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Frederic Leighton's *Athlete Wrestling with a Python* and the Theory of the Sculptural Encounter

When Edmund Gosse wrote his retrospective view of developments in sculpture in 1894, he nominated Frederic Leighton's statue *Athlete Wrestling with a Python* as the inaugural work of the "New Sculpture" without hesitation (fig. 2). First seen at the 1877 Royal Academy Summer Exhibition and regularly on view with other works purchased for the national collection at the South Kensington Museum, Leighton's *Athlete* had become one of the most recognizable sculptures of the late Victorian era and served as a popular cultural reference for cartoons and advertisements.¹ As Gosse reminded his readers:

In this admirable composition, now so familiar as to render all description needless, a wholly new force made itself felt. Here was something far more vital and nervous than the soft following of Flaxman dreamed of; a series of surfaces, varied and appropriate, all closely studied from nature, and therefore abhorrent to the Chantreian tradition; attitudes and expressions so fresh and picturesque as to outrage the fondest principles of Gibsonian Canovesques. This, in short, was something wholly new, propounded by a painter to the professional sculptors, and displaying a juster and livelier sense of what their art should be than they themselves dreamed of.²

Gosse contrasted Leighton with two of the most important British sculptors of the century – Francis Chantrey and John Gibson – and also distanced him from John Flaxman and Antonio Canova, the exemplars of neoclassical sculpture. For Gosse, Leighton's *Athlete* broke away from the conventions of these established neoclassicists and initiated a renewed engagement with sculptural vitality. He rightly noted that Leighton's statue had been a challenge to the sculptural profession and a redirection of sculpture's aims. It helped to set the standard for subsequent developments in sculpture theory and initiated a long series of responses and reactions by other artists.

Beyond its historical importance as the herald of the sculptural innovations of the 1880s and 1890s, Leighton's *Athlete* represented an attempt to formulate a new, modern set of parameters for sculpture. The "something far more vital and nervous" that Gosse praised arose not only from Leighton's greater attention to surface articulation and detail but also from his thematization of the sculptural encounter. Developed from his practice of painting,



1 Frederic Leighton, *Athlete Wrestling with a Python* (detail), 1877, bronze, 174.6 × 98.4 × 109.9 cm.; Tate, London; installed outdoors at Leighton House Museum, London; photo: Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, London.





3 Frederic Leighton, *Daphnephoria*, 1874–76, oil on canvas, 226 × 518 cm.; National Museums Liverpool (Lady Lever Art Gallery).

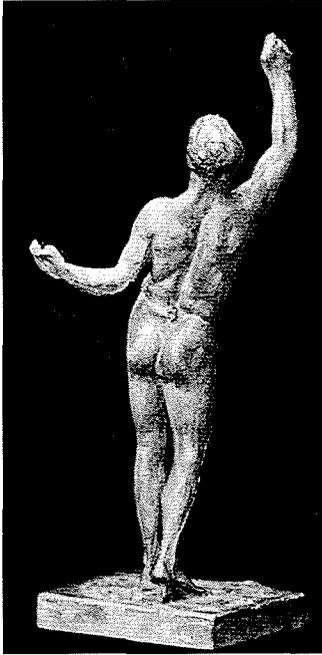
the *Athlete* was a departure for Leighton in which he concentrated and isolated what he considered to be most specific to and compelling in sculpture – its physical existence as a three-dimensional object in the exhibition space that demands to be experienced over time. Leighton developed the *Athlete* as an allegory for what he understood to be sculptural in sculpture. This modernist move, in turn, has resonances beyond its immediate historical context and prompts a reconsideration of the terms through which the encounter with sculpture has been characterized and understood.

The history of the *Athlete* began not with sculpture but in painting. In 1873–76 Leighton had been engaged upon the third of the four large-scale processional paintings that mark his increasing engagement with Aestheticism. The *Daphnephoria*, exhibited in 1876, depicts the semi-annual celebration of Apollo (fig. 3). Though on a scale normally reserved for history painting (226 × 518 cm.), the *Daphnephoria* lacks the narrative or didactic emphasis of that genre.³ Instead, it presents a glimpse of an event named after the nymph with whom Apollo fell in love, Daphne. Spurred on by Eros's arrow, Apollo had ceaselessly pursued her. She finally escaped only by becoming transformed into a laurel tree. Subsequently, laurel became the favored tree of Apollo, who displayed its branches as a sign of his continuing love. Every seven years, the people of Thebes presented laurel to Apollo as a commemoration of their victory against the Aeolians, and it is a scene from this event that Leighton's large painting represents. Leighton was fascinated with the myths surrounding Apollo and made frequent references to the sun god in his paintings. The *Daphnephoria* combines his interest in these Apollonian myths with his attempt to move grand-scale painting into a greater engagement with visual form as an end in itself.

