainier writes, 'Having got back my second copy of Rilke's letters I am sending it to you. When you have read them if you care to keep them I should be happy... Before you slowly read through the book (when do you have time for such things?) look at some notes on a card which will interest you specially'. See Priaulx Rainier to Barbara Hepworth, 18 Mar. 1950. Tate Archive, TGA 20132/1/164/5.

²² See the festival programme for further details, *St Ives Festival of Music and the Arts: The Complete Programme Book* (London: Lund Humphries, 1953). A copy of the programme is to be found in the Hepworth library at Wakefield.

²³ Barbara Hepworth to Priaulx Rainier, n.d. Royal Academy of Music Archive, IPR 3/36/1/12.

because she said I had a very good tactile sense, and so we spent the whole day going over the sculpture, working on it to get just exactly, you know, that line of a curve.’²⁴ Beyond merely helping each other with their own separate work, there is a sense that through their shared conversations, correspondence and reading, Hepworth and Rainier’s own individual work came to focus on similar matter. For example, Chris van Rhyn has proposed a link between Rainier’s *Requiem* (1956) and Hepworth’s *Figure (Requiem)* (1957) given the close alignment of both date and title of the two works.²⁵ I want to now examine the possible connection between Hepworth’s *Orpheus* series of 1956-9 and Rainier’s *Sonnets to Orpheus* set for vocal soloists, chorus and orchestra (which remained unfinished at her death in 1986), based upon their shared reading of Rilke’s *Sonnets to Orpheus*. This is a connection that Sophie Bowness, in her essay “Rhythm and the Stones’: Hepworth and Music’, suggests is likely (although she does not investigate in any further depth), and which the following analysis builds upon.²⁶

Unlike Hepworth’s copy of Rilke’s *Selected Letters*, which, as aforementioned was Rainier’s copy that she passed on, Hepworth already was in possession of a copy of *Sonnets to Orpheus* before she first met Rainier, likely acquired through the writer E H Ramsden.²⁷ Nonetheless the subject of the *Sonnets* occurs early in their correspondence, with Rainier providing a diagram in a letter of how she planned to structure her setting of the work [Fig. 79]. She writes:

Here is the sonnet sequence [...] The colour changes are through ‘dark’ and ‘light’ toned instruments with a special orchestration for the purpose. The whole resolves

²⁴ Transcript for interview with Priaulx Rainier by David Lewis and Sarah Fox-Pitt for a publication of ‘Living Memories’ about art and Cornwall 1935-75, 9 Apr. 1981. Tate Audio Visual Archive, TAV 254AB.

²⁵ Chris van Rhyn, ‘*O Hidden Face!* – An Analysis and Contextualisation of Priaulx Rainier’s *Requiem*’, Masters in Music Report, Stellenbosch University, 2010, p. 27.

²⁶ Sophie Bowness, ‘Rhythms of the Stones’, p. 25.

²⁷ Rachel Smith suggests it is likely that this copy of the *Sonnets* was posted to Hepworth in Carbis Bay by Ramsden and her partner, Margot Oates, in October 1941. See Rachel Smith, *The Hepworth Book Club*, 30 Sept. 2017.

into the final sonnet, an epilogue. It will be the first time I have achieved a complete statement if I succeed in doing what I want.²⁸

From the tone Rainier adopts, it seems likely that she had by this point relatively recently begun work on her setting of the *Sonnets*. As expected, and as illustrated by her diagram in the letter, Rainier did not choose to set all fifty-five sonnets, but instead made an edited selection of eight poems interspersed with an orchestral prelude and interlude, making ten movements in total. All of her eight choices are significantly taken from the first part of the Rilke's work, that which has the greatest connection with the work's namesake - the singing god Orpheus.²⁹ In Hepworth's own edition of the *Sonnets* she has circled selected poems, all from the first part, sonnet numbers I, III, IV, VII, VIII, IX, XVII, XVIII and XIX, the exact same selection made as Rainier, with the addition of 'Sonnet III'. Whilst this in itself does not provide a direct link between her *Orpheus* series and Rainier's own setting, it does show that she was clearly paying close attention to Rainier's choice of setting. This would not be the first time that Hepworth had made work out of her reading of Rilke: as previously mentioned, in 1943 she had told Read that one of her drawings that belonged to him was made as part of her reading of Rilke's first elegy from the *Duino Elegies*. Smith has also suggested the likely pairing of Hepworth's sculpture *Elegy* (1945-6), made at the end of the Second World War, and Rilke's *Duino Elegies*, completed three years after the First World War.³⁰ In her writings on Hepworth, Ramsden had herself also drawn connections between Hepworth and Rilke. As she writes in a typescript for an article entitled 'Form and the Intuition of Form: The Sculpture of Barbara Hepworth':

The process of transformation – even that of the visible into the invisible which Rainer Maria Rilke proclaimed as an historical necessity of our time and celebrated in

²⁸ Priaulx Rainier to Barbara Hepworth, 24 Mar. 1950. Tate Archive, TGA 20132/1/164/6.

²⁹ Discussion of the relationship between the two parts of the work is offered by H F Peters in his chapter on the *Sonnets* in H F Peters, *Rainier Maria Rilke: Masks and the Man* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1960) pp. 166-7.

³⁰ Rachel Smith, 'Hepworth lectrice de Rilke' in *Barbara Hepworth* (Paris: Éditions du musée Rodin, 2019) p. 56.

the *Duino Elegies* with all the fervour of which he is capable, is that of which the artist above all others is most profoundly aware.³¹

For her part, Hepworth would later write to Ramsden that ‘your ideas on sculpture always seem to put me into “a world” where I particularly long to be’.³² Whilst this does not directly refer to Ramsden’s Rilke references, it does confirm Hepworth’s approval of her the approaches Ramsden used in writing on her work.³³

The subject of Orpheus - ‘the quintessential mythical singer [...] whose song has more than human power’³⁴ - has a clear link with the other sculptures with musical titles that Hepworth was working on during the 1950s. Historically, the myth of Orpheus has also informed numerous musical interpretations, and thus Rainier was following a well-known motif, but in this case making it specific to Rilke’s work.³⁵ Sophie Bowness notes that Hepworth and Rainier themselves attended a concert performance of Stravinsky’s ballet *Orpheus* (1947), which was conducted by Stravinsky himself.³⁶ This in itself offers an interesting line of connection between Rilke and Stravinsky, both of whom were so important to Hepworth. The ‘musical’ quality of the *Sonnets* have been much remarked upon by critics. For example, Eudo C Mason writes that the poems are ‘governed by the auditive principle, by music, and address themselves to the ear rather than to the eye.’³⁷ Textual references to music and song also pepper the first part of the *Sonnets*, particularly those selected by Rainier and

³¹ E H Ramsden, Typescript for ‘Form and the Intuition of Form: The Sculpture of Barbara Hepworth’. Tate Archive, TGA 9310/2/5/1/39. This article was published as ‘The Sculpture of Barbara Hepworth’, *Polemic: A Magazine of Philosophy, Psychology and Aesthetics*, No. 5, Sept-Oct. 1946.

³² Barbara Hepworth to E H Ramsden, undated. Tate Archive, TGA 9310/1/1/53.

³³ For further discussion of Hepworth’s reception of Ramsden’s articles on her work, see Penelope Curtis, ‘What is Left Unsaid’, in *Barbara Hepworth Reconsidered*, pp.158-61; and Rachel Smith, *The Hepworth Book Club*.

³⁴ *The Oxford Classical Dictionary Fourth Edition* eds. Simon Hornblower and Anthony Spawforth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) p. 1049. The entry for ‘Orpheus’ notes that he saves the Argonauts from the Sirens by ‘overcoming their song with his own’ and ‘his powerful song encompasses epic poetry, healing songs, oracles and initiatory rites’.

³⁵ These include Gluck’s opera *Orfeo ed Euridice* (1762), Montiverdi’s *La Favola d’Orfeo* (1607), Liszt’s symphonic poem *Orpheus* (1854) and Stravinsky’s ballet *Orpheus* (1948).

³⁶ Sophie Bowness, ‘Rhythms of the Stones’, p. 26.

³⁷ Eudo C Mason, *Rilke* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1963), p. 103. Also see Peters, who writes that the *Sonnets* are a ‘perfect fusion of sound and symbol, form and content’. See H F Peters, *Rainer Maria Rilke: Masks and the Man*, p. 174.

Hepworth: song in ‘Sonnet III’ is ‘not desire/ not wooing of something finally attained/ song is existence’. ‘Real singing’, the narrator states, is ‘a different exhaltation/A breath for nothing. A rustle in the god. A gale.’³⁸ Song then, in keeping with Orpheus’ celestial being, is associated with a higher form of being. Symbolically it is also seen as an ascension; ‘Sonnet I’ opens, ‘A tree ascending. O pure transcension/ O Orphic song!’³⁹ It is enlightening to compare this to Hepworth’s own description of her *Orpheus* sculptures (she does not specify which particular version):

I found the most intense pleasure in this new adventure in material – and revelled in the lightness of poise and delicacy of forms which seemed nearer to the flight of birds and their form in flight rather than to more gravity-bound rocks and humans.⁴⁰

Her suggestion of the ‘lightness’ of forms ‘in flight’ certainly has much in common with the ascension mentioned in the *Sonnets*. In formal terms, this is suggested by the lightness of the brass sheet metal and wing-like strings used for the three different works in the series:

Orpheus (Maquette 1), *Orpheus (Maquette 2)*, *Theme on Electronics (Orpheus)* all of 1956, and the later enlarged *Orpheus (Maquette 2) (Version II)* of 1959 [Figs. 80-2]. In the same year Hepworth also produced her *Stringed Figure (Curlew)* and the related *Stringed Figure (Curlew) Version II*, which share both the same curved form, strings in tension and material make up as the *Orpheus* work [Fig. 83]. Whilst there is no such direct link to Rilke’s *Sonnets* in these works as with the more obviously titled *Orpheus* series, the close similarity in form and materials is suggestive of further affinities in the ideas behind each series. Certainly Hepworth’s reference to the ‘flight of birds’ in describing the *Orpheus* works suggests a link with the *Curlew* works, which are themselves, literally titled after birds, whilst the song of the god Orpheus might also be connected with the song of birds.

³⁸ Rainer Maria Rilke, *Sonnets to Orpheus : Second Edition* trans. J B Leishman (London: Hogarth Press, 1946) p. 39.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁴⁰ Barbara Hepworth, ‘The Sculptor Speaks’, recorded talk for British Council, 8 Dec. 1961, repr. in *Barbara Hepworth: Writings and Conversations*, p. 158.

In each version of the *Orpheus* series, a suggestion of an upward spiralling movement is contained through the curved rising form of the sculpture; indeed *Theme for Electronics (Orpheus)* was a commission for electronics firms Mullard Ltd and as such had a motor allowing it to physically rotate. As Gale and Stephens write, ‘a pointed sheet rises and describes a curve on the right [...] the left side was contained within this height, with its lower point turned upwards, as if lifted off the base by the network of strings between them.’⁴¹ Given the *Sonnets*’ reference to ‘transcension’ it is interesting to note the similarity in form between the *Orpheus* sculptures and the 1958 *Cantate Domino*, which takes its title from Psalm 98 ‘O Sing Unto the Lord’, also emphasising the role of song [Fig. 84]. Though lacking the lightness of material of the *Orpheus* works - being made of bronze rather than brass sheet - and its sinuous rising form, *Cantate Domino*’s basic shape shares the same two points rising, one slightly above the other, so that they never quite meet. Critic Edward Mullins interpreted *Cantate Domino* as representing ‘a free stylisation of the human hand raised in supplication and praise.’⁴² If the upward thrusting vertical form of *Cantate Domino* is used to suggest the idea of praise then the similar form of the *Orpheus* works might be said to achieve something similar. Certainly the *Sonnets* themselves contain a similar focus on praise: ‘Praising, that’s it!’ ‘Sonnet VII’ opens, ‘As a praiser and blesser / he came like the ore from the taciturn mine.’⁴³

Sonnets to Orpheus’ exploration of song, praise and ascension offers a way of connecting Hepworth’s *Orpheus* series with both her musical and religious works of the same decade. The similar use of material techniques between the *Orpheus* works and the copper work *Forms in Movement (Galliard)* also of 1956 suggests points of connection between the two bodies of work, whilst the repeated use of a vertically thrusting form connects the

⁴¹ Matthew Gale and Chris Stephens, *Barbara Hepworth: Works in the Tate Collection*, p. 160.

⁴² Edwin Mullins, ‘Barbara Hepworth’, n. p.

⁴³ Rainier Maria Rilke, *Sonnets to Orpheus*, p. 47.

Orpheus series with religious works such as the 1958 *Ascending Form (Gloria)* [Fig. 85] and the aforementioned *Cantate Domino*. As such, all three bodies of work become interconnected through form, subject and material technique. Continuities of form also work across time, with Smith observing that the stringed forms of the *Orpheus* works also ‘recall the drawings and stringed forms of the early 1940s which Hepworth made while first reading Rilke.’⁴⁴ As earlier mentioned, Hepworth specifically connected a drawing that was in the possession of Herbert Read with her reading of the *Duino Elegies*. Such a restatement of form in the later *Orpheus* works therefore also directly connects Hepworth’s reading of the *Elegies* in the early 1940s with her later reading of the *Sonnets with Rainier* in the early 1950s.

Reading, Writing and Drawing Greece

Hepworth’s practice of list making in *Jarrold’s Dictionary* and of using the scores to ‘understand’ the music’s form and construction allow these items to be seen in light of the ‘working tool’. In this way Martin Harrison’s view of Bacon’s archive as functioning in an equivalent way to the traditional artist’s preliminary drawings or sketches is relevant. With this in mind, I will now look to an example of Hepworth using her library as a ‘resource’ alongside the notebook and sketchbook she produced during her Greek voyage in 1954 in the production of the series of work that emerged from this time, which take their titles from Greek locations.

In 1954 Hepworth’s longstanding friend Margaret Gardiner invited her on a cruise around Greece and its islands as a gesture to help her with the depression she had suffered following the death of her Paul, who had been killed whilst flying missions for the RAF in Malaya.⁴⁵ Whilst in Greece, Hepworth produced one notebook of writing and one sketchbook of both writing and drawing: the Dunluce notebook (gifted from Nicholson and named after

⁴⁴ Rachel Smith, ‘Hepworth lectrice de Rilke’, p. 55.

⁴⁵ Chris Stephens, ‘Scented Guarea’, in *Barbara Hepworth Centenary*, p. 79.

their house in Carbis Bay), and the Greek Sketchbook (published as ‘Greek Diary: 1954-1964’ in J P Hodin’s festschrift *European Critic: Essays by Various Hands Contributed in Honour of his Sixtieth Birthday* (1965), a copy of which is in Hepworth’s library.⁴⁶ On her return home, Hepworth began to make new work whose titles or subtitles are taken from the names of Greek locations. The core group of these works consist of five carvings from Nigerian scented guarea wood, which Gardiner had arranged to be sent to Hepworth from Nigeria, four made between 1954-55 and one made in 1960.⁴⁷ These five sculptures, as Hepworth recalls in the *Pictorial Autobiography*, were ‘‘Corinthos’, ‘Delphi’, Phira’, Epidauros’ and ‘Delos’.’⁴⁸ Less well known than their guarea counterparts, Hepworth also produced three later works in marble and one in bronze, which also make direct references to Greek locations in their titles: *Pierced Form (Santorin)* (1963), *Bronze Form (Patmos)* (1962-3), *Contrapuntal Forms (Mycanae)* (1965), and *Three Uprights with Circles (Mykonos)* (1966). There were also a number of works made during this period that have more general Greek references, including the two guarea carvings *Curved Form (Oracle)* (1960) and *Two Forms with White (Greek)* (1963), however for the purpose of this argument I will address only those works which make reference to specific Greek locations.

As Alan Wilkinson has noted, the drawings Hepworth produced in the Greek Sketchbook were the ‘first drawings *in situ* of landscape motifs’ that she had undertaken since her 1933 sketches of St Rémy in France.⁴⁹ This fact raises a number of questions, most significantly, what was it that made her return to this practice in Greece? One answer is the need to record the landscape she encountered so that it could be recalled at a later date. It is

⁴⁶ Both the Dunluce notebook and the Greek Sketchbook are in the Tate Archive. They are reproduced in Sophie Bowness’ *Barbara Hepworth: Writings and Conversations*, pp. 99-108.

⁴⁷ Chris Stephens, ‘Scented Guarea’, p. 79. For an in depth account of the guarea wood carvings also see Helena Bonett, ‘The Guarea Wood-Carvings: Between Myth and Reality’, in *Barbara Hepworth: Sculpture for a Modern World*, pp. 84-9.

⁴⁸ *Barbara Hepworth: A Pictorial Autobiography* p. 72.

⁴⁹ Alan Wilkinson, *The Drawings of Barbara Hepworth* (Ashgate: Lund Humphries, 2015) p. 112.

also revealing to think about the Greek Sketchbook against Hepworth's 1946 statement on drawing practice that she made in an interview for the *Studio*:

I rarely make drawings for a particular sculpture; but often scribble sections of form or lines on bits of scrap paper or cigarette boxes when I am working. I do however, spend whole periods of time entirely in drawing (or painting, as I use colour) when I search for forms and rhythms and curvatures for my own satisfaction. These drawings I call 'drawings for sculpture'; but it is in a general sense – that is –out of the drawings springs a general influence. Only occasionally can I say that one particular drawing has later become one particular sculpture. I like to think of the drawings as a form of exploration and not as a two dimensional representation of a particular three-dimensional object.⁵⁰

As Hepworth here states, she rarely produced drawings for a particular sculpture, but as 'a form of exploration'. In this way although the Sketchbook contains drawings of named places, including those that would later become titles of sculptures, these sketches should not be regarded as drawings *for* those particular sculptures but as a record of the forms she found in those places. It is also important to note the split between drawing and writing in the Sketchbook – the Dunluce notebook of course being entirely writing – suggestive that the experience was not something that Hepworth could record through drawing alone. Indeed, as Erdmut Wizisla has discussed, what makes the notebook/sketchbook an appealing medium is its very flexibility to work with both text and image, thus making it 'part of the fundamental equipment of writers artists, architects, scientists, in short all intellectuals who devise things – thoughts, images – that they need to record and register.'⁵¹ The notebook/sketchbook mode allowed Hepworth to seamlessly weave between record making in both text and image.

As if to prove the importance of thinking through the experience in writing, as well as drawing, the Greek voyage is a subject Hepworth also reflects upon in a number of published writings, including the *Pictorial Autobiography* and her essay 'A Sculptor's Landscape' for the 1966 text *Barbara Hepworth: Drawings from a Sculptor's Landscape*. The significance

⁵⁰ Barbara Hepworth, 'Approach to Sculpture', *Studio*, Oct. 1946, vol. 132, no. 643, repr. in *Barbara Hepworth: Writings and Conversations*, pp. 36-7.

⁵¹ Erdmut Wizisla 'Daintiest Quarters: Notebooks', in *Walter Benjamin's Archive: Images, Texts, Signs* eds. Ursula Marx et. al. (London: Verso, 2015) n. p.

placed on the voyage is such that the section of text devoted to this in the ‘Sculptor’s Landscape’ essay is accompanied by photographs of three of the ancient sites visited, Delphi, Epidauros and Mycanae [Fig. 86]. Next to the Greek photographs she writes:

In Greece the inspiration was great [...] I made drawings for new sculptures called Delphi, Delos, Mycenae, Epidauros, and Santorin. These forms were my experience there...To get up early and be the first to climb up Santorin, to find my place at the top of the theatre of Epidauros [...] was the embodiment of the sculptor’s landscape. Timeless and in space, pure in conception and like a rock to hold on to, these forms in Greece have been a constant source of inspiration [...] A sculptor’s landscape embraces all things that grow and live and are articulate in principle; the shape of the buds already formed in autumn, the thrust and fury of spring growth, adjustment of trees and rocks and human beings to the fierceness of winter – all these belong to the sculptor’s world...⁵²

As she emphasises it was the ‘forms’ that was the ‘experience’ on this trip, to such an extent that they afterwards remained a ‘constant source of inspiration’. Ten years after the Greek voyage, she would reflect: ‘The forms, the mountains, the valleys – the colour and silence, were such a part of my life that even now, a whole decade later, I can scarcely speak of the experience. It is deeply a part of my work’.⁵³ In her 1937 essay for *Circle: International Survey of Constructive Art* Hepworth had laid out her principle of ‘form constants’: ‘in the physical world’ she wrote, ‘we can discover [...] the endless variations of the same form’.⁵⁴

She would later expand upon such ‘variations of the same form’ in 1954, stating

‘the forms which have had special meaning for me since childhood have been the standing form (which is the translation of my feeling towards the human being standing in landscape); the two forms (which is the tender relationship of one living thing beside another); and the closed form, such as the oval, spherical or pierced form’.⁵⁵

This concept of ‘form constants’ which Hepworth proposes arguably draws upon ideas that emerged in the 1930s and 40s of a ‘psychology’ or ‘universality’ of form, which aimed to

⁵² *Barbara Hepworth: Drawings from a Sculptor’s Landscape*; with an introduction to the drawings by Alan Bowness (London: Cory Adams and Mackay, 1966), n. p.

⁵³ Barbara Hepworth, ‘Greek Diary: 1954-1964’, repr. in *Barbara Hepworth: Writings and Conversations*, p. 107.

⁵⁴ Barbara Hepworth, ‘Sculpture’, in *Circle: International Survey of Constructive Art*, p. 114.

⁵⁵ Barbara Hepworth, *Texts for A Retrospective Exhibition of Carvings and Drawings from 1927 to 1954*, Whitechapel Art Gallery, 1954, repr. in *Barbara Hepworth: Writings and Conversations*, p. 95.

explain the development of art and culture.⁵⁶ One such proponent of this idea was the art critic, R H Wilenski, who in his 1934 treatise *The Meaning of Modern Sculpture* proposed a ‘universal analogy of form’:

the modern sculptors have arrived at the concept of the universal analogy of form, the concept of all human, animal and vegetable forms as different manifestations of common principles of architecture, of which the geometric forms in their infinity of relations are all symbols; and at the concept of the meaning of geometric relation as the symbolisation of this universal analogy of form.⁵⁷

Like many other texts which drew on this idea of universal form, Wilenski used the technique of photographic juxtaposition to draw out his ‘universal analogy of form’, placing images of prehistoric art alongside contemporary sculpture, and macrophotographic plates of plant forms (from Karl Blossfeldt’s 1929 highly popularised photo-album *Art Forms in Nature*) alongside ancient sculpture to draw out unexpected formal similarities that emerged [Figs.87].

Although Wilenski’s text is not to be found in Hepworth’s library today, it seems likely that she would have possessed a copy since it included a reproduction of her own work. Writing to Wilenski himself, she stated that it was a ‘very good book [which] should help all of us any amount’.⁵⁸ Included in the photographic juxtapositions in is Hepworth’s 1929-30 alabaster carving *Musician*, which is placed alongside the Egyptian carving, *Chertihotep*, from 1950 BC [Fig. 88]. Wilenski provides the following commentary on his choice:

I reproduce as an example the carving called Musician by an English sculptress Barbara Hepworth. This it will be recognised, is not a pastiche of the Egyptian statue reproduced on the same page. It is an attempt to create sculpture with analogous meaning; an attempt to collaborate with substance and cubic form and so recapture the compelling formal meaning of the Egyptian works.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ See Chara Kolokytha, ‘Formalism and Ideology in 20th Century Art : Cahiers d’Art, Magazine, Gallery, and Publishing House (1926-1960)’, unpublished PhD thesis, Northumbria University, 2016, p. 156. Kolokytha cites texts including Elie Faure’s *Esprit des Formes* (1949), Paul Guillaume’s *Psychologie de la Forme* (1937) and Malraux’s *Psychologie de l’Art* (1947).

⁵⁷ R H Wilenski, *The Meaning of Modern Sculpture* (London: Faber and Faber, 1934) p. 159.

⁵⁸ Barbara Hepworth to R H Wilenski, Wilenski Papers, Box 3, folder 29, University of Manchester, qtd. in Valerie Holman, ‘A Fruitful Symbiosis: Sculptors and Publishers in Britain between the Wars’, *The Space Between: Literature and Culture, 1914-1945*, vol. 7. No. 1, 2011, p. 115. Also see Holman, ‘Barbara Hepworth in Print’, p. 28.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

As Wilenski states, Hepworth's sculpture is not to be seen as a copy or 'pastiche' of the earlier Egyptian carving but a chance to 'recapture' its 'compelling formal meaning'. Given Hepworth's approval of Wilenski's text, this notion of 'recapturing' an earlier memory of form offers the potential for a compelling reading of her sculptures produced after the Greek visit. It is further worth noting that Hepworth's library also contains copies of André Malraux's *Le Musée Imaginaire de la Sculpture Mondiale. Des Bas-Reliefs aux Grottes Sacrées* and *The Voices of Silence* (both 1954), both of which also used the analogising method through photographic montage to demonstrate his notion of 'universal art', which Georges Didi-Huberman describes as 'the *unity of human culture* across the globe and throughout history'.⁶⁰ One way that Hepworth might recall the forms that she had witnessed in Greece was through the drawings and writing she produced in situ. Another was through photographic reproduction.

In addition to the continued use of Greek titles, the importance of the landscape Hepworth experienced on the voyage may be seen through the presence of books on Greece in her library, all with publication dates between 1952 and 1956 (closely spanning the dates of the voyage).⁶¹ What is significant about these texts is their highly visual nature: in all cases photographs are assigned at least the same, if not a greater privilege than text, with a generous allowance granted to double page image spreads [Fig. 89]. The implication then is that they were purchased or gifted - gifts included those from the sculptor John Milne, Sebastian Halliday, son of Frank and Nancy Halliday, and Gardiner herself - in acknowledgement of their visual material as much as their textual information. In this way they could support and complement the writing and drawing she had undertaken in her sketchbook during the voyage itself. As such, the books may be read in tandem with the

⁶⁰ Georges Didi-Huberman, 'The Album of Images According to André Malraux', *Journal of Visual Culture*, Vol. 14, No. 1, pp. 13-14.

⁶¹ These books include Lord Kinross, *Portrait of Greece* (1956); Rex Warner, *Eternal Greece*, with photographs by Martin Hürlimann (1953); Antonie Bon *Retour en Grèce*, with an introduction by Fernand Chapouthier; and Antoine Bon *In Greece* (the English translation).

sketchbook and notebook as part of Hepworth's research for the sculptures that would result from her Greek trip. If, as her *Studio* interview had stated, she rarely made 'drawings for a particular sculpture; but often [scribbled] sections of form or lines on bits of scrap paper or cigarette boxes' then her writing and library might be argued to be used in some ways to stand in for drawing as being the sole mode of thinking around sculpture. In this case, Hepworth was using the library in a visual manner - for the photographic reproductions found within books - in contrast to the primarily text based materials that I have so far focused upon.

In her copy of Lord Kinross' *Portrait of Greece* (1956), Hepworth has placed three page markers on pages with photographs of Phira, Patmos and the Temple of Apollo at Delphi [Figs. 90-2]. These are three places, which would become immortalised as sculptures, two in guarea wood [Figs 93-95]. Of these three sites, the Temple of Apollo Delphi is the only location to additionally also be reproduced in the 'Sculptor's Landscape' essay. In the 1964 section of the 'Greek Diary' (added retrospectively for inclusion in Hodin's text), Hepworth writes: 'Perhaps I did not write in my notebook about Delphi because it meant so much to me. On a fair and glorious morning I managed to escape some 400 people and descend the hill alone and in silence [...] All very antisocial; but fantastically important to my work.'⁶² In stating the significance of Delphi, Hepworth offers an explanation as to why she chose to both mark Kinross' text and reproduce an image of the amphitheatre with the 'Sculptor's Landscape' essay. As Gale and Stephens have noted, one of the connecting factors between the different places that Hepworth visited in Greece was their ancient amphitheatres,⁶³ with those of Delphi and Epidaurus reproduced in the 'Sculptor's Landscape' essay. Epidaurus is the only named site mentioned in the Dunluce notebook, described as 'the greatest man-made concavity I have ever seen/Great in its perfection &

⁶² Barbara Hepworth, 'Greek Diary: 1954-1964', p. 107.

⁶³ Matthew Gale and Chris Stephens, *Barbara Hepworth: Works in the Tate Collection*, p. 143.

power of form'.⁶⁴ 'The greatest manmade concavity' would also be an apt description of the related sculpture *Pierced Form (Epidaurus)* (1960) [Fig. 96], which like *Curved Form (Delphi)* (1955) also shares a sense of a gauged out form. Whilst the two works have distinct differences, *Curved Form (Delphi)* (1955) an open form enfolded by the exterior wood, whilst *Pierced Form (Epidaurus)* is dominated by the central piercing of the wood, both of these forms are variants of Hepworth's form category of 'the closed form' - 'the oval, spherical or pierced form'. Although no text or drawings of Delphi are included in the sketchbook, several sketches detailing the forms of Epidaurus can be seen [Fig. 97]. Almost diagrammatic in nature – next to them she writes 'a funnel? Twice the breadth x 2 = height?' – there is a sense of Hepworth making detailed notes to retain a sense of the form and scale of the site.⁶⁶

Hepworth's copy of the Kinross text is the only one among her collection of books on Greece to contain page markers. It is also the only text to contain colour photography throughout, in contrast to the predominantly black and white photographic image spreads of the other books. These two facts are themselves not wholly unrelated. Throughout the 'Greek Diary' Hepworth makes references to the colours in Greece: 'the colours of the volcanic rocks and pumice beyond belief – the whiteness 'whiter than white''.⁶⁷ This description refers to Phira, also marked in the Kinross, whilst Patmos, the third site to be marked is remembered for the 'brilliance of white-washed architecture.'⁶⁸ Many of the pages of the sketchbook itself contain colour washes over which drawing and writing has been added [Fig. 98], and in the centre of the sketchpad there are a number of blank pages containing only colour washes, which appear to be Hepworth experimenting with different colours [Fig. 99]. Repeatedly there is a juxtaposition between green or blues and terracotta reds; as she writes

⁶⁴ Barbara Hepworth, 'Dunluce notebook', repr. in *Barbara Hepworth: Writings and Conversations*, p. 99.

⁶⁶ Barbara Hepworth, 'Greek Diary: 1954-1964', p. 102.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p.106.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

under the subheading 'Colours': 'Indigo sea which when light reflects from cliffs, becomes pure cerulean./Their Indian red and pink hills – monastral purple mountains at sunset which intensifies the greens to the wildest vitality.'⁶⁹ Although Hepworth claimed the 'depth and colour' she encountered in Greece was 'not possible to take in from any photograph', the focus on colour in the sketchbook offers an indication of why the Kinross, the only Greek text with colour reproductions in her collection, should have been of particular importance.⁷⁰ Hepworth's experience of colour in Greece also found its way into the finished carvings themselves. Gale and Stephens write that the 'sensuous dimension' of Hepworth's response to Greece 'may help to explain why she carved works with Greek associations from a Nigerian hardwood rather than the quintessentially classical marble'.⁷¹ However it is also worth noting the rich and contrasting tones of the wood itself as a possible factor in her choice of material; for Hammacher, the sculptures offered a 'surprising combination of the warm and ominous darkness of the wood with the lucent colour of the interior'.⁷² The 'lucent colour of the interior' that Hammacher references is the bright white interiors that characterise the guarea carvings, painted initially with 'Ripolin Flat' (a type of household paint) but later added to with 'Dulux Flat', which seem to recall the 'whiteness' of rock and architecture in Greece.⁷³

The Greek visit also provided the opportunities to find variants on Hepworth's category of the 'standing form' through viewing the free-standing male and female kouroi and korai sculptures of ancient Greece. Drawing upon Anne Wagner's assertion that Hepworth's work encompassing the single or two forms might be connected with both the menhirs in Cornwall and the kouroi of Hellas, I discuss the kouroi sculptures as the

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.106.

⁷¹ Gale and Stephens, *Barbara Hepworth: Works in the Tate Gallery Collection*, pp.142-3.

⁷² A M Hammacher, *Barbara Hepworth* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968, repr. 2012) p. 117.

⁷³ Barbara Hepworth to Norman Reid, 10 Jan. 1964, Tate Gallery acquisition files, qtd. in Gale and Stephens, p. 142.

incarnation of the ‘standing form’.⁷⁴ In the ‘Greek Diary’ Hepworth makes several references to seeing kouroi and korai sculptures: ‘All the landscapes of Greece tend to elevate the human figure – column and Koré are inevitable’ and ‘six lovely Archaic 7th Century sculpture. Parts of Kore and Koros. Fine marble and great scale.’⁷⁵ In both extracts, the sense of scale and elevation is acknowledged. Indeed, the tallest of kouroi sculptures can reach up to five metres tall so the sense of elevation is important;⁷⁶ as Hepworth recalled, one of the kouroi was ‘bigger than life size’.⁷⁷ When describing her form constant of the ‘standing form’, Hepworth stated that this was the ‘translation of my feeling towards the human being standing in landscape.’⁷⁸ In the extracts from the ‘Greek Diary’ above, the koré is similarly implicated as a ‘figure in the landscape’, whilst a number of the sketches in the sketchbook include the presence of tiny scaled human figures [Fig. 100]. Alongside other examples of prehistoric Greek art featured both in the sketchbook and Hepworth’s library [Fig. 101], there are also texts that include image spreads of kourous and korai. A clear visual parallel can be demonstrated between the image of a single koré found in Hepworth’s copy of the Greek-French publisher and critic, Christian Zervos’ *L’Art en Grèce du Troisième Millénaire au IV^e Siècle avant notre ère* (1946) published by Cahiers d’Art [Fig. 102],⁷⁹ and her own later abstract koré, *Marble Form (Coré)* (1955-6), carved in Hellenic Seravezza white marble, which shares the same upright poise and curved form as its Greek namesake [Fig.103].

⁷⁴ See Wagner, *Mother Stone: The Vitality of Modern British Sculpture*, pp. 175-7.

⁷⁵ Hepworth, ‘Greek Diary: 1954-1964’, pp. 103-6.

⁷⁶ Caroline Vout, ‘Forever Young: The Monumental Kouroi of Ancient Greece’, Henry Moore Institute Seminar, 24 May 2017.

⁷⁷ Barbara Hepworth, ‘Greek Diary: 1954-1964’, p. 106.

⁷⁸ Barbara Hepworth, *Texts for A Retrospective Exhibition of Carvings and Drawings*, p. 95.

⁷⁹ *L’Art en Grèce* was an enriched version of the earlier *L’Art en Grèce, des Temps Préhistoriques au début du XVIII^e Siècle*, published by Cahiers d’Art in January 1934, and accompanied by a special 1933 special promotional issue 7-10 of the journal *Cahiers d’Art* devoted to Greek art. See Chara Kolokytha, ‘Formalism and Ideology in 20th Century Art : Cahiers d’Art’, pp 158-68. Nicholson had a copy of the special issue and Read reviewed the 1934 book for *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, which may be how Hepworth came to hear of it. Hepworth also owned Zervos’ *L’Art des Cyclades, Du Début à la Fin de l’Age du Bronze 2.500-1.000 avant notre ère* (1957), gifted by Margaret Gardiner after their voyage. Hepworth’s edition of Rex Warner, *Eternal Greece*, with photographs by Martin Hürlimann (1953) also contains a number of photographs of korai and kouroi.

The Greek Sketchbook marks one of the occasions when, to quote Sophie Bowness, Hepworth was using ‘writing as a creative activity in parallel to her art,’ rather than to write about the art she had already made.⁸⁰ The Sketchbook may be regarded as a stand-alone work in its own right, but also as a ‘creative activity’ that facilitated the later Greek works, Hepworth’s idea of ‘drawings for sculpture’...in a general sense’, with the addition of what could here be termed ‘writing for sculpture’.⁸¹ It is also important that the Sketchbook and Greek texts are read *in conjunction* with one another: if the Sketchbook was Hepworth’s way of recording her experience of Greece at the time to act as a record for a later date, then actively acquiring and consulting the Greek texts was a way to continue research after the voyage. Through reading the two alongside one another greater insights can be gained into the resulting sculptures than if the library and sketchbook are simply considered in isolation. Looking to the material that Hepworth placed in her books- whether physical material such as markers, or pencil notes and underlinings – has been one of the models adopted throughout this chapter, one that offers potential to demonstrate the specific *usages* Hepworth placed on her library, whether as source material for form or ideas for titles, in addition to the subject matter contained.

⁸⁰ Sophie Bowness, ‘Introduction’, in *Barbara Hepworth: Writings and Conversations*, p. 7.

⁸¹ Barbara Hepworth, ‘Approach to Sculpture’, *Barbara Hepworth: Writings and Conversations*, pp. 36-7.

Chapter 6: ‘Only Connect’: From *Circle* to *Single Form*

[...] books are in themselves already more than mere containers of information, they are also modes of connectivity and interrelation, making the library a meta-book containing illimitable intertextual elements.’¹

As curator Anna-Sophie Springer writes, no book can truly exist in isolation, hermeneutically sealed off from all other texts as a single monad. Whether by associations of people, subjects or places, texts are connected, with ‘every text [...] itself being the text-between of another text’ to quote Roland Barthes.² Barthes and Springer offer a reminder that any library is ultimately defined, not merely by the sum of their contents, but by the relationship of these contents to one another – that which Alberro has termed the library’s ‘‘makeup’, the character, the personality’. So far in this thesis I have offered a view of Hepworth’s library that outlines its scope, as well as focusing on key moments in which she can be seen to use books as tools or resources in the production of art. However, to fully ascertain its ‘character’ and ‘personality’ it is necessary to go beyond this, to consider its effect as a cohesive unit.

One way to do this is to read the library in accordance with Hepworth’s own utopian beliefs regarding the integration of art with other disciplines in society. As she states in the 1952 interview ‘Ideas and the Artist: An Interview with Barbara Hepworth’:

Integration is one of the great needs to-day, and artists could do so much to help it on. Art is about the only language which nations can speak together and they don’t quarrel [...] If we would only let artists and writers and musicians feel more certain of their place in society, we could unleash a much greater force in them, which would benefit the whole [...] I do not think the fullest powers of the artist can be freed until the link is made with society, until the need is recognised on both sides. When that is recognised there will be a more vital and affirmative culture - a creative act on the part of the whole.³

¹ Anna-Sophie Springer, ‘Melancholia of the Paginated Mind: The Library as Curatorial Space’, p. 13.

² Roland Barthes, ‘From Work to Text’, in *Image-Music-Text* trans. Stephen Heath (London: Fontana Press, 1977) p. 160. Barthes distinguishes between the ‘intertextual’ and the ‘sources’ or ‘influences’ of a work.

³ Barbara Hepworth, in ‘Ideas and the Artist: An Interview with Barbara Hepworth’, *Ideas of To-Day*, Nov.-Dec. 1952, Vol. 2, No. 4, repr. in *Barbara Hepworth: Writings and Conversations*, p. 81.

For Hepworth, not only could society learn from artists, writers and musicians, if they were to be offered a place and a role within it, but they could also learn from one another; as she stated, ‘one can obtain special revelations through a similar idea in a different medium’.⁴ As previously discussed, whilst a number of the ideas and subjects represented with Hepworth’s library have themselves been the subject of scholarship, including for example, religion and Christian Science, archaeology and science, there has as yet been little attempt to consider the relationships of these subjects to one another.⁵ This is what a close reading of the library offers the potential to encourage. To do so is important to allow for a new model of scholarship that breaks the pre-existing pattern of the conjunction of ‘Hepworth and’; Hepworth and music, Hepworth and religion, Hepworth and science, the list continues. Why, we might ask, is this important? One answer is provided by Susan Buck-Morss who discusses the need to ‘purposely [avoid] the convention of academic hermeneutics that defines the theories of one thinker in terms of the theories of another, as such a method ensures that the whole intellectual project becomes self-referential and idealist’. By contrast she proposes an alternative strategy that relies ‘on the interpretative power of images that make conceptual points concretely, with reference to the world outside the text.’⁶ By this reasoning, reading Hepworth through individual writers or theorists merely reflects those ideas back upon the sculpture, either confirming or denying their existence within the work itself, rather considering their significance as ideas more widely. In this sense I draw upon the approach advocated by Alberro in his analysis of Smithson’s library of following ‘the conjunction

⁴ Barbara Hepworth, Statements for *Barbara Hepworth : Carvings and Drawings*, p. 61.

⁵ For example, see Anne J Barlow, ‘Barbara Hepworth and Science’, in *Barbara Hepworth Reconsidered* ed. David Thistlewood, pp. 95-107; Lucy Kent ‘‘An Act of Praise’’: Religion and the Work of Barbara Hepworth’, in *Barbara Hepworth: Sculpture for a Modern World*, pp. 36-49; and Andrew Causey, ‘Barbara Hepworth, Prehistory and the Cornish landscape’, *Sculpture Journal*, Vol. 17.2, 2008, pp. 9-22.

⁶ Susan Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1993) p. 6.

‘and’: science *and* religion; modernism *and* mass culture, what is present *and* what is missing’.⁷

The juxtapositions that Alberro here advocates can also be read within the frameworks offered by Griselda Pollock for her concept of *the virtual feminist museum* (VFM). Based on the ‘unconventional transdisciplinary’ spaces of image display of Sigmund Freud’s consulting room and Aby Warburg’s *Mnemosyne* (Memory Atlas), Pollock describes the VFM as a space ‘about argued responses, grounded speculations, exploratory relations [...] breaking all the museal and art historical rules about what can be put together with what [...] the VFM is a research laboratory.’ In doing this, the VFM is able ‘to discover other meanings by daring to plot networks and transformative interactions between the images differently assembled in conversations’.⁸ If Hepworth’s library is considered in the same manner of ‘research laboratory’ as the VFM, by juxtaposing texts and creating new interactions so too may the ‘grounded speculations [and] exploratory relations’ be permitted. It is also significant for the library that Pollock’s model is one based upon two ‘transdisciplinary’ spaces (Freud and Warburg). The ‘transdisciplinary initiative’ Pollock writes, ‘is not a synonym for the interdisciplinary combination’ but related to the second concept of ‘research as *encounter*. Together transdisciplinary and encounter mark the interaction between ways of *thinking*, doing and making in the arts and humanities [...] and the new knowledge that is produced when these different ways of doing and thinking encounter one another’. A third intervention of *concepts* circulates ‘between different intellectual or aesthetic cultures, inflecting them, finding common questions [...] in productive relation to one another’.⁹ The Hepworth library then may too be seen in the light

⁷ Alexander Alberro, ‘The Catalogue of Robert Smithson’s Library’, p. 150.

⁸ Griselda Pollock, *Encounters in the Virtual Feminist Museum: Time, Space and the Archive* (London: Routledge, 2007) p. 11.

⁹ Griselda Pollock, ‘Editor’s Preface: New Encounters, Arts, Cultures, Concepts’, in *Conceptual Odysseys: Passages to Cultural Analysis* ed. Griselda Pollock (London: I B Tauris, 2007) p. xiv.

of the transdisciplinary, as *encounters* between different ways of thinking across a variety of subjects and texts come together and shared *concepts* or similar concerns emerge. I will demonstrate how this may be seen to occur through an investigation of two concerns within the library: firstly how the library itself enacts processes of integration as different subjects come to interweave and interconnect; and secondly how the *concept* of form is seen to recur across different texts and disciplines.

Re-reading *Circle*: Unity and Form

As can be seen from the overview of the contents of the Hepworth library provided in Chapter 4, many lines of interconnection run through the collection: the influence of the moment of 1930s Hampstead and the community of cultural intelligentsia that was present there is of particular significance. Returning to Pollock's *generations and geographies* model - that double axes of 'history and socio-cultural location' – read in conjunction with Springer's 'connectivity and interrelation' of a library, I now want to address the historical, geographical and cultural specificity of Hepworth's own beliefs in the importance of integration, and how such ideas are given substance in the library. To do this I offer a close reading of one book, *Circle: International Survey of Constructive Art* (1937), and one sculpture, Hepworth's *Single Form* (1961-4) memorial to Dag Hammarskjöld at the UN. In doing so I aim to demonstrate how this one book and one artwork come to encapsulate both the ideas of the library and that hope of integration so crucial to Hepworth. By addressing two works separated by both time and geography – *generations and geographies* – from the moment of 1930s Hampstead, to a sculpture made in St Ives for its home in New York, I hope to show how such ideas come to connect across time and space.

As discussed earlier, the pages of *Circle* came into being amid a culture of international art journals and groups designed to allow artists the means to maintain contact and collaborate. This focus on collaboration was significant: as Charles Harrison has written,

many of these such groups and publications maintained an aim of furthering the relationships between art, design, architecture and industry.¹⁰ One important precedent for this lay in the Bauhaus' principles of the unification of all the arts – Walter Gropius' famous call to 'embrace architecture and sculpture and painting in one unity'.¹¹ As Harrison writes, the reason for the significance accorded to the Bauhaus lay in there not having been any such English equivalent and instead it was necessary to look 'abroad to France, to Germany, to Scandinavia and to the Russian émigrés for models of activity'.¹² Inevitably publications and groups formed in Britain also tended to look to the earlier international models, with the art journal *Abstraction-Création*, first launched in 1932, suggested as a possible model for both the publication of *Unit 1* in 1934 and the establishment of *Axis* journal under the editorship of Myfanwy Evans in 1935.¹³ The inclusion of Hepworth, Nicholson and Edward Wadsworth in the Association Abstraction-Création group also marked a link with the later publications. Stylistically the British publications also looked back to the international precedents with *Unit 1's* layout and typography reminiscent of Bauhaus publications.¹⁴ Similarly, Smith writes that in its publication *Circle* 'retained for many the impression of a broadly socialist outlook through characteristics such as its title, red type, selection of abstract work and the content of texts' that had characterised earlier texts within historical Constructivism.¹⁵ *Circle*

¹⁰ Charles Harrison, *English Art and Modernism, 1900-1939*, p.238. Charles Harrison discusses the way in which British groups and publications such as *Unit 1* and *Circle* drew upon an earlier model offered by continental modernism. Harrison writes: 'An important feature of continental modernism during the twenties had been the propagandizing of unification of all the arts, under a universal aesthetic rationality, as the pursuit of a social idea [...] There had been no Weimar republic in England, and no English equivalent of the German Bauhaus where artists and designers might be brought together to work towards some putatively social, if utopian end [...] Those now interested in the so-called useful arts as a potential area of development of modern styles thus looked abroad to France, to Germany, to Scandinavia and to the Russian émigrés for ideals and models of activity.'

¹¹ Walter Gropius, 'Programme of the Staatliches Bauhaus in Weimar' (1919), p. 49.

¹² Charles Harrison, *English Art and Modernism*, p. 238.