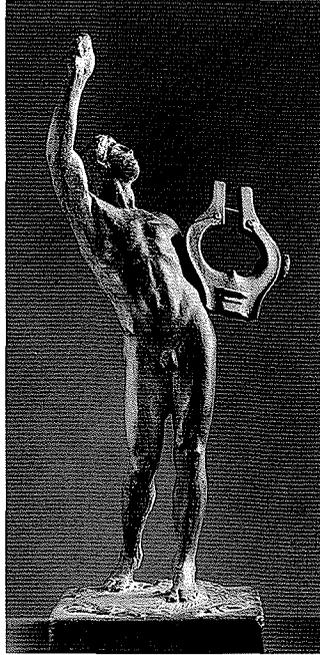
The painting occupied Leighton for over three years. Throughout the process of its creation and execution, he devoted a great deal of his energy to the individual figures. His

2 (facing page) Frederic Leighton, *Athlete Wrestling with a Python*, 1877, bronze, 174.6 × 98.4 × 109.9 cm.; Tate, London.

Body Doubles



4 Frederic Leighton, sketch model for "Choragus" (without lyre) from *Daphnephoria*, c.1874, plaster; photograph from *The Studio* 1, no. 1 (1893).



5 Frederic Leighton, sketch model for "Choragus" from *Daphnephoria*, c.1874, plaster, 38.1 × 17.2 cm.; Royal Academy of Arts, London.



6 Frederic Leighton, sketch model for figure from *Daphnephoria*, c.1874, posthumous bronze cast, 32 × 15.5 × 15 cm.; Royal Academy of Arts, London.

primary concern was to ensure that each body was rendered credibly with its structural integrity intact. He based the poses of many of the figures on Ancient sculpture, such as the reference to the Hermes of Olympia in the figure of the Choragus, leader of the singers. Leighton attempted to capture the vastness of a multi-figure procession while maintaining each individual figure's solidity, mass, and coherence. He rationalized each figure and the space in which they all moved. He reconsidered the spatial framework of the processional painting format and discarded the flat and frieze-like space common to the genre. In the *Daphnephoria*, the L-shaped walkway sits at an oblique angle to the picture plane, establishing a pictorial space in which both procession and depth are legible. In creating this complex pictorial space, the volume and relational position of each of the many celebrants needed to be precisely plotted.

In order to guarantee the spatial and volumetric coherence of his multi-figure composition, Leighton developed a method of painting that relied on small sculptural sketch models of each figure⁴ (figs. 4–6). These modellos allowed Leighton to work out problems of individual foreshortening and to establish the spatial interrelations between bodies. He took the little figures in his hands and rotated them in order to study their volumetric complexity. These sculptural aides allowed him to create the highly rationalized space of the

Daphnephoria. During his work on the painting, he became increasingly engaged with the modellos and began to play with ideas for figures not depicted in the painting (fig. 7). He later traced his initial idea for the *Athlete Wrestling with a Python* back to this process of play and experimentation. He told an interviewer for *The Studio*:

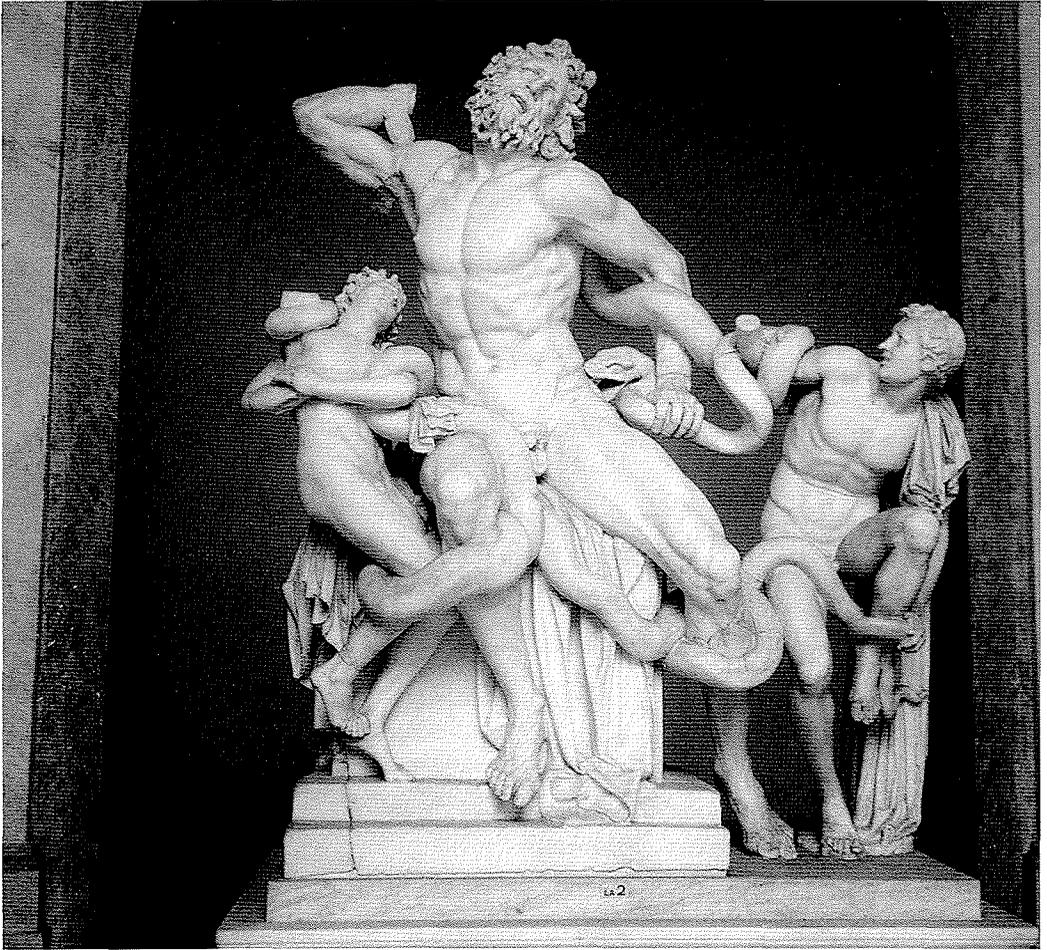
When I was at work upon the *Daphnephoria* it occurred to me to model some of the figures [. . .] that group of three girls, if you remember, appears at the left of the picture. This was the figure for the *Choragus*; of course (turning the nude figure we reproduce here [fig. 4]), you see it from this side only in the painting. It was at this time that the idea of my *Athlete struggling with a Python* came into my mind, and so I modelled the figure.⁵

While Leighton had long been an avid student of the sculpture of Ancient Egypt, Assyria, and Greece,⁶ his process of thinking through the three-dimensional complexity of individual bodies in space led him to conceive of making his own sculptures. The *Athlete* was not one of the figures of the *Daphnephoria*, but it was closely related to its subject matter. The struggle between muscular male nude and python derived from the story of Apollo and the Python of Delphi. The python had become a regular attribute of Apollo's (for example, in the *Apollo Belvedere*). Even though, according to Ovid, Apollo killed the massive snake with his bow rather than his hands, this story provided the idea for the depiction of a struggle between man and snake.⁷ Whenever Leighton discussed his *Athlete*, he consistently referred to the snake as a python, hinting at its Apollonian reference (Victorian commentators seldom showed the same specificity).

Beyond the immediate impetus for the subject matter, Leighton's choice of a man and serpent had particular relevance in the history of sculpture. F. J. Bosio's heroic *Hercule combattant Achéloüs, métamorphosé en serpent* of 1814–24 (Louvre, Paris) may have been known to him. For both Leighton and his Victorian contemporaries, however, the *Laocoön* provided the most famous precedent for such a serpentine struggle (fig. 8). Well known since the sixteenth century and made increasingly famous through its association with Michelangelo and, subsequently, through the widely read writings of J. J. Winckelmann and G. E. Lessing, this statue immediately suggested itself to viewers as a comparison with Leighton's endeavor. In an early review, Oscar Wilde drew out this reference in his praise of the statue, saying that



7 Frederic Leighton, sketch model for *Athlete Wrestling with a Python*, c.1874–75, plaster, 25.1 × 15.67 × 13 cm.; Leighton House Museum, London; photo: Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, London.



8 *Laocoön*, Roman copy of Greek original, first century A.D., Vatican Museum, Rome; photo: Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, London.

the *Athlete* “may be thought worthy of being looked on side by side with the Laocoön of the Vatican.”⁸ Though derived from Apollonian myths, this potential association with the struggle between man and snake must have appealed to Leighton as he developed the sketch model into a life-size ideal statue.

Leighton never spelled out any of these precedents, however, and always maintained the generic title of the work. For him, the figure was an athlete, not Apollo: the value of the work was not in its illustration of a mythological scene but rather in its engagement with formal problems of three-dimensional art. With this Aesthetic goal, the *Athlete Wrestling with a Python* parallels the reconsideration of history painting proposed in the *Daphnephoria*. In itself, the *Athlete* was a departure from much Victorian ideal sculpture, which often relied on clearly referenced mythological or historical contexts or conveyed an explicit didactic message. Leighton refused any such external justification for his nude figure. Some

reviewers saw it as an allegory of determination or will, but more often critics encountered the work with consternation at its lack of edifying message. One reviewer concluded, "We could hardly say that there is anything about it to 'incline us to take life seriously.'"⁹

As Marion Spielmann recalled:

And yet [the *Athlete*] was felt to be lacking in 'expression' – in that kind of humanity by which every truly great masterpiece must exhibit. And we found artists marvelling at the arrangement, at the technique, and at the casting and the like, when they should have been caught by the sentiment. But Leighton did not care. He himself declared, as he expressed it to me, that what he was 'going for' was beauty and expression of form, to the neglect of sentiment.¹⁰

Rather than "sentiment," Leighton was focusing on sculptural as distinct from pictorial representation.