¹³ Valerie Holman, 'Barbara Hepworth in Print: Acquiring an International Reputation', pp. 30-1. For an account of *Abstraction-Création* and *Axis*, see Harrison's chapter "'Abstract' and 'Constructive' Art", pp. 254-93. Myfanwy Evans later recalled that at a visit to Jean Hélion's in Paris in 1934 he suggested that she 'go back to England and start a magazine of Abstract Art comparable to *Abstraction-Création*'. See Myfanwy Piper, 'Back in Thirties', *Art and Literature*, Winter 1965, qtd. in Harrison, p. 275.

¹⁴ Charles Harrison, *English Art and Modernism*, p. 239.

¹⁵ Rachel Smith, 'Modern Art Movements and St Ives', p. 77.

opens with a joint editorial statement from the three editors Nicholson, Gabo and Leslie Martin, which begins ‘A new cultural unity is slowly emerging out of the fundamental changes which are taking place in our present-day civilisation’.¹⁶ Seeming to hearken back directly to Gropius’ ‘one unity’, this opening also recalls Read’s introduction to the earlier *Unit 1*, in which he observes the ‘quality of mind, of spirit perhaps, which unites the work of these artists’.¹⁷ ‘Unit’ and ‘unity’ are key terms connecting all three texts, with *Circle*’s very title acting as the visual realisation of this. It seems likely that the allusions to the Bauhaus made in *Circle*’s opening introduction reflects the close proximity the *Circle* group had come into with many Bauhaus associates as many exiles and émigrés settled in Hampstead in the 1930s, where, as Smith writes, ‘British artists such as Nicholson and Hepworth benefited from hitherto unimaginable access to works and ideas surrounding art, design and education in Germany.’¹⁸ *Circle* contains the traces of this contact, with the inclusion texts by three former Bauhaus teachers – Gropius, Moholy-Nagy and Marcel Breuer – all of whom settled in Hampstead during the 1930s, in addition to examples of artworks by other ex-Bauhaus teachers, such as Paul Klee and Wassily Kandinsky.

The concern with unity and integration is also taken up in Gabo’s opening essay ‘The Constructive Idea in Art’, where he states:

The Constructive idea [...] is a general concept of the world, or better a spiritual state of a generation, an ideology caused by life, bound up with it and directed to influence its course. It is not concerned with only one discipline in Art (painting, sculpture or architecture) it does not even remain solely in the sphere of Art. This idea can be discerned in all domains of the new culture now in construction.¹⁹

Indeed, here ‘unity’ also has a spiritual resonance, associated with a ‘spiritual state of a generation’. As Lucy Kent has observed, a clear parallel can be seen between Gabo’s vision

¹⁶ Leslie Martin, Ben Nicholson and Naum Gabo, ‘Editorial’, in *Circle*, p. v.

¹⁷ Herbert Read, ‘Introduction’, in *Unit 1: the Modern Movement in English Architecture, Painting and Sculpture*, p. 10.

¹⁸ Rachel Smith, ‘Modern Art Movements and St Ives’, p. 92.

¹⁹ Naum Gabo, ‘The Constructive Idea in Art’, in *Circle*, p. 6.

of Constructive art and the ideals of Christian Science.²⁰ For Gabo, the ‘Constructive idea’ connects not only the different disciplines of art but also ‘domains’ beyond art itself. It is appropriate therefore that alongside texts from painters, sculptors and architects, the ‘Art and Life’ section of *Circle* also looks to the performing arts, design, history and monumentality, with essays from the dancer and choreographer Leonide Massine, designer and typographer Jan Tschichold, and historian and sociologist Lewis Mumford. Arguably most significant of all is the somewhat unusual inclusion of the essay ‘Art and the Scientist’ by Bernal within the ‘Sculpture’ section, an essay which ostensibly seems to be far more of an exploration of the relationship between the two disciplines rather than an in depth study of sculpture itself. Bernal continues the message of gathering together ‘those forces which seem to us to be working in the same direction and for the same ideas’²¹ voiced in the opening editorial, with his assertion that ‘at the present day, both [the artist and the scientist] have to learn from one another enormously’.²² In his essay he bemoans the ‘separation of the [...] spheres’ which he attributes to the development of bourgeois culture, instead advocating a return to the Renaissance principle of the ‘artist-scientist’; he opens with the declaration:

One of the features of the civilisation out of which we are now passing was its rigid separation of human functions into different spheres. Every man tended to have a job, to be a specialist in something. The great branches of human culture seemed to move further and further apart. In particular, art and science became two entirely separate spheres which did not touch at any point [...] It had not always been so. In the great creative periods of science the artists and the scientists worked very closely together and were in many cases the same people [...] Leonardo da Vinci, though the greatest, was only typical of whole schools of artist-scientists. Gradually, however, with the development of bourgeois culture the useful and the ornamental were piously separated [...] The result of this separation has been the most incredible ignorance. The scientist totally ignores art, the artist works as if science never existed.²³

²⁰ Lucy Kent, ‘Modern Gods and Religion’, p. 139.

²¹ Leslie Martin, Ben Nicholson and Naum Gabo, ‘Editorial’, p. v.

²² J D Bernal, ‘Art and the Scientist’, in *Circle*, p. 119. For further discussions of the scientific ideas contained in Bernal’s essay, see Edward Juler, *Grown but not Made: British Modernist Sculpture and the New Biology* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015) pp. 40-2.

²³ *Ibid.*

No doubt Bernal's discussion of the relationship of the scientist and the artist was at least in part indebted to his own relationship with Hepworth discussed previously; as Margaret Gardiner recalled, 'It is, I think, a significant measure of Barbara's intuitive discoveries that both an eminent archaeologist and an eminent scientist – J. D. Bernal – should have found in her work a relevance to their own disciplines'. Gardiner remembered Bernal's immediate fascination with Hepworth's carvings on his first visit to her studio.²⁴ This spirit of knowledge sharing is also present in Hepworth's library, where her copy of Bernal's *The Origin of Life* (1967) – a book she expressed an interest in acquiring in her correspondence with Read²⁵ - contains the written dedication from the author 'hoping to show how forms can arrive just by themselves' [Fig. 104]. In her letters to Gardiner, Hepworth writes of a 'Science and Art book' Bernal was working on – 'Will Des ever have the time to think about his Science & Art book?' – suggesting that this was a subject Bernal was keen to develop further.²⁶ Later in life Hepworth would remember the 'hours' with Bernal 'spent in exciting discussion and drawing, even drawings of the inter-relation of art and scientist within the nature of the universe.'²⁷

Alongside Bernal's essay there were a number of contributors to *Circle* who also drew attention to the relationship of art and science in their respective essay, as both Anne Barlow and Edward Juler have observed. Writing on Hepworth, Barlow suggests that two levels of interest in science can be discerned: 'firstly her concern about the social function of science in relation to that of art, and secondly, her interest in the way in which artists and scientists approached an understanding of form'.²⁸ No doubt reflecting the shared interests and conversations of many of the *Circle* group – as Gardiner would write, 'the relationship

²⁴ Margaret Gardiner, *Barbara Hepworth: A Memoir*, p. 27.

²⁵ Hepworth writes 'I am now trying to get J D Bernal's *Origin of Life*'. See Barbara Hepworth to Herbert Read, 30 Aug. 1967, BC MS 20c Herbert Read. Herbert Read Archive, Special Collections, University of Leeds.

²⁶ Barbara Hepworth to Margaret Gardiner, qtd. in Margaret Gardiner, *Barbara Hepworth: A Memoir*, p. 28.

²⁷ Barbara Hepworth, 'Tribute to Desmond Bernal' (1972), repr. in *Barbara Hepworth: Writings and Conversations*, p. 251.

²⁸ Anne J Barlow, 'Barbara Hepworth and Science', p. 95.

between science and art was a constant preoccupation of Barbara's, as it was, indeed, of many of her artist friends and particularly of Naum Gabo²⁹ - both of these two levels of scientific interest are also to be found within the pages of *Circle* as well as Hepworth's own library. Having originally trained in the physical sciences, Gabo, like Bernal, also believed that art and science both had an active role to play together to improve society. In opposition to the 'revolutions and disintegrations' that had characterised the century, he now saw hope for a 'period of reconstruction' in which the most 'efficient support for our optimism' would be 'in those two domains of our culture where the revolution has been the most thorough, namely in Science and in Art.'³⁰ We may read in Gabo's assertion a reflection of the belief held at the time that, to quote Juler, the powerful new developments that had taken place in interwar science meant that biology 'could act as a model for disciplines as diverse as aesthetics and politics'.³¹

One way in which biology could act as a 'model' for art was in the application and understanding of form. As Juler writes, the 'New Biology'³² of interwar science soon became engrossed by questions of form in a form-function debate: 'the modern biologist was concerned with the production of form in hitherto undifferentiated matter, explaining how the spatial relations of the organism affected its developmental trajectory'.³³ New Biology's own fascination with form was itself indebted to the nineteenth century field of morphology, the study of form. This, combined with the rise of new technologies in the 1920s and 1930s, such as ultraviolet and electron microscopy, led to a renewed interest in structural analysis as the

²⁹ Margaret Gardiner, *Barbara Hepworth: A Memoir*, p. 28.

³⁰ Naum Gabo, 'The Constructive Idea in Art', p. 1.

³¹ Edward Juler, *Grown but not Made: British Modernist Sculpture and the New Biology* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015) p. 5.

³² Juler defines the New Biology as 'an array of neo-idealistic scientific perspectives [...] which variously sought to question the legitimacy of the predominant mechanistic and positivist scientific attitudes of the period [...] Rather than examining the part of a biological system in isolation, as mechanistic biologists favoured, proponents of an integrated or holistic approach argued that the study of properties of the whole was essential to any meaningful understanding of biological function.' *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

hidden structures of organisms were suddenly brought into view.³⁴ In 1952 Hepworth would write of her interest in ‘the structure of spirals in shells or rhythms in crystal structure; the meaning of the spaces between forms, or the shape of the *displacement* of forms in space, which in themselves have a most precise significance’, which seems to recall the work of interwar science.³⁵ Her own statement for *Circle* also advocated looking to the outside world for the study of form; as she states, ‘in the physical world we can discover in the endless variations of the same form, the one particular form which demonstrates the power and robustness of the simple structure – the form is clear and every part of it in precise unity with the whole.’³⁶ Hepworth’s text displays an awareness of the evolutionary process of form – ‘the endless variations of the same form’ – which reflects the renewed scientific interest in evolution by biologists in the interwar period.³⁷

The new awareness of evolution was also to impact how modernist art critics thought through the historical development of art, in particular stylistic developments.³⁸ One such text was *The Life of Forms in Art* (1934) by Henri Focillon, professor of art history at the Sorbonne in Paris, which used biological methods to theorise the development of form in art. Hepworth’s library contains a copy of the 1948 English translation – a gift from Nicholson [Fig. 105]. Nonetheless, as Barlow has demonstrated, Hepworth certainly had heard of Focillon’s text prior to this, writing to Read in May 1944 expressing an interest in being sent a copy of the book.³⁹ In this letter she writes of her ‘greatest pleasure’ in finding the phrase ‘a life of forms’. These 4 words seem pregnant to me of everything that matters – the reality of sculpture.⁴⁰ It is surely no coincidence then that she would use the same phrase in her own

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

³⁵ Barbara Hepworth, Statements for *Barbara Hepworth: Carvings and Drawings*, p. 60.

³⁶ Barbara Hepworth, ‘Sculpture’, in *Circle*, p. 114.

³⁷ Edward Juler, *Grown but not Made*, p. 53.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 57-8.

³⁹ Anne Barlow, ‘Barbara Hepworth and Science’, p. 105.

⁴⁰ Barbara Hepworth to Herbert Read, 17 May 1944, HR/BH-77, Sir Herbert Read Archive, University of Victoria BC, qtd. in *Ibid.*

writings later, speaking in Read's 1952 monograph of 'listening to music, and thinking about its relation to the life of forms'.⁴¹ Her *Circle* statement also seems to share a similar spirit to ideas voiced in Focillon's text, where he states:

Nature as well as life creates forms. So beautifully does she impress shape and symmetry upon the very elements of which she herself is made and upon the forces with which she animates them that men have been pleased to regard her from time to time as the work of some God-artist, some unknown and guileful Hermes, the inventor and contriver. Form inhabits the shortest wave-lengths, no less than those of the lowest frequency. Organic life designs spirals, orbs, meanders, and stars, and if I wish to study this life, I must have recourse to form and to number. But the instant these shapes invade the space and the materials specific to art, they acquire an entirely new value and give rise to entirely new systems.⁴²

Like Hepworth, Focillon also advocated looking to the natural world for the study of forms, for 'spirals, orbs, meanders, and stars'. As Juler has noted, alongside Focillon's indebtedness to theories of evolution, his text also evidenced a re-interpretation of neo-vitalist ideas.⁴³

Originating from the 17th century doctrine of *vitalism*, a view that 'posited the existence of life-bearing seeds or spirits, speculating that a non-physical 'vital' force animated living matter', in the early twentieth century 'critical' neo-vitalism focused on an independent non-material life force – the *élan vital* – which enlivened the living system.⁴⁴ For Focillon, nature 'creates forms' which she then 'animates' with this vitalising force. 'Vital' is also a word that frequently recurs within Hepworth's lexicon of this period; in her *Circle* statement she writes:

The idea – the imaginative concept – actually is the giving of life and vitality to material; but when we come to define these qualities we find that they have very little to do with the physical aspect of the sculpture. When we say that a great sculpture has vision, power, vitality, scale, poise, form or beauty, we are not speaking of physical attributes. Vitality is not a physical, organic attribute of sculpture – it is a spiritual inner life.⁴⁵

As with Focillon's 'Nature', which 'animates' her forms, Hepworth too views sculpture's 'vitalism' as coming from its 'inner life' rather than its 'physical attributes'. It is significant

⁴¹ Barbara Hepworth, Statements for *Barbara Hepworth: Carvings and Drawings*, p. 72.

⁴² Henri Focillon, *The Life of Forms in Art* (New York: Wittenborn Schulz, 1948) p. 2.

⁴³ Edward Juler, *Grown but not Made*, pp. 58-9.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

⁴⁵ Barbara Hepworth, 'Sculpture', p. 113.

that both Hepworth and Focillon attribute a potentially divine source to this vitality: for Hepworth it is a ‘spiritual inner life’ whilst for Focillon, Nature is a ‘God-artist’. According to Juler, although neo-vitalism did itself not strictly endorse divine intervention in the creation of life, the notion of ‘an independent non-material life force opened the doors to the theological speculation that the origin of life must ultimately have been supernatural.’⁴⁶

Another *Circle* essay to deal with the relationship of form in the natural world with that in art and design was the functionalist architect Karel Honzík’s ‘A Note on Biotechnics’. Biotechnics, an area of study that ‘aimed to reconcile the observation of material in nature with functional application’, emerged out of the assertion that art replicated the forms of the natural world, which, if reworked in new motifs, had the potential to aid design and architecture.⁴⁷ An offshoot of the form-function debate in the New Biology discussed earlier in the chapter, biotechnics operated under the claim that ‘every function in nature possessed its necessary form’.⁴⁸ Honzík begins his essay with the opening lines:

Almost every year the illustrated papers publish photographs of Victoria Regia water-lilies in full blossom, with their yard-long, platter-like leaves floating languidly on the surface of their hot-house tanks. Few who glance at these pages realise that those thin leaves can support a large dog or a young child as on a raft. But the engineer who examines their under side is astonished to find that they might serve as scale models of reinforced-concrete roof-spans.⁴⁹

Accompanying the essay is a double page image spread in which a photograph of ‘A Detail of the Leaf of the -Victoria Regia’ is juxtaposed against the ‘Concrete Construction in a Fiat Factory at Torina’ [Fig. 106]. Underneath the photograph of the Fiat factory reads the instruction ‘compare with the construction of the Victoria Regia’.⁵⁰ This act of image juxtaposition may be read within the wider trend of what Juler terms the ‘analogical’ approach to theorising on the relationship between new scientific imagery and artistic

⁴⁶ Edward Juler, *Grown but not Made*, p. 26.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 151-3.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁴⁹ Karel Honzík, ‘A Note on Biotechnics’, in *Circle*, pp. 256-7.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

modernism; he writes, the ‘method of analogising between macrophotography and modern art was merely an offshoot of a larger, European phenomenon [...] this analogical approach [...] emphasised the value of technology to art by comparing microscopic, macroscopic, X-ray, telescopic and aerial images to abstract art’.⁵¹ This was an approach which, as with many other biocentric philosophies, was pioneered by Bauhaus teachers, another example of the way in which *Circle* was embedded in Bauhaus ideas, which travelled to Britain with the European émigrés.⁵² The use of the double page image juxtaposition is itself also a powerful visual technique; as Georges Didi-Huberman has written, it provides a ‘space of reading and confrontation – left, right’.⁵³ As such it is unsurprising that Honzík’s double page spread is not the only example of such analogising juxtaposition utilised in *Circle*: the end of Bernal’s essay in which Hepworth’s *Two Forms* (1935) is placed alongside a graphic interpretation of the ‘equi-potential surface of two like charges’ [Fig. 107]. As Bernal comments, ‘there is an extraordinary intuitive grasp of the unity of a surface even extending to surfaces which though separated in space and apparently disconnected yet belong together both to the mathematicians and the sculptor’.⁵⁴ With the graphic representation of the two like charges acting almost as a negative image of Hepworth’s *Two Forms*, such sense of ‘unity’ is all the more heightened.

Although Juler speaks of the specific analogising method between scientific photography and modernist art, this method also did have a wider current, identifying the presence of types of ‘form constants’ across history and culture, as discussed in the previous chapter. This tendency is also present in *Circle*, with the image plates following Bernal’s essay also containing the juxtaposition of a Nicholson *Relief* alongside a stonecarving from Tiahuanaco (Peru) [Fig. 108]. A less obvious, but in no way less distinctive juxtaposition are

⁵¹ Edward Juler, *Grown but not Made*, pp. 187-8.

⁵² Juler gives the example of Kandinsky, who compared artistic and scientific imagery in his Bauhaus lecture series of 1931. *Ibid.*, p. 188.

⁵³ Georges Didi-Huberman, ‘The Album of Images According to André Malraux’, , pp. 3-20.

⁵⁴ J D Bernal, ‘Art and the Scientist’, p. 121.

the three photographs of Stonehenge that follow Hepworth's own statement, and which share a double page spread with the final page of text of her essay [Fig. 110]. Since Stonehenge is nowhere mentioned in Hepworth's text, the photographs must be read in the light of a purposeful juxtaposition rather than serving a simply illustrative purpose. Significantly Hepworth was not only involved in writing for *Circle* but also aided in the production process (although this is nowhere stated in the text), in particular in design, typography and layout, including sourcing photographs, and the layout for the Stonehenge page is hers.⁵⁵ As Andrew Causey writes, the inference here is of the importance of the 'formal parallels between sculpture and the ancient stones'.⁵⁶ Returning to Hepworth's list of 'form constants' discussed in the previous chapter, Stonehenge's single standing stones might be seen as a variant on the 'standing form', with the pairs of stones as the 'two forms'. For Causey, Hepworth's interest in Stonehenge lay in its 'simplicity of form',⁵⁷ and it something she also discusses in her *Circle* text, writing that 'the most difficult and complicated form relationships do not necessarily give a sculpture the fullest spiritual content. Very often, as the thought becomes more free the line is purified [...] the forms become simplified and strengthened.'⁵⁸ As the only images to accompany the essay the implication is that Stonehenge represents this 'simplified and strengthened' form.

As Causey has suggested, the presence of the photographs of Stonehenge in *Circle* is part of a wider moment in the 1930s of the popularisation of interest in British archaeological sites, including Stonehenge, Avebury and Maiden Castle.⁵⁹ Indeed almost identical photographs of Stonehenge were also included in Carola Giedion-Welcker's book *Modern*

⁵⁵ Valerie Holman, 'Barbara Hepworth in Print', p. 32. Hepworth clarifies the nature of her involvement in *Circle* in her interview with Cindy Nemser, stating that there 'was no acknowledgement to the two women who did the dirty work' involving doing the 'layout [...] corrections, proofing, everything'. The second woman referred to here is Sadie Speight, wife of Leslie Martin, the architect. See Cindy Nemser, 'Conversation with Barbara Hepworth', p.251.

⁵⁶ Andrew Causey, 'Barbara Hepworth, Prehistory and the Cornish landscape', *Sculpture Journal*, Vol. 17.2, 2008, p. 9.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁵⁸ Barbara Hepworth, 'Sculpture', p. 114.

⁵⁹ Andrew Causey, 'Barbara Hepworth, Prehistory and the Cornish landscape', p. 9.

Plastic Art, which appeared the same year as *Circle*. This is a text on modern art but also uses spreads of other prehistoric sites, including Dolmen des Marchands Loemariaquer in Bretagne, which is similarly juxtaposed with Brancusi's *Le Poisson* (1918-28) [Figs. 110-11]. Famously, the final issue of *Axis*, *Axis 8* of 1937 (also the same year as *Circle*) also featured one of the most visually arresting presentations of the relevance of archaeology to modern art in John Piper's famous juxtaposition of an 18th century engraving of Silbury Hill in Wiltshire by antiquarian William Stukeley, an aerial photograph of the same site by the archaeologist O G S Crawford, and Joan Miro's bold abstract painting on the same double page spread [Fig. 112].⁶⁰ Important excavation work was undertaken at Avebury in the 1930s by Alexander Keiller and Stuart Piggott to restore the megalithic site, and Hepworth's library contains a copy of Keiller's *Avebury: Summary of Excavations, 1937 and 1938* report, a reprint in June 1939 from *Antiquity*, the new journal of archaeology that was founded in 1927.⁶¹ The Hepworth Estate also holds Hepworth's extensive collection of postcards of ancient and archaeological cards, especially Stonehenge and Avebury, which Causey suggests likely date from the time of Keiller's clearing of the stones in the 1930s.⁶² Although an interest in prehistory and archaeology at this time is something often viewed as part of a Neo-Romantic sensibility, the presence of the Stonehenge photographs in *Circle* and Hepworth's collection of postcards and archaeological books is a reminder that it was also of significance to abstract and Constructive artists for the principles of form offered.

From *Circle* to *Single Form*

The connection established between Hepworth's work and archaeology established in *Circle* was something that would be returned to later that very year in her first solo exhibition at

⁶⁰ The archaeologist Henri Frankfort also wrote an article on Hepworth's work for *Axis 3*. See Henri Frankfort, 'New Works by Barbara Hepworth', *Axis 3*, 1935, p. 14.

⁶¹ For further discussion of the growing public awareness of British archaeological sites in the 1930s, see Sam Smiles, *British Art: Ancient Landscapes* (London: Paul Holberton Publishing, 2017) pp. 19-20.

⁶² Andrew Causey, 'Barbara Hepworth, Prehistory and the Cornish landscape', p. 10.

Alex Reid and Lefevre, held in the October of that year. For the accompanying exhibition catalogue, Bernal was chosen to provide the foreword, a decision that itself marked another continuation of the legacy of *Circle*. The first third of his foreword, Bernal devoted to discussing those formal similarities between Hepworth's sculpture and Neolithic art, in doing so verbalising those visual observations that could be drawn from the juxtaposition of the Stonehenge photographs alongside Hepworth's text in the earlier publication.⁶³ As he stated,

The first impressions of the present exhibition suggest very strongly the art of the Neolithic builders of stone monuments [...] Neolithic art is highly sophisticated and expressed the realisation that important ideas can be conveyed by extremely limited symbolic forms...[Barbara Hepworth] has reduced her sculptures to the barest elements, but these elements correspond curiously enough with those of Neolithic art that is in comparison with them that we can best describe them.⁶⁴

This is followed with a more detailed direct analogy:

The largest group of sculptures are the upright blocks corresponding to the Neolithic Menhirs which stand throughout Cornwall and Brittany [...] Another group represents stones pierced in one way or another with conical holes. Such stones occur in the Dolmens themselves [...] Finally, the problem of the relation of two uprights or two spheres, many solutions to which are offered in Miss Hepworth's art, correspond on a limited scale to the great alignments and rings of stones which mark the central shrines of the Megalithic world.⁶⁵

It is no mere coincidence that the three groups he lists are the single form, the pierced form and the two forms – the very same three groups that Hepworth would speak of as those forms of 'special meaning' in her later 1954 text. Bernal follows up this statement with examples of the works that might be said to fall into these three categories: writing on Hepworth's four *Single Form* works (all from 1937), he states that these works 'which we may call the four Menhirs, though each has its distinctive individuality, gain immensely from being studied

⁶³ For further discussion of Bernal's foreword to the Lefevre exhibition, see Alan Wilkinson, 'The 1930s: Constructive Forms and Poetic Structure', in Penelope Curtis and Alan Wilkinson, *Barbara Hepworth: A Retrospective* (London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1994) pp. 62-4.

⁶⁴ J D Bernal, 'Foreword', in *Catalogue of Sculpture by Barbara Hepworth* (London: Alex Reid and Lefevre, 1937), repr. in *Barbara Hepworth: A Pictorial Autobiography* (London: Tate Publishing, 1985) p. 36.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

together'.⁶⁶ The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines a menhir as a 'tall upright monumental stone of a kind erected in prehistoric times in various parts of Europe, Africa, and Asia; a standing stone'.⁶⁷ The appropriateness of this definition to describe the four *Single Form* works can be through seen through visual comparison, as each of the works embody this 'tall upright monumental' quality [Figs. 113-116]. Hepworth also began three more works that used the *Single Form* leitmotif in 1937; although not shown in the Lefevre 1937 exhibition (they were not completed until the following year) they may also be assigned to the 'menhir' category, even if they are not part of the group of works Bernal was thinking of when using that description [Figs. 117-19]. In 1957, Hepworth would loan (and later gift) the second of these three works, *Single Form* in sandalwood (Fig. 117), to Dag Hammarskjöld at his wish to have a work of contemporary British art on display in his office at the UN to accompany the paintings he already had on loan from the Museum of Modern Art in New York.⁶⁸

Significantly, Sophie Bowness writes that 'this work was to be at the origins of the UN *Single Form*'.⁶⁹ Returning to the *generations and geographies* model, it can start to be seen how two artworks from very different historical moments - the 1930s and the 1960s - made in, and for, different geographical locations could come to connect at the level of both form and idea.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ 'Menhir', *Oxford English Dictionary*

<<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/116438?redirectedFrom=menhir#eid>>. Accessed 29 Jan. 2019.

⁶⁸ Accounts of the negotiations that led to *Single Form* being loaned to Hammarskjöld are offered by both Sophie Bowness and Manuel Fröhlich. Fröhlich writes that although Hepworth suggested two carvings that might be suitable, it was agreed that Hammarskjöld would visit her exhibition at Martha Jackson held from December 1956 till January 1957, where he could make his own choice of work. Hammarskjöld visited the exhibition in January 1957 and selected *Single Form* in sandalwood (1937-8). The work was initially kept in his office before being transferred to the dining room suite of his New York apartment. It was on Hepworth's visit to New York in October 1959 that she offered *Single Form* as a gift. See Manuel Fröhlich 'A Fully Integrated Vision: Politics and the Arts in the Dag Hammarskjöld-Barbara Hepworth Correspondence', *Development Dialogue*, no.1, 2001, pp. 18-20; and Sophie Bowness, 'Barbara Hepworth's Studio Practice: Plaster for Bronze', in *Barbara Hepworth: The Plasters: The Gift to Wakefield*, pp. 77-8.

⁶⁹ Sophie Bowness, 'Barbara Hepworth's Studio Practice', in *Barbara Hepworth: The Plasters*, p. 78.

Although the UN *Single Form* was an individual unique commission, a point Hepworth was clear to emphasise,⁷⁰ like the earlier 1937 series it does nonetheless fall within what Penny Florence terms a ‘thematic series’.⁷¹ There are three other *Single Form* works that date from the early 1960s, all of which share clear formal similarities: *Single Form (September)* (1961); *Single Form (Chûn Quoit)* (1961); and *Single Form (Memorial)* (1961) [Figs. 120-22]. From the tall uprights of the 1937 series, these works have flattened their form into what A M Hammacher describes as ‘the large, simple bronze shield, with its single spatial eye.’⁷² Chûn Quoit is the name of a prehistoric tomb in Cornwall, offering the series a connection to the menhirs Bernal connected the earlier 1937 series to. Indeed, Alan Wilkinson has read the ‘flat, curved shape’ of *Single Form (Chûn Quoit)* as relating to ‘the five leaning and balancing stones’ of the tomb.⁷³ There remains some divergence of opinion on the degree to which the 1960s works marked a purposeful ‘return’ to the work of the 1930s or to what extent it simply naturally developed from Hepworth’s work of the previous decades. Stephens states that in the UN commission Hepworth purposely ‘revived the theme of the *Single Form* series, the highpoint of her formal idealism of the 1930s’,⁷⁴ whilst Hammacher argues that ‘“Single Form’ themes have occurred in all Hepworth’s phases, from 1934 onwards’, citing works from the 1940s and 1950s including *Single Form (Dryad)* (1945-6) and *Single Form (Antiphon)* (1953) [Figs. 123-24].⁷⁵ Significantly *Single Form (Antiphon)* was one of the carvings that Hepworth had proposed to Hammarskjöld’s to loan for his office, perhaps indicating the validity of Hammacher’s view and the importance of the other *Single Form* works between those of the 1930s and the 1960s. The name ‘Antiphon’

⁷⁰ In correspondence with Ralph Bunche, Under-Secretary to the UN, regarding the commission, Hepworth states ‘this sculpture is not only unique physically but also aesthetically. It is not a copy of my own original theme but it is a *reinterpretation* of the sculpture which I created in memory of Dag Hammarskjöld last year’. See Barbara Hepworth to Ralph Bunche, 20 Sept. 1963. Tate Archive, TGA 20132/2/1/3/18.

⁷¹ Penny Florence, ‘Barbara Hepworth: The Odd Man Out?’, in *Barbara Hepworth Reconsidered*, p. 28.

⁷² A M Hammacher, *Barbara Hepworth* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968, repr. 2012) p. 164.

⁷³ Alan Wilkinson, ‘The 1930s: Constructive Forms and Poetic Structure’, in *Barbara Hepworth: A Retrospective*, p. 104.

⁷⁴ Chris Stephens, *St Ives: The Art and the Artists*, p. 253.

⁷⁵ A M Hammacher, *Barbara Hepworth*, p. 164.

was also the title of Djuna Barnes' play of 1958, which Hammarskjöld translated, and a copy of which can be found in the Hepworth library.⁷⁶ Clear formal parallels can also be seen with Hepworth's *Figure* series of the late 1950s and 1960s as a photographic juxtaposition of *Single Form (Dryad)* alongside *Figure (Churinga)* (1952) and *Phoenix* (1954) in Hammacher's text demonstrates [Fig. 125].

Whether or not we fall into the Stephens or Hammacher camp regarding this issue, one fact is nonetheless clear: namely the formal parallels between the 1930s and 1960s works. What, we might ask, is constituted through this gesture? Why the significance of these particular forms? And what does it to reuse the same forms in two very different environments, geographies and historical moments? Florence has questioned the nature of the 'geopolitical and historical gesture' constituted in the 'transposition of a piece finely balanced between a modern female subject in a remote landscape and prehistory into the quintessential modern cityscape of New York',⁷⁷ but arguably a consideration of the formal origins of the sculpture means that the transposition needs to be thought of as not only between St Ives and New York, but from Hampstead, to St Ives and then to New York. Gale and Stephens provide one potential insight into the transition, describing the 1930s works as 'implicitly political sculptures'.⁷⁸ Certainly Hepworth regarded the UN *Single Form* as a political statement, as well as a personal memorial to her friend Hammarskjöld. In her address for the unveiling of *Single Form* in New York in June 1964, Hepworth stated that 'throughout my work on the 'Single Form' I have kept in mind Dag Hammarskjöld's ideas of

⁷⁶ Manuel Fröhlich, 'A Fully Integrated Vision: Politics and the Arts in the Dag Hammarskjöld-Barbara Hepworth Correspondence', *Development Dialogue*, no.1, 2001, pp. 49-57. Hepworth met Djuna Barnes through Hammarskjöld at a dinner party he hosted in his private apartment during her 1959 visit to New York. Her copy of *The Antiphon* was acquired after this meeting: 'I have ordered 'Antiphon' & particularly enjoyed meeting Miss Barnes' she wrote to Hammarskjöld on 21 October 1959. The *Antiphon* sculpture however was carved prior to this meeting in 1953 and so it is unclear whether it bears any direct reference to Barnes' play.

⁷⁷ Penny Florence, 'Barbara Hepworth: the Odd Man Out?', p. 31.

⁷⁸ Matthew Gale and Chris Stephens, *Barbara Hepworth: Works in the Tate Collection*, p. 215.

human and aesthetic ideology'.⁷⁹ As Florence has also noted the very location of *Single Form* outside the UN building is itself a 'highly symbolic political location' and thus the gesture of this placement itself a political act.⁸⁰ To communicate these ideas (the nature of which will be discussed later in the chapter) Hepworth needed a suitable form, an indication of the way in which idea and form might connect, and thus the 'inherently political' forms of the 1930s might be seen as appropriate. But it is also worth asking the question, what is it that made these forms 'inherently political' in the first place? One answer offered by Gale and Stephens themselves involves a return to the ideals of *Circle*, Bernal and the role of the menhirs – namely the social function of art. As they write, 'for both Hepworth and Bernal, the presumed functions of menhirs offered a precedent for a social function for the new art.'⁸¹ Bernal elaborates on what the specific nature of this 'presumed function' of menhirs in his Foreword to the Lefevre catalogue: 'Megalithic art was not aesthetic in intention, it represented the centre of a ritual which must have been so important in its time as to absorb the greater part of the free energies of its creators. If such art is to be of use now it needs to find the same public setting.'⁸² As the 'centre of ritual', marking the coming together of people, the menhirs' relevance to the ideas of 'unity' advocated by *Circle* is clear. A related word used by Dag Hammarskjöld is that of 'integrity', which Brian Urquhart, Hammarskjöld's biographer, described as 'integrity in the sense not only of purity and honour but also of seeing life as a consistent whole'.⁸³ Significantly it is also a word Hammarskjöld used to describe the 1937 *Single Form* in sandalwood; he wrote to Hepworth that '[*Single Form*] is a manifestation of your feeling of solidarity with what we try to do [...] I feel that its pure,

⁷⁹ Barbara Hepworth, 'Address at the Unveiling of 'Single Form' in New York, 11 June 1964', repr. in *Barbara Hepworth: A Pictorial Autobiography*, p. 96.

⁸⁰ Penny Florence, 'Barbara Hepworth: the Odd Man Out?', p. 31.

⁸¹ Matthew Gale and Chris Stephens, *Barbara Hepworth: Works in the Tate Collection*, p. 69.

⁸² J D Bernal, 'Foreword', in *Catalogue of Sculpture by Barbara Hepworth*, p. 36.

⁸³ Brian Urquhart, *Hammarskjöld* (New York: Knopf, 1972) p. 18, qtd. in Manuel Fröhlich, 'A Fully Integrated Vision: Politics and the Arts in the Dag Hammarskjöld–Barbara Hepworth Correspondence', p. 23.

strong integrity makes it singularly well fitted for that purpose.’⁸⁴ What can be seen here is an emerging sense of the points of continuity between the ideals of *Circle* and the ethos of Hammarskjöld and the role of *Single Form* as a connector between the two. Christopher Pearson has spoken of the shared ‘vision’ of Hepworth and Hammarskjöld that emerges from their correspondence, ‘picking up on the themes of internationalism which could be traced back to her association with the *Circle* group in the 1930s.’⁸⁵ A continuity of ideas would also suggest the appropriateness of a continuity of form from the 1930s to the 1960s.

To be able to assess the similarity or dissimilarity of ideas between *Circle* and Hammarskjöld, it is necessary to look directly to the speeches and writings of Hammarskjöld himself. This is one way in which the Hepworth library is able to shed light: as previously discussed there is an extensive section devoted to Hammarskjöld and the UN. Significantly a large proportion of these contain publication dates from between 1961 and 1964, the period directly after his death, during which Hepworth was working on the UN commission [Figs. 126-30].⁸⁶ The implication may well be that Hepworth was consciously gathering information on Hammarskjöld and the UN during this period to assist with the development of the commission. Certainly, in addition to the emphasis Hepworth placed on the ‘ideas’ of Hammarskjöld in her address at the unveiling of *Single Form*, it is something she also mentions in her correspondence with Ralph Bunche, Under-Secretary to the UN, with whom

⁸⁴Dag Hammarskjöld to Barbara Hepworth, 4 Nov. 1959, Hammarskjöld Archive, Swedish Royal Library, Stockholm, repr. in Manuel Fröhlich, ‘A Fully Integrated Vision: Politics and the Arts in the Dag Hammarskjöld–Barbara Hepworth Correspondence’, p. 50. The full Hammarskjöld–Hepworth correspondence is reproduced in Fröhlich’s article.

⁸⁵ Christopher Pearson, ‘Hepworth, Moore and the United Nations: Modern Art and the Ideology of Postwar Internationalism’, *Sculpture Journal*, Vol. 6, 2001, p. 94.

⁸⁶ These include: *Dag Hammarskjöld, The International Civil Servant in Law and in Fact* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1961); *The Servant of Peace: A Selection of the Speeches and Statements of Dag Hammarskjöld Secretary General of the United Nations 1953-61* ed. and intro. by Wilder Foote (London: Bodley Head, 1962); *Your United Nations: The Official Souvenir Guide Book, Twelfth Edition* (New York: United Nations Office of Public Information, 1964); *United Nations News*, Vol. 16, No. 4, Oct-Dec. 1961; Sten Söderberg, *Hammarskjöld: A Pictorial Biography* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1962); Dag Hammarskjöld, *Markings*, trans. Leif Sjöberg and W.H. Auden (London: Faber and Faber, 1964). In the Tate Archive there are also further publications on the UN from this period, including additional copies of *United Nations News* from both 1960 and 1961. See TGA 20132/2/1/25.

she principally liaised regarding the development of the commission. As she writes ‘the evolution of the sculpture itself (the idea contained therein) is the most important thing at this moment’.⁸⁷ It was also something that Rene D’Harroncourt, director of the Museum of Modern Art New York (MOMA) commended in his speech at the unveiling ceremony, stating that it was rare that ‘a public monument is related in essence to the cause it commemorates’ and that Hepworth’s sculpture paid ‘tribute to the spirit that led to the creation of the United Nations, imbued its finest actions and permeated the work of Dag Hammarskjöld’.⁸⁸ The importance of Hammarskjöld’s ideas and vision to Hepworth was emphasised in her own correspondence with him during his lifetime. In a letter from 16th October 1959 she writes:

I have tried to write to you for nearly two years to tell you how much we, as artists all owe to you, & depend upon you for art itself as well as for our lives [...] In England the artists are deeply implicated because we are such a small & concentrated unit, & the impulse to create depends on the ability to resolve & establish what U.N. stands for as being an essential part of the true discipline of the creative imagination./ You have the fully integrated ‘vision’ which demonstrates the naturalness & beauty of the spirit of man which all of us, in varying degrees are striving to obtain by the unity of mind & imagination. These are halting words & I could only do better in the quietness of my studio, where I have, for a long time, thought of you and all you stand for, almost every day.⁸⁹

In a slightly later letter dated 21st October, recalling her recent visit to New York, she writes of coming ‘away with a sense of the integrity at U.N [...] that I now can only hope that I can retain this quality of the macrocosm within this small workshop & invest my stones with a greater purity of idea.’⁹⁰ It is significant that across both of these two letters, Hepworth makes use of the terms ‘unity’, ‘integrated’ and ‘integrity’, words associated with firstly *Circle* and latterly Hammarskjöld himself. It is also clear that the desire to imbue *Single Form* with the

⁸⁷ Barbara Hepworth to Ralph Bunche, 14 Jan. 1962. Tate Archive, TGA 20132/2/1/3/4.

⁸⁸ Statement by Rene d’Harroncourt, in ‘Dag Hammarskjöld Memorial New York, 11 June 1964 Press Release’. Tate Archive, TGA 20132/2/1/18/1.

⁸⁹ Barbara Hepworth to Dag Hammarskjöld, 16 Oct. 1959, Hammarskjöld Archive, Swedish Royal Library, Stockholm, repr. in Manuel Fröhlich, ‘A Fully Integrated Vision: Politics and the Arts in the Dag Hammarskjöld–Barbara Hepworth Correspondence’, p. 46.

⁹⁰ Barbara Hepworth to Dag Hammarskjöld, 21 Oct. 1959, Hammarskjöld Archive, Swedish Royal Library Stockholm, repr. in *Ibid*, p. 49.

vision and ideas of Hammarskjöld was not itself a unique aim associated with the commission, but something Hepworth already felt was crucial to all of her work. With this in mind, it makes the relevance of a close reading of Hepworth's work through the writings and speeches of Hammarskjöld all the more important.

If 'unity' for Hepworth and for *Circle* was one of the coming together of disciplines for the benefit of society as a whole, something similar can also be said of the ethos of Hammarskjöld's 'integrity'. Manuel Frölich has described it as follows:

Hammarskjöld held an integrative view of various social, philosophical, literary and artistic activities. This integrative view is best illustrated by the wide scope of his projects and endeavours which point to aspects of his personality that went beyond Hammarskjöld the Secretary-General: Hammarskjöld the photographer [...] Or Hammarskjöld the translator of contemporary literature and philosophy [...] But these activities were no mere distraction for Hammarskjöld the politician. He himself called his literary activities (for which he tried to reserve one or two hours each day) 'un complément indispensable' to his political and diplomatic activities.⁹¹

The significance of these 'literary activities' also has a clear analogy in the daily importance Hepworth placed on other cultural activities, such as reading and music; as she declared in one interview, 'I detest a day of no work, no music, no poetry'.⁹² However, as George Ivan Smith, international civil servant for the UN and close friend of Hammarskjöld, noted in a letter to Brumwell, Hammarskjöld's additional interests were things he regarded as intimately connected with his political life:

Isn't it surprising that a man who carries such a burden of world responsibility can also be the one who can find to understand something or art and the artist?...it may be that because he has the discipline and devotion to be a pilgrim on the horizons of thought and 'finds the time' to explore poetry and fiction, philosophy and religion in a selective yet unprejudiced way – perhaps because of these things his diplomatic work attains a brilliance and a depth sometimes lacking in public affairs [...] Too often in public affairs I find myself meeting people who regard art, literature and science as separate and distinct from the texture of political life. It is all too easy now, in this

⁹¹ Manuel Frölich, 'A Fully Integrated Vision', p. 22.

⁹² Barbara Hepworth: *A Pictorial Autobiography*, p. 20.

busy world of lazy minds to find “no time” for activities which should naturally be an essential part of all action.⁹³

The importance of these additional interests to his diplomatic activities can be seen in one particular Hammarskjöld text within the Hepworth library: namely the anthology of his speeches and statements, edited by Wilder Foote and published under the title of *The Servant of Peace: A Selection of the Speeches and Statements of Dag Hammarskjöld Secretary General of the United Nations 1953-61* a year after his death. A cursory look through the contents page of this book is highly revealing: alongside the expected writings and speeches on topics of international diplomacy and co-operation, there are also less expected titles including, ‘An Instrument of Faith’; ‘Science and Human Relations’; ‘On Modern Art’; and ‘The Linnaeus Tradition and Our Time’. Of these five examples, I wish to specifically focus on the first two, and to examine the significance which religion and science held for Hammarskjöld, two areas, which, as already discussed also held an important place within *Circle*.

A little mentioned detail in the Hepworth literature on the UN *Single Form* is the inclusion of an inscription by Hepworth herself on the sculpture. This reads ‘To the glory of God and the memory of Dag Hammarskjöld’ and was inscribed in Hepworth’s own hand.⁹⁴ In these few words Hepworth brings a sculpture that has already entered the political realm also into the spiritual realm. For Hammarskjöld too, the relationship between religion and politics was one of deep importance, something he spoke of in his address ‘An Instrument of Faith’, given to the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches’ in Illinois in 1954. There

⁹³ George Ivan Smith to Marcus Brumwell, 22 Oct 1959. Tate Archive, TGA 20312/2/1/14/7.

⁹⁴ Lucy Kent, *The Hepworth Book Club*, The Hepworth Wakefield, 29 July 2017. The inscription is also mentioned in a contemporary review from 1964 in *Time Magazine*, a copy of which can be found in Hepworth’s library. See ‘Sculpture: In Abstract Memoriam’, in *Time: The Weekly News Magazine*, Vol. 83, No. 25, 19 June 1964. The subject of the inscription is also discussed in correspondence between Hepworth and Bunche. There seems to have been some concern voiced initially by the UN regarding the suitability of a religious inscription due to the ‘complex and delicate situation which prevails at the United Nations with regard to all expressions and symbols’, See Bunche to Hepworth, 16 May 1963, Tate Archive, TGA 20132/2/1/3/91. However clearly these concerns were eventually dispelled and Hepworth permitted to keep the inscription as she originally intended.

he stated that ‘despite their different roles in the community and peoples’ both the Church and the UN were ‘participants in the efforts of all men of good will, irrespective of their creed or form of worship, to establish peace on earth.’⁹⁵ His belief in the UN’s role as this ‘an instrument of faith’ was exemplified in practice by his involvement in establishing the UN Meditation room in 1957. Hepworth herself mentions the Meditation Room in correspondence to Hammarskjöld following her 1959 New York trip, writing that ‘I carried away from N.Y. (& have before me) a photograph of the Meditation Room’.⁹⁶ In addition to the photograph mentioned in this letter, images of the Meditation room are also to be found in Hepworth’s copy of *Your United Nations: The Official Souvenir Guide Book, Twelfth Edition* (1964) [Fig. 131]. For the opening of the Meditation room in 1957 Hammarskjöld provided an inauguration speech, which is reprinted as a text given to visitors, and it was also reproduced in *The Servant of Peace*. In that speech Hammarskjöld stated:

It has been the aim to create in this small room a place where doors may be open to the infinite lands of thought and prayer./ People of many faiths will meet here, and for that reason none of the symbols to which we are accustomed in our meditation could be used./ However, there are simple things which speak to us all with the same language. We have sought for such things and we believe that we have found them in the shaft of light striking the shimmering surface of solid rock.⁹⁷

Hammarskjöld makes clear in this statement the manner in which religion and his ideals of internationalism may connect. In the positioning of *Single Form* by the pool in the centre of the plaza, with the row of international flags behind, the sculpture directly speaks of internationalism [Figs. 132-33]. This, combined with its religious inscription, brings together religion and internationalism in the same manner that Hammarskjöld speaks of in his Meditation room text.

⁹⁵ Dag Hammarskjöld, ‘An Instrument of Faith’, Address before the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches, Evanston, Illinois, 20 Aug. 1954, repr. in *The Servant of Peace: A Selection of the Speeches and Statements of Dag Hammarskjöld Secretary General of the United Nations 1953-61*, ed. and intro. by Wilder Foote (London: Bodley Head, 1962) p. 57.

⁹⁶ Barbara Hepworth to Dag Hammarskjöld, 21 Oct. 1959, Hammarskjöld Archive, Swedish Royal Library, Stockholm, repr. in Manuel Fröhlich, ‘A Fully Integrated Vision’, p. 49.

⁹⁷ Dag Hammarskjöld, ‘A Room of Quiet - The United Nations Meditation Room’, qtd. in Sten Söderberg, *Hammarskjöld: A Pictorial Biography* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1962) pp. 94-6.

The presence in the room of ‘the shimmering surface of solid rock’ – the uncarved block – is also of significance. As Fröhlich writes, it must have had an appeal for Hepworth, perhaps an indication of why she brought away from New York a photograph of the room.⁹⁸ The connection between stone (or sculpture) and religious thought was not only to be evidenced in the examples of the Meditation room stone block and the inscription on *Single Form*, but one that Hammarskjöld suggested on two other occasions. One of these was in a letter to Hepworth, written after attending her 1961 Gimpel Fils exhibition in London, where he recalls the exhibition as ‘a sunny moment, full of impressions, full of impressions of perfect beauty, but beauty used as a road to some fundamental experiences and, if I may say so, expressions of faith.’⁹⁹ The second was in his posthumously published diary *Markings* (1964), which he described as ‘a sort of ‘White Book’ concerning my negotiations with myself – and with God’.¹⁰⁰ *Markings* as a title itself offers a reference to stone, with the original Swedish ‘Vägmärken’, translating as ‘cairns’, the piles of stones that a climber leaves to mark progress on an uncharted mountain.¹⁰¹ The journeying explorer becomes a metaphor for the spiritual journey to find God: for Hammarskjöld it ‘*did* come – the day when the grief became small...insignificant in the light of the demands which God was now making’.¹⁰² Sjöberg and Auden’s 1964 English translation used the image of the UN *Single Form* as the front cover. *Single Form* becomes the cairn, marking the way forward, much in the same way as Hammarskjöld had in 1960 described *Single Form* in sandalwood standing ‘as a sentinel’, keeping watch and guard.¹⁰³

⁹⁸ Manuel Fröhlich, ‘A Fully Integrated Vision’, p. 21.

⁹⁹ Dag Hammarskjöld to Barbara Hepworth, 16 Oct. 1959, Hammarskjöld Archive, Swedish Royal Library, Stockholm, repr. in *Ibid.*, p. 54.

¹⁰⁰ Dag Hammarskjöld to Leif Belfrage, qtd. in Dag Hammarskjöld, *Markings*; trans. Leif Sjöberg and W H Auden (London: Faber and Faber, 1964) p. 7. Leif Belfrage was the Swedish Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

¹⁰¹ Brian Urquhart, ‘Books: The Point of Rest’, *The New Yorker*, 31 Oct. 1964.

¹⁰² Dag Hammarskjöld, *Markings*, p. 87.

¹⁰³ Dag Hammarskjöld to Barbara Hepworth, 15 Oct. 1960, repr. in Manuel Fröhlich, ‘A Fully Integrated Vision’, p. 52.

The association of *Single Form* and newly found religious feeling extends beyond the cover of the text however. Inside, the text is split between sections written in full prose, quotations from other writers, including Barnes and Ibsen, and verse written using the Japanese convention of *haiku*, seventeen syllable poems consisting of three unrhymed lines alternating between five, seven and five syllables. One such of these is a poem entitled ‘Single Form’, presumably a reference to *Single Form* in sandalwood, written in 1958 [Fig. 134]. The poem begins ‘The breaking wave / And the muscle as it contracts / Obey the same law.’¹⁰⁴ On the outset this appears to be a poem that meditates on the role of form in the natural world, much in the same way as Hepworth’s earlier ‘endless variations of the same form’ in nature that she spoke of in her *Circle* piece. However this is a poem where form represents the split between the body and soul, with the body ‘An austere line’, whilst the narrator muses ‘Shall my soul meet / This curve, as bend in the road / On her way to form?’¹⁰⁵ One insight into this is offered through the speech made by Ambassador Astrom of Sweden at the unveiling of the UN *Single Form*, at which he stated that Hammarskjöld ‘thought that only through the strict discipline of mind and body can man aspire to fulfil his real destiny and to create for himself the inner reality that alone justifies his experience.’¹⁰⁶ The poem is similarly ‘balanced’ between the ‘austere line’ that ‘gathers the body’s play of strength’ and the soul’s journey to ‘meet / This curve, as bend in the road’, with the eventual destination ‘form’.¹⁰⁷ The idea of form facilitating this ‘inner reality’ has a clear resonance with the spiritual ideals of interwar Hampstead, where, as Lucy Kent writes, there was a ‘mutual belief in the power of form to access a more profound spiritual plane of existence and

¹⁰⁴ Dag Hammarskjöld, *Markings*, p. 145.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ Statement by Ambassador Astrom of Sweden, in ‘Dag Hammarskjöld Memorial New York, 11 June 1964 Press Release’. Tate Archive, TGA 20132/2/1/18/1.

¹⁰⁷ Dag Hammarskjöld, *Markings*, p. 145.

incite social change accordingly.’¹⁰⁸ It is also directly referenced in *Circle* in Gabo’s essay, where he states:

The Constructive idea prefers that Art perform positive works which lead us towards the best. The measure of this perfection will not be so difficult to define when we realise that it does not lie outside us but is bound up in our desire and in our will to it [...] To find the means for the accomplishment of this task the artist need not search in the external world of Nature; he is able to express his impulses in the language of those absolute forms which are in the substantial possession of his Art.¹⁰⁹

Gabo’s notion of using ‘absolute forms’ to achieve ‘perfection’ offers a parallel with Hammarskjöld’s journey on the ‘way to form’, thereby offering a connection between the beliefs of the *Circle* generation and the ethos of Hammarskjöld himself, which in visual terms is mirrored through the connection of *Single Form* on the cover of *Markings* and the ‘Single Form’ within.

If Hammarskjöld believed that the Church and the UN should work together side by side, another field he believed held relevance for the UN was that of Science, as demonstrated in his speech ‘Science and Human Relations’, an address delivered to the Atoms for Peace Awards Ceremony in 1959. It is first worth noting the context of this speech at the Atoms for Peace Awards Ceremony. As Urquhart writes in his biography of Hammarskjöld, the subject of disarmament was a key objective of the United Nations, with Hammarskjöld particularly vocal on the matter.¹¹⁰ During this period distinguished scientists from both American and the UK spoke out publically against the development of nuclear arms.¹¹¹ In 1958, a year before ‘Science and Human Relations’, the American scientist Linus Pauling had presented Hammarskjöld with a petition from 9000 scientists from 43 countries

¹⁰⁸ Lucy Kent, ‘Modern Gods and Religion in England 1900-1950’, p. 109.

¹⁰⁹ Naum Gabo, ‘The Constructive Idea in Art’, pp. 9-10.

¹¹⁰ Brian Urquhart, *Hammarskjöld* (London: The Bodley Head, 1973) pp. 315-22.

¹¹¹ For further discussion on the opposition to nuclear weapons from scientists during the period, see Robert Burstow, ‘Geometries of Hope and Fear: the Iconography of Atomic Science and Nuclear Anxiety in the Modern Sculpture of World War and Cold War Britain’, p. 8.

<https://derby.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10545/620626/Burstow_2014_Geometries_of_hope_and_fear_accepted_manuscript.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y>. Accessed 14 Feb. 2019.

urging for an international agreement to stop nuclear testing immediately.¹¹² Though there is no mention of disarmament in the Hammarskjöld-Hepworth correspondence, it was a subject that they both shared similar views on - for example Hepworth's involvement in the CND Women's Committee as earlier discussed – and thus is a subject worth including when thinking of the 'ideas' of Hammarskjöld that Hepworth wished to reflect in the UN *Single Form*.

In 'Science and Human Relations', Hammarskjöld reflected on the importance of scientists and politicians working together and argued that the UN might be used as an 'instrument for the construction of relationships amongst groups and nations which, taking into account the underlying economic and ideological problems, may make it possible to turn the achievements of science fully to the benefit of men [...]' He continued, 'Using the Organisation for such purposes scientists and politicians can meet, and do meet, in a common effort, inspired by the same ideals and speaking the same language'.¹¹³ Like 'An Instrument of Faith', this speech shows the tendency to focus on the sense of integration and universal language between the different disciplines. As Christopher Pearson has discussed, scientific and technical progress was key to the philosophy of both the UN and UNESCO, through the concept of a 'world scientific humanism' adopted by biologist Julian Huxley, the first Director General of UNESCO from 1946-8.¹¹⁴ Certainly parallels can be found between 'Science and Human Relations' and Huxley's mission statement for UNESCO, in which he stated that the outlook should be one 'based on some form of humanism, both in the sense of seeking to bring in all the peoples of the world [...] as equals in terms of human dignity, mutual respect [...] it must also be a scientific humanism in the sense that the application of

¹¹² Brian Urquhart, *Hammarskjöld*, p. 317.

¹¹³ Dag Hammarskjöld, 'Science and Human Relations', Address at Atoms for Peace Ceremony, 29 Jan. 1959, repr. in *The Servant of Peace: A Selection of the Speeches and Statements of Dag Hammarskjöld*, pp. 197-8.

¹¹⁴ Christopher Pearson, 'Hepworth, Moore and the United Nations', pp. 93-6.

science provides most off the material basis for human culture.’¹¹⁵ Clearly Huxley’s involvement in UNESCO marks a direct link with the 1930s generation of biological development discussed earlier in the chapter. Huxley had been one of those scientific commentators from the 1930s who believed in the role of science to aid in the formation of a better society. The ways in which the philosophy of the UN and UNESCO drew upon this generation of scientific thinking can be demonstrated in the similarities found between Hammarskjöld’s speech and Huxley’s article ‘Tissue Culture and Human Habits’ from 1933. In this way Hammarskjöld’s belief in using ‘the achievements of science fully to the benefit of men’ may arguably be read as a restatement of Huxley’s earlier belief that the twentieth century offered the opportunity ‘for the application of biological science to practical affairs’.¹¹⁶ Here can be seen another clear example of the coming together of ideas and people across time and space – *generations and geographies* played out once again through those different networks of people, places and ideas.

In the unveiling of *Single Form*, Hammarskjöld’s wishes for integration, ‘integrity’, and the coming together of different fields was symbolically played out through a large ceremony, which brought together diverse groups of people [Fig. 135]. At the ceremony, Jacob Blaustein, a former friend of Hammarskjöld who provided the funds for the commission through his Foundation, also spoke, stating that ‘our meeting here today [...] has brought together men of industry, science and the arts, as well as distinguished figures in international diplomacy’.¹¹⁷ Thus *Single Form*, the memorial that Hepworth hoped would ‘give us a motive and a symbol of both continuity and solidarity for the future’, was physically able to enact this wish, through the different groups of people it brought

¹¹⁵ Julian Huxley, ‘UNESCO: Its Purpose and its Philosophy’, qtd. in *Ibid.*, p. 96.

¹¹⁶ Julian Huxley, ‘Tissue Culture and Human Habits’, *The Listener*, Vol. IX, No. 231, 14 June 1933, p. 953, qtd. in Edward Juler, *Grown But Not Made*, p. 28.

¹¹⁷ Statement by Jacob Blaustein, in ‘Dag Hammarskjöld Memorial New York, 11 June 1964 Press Release’. Tate Archive, TGA 20132/2/1/18/1.

together.¹¹⁸ As Blaustein stated, the meeting was ‘different from others that had taken place before [...] because the man we have come together to honour was unique - a man who was a poet and a diplomat, artist and administrator, idealistic yet practical’.¹¹⁹ Arguably it was Hammarskjöld’s very difference - a quality noted in many of the accounts and articles on him that I have referenced in this chapter – that allowed for this ‘unique’ meeting to indeed take place.

The parallels between Hepworth’s views on integration and those of Hammarskjöld are of such that his writings become not only significant for re-reading *Single Form* but also for interrogating Hepworth’s library as a whole. The time Hammarskjöld took to pursue his different interests, and to connect with people across various disciplines is very much mirrored in the importance Hepworth placed on undertaking her different cultural pursuits each day, the friendships she built up with those practising in a variety of disciplines, including science, religion and music, and the diverse areas of knowledge covered within the volumes of her library. As this chapter has demonstrated, these values of integration and connection were not unique to Hepworth and Hammarskjöld but also reached back to the pages of *Circle*, a text which brought together subjects diverse as science, archaeology, biotechnics, choreography and typography. In this way, although I previously stated that the Hepworth library that exists today for the researcher to consult is primarily of post-war focus in terms of scope and content, this statement should in fact be qualified. Like Hepworth’s later works from the 1960s, which often look back to earlier forms and ideas from the 1930s, although the majority of the library’s titles contain publication dates of 1945 onwards, many

¹¹⁸ Barbara Hepworth, ‘Address at the Unveiling of ‘Single Form’, *Barbara Hepworth: A Pictorial Autobiography*, p. 96.

¹¹⁹ Statement by Jacob Blaustein, in ‘Dag Hammarskjöld Memorial New York, 11 June 1964 Press Release’. Tate Archive, TGA 20132/2/1/18/1.

bear the traces of a pre-war time. Of the networks and friendships which are to be found within the library, including figures such as Read, Bernal, Zuckerman, Gardiner and Brumwell, many are those formed in 1930s Hampstead, which later became 'distanced' relationships following the move to St Ives, maintained by the sharing of correspondence, objects (including books) and occasional visits. Similarly, although texts in the library authored by these figures are post-war in publication, they contain ideas that originated from the 1930s period.

Epilogue

This thesis has provided not only the first ever study of the personal library of Barbara Hepworth, but also, as discussed in Chapter 1, one of the first in depth surveys of an artist's library. In this way it hopes to offer a model that might be relevant for future scholarship into studies of artists' libraries. This is a model that has not only utilised traditional art historical and archival analysis, but combined this with a curatorial intervention (of which a public programme formed a central element). Viewing this research activity through the lens of the *history-theory-practice* framework demonstrates the value of these different areas of knowledge for the study of Hepworth's work. That it has been possible to develop such a methodology is entirely on account of the collaborative nature of this doctorate between the University of Huddersfield and The Hepworth Wakefield, the latter where my research became embedded within the organisation. Undertaking research in this manner allowed for a consideration of Hepworth's library as more than simply endeavouring to recover something of its significance for Hepworth in her lifetime, but also considering its role today as a collection of objects in constructing that history. It is this idea of the library as a collection that at different moments has been perceived of value or not of value, chosen to be displayed or not displayed, that the thesis has sought to communicate.

As mentioned in the Introduction, the decision to centre this doctoral research specifically on Hepworth's personal library was not only made due to the lack of attention that the collection had previously received, but also on account of its potential to disrupt previous monographic, chronological readings of Hepworth's work. In doing so, it has also been able to contribute to some of the suggestions made in 1998 by Penelope Curtis as to how the literature on Hepworth might be expanded. Summarised these suggestions might be divided into four key areas: firstly to find out about more about some of the other figures in Hepworth's life, particularly those who were not artists; secondly and related, to consider

other disciplines and interests outside of just sculpture; thirdly, to focus on the available resource material rather than what was not accessible; and finally to place ‘her sculpture within its wider context’.¹ As a physically available (if little known) archival collection at The Hepworth Wakefield, Hepworth’s library was an example of such an arguably overlooked resource on the artist, even if it was still incomplete. Because so many items in Hepworth’s library were gifted or authored by friends, many of whom were not artists, the library offers an important insight into Hepworth’s personal networks – both those proximate and distanced – which are revealed to be highly interdisciplinary in nature, as discussed in Chapter 4. Likewise, less than half of Hepworth’s library is dedicated to books related to art and thus it immediately invites consideration of disciplines outside sculpture. Whilst many of these individual areas of interest have themselves been made the subjects of previous scholarship – Christian Science, archaeology and science in particular – what the library has offered is a way of reading them in tandem rather than in isolation, thinking about how their lines of connection align with Hepworth’s world vision of ‘integration’. The library, as print culture - with many of the books published and printed within Hepworth’s own lifetime - is arguably also a historical trace of that time, and thus is a material manifestation of that very wider context surrounding the sculpture.

Arguably, the interdisciplinary nature of both the library itself and the networks underpinning it might be said to also characterise the ‘wider context’ surrounding Hepworth’s work. The library contains a number of examples of texts where Hepworth’s own work was reproduced in non-art contexts, from the cover jacket of Hammarkjöld’s *Markings*, to Jellicoe’s *Studies in Landscape Design*, to Whicher’s *Projective Geometry*. Similarly, as discussed in Chapter 2, her writing also featured in a number of non-art publications and journals, including the likes of *The Christian Science Monitor* and *Peace News*. From Bernal

¹ Penelope Curtis, *Barbara Hepworth*, pp. 85-91.

the scientist, to Frankfort the archaeologist, a number of the writers who discussed Hepworth's work did not come from a modern art background and therefore often placed Hepworth's work in contexts outside of art. In Bernal's article in *Circle*, Hepworth's *Two Forms* in white marble (1935) was reproduced juxtaposed with 'a graphic interpretation of the 'equi-potential surface of two like charges'. In his foreword to Hepworth's 1937 Lefevre catalogue, he discussed her work in relation to parallels he identified with Neolithic art. Ramsden's article on Hepworth for *Polemic* likewise placed her work within the context of Rilke's ideas of transformation voiced in the *Duino Elegies*. These examples might also offer a new way of viewing Hepworth's more formalised creative collaborations, such as her set and costume design for Tippett's *The Midsummer Marriage* and *Electra*, her involvement in the formation of the St Ives Festival, her collaboration on the film *Figures in a Landscape* with Priaulx Rainier, Jacquetta Hawkes, Cecil Day Lewis and Dudley Shaw Ashton, or her drawings that were used to accompany Kathleen Raine's *Stone and Flower: Poems 1935-43*. Rather than viewing the collaborations as isolated, individual projects that Hepworth undertook, they might instead be seen as symptomatic of her wide ranging interests and concerns, which extended beyond just art, and which were crucial to driving her work.

Afterlives

The thesis has discussed the Hepworth library as part of the permanent collection at The Hepworth Wakefield, as it was when I first began my doctoral research in 2016. However, as mentioned in the Introduction, in late 2018 a decision was made at the wish of Sir Alan Bowness, to whom Hepworth originally bequeathed the books, for the library to be moved to a new permanent home at Tate Archive. Alan and Sophie Bowness (on behalf of the Hepworth Estate) have regularly been adding to the Hepworth holdings at Tate Archive in recent years in the hope of making the Hepworth collection as complete as possible and to

allow this material to be kept together.² This has also included transferring the books which were previously housed with Sophie Bowness to be united with the collection that was formerly at The Hepworth Wakefield.³ These moves reflect the aim of creating the ‘complete archive’ posed by Allan Sekula, who writes on the way that ‘archival projects typically manifest a compulsive desire for completeness, a faith in an ultimate, coherence imposed by the sheer quantity of acquisitions.’⁴ Of course, in reality it is almost always impossible to achieve such completeness on account of material being lost, discarded or separated out. Chapter 2 examined some of the different approaches through which the Hepworth library might be interpreted – as a tool, a personal collection, or an archive. The transferral of the library to Tate Archive now firmly establishes its status as archival matter, in which it is seen in its relation to the wider Hepworth collection at Tate Archive. It was felt that Tate was the proper home for the library given Hepworth’s place within the Tate collection. An argument was made that it would be more easily accessible as a resource to researchers in London rather than in Wakefield. In this final section, I trace the library’s afterlife at Tate, including one further instance of a selection of the books being exhibited.

In 2019 the Musée Rodin announced that it would be holding the first ever solo exhibition of Hepworth’s work to take place in France, in association with Tate.⁵ Whilst Hepworth’s work had been included in a number of group exhibitions in France during her life, she had never been given a solo exhibition, although plans to hold such an exhibition at

² Recent gifts have been presented to Tate Archive in 2015, 2016 and 2019. For details see ‘Tate Archive uncatalogued collections, August 2019’, *Tate*, <<http://archive.tate.org.uk/TateArchiveUncatCollList.pdf>>. Accessed 1 Jan. 2020. In recent years, Tate Archive has started collecting some artists’ libraries, notable examples include the libraries of Naum Gabo and Ithel Coloquhoun. Its collecting policy notes that it collects ‘some printed ephemera and publications’ although it does not mention artists’ libraries directly. See ‘Tate Acquisition and Disposal Policy’, 15 Nov. 2017, *Tate*, <<https://www.tate.org.uk/about-us/collection/acquisitions>>. Accessed 1 Jan. 2020.

³ Information from Darragh O’Donoghue, Archive Curator (Acquisitions) at Tate Archive, 11 Nov. 2019.

⁴ Alan Sekula, ‘Reading an Archive: Photography between Labour and Capital’, p. 185.

⁵ ‘Barbara Hepworth’, *Musée Rodin* <<http://musee-rodin.fr/en/exhibition/exhibition-barbara-hepworth>>. Accessed 4 Jan. 2020.

the Musée Rodin in the early 1970s were made though not realised.⁶ After visiting The Hepworth Wakefield, where the Hepworth library exhibition was still on display, the Musée Rodin curator, Catherine Chevillot, decided to include a selection of books from Hepworth's library in the Paris exhibition.⁷ Chevillot made a selection of fourteen volumes from the library, which were shown in a wall-based case in the section of the exhibition titled 'The Studio', where a group of Hepworth's tools taken from Trewyn Studio were also presented. The majority of her selection were also books that I had chosen for the Hepworth library display in Wakefield, and again conveyed the breadth of Hepworth's reading, with texts ranging from R J C Atkinson's *Stonehenge*, Nancy Wilson Ross' *The World of Zen* and Teilhard de Chardin's *The Phenomenon of Man*. Chevillot's selection also drew attention to the significance of form that I have proposed as a connecting theme within the library – also highlighted in the exhibition's final section 'The Leaving Joy of Forms' – and included Focillon's *The Life of Forms in Art*, Herbert Read's *The Origins of Form in Art* and Lancelot Law Whyte's *Aspects of Form* [Fig. 136-7]. The first two sections of the exhibition, 'Barbara Hepworth and France' and 'International Recognition' also showed Hepworth's copy of Rilke's *Rodin* and a number of (mostly French) catalogues and publications from the library in which Hepworth's work had featured, alongside other archival materials.

As discussed in Chapter 1, it is not uncommon to see volumes from an artist's library included amongst supporting archival material in a monographic exhibition of an artist in the manner chosen by Chevillot in the first two sections of the exhibition. However, because Hepworth's books were deemed 'unsuitable' for display due to smoke damage, such

⁶ See Sophie Bowness' essay 'Barbara Hepworth et Paris', in *Barbara Hepworth* (Paris: Éditions du musée Rodin, 2019) pp. 32-41.

⁷ In email correspondence Catherine Chevillot stated, 'I saw the presentation of the library in Wakefield and have been fascinated to see how one understands Hepworth world only looking at covers of some of her books.' Catherine Chevillot, email to the author, 27 Feb. 2019.

supporting displays have not appeared in previous exhibitions.⁸ Chevillot's decision to devote a portion of 'The Studio' section to a small display of the library, in which texts were presented in their own right rather than to illustrate artworks was however more unusual. Nonetheless, in comparison to the relatively informal display of the library that I was able to show in the wall based cabinet at The Hepworth Wakefield, where books could be shown on their spines, with no labelling system required, Chevillot's display was more formalised, with all books individually labelled and shown with their book jackets facing outwards on book stands. Most likely, these display decisions were made in accordance with the requirements made by Tate Archive of how their archive material may be displayed.⁹ Therefore although items from this collection that at one time was considered 'unsuitable' for display have now been displayed twice, the acquisition of the library by Tate Archive will no doubt place certain limitations on how it may be displayed in future exhibitions.

Whilst Chapter 1 discussed the way in which much of the interest in artists' libraries has come from the remit of contemporary art, there are a number of more recent examples of artists' libraries having been displayed within the context of modern art, in addition to my own curatorial intervention and the inclusion of the Hepworth library within the Musée Rodin exhibition. These include the aforementioned *Publishing Surrealism: Roland Penrose's Library* exhibition at the Scottish Gallery of Modern Art (2017), *Art in an Electric Atmosphere: The Library and Archive of Herbert Read* at the Treasures of the Brotherton Gallery (2019),¹⁰ as well as a recreation of Van Gogh's library as part of the 2019 Tate Britain exhibition *Van Gogh and Britain*. The first room of this latter exhibition was devoted to Van Gogh's reading, particularly within the area of English Literature, in keeping with the

⁸ Sophie Bowness, *Barbara Hepworth: The Sculptor in the Studio*, p. 97.

⁹ It is standard practice for loaned archival material (as it is with artworks) for the lender to stipulate that the source of the loan is acknowledged in an exhibition label.

¹⁰ Although Read's library is not strictly an artist's library, given his key role as art critic and collector and in keeping with my previous discussion of this collection, I include it in this list.

remit of the exhibition, and included a display case of books which he was known to have read.¹¹ This thesis therefore sits within this moment of resurgence of interest in such collections, of which it can contribute to. The newly generated knowledge is also feeding back into The Hepworth Wakefield, and has already been able to inform plans for the forthcoming Hepworth exhibition in 2021 (marking the gallery's ten year anniversary), in particular the new research around Hammarskjöld and *Single Form* in the final chapter.¹²

The thesis itself opens new avenues of potential further research. As previously stated, the scope of this study was driven by the curatorial selection that I made for the Hepworth library display, itself based upon compiling a list of those volumes which Hepworth had written her name in or which contained inscriptions or annotations. Nonetheless there are still areas within the library, around which there exists far less, if any, documentation, but which invite further research. One such challenge the library sets the researcher is how to account for the large quantity of D H Lawrence novels, most of which contain Hepworth's name but almost no annotations, and about which there are no known references in correspondence.¹³ Lawrence might provide a starting point for the assessment of Hepworth's relationship with modernist literature more widely, with reference to her own writing itself.¹⁴ The previously discussed recent additions of material to the Hepworth collection at Tate Archive, in

¹¹ The exhibition guide states 'On this bookshelf are English books we know Van Gogh read. Although these are not Van Gogh's books, they are similar editions to the ones he had. Charles Dickens, George Eliot, Christina Rossetti and William Shakespeare were among his favourite authors.' See 'Exhibition Guide: The EY Exhibition Van Gogh and Britain', *Tate* <<https://www.tate.org.uk/whats-on/tate-britain/exhibition/ey-exhibition-van-gogh-and-britain/van-gogh-and-britain-exhibition-guide>>. Accessed 6 Jan. 2020.

¹² Mention of the research conducted in this thesis has been made in loan requests for artworks related to *Single Form*. It is also intended that the exhibition will show some of the archival material discussed in the thesis related to Hammarskjöld and the UN commission.

¹³ Information from Sophie Bowness, Feb. 2018. Interest in Hepworth and Lawrence has also been shown by Lawrence scholar Jane Costin, on seeing the Hepworth library display at The Hepworth Wakefield. Costin intends to include Hepworth in part of her new research which examines Lawrence's involvement with and response to the arts, particularly sculpture. Jane Costin, email to the author, 10 March 2018.

¹⁴ Penny Florence has previously suggested the viability of discussing Hepworth's writing in light of modernist prose. As she writes, 'work to be done clearly requires assessment of [Hepworth's writing] as modernist prose, perhaps in the light of other women modernists, particularly those with either a central and articulated relationship with Cornwall, like Virginia Woolf, H.D. and Mary Butts, or with an innovative understanding of the artistic and physical body, such as Gertrude Stein.' See Penny Florence, 'Barbara Hepworth: the Odd Man Out?', p. 33.

particular material related to Margaret Gardiner, to whom Hepworth wrote to regularly about her reading, may also offer valuable new insights. However, all subsequent research on the Hepworth library will no doubt be subject to certain limitations of access on account of its new situation at Tate Archive. Unlike The Hepworth Wakefield Archive, where the Hepworth library was housed on open-access shelving, where the full collection was visible, at Tate Archive the collection will be placed in the designated archival storage area, which is separate to the main reading room. It is also significant that the first display of Hepworth's library took place in a regional gallery, in Hepworth's very hometown, rather than in a national gallery. For this reason, the research undertaken as part of this thesis has proven to be a timely intervention into the literature, which, in reclaiming Hepworth's library as an important area within her legacy has laid a foundation for future scholarship.

Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig.5.



Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.



Fig.9.



Fig. 10.



Fig. 11.



Fig. 12.

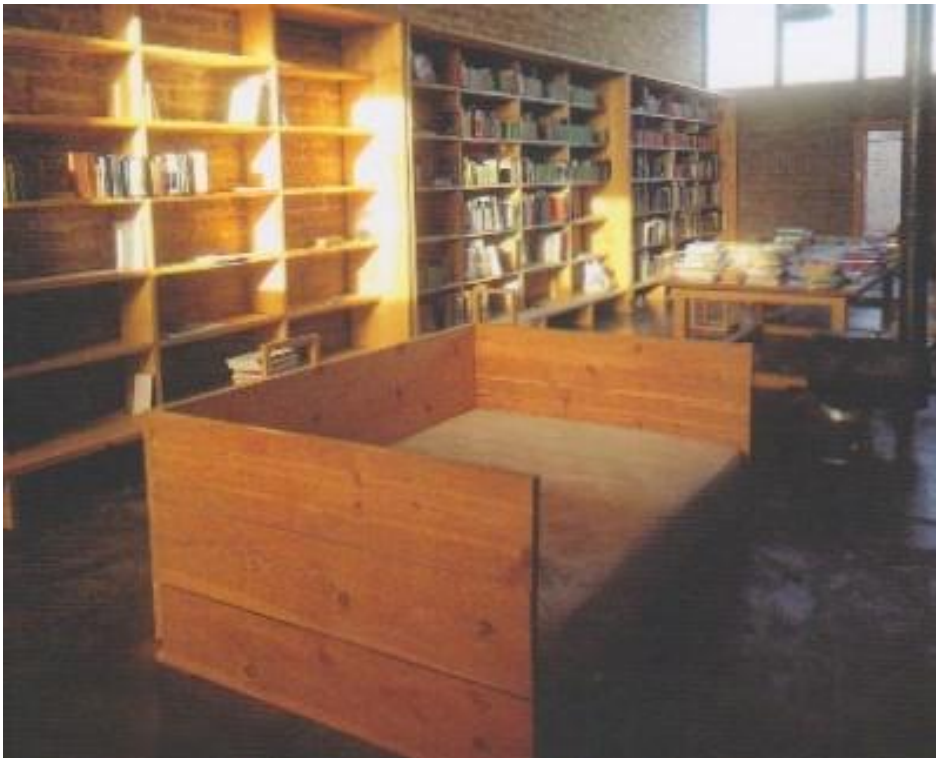


Fig. 13.



Fig. 14.



Fig. 15.



Fig. 16.



Fig. 17.



Fig. 18.

LEVEL 1



Fig. 19



Fig. 20.



Fig. 21.



Fig. 22.



Fig. 23.



Fig. 24.



Fig. 25.



Fig. 26.

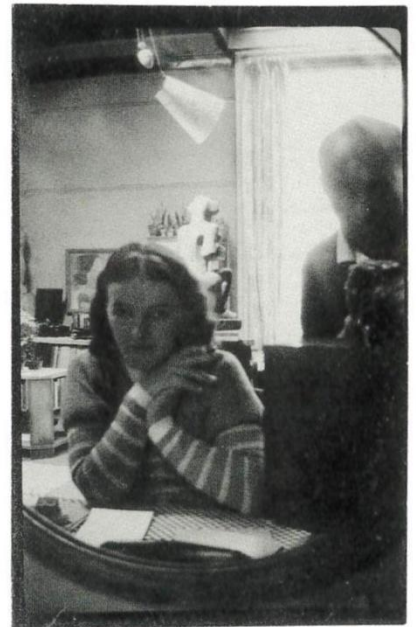


Fig. 27.



214 Trewyn Studio, January 1959



I became more and more pre-occupied with the inside and outside of forms as I had been in the late 1930's, but on a bigger scale. I wanted to make forms to stand on hillsides and through which to look to the sea. Forms to lie down in, or forms to climb through. I would go out at night to see the effect of moonlight and then wait for the rising sun and make notes as to what happened then.

215 Curved form with inner form (Anima), bronze, 97½ in.

We are so placed here, geographically, that both sun and moon rise and set over the water with a great radiance and this fact sets up a remarkable tension in my everyday life. I am not scientifically minded; but the forces between the everchanging position of the sun and moon, and the effects upon sea and tide, and cloud and wind, which change the depth of shadow on forms have governed my life for a long time.

I began to get more and more turn-tables and to try to assess my own changing movements in relation to the sun.

Piercing through forms became dominant. Could I climb through and in what direction? Could I rest, lie or stand within the forms? Could I, at one and the same time, be the outside as well as the form within?

Coming back from America after one of my visits, I became so unutterably bored by the false surroundings in the aircraft, the colour T.V., cigar smoke and champagne that I begged permission to go into the cockpit and make a drawing of the sunrise. Permission was granted and it was one of the great experiences of my life.

The pilot said, quite frankly, that he thought I was a bit silly and that he, personally, was tired of sun-rises. But quite apart from the super-natural colours and shapes, and the sense of real flying, I think I was even more deeply impressed by the utter ease of movement by pilot and co-pilot and navigator in such incredibly restricted space.

To go on seemed sensible. To descend a very hard discipline. I would like to be an astronaut and go round the moon, and maybe remain in orbit for ever. But I would not like to land in case the light of the moon went out forever and all poetry die and deeper my soul descend on this anguished earth. But my son Paul once told me that there was a new aesthetic: in flying and space and maybe these many brave men will guide us.



216 With Figure (Archaean) in the garden

a new decade

Fig. 28.



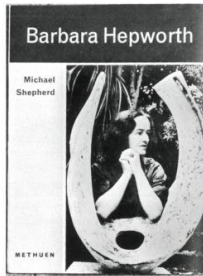
BARBARA HEPWORTH

an exhibition of sculpture
from 1932-1962
Whitechapel Art Gallery

255 Title page and frontispiece of catalogue of Retrospective Exhibition 1962-66, Whitechapel Art Gallery; illus. Figure (Archaean)



256 Pierced form, Pentagonal white marble, 50 in.



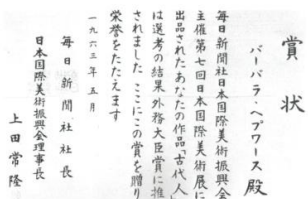
258 Book jacket (1963)



257 Square form with circles. Bronze, 8 ft 6 in. at the Israel Museum Jerusalem



259 'Foreign Minister's Award' given to me at the 7th International Art Exhibition, Tokyo



260 Scroll of 'Foreign Minister's Award'

a new decade

All landscape needs a figure — and when a sculptor is the spectator he is aware that every landscape evokes a special image. In creating this image the artist tries to find a synthesis of his human experience and the quality of the landscape. The forms and piercings, the weight and poise of the concrete image also become evocative — a fusion of experience and myth.

Working in the abstract way seems to release one's personality and sharpen the perceptions so that in the observation of humanity or landscape it is the wholeness of inner intention which moves one so profoundly. The components fall into place and one is no longer aware of the detail except as the necessary significance of wholeness and unity... a rhythm of form which has its roots in earth but reaches outwards towards the unknown experiences of the future. The thought underlying this form is, for me, the delicate balance the spirit of man maintains between his knowledge and the laws of the universe.

261 With Vertical form, stone, in the carving yard at Trewyn Studio



Fig. 29.



Fig. 30.



Fig. 31.



Fig. 32.



Fig. 33.



Fig. 34.



Fig. 35.



Fig. 36.



Fig. 37.



Fig. 38.



Fig. 39.

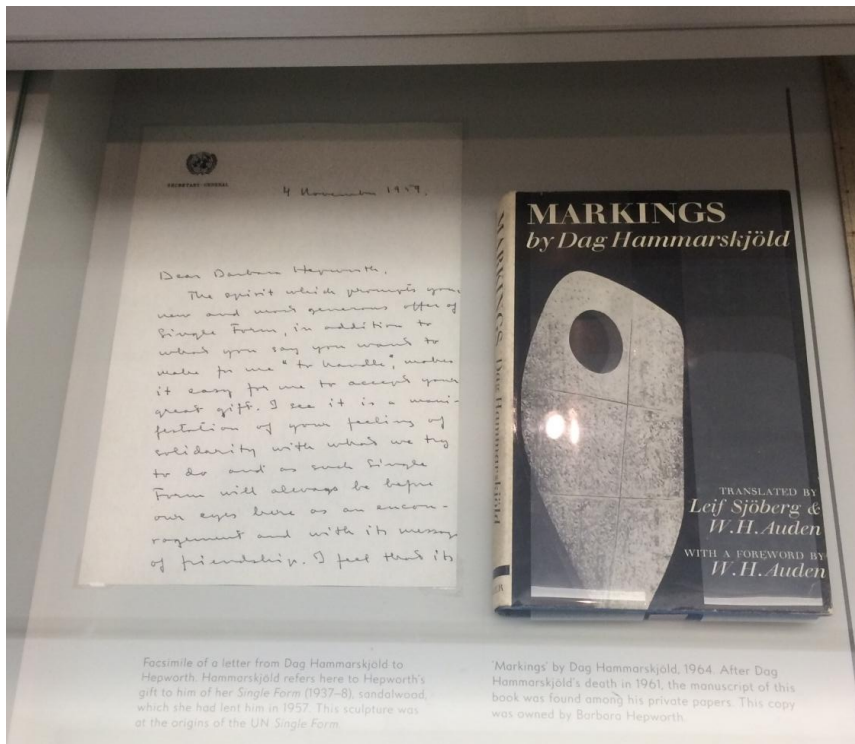


Fig. 40



Fig. 41.



Preface
Simon Wallis

The Hepworth Wakefield is Yorkshire's major new art gallery, designed by award-winning British architect David Chipperfield and echoing the clarity and power of form in Barbara Hepworth's work. The gallery is a highly sculptural building constructed in in-situ pigmented cast concrete, and situated at the heart of Wakefield's waterfront on the River Calder. The Hepworth Wakefield celebrates and explores the region's heritage as the birthplace of modern British sculpture through the achievements of Barbara Hepworth and Henry Moore – two of the most important artists of the twentieth century, both of whom were born and grew up in the Wakefield district. It was the landscape and industry in the old West Riding of Yorkshire that provided particularly valuable early experiences to these two extraordinary sculptors, and now gives us a continuing fertile context for our collection displays and temporary exhibitions programme.

A key part of the gallery's permanent displays is an important collection of plasters by Barbara Hepworth that helps reveal new aspects of her work from the 1950s to her death in 1975. Hepworth's powerful, elemental and precise sculpture made a major contribution to the development of twentieth-century art and she remains a seminal figure for contemporary audiences fascinated by her remarkable achievements at the highest international level and the artistic and intellectual circles in which she moved. She enjoyed friendships with key artists, critics, musicians and architects that included, among others, Herbert Read, Adrian Stokes, Paul Nash, Ben Nicholson, Henry Moore, Leslie Martin, Walter Gropius, Naum Gabo, Piet Mondrian, László Moholy-Nagy, Jean Arp, Michael Tippett, Benjamin Britten and Driault Rainier. These influences and foils were synthesised by Hepworth to create a unique art embodying an enduring richness that respects and explores ancient cultures, while grasping firmly the pragmatic momentum of modernity and its utopian possibilities for a better life. This manifested itself largely in the consistent movement and tension between abstraction and figuration in her work.

This generous Gift from the Hepworth Estate through the Art Fund will enable us to understand more about Hepworth's working methods and concerns, and demonstrates how she used plaster to build up forms and shape it as a carver when it was dry. This way of working grew from her experience of directly carving into wood and stone, which characterised her work of the later 1920s, 1930s and 1940s. Hepworth's subsequent use of plaster and bronze was, in some ways, an expansion of the doctrine of 'truth to materials' so that the qualities of both could be held in mind as she worked. This new method of creating sculptures in plaster, which were then cast into bronze, opened up many possibilities for the forms she wished to produce and the techniques she

Plate 1
The Plasters Gallery at The Hepworth Wakefield
with Winged Figure, 2010

Fig. 42.



Fig. 43



Fig. 44.



Fig. 45.



Fig. 46.



Fig. 47.



Fig. 48.

Hepworth was prolific in her later years, making nearly as many works during the 1960s as between 1925 and 1960, and experimenting with materials and processes until her death in 1975. She worked extensively in marble, a material she had learnt to carve in Italy in the 1920s but had not always been able to afford, and cast works in silver and gold. Often developing forms that had been present in her work from the early 1930s, Hepworth stated in 1971, 'I don't think anyone realises how much the last ten years has been a fulfilment of my youth'.

Galleries 4 & 5: Hepworth at work

In 1961 Hepworth had expanded from her Trewyn Studio in St Ives (now the Barbara Hepworth Museum and Sculpture Garden, run by Tate) to a second studio, a former dance studio known as the Palais de Danse. Here she worked on larger sculptures, often to be cast in bronze. The tools and materials on display in Gallery 4 are Hepworth's own and have been drawn from the Palais de Danse. The artist observed: 'The tools a sculptor uses become his friends, and they become intensely personal to one, the most precious extensions of one's sight and touch.' This gallery explores Hepworth's studio environment, her working practice in plaster, her collaborative relationships with bronze foundries and the monumental commissions she received in the last fifteen years of her life. Visitors can see a step-by-step reconstruction of the bronze-casting process, photographs of works in progress and specially commissioned films containing archival footage of the artist in her studio.

Hepworth had a particular interest in archaic art and sought its simplicity of form in her own sculpture. A selection of ancient and primitive objects the artist owned can be seen alongside stones and pebbles: 'Many people select a stone or pebble to carry for the day. The weight and form and texture felt in our hands relates us to the past and gives us a sense of a universal force.'

This serves as an introduction to the Hepworth Family Gift in Gallery 5, a unique collection of Hepworth's

Right: Tools and materials from Barbara Hepworth's studio in St Ives on display in Gallery 4

Overleaf: Gallery 4 also displays various objects Hepworth owned and which were a source of inspiration for her work, including ancient Cycladic figures from around 2,000 BC, stones, crystals and geological specimens



"The tools a sculptor uses become his friends, and they become intensely personal to one, the most precious extensions of one's sight and touch."

working models. The extraordinary surviving prototypes offer an invaluable insight into the artist's practice and, in particular, her approach to working with plaster. The collection reflects the variety of ways in which Hepworth used plaster and other materials as part of her creative process. She preferred to make prototypes on the same scale as the finished sculptures and worked directly on all of these models, precisely indicating for the bronze foundries the texture and colour of the final works. The centrepiece of the Gift is the prototype for *Winged Figure* (1961-2), the sculpture commissioned by John Lewis for their flagship shop on Oxford Street. At nearly six metres in height, this is the only full-size working model to survive of the monumental commissions Hepworth received in her later life.

Fig. 49.



Fig. 50.



Fig. 51.



The Hepworth Wakefield cares for more than 5,000 works of art in the Wakefield Permanent Art Collection and makes them publicly accessible through the gallery's exhibitions and collection displays, national and international loans programme, publications and in content on its website. The entire Gott Collection, comprising more than 1,200 watercolours, drawings and prints depicting the Yorkshire region, is available via the gallery's website. Works not on display are cared for backstage in the gallery's stores, where the curatorial team manage a continuing programme of conservation work.

The building of The Hepworth Wakefield in 2011 allowed for a dedicated space to be set aside for the archive of the former Wakefield Art Gallery. The archive documents the development of the collection from 1923, as well as the innovative and ambitious exhibitions at the gallery from its opening in 1934, including catalogues and press cuttings. This incorporates an extensive archive relating to Barbara Hepworth, including a copy of the artist's records of her sculptural works, family photographs, letters and other ephemera. The archive additionally comprises the majority of Hepworth's personal library and a wide-ranging collection of books and catalogues reflecting the content of the collection. The Hepworth Family Gift is also supported by archival material, which includes photographs of all Hepworth's sculptures.

The Hepworth's curatorial and learning teams generate research into the collection and archives, and support partnerships with students and academics, universities, galleries and museums nationally and internationally, as well as enriching their knowledge and interpretation of the collection through collaborations with local partners and communities.

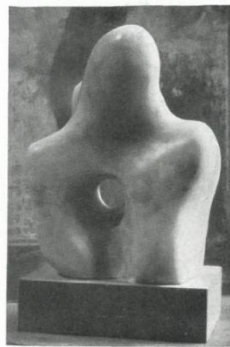
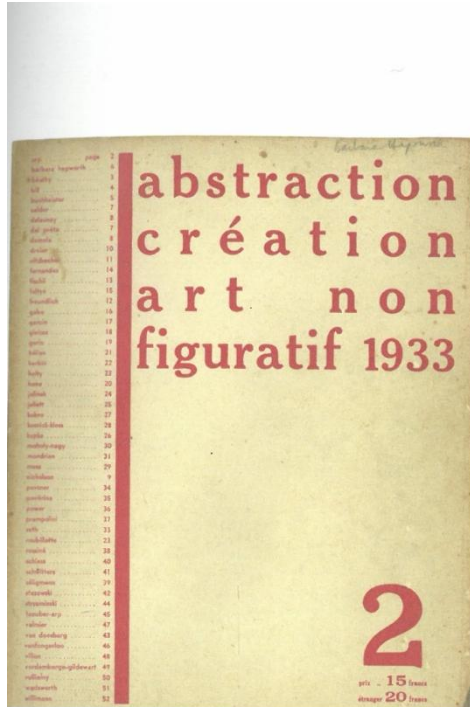
The archive catalogue is open to researchers who wish to come and consult the holdings. Please go to the gallery's website for details of how to contact us and to further explore our collection and exhibitions: hepworthwakefield.org/our-art-artists

93

Fig. 52.



Fig. 53



Barbara Hepworth

Notre époque prédestinée, voit naître et s'affirmer un petit nombre « d'initiés » qui, à leur tour, ayant définitivement « compris », œuvrent en véritables architectes de l'univers ».

Il ne s'agit là, comme il ne s'agissait auparavant, ni de Grèce, ni d'Allemagne, ni de France, ni d'ailleurs...

« Immense et neutre » fut Jean-Sébastien.
« Immense et neutre » sera toujours la pensée au-dessus des temps.

Et, la musique, étant l'art abstrait — par définition — il ne peut exister d'art véritable que tendant à des réalisations « parfaites » de rythme (au commencement est le rythme), d'ordre de composition, d'harmonie et surtout de lignes « définitives ».