At first, Leighton did not envision the *Athlete* as a finished sculpture but as an object of play in which he developed his ideas of what a three-dimensional work of art should be like. In an interview of 1892 he recalled the greater latitude that he enjoyed in the early stages of this work:

The first statue I did [. . .] was that of an athlete wrestling with a python. The little sketch for this I merely did casually. It took but a short time to model, and there was no question of exhibiting it. But one or two friends saw the model, among them Legros, who remarked, 'Why not carry it out on a larger scale?' I laughed, thinking I should not be able to manage it, but finally succeeded.¹¹

Though Leighton's idea for the *Athlete* may have been casual and experimental, his decision to execute it as a life-size statue was not. Drawing on the technical assistance of Thomas Brock, Leighton first exhibited the statue fully finished in bronze. By the 1870s, bronze was seldom considered a desirable material for imaginative or ideal statues and was largely used for monuments or small-scale works. For the genre of the ideal or imaginative statue, the canonical connotations of white marble appeared more amenable to aspirations to ideality and exemplarity.¹² Customarily, imaginative statues were exhibited as (white) plaster casts and, once commissioned, translated to marble with the aid of a pointing machine and specialist carvers. Integrating the traits of bronze into his composition, Leighton capitalized on its malleability and strength to capture the complex and active movements of his wrestler. (When he later, against his better judgment, accepted a commission for a marble version, he was forced to adapt the composition and add support in the form of a tree-trunk.¹³) In the initial conception, the use of bronze allowed him to display and emphasize his attention to the refined rendering of surface anatomy.¹⁴ Significantly, by going through the expense of having the work cast, Leighton also pointed to his confidence in his sculpture. He translated his work into a durable and permanent material without relying on the affirmation of a commission, exhibiting not a preliminary conception in plaster but a fully finished sculpture.

Beyond showcasing Leighton's newly acquired sculptural virtuosity, the decision to exhibit the *Athlete* as a finished statue rather than as an intermediate plaster cast permitted the work to be purchased by the Chantrey Bequest, which had been established according to the

will of Francis Chantrey, himself a famous sculptor, for the Royal Academy to acquire contemporary works made in Britain on behalf of the nation. The terms of the will, however, prohibited the commissioning of works – a clause that would severely hamper the purchase of sculpture. According to the interpretation of the bequest, paying for a work to be cast in bronze or translated to marble was equivalent to commissioning a new work. This effectively barred many sculptures from consideration, as few sculptors had the resources or the inclination to cast or carve their works without a buyer already in place. Leighton's gambit in having the *Athlete* first seen in bronze paid off, however. In 1877 it was one of the first purchases (and the first sculpture) for the nation under the bequest.

The Chantrey purchase of the *Athlete* contributed to Leighton's political stature at the Royal Academy. Leighton may have sought to demonstrate his ability to work in a variety of media as part of his bid to become the next President of the Royal Academy. More fundamentally, with the *Athlete* he issued a challenge to the establishment. It had become a commonplace in the reviews of the Royal Academy annual exhibition to mock the sculpture rooms. By the 1870s it was generally believed that sculpture was an irreversibly stagnant art form. Leighton's *Athlete* demonstrated that this was not the case, and the work created a great deal of public excitement. One critic commented, "the exhibition is not without its acknowledged central point. 'Where is Mr. Leighton's statue?' has probably been the first thought of a large proportion of those who come to Burlington House with anything like a serious interest in the progress and accomplishments of art."¹⁵

The stylistic advance represented by Leighton's *Athlete* was quickly acknowledged by his contemporaries. No less a figure than Joseph Edgar Boehm, Queen Victoria's Sculptor-in-Ordinary, wrote to Leighton to express his praise:

[The *Athlete*] is superb. I think it the best statue of modern days. I was riveted with admiration and astonishment; and whatever you may think of my judgment, pray take this as my humble and heartfelt tribute to a work of genius, which to my mind ranks nearer 'zur Antiken' than anything I have seen, during my career, produced in any school or country.¹⁶

When it was first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1877, the *Athlete* was placed in the center of the Lecture Room, facing the central hall.¹⁷ This prominent placement, apart from the other sculptures, singled out the work for special attention. More importantly, it also reflected a recognition of the importance of walking around the statue in order to appreciate its full effect.

Significantly, the only other statue in the Lecture Room was the terracotta *Boulonnaise allaitant son enfant* by the French sculptor Aimé-Jules Dalou, who had fled to England in 1871 (fig. 9). Dalou's realist style and subject matter were considered by many younger artists of the day to be an alternative to English conventions. By placing Leighton's *Athlete* and Dalou's *Boulonnaise* apart from the rest of the exhibited sculpture, the Royal Academy asserted these works' importance and presented a commentary on the two alternatives they proposed. There was a general belief that French training for sculptors far exceeded that in England, and Dalou's presence in England in particular highlighted this distinction. Only a week after the opening of the private view of the Royal Academy exhibition, Dalou was appointed model-



9 Aimé-Jules Dalou, *Une
Boulonnaise allaitant son enfant*, 1877,
plaster, Musée du Petit Palais;
photo © Phototèque des Musées de
la Ville de Paris / photo: Pierrain.

ing instructor at South Kensington on 11 May 1877.¹⁸ The placement of Leighton's innovative bronze in relation to Dalou's work could be interpreted as a response to notions of French superiority in sculpture. This tactic worked well, as many reviewers overlooked the Dalou to shower the *Athlete* with praise. When Gosse later wrote the history of this inaugural moment, he erased the presence of Dalou's work altogether and confirmed Leighton's position as an initiator of a national school of sculpture. He asserted that the *Athlete* stood alone in the Lecture Room in 1877, saying "it seemed by that placing to suggest its solitary state in relation to the other statuary of that year."¹⁹

The challenges of 1877 having served him well, Leighton was elected President of the Royal Academy the following year. He became an articulate advocate for advancements in sculpture, and the two decades of his presidency saw a renewed interest in sculptural production, training, and consumption throughout the British Empire.²⁰

For his sculptural manifesto, Leighton adapted perhaps the most highly charged of formats, the freestanding male nude statue. For centuries, a long tradition of sculptural innovation had taken the freestanding male nude as the epitome of sculpture. From the Archaic *kouroi* onward, the male nude served as the exemplary subject for reflections on the state and direction of the medium. Polykleitos's *Doryphoros*, Donatello's *David*, Michelangelo's *David*, Thorvaldsen's *Jason*, and Rodin's *L'Âge d'airain* are all examples of this self-conscious mediation of sculptural tradition as a means of innovation.²¹ For his part, Leighton created the first sculpture of a fully nude adult male that Britain had seen in decades (fig. 1). Victorian examples of the adult male nude statue traditionally covered the genitals with a conveniently placed piece of fabric or fig leaf, as in John Gibson's *Wounded Warrior* (1860), J. H. Foley's *Caractacus* (1856), or John Bell's *Eagleslayer* (1837–51). Even in his own male nude paintings, Leighton had obscured the penis with such draperies and foliage. As Lene Østermark-Johansen has noted, the *Athlete* marked a departure in Leighton's representation of the male nude: "The *Athlete* seems to have had a liberating effect on [Leighton's] perception of the male nude and allowed it a monumentality in its own right without the cumbersome and distinct draperies."²² Despite the partial covering of the penis by the python, the *Athlete* was a much more radical step toward naturalism than is customarily acknowledged.

With its individualized treatment of the straining muscles, the overall impression of the *Athlete* was of its "vitality," as Gosse remarked. H. Heathcote Statham wrote in the *Fortnightly Review*:

[The *Athlete*] must be judged simply as a representation of that grand machine, the human figure, in a state of nervous and concentrated action, for which the subject supplies a motive certainly obvious enough. As a representation of the figure, it would be difficult perhaps to find a finer specimen of vigorous and muscular manhood, with none of that exaggeration which characterizes some famous examples.²³

Not only was the body of the athlete invigorated with strain, but the energetic action of the wrestling pair further enhanced the sense of animation.

Traditionally, figural sculpture has struggled to achieve an impression of life without hardening into what Walter Pater called "caricature" or the frozen moment of facial expression and bodily movement.²⁴ Certain poses, especially *contrapposto*, have been used since Antiquity to strike a balance between motion and stillness. The depiction of violent actions too quickly called attention to the immotility of the sculptural body and interfered with its presentation of formal beauty. Pater would argue that

in the best Greek sculpture, the archaic immobility has been stirred, its forms are in motion; but it is a motion ever kept in reserve, and very seldom committed to any definite action. [. . .] When a more complex and significant action is permitted, it is most often represented as just finished, so that eager expectancy is excluded, as in the image of Apollo just after the slaughter of the Python, or of Venus with the apple of Paris already

in her hand. The *Laocoon*, with all that patient science through which it has triumphed over an almost unmanageable subject, marks a period in which sculpture has begun to aim at effect legitimate, because delightful, only in painting.²⁵

Violent actions, for Pater, clashed with the necessary stillness of the sculptural object. He acknowledged the prominence given to the *Laocoön* in Winckelmann's text as exemplary of stoical calm but doubted whether it was wholly appropriate. Leighton's *Athlete* encapsulates struggle; Pater preferred the relaxation after the python had been vanquished. He argued that sculpture

unveils man in the repose of his unchanging characteristics. That white light purged from the angry, bloodlike stains of action and passion, reveals, not what is accidental in man, but the tranquil godship in him, as opposed to the restless accidents of life.²⁶

Pater's expectation of calm in a sculpture in the Greek tradition was widely shared, and Leighton would have offered his dissenting view of sculptural action well aware of arguments such as these.²⁷ For instance, William Michael Rossetti had voiced a similar opinion to Pater's in 1861:

Any expression or action which is merely transitory or of the moment becomes ineffective, if not actually displeasing, for permanent contemplation; still more violence, contortion, or insignificant transition from one posture to another.²⁸