Les peintres d'aujourd'hui, rejoignent les musiciens, comme ceux-ci ont depuis toujours rejoint les architectes, — comme les architectes, à leur tour, se joignent aux machinistes constructeurs...

Et cela, non pour créer un art matérialiste, utilitaire et dérisoirement futile, — mais bien au contraire, par les formes issues de données scientifiques et de conjectures spirituelles, pour s'écartier en direction de l'absolu des nombres, et planer enfin dans la « musique » de ces nombres.

Jean-Sébastien Bach, et les hauteurs sévères où son génie le mena, peut être même à son insu, appellent non seulement les musiciens, mais tous les artistes d'aujourd'hui à « créer » « en continuant », par un nouveau bond au-dessus des siècles, selon des visions d'autant plus généreuses, humaines et fécondes, qu'elles seront plus mathématiques et plus réfléchies.

6

Par ce chemin, peuvent venir en grande partie, la vérité et la justice : — Bach, en tant que « message » étant moins un fait individuel, qu'un « état » de l'esprit.

Les moments les plus abstraits de l'œuvre de Richard Wagner — dont les réalisations furent en général romantiques, mais de l'esprit d'un révolutionnaire, en même temps que d'un initié, — à vrai dire plus conscient que Bach, — sont ceux où la musique volontaire et sans « représentation » se charge de nous transmettre sa conception idéaliste-ogymiste du monde, à travers un pessimisme négateur.

A côté de pareils désirs de l'idée pure — malgré un art si peu dépouillé, que peut valoir l'œuvre uniquement impressionniste d'un Debussy, ou de tel de ses épigones ?

Évocateurs des eaux, des clairs de lune, du frisson des arbres... Reflets et images, toujours inférieurs à la nature divinement insensible, supérieurement créatrice...

L'image d'une locomotive, ou son évocation sonore pourront-elles jamais être préférées à la locomotive elle-même ?

Alors ?... Pourquoi ?...
La ligne, la couleur, le son, le nombre ont leur beauté propre, leur beauté pure, éternelle et toute puissante, qui ne doit jamais s'abaisser jusqu'à servir d'autres fins que celles de l'esprit.

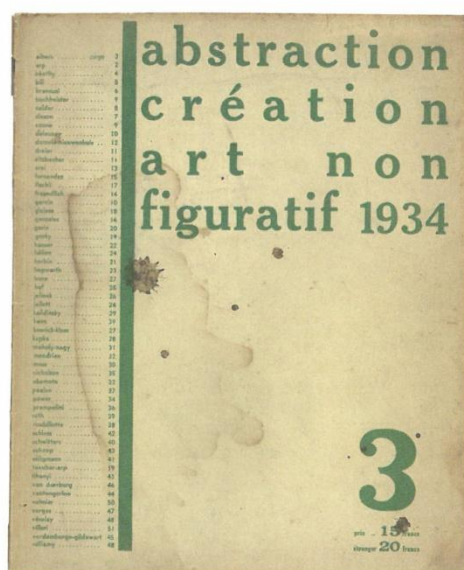
Il n'est de réalité que dans les idées : et, toute forme tangible, sonore, tend « invisiblement » vers des dimensions que seul conçoit notre esprit. L'œuvre précède la théorie.

Dégageons donc de la nature et de l'équilibre des sphères, leurs lois éternelles, aussi simples qu'inombrables d'aspect : « créons » surtout les plans, le contrepoint figuré et expressif des idées et des lignes. Dans tous les arts, soyons les « musiciens » des nombres et nous deviendrons de purs esprits, non seulement libérateurs, mais nécessairement et avant tout : libérés.

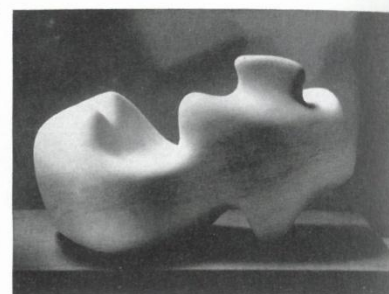
Barbara Hepworth



Fig. 54



Hepworth 1933



Hepworth 1933

Fig. 55

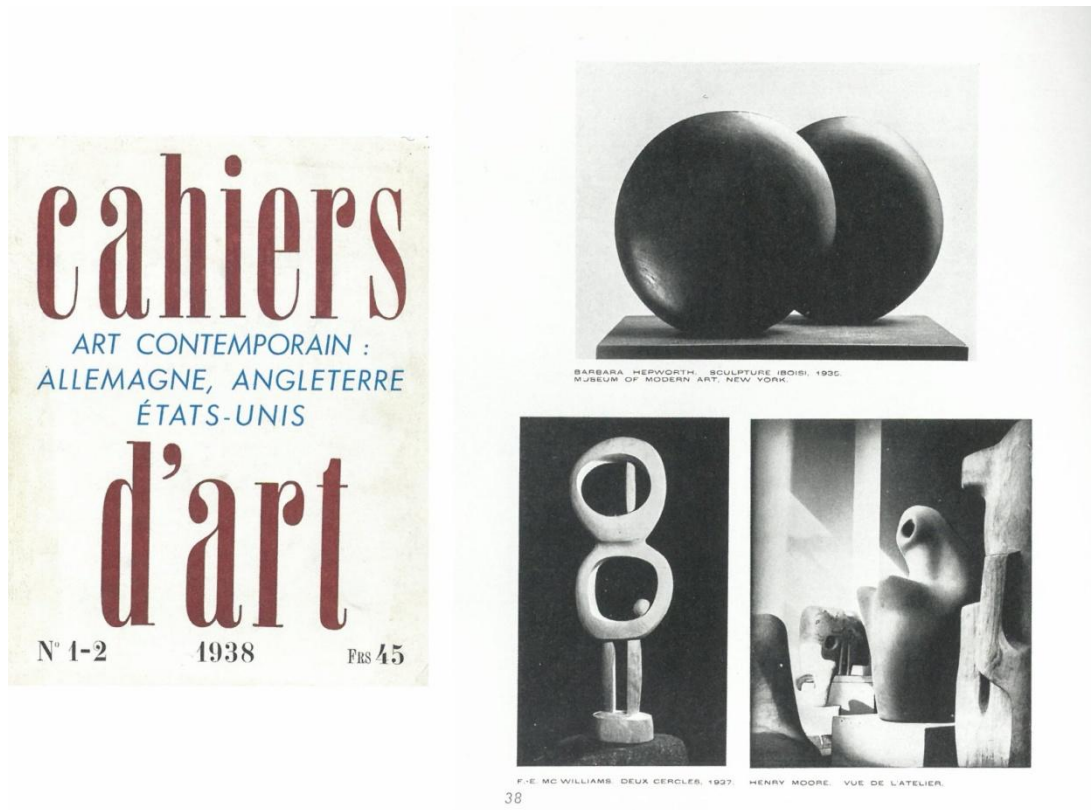


Fig.56

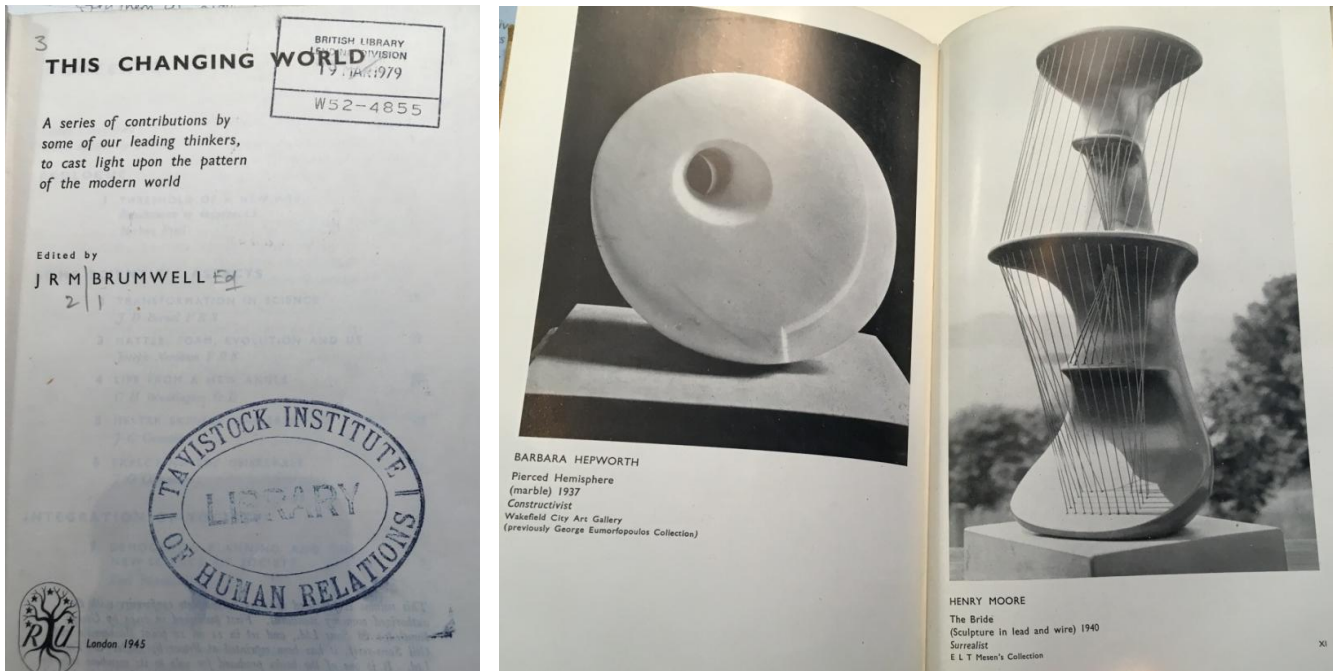


Fig. 57



Fig. 58

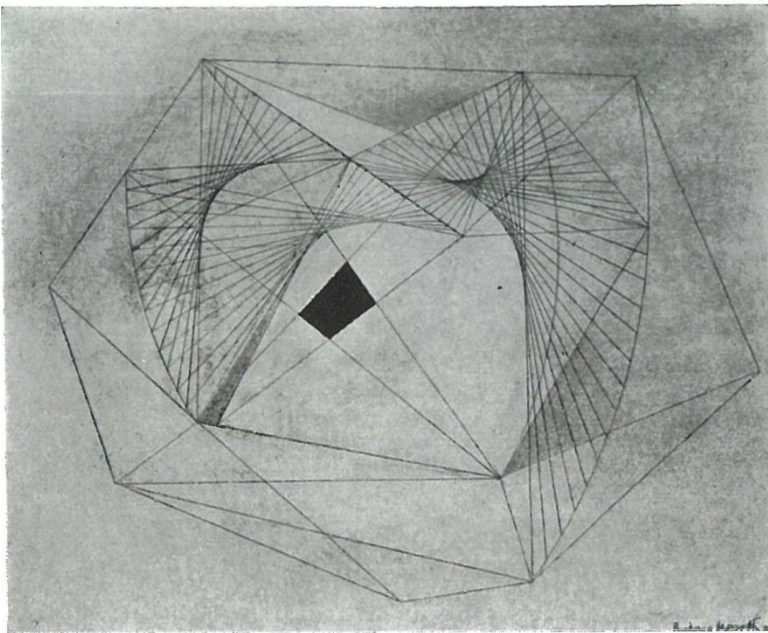


Fig. 59

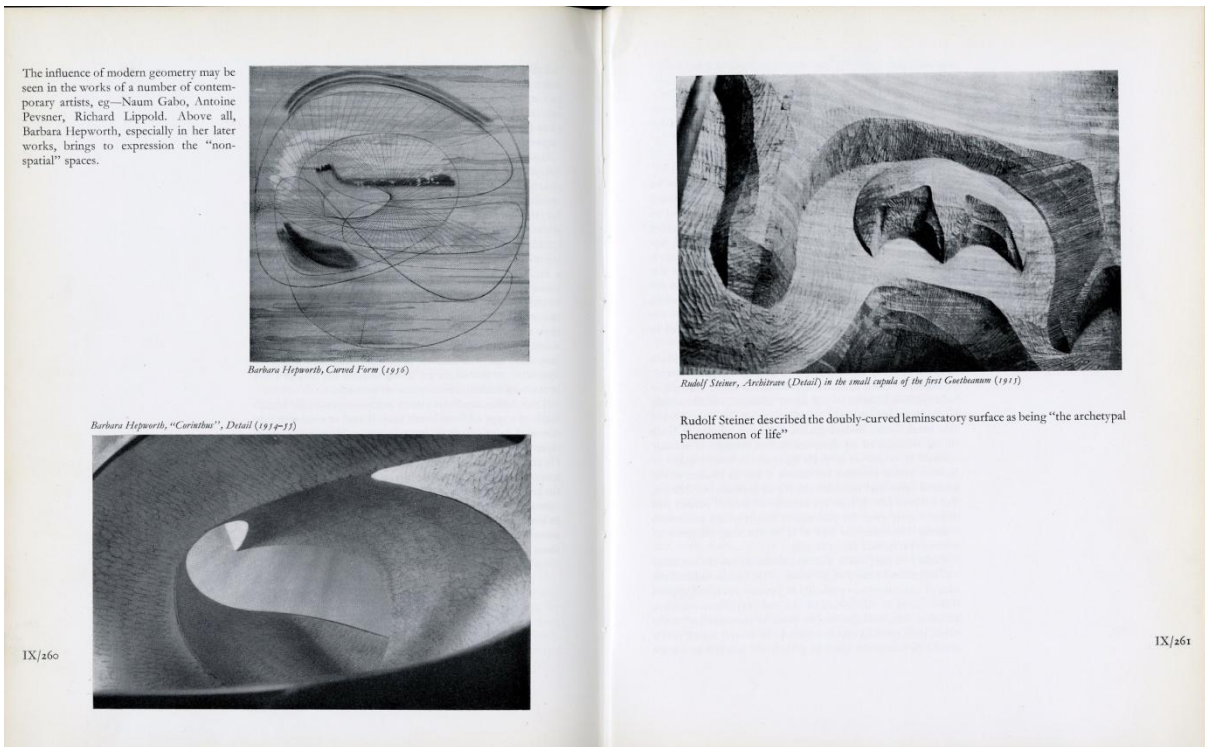


Fig. 60

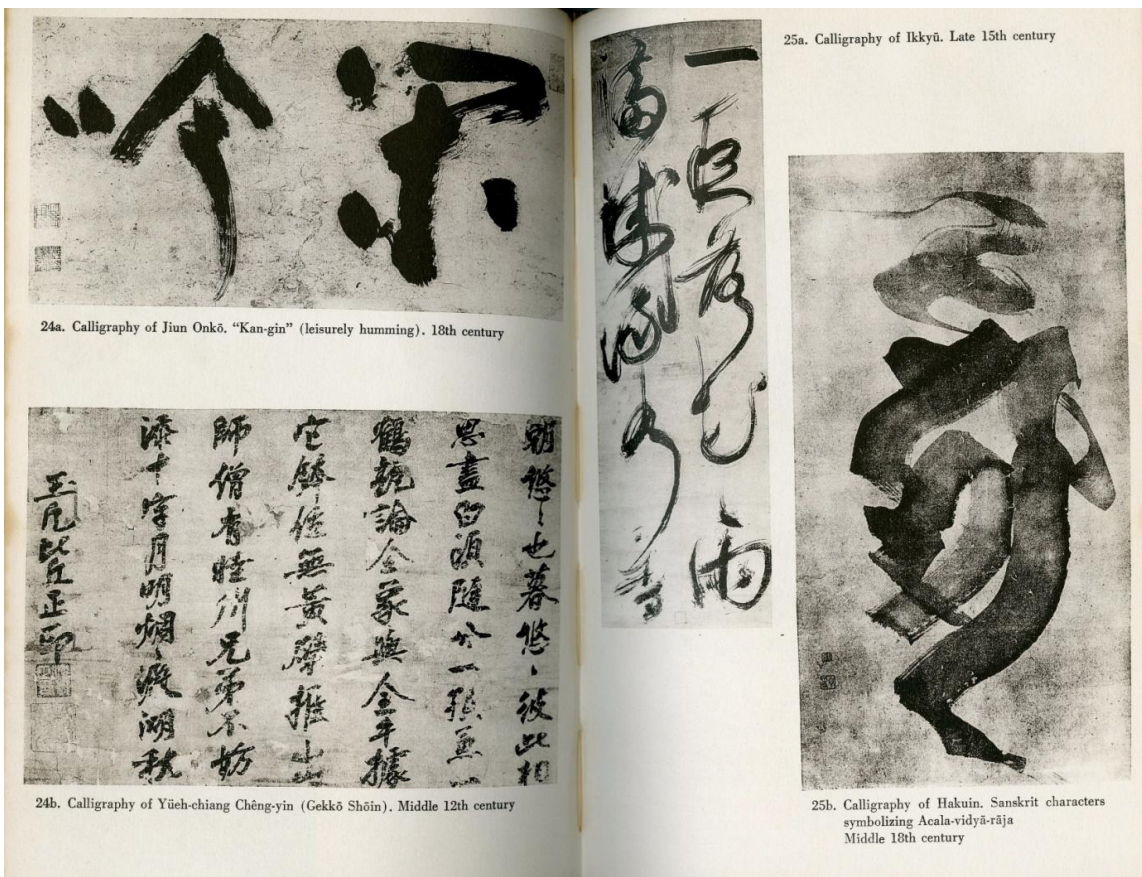


Fig. 61.



Fig. 62



Fig. 63.

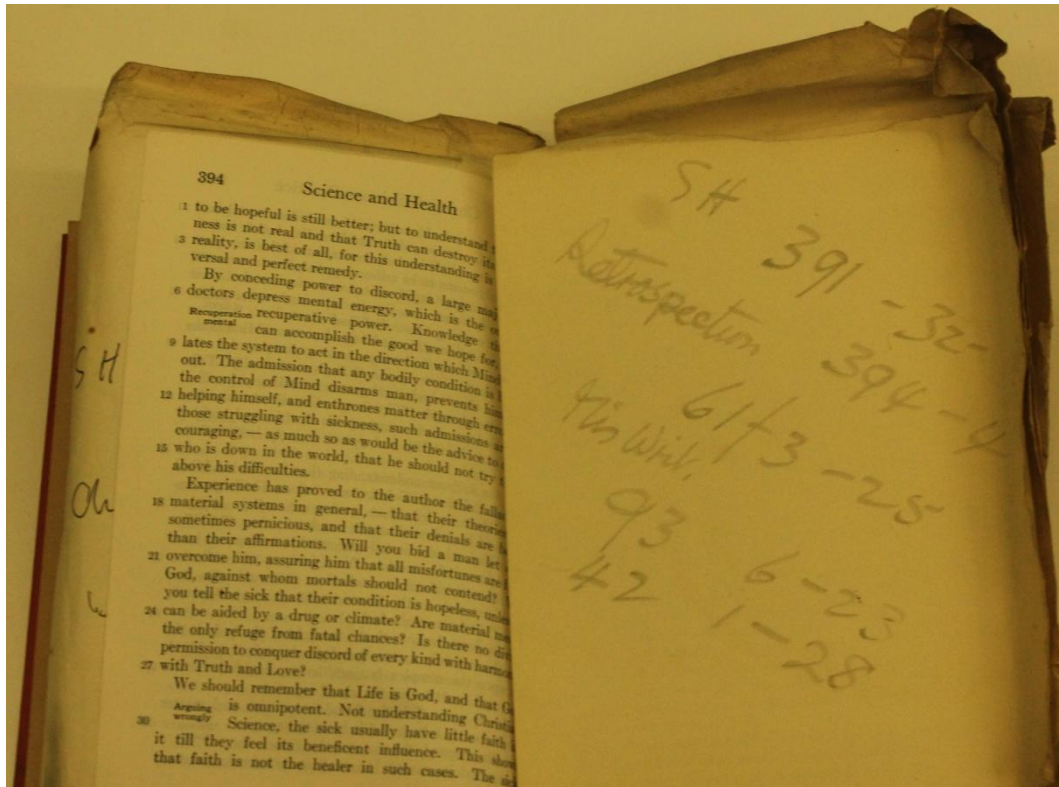


Fig. 64.

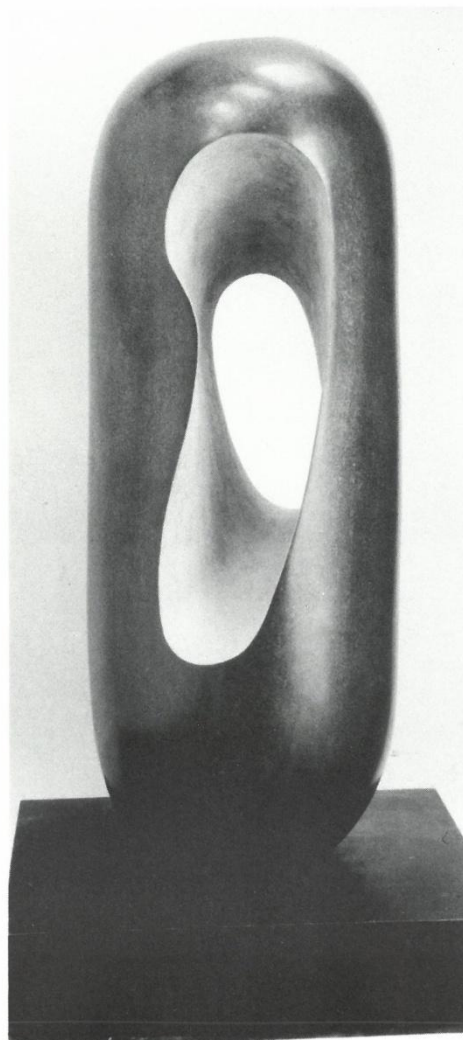


Fig. 65

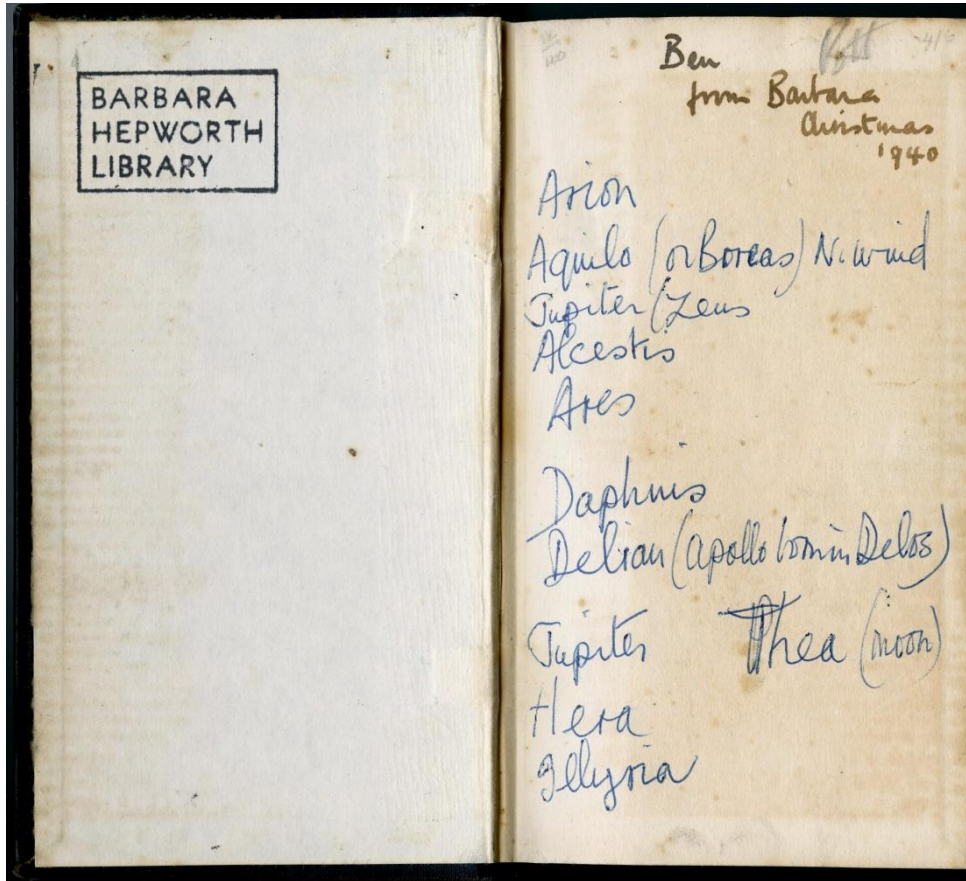


Fig. 66.

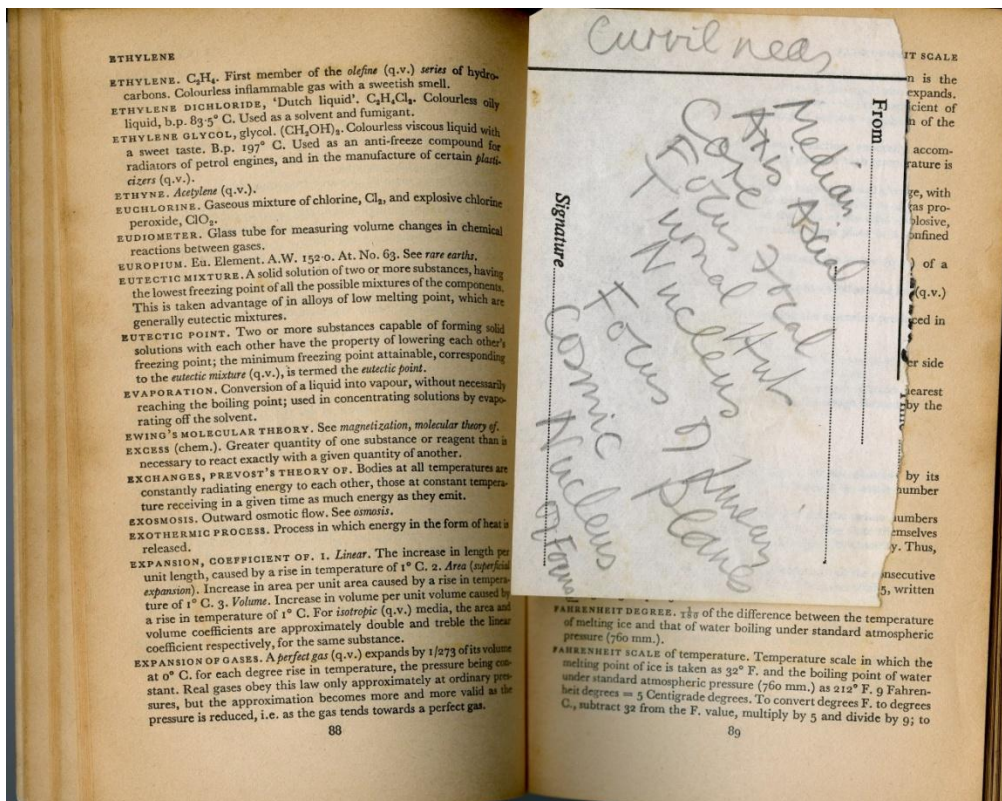


Fig. 67.

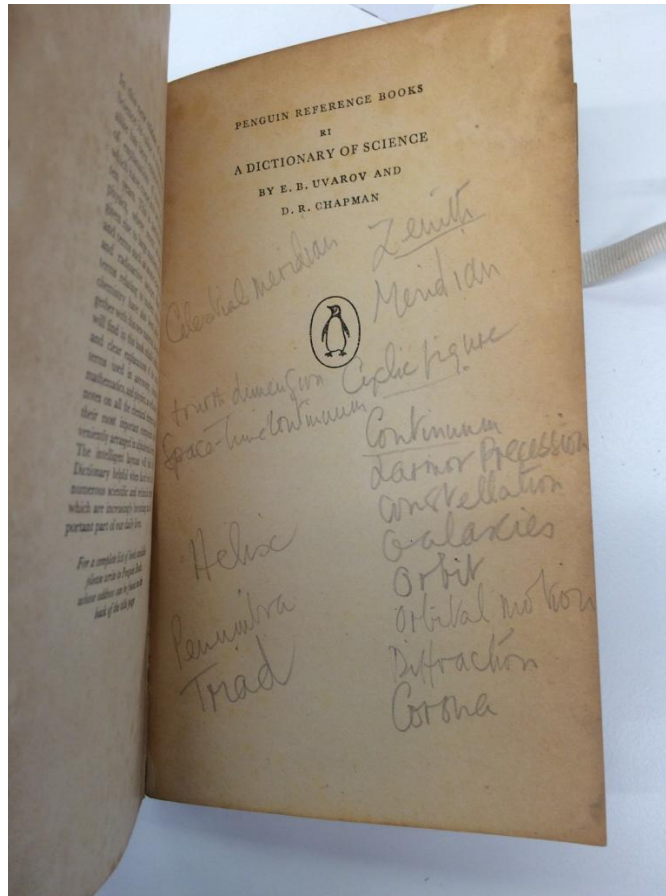


Fig. 68.



Fig. 69

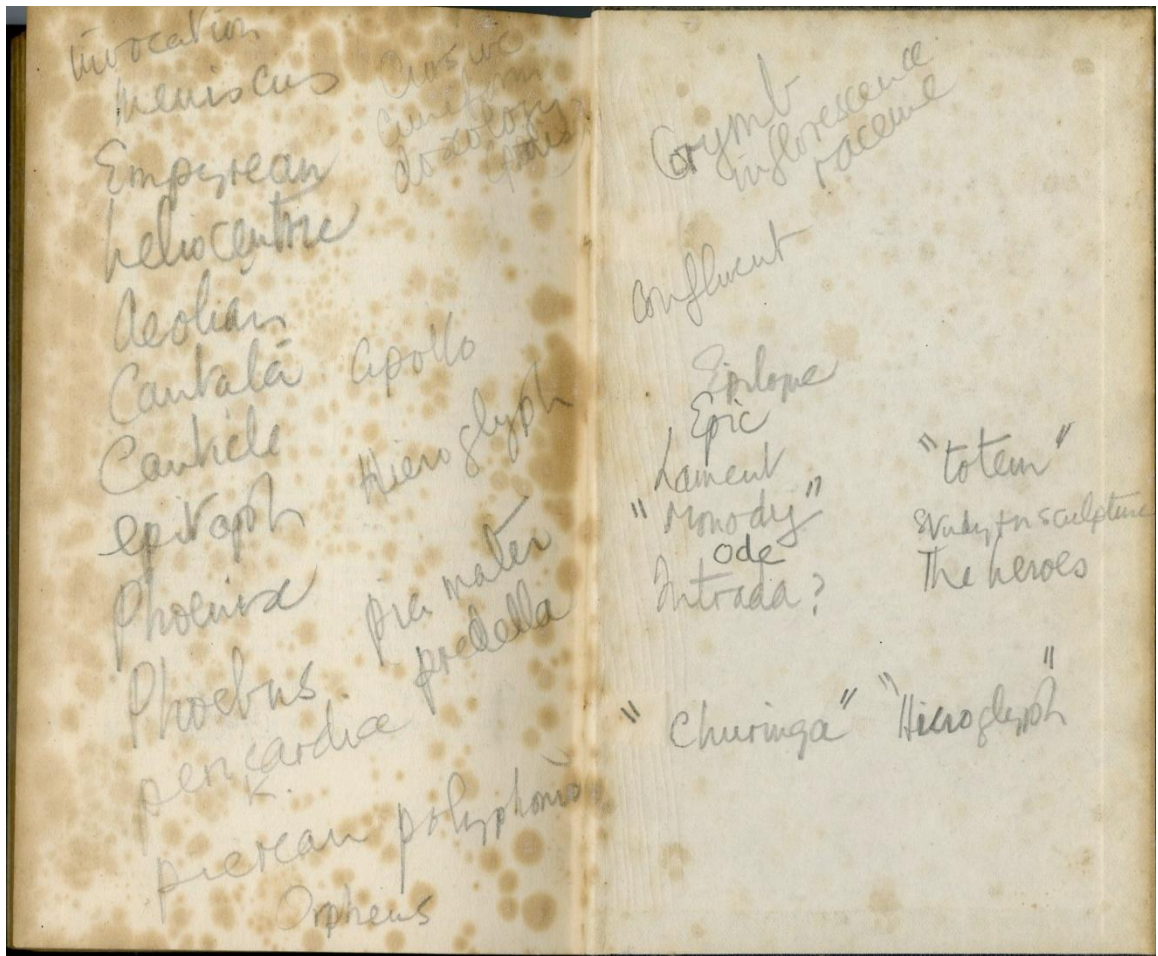


Fig. 70

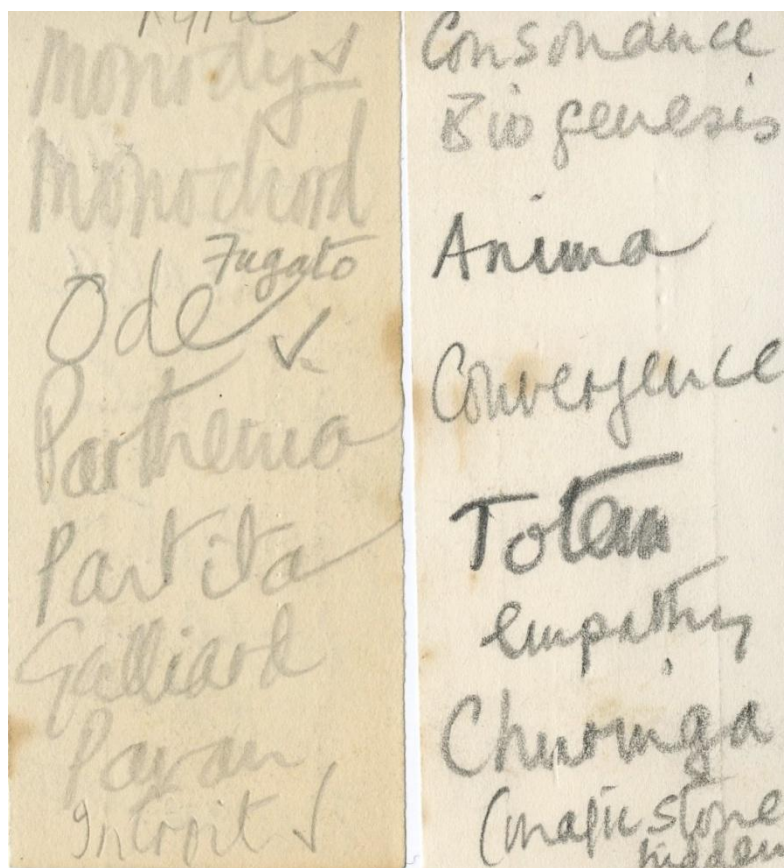


Fig. 71.

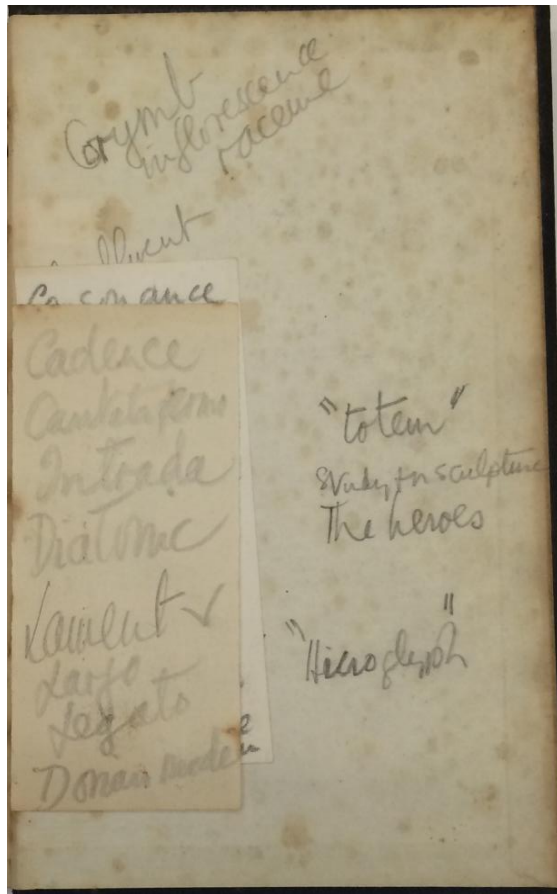


Fig. 72



Fig. 73.

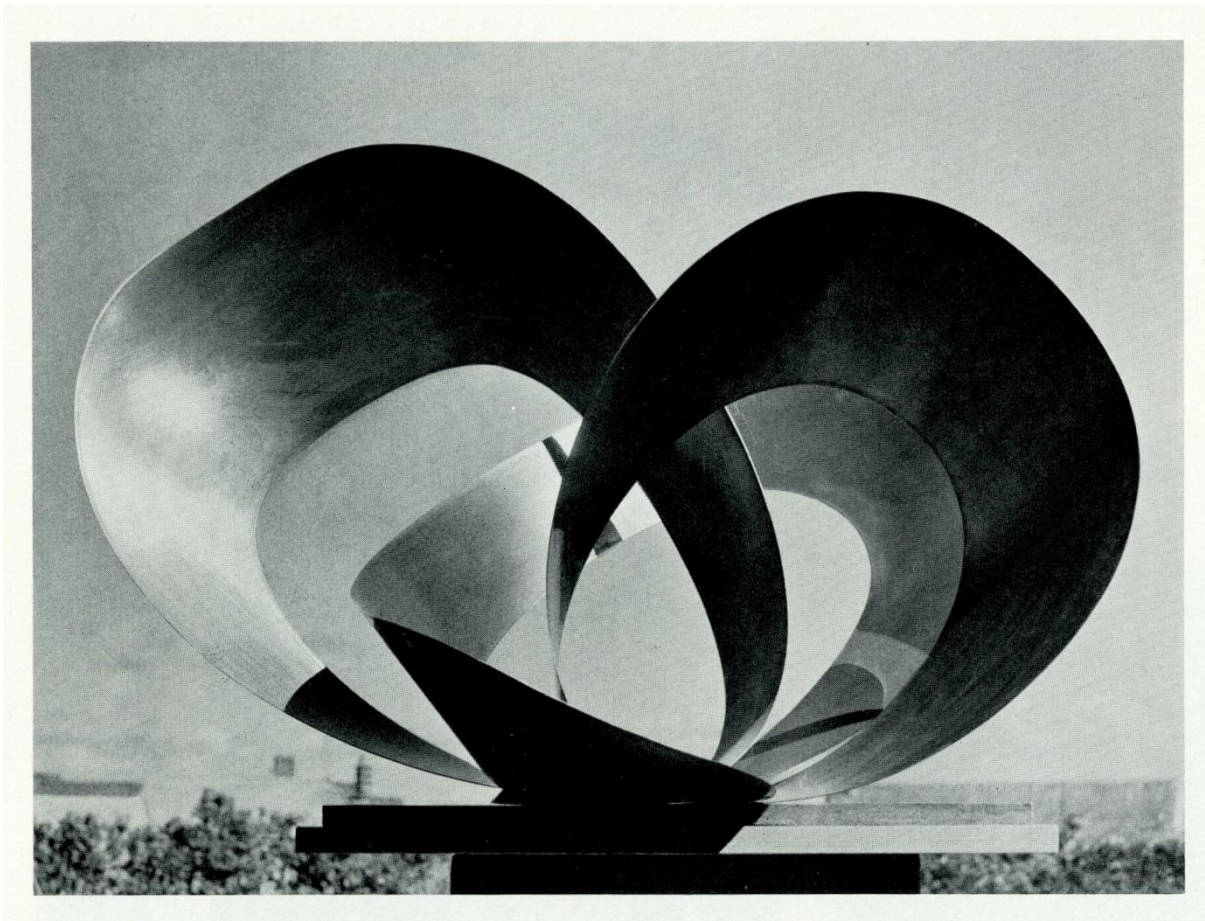


Fig. 74.

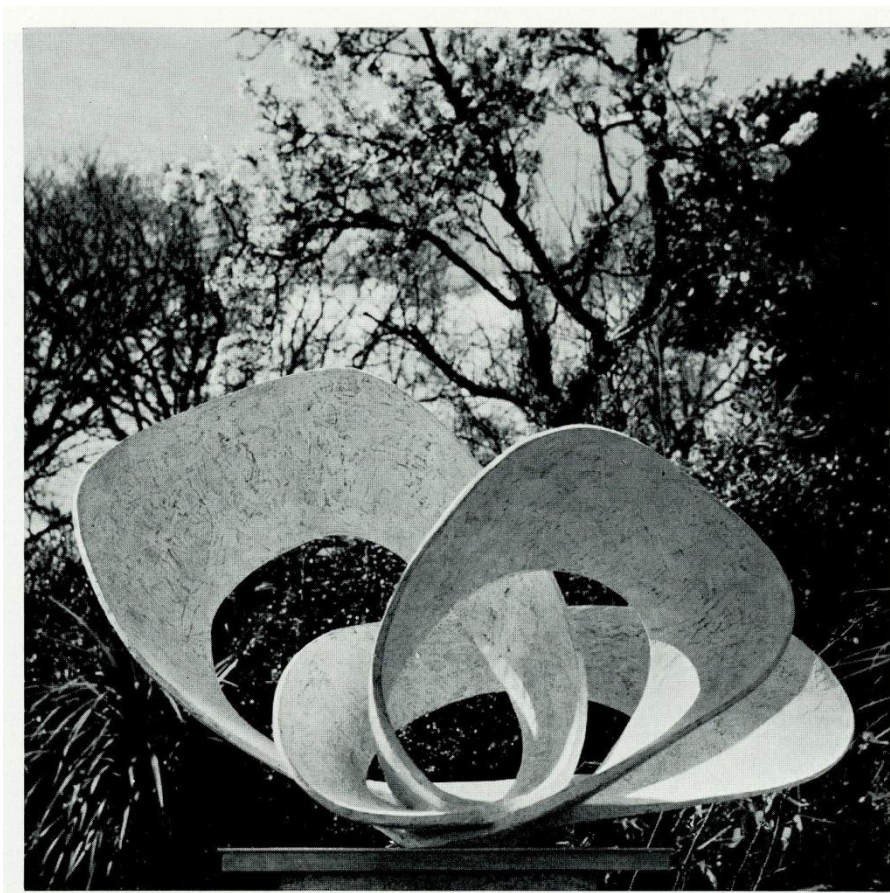


Fig. 75.

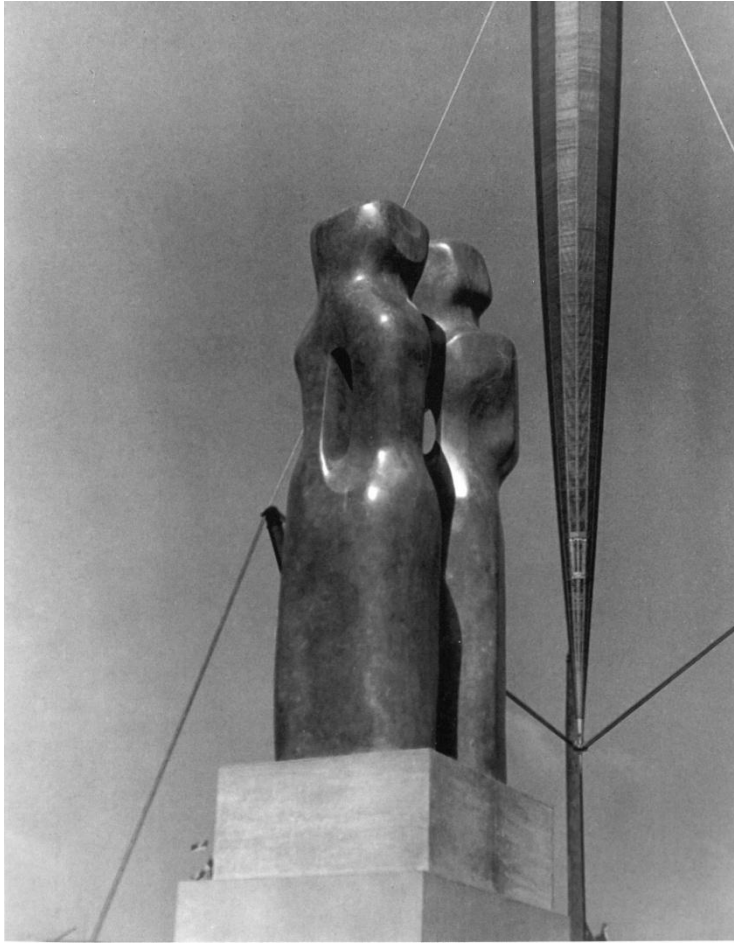


Fig. 76.

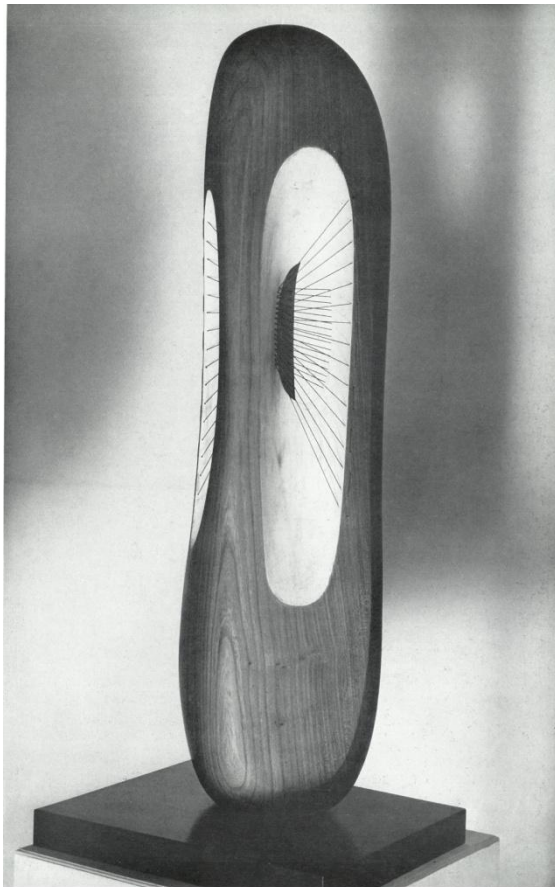


Fig. 77.

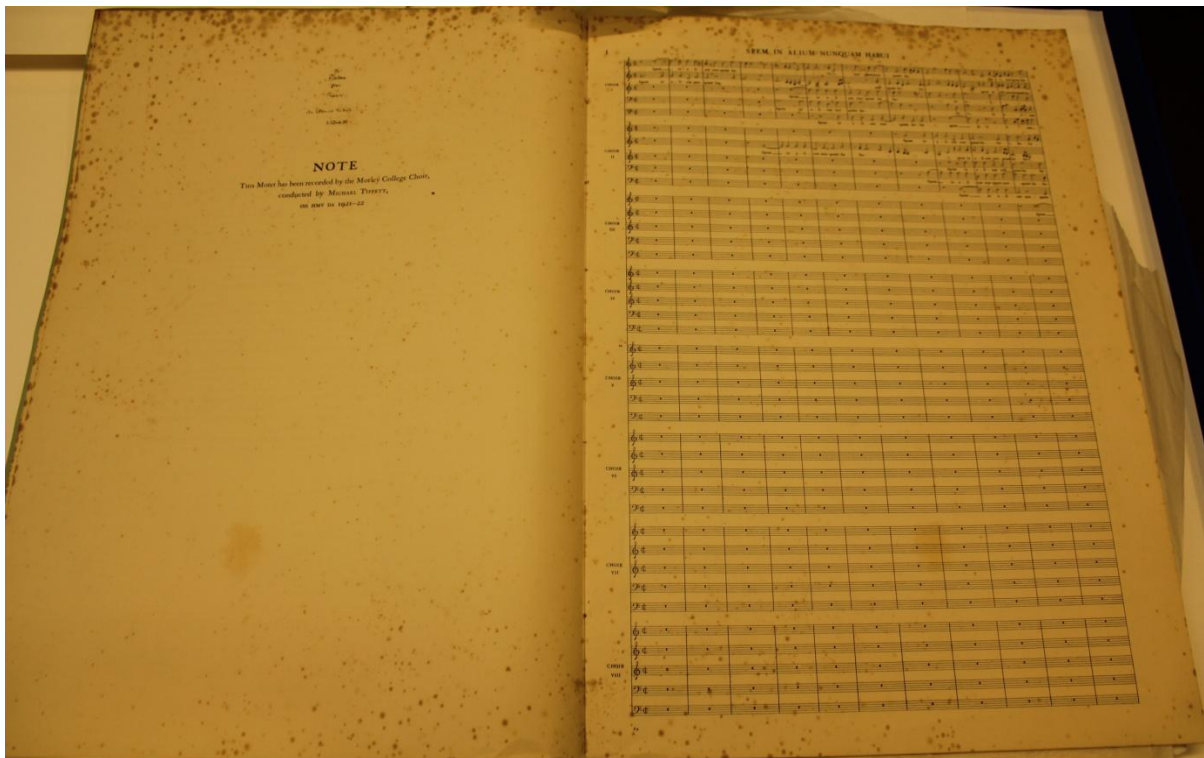


Fig. 78.

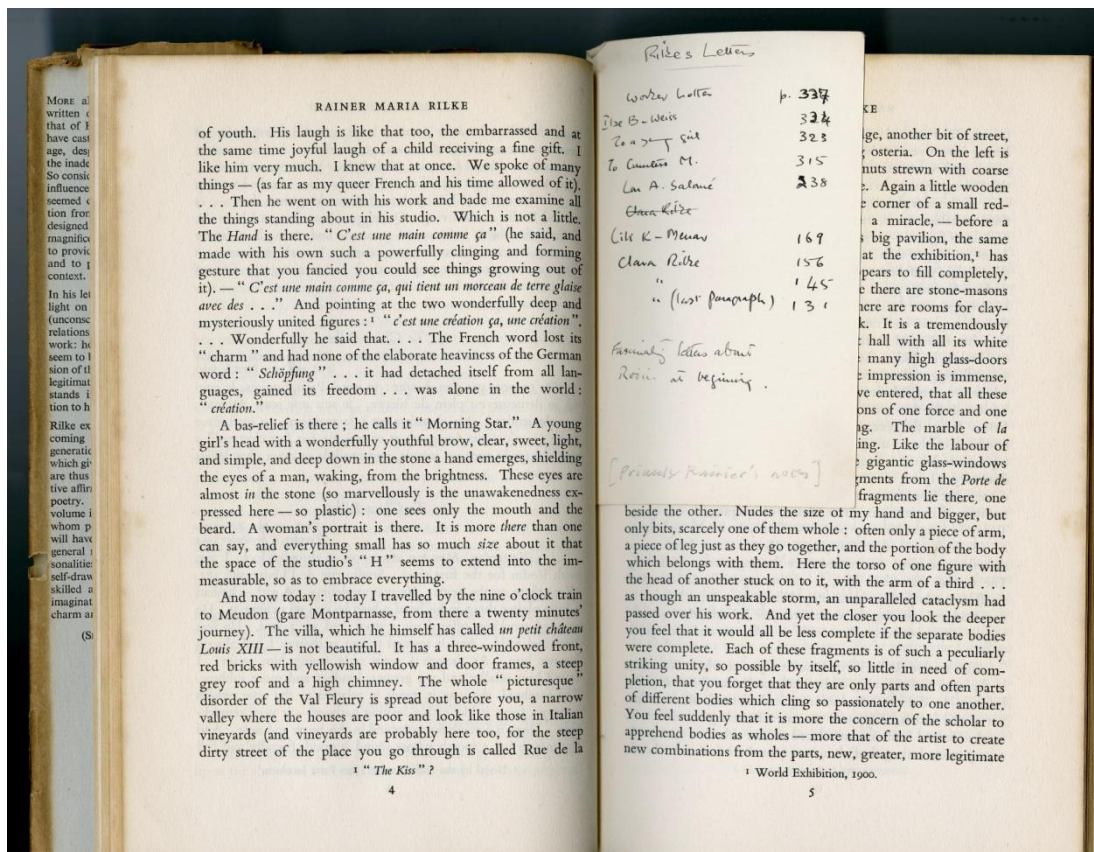


Fig. 81.



Fig. 82.

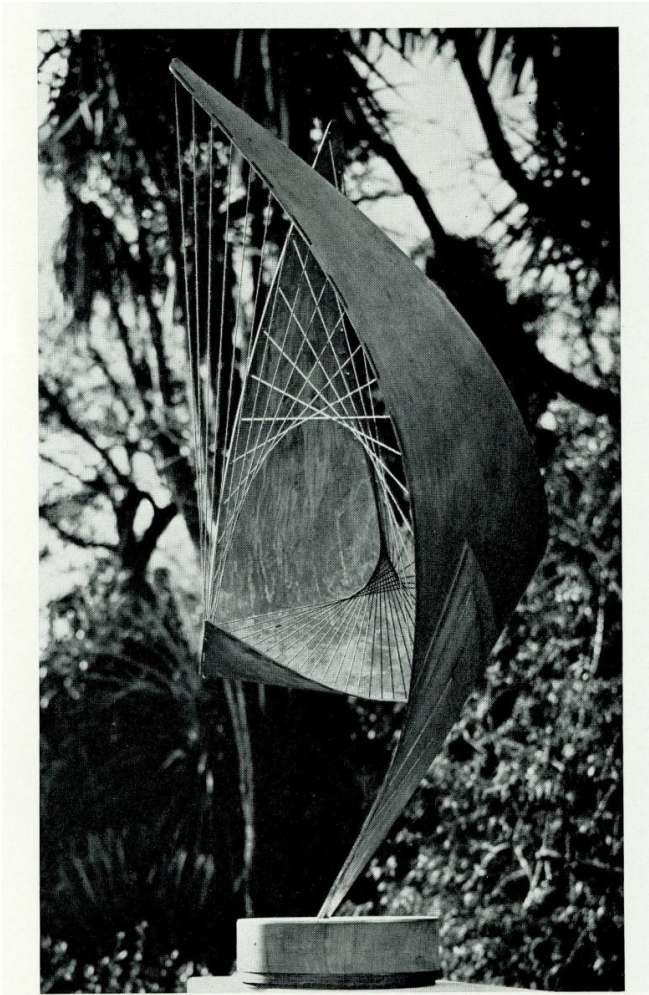


Fig. 83.



Fig. 84.

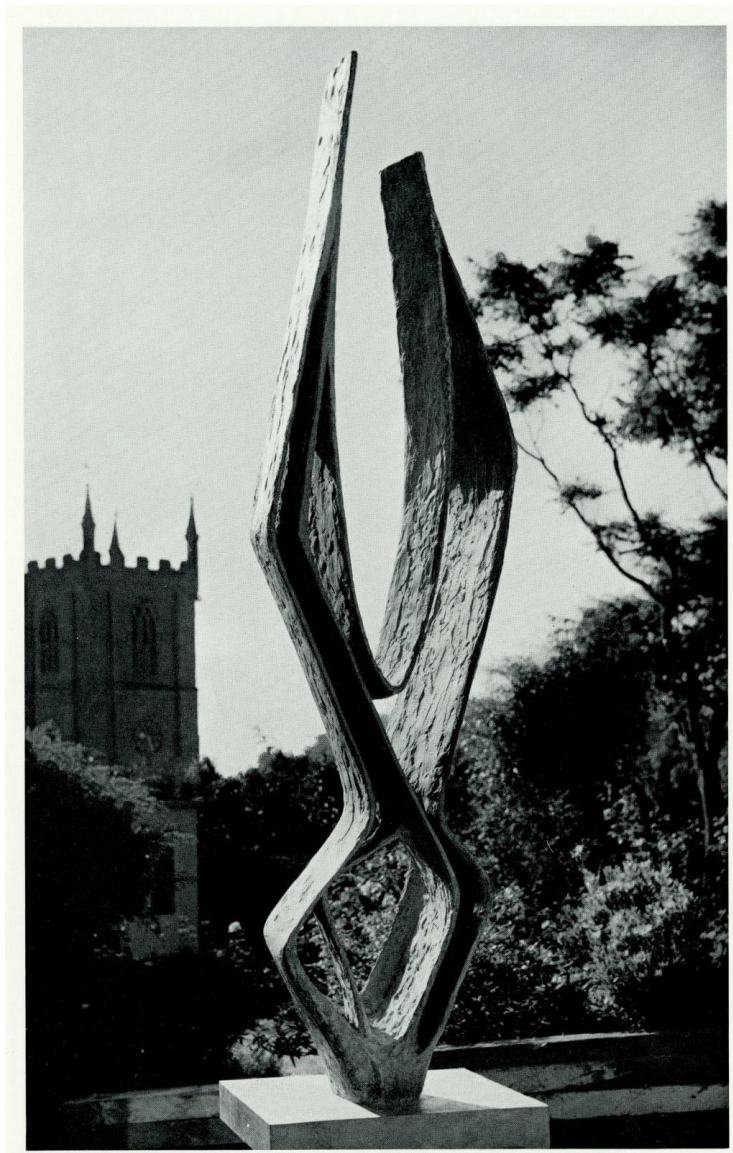


Fig. 85.



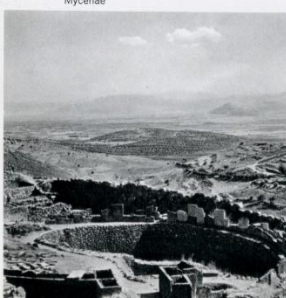
Fig. 86.



Delphi, theatre and temple of Apollo



Epidauros, the theatre



Mycenae

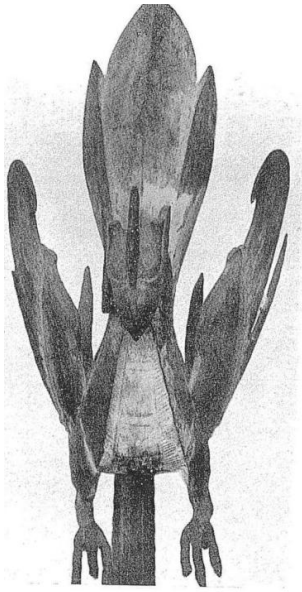
In Greece the inspiration was fantastic. I ran up the hills like a hare, with my notebook, to get there first and have the total impact of solitude. I made many drawings for new sculptures called Delphi, Delos, Mycenae, Epidauros, and Santorin. These forms were my experience there. After my solitude I waited for the 199 people I had left behind and watched their movements and responses on entering the architecture in the superb location of mountain, hill and plain. This was very anti-social, I admit; but I had waited thirty years to get to Greece.

To get up early and be the first to climb up to Santorin, to find my place at the top of the theatre of Epidauros, surrounded by the sighing wind above, and warmed by the worn marble—with the heavenly sound of the human voice coming from below and the whole vast and glorious shape below me—was the embodiment of the sculptor's landscape. Timeless and in space, pure in conception and like a rock to hold on to, these forms in Greece have been a constant source of inspiration—Patmos in particular, where the curve of the horizon was omnipotent and the islands rose up from the water like flowers in the sun. A sculptor's landscape embraces all things that grow and live and are articulate in principle: the shape of the buds already formed in autumn, the thrust and fury of spring growth, the adjustment of trees and rocks and human beings to the fierceness of winter—all these belong to the sculptor's world, as well as the supreme perception of man, woman and child of this expanding universe. It is within our bodies to feel and to be, and in making a sculpture we do, in fact, make a talisman that enables us to enter our architecture and look at our painting as fully posed human beings. Every movement we make has its meaning. And I have seen, as I have elsewhere written, people enter the Piazza San Marco in Venice with an entirely different physical bearing, reacting to the space and proportion around them, and I have seen wonderful teams in operating theatres work together with instinctive grace and harmony of movement, making a spontaneous composition of the highest order.

I usually get dancers as models and ask them to move about, to limber up, to relax and to move and move until I know them all the way round. I become the model and the drawing becomes me. But always it is the structure and spirit which is the inspiration.

I have included a photograph of St Ives taken for me from the air. For twenty-five years, walking through these streets, I have felt through my feet the geological shape of the place. The aerial view proved to me my point; it is through our senses that form, colour and meaning are given to everything we make and do. I wrote about St Ives many years ago: 'The sea, a flat diminishing plane, held within itself the capacity to radiate an infinitude of blues, greys, greens and even pinks of strange hues, the lighthouse and its strange rocky island was the eye: the Island of St Ives an arm, a hand, a face. The rock formation of the great

Fig. 87.

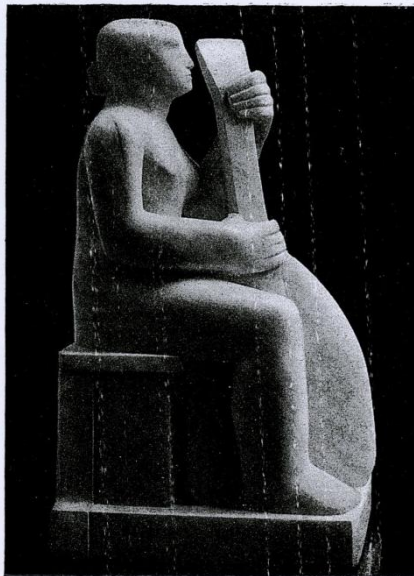


16a. *Bird* (front view)
Horyuji Temple, Japan
Cf. V. 1. ii. and 2.

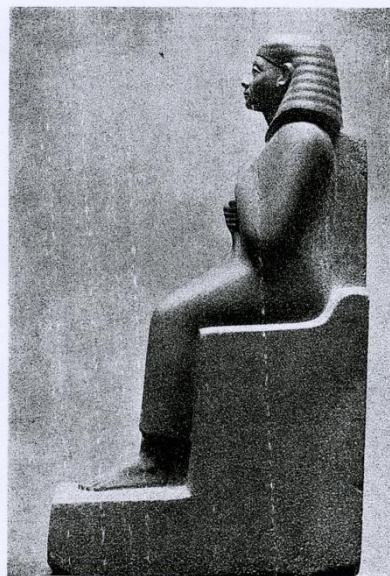


16b. *Shoot of Flowering Ash*
(From Blossfeldt's *Art Forms in Nature, First Series*)

Fig. 88.

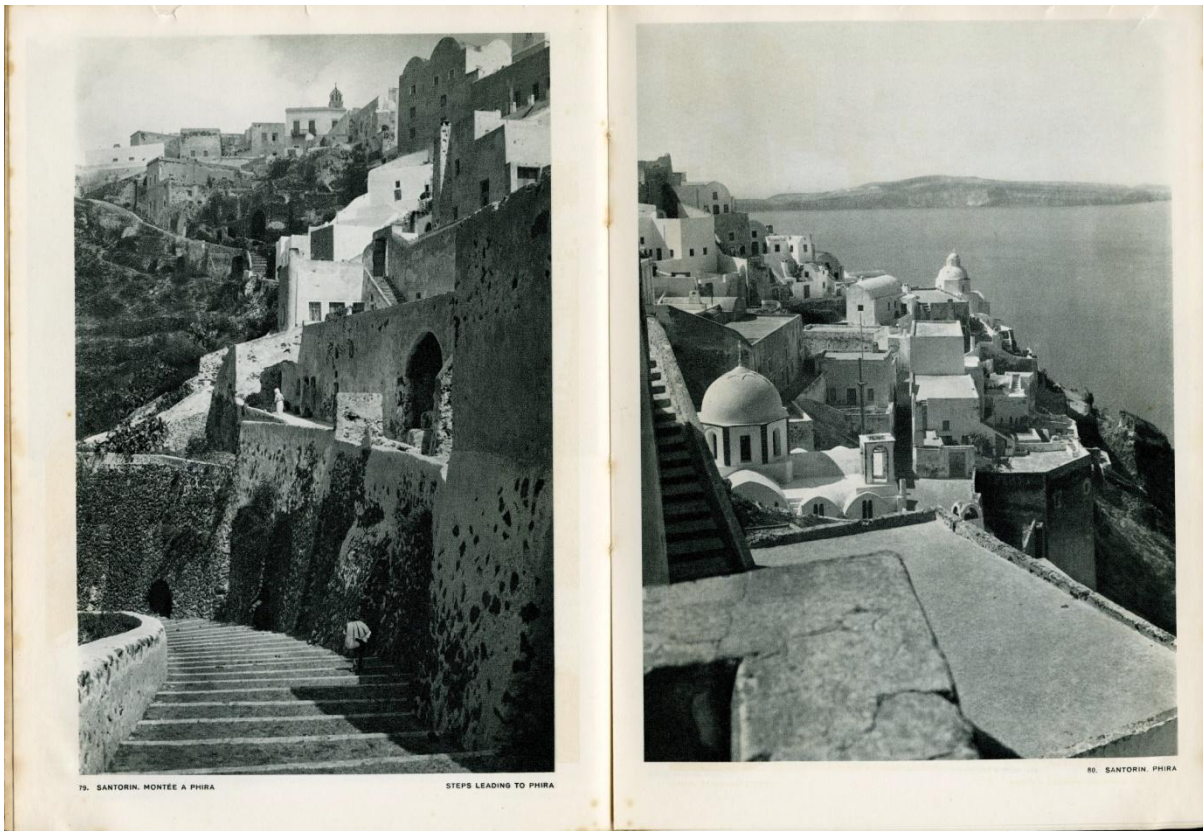


5a. BARBARA HEPWORTH: *Musician*
Cf. IV. 3. ii.



5b. Egyptian carving. *Chertihotep*
(c. 1950 B.C.) Berlin
(From Fechheimer's *La Sculpture Egyptienne*)

Fig. 89.

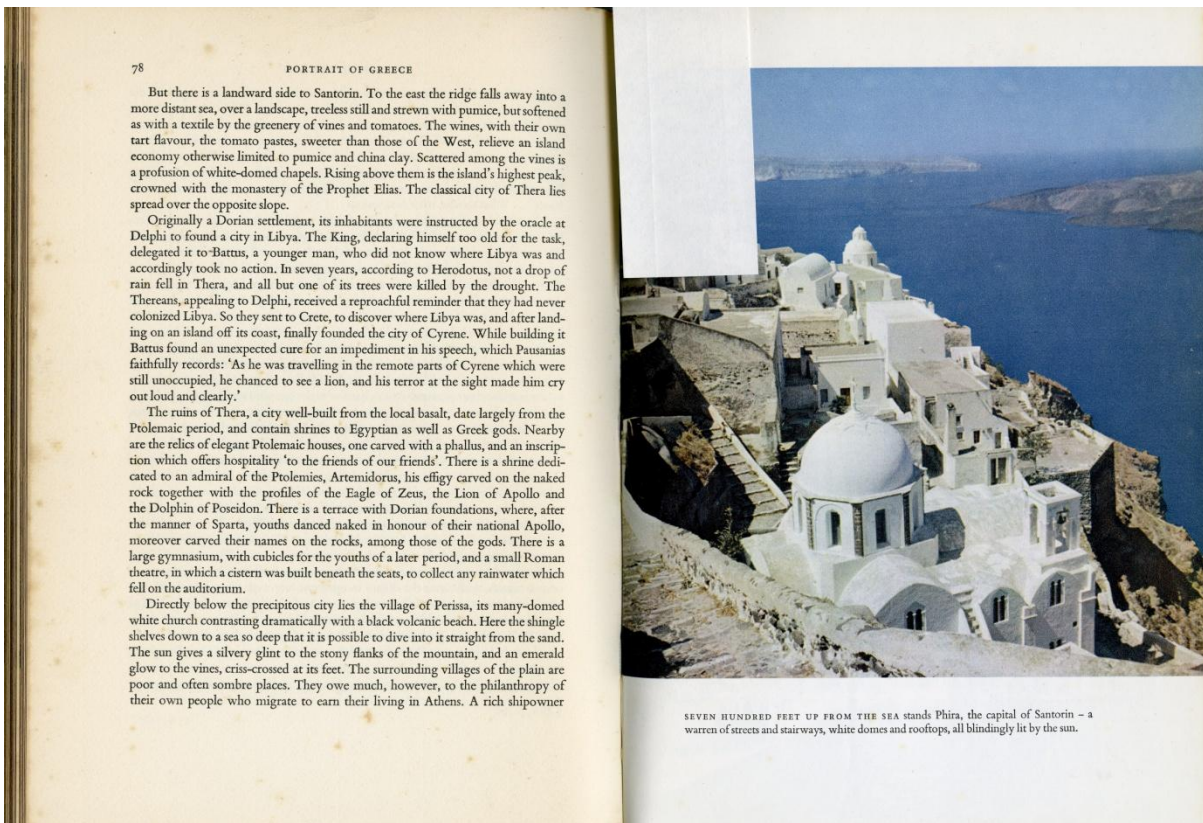


79. SANTORINI. MONTEE A PHIRA

STEPS LEADING TO PHIRA

80. SANTORINI. PHIRA

Fig. 90.



But there is a landward side to Santorini. To the east the ridge falls away into a more distant sea, over a landscape, treeless still and strewn with pumice, but softened as with a textile by the greenery of vines and tomatoes. The wines, with their own tart flavour, the tomato pastes, sweeter than those of the West, relieve an island economy otherwise limited to pumice and china clay. Scattered among the vines is a profusion of white-domed chapels. Rising above them is the island's highest peak, crowned with the monastery of the Prophet Elias. The classical city of Thera lies spread over the opposite slope.

Originally a Dorian settlement, its inhabitants were instructed by the oracle at Delphi to found a city in Libya. The King, declaring himself too old for the task, delegated it to Battus, a younger man, who did not know where Libya was and accordingly took no action. In seven years, according to Herodotus, not a drop of rain fell in Thera, and all but one of its trees were killed by the drought. The Theraeans, appealing to Delphi, received a reproachful reminder that they had never colonized Libya. So they sent to Crete, to discover where Libya was, and after landing on an island off its coast, finally founded the city of Cyrene. While building it Battus found an unexpected cure for an impediment in his speech, which Pausanias faithfully records: 'As he was travelling in the remote parts of Cyrene which were still unoccupied, he chanced to see a lion, and his terror at the sight made him cry out loud and clearly.'

The ruins of Thera, a city well-built from the local basalt, date largely from the Ptolemaic period, and contain shrines to Egyptian as well as Greek gods. Nearby are the relics of elegant Ptolemaic houses, one carved with a phallus, and an inscription which offers hospitality 'to the friends of our friends'. There is a shrine dedicated to an admiral of the Ptolemies, Artemidorus, his effigy carved on the naked rock together with the profiles of the Eagle of Zeus, the Lion of Apollo and the Dolphin of Poseidon. There is a terrace with Dorian foundations, where, after the manner of Sparta, youths danced naked in honour of their national Apollo, moreover carved their names on the rocks, among those of the gods. There is a large gymnasium, with cubicles for the youths of a later period, and a small Roman theatre, in which a cistern was built beneath the seats, to collect any rainwater which fell on the auditorium.

Directly below the precipitous city lies the village of Perissa, its many-domed white church contrasting dramatically with a black volcanic beach. Here the shingle shelves down to a sea so deep that it is possible to dive into it straight from the sand. The sun gives a silvery glint to the stony flanks of the mountain, and an emerald glow to the vines, criss-crossed at its feet. The surrounding villages of the plain are poor and often sombre places. They owe much, however, to the philanthropy of their own people who migrate to earn their living in Athens. A rich shipowner

SEVEN HUNDRED FEET UP FROM THE SEA stands Phira, the capital of Santorini - a warren of streets and stairways, white domes and rooftops, all blindingly lit by the sun.

Fig. 91.

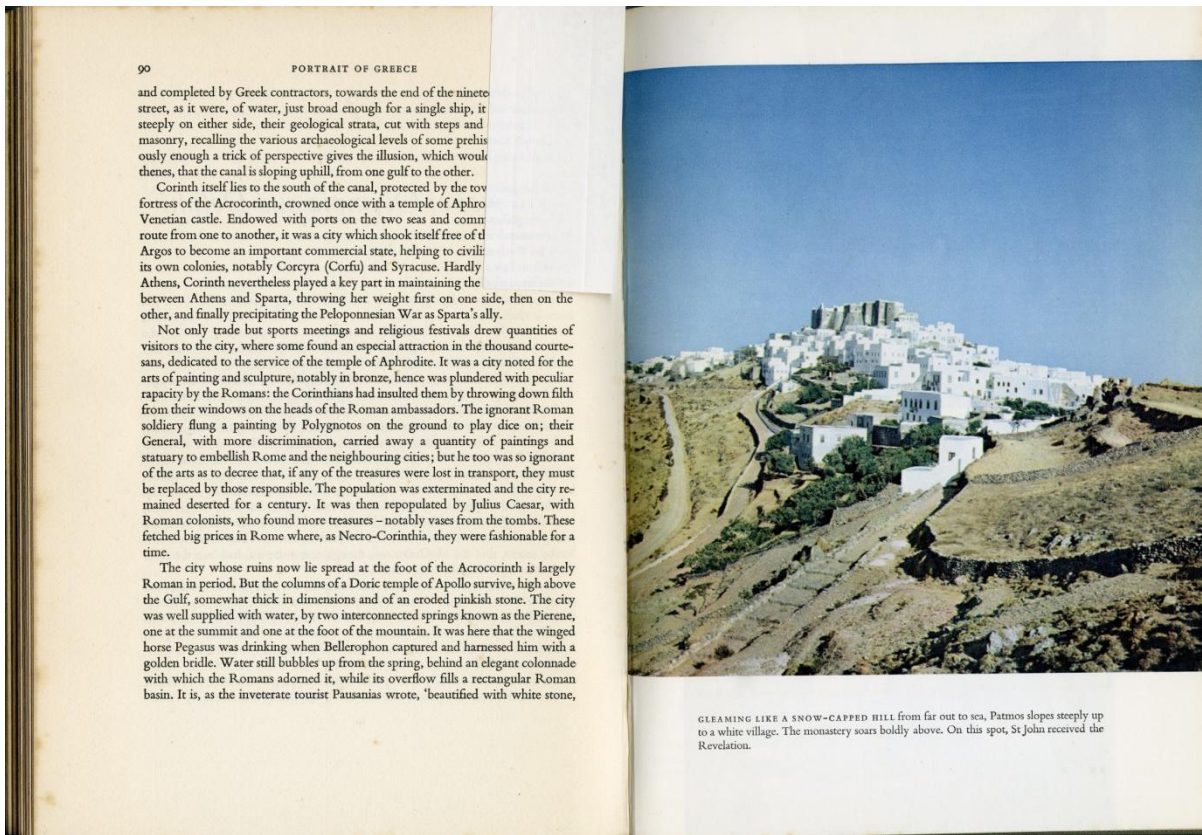


Fig. 92.

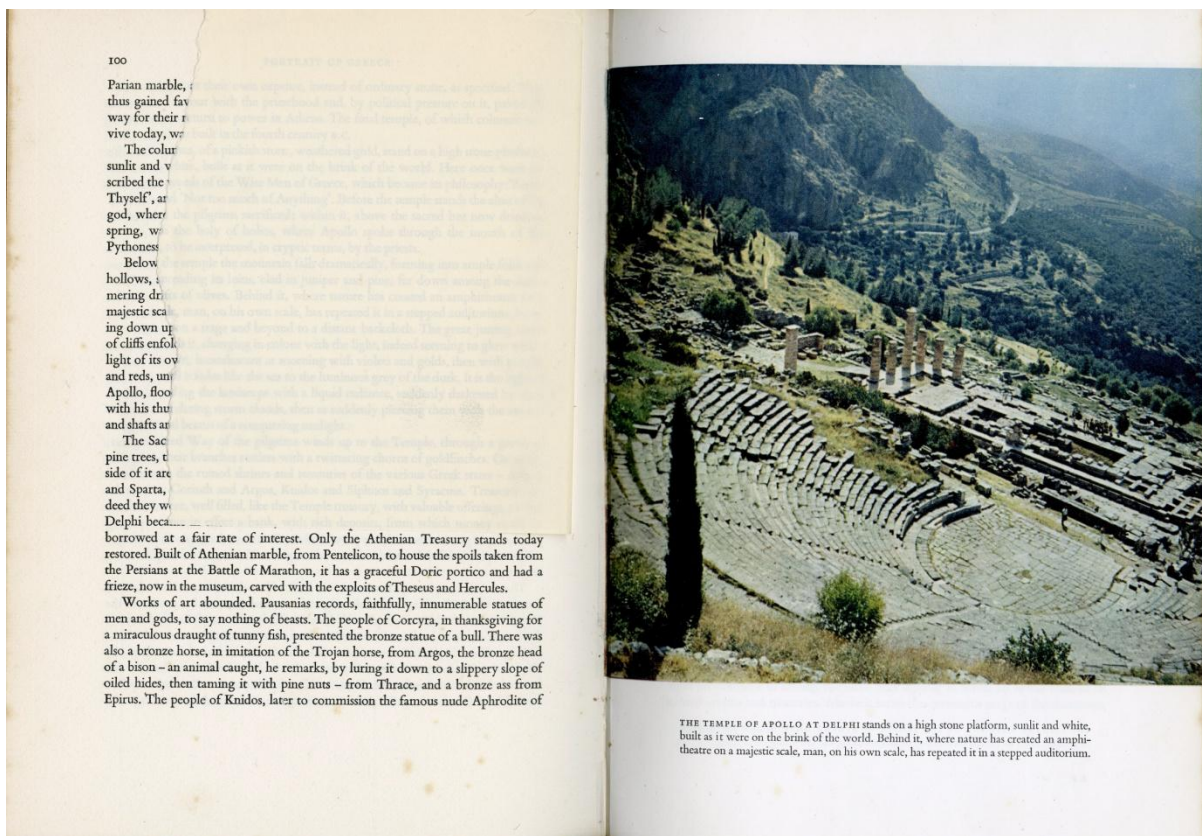


Fig. 93.



Fig. 94.



Fig. 95.



Fig. 96.



Fig. 97.

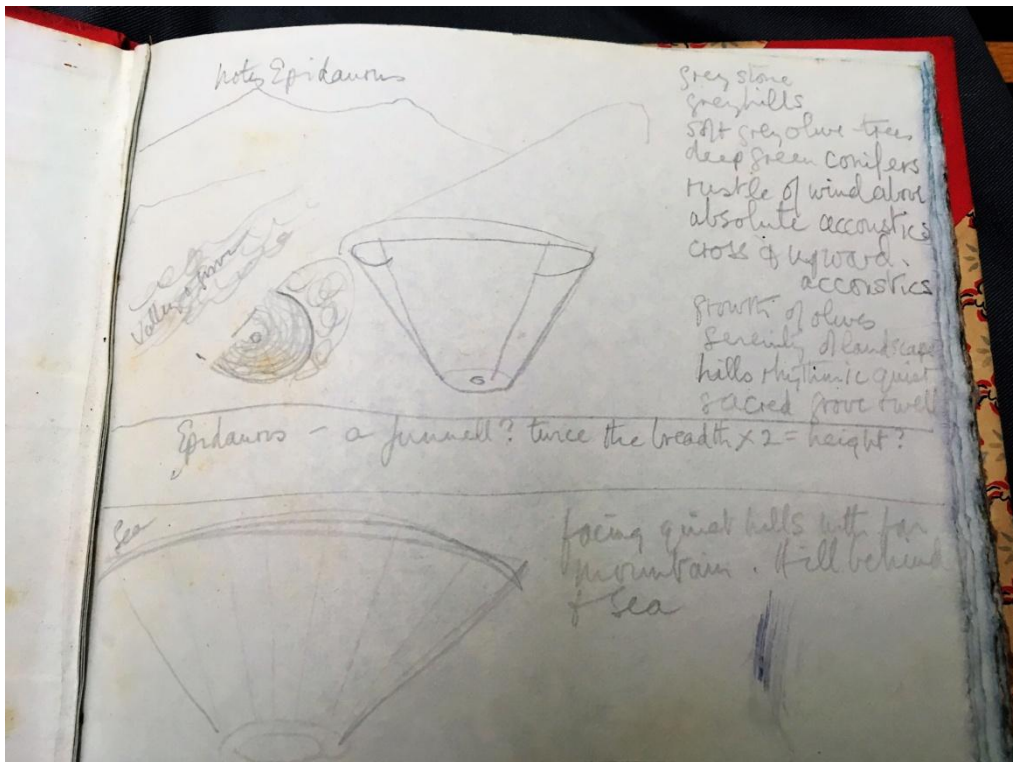


Fig. 98.

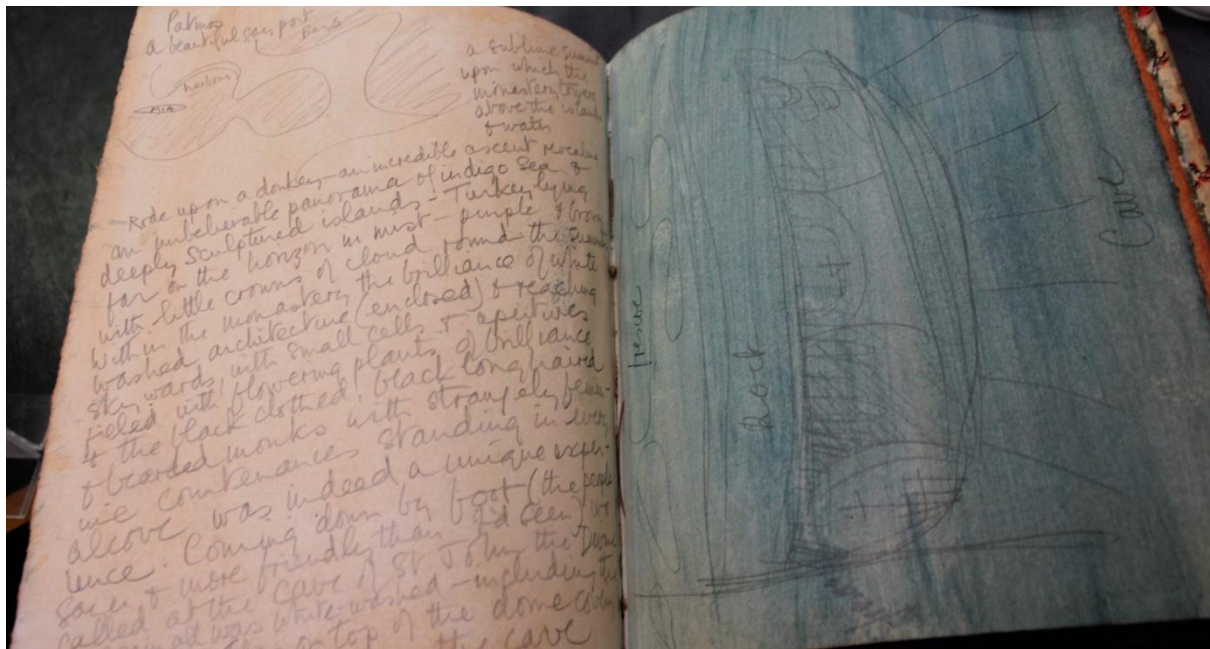


Fig. 99.

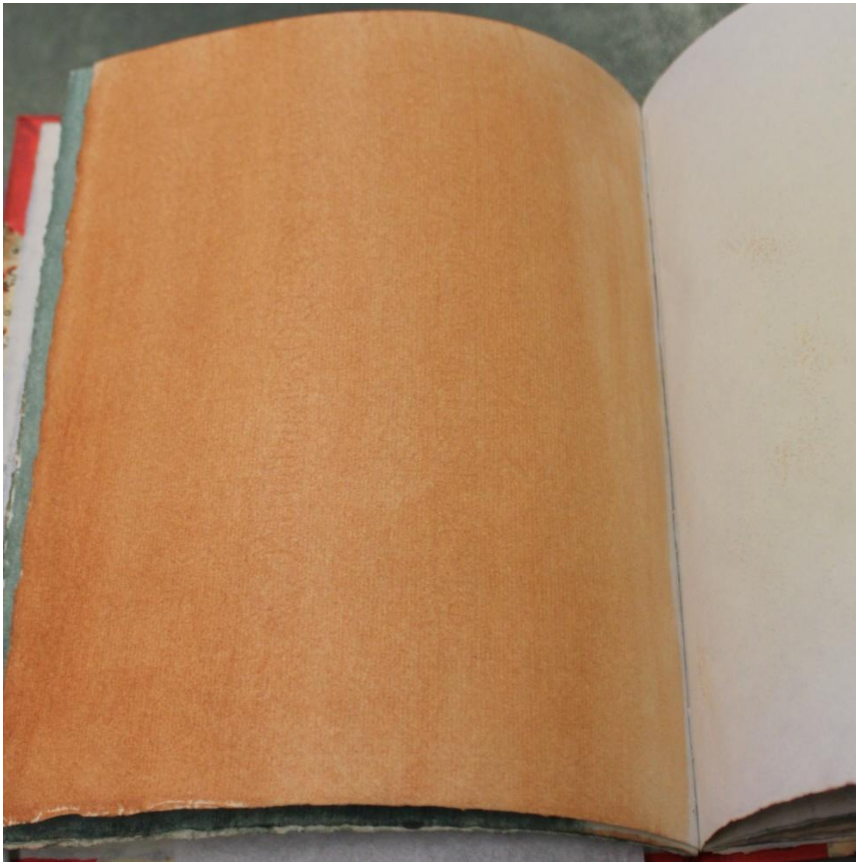


Fig. 100.

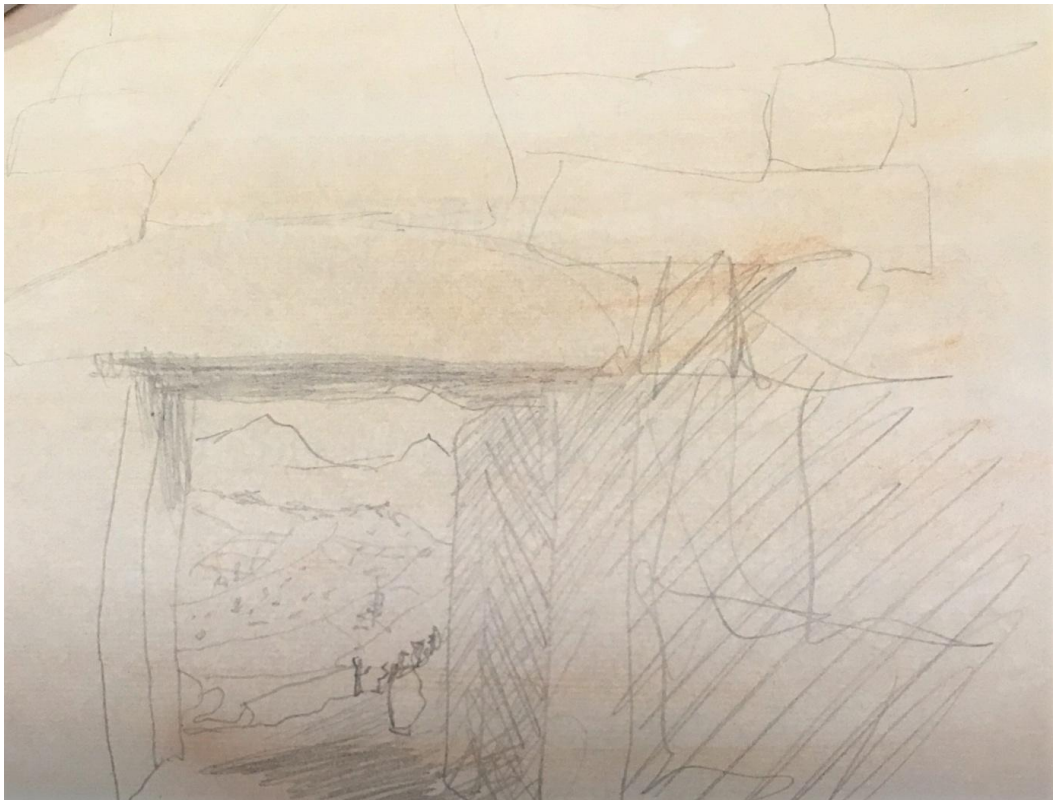


Fig. 101.

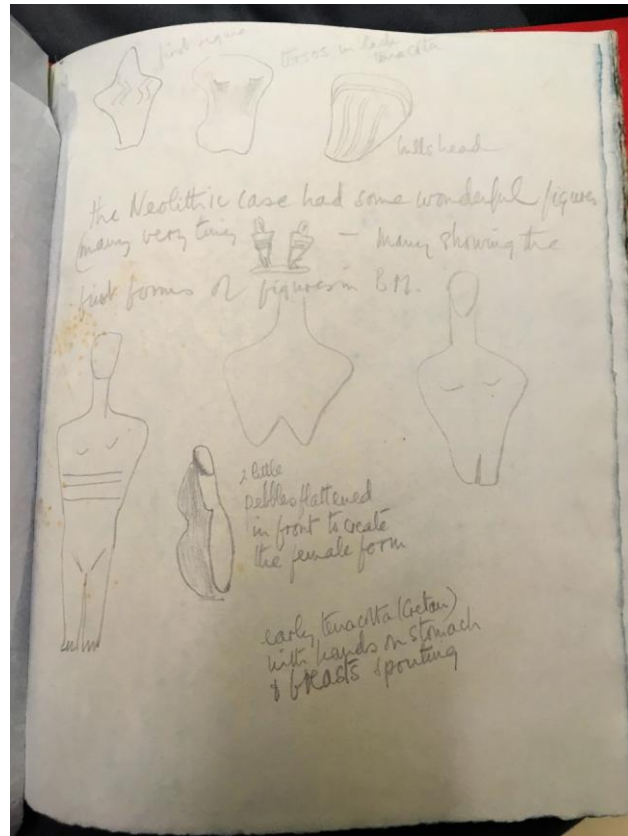


Fig. 102-3.

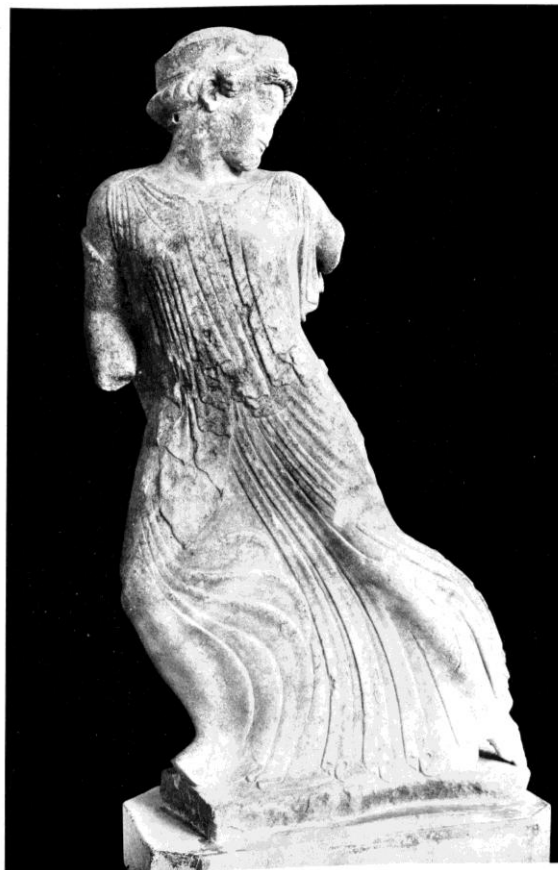


Fig. 104.

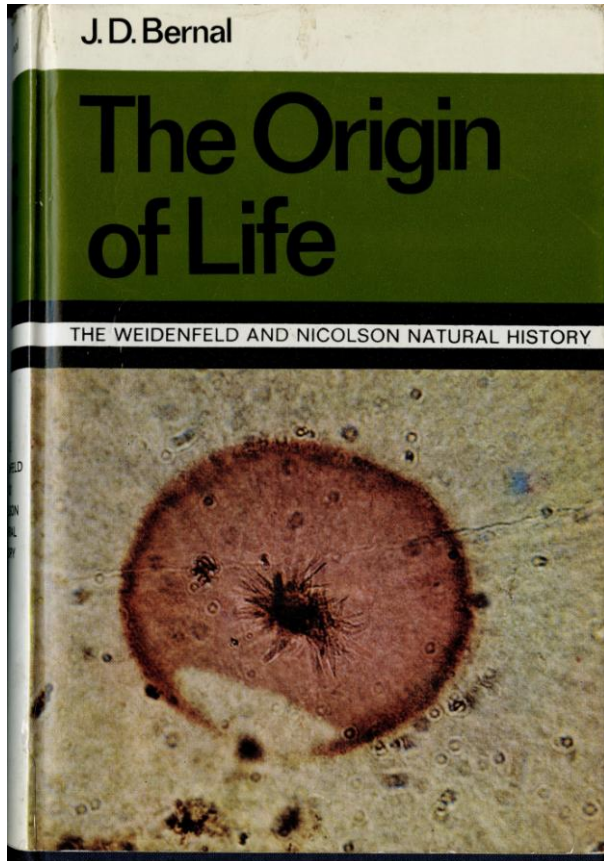


Fig. 105.