Leighton's *Athlete* depicted just such a transitory action, full of violent drama. While the work might appear to exemplify exactly what Rossetti and Pater warned against, Rossetti would later claim that the statue was "a performance pre-eminent in life and energy; finely natural in style – neither ignoring ordinary nature, nor relying upon it unduly."²⁹ Viewers and critics consistently found the *Athlete* to be successful in meeting the needs of both life and Antiquity. The success of Leighton's solution lay in his depiction of a transitory moment brimming with energy, violence, and exertion while avoiding any unconvincing representation of the motion that traditionally had been used to convey physical intensity or energy. Unlike, say, the *Laocoön's* depiction of movement through space, Leighton redirected the energy of his fighting pair from outward motion to an internal relation. The athlete's exertions press outward only as far as the snake's body, which meets them with its inward crushing force. This relation is mirrored in the emphatically tight grip the athlete has on the snake (fig. 10). The balance between the two contestants is interdependent and equal; the question of who would win this battle became a popular topic of debate.³⁰ The way in which the two bodies are interlocked in combat conveys singular vitality and naturalistic attention to the musculature, yet without breaking the decorum expected of the freestanding statue. So many of the critics considered the *Athlete* life-like and vital precisely because it accommodated both the depiction of violent action and the inherent immotility of the sculptural object. As one critic noted: "the tense tendons of the athlete strain with the pull of the muscles, and each and both of these, shifting from their places of repose, start, so to say, into life."³¹

Within this moment of struggle, the interdependent system of exertion between athlete and snake is evident at every point of bodily contact, so much so that neither participant can

10 and 11 (following pages) Frederic Leighton, *Athlete Wrestling with a Python*, 1877, bronze, 174.6 × 98.4 × 109.9 cm.; Tate, London; installed outdoors at Leighton House Museum, London; photo: Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, London.







12 Frederic Leighton, *Athlete Wrestling with a Python*, 1877, bronze, 174.6 × 98.4 × 109.9 cm.; Tate, London.



13 Frederic Leighton, *Athlete Wrestling with a Python*, 1877, bronze, 174.6 × 98.4 × 109.9 cm.; Tate, London.

be fully considered in isolation (fig. 11). The two bodies fuse together to such an extent that, no matter how much the viewer attempts to focus on the male nude, the snake continually competes for attention. In this drama of symbiotic effort and strain, the snake is not merely difficult to overlook. It fragments the viewer's visual experience of the nude body as it focuses the muscular tension. In part because of this linear obstacle, there is no one angle from which a view of the complete work is satisfactory. From every vantage point, the viewer becomes conscious of what is being obscured as the linear form of the snake extends to the adjacent facets of the two interwoven bodies. The snake thus plays a far greater role than just as a narrative element or as a focal point for the representation of muscular exertion. It amplifies the dramatic spiral composition of the athlete's body as it twists in space (figs. 10–13).

Leighton did more than merely revive the *figura serpentinata* as an escape from staid nineteenth-century contrapposto. He interconnected the facets of his statue to such a degree that the action is not fully comprehensible from a single viewpoint, opposing the immediate unifacial legibility that *figura serpentinata* has at times implied.³² The inefficient position of the athlete's left arm (which many writers were eager to criticize) resulted from Leighton's desire to equalize the composition among the various facets. The view in which one might expect the most clarity – the aspect from which the face is fully visible – provides an inadequate account of the complexity of the struggle as do the back views. The face is directed internally, toward the athlete's opponent, deflecting any easy legibility viewers might have hoped for in its expression. Throughout, Leighton organized the statue as a self-evident spiral and systematically avoided giving preference to any one, frontal viewpoint.

As Charles Millard has discussed, the training of sculptors in nineteenth-century academies privileged a conception of statuary organized by a coherent unifacial address.³³ Frontality is a basic condition of figural sculpture and has been consistently employed in the history of statuary. The human body has a self-evident front and back. Sculptural representations of the human figure traditionally assume it (or the sculptural space) to be akin to a rectangular solid. Especially with regard to sculpture in stone, it has been convenient to equate the human body with the quadrilateral block from which it is carved. Emanuel Loewy argued in 1900 that it was the way in which others' bodies were perceived and recollected, rather than the efficiency of carving a statue from a rectilinear block, that was the more fundamental condition of sculptural frontality.³⁴ In his account of perception and memory, Loewy himself drew upon the ideas presented in Adolf von Hildebrand's highly influential treatise of 1893, *The Problem of Form in Painting and Sculpture*, in which a conceptual tool called the "relief conception" is developed. This idea consolidated the act of carving, the expectations of frontality for sculpture, and the viewer's process of perceiving the sculptural object.³⁵ In an argument that might at first seem paradoxical, Hildebrand posited that the frontality of the human body required a hierarchy of vantage points, the need for which supersedes sculpture's potential to engage the viewer from multiple viewpoints. The dominant viewpoint of a sculpture, he believed, provided the viewer with the optimum conditions for the visual perception of formal arrangements. Hildebrand's work was a foundational development of the formalist apprehension of visual art, and it made these claims through a reliance on the assumed frontality of figural statuary, seeing it as axiomatic.