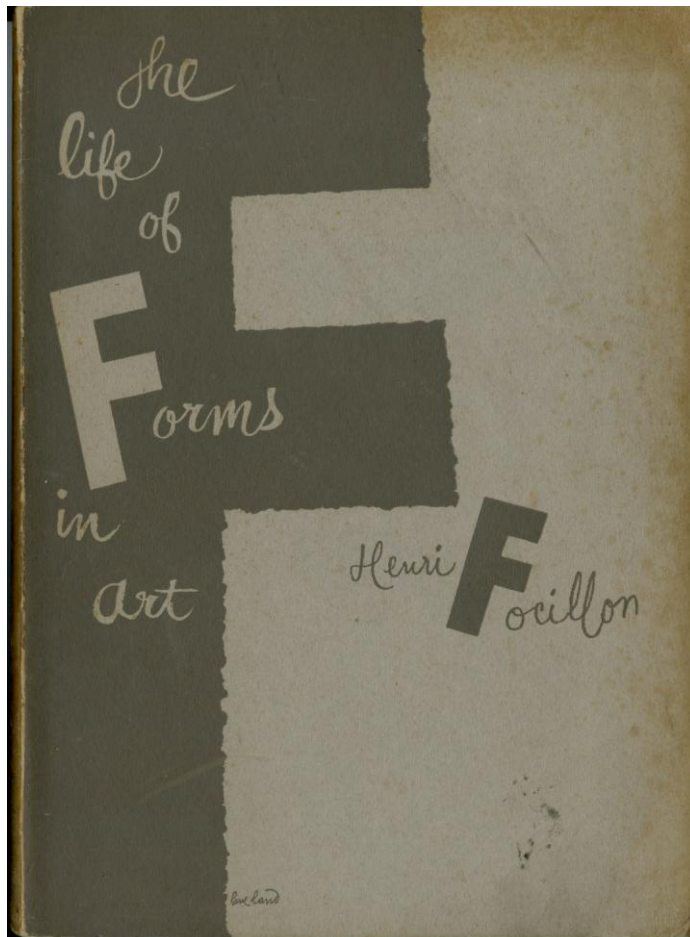
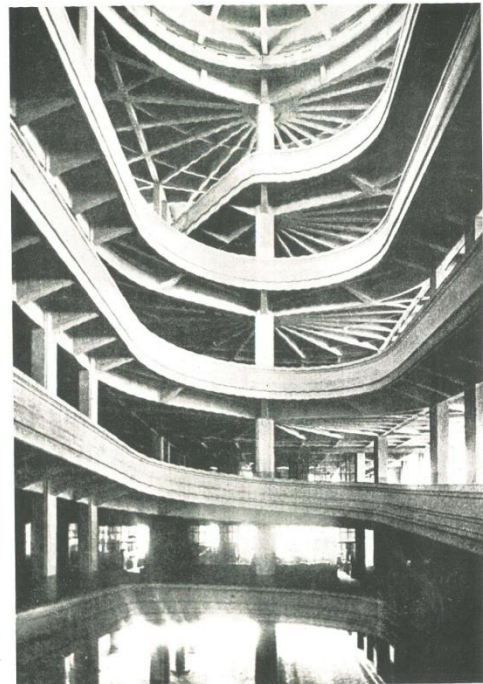


Fig. 106.

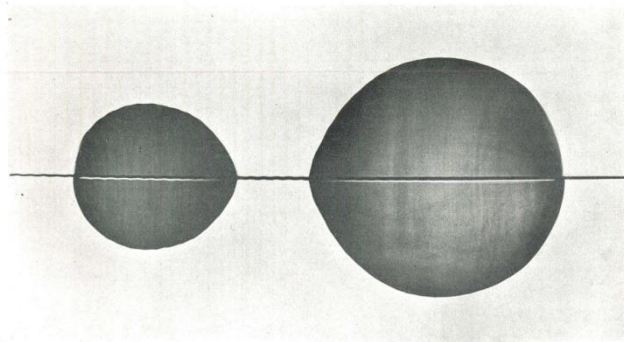


2. A DETAIL OF THE LEAF OF THE VICTORIA REGIA, photograph by KAREL HONZÍK

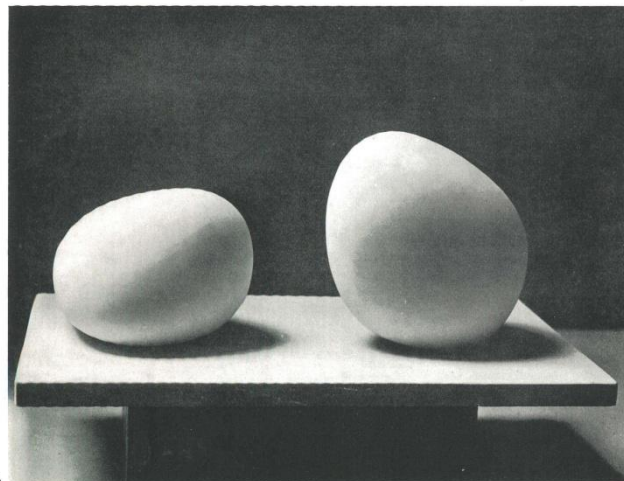


3. CONCRETE CONSTRUCTION IN THE FIAT FACTORY AT TORINA
Compare with the construction of the Victoria Regia

Fig. 107.

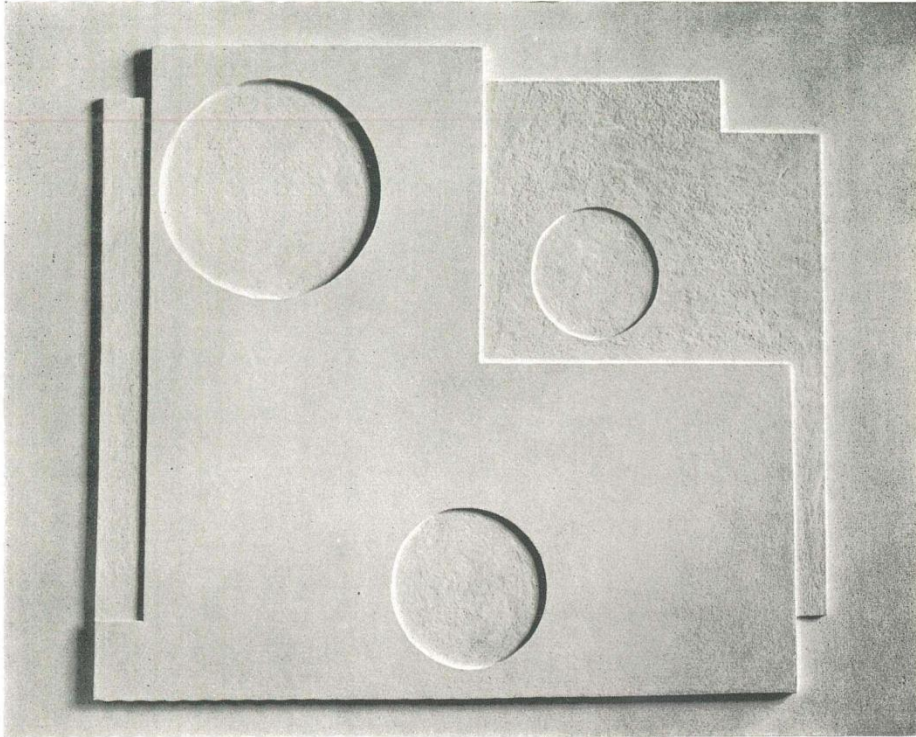


5a.



5b.

Fig. 108.



7a.



7b.

Fig. 109.

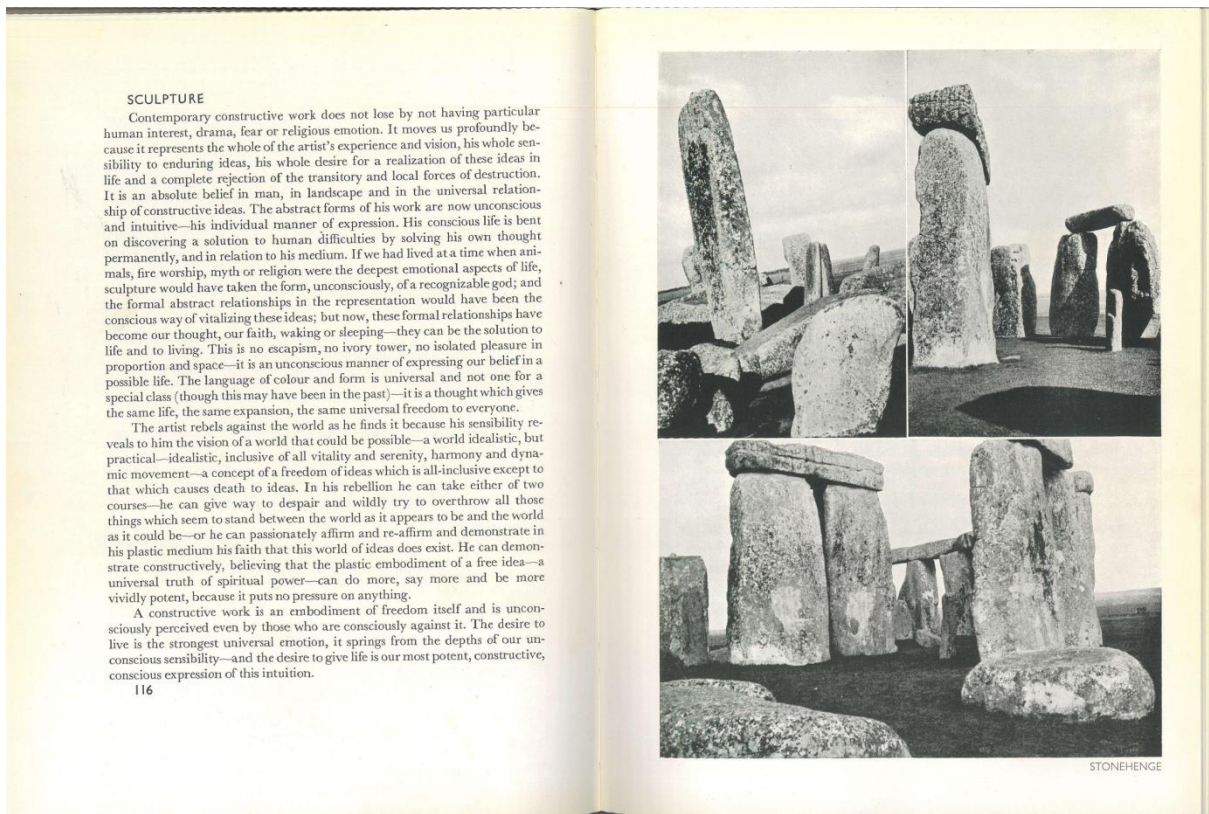


Fig. 110.

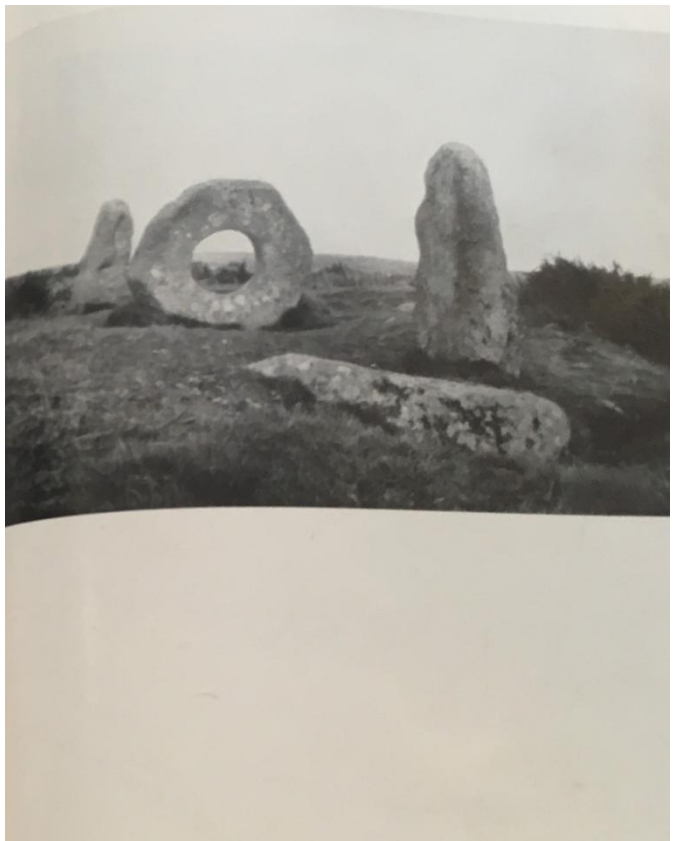


Fig. 111.

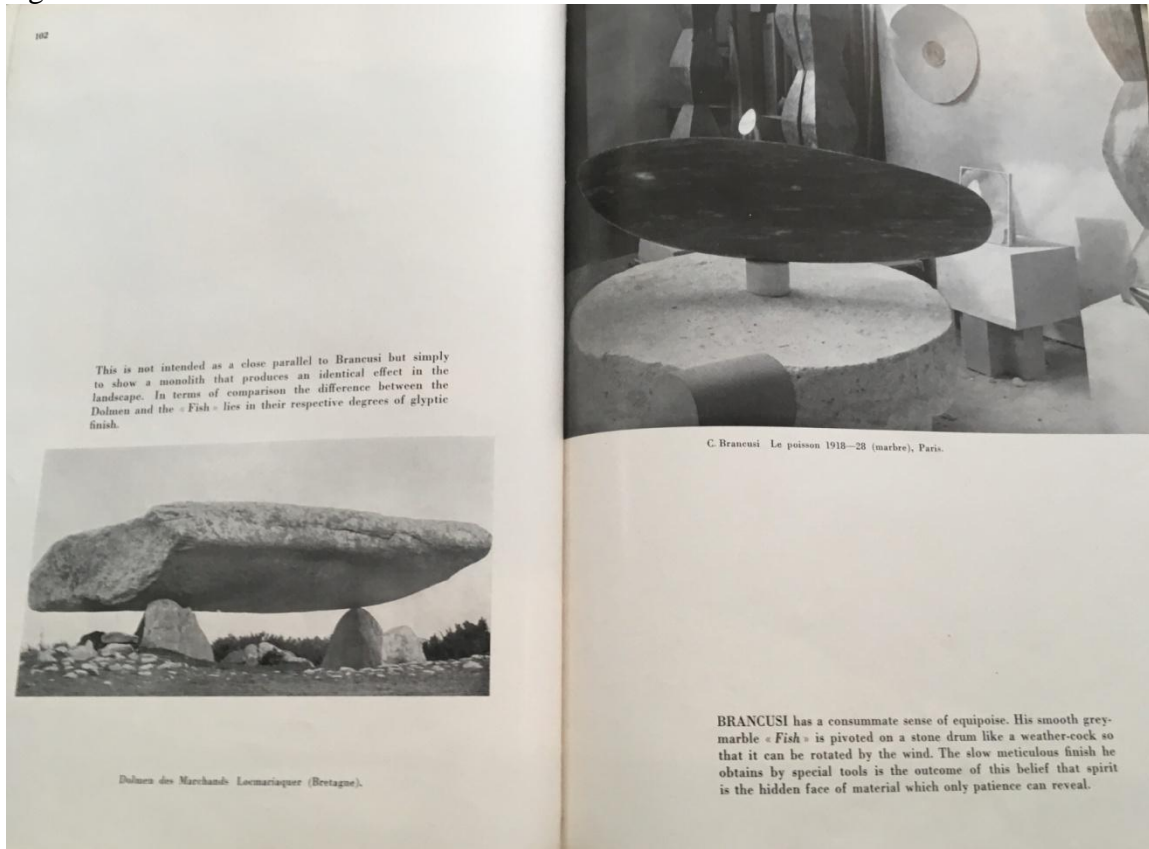


Fig. 112.

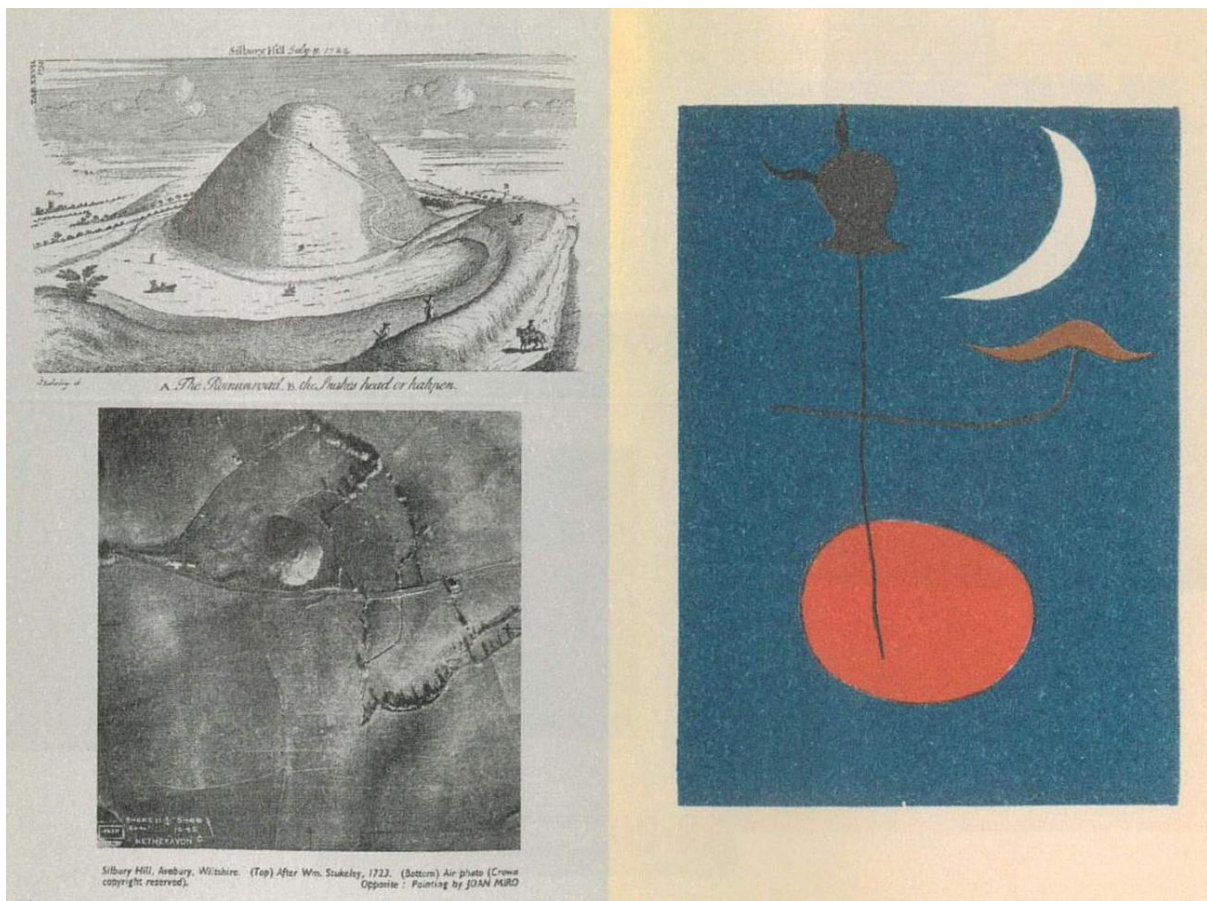


Fig. 113.

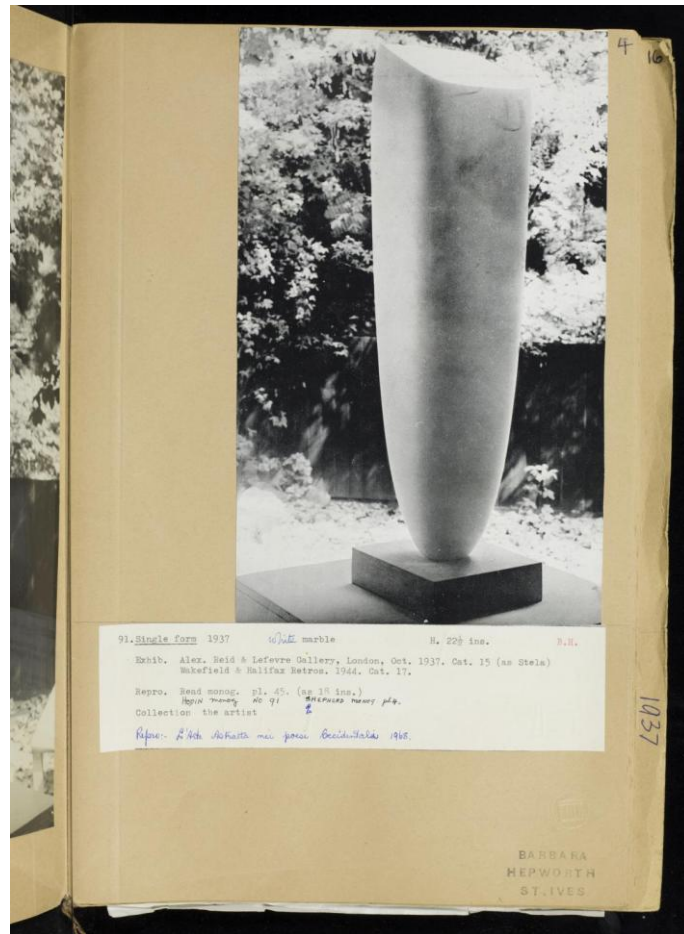


Fig. 114



Fig. 115.

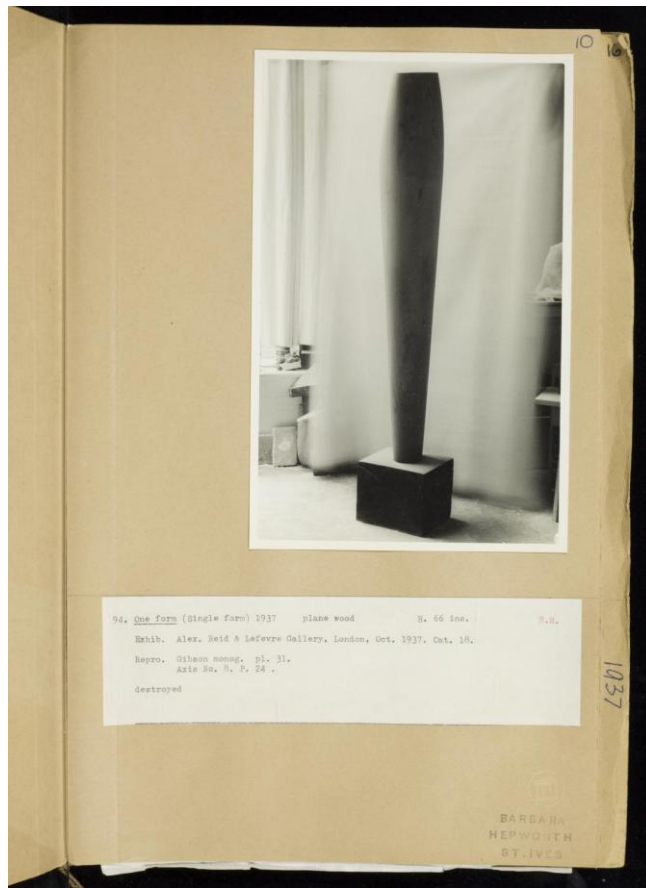


Fig. 116.



Fig. 117.

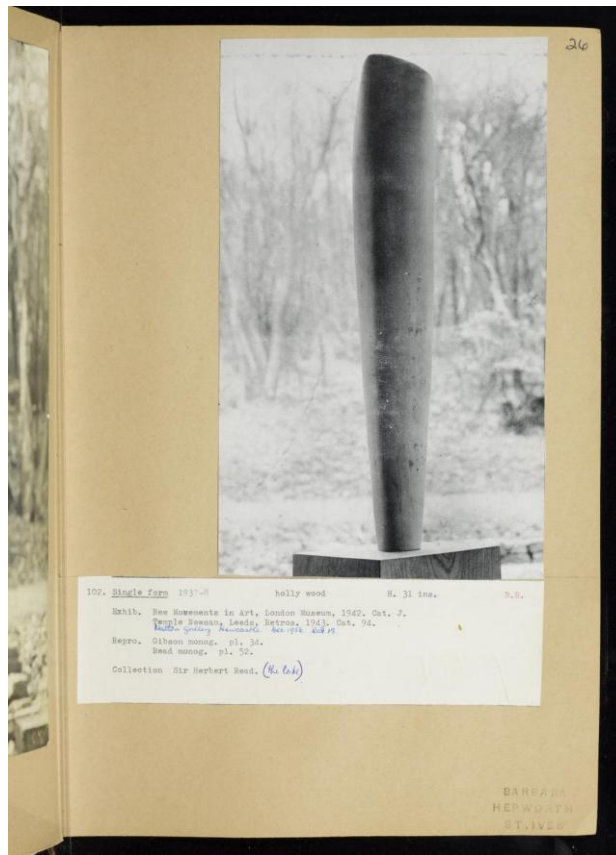


Fig. 118.

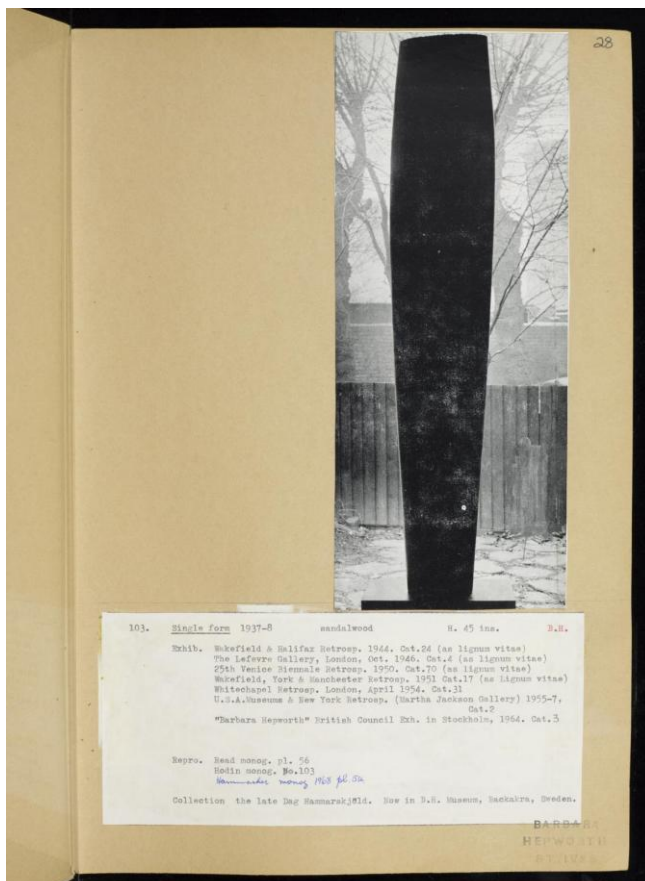


Fig. 119.



Fig. 120

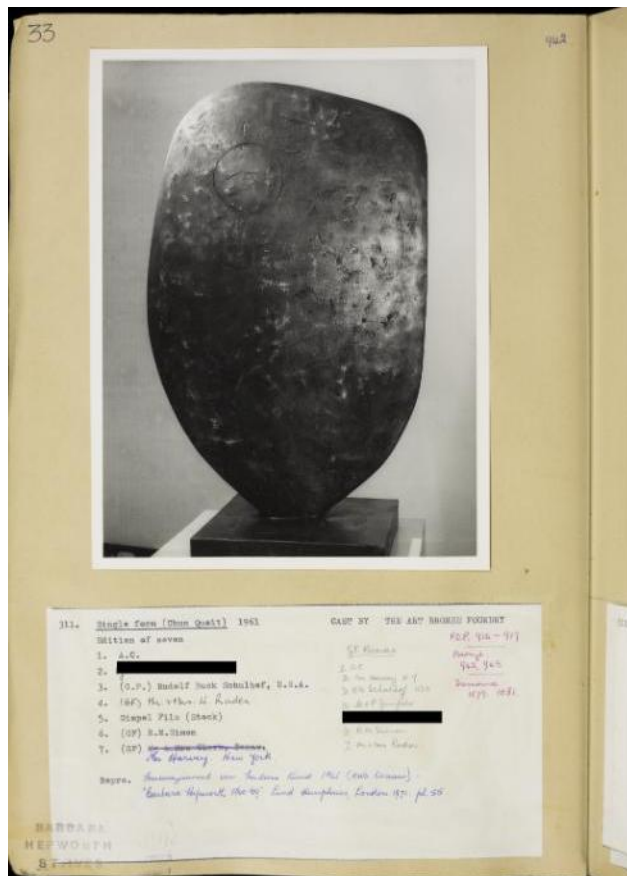


Fig. 121.

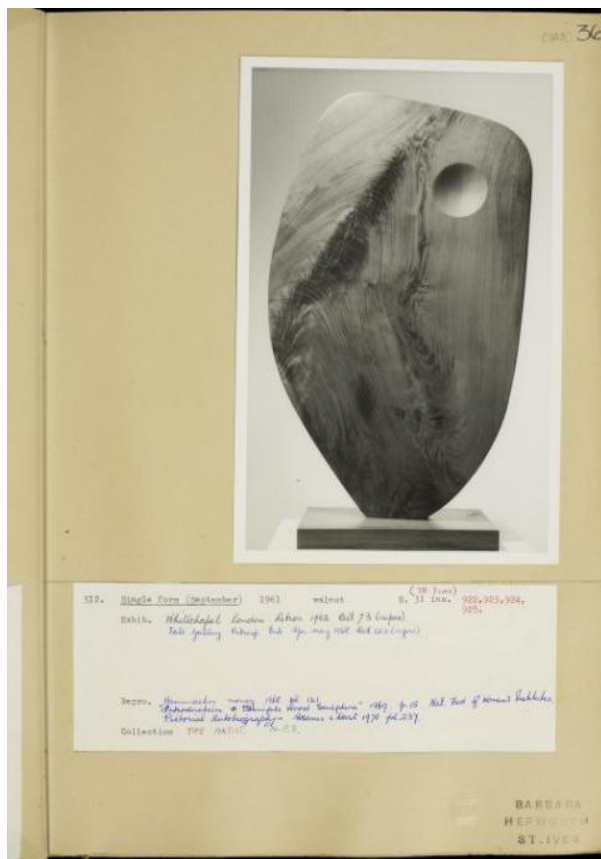


Fig. 122.

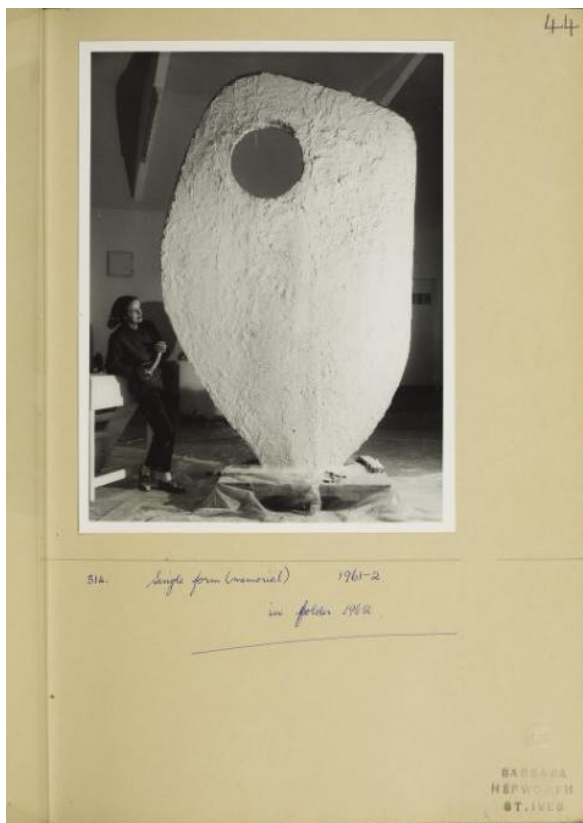


Fig. 123.

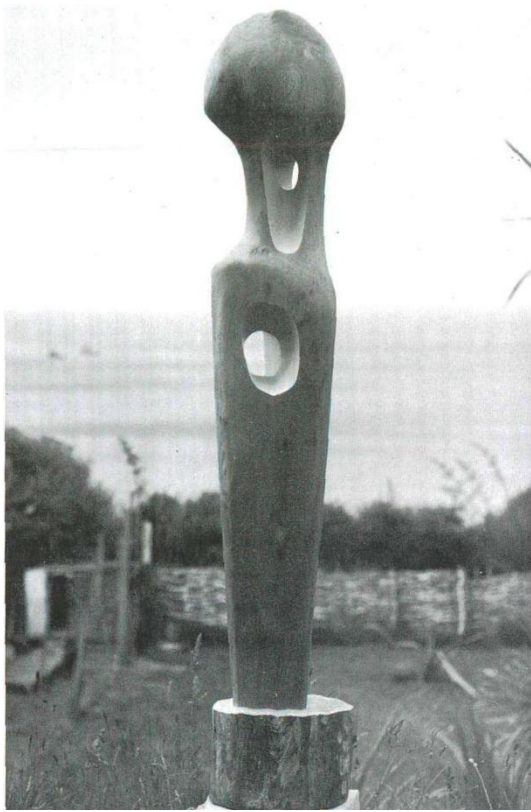


Fig. 124.



Fig. 125.

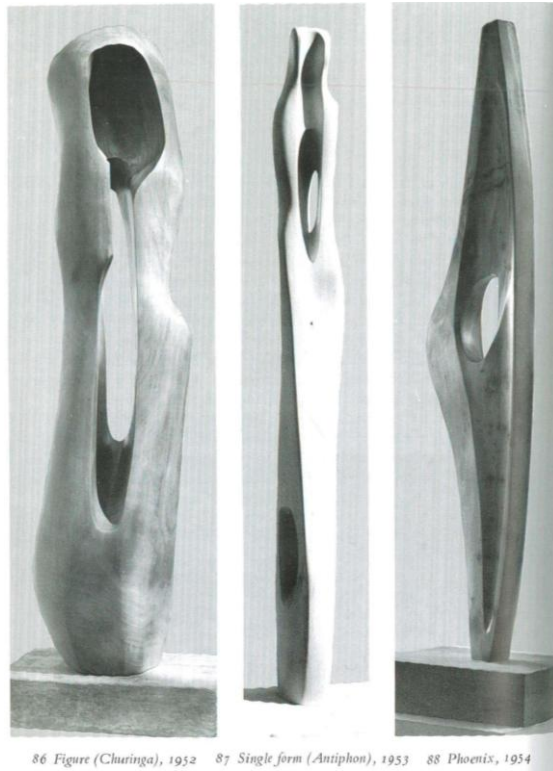


Fig. 126.

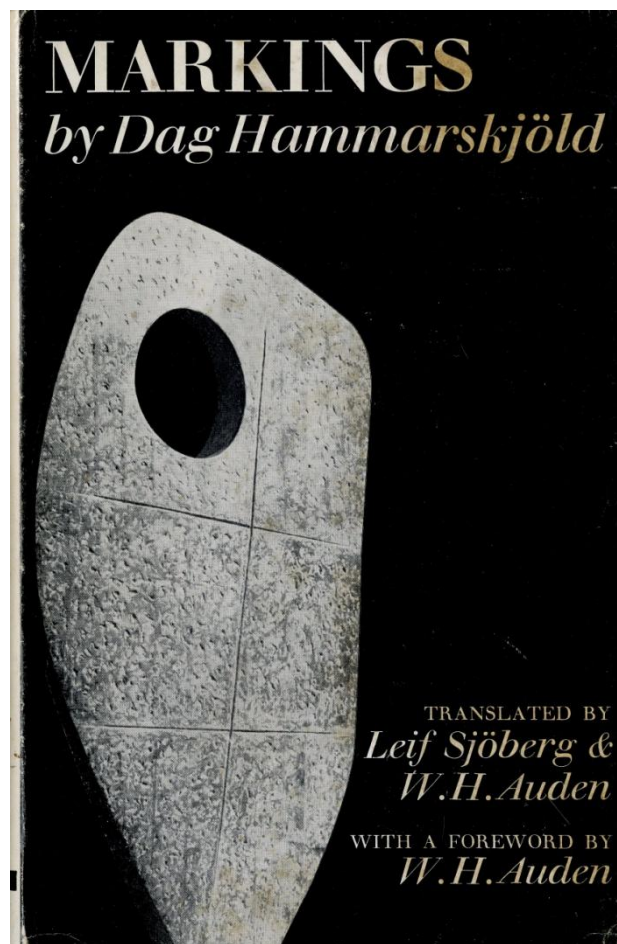


Fig. 127.

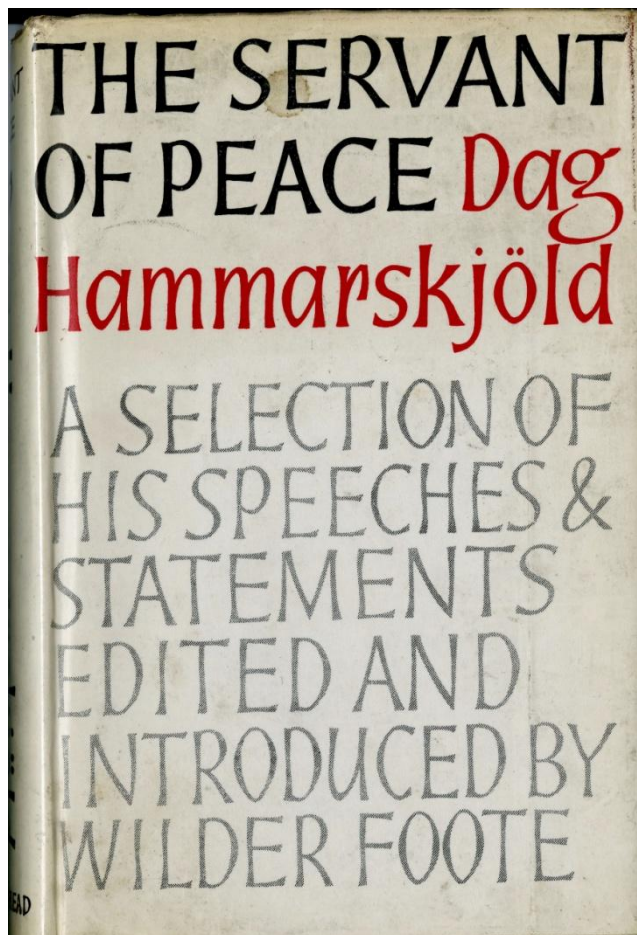


Fig. 128.



Fig. 129.

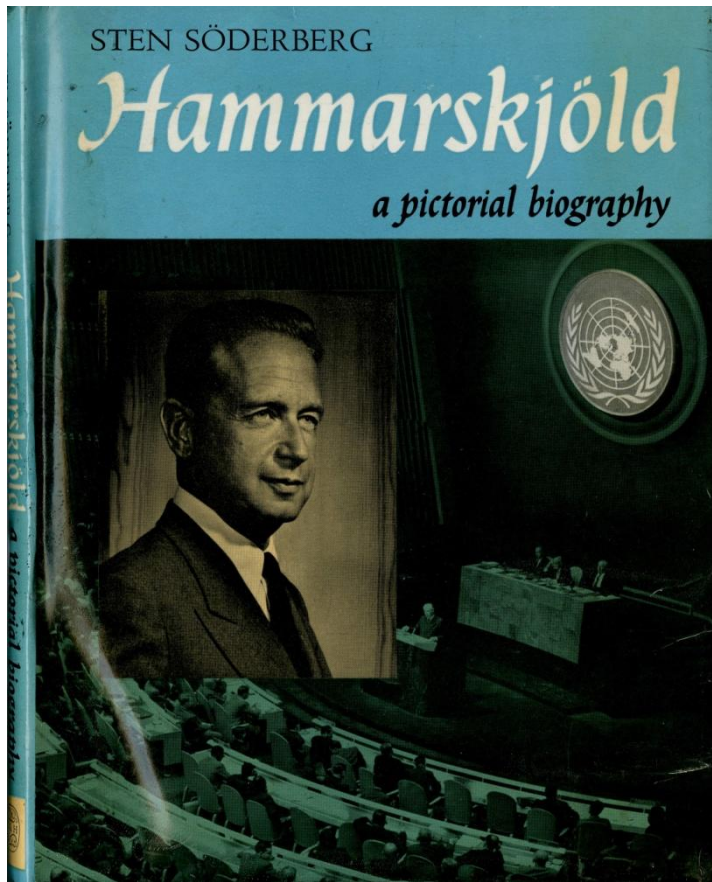


Fig. 130.

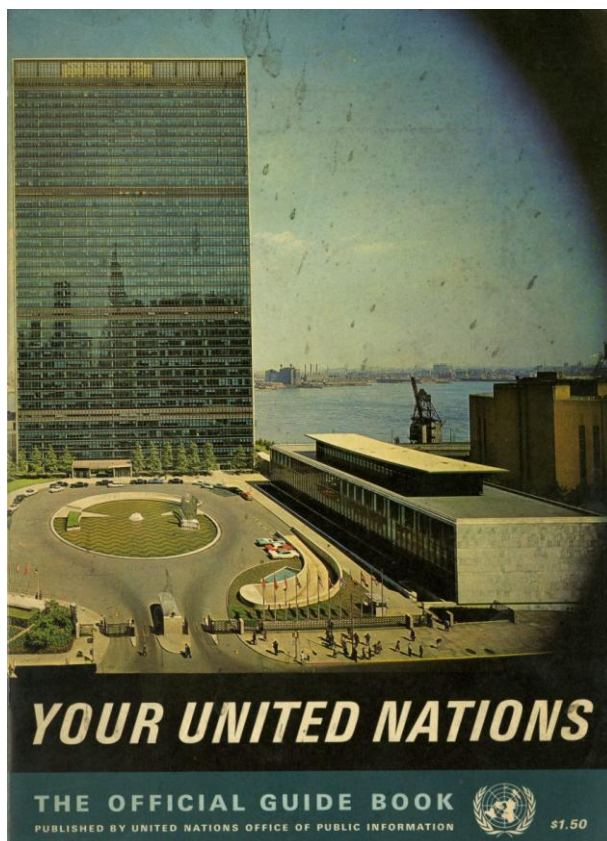


Fig. 131.

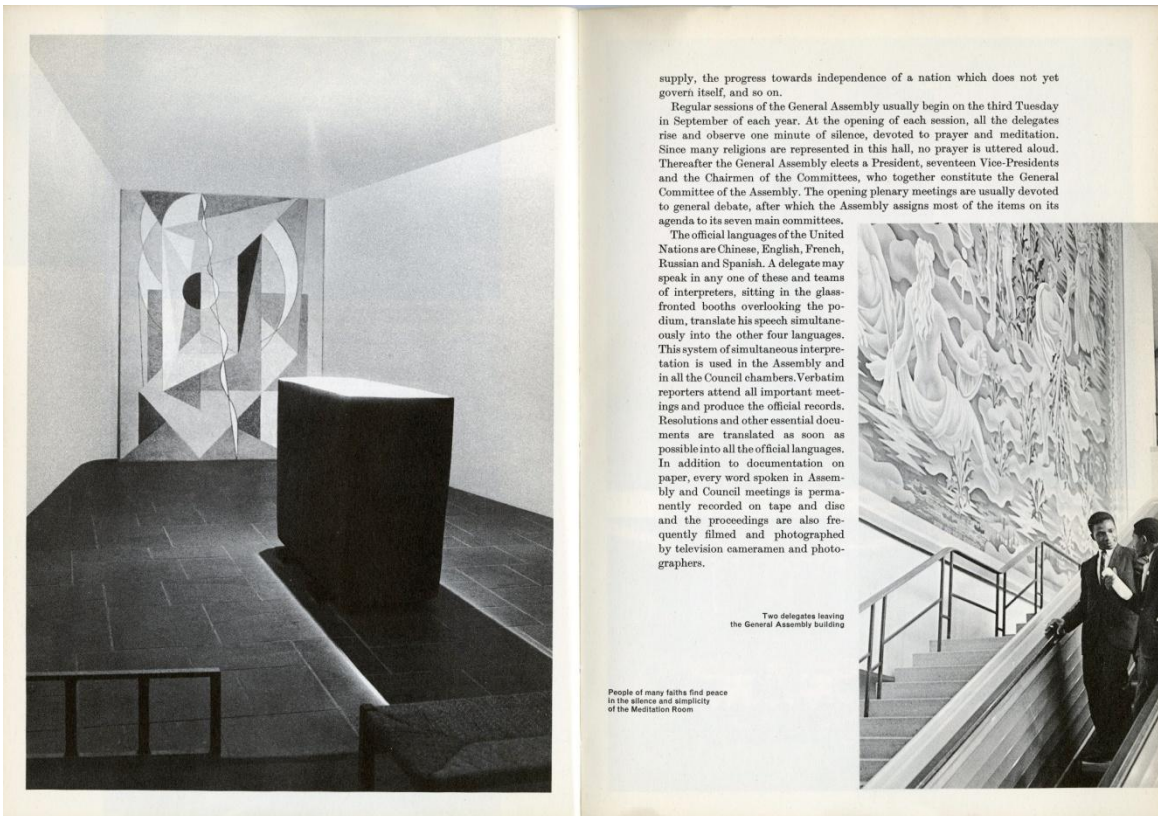


Fig. 132.

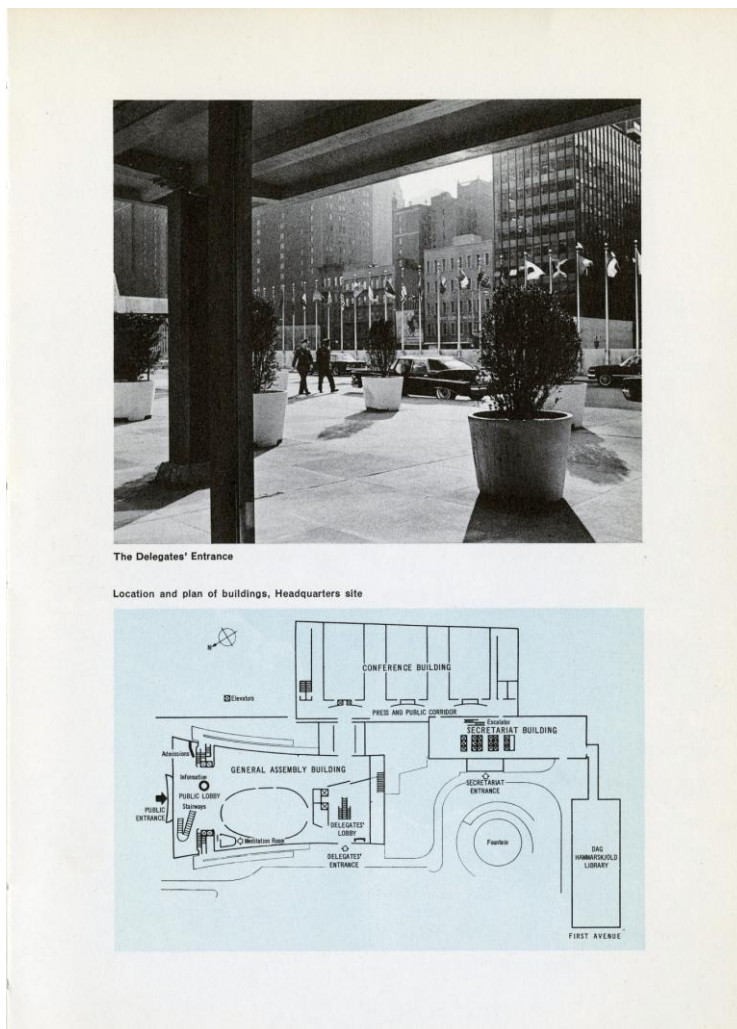


Fig. 133.