There are many cases where sculptors have allowed for complicated multiple vantage points of their work or encouraged a play between facets. However, the arrangement of these

views has most often been hierarchical, with an assumed comprehensive unifacial address playing a dominant and organizing role. That is, even when frontality is displaced to a different angle, it continues to determine and to order the encounter with the sculpture. Charles Baudelaire famously criticized sculpture for its inability to rival the “exclusive and absolute” point of view of painting. For him, sculpture “exhibits too many surfaces at once” and offers an almost anarchic viewing encounter with “a hundred different points of view.”³⁶ However, even if the viewer moves around the work to find new, preferred aspects or angles, these will be experienced in relation to the statue’s frontal address. A single vantage point assumes an iconic status for the sculpture, from which all other views become subsidiary. Photography of sculptural objects frequently literalizes this condition of the experience of sculpture, in which the single, most comprehensible aspect of the work subsequently organizes the recollection of the phenomenal encounter between viewer and object. Rudolf Wittkower conveyed the expectation of frontality most clearly when he wrote that

the stationary position is, of course, an ideal postulate; in actual fact, in front of a statue a spectator usually feels the desire to move, but willynilly and often unconsciously he follows an urge to go back to the position from which he can enjoy the most comprehensive and most satisfactory view, a position that allows him to see bodies and extremities clearly and harmoniously extended in an ideal frontal plane.³⁷

Throughout the history of sculpture, there have been examples of the deliberate avoidance or mitigation of the unifacial, most notably in the multi-figure compositions of Giambologna but also visible in the work of such artists as Antonio Canova.³⁸ These exceptions, however, demonstrate how much unifaciality has been taken as axiomatic for the statuary format and its representation of the singular human body. Leighton’s *Athlete* was one such concerted departure from the unitary, organizing viewpoint. More importantly, however, Leighton allegorized pluri-faciality and its potential for the viewer, theorizing sculpture in terms of its physicality and temporality. In effect, he took adverse criticisms of sculpture such as those offered by Baudelaire and turned them into the core strengths of his statue.

Leighton developed the idea for the *Athlete* while working with his modellos for the figures of the *Daphnephoria*. Half a century later, Henry Moore spoke of a similar process:

This is what the sculptor must do. He must strive continually to think of, and use, form in its full spatial completeness. He gets the solid shape, as it were, inside his head – he thinks of it, whatever its size, as if he were holding it completely enclosed in the hollow of his hand. He mentally visualizes a complex form *from all round itself*.³⁹

Leighton’s understanding of what was particular to sculpture was analogous to Moore’s much later prescriptions. Though radically different in their treatment of the figure, both saw the experiential and spatial exigencies of the sculptural body as a core concern. From his initial experiments with the models for his painted figures, Leighton moved to creating a small statuette that embodied this circulatory and experiential process – the preliminary version of the *Athlete* (fig. 7). Leighton incorporated the rotational experience of the small sculptures into the composition of his statue, creating a work in which the compositional spiral is both clear and overriding. Consequently, the life-size *Athlete* reasserts this originary perceptual

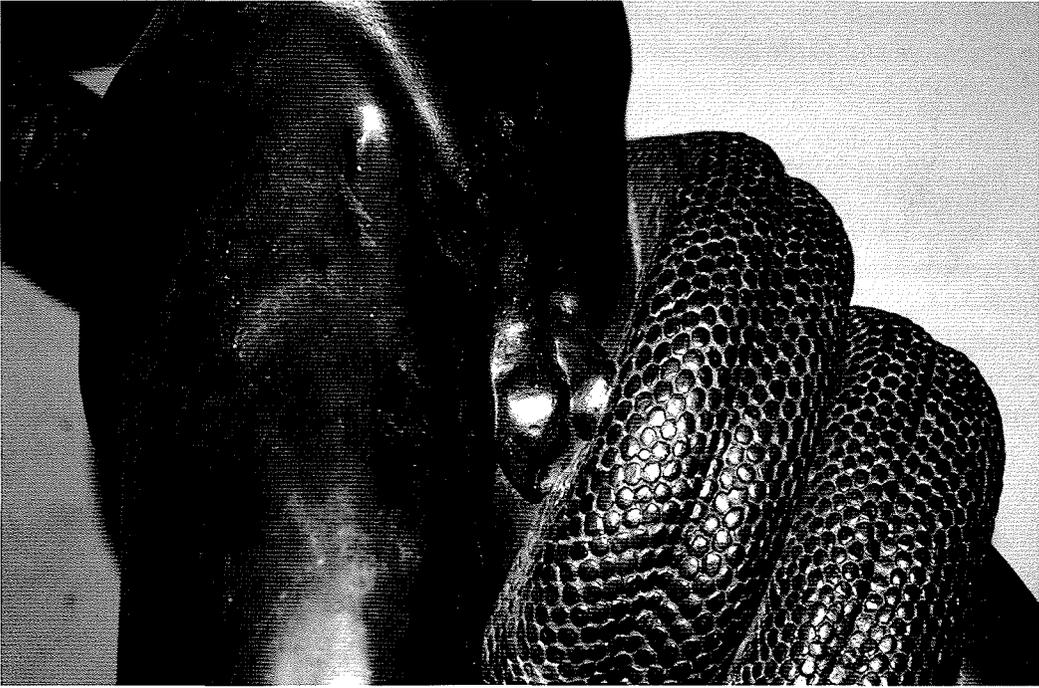
encounter. The python provides a path for the viewer to follow both visually and peripatetically.