Fig. 134.

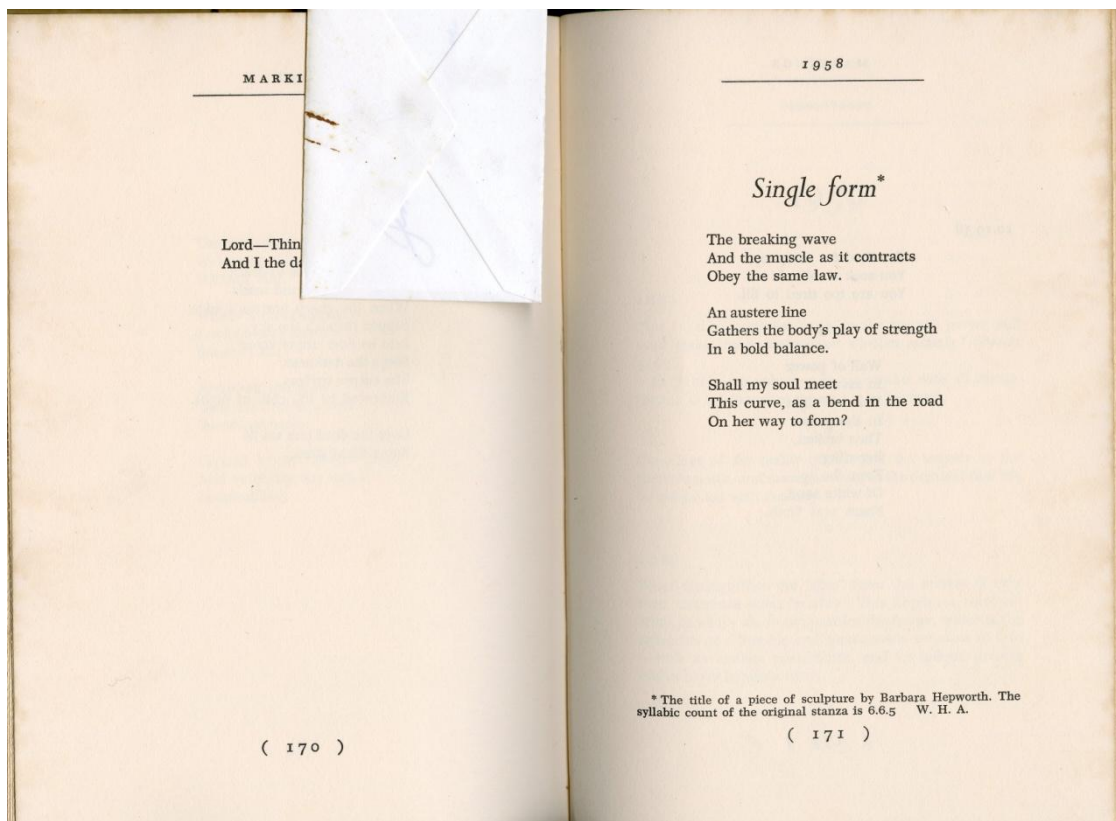


Fig. 135.

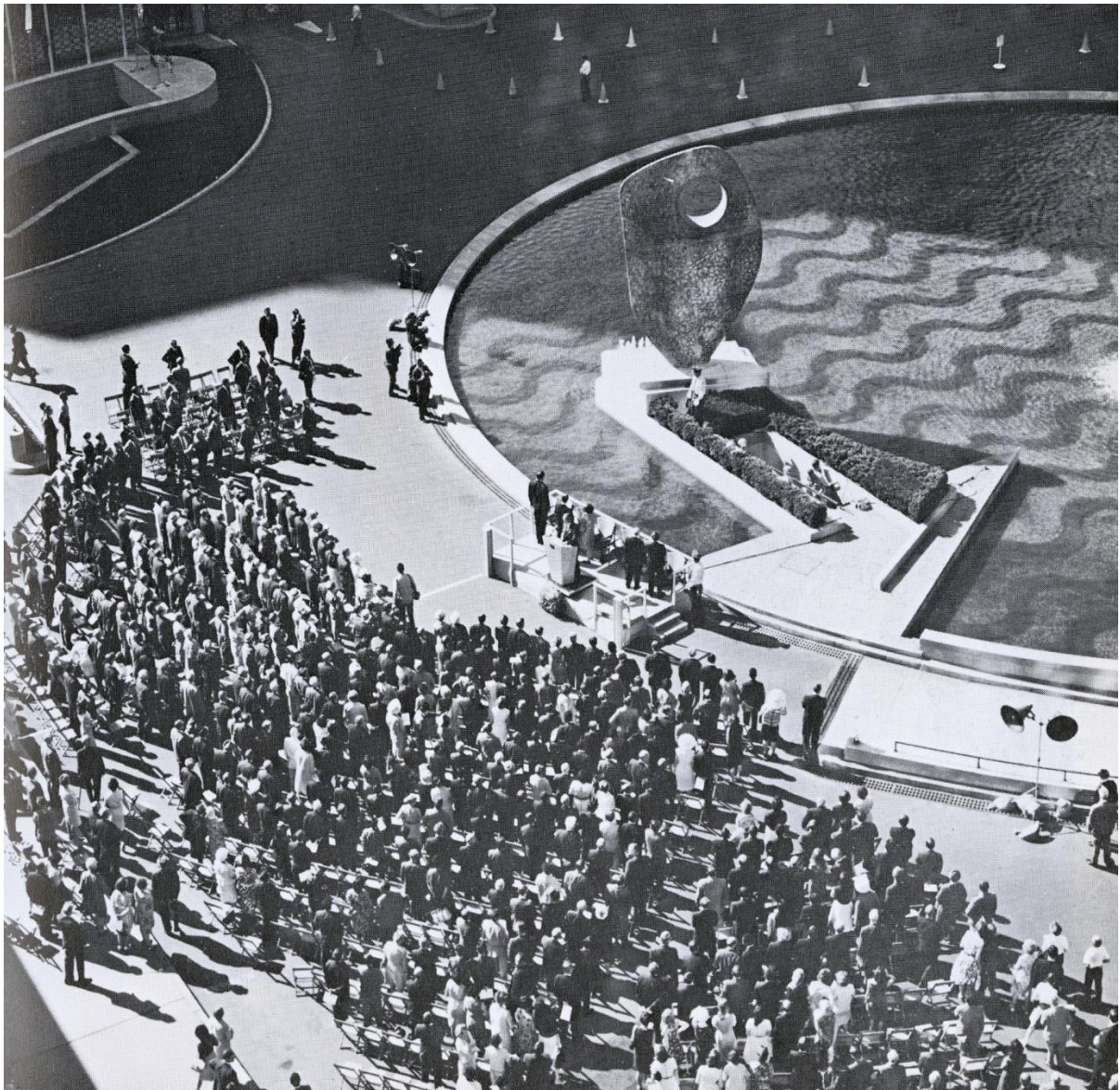


Fig. 136.



Fig. 137.



- Cat. 112. Henri Focillon, *The Life of Forms in Art*, New York, Wittenborn, Schultz, Inc., 1948 (seconde édition anglaise, enrichie). Tate Archive, Barbara Hepworth Library, don de Sir Alan Bowness en 2019, TGA 20196
- Cat. 113. Herbert Read, *The Origins of Form in Art*, Londres, Thames & Hudson, 1965. Avec une dédicace : « for Barbara with love Herbert 13.viii. 65 ». Tate Archive, Barbara Hepworth Library, don de Sir Alan Bowness en 2019, TGA 20196
- Cat. 114. Adrian Stokes, *Smooth and Rough*, Londres, Faber & Faber, 1951. Avec une dédicace à Barbara Hepworth par Ann Stokes, 10 janvier 1973. Tate Archive, Barbara Hepworth Library, don de Sir Alan Bowness en 2019, TGA 20196
- Cat. 115. R. J. C. Atkinson, *Stonehenge*, Harmondsworth, Londres, A Pelican Book, 1960 (première édition 1956). Tate Archive, Barbara Hepworth Library, 2019, TGA 20196
- Cat. 116. Lancelot Law Whyte, *The Flowering Wilderness*, Londres, Orbis Pub, 1972. Tate Archive, Barbara Hepworth Library, don de Sir Alan Bowness en 2019, TGA 20196
- Cat. 117. Lancelot Law Whyte (dir.), *Aspects of Form. A Symposium on Form in Nature and Art*, préface de Herbert Read, en collaboration avec le ICA à l'occasion de leur exposition *Growth and Form*, Londres, Lund Humphries, 1951. Tate Archive, Barbara Hepworth Library, don de Sir Alan Bowness en 2019, TGA 20196

Appendix

- i. *Masterpieces by Barbara Hepworth and Henry Moore* marketing materials
- ii. Vitrine texts for Hepworth library display
- iii. Review of the Hepworth library in Ann Treneman, 'Notebook: Winter's here – just look at the gloaming', *The Times*, 7 November 2017.
- iv. *The Hepworth Book Club* programme and handouts
- v. Social media coverage from the Hepworth library display

EXHIBITIONS

9

BARBARA HEPWORTH & HENRY MOORE GALLERIES 2 & 3, OPENS SAT 13 MAY

Barbara Hepworth and Henry Moore grew up in Wakefield and Castleford respectively, and both artists spoke of the impact of Yorkshire on their work. Two new exhibitions drawn from Wakefield's Permanent Art Collection will celebrate their careers.

The Hepworth display features over 30 works tracing the artist's whole career, from the early carvings of the 1920–30s, to the iconic stringed forms emerging during the 1940s and her later, large-scale marble sculptures. Hepworth's personal library will be displayed publicly for the first time, offering an insight into Hepworth's creative inspirations.

In 1977, Moore discovered that Wakefield was fundraising to buy one print from his series *Stonehenge* (1973), and promptly donated a complete set to the collection. This series can be seen in its entirety, alongside important sculptures and drawings of coal mines from the 1940s, showing Moore's continued exploration of stone, texture and form.



Image: Barbara Hepworth, *Oval with Two Forms*, 1971.
© Bowness, Hepworth Estate

HEPWORTH'S PERSONAL LIBRARY

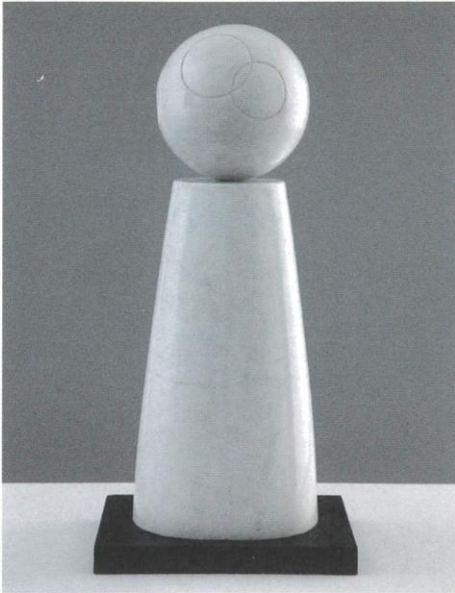
Sat 27 May
Drop-in 11am – 4pm
FREE

Join University of Huddersfield PhD researcher Clare Nadal for the first in a series of readings from Barbara Hepworth's private library that will explore the diverse themes and ideas that influenced Hepworth's work.

LAST CHANCE TO SEE ANTHEA HAMILTON REIMAGINES KETTLE'S YARD GALLERIES 2 & 3 CLOSES MON 1 MAY 2017

Turner Prize nominated artist Anthea Hamilton is renowned for her pop art, culture-inspired sculptures and installations that incorporate references from the worlds of art, fashion, design and cinema. In this 'reimagining' of the Kettle's Yard collection – on display in Wakefield while the Cambridge gallery is closed for renovation – Hamilton has created a series of new works, displayed alongside artists including Robert Mapplethorpe and Ben Nicholson.

The exhibition is supported by The Henry Moore Foundation



Barbara Hepworth, *Cone and Sphere*, 1973. Marble.
On loan from the Hepworth Estate © Bowness, Hepworth Estate.



Barbara Hepworth aged 20, © Bowness, Hepworth Estate.

BARBARA HEPWORTH GALLERY 3

Barbara Hepworth was born in Wakefield in 1903. Her father was a surveyor for West Riding County Council, and Hepworth accompanied him on his inspections of local roads and bridges. She later wrote: 'Perhaps what one wants to say is formed in childhood and the rest of one's life is spent trying to say it. I know that all I felt during the early years of my life in Yorkshire is dynamic and constant in my life today.'

This exhibition provides a survey of Hepworth's extraordinary career, from early wood carving to iconic stringed sculptures and polished bronzes from the 1970s, shown alongside her personal library which is on public display for the first time.

EVENT: READINGS FROM HEPWORTH'S PERSONAL LIBRARY

Sat 29 July, 26 Aug & 30 Sept,
11am – 12pm

Join University of Huddersfield PhD researcher Clare Nadal and specially invited guest speakers for a series of readings from Barbara Hepworth's private library.

The series explores the diverse themes and ideas that influenced the artist's work. FREE

Natural, Spiritual and Cosmic Forms

Thinking about the 'life of forms' was crucial to Hepworth's sculptural imagination. Sources for form could be found in science, geometry, cosmology, and alongside friendships with scientists, including the crystallographer J. D. Bernal, she also developed this through reading. Hepworth's own work could itself provide important formal reference points for other disciplines, and the library contains mathematical, design and architectural texts that include reproductions of Hepworth's work to illustrate this.

[clockwise from top left]

J. D. Bernal, *The Origin of Life*, (The Weidenfeld and Nicholson Natural History, 1967), with an inscription by the author

Mary Baker Eddy, *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, first published 1875, (Boston, undated)

F. B. Uvarov with D. R. Chapman, *A Dictionary of Science*, first published 1943, (Penguin Reference Books, 1958)

G. A. Jellicoe, *Studies in Landscape Design*, volume 2, (Oxford University Press, 1966)

Barbara Hepworth: Carvings and Drawings, introduction by Herbert Read, (Lund Humphries, 1952), binding design by David Burnham

Dag Hammarskjöld, *Markings*, translated by Leif Sjöberg and W. H. Auden (Alfred A. Knopf, 1964)

Creative Collaborations

Hepworth described her community in Cornwall as one of 'writers and musicians', which included friendships with composers such as Priaulx Rainier and Michael Tippett. In the 1950s she undertook a number of creative collaborations, including costume and set design for Michel St Denis' production of *Electra* at the Old Vic (1951) and Tippett's opera *The Midsummer Marriage* at Covent Garden (1953). The influence of music and Classical theatre was also evident in her sculpture of the period, with titles drawing upon musical forms and Ancient Greek, also coinciding with her Greek travels in 1954.

[clockwise from top left]

Sophocles, *Electra*, translated by J. T. Sheppard, (Bowes and Bowes, 1927)

The Pocket Oxford Dictionary of Current English, (Oxford University Press, 1939)

Rainer Maria Rilke, *Selected Letters of Rainer Maria Rilke, 1902-1926*, (Macmillan, 1946), notes by Priaulx Rainier

Lord Kinross, *Portrait of Greece*, (Parrish, 1956)

Scenes de Ballet, exhibition at Wildenstein, London, 1950, cover design by Barbara Hepworth

Opera, edited by Michael Wood and Harold Rosenthal, (Covent Garden Books, no. 10, 1957)

awards are given for great acting and directing. Kevin Spacey remains a great actor and revived the Old Vic. None of the charges against him has yet been proved. On the assumption, however, that some if not all the claims are true, he'd hardly be the first artist to have gone off the reservation. The list goes

having sex with a 13-year-old girl and has been accused of other sexual assaults? Even more troublingly, did such art develop from the personality flaws? Can the creation of what touches us most deeply flow directly from the loathsomeness of the artist? As Eric Gill's biographer Fiona MacCarthy has written, while his

fascism, causing Ernest Hemingway to write that "he deserves punishment and disgrace" Should we listen to the music of Wagner, given its inextricable association with Nazism? When it comes to miscreant politicians, different rules surely apply again. Living politicians are role models. Dead ones, though, are not

interfere because it makes all of us — audience, voters, colleagues — complicit. If Kevin Spacey and others accused of serious sexual misbehavior did the things of which they are accused, they must be held to account. While their prospects, though, may have collapsed like a house of cards, their indisputable achievements will endure.

catch-up. We may even end up with

The Brexiteers have put all their eggs in the Trump basket

worse deals than our trading partners see how desperate we are. While we're struggling with that, the EU will be clinching deals with countries where talks are already under way, such as Japan, Australia and New Zealand. Those account for another 8 per cent of our trade. It will be the EU forging ahead, not us.

What about the US, which accounts for 15 per cent of our trade? Hasn't Donald Trump promised a "beautiful" deal? The snag is that cutting such a deal will be "very complex", as Wilbur Ross, the US commerce secretary, said in London yesterday. One of the difficulties is that America wants us to take its food, including chlorine-washed chicken. If we refuse, that "could create problems", Ross admitted.

Asked how long it would take to finalise a deal, he replied: "Hopefully not a decade". That's small comfort for Brexiteers who have put all their eggs in the Trump basket. By the time a deal is done he won't even be president.

The priority in talks with the US is to fix all sorts of problems that quitting the EU will cause. So that air traffic between the UK and US isn't disrupted, for example, we'll need an open-skies agreement.

Again, we'll have to scramble to copy lots of deals just so we don't fall behind. While we do all that, the US may have nailed down its deal with the EU, where a lot of the hard work has been done. So we'll be at the back of the queue again. Thanks Brexiteers.

Hugo Dixon is chairman and editor-in-chief of InFacts, a journalistic enterprise making the case against Brexit

Ann Treneman Notebook

Winter's here — just look at the gloaming

Winter has arrived unannounced and waaaaay too early. There I was, feeling all autumnal, wondering what to do with the pumpkin post-Hallowe'en. But then, bam, at 4.45pm on Sunday we were driving from Bakewell to our friends in Parsnip (well, OK, Parwich) for Bonfire Night, watching as the temperature dropped from 5C to zero in 20 minutes.

I call that a plunge. And it all happened just as someone (winter, is that you?) switched the lights off. Of course winter doesn't officially start until December 21 but, make no mistake, he's here. (And yes, winter is definitely a he, just as spring is most definitely a she.)

As we drove along, the trees, branches bare, were silhouetted against the sky, stark and suddenly silent without anything to rustle. The

leaves have fled and so, it seems, has the day. It's a week since the clocks "fell back" and I still can't get used to life on the dark side.

This, I said to my husband, looking out at fields, fuzzy now, the green almost grey in the dusky light, is what they call "gloaming". Hmm, he said, wondering if it was my word of the week. Actually, I'm promoting it to my word for the season.

Effigy fatigue

Call me a snowflake (though I'm not sure when it became so terrible to be that) but I seem to have lost my sense of humour when it comes to burning effigies. In years past I have seen it as a light-hearted affair but now feel only distaste. I'm not sure if it's Twitter or too much Trump but even I, who criticise for a living, am fed up with this age of intolerance. I couldn't even finish *Gunpowder* on BBC One, finding it literally too torturous to view. So enough with burning the Pope in Lewes or, even, Harvey Weinstein anywhere else.

Surely we can remember, remember the fifth of November without burning anyone at the stake.

Hepworth's library

To Wakefield, then, for some culture. I don't mean the theatre, though I have been there to review, as *The Times* likes to reach the parts of the theatreland that other papers don't. I'm talking about the Hepworth gallery, a gorgeous building by David Chipperfield made up of light grey rectangular shapes that look like they

are having a party on the banks of the Calder. It's free and full of sleek sculptures and drawings by Barbara Hepworth and Henry Moore, both locals or as near as, with the occasional Hockney and others such as Vanessa Bell thrown in. But the thing I loved the most was the fact that one wall shows us Hepworth's personal bookshelf. There are many volumes that I would have expected, such as *Aspects of*

Form and *The Field Guide to Rocks and Minerals*. But, also, there was *First Slice Your Cookbook: The Three-Tier Menu Guide* by Arabella Boxer. My personal favourite, though, has to be a thick volume called *Shrubs for the Milder Counties*.

It's rum, Brum

I went to Birmingham last week to see *Nativity! The Musical* (if winter is too early, then Christmas even more so) and, as I picked my way through endless plastic barriers, turning what should have been a 10-minute walk into a 20-minute obstacle course. I realised that I have never been to Birmingham in the past 30 years when it wasn't in the midst of some massive overhaul. What is it? Is this city simply addicted to ripping itself up? Does it have a love affair with concrete that must not be denied? Brum, get a grip. Finish whatever stage this is (the 37th?) and stop the madness.

Talking phones

My irritation of the week is the fact that my iPhone now feels the need to ask me constantly if I am driving. No, I'm not driving, I say to it, or I wouldn't be using my phone. Forget Big Brother, we've got Big Apple instead.

@ANNTRNEMAN



THE HEPWORTH BOOK CLUB, THE HEPWORTH WAKEFIELD.

**Sat 27 May, Sat 24 June, Sat 29 July, Sat 26 August, Sat 23 September, Sat 28 October
11am-12pm Gallery 3**

Free, no need to book

Clare Nadal, collaborative PhD research student with the Hepworth Wakefield, has curated the first ever gallery presentation of Barbara Hepworth's personal library, as part of the exhibition *Masterpieces by Barbara Hepworth and Henry Moore*. Hepworth's books are held by The Hepworth Wakefield as a research resource and reflect a broad array of interests from natural history and mathematics to Zen Buddhism.

Join Clare and guest speakers for a series of monthly events that explore the books from Hepworth's library, their diverse themes and ideas that influenced Hepworth's work.

PROGRAMME

SAT 24 JUNE – HELENA BONETT (Tate/ Royal College of Art)

Curator and researcher Helena Bonett draws out themes of montage, fragmentation and dialogue found in books in Hepworth's library, asking how these creative methods can encourage us to look differently at Hepworth's work.

Helena Bonett is a curator, writer and lecturer undertaking an AHRC-funded collaborative doctorate at the Royal College of Art and Tate on the sculptural legacy of [Barbara Hepworth](#).

SAT 29 JULY – PROFESSOR MONTY ADKINS (Huddersfield)

Professor Monty Adkins explores the sculpture and music that influenced Barbara Hepworth.

Monty Adkins is a composer, performer, and Professor of Experimental Electronic Music at the University of Huddersfield.

SAT 26 JULY - DR LUCY KENT (Independent)

Barbara Hepworth's library reveals her wide-ranging interest in spiritual matters. Lucy Kent will discuss the influence of Hepworth's religious beliefs on her work and relationships, and how her understanding of spirituality adapted to the changing circumstances of her life.

Lucy Kent completed her PhD at the University of Cambridge, where her research explored the correlation between new religious movements and modern art in England.

SAT 23 SEPT, 11AM - RACHEL ROSE SMITH (Tate)

As part of [Wakefield Lit Fest](#), Curator Rachel Rose Smith will discuss Hepworth's readings of the work of Rainer Maria Rilke (1875-1926), whose books she held in her personal library. She will discuss why Hepworth was drawn to the work of the Bohemian-Austrian poet and letter-writer, as well as Rilke's wider impact on Hepworth's cultural sphere.

Rachel Rose Smith is a curator, researcher and lecturer based in London. She is currently Assistant Curator of Modern British Art at Tate Britain.

SAT 28 OCT, 11AM - VERONICA RYAN

Artist Veronica Ryan explores the annotations found in Hepworth's books, and the parallel activities of reading, writing and making in the daily life of the artist.

Veronica Ryan is a British artist, currently splitting her time between New York and the UK. In 2000, Ryan completed a residency at Tate St Ives, where she worked in the former studio of Barbara Hepworth, using marble gifted by the Hepworth Estate. Through an ongoing residency at The Art House, Wakefield, Ryan is re-examining her connection with Barbara Hepworth to create new work for the Wakefield Permanent Art Collection.

See: <http://www.hepworthwakefield.org/whatson/hepworth-s-personal-library/>

[For further information please contact clare.nadal@hud.ac.uk](mailto:clare.nadal@hud.ac.uk)

Extract from Henri Follicon, *The Life of Forms in Art*, 1948

To pursue, in other words, the study of a work of art, we must, for the time being, isolate it. Then and then only would we have the opportunity of learning to *see* it. For art is made primarily for sight. Space is its realm – not the space of everyday life involving, say, a soldier or a tourist – but space treated by a technique that may be defined as matter and as movement. A work of art is the measure of space. It is form, and as form it must first make itself known to us.

In one of his political tracts, Balzac has affirmed that “everything is form, and life itself is form.” Not only may every activity be comprehended and defined to the extent that it assumes form and inscribes its graph in space and time, but life itself, furthermore, is essentially a creator of forms. Life is form, and form is the modality of life. The relationships that bind forms together in nature cannot be pure chance, and what we call “natural life” is in effect a relationship between forms, so inexorable that without it this natural life could not exist. So it is with art as well. The formal relationships within a work of art and among different works of art constitute an order for, and a metaphor of, the entire universe.

In considering form as the graph of an activity, however, we are exposed to two dangers. The first is that of stripping it bare, of reducing it to a mere contour or diagram. We must instead envisage form in all its fullness and in all its many phases; form, that is, as a *construction* of space and matter; whether it be manifested by the equilibrium of its masses, by variations from light to dark, by tone, by stroke, by spotting; whether it be architectural, sculptural, painted or engraved. The second danger is that of separating the graph from the activity and of considering the latter by itself alone. Although an earthquake exists independently of the seismograph, and barometric variations exist without any relation to the indicating needle, a work of art exists only insofar as it is form. In other words, a work of art is not the outline or the graph of art as an activity; it is art itself. It does not design art; it creates it. Art is made up, not of the artist’s intentions, but of works of art. The most voluminous collection of commentaries and memoirs, written by artists whose understanding of the problems of form is fully equalled by their understanding of words, could never replace the meanest work of art. In order to exist at all, a work of art must be tangible. It must renounce thought, must become dimensional, must both measure and qualify space. It is in this very turning outward that its inmost principle resides. It lies under our eyes and under our hands as a kind of extrusion upon a world which has nothing whatsoever in common with it save the pretext of the image in the so-called “arts” of imitation.

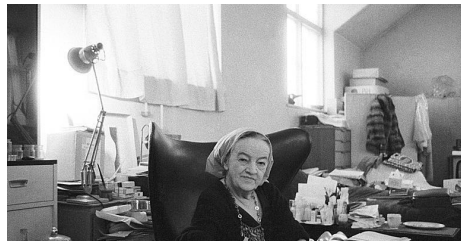
Nature as well as life creates forms. So beautifully does she impress shape and symmetry upon the very elements of which she herself is made and upon the forces with which she animates them that men have been pleased to regard her from time to time as the work of some God-artist, some unknown and guileful Hermes, the inventor and contriver. Form inhabits the shortest wave-lengths, no less than those of the lowest frequency. Organic life designs spirals, orbs, meanders, and stars, and if I wish to study this life, I must have recourse to form and to number. But the instant these shapes

invade the space and the materials specific to art, they acquire an entirely new value and give rise to entirely new systems.

Now that these new values and new systems should retain their alien quality is a fact to which we submit with a very poor grace. We are always tempted to read into form a meaning other than its own, to confuse the notion of form with that of image and sign. But whereas an image implies the representation of an object, and a sign signifies an object, form signifies only *itself*. And whenever a sign acquires any prominent formal value, the latter has so powerful a reaction upon the value of the sign as such that it is either drained of meaning or is turned from its regular course and directed towards a new totality of life. For form is surrounded by a certain aura: although it is our most strict definition of space, it also suggests the existence of other forms. It prolongs and diffuses itself throughout our dreams and fancies: we regard it, as it were, a kind of fissure through which crowds of images aspiring to birth may be introduced into some indefinite realm – a realm which is neither that of physical extent nor that of pure thought....Can form then, be nothing more than a void? Is it only a cipher wandering through space, forever in pursuit of a number that forever flees from it? By no means. Form has a meaning – but it is a meaning entirely its own, a personal and specific value that must not be confused with the attributes we impose upon it. Form has a significance, and form is open to interpretation.

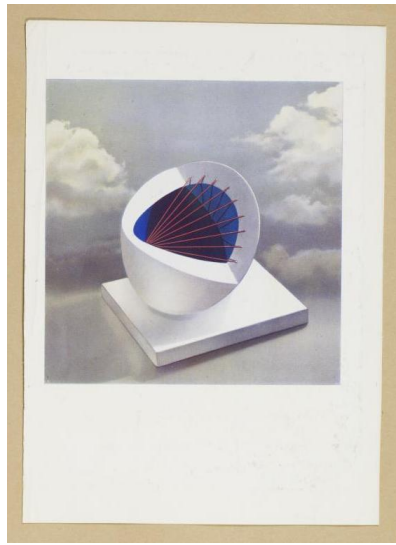
THE HEPWORTH BOOK CLUB

THE HEPWORTH WAKEFIELD, 24 JUNE 2017



From the playfield the boys raised a shout.
 A whirring whistle: goal. [...]
 – The ways of the Creator are not our ways, Mr Deasy said. [...]
 Stephen jerked his thumb towards the window, saying:
 – That is God.
 Hooray! Ay! Whrrwhee!
 – What? Mr Deasy asked.
 – A shout in the street, Stephen answered, shrugging his shoulders.

From James Joyce, Ulysses, 1922

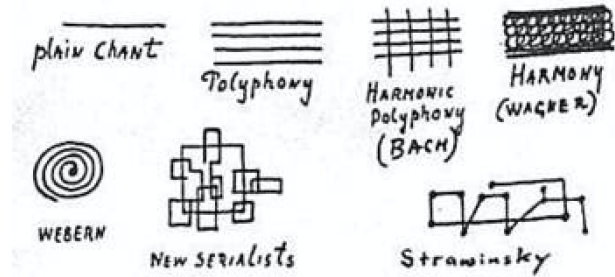


Page one from top left: Hepworth at Trewyn Studio, 1963, 1950s, 1970s; André Malraux, 1953; The Smiling Angel of Rheims (13th century) and Gandhara (4th century): Buddhist head (from Malraux, *The Voices of Silence*, 1953); Hepworth carving *Contrapuntal Forms*, 1950; quote from Joyce's *Ulysses*, 1922. Page two from top left: Hepworth, *One Form (Single Form)*, 1937; Hepworth, *Sculpture with Colour (Deep Blue and Red)*, 1943; Charlotte Moth, installation view at Kunstmuseum Liechtenstein, 2016; Veronica Ryan, *Quoit Montserrat*, 1998; Linder, *The Ultimate Form*, 2013.

THE HEPWORTH BOOK CLUB
THE HEPWORTH WAKEFIELD, 29 JULY 2017

“Music, in performance, is a type of sculpture. The air in the performance is sculpted into something.”

~Frank Zappa



Conversations with Igor Stravinsky, Faber and Faber

p.109 **“The contemporary ear requires a completely different approach to music. It is one of nature’s ways that we often feel closer to distant generations than to the generation immediately preceding us. Therefore, the present generation’s interests are directed toward music before the ‘harmonic age’. Rhythm, rhythmic polyphony, melodic or intervallic construction are the elements of musical building to be explored today.”**

Stravinsky - Poetics of Music, Harvard Paperback

p.51 “All creation presupposes at its origin a sort of appetite that is brought on by the foretaste of discovery. This foretaste of the creative act accompanies the intuitive grasp of an unknown entity already possessed but not yet intelligible, an entity that will not take definite shape except by the action of a constantly vigilant technique ... The very act of putting my work on paper, of, as we say, kneading the dough, is for me inseparable from the pleasure of creation. So far as I am concerned, I cannot separate the spiritual effort from the psychological and physical effort; they confront me on the same level and do not present a hierarchy.”

p.54 “The faculty of creating is never given to us all by itself. It always goes hand in hand with the gift of observation. And the true creator may be recognized by his ability always to find about him, in the commonest and humblest thing, items worthy of note. He does not have to concern himself with a beautiful landscape, he does not need to surround himself with rare and precious objects. He does not have to put forth in search of discoveries: they are always within his reach. He will have only to cast a glance about him.”

Barbara Hepworth, letter to Ben Nicholson, undated

“In Bach the visual sense is always delighted because every movement made by the orchestra is beautiful / all the bows ... making lovely rhythmic movement ... What a lovely vision – so complete – perfect construction & understanding. If you knew just a little more about the construction you would see the likeness to Picasso – in fact no difference at all hardly.”

Other musicians and visual art

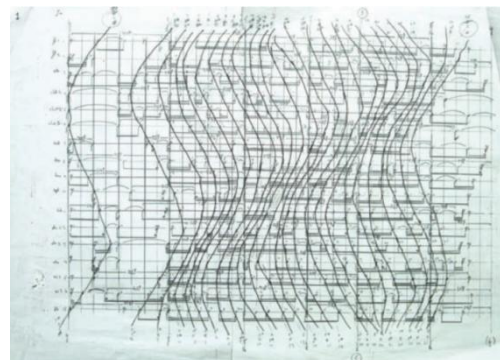
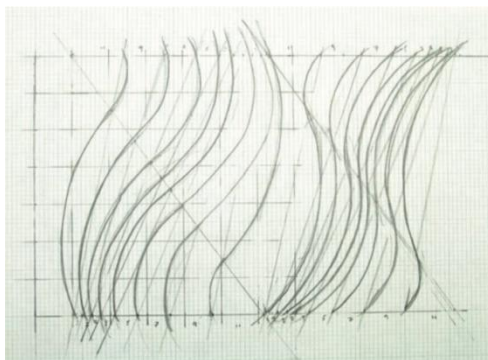
Bernhard Günter *brown, blue, brown on blue (for Mark Rothko)*

Max Mathews and Lawrence Rosler's *Graphic 1* (1968) and **Iannis Xenakis' UPIC system** (1977) both translate images made by the composer into sound. In the UPIC system composers can map their physical gestures to waveforms for synthesis, volume envelopes and larger scale form – the composer can literally draw the composition. One of the first examples of such a sonification of visual data was Xenakis' electronic work *Mycenean Alpha* (1978). (**I. Xenakis, *Mycenean Alpha*, www.youtube.com/watch?v=yztoaNakKok**)

The American composer **Morton Feldman** and the English composer **Bryn Harrison** both view their manuscript paper as a frame to be subdivided in time, just as a painter will subdivide the canvas. The manuscript page becomes a visual means of organising sound in time.

“I treat a bar not as a unit of emphasis but as a space in which to contain the musical material. It is a visual space, really. There is a visual identity to the music that is not directly heard but has an implicit effect on what you hear.” **Bryn Harrison, interview with M. Adkins, University of Huddersfield, 18 November 2010.**

Examples from Harrison's *Six Symmetries*



Calder Piece is composer **Earle Brown's** sonic animation of his friend **Alexander Calder's mobile** *Chef d'orchestre*. Brown, a major force in the American **avant-garde** since the 1950s, was the creator of open form, a style of musical construction greatly indebted to the works of Calder. In *Calder Piece*, four percussionists are 'conducted' by the mobile.



Nathalie Miebach See:

https://www.ted.com/talks/nathalie_miebach



THE HEPWORTH BOOK CLUB

THE HEPWORTH WAKEFIELD, 26 AUGUST 2017

Two Different Artists

A Christian Scientist and an opponent are like two artists. One says: "I have spiritual ideals, indestructible and glorious. When others see them as I do, in their true light and loveliness, — and know that these ideals are real and eternal because drawn from Truth, — they will find that nothing is lost, and all is won, by a right estimate of what is real."

The other artist replies: "You wrong my experience. I have no mind-ideals except those which are both mental and material. It is true that materiality renders these ideals imperfect and destructible; yet I would not exchange mine for thine, for mine give me such personal pleasure, and they are not so shockingly transcendental. They require less self-abnegation, and keep Soul well out of sight. Moreover, I have no notion of losing my old doctrines or human opinions."

Dear reader, which mind-picture or externalized thought shall be real to you, — the material or the spiritual? Both you cannot have. You are bringing out your own ideal. This ideal is either temporal or eternal. Either Spirit or matter is your model.

- **Mary Baker Eddy, *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures* (first published 1875) 359:29-17 (to 2nd .)**

Mental Sculpture

The sculptor turns from the marble to his model in order to perfect his conception. We are all sculptors, working at various forms, moulding and chiseling thought. What is the model before mortal mind? Is it imperfection, joy, sorrow, sin, suffering? Have you accepted the mortal model? Are you reproducing it? Then you are haunted in your work by vicious sculptors and hideous forms. Do you not hear from all mankind of the imperfect model? The world is holding it before your gaze continually. The result is that you are liable to follow those lower patterns, limit your life-work, and adopt into your experience the angular outline and deformity of matter models.

To remedy this, we must first turn our gaze in the right direction, and then walk that way. We must form perfect models in thought and look at them continually, or we shall never carve them out in grand and noble lives.

- **Mary Baker Eddy, *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, 248:12-29**

THE HEPWORTH BOOK CLUB

THE HEPWORTH WAKEFIELD, 23 SEPTEMBER 2017

Rainer Maria Rilke

born 1875, died 1926

Key publications during lifetime:

Auguste Rodin, 1903

Book of Hours, 1905

New Poems, 1907

Requiem, 1908; published 1909

The Notebooks of Malte Laurids Brigge, 1910

Duino Elegies, 1912–22; published 1923

Sonnets to Orpheus, 1923



Rilke in Hepworth's library:

- 1) *Sonnets to Orpheus*, translated by J.B. Leishman, London, 1936. Inscribed in Hepworth's hand with her name and the date October 1941. Annotations on pp. 31, 37, 43, 49, 51, 53, 69, 71, 73. (Hepworth also opened 1957 edition).
- 2) *Dunno Elegies*, translated, with an introduction and commentary by J.B. Leishman and Stephen Spender, London, 1939. Inscribed in Hepworth's hand with her name and date October 1941. Annotations on pp. 141–3, 153, 160. Both received/purchased October 1941.
- 3) *Rodin*, translated by Jessie Lemont and Hans Trausil with an introduction by Padraic Colum, London, 1946. Inscribed by Ben Nicholson 'Barbara love from Ben'.
- 4) *Selected Letters of Rainer Maria Rilke 1902–1926*, London, 1946. Notes written by Priaulx Rainier between pp.4–5 and page markers indicate was read during early 1950s.
- 5) *Poems from the Book of Hours*, London, 1957.

Hepworth to E.H. Ramsden, undated [probably late November 1941]:

'I can't remember what I told you in that letter - I think there was a lot about Rilke & about how I've slowly discovered how to create for 30 mins, cook for 40 mins, create for another 30 & look after children for 50 so on through the day. [...] I wish I saw you more often or at

least could find time to write intelligent letters - there is such a lot I would like to discuss with you - I should love to come to London but at the moment, even if it were possible - I feel that work is the one & only thing I want to do.'

Hepworth to Herbert Read, 12 Jan [1943]:

'It was extremely nice to get a letter from you - & I'm glad you like the drawing. 3 or 4 new drawings are being reproduced as illustrations to K Raine's new book of poems, one in colour but I haven't seen proofs yet. I enjoyed working to the poems. Your drawing is very much a part of my reading of Rilke's First Elegy. I wonder if you will feel it so? / The Design Unit does stand for a lot...'

The First Elegy

Who, if I cried, would hear me among the angelic
orders? And even if one of them suddenly
pressed me against his heart, I should fade in the strength of his
stronger existence. For Beauty's nothing
but beginning of Terror we're still just able to bear,
and why we adore it so is because it serenely
disdains to destroy us. Each single angel is terrible.
And so I keep down my heart, and swallow the call-note
of depth-dark sobbing. Alas, who is there
we can make use of? Not angels, not men;
and already the knowing brutes are aware
that we don't feel very securely at home
within our interpreted world. There remains, perhaps,
some tree on a slope, to be looked at day after day,
there remains for us yesterday's walk and the cupboard-love loyalty
of a habit that liked us and stayed and never gave notice.
Oh, and there's Night, there's Night, when wind full of cosmic space
feeds on our faces: ...

[...]

Don't you know *yet?* - Fling the emptiness out of your arms
into the spaces we breathe - maybe that the birds
will feel the extended air in more intimate flight.
Yes, the Springs had need of you. Many a star

was waiting for you to espy it. Many a wave
would rise in the past towards you; or else, perhaps,
as you went by an open window, a violin
would be giving itself to someone. All this was a trust.

[...]

Ought not these oldest sufferings of ours to be yielding
more fruit by now? Is it not time that, in loving,
we freed ourselves from the loved one, and, quivering, endured:
as the arrow endures the string, to become, in the gathering out-leap,
something more than itself? For staying is nowhere.
Voices, voices. Hear, O my heart, as only
saints have heard: heard till the giant-call
lifted them off the ground; yet they went impossible
on with their kneeling, in undistracted attention:
so inherently hearers. Not that you could endure
the voice of God - far from it. But hark to the suspiration,
the uninterrupted news that grows out of silence.
Rustling towards you now from those youthfully-dead.

[...]

True, it is strange to inhabit the earth no longer,
to use no longer customs scarcely acquired,
not to interpret roses, and other things
that promise so much, in terms of a human future;
to be no longer all that one used to be
in endlessly anxious hands, and to lay aside
even one's proper name like a broken toy.
Strange, not to go on wishing one's wishes. Strange,
to see all that was once relation so loosely fluttering
hither and thither in space. And it's hard, being dead,
and full of retrieving before one begins to espy
a trace of eternity. - Yes, but all of the living
make the mistake of drawing too sharp distinctions.
Angels (they say) are often unable to tell

whether they love among living or dead. The eternal
torrent whirls all the ages through either realm
for ever, and sounds above their voices in both.

They've finally no more need of us, the early-departed,
one's gently weaned from terrestrial things as one mildly
outgrows the breasts of a mother. But we, that have need of
such mighty secrets, we, for whom sorrow's so often
source of blessedest progress, could we exist without them?
Is the story in vain, how once, in the mourning for Linos,
venturing earliest music pierced barren numbness, and how,
in the horrified space an almost deified youth
suddenly quitted for ever, emptiness first
felt the vibration that now charms us and comforts and helps?

More Reading!

Ulrich Baer, *The Rilke Alphabet*, translated by Andrew
Hamilton, Fordham UnivWeek 5 Rachel



THE HEPWORTH BOOK CLUB

THE HEPWORTH WAKEFIELD, 28 OCTOBER 2017

Extract from Tate Conservation Inventory of the contents found in the working studios of the Barbara Hepworth Museum and Sculpture Garden (2010-11):

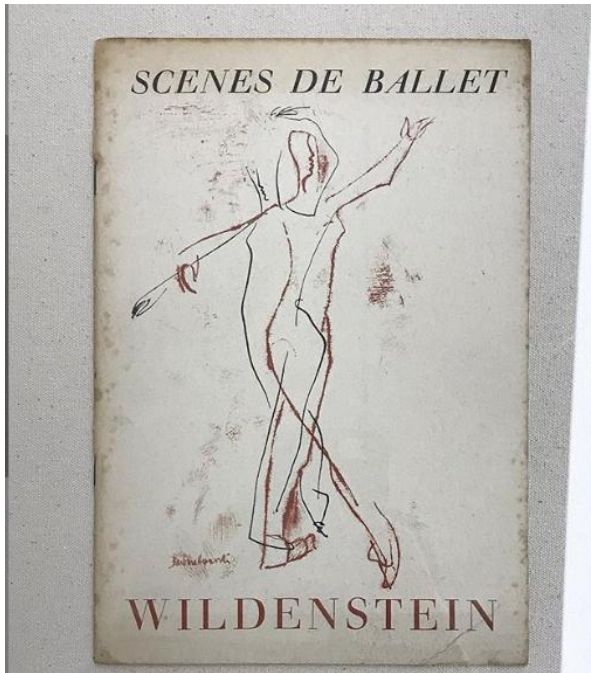
Hanging on Doors:

- 1 striped jacket with pencil stubs in pocket and straps in other, made by JACKSON
- 1 green smock
- 1 plastic mac with red wrapping paper in pocket, other pocket tin of FAMEL pastilles
- 1 beret
- pair of torn dirty jeans
- mustard brown coat - in pockets: leaflet of Care of Plants and receipt for seeds, disprin bottle, food mixer, strap
- pair of dirty old jeans7070001
- orange smock, with MANSFIELD NURSERY Catalogue in pocket [also this one has the initial 'N' embroidered on it, which is most likely the initial for Hepworth's assistant Norman Stoker]



Images courtesy Tate Conservation and Helena Bonett





matt_retallick • Following
The Hepworth Wakefield

matt_retallick Catalogue cover designed by Barbara Hepworth for the exhibition Scenes de Ballet at Wildenstein London in 1950 @hepworthwakefield

ianmasseyart Yes please

clare_nadal Sorry I couldn't join you and Gloria today, Matt. Glad you were there in my place on the last day of the library display (it's coming down tomorrow 😞)



Liked by hepworthwakefield and 51 others

DECEMBER 2, 2018

Add a comment...



hepworthwakefield • Following
The Hepworth Wakefield

#hepworthwakefield #barbarahepworth #artist #library #books #booklover #collection #exhibition #archive #art #gallery #exhibition #sculpture #shelfie #bookstagram

teaclaylove @hepworthwakefield we love hearing nuggets like this! We know BH identified predominantly as a Christian Scientist but zen themes of form, emptiness and circle are so beautifully evident in her work 🙏 #welovebooksandzentoo



Liked by hilaryfloe and 116 others

AUGUST 9, 2018

Add a comment...



matt_retallick • Following
The Hepworth Wakefield

matt_retallick A quick visit to @hepworthwakefield this afternoon. So wonderful to revisit this display curated by @clare_nadal - a selection of books from Barbara Hepworth's personal library

clare_nadal Thanks so much @matt_retallick! Glad you have been able to revisit 🙏

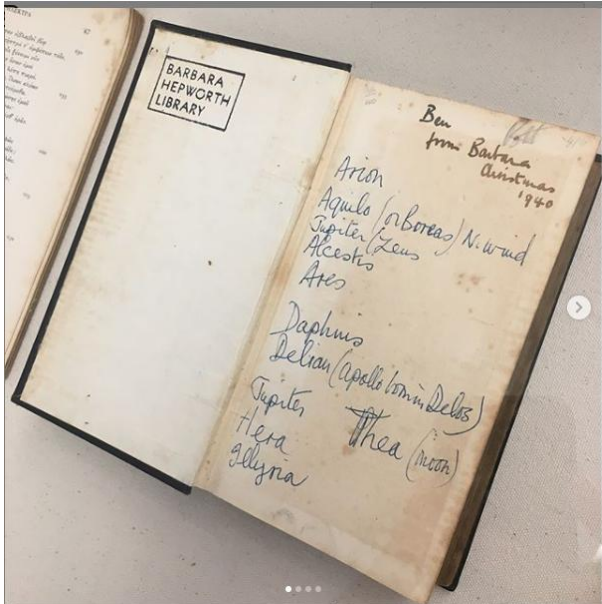


Liked by hepworthwakefield and 58 others

JUNE 10, 2018

Add a comment...

110048274947971/



simonmartin_art • Following
The Hepworth Wakefield

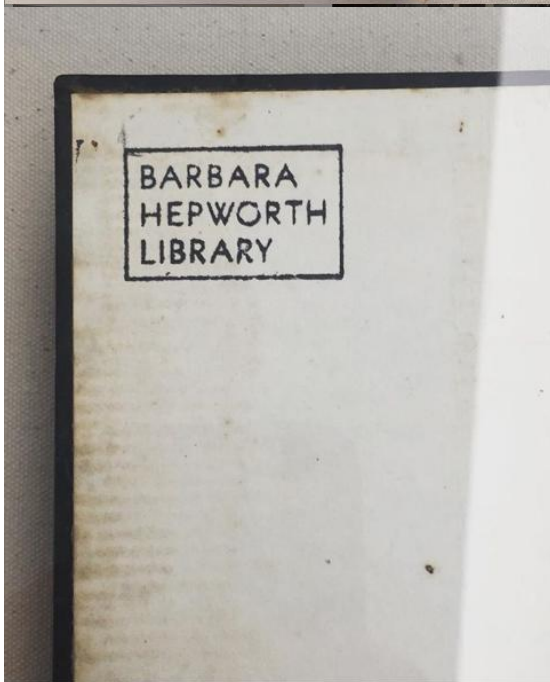
simonmartin_art Fascinating to see Barbara Hepworth's Library on show @hepworthwakefield (but I think it's a bit selfish that she gave Ben Nicholson a book for Christmas and then kept it for herself, writing her shopping list of classical gods & nymphs all over it.) The Dag Hammarskjöld poem is rather lovely #barbarahepworth #hepworth #instabook #hepworthgallerywakefield #daghammarskjöld #booklovers #bookgeek

kate_mccgwire Possible titles?
 simonmartin_art @kate_mccgwire yes, a shopping list of titles!
 kate_mccgwire I've got similar lists in my sketchbooks - always pondering titles....

Liked by matt_retallick and 120 others

NOVEMBER 13, 2017

Add a comment...



matt_retallick • Following
The Hepworth Wakefield

matt_retallick Fantastic display of Barbara Hepworth's personal library by @clare_nadal - books on fellow artists, plants, Cornwall, novels, many of which gifted to Hepworth from friends.

clare_nadal Thank you @matt_retallick, I'm glad you enjoyed the display!

Liked by hepworthwakefield and 66 others

AUGUST 28, 2017

Add a comment...



arlis_uk • Following
The Hepworth Wakefield

arlis_uk Fascinating display of Barbara Hepworth's personal library @hepworthwakefield researched and curated by @clare_nadal #artistslibraries #beautifulgallery

clare_nadal @arlis_uk thank you, I'm glad you enjoyed the display

Liked by hepworthwakefield and 8 others

AUGUST 11, 2017

Add a comment...

79438712578207/



58141280094631/

Arts arlis_uk • Following
The Hepworth Wakefield

arlis_uk Favourite item from Barbara Hepworth's library is this accordion fold artist's book. 'A Girl Surveyed' (1971) by William Scott. @hepworthwakefield @clare_nadal

Liked by jenkinsjenkinsjenkins and 7 others

AUGUST 11, 2017

Add a comment...

You Retweeted



Becky Gee @artbybecky · 31 Dec 2017

Really enjoyed the Barbara Hepworth Library, book collections can expose more than any other. Displayed by @clare_nadal #art #books
[instagram.com/p/BdYYDdwH0ry/](https://www.instagram.com/p/BdYYDdwH0ry/)



1 comment, 2 retweets, 3 likes

You Retweeted



ann treneman @anntreneman · 7 Nov 2017

So here's some of what Barbara Hepworth had on her shelf: I wanna be in her bookclub @HepworthGallery @thetimes @RobbieTimes



2 comments, 4 retweets, 18 likes

Clare Nadal @Clare_Nadal · 7 Nov 2017

You Retweeted



Lauren LaTulip @ltulip · 6 Nov 2017

Love exhibitions that include the artist's library. This from Barbara Hepworth @HepworthGallery I'd like to read 'First Slice Your Cook'!



3 retweets, 8 likes

5 retweets, 8 likes

You Retweeted



The Hepworth Wakefield @HepworthGallery · 23 Jun 2017

Our Art Social group spent the morning looking at #BarbaraHepworth's personal library, currently on display, for #MuseumWeek's #BooksMW day!



3 retweets, 16 likes

You Retweeted



Sean Ketteringham @seeanate · 20 Jun 2017

Such a feast on @HepworthGallery (even while they're between shows) including this revelatory case of Hepworth's library by @Clare_Nadal



Bibliography

Main Archives Consulted

Henry Moore Institute Research Library and Archive

Henry Moore Institute Artists' Files concerning Barbara Hepworth

Helen Chadwick library

Royal Academy of Music Library and Archive

IPR The Papers of Priaulx Rainier

IPR/3/36 Personal Letters from Barbara Hepworth

IPR/6/3 Miscellaneous material concerning Barbara Hepworth

IPR/6/3/2 Newspaper cuttings

IPR 6/3/5/Obituaries and Thanksgiving and Memorial Service

IPR/6/13 Copied Poems

IPR/7/4 Photographs of Barbara Hepworth and her sculpture

Special Collections, University of Bradford

GB 0532 HAW The Jacquetta Hawkes Archive

4/8. "Barbara Hepworth film". *Figures in a landscape*. British Film Institute [B.F.I.] film about Barbara Hepworth. Correspondence, typescripts, 1952-1953.

13/5. "CND Women's Committee & meetings". Correspondence 1958-1963.

Special Collections, University of Leeds

BC MS 20c Herbert Read: Herbert Read Archive

Letters from Barbara Hepworth 1965-68

St Ives Archive Study Trust

Uncatalogued local press material related to Barbara Hepworth

Tate Library and Archive

TGA 922 Letters from Barbara Hepworth to Revered Donald B. Harris, Vicar of St Paul's Knightsbridge

TGA 965 Correspondence of Barbara Hepworth

TGA 965/1/33 Correspondence with Margaret Gardiner

TGA 965/1/80 Correspondence of Herbert Read to Barbara Hepworth

TGA 200313/1 Letters from Michael Tippett to Barbara Hepworth and Ben Nicholson

TGA 200314 Material relating to the film 'Figures in a Landscape: Cornwall and the Sculpture of Barbara Hepworth, made by Dudley Shaw Ashton

TGA 20132 The Remaining Personal Papers of Barbara Hepworth

TGA 20132/1/164 Correspondence with Priaulx Rainier

TGA 20132/2/1 Correspondence and publications regarding 'Single Form'

TGA 20132/2/7 Correspondence with photographers and photography studios

TGA 20132/3/1 Records and notes of Barbara Hepworth's paintings, drawings and sculptures in Trewyn Studio Gardens as recorded by the sculptor

TGA 20132/3/1/18-20 Three volumes of photographs of the sculptures in Trewyn Studio Gardens

TGA 20132/3/4 Lists

TGA 20132/3/16 Visitor Books

TGA 20132/3/17 Regards regarding 'The Midsumme Marriage' opera by Michael Tippett

TGA 20132/3/19 Barbara Hepworth's Artwork

TGA 20132/4/2/13 Photographs of the gardens at Trewyn Studio from the Jenkins family

TGA 20132/4/6 Music Books

TGA 20132/4/6/8 Priaulx Rainier's Music Books

TGA 20132/4/7 Personal lists

TGA 20132/6/1/1 Papers for the purchase of Trewyn Studio

TGA 20132/6/1/6 Correspondence regarding the purchase of the Palais de Danse

TGA 20132/6/1/7 Correspondence, invoices and publications regarding the Barnaloft Studios.

TGA 20132/6/1/16 Twelve photographs of the sculptures in Trewyn studio garden

TGA 201518 Sketchbooks, notebooks and working papers of Barbara Hepworth

TGA 20159 Twenty three drawings for Michael Tippett's opera 'The Midsummer Marriage' and two drawings for Sophocles' 'Electra' at the Old Vic by Barbara Hepworth

Uncatalogued Hepworth Photographic Collection

TGA 20133 Barbara Hepworth Museum

TGA 20133/1/1 Consultative Committee for the Barbara Hepworth Museum

TGA 20133/1/3 Administrative Papers for the Barbara Hepworth Museum

TGA 20133/2 The Opening of the BH Museum

TGA 8717 Ben Nicholson Papers

TGA 8717/1/1/45-397 Three hundred and fifty three letters from Barbara Hepworth

TGA 8717/5/7 Photographs of Ben Nicholson taken by family and friends

TGA 8717/5/8/8 Photographs of Ben Nicholson and Barbara Hepworth in the Mall Studio

TGA 8717/5/9/136-208 Photographs of Barbara Hepworth, many taken by Ben Nicholson

TGA 8717/5/11 Photographs of places

TGA 8717/6/9 Art and architecture serials

TGA 9310 Papers of Margot Eates and E H Ramsden

TGA 9310/1/1 Barbara Hepworth correspondence

TGA 9310/2/5/1 Art articles by E H Ramsden

Tate Archive Audiovisual Collection

TAV 1516A Mike Tooby, Curator at the Tate Gallery, St.Ives and the Barbara Hepworth Museum interviewed by Corinne Bellow, 28 September 1995

TAV 249AB Denis Mitchell interviewed by David Lewis and Sarah Fox-Pitt, 13 April 1981

TAV 254AB Priaulx Rainier interviewed by David Lewis and Sarah Fox-Pitt, 9 April 1981

TAV 255AB Nancy and Frank Halliday interviewed by David Lewis and Sarah Fox-Pitt, 15 April 1981

TAV 267AB Janet Leach interviewed by David Lewis and Sarah Fox-Pitt, 9 June 1981

TAV 368AB Terry Frost interviewed by David Lewis and Sarah Fox-Pitt, 10 April 1981

The Hepworth Wakefield Archive

THW 1/2 Barbara Hepworth

THW 1/2/5 Photographs

THW 1/2/7 Hepworth in Wakefield

THW 1/2/8 Printed Material

THW/1/2/10 The Hepworth Estate Gift to The Hepworth Wakefield

THW 1/2/11Hepworth Catalogue Folders

THW 3/1 Exhibition Papers

THW/3/2/2/9 Plans for The Hepworth Wakefield

Uncatalogued gallery records related to the acquisition of The Hepworth Gift

Barbara Hepworth Library

Press and Newspaper Articles

‘A Perfect Setting for Sculpture’. *St Ives Times and Echo*. 5 June 1959.

‘Transformation at the Palais’. *St Ives Times and Echo*. 14 Apr. 1961.

Vincent, Sally. ‘Woman to Woman: Barbara Hepworth’. *Daily Express*. 3 Oct. 1961.

‘St Ives Sculpture for Oxford Street’. *St Ives Times and Echo*. 24 Aug. 1962.

‘Sculpture: In Abstract Memoriam’. *Time: The Weekly News Magazine*. Vol. 83, No. 25, 19 June 1964.

Urquhart, Brian, ‘Books: The Point of Rest’, *The New Yorker*, 31 Oct. 1964.

Drury, George. ‘Abstract in the Palais’. *The Lady*. 15 Feb. 1968.

‘Dame Barbara dies in Fire in Bedroom’. *West Briton*. 22 May 1975.

De Jongh, Nicholas. ‘Hepworth Fire Beat Rescue’. *The Guardian*. 22 May 1975.

Tisdall, Caroline. ‘The news early yesterday that Barbara Hepworth had died in her studio home in a fire marks the end of an era in British Art’. *Arts Guardian*. 22 May 1975.

‘Barbara Hepworth dies in a fire at Cornwall Studio’. *New York Times*. 22 May 1975.

‘Sculptor found Dead in Bedroom Blaze’. *St Ives Times and Echo*. 23 May 1975.

Heron, Patrick. ‘Hepworth: A Singular Passion’. *Observer*. 25 May 1975.

‘Bishop of Truro’s Funeral Tribute to Dame Barbara’. *St Ives Times and Echo*. 30 May 1975.

‘Dame Barbara’s Studio and Garden as her Memorial’. *St Ives Times and Echo*. 20 June 1975.

‘Coroner told of brave bids to Save Dame Barbara’. *St Ives Times and Echo*. 1 Aug. 1975.

‘Tragic Death of Sculptor’. *St Ives Times and Echo*. Aug. 1975.

‘Hepworth Museum open next year with 50p admission charge’. *St Ives Times and Echo*. 3 Oct. 1975.

‘Hepworth Estate valuation not what it seems’. *St Ives Times and Echo*. 26 Dec. 1975.

Oliver, W. T. ‘Barbara Hepworth gets her wish’. *Yorkshire Post*. 5 Apr. 1976.

Tisdall, Caroline. ‘Museum of Memories – just what Hepworth ordered’. *The Guardian*. 12 Apr. 1976.

‘Dame Barbara’s Museum goes on view’. *The Western Morning News*. 12 Apr. 1976.

Packer, William. ‘The Barbara Hepworth Museum’. *Financial Times*. 14 Apr. 1976.

‘A National Museum for St Ives’. *St Ives Times and Echo*. 16 Apr. 1976.

Priestland, Gerald. ‘A Sculptor’s Cornish Garden welcomes visitors’. *Christian Science Monitor*. 17 May 1976.

- ‘George Wilkinson: An Appreciation’. *St Ives Times and Echo*. 17 Apr. 1998.
- ‘The Barbara Hepworth Museum and Sculpture Garden, St Ives’. *Choice*. Sept. 2000.
- ‘National Importance of Barbara Hepworth’s Sculpture Garden Recognised’. *St Ives Times and Echo*. 23 Feb. 2001.
- Parker, Simon. ‘Hepworth Sculpture Garden is Protected’. *Living Cornwall West Morning News*. 13 Mar. 2001.
- ‘Forms and Phormiums’. *Daily Telegraph*. 30 June 2001.
- Pedley, Brian. ‘A Garden of Sculptural Delights’. *The Times*. 11 Jan. 2003.
- McCarthy, Fiona. ‘Touchy Feely’. *Guardian Review*. 17 May 2003.
- Darwent, Charles. ‘High intellect. Great passion. Formal calm. Not the qualities of a woman, obviously’. *The Independent*. 01 June 2003.
- ‘Beyond the Frame’. *The Sunday Telegraph Magazine*, 30 May 2004.
- Radnor, Abigail. ‘Barbara Hepworth at Work in St Ives’. *The Times Magazine*. 11 June 2011.
- Durrant, Nancy. ‘Barbara Hepworth at Home’. *The Times Magazine*. 2 Jan. 2015.
- . ‘As an artist she was on par with Matisse, Picasso, Leger and Braque’. *The Times*. 6 June 2015.
- Adams, Tim. ‘Hepworth: A Life told in Six Works’. *The Observer*. 7 June 2015.
- Crompton, Sarah. ‘Some Sense of Eternity’. *The Guardian*. 13 June 2015.
- Jobey, Liz. ‘Barbara Hepworth and Photography’. *Financial Times Weekend*. 20-21 June 2015.
- Halliday, Josh. ‘Barbara Hepworth sculptures raise £2.2m for her old school’. *The Guardian*, 16 June 2016.
- Treneman, Ann. ‘Notebook: Winter’s here – just look at the gloaming’. *The Times*, 7 Nov. 2017.

Primary and Secondary Sources

Alberro, Alexander. ‘The Catalogue of Robert Smithson’s Library’, repr. in Jens Hoffmann (ed.), *The Studio: Documents of Contemporary Art*. London : Whitechapel Gallery and The MIT Press, 2012.

Allen, Felicity. ‘Situating Gallery Education’, *Tate Encounters [E]dition 2*, Feb. 2008 <http://www2.tate.org.uk/tate-encounters/edition-2/tateencounters2_felicity_allen.pdf>. Accessed 11 Mar. 2019.

---. 'What does globalisation mean for education in the art museum', in *Its all Mediating: Outlining and Incorporating the Roles of Curating and Education in the Exhibition Context* eds. Kaija Kaitavuori, Laura Kokkonen and Nora Sternfeld. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013.

Anthea Hamilton Reimagines Kettle's Yard; edited by Andrew Bonacina and Jennifer Powell. Wakefield: Kettle's Yard and The Hepworth Wakefield, 2016.

Apostolos-Cappadona, Diane and Lucinda Ebersole (eds.). *Women, Creativity and the Arts: Critical and Autobiographical Perspectives*. New York: Continuum, 1995.

Atkinson, R J C. *Stonehenge: Archaeology and Interpretation*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1960, repr. 1979.

Axten, Janet. *Gasworks to Gallery: The Story of Tate St Ives*. St Ives: Janet Axten and Colin Orchard, 1995.

Bal, Mieke. *On Meaning-Making: Essays in Semiotics*. Sonoma: Polebridge Press, 1994.

---. *Louise Bourgeois' Spider: The Architecture of Art-Writing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.

Barbara Hepworth: Sculptress; with an introduction by William Gibson; collected and edited by Lillian Browse. London: Faber and Faber, 1946.

Barbara Hepworth: Carvings and Drawings; with an introduction by Herbert Read. London: Lund Humphries, 1952.

Barbara Hepworth: Retrospective Exhibition 1927–1954. London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, London, 1954.

Barbara Hepworth: An Exhibition of Sculpture from 1952-1962. London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 1962.

Barbara Hepworth: Drawings from a Sculptor's Landscape; with an introduction to the drawings by Alan Bowness. London: Cory Adams and Mackay, 1966.

Barbara Hepworth. London: Tate Gallery, 1968.

Barbara Hepworth. The Hakone Open Air Museum Japan: Sankei Press, 1970.

Barbara Hepworth: A Pictorial Autobiography. London : Tate Publishing, 1985.

Barbara Hepworth / Ben Nicholson: Sculpture and Painting in the 1930s. London: Hazlitt Holland-Hibbert, 2019.

Barbara Hepworth. Paris: Éditions du Musée Rodin, 2019.

Barthes, Roland. *Image-Music-Text*, trans. Stephen Heath. London: Fontana Press, 1977.

Baudrillard, Jean. 'The System of Collecting', repr. in *The Cultures of Collecting*, eds. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal. London: Reaktion Books, 1994, repr. 1997.

Bedford, Christopher. 'British Modernism Unbound'. *Sculpture Journal*. Vol 17.2, 2008.

Beckett, Chris. 'Three Musical Lives and their archival traces: Jenny Lind, Priaulx Rainier and David Munrow', *Brio: Journal of the United Kingdom and Ireland Branch of the International Association of Music Libraries, Archives and Documentation Centres*, Vol. 43, No. 1, Spring/Summer 2006.

Beckett, Jane and Fiona Russell (eds.). *Henry Moore: Critical Essays*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.

Benjamin, Walter. *Illuminations*; edited and with an introduction by Hannah Arendt. London: Pimlico, 1999.

Bergstein, Mary. "'The Artist in his Studio': Photography, Art and the Masculine Mystique". *Oxford Art Journal*. Vol. 18, No. 2, 1995, pp. 45-58.

Bird, Michael. *The St Ives Artists: A Biography of Place and Time*. London: Lund Humphries, 2008, repr. 2016.

Bonnet, Helena. 'From Studio to Museum: Barbara Hepworth's Trewyn Studio'. *Barbara Hepworth* seminar. Tate Britain, Mar 2013.

---. 'The Studios at the Barbara Hepworth Museum and Sculpture Garden, St Ives'. Tate Research Developmental Seminar, May 2013 <<http://www.tate.org.uk/about/projects/studios-barbara-hepworth-museum-and-sculpture-garden-st-ives-restoration-and>>.

---. 'Curating Barbara Hepworth's Archive at Tate'. *Report on the Archive* symposium. Birckbeck, July 2013.

---. 'The Sculptor as Archivist: Interpreting Barbara Hepworth's Legacy'. *Active Archives: Henry Moore Institute Essays on Sculpture*. No. 73, July 2015.

---. 'Artistic Legacy and Patrimonial Knowledge: A Case Study of Barbara Hepworth at Tate'. Unpublished PhD thesis. Royal College of Art, Dec. 2018.

Bosman, Suzanne. *The National Gallery in Wartime*. London: National Gallery, 2008.

Bowness, Alan. *A Guide to the Barbara Hepworth Museum and Sculpture Garden*. St Ives: Lund Humphries, 1976.

Bowness, Sophie (ed.). *Barbara Hepworth and the Yorkshire Landscape: An anthology of her writings and recollections*. Bretton: Yorkshire Sculpture Park, 2003.

---. *Barbara Hepworth: The Plasters: The Gift to Wakefield*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.

---. *Barbara Hepworth: Writings and Conversations*. London: Tate Publishing, 2015.

- . *Barbara Hepworth: The Sculptor in the Studio*. London: Tate Publishing, 2017.
- Bradwell, Susan. 'Barbara Hepworth'. *Arts Review*, London. Vol. 27, No. 11. 30 May 1975.
- Brooker, Peter et.al. *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines, Volume III, Europe 1880-1940 Part 1*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Buck-Morss, Susan. *The Dialectics of Seeing : Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1993.
- Buren, Daniel. 'The Function of the Studio'. *The Studio: Documents of Contemporary Art* ed. Jens Hoffmann. London : Whitechapel Gallery and The MIT Press, 2012.
- Burstow, Robert. 'Geometries of Hope and Fear: the Iconography of Atomic Science and Nuclear Anxiety in the Modern Sculpture of World War and Cold War Britain'
<https://derby.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10545/620626/Burstow_2014_Geometries_of_hope_and_fear_accepted_manuscript.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y>.
- Cappock, Margarita. *Francis Bacon's Studio*. London: Merrell, 2005.
- Causey, Andrew. 'Barbara Hepworth, Prehistory and the Cornish landscape'. *Sculpture Journal*. Vol. 17.2, 2008.
- Chadwick, Whitney and Isabelle de Courtivron. *Significant Others: Creativity and Intimate Partnership*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1993.
- Charman, Helen. 'Uncovering Professionalism in the Art Museum: An Exploration of Key Characteristics of the Working Lives of Education Curators at Tate Modern'. *Tate Papers*, No.3, Spring 2005.
- Compton, Susan. *British Art in the 20th Century: The Modern Movement*. London: Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1987.
- Corbett, David Peters, Ysanne Holt and Fiona Russell. *Geographies of Englishness: Landscape and the National Past, 1880-1940*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.
- Cork, Richard. 'On Growth and Form'. *Tate: The Art Magazine*. Issue 4, Winter 1994.
- Curtis, Penelope. 'Through Thick and Thin'. *Women's Art*, Sept. 1994.
- . 'Signing off'. *Tate: The Art Magazine*. Issue 4, Winter 1994.
- . *The Sculpture Business : Documents from the Archive*. Leeds : Henry Moore Institute, 1997.
- . 'The Landscape of Barbara Hepworth'. *Sculpture Journal*. Vol. 2, 1998.
- . *Barbara Hepworth*. London: Tate Publishing, 1998, repr. 2013.
- . 'Revival Hepworth or speaking for sculpture'. *Sculpture Journal*. Vol 17.2, 2008.

- Curtis, Penelope and Chris Stephens (eds.). *Barbara Hepworth: Sculpture for a Modern World*. London: Tate Publishing, 2015.
- Curtis, Penelope and Alan Wilkinson. *Barbara Hepworth: A Retrospective*. London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1994.
- Dans l'atelier : L'artiste photographié, d'Ingres à Jeff Koons*. Paris : Éditions Paris Musées, 2016.
- Davies, Peter. 'Review of *Barbara Hepworth Sculpture Garden*'. *The Art Book*. Vol. 10, Issue 2, Mar. 2003.
- Davis, Alexander. *Libraries of Artists and Writers*. London: Art Design Photo, 2008.
- . *T. S. Eliot and Henry Moore: Poetry and Sculpture*. London: Zimnol Books, 2015.
- Denison, Paul et. al. *Modern Art and St Ives: International Exchanges, 1915-1965*. London: Tate Publishing, 2014.
- Deepwell, Katy (ed.). *Women Artists and Modernism*. Manchester : Manchester University Press, 1998.
- Deepwell, Katy. *Women Artists Between the Wars: 'A Fair Field and No Favour'*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010.
- Dewdney, Andrew, David Dibosa and Victoria Walsh. *Post-Critical Museology: Theory and Practice in the Art Museum*. London: Routledge, 2013.
- Didi-Huberman, Georges. 'The Album of Images According to André Malraux'. *Journal of Visual Culture*. Vol. 14, No. 1, 2015, pp. 3-20.
- dOCUMENTA (13): The Book of Books; Catalog 1/3*. Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2012.
- dOCUMENTA (13): Das Logbuch/ The Logbook; Catalog 2/3*. Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2012.
- Domela, Paul and John Byrne (eds.). *Martha Rosler Library*. Liverpool: Liverpool Biennial, 2008.
- Drucker, Johanna. *The Century of Artist's Books*. New York: Granary Books, 1995.
- Duncan, Carol. 'Virility and Domination in Early Twentieth Century Vanguard Painting' in *Feminism and Art History: Questioning the Litany* eds. Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard. New York: Harper and Row, 1982.
- Eddy, Mary Baker. *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*. Boston, Massachusetts: The Christian Science Board of Directors, 1994.
- Edwards, John and Perry Ogden. *7 Reece Mews : Francis Bacon's Studio*. London : Thames and Hudson, 2001.

- Ede, Jim. *A Way of Life : Kettles Yard*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Elsner, John and Roger Cardinal (eds.). *The Cultures of Collecting*. London : Reaktion Books, 1994, repr. 1997.
- Enwezor, Okwui. *Archive Fever : Uses of the Document in Contemporary Art*. New York : International Center of Photography and Steidl Publishers, 2008.
- Eyres, Patrick and Fiona Russell (eds.). *Sculpture and the Garden*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.
- Ezra Pound and Music: The Complete Criticism* ; edited by Murray Schafer. London: Faber and Faber, 1978.
- Feeke, Stephen and Jon Wood. *Close Encounters: The Sculptor's Studio in the Age of the Camera*. Leeds: Henry Moore Institute, 2001.
- Festing, Sally. *Barbara Hepworth: A Life of Forms*. London: Viking Books, 1995.
- Feuvre, Lisa Le. 'Introduction'. *Active Archives: Henry Moore Institute Essays on Sculpture*. No. 73, July 2015.
- Floe, Hilary. 'In and Out of Chaos: Viewing Modernism in Britain during the Second World War'. *Approaching Thunder: 1940s Britain between Art and Literature* symposium. The Hepworth Wakefield, 23 Sept. 2017.
- Focillon, Henri. *The Life of Forms in Art*. New York: Wittenborn Schulz, 1948.
- Foote, Wilder (ed.). *The Servant of Peace: A Selection of the Speeches and Statements of Dag Hammarskjöld Secretary General of the United Nations 1953-61*. London: Bodley Head, 1962.
- Francis Bacon: A Terrible Beauty*; curated by Barbara Dawson and Martin Harrison. Göttingen: Steid, 2009.
- Frankfort, Henri. 'New Works by Barbara Hepworth', *Axis* 3, pp. 14-15.
- Frederickson, Kristen and Sarah E. Webb (eds.). *Singular Women: Writing the Artist*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
<<https://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=kt5b69q3pk;brand=ucpress>>. Accessed 10 Nov. 2019.
- Fritsch, Lena and Frances Morris (eds.). *Giacometti*. London: Tate Publishing, 2017.
- Fröhlich, Manuel. 'A Fully Integrated Vision: Politics and the Arts in the Dag Hammarskjöld–Barbara Hepworth Correspondence'. *Development Dialogue*. No.1, 2001, pp. 17-57.

Future Legacies: Collections, Collecting and Artists' Books symposium. University of Leeds, 21 Apr. 2017.

Gale, Matthew and Chris Stephens. *Barbara Hepworth; Works in the Tate Collection and the Barbara Hepworth Museum, St Ives*. London: Tate Publishing, 2003.

Gardiner, Margaret. *Barbara Hepworth: A Memoir*. Edinburgh: Salamander Press, 1982.

---. *A Scatter of Memories*. London: Free Association Books, 1988.

Garrard, Mary D. 'Feminist Art and the Essentialism Controversy'. *The Centennial Review*. Vol. XXXIX, no. 3, 1995, pp. 468-492.

Getsy, David J. 'Tactility or Opticality; Henry Moore or David Smith: Herbert Read and Clement Greenberg on The Art of Sculpture 1956'. *Sculpture Journal*. Vol 17.2, 2008.

Gilbert, Georgia. 'Small Works in Private Spaces: Henry Moore's 'Sculpture in the Home''. MA dissertation. Courtauld Institute of Art, 2013.

Goddard, Linda. *Aesthetic Rivalries: Word and Image in France, 1880-1926*. Oxford: Peter Lang, 2012.

---. 'Poésie Plastique'? The Competition between Art and Literature in Early Twentieth Century France', in Kathryn Brown (eds.), *The Art Book Tradition in Twentieth Century Europe*. Farnham: Ashgate 2013.

Gorgen, Annabelle, Keith Hartley and Saskia van Kampen-Prein (eds.). *Surrealist Encounters: Collecting the Marvellous: Works from the collections of Roland Penrose, Edward Jones, Gabrielle Keiller and Ullmer and Heiner Pietzsch*. Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 2016.

Gouma-Peterson, Thalia and Patricia Matthews. 'The Feminist Critique of Art History'. *The Art Bulletin*. Vol. 69, No. 3, Sept. 1987, pp. 326-57.

Green, Lynne. *W. Barns-Graham: A Studio Life*. London: Lund Humphries, 2011.

Guide to the Henry Moore Institute Archive; compiled by Victoria Worsley. Leeds: Henry Moore Institute, 2005.

Halliday, Frank. *Indifferent Honest*. London: Duckworth, 1960.

Hammacher, A. M. *Barbara Hepworth*. London: A. Zwemmer, 1958.

---. *Barbara Hepworth*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1968, repr. 2012.

Hammarskjöld, Dag. *Markings*; trans. Leif Sjöberg and W H Auden. London: Faber and Faber, 1964.

Harrison, Charles. *English Art and Modernism, 1900-1939*. London: Allen Lane/Indiana University Press, 1981.

- . *Since 1950 : Art and its Criticism* ; with a preface by Alex Potts. London : Yale University Press, 2009.
- . *Essays on Art and Language*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001.
- . *Conceptual Art and Painting: Further Essays on Art and Language*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001.
- Hatt, Michael and Charlotte Klonk. *Art History: A Critical Introduction to its Methods*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006.
- Henry Moore Bibliography: Vols. 1-5*; compiled and edited by Alexander Davis. Much Hadham: The Henry Moore Foundation. 1992-94.
- Henry Moore at Work*; photographs by Errol Jackson; text by Estelle Lovatt. Ellingham: Jeanette Jackson, 1998.
- Henry Moore: On Being a Sculptor*; with a foreword by Mary Moore. London: Tate Publishing, 2010.
- Henry Moore: Wunderkammer, Origin of Forms*. London: Gagosian Gallery, 2015.
- Hepburn, Nathaniel (ed.). *Barbara Hepworth: The Hospital Drawings*. London: Tate Publishing, 2012.
- Hobbs, Richard. 'Reading Artists' Words', in Paul Smith and Carolyn Wilde (eds.), *A Companion to Art Theory*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2002.
- Hodby, Alexandra. 'Learning After 'New Institutionalism': Democracy and Tate Modern Public Programme'. Unpublished PhD thesis. Goldsmiths, University of London, 2018.
- Hodin, J. P. 'Cornish Renaissance'. *The Penguin New Writing*. No. 39, 1950.
- . *Barbara Hepworth*, with a catalogue of works by Alan Bowness. London: Lund Humphries, 1961.
- Hoffmann, Jens (ed.). *The Studio: Documents of Contemporary Art*. London : Whitechapel Gallery and The MIT Press, 2012.
- Hoffmann, Jens and Christina Kennedy. *The Studio*. Dublin: Dublin City Gallery, 2007.
- Holman, Valerie. 'A Fruitful Symbiosis: Sculptors and Publishers in Britain between the Wars'. *The Space Between: Literature and Culture, 1914-1945*. Vol. 7. No. 1, 2011, pp. 109-23.
- Hornblower, Simon and Anthony Spawforth (eds.). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary Fourth Edition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

- Jacob, Mary Jane and Michelle Grabner (eds.). *The Studio Reader: On the Space of Artists*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010.
- Jarrold, Matthew et. al. *D'Arcy Thomson's 'On Growth and Form' : Henry Moore Essays on Sculpture*. No. 70, 2014.
- Juler, Edward. *Grown but not Made: British Modernist Sculpture and the New Biology*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015.
- Karp, Ivan and Steven D Lavine (eds.). *The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.
- Kern, Walter. *J.P. Hodin: European Critic: Essays by Various Hands*. London: Cory, Adams and Mackay, 1965.
- Kent, Lucy. 'Spirituality and British Modernism: Christian Science influence in the work of Ben Nicholson, Winifred Nicholson and Barbara Hepworth'. MA Dissertation. Courtauld Institute of Art, 2012.
- . 'Modern Gods and Religion in England 1900-1950'. Unpublished PhD thesis. University of Cambridge, 2016.
- Kennedy, Michael. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Music*. London: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Kettle's Yard House Guide*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 2012.
- Kolokytha, Chara. 'The Art Press and Visual Culture in Paris during the Great Depression: *Cahiers d'art*, *Minotaure*, and *Verve*'. *Visual Resources*. Vol. 29, Issue 3, 2013, pp.184-215.
- . 'Formalism and Ideology in 20th Century Art : *Cahiers d'Art*, Magazine, Gallery, and Publishing House (1926-1960)'. Unpublished PhD thesis, Northumbria University, 2016.
- Kosinski, Dorothy (ed.). *Henry Moore: Sculpting the Twentieth Century*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.
- L'Atelier Brancusi*. Paris: Éditions du Centre Pompidou, 1997.
- Liberman, Alexander. *The Artist in his Studio*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1960, repr. 1969.
- Lichtenstern, Christa. *Henry Moore: Work - Theory - Impact*. London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2008.
- Linder. 'Discovering the Essence of Hepworth'. *Tate Etc*. Issue 34, Summer 2015 <<https://www.tate.org.uk/tate-etc/issue-34-summer-2015/discovering-essence-hepworth>>. Accessed 11 Nov. 2019.
- Lippard, Lucy. *The Pink Glass Swan: Selected Feminist Essays on Art*. New York: The New Press, 1995.

- MacDonald, Sharon (ed.). *The Politics of Display: Museums, Science, Culture*. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Martin, Leslie, Ben Nicholson and Naum Gabo (eds.). *Circle: International Survey of Constructive Art*. London: Faber and Faber, 1937, repr. 1971.
- Marshall-Millman, Isabel. 'A Sublime Scale: The Power of Metaphor in Henry Moore's Two- and Three-Piece Reclining Figures, 1959-1965'. MA Dissertation. Courtauld Institute of Art, 2014.
- Marx, Ursula et.al. *Walter Benjamin's Archive: Images, Texts, Signs*. London: Verso, 2015.
- Mason, Eudo C. *Rilke*. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1963.
- Mellor, David. Ed. *A Paradise Lost: The Neo-Romantic Imagination in Britain 1935-55*. London: Lund Humphries in association with the Barbican Art Gallery, 1987.
- Merewether, Charles (ed.). *The Archive: Documents of Contemporary Art*. London: Whitechapel Gallery and The MIT Press, 2006.
- Merritt, Robert. *Early Music and the Aesthetics of Ezra Pound: Hush of Older Song*. Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1951.
- Meskimmon, Marsha. *Women Making Art: History, Subjectivity, Aesthetics*. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Mitchinson, David, et. al. *Celebrating Moore: Works from the Collection of the Henry Moore Foundation; selected by David Mitchinson*. London: Lund Humphries, 1998.
- . *Hoglands: The Home of Henry and Irina Moore*. Aldershot: Lund Humphries, 2007.
- Moore / Hepworth / Nicholson. A Nest of Gentle Artists in the 1930s*. Exhibition guide. Norwich: Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service, 2008.
- Morley, Simon. *Writing on the Wall: Word and Image in Modern Art*. London: Thames and Hudson, 2003.
- Morris, Simon and Helen Sacoor. *Bibliomania*. York: Simon Morris, 1999.
- Nairne, Sandy and Nicholas Serota. *British Sculpture in the Twentieth Century*. London: Whitechapel Gallery, 1985.
- Nemser, Cindy. *Art Talk : Conversations with Fifteen Women Artists*. New York : Icon Editions, 1995.
- Nochlin, Linda. *Women, Art and Power and Other Essays*. Colorado : Westview Press, 1988.
- O'Doherty, Brian. *Inside the White Cube: The Ideology of the Gallery Space* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

- . 'Studio and Cube', repr. in Jens Hoffmann (ed.), *The Studio: Documents of Contemporary Art*. London : Whitechapel Gallery and The MIT Press, 2012.
- O'Dwyer, Leonie. 'Helen Chadwick : A Critical Catalogue Raisonné'. PhD Thesis. University of Leeds, 2012.
- O'Neill, Paul and Mick Wilson (eds.). *Curating Research*. London: Open Editions, 2015.
- Opie, June. 'Come and Listen to the Stars Singing': *Prialux Rainier: A Pictorial Biography*. Penzance: Alison Hodge, 1988.
- Parker Rozsika and Griselda Pollock. *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology*. London: I B Tauris, 2013.
- Pearson, Catherine. *Museums in the Second World War: Curators, Culture and Change*. London: Routledge, 2017. <<https://books.google.co.uk/books?isbn=1351702556>>.
- Pearson, Christopher. 'Hepworth, Moore and the United Nations: Modern Art and the Ideology of Postwar Internationalism'. *Sculpture Journal*. Vol. 6, 2001.
- Peters, H F. *Rainier Maria Rilke: Masks and the Man*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1960.
- Pheby, Helen (ed.). *Henry Moore: Back to a Land*. Bretton: Yorkshire Sculpture Park, 2015.
- Phillips, Miranda and Chris Stephens. *Barbara Hepworth Sculpture Garden*. London: Tate Publishing, 2002.
- Pollock, Griselda (ed.). *Generations and Geographies in the Visual Arts: Feminist Readings*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- . *Conceptual Odysseys: Passages to Cultural Analysis*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2007.
- Pollock, Griselda. 'Killing Men and Dying Women: A Woman's Touch in the Cold Zone of American Painting in the 1950s' in Fred Orton and Griselda Pollock, *Avant-Gardes and Partisans Reviewed*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996.
- . *Vision and Difference: Feminism, Femininity and the Histories of Art*. London: Routledge, 1988, repr. 2003.
- . *Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art's Histories*. Oxon: Routledge, 1999.
- . *Encounters in the Virtual Feminist Museum: Time, Space and the Archive*. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Portrait of the Artist Photographs by Jorge Lewinski* . London: Royal Academy Publications, 2005.

- Potts, Alex. *The Sculptural Imagination: Figurative, Modernist, Minimalist*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Ramsden, E. H. 'The Sculpture of Barbara Hepworth'. *Polemic: A Magazine of Philosophy, Psychology and Aesthetics*. No. 5, Sept. 1946.
- Read, Herbert (ed.). *Unit 1: the Modern Movement in English Architecture, Painting and Sculpture*. London: Cassell, 1934.
- Read, Benedict and David Thistlewood (eds.). *Herbert Read: A British Vision of World Art*. London: Lund Humphries, 1993.
- Read, Ben et. al. *Moore/ Hepworth*. Henry Moore Institute Conference Series, 2011.
- Rilke, Rainer Maria. *Sonnets to Orpheus*; translated by J B Leishman. London: Hogarth Press, 1936.
- Rosler, Martha. *Decoys and Disruptions: Selected Writings 1975-2001*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2004.
- Rowley, Alison. *Helen Frankenthaler: Painting History, Writing Painting*. London: I B Tauris, 2007.
- van Rhyn, Chris. 'O Hidden Face! – An Analysis and Contextualisation of Priaulx Rainier's *Requiem*'. Masters in Music Report, Stellenbosch University, 2010,.
- Serota, Nicholas. *Experience of Interpretation: The Dilemma of Museums of Modern Art*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1996, repr. 2004.
- . *Donald Judd*. London: Tate Publishing, 2004.
- Sekula, Alan. 'Reading an Archive: Photography between Labour and Capital' in *Visual Culture: The Reader* eds. Jessica Evans and Stuart Hall. London: Sage Publications, 1999.
- Shepherd, Michael. *Barbara Hepworth*. London: Methuen, 1963.
- Smiles, Sam. *British Art: Ancient Landscapes*. London: Paul Holberton Publishing, 2017.
- Smith, Rachel Rose. 'A Phenomenological Perspective on Barbara Hepworth: Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Figure and Landscape'. MA Dissertation. Courtauld Institute of Art, 2010.
- . 'Figure and Landscape : Barbara Hepworth's Phenomenology of Perception'. *Tate Papers*. No. 20, Autumn 2013 <<http://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/20/figure-and-landscape-barbara-hepworths-phenomenology-of-perception>>.
- . 'Modern Art Movements and St Ives 1939-49'. Unpublished PhD thesis. University of York, Sept. 2015.
- Söderberg, Sten. *Hammar skjöld: A Pictorial Biography*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1962.

- Spieker, Sven. *The Big Archive: Art from Bureacracy*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2008.
- Springer, Anna-Sophie and Etienne Turpin (eds.). *Fantasies of the Library*. Cambridge : The MIT Press, 2016.
- Stephens, Chris (ed.). *Barbara Hepworth: Centenary*. London: Tate Publishing, 2003.
- . *St Ives : The Art and the Artists*. London : Pavilion, 2018.
- St Ives: 1939-64: Twenty Five Years of Painting, Sculpture and Pottery*. London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1985.
- St Ives Festival of Music and the Arts: The Complete Programme Book*. London: Lund Humphries, 1953.
- Stockebrand, Marianne. *Chinati: The Vision of Donald Judd*. Marfa, Chinati Foundation, 2010.
- Stravinsky, Igor. *Poetics of Music in the Form of Six Lessons*; trans. Arthur Knodel and Ingolf Dahl. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947.
- Swan, Elisabeth. 'Music at the Ede's Home in the 1920s and 1930s'. *Recollection: Oral History Archive* <<http://www.kettlesyard.co.uk/collection/recollection/audio/music-edes-london-home-1920s-30s/>>.
- Sylvester, David. *Looking Back at Francis Bacon*. London : Thames and Hudson, 2000.
- The Complete Sculpture of Barbara Hepworth 1960-69*; edited by Alan Bowness. London: Lund Humphries, 1971.
- The Hepworth Wakefield : Art and Artists* ; edited by Nicola Freeman. Wakefield : The Hepworth Wakefield, 2017.
- The Literary Essays of Ezra Pound*; edited by T. S. Eliot. London: Faber and Faber, 1954.
- The Dark Monarch: Magic and Modernity in British Art*. London: Tate Publishing, 2009.
- The Selected Letters of Rainer Maria Rilke 1906-1926*; trans. R F C Hull. London: Macmillan, 1947.
- Thistlewood, David (ed.). *Barbara Hepworth Reconsidered*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press and Tate Gallery Liverpool, 1996.
- Tickner, Lisa and David Peters Corbett (eds.). *British Art in the Cultural Field, 1939-69*. Chichester :Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.
- Thursten, Nick. 'Libraries of Disquiet: Temporary Public Libraries as Works of Art', *Speculative Libraries* academic session. Association of Art Historians Annual Conference 2017. Loughborough University, 7 Apr. 2017.

- Tooby, Michael. *Tate St Ives: An Illustrated Companion*. London: Tate Publishing, 1993.
- Trimm, Timothee. *Henry Moore: Intime*. Paris: Editions du Regard, 1992.
- Tsai, Eugene and Cornelia Butler. *Robert Smithson*. Los Angeles: Museum of Contemporary Art, 2004.
- Turner, Sarah Victoria. ‘Spiritual Rhythm’ and ‘Material Things’: Art, Cultural Networks and Modernity in Britain, c. 1900-1914’. Unpublished PhD thesis. Courtauld Institute of Art, 2009.
- Urquhart, Brian. *Hammarskjöld*. London: The Bodley Head, 1973.
- Valentien, Imke K. ‘The Museum as Image of the Artist: A Critical Analysis of Barbara Hepworth’s Studio and Garden in St Ives, Cornwall’. MA Dissertation. Courtauld Institute of Art, 1994.
- Vaux Halliday, Nigel. *More than a Bookshop: Zwemmer’s and Art in the 20th Century*. London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 1991.
- Vergo, Peter (ed.). *The New Museology*. London: Reaktion Books, 1989.
- Wakefield Art Gallery: The Fine Art Collection*; compiled by Antonino Vella and Mary Matthews. Wakefield: Wakefield Museums and Arts, 2003.
- Wakefield Art Gallery: An Illustrated Guide*; compiled by Antonino Vella and Mary Matthews. Wakefield: Wakefield Museums and Arts, 2003.
- Wagner, Anne. *Three Artists (Three Women) : Modernism and the Art of Hesse, Krasner and O’Keeffe*. Berkley : University of California Press, 1996.
- . *Mother Stone: The Vitality of Modern British Sculpture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Waterfield, Giles. (ed.). *The Artist’s Studio*. Compton Verney: Hogarth Press, 2009.
- Whybrow, Marion. *St Ives 1883-1993: Portrait of an Art Colony*. Woodbridge: The Antique Collectors’ Club, 1994.
- Wilenksi, R W. *The Meaning of Modern Sculpture*. London: Faber and Faber, 1934.
- Wilkinson, Alan. *The Drawings of Barbara Hepworth*. Ashgate: Lund Humphries, 2015.
- Wilson, Andrew (ed.). *Conceptual Art in Britain, 1964-1979*. London: Tate Publishing, 2016.
- Witzling, Mara R. (ed.). *Voicing our Visions: Writings by Women Artists*. London: The Women’s Press, 1992.

Wood, Jon. 'The Materials and Metaphors of the Sculptor's Studio: Brancusi, Picasso and Giacometti in the 1920s and 1930s'. PhD thesis. Courtauld Institute of Art, 1999.

Yakir, Nedira. 'Cornubia: Gender, Geography and Genealogy in St Ives Modernism', in *Women Artists and Modernism* ed. Katy Deepwell. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998.

---. 'Wilhelmina Barns-Graham and Margaret Mellis: The Gendered Construction of 'St Ives': Display, Positioning and Displacement'. Unpublished PhD thesis. Falmouth College of Arts, 2002.

Filmography

Figures in a Landscape: Cornwall and the Sculpture of Barbara Hepworth, dir. Dudley Shaw Ashton. British Film Institute, 1953.

Trewyn Studio, dir. Helena Bonett (in collaboration with Jonathon Law), 2015