Unlike Giambologna's spiral compositions, for example, Leighton formally reiterated the organization of the statue in the all-encompassing linear body of the snake. In addition to its blocking of the comprehensive view of the athlete's body, the snake foregrounds the statue's formal composition. The combination of the spiral organization and the form of the snake serves to encourage the kind of visual apprehension that initially led Leighton to sculpture. That is, the statue incites the viewer to a process of continuing circumambulation, in effect allowing her or him to partly re-experience Leighton's method of rotating his statuettes in his hands in order to understand them as spatial bodies. In a later definition of modernist priorities in sculpture (1916), Ezra Pound praised Henri Gaudier-Brzeska for his emphasis on three-dimensionality: "The picture we have all at once and we must walk around the statue."⁴⁰ Leighton had come to a similar conclusion some four decades earlier.

Viewers of the *Athlete* engage in the kind of back and forth perambulation of which Wittkower spoke, but the snake ensures that no one single viewpoint will ever emerge as unequivocally primary, comprehensive, or dominant. From any given angle, the form of the python gestures to both past and future views along the line of its body. A description of the path taken by the snake along the athlete's body can provide a narrative of one encounter with the statue (figs. 2, 10–13). Beginning where the python slithers around the bare ankle of the athlete, the path upward leads through the legs to the left thigh. Wrapped around the tensed quadriceps, the python directs the viewer's attention to the straining muscles of Leighton's detailed anatomical display.

Following the second coil, the viewer encounters the athlete's exposed genitals (fig. 14). Because the penis is occluded by the python from some viewing angles, this can be a revelation. Until recently, all published photographs of the *Athlete* omitted this view. As Benedict Read has noted, the nudity of the *Athlete* has been censored through photographs that take advantage of the fact that "the writhing python conceals what nature and Leighton would not."⁴¹ Like the focus on the thigh afforded by the first coil, following the python through the second brings the viewer in direct contact with a body part that had been traditionally concealed or, at the very least, isolated. Representing the penis in sensuous contact with another body was an even more unconventional move than exposing it in the first place. Leighton's emphasis here effectively creates the potential for a tactile and sensual association by the viewer. The combination of the athlete's complete nudity, the exposed penis, and the detailed surface articulation of the whole work creates the illusion that the life-size statue is, to some extent, real flesh with which the viewer can identify corporeally.

The python then makes a turn up along the right side of the athlete's body, following the sinewy S-curve of his torso. The S-curve is not readily apparent from other angles, and the python's deliberate echoing of the shape underscores its role as a compositional tool. Through its reflection in the curve of the snake, the complexity of the body's twisting appears magnified. By following that body up into the crook of the armpit and along the extended arm, the python brings the viewer to the athlete glaring intently into the mouth of the snake. Following the snake and the athlete's gaze down the extended arm, the viewer then reaches the point where the athlete's fingers crush into the snake's resistant flesh as it struggles menacingly, effectively reciprocating the pressure it exerts on the athlete's loins.



14 Frederic Leighton, *Athlete Wrestling with a Python* (detail), 1877, painted plaster, 174.6 × 98.4 × 109.9 cm.; Royal Academy of Arts, London; photo: David Getsy.

In my narrative of the python's progress, it has been convenient to describe a one-directional path upwards. This is just one of many combinations that could emerge in the process of circumambulation. In each, however, the experience of the *Athlete* evolves in relation to the stubbornly linear form of the python as it weaves through each possible view of the statue. However much it twists and turns, the snake's progression is everywhere in the perception of the statue and persistently points the viewer to other, further views. It both encourages the stretching out of the sculptural encounter and reiterates the presence and importance of duration in it.

In its encouragement of circumambulation and duration, Leighton's *Athlete* engaged on a more fundamental level with its main precedent – the *Laocoön* – and, more specifically, Lessing's theory of art of the same name. Leighton intervened in the debate about the central aims of sculpture foregrounded in the analyses of the Antique statue by Winckelmann, Lessing, and Pater. Lessing had questioned Winckelmann's thesis about the expression of pain and horror. Winckelmann claimed that the sculptor of the *Laocoön* had avoided the depiction of a howl or shriek because of its incompatibility with the "greatness of the soul." Instead, Lessing argued that the visual and literary arts had distinct traits and limitations. Greek poetry could accommodate such howls with greatness, whereas the visual arts should avoid representations of transitory states such as these. He famously argued that the visual arts were fundamentally spatial while the literary arts were temporal. His essay provided a seminal account of the evaluative criteria by which art was judged according to how well it

met the demands imposed by its medium. He explained (referring generally to the visual arts as “painting” and to the literary arts as “poetry”):

Subjects whose wholes or parts exist in juxtaposition are called bodies. Consequently, bodies with their visible properties are the peculiar subjects of painting. Subjects whose wholes or parts are consecutive are called actions. Consequently, actions are the peculiar subject of poetry.⁴²

In Lessing’s influential account of the visual arts, “painting” was characterized by space and “poetry” by time. Lessing’s use of the term “painting” reflected his deliberate erasure of the differences within the visual arts. Despite his main example and the title of his essay, Lessing assumed of sculpture the pictorial frontality of a flat painting. This presumption is particularly evident in the following passage:

How do we attain to a distinct conception of an object in space? First, we look at its parts singly; then at their combination; and, lastly, at the whole. The different operations are performed by our senses with such astonishing rapidity that they appear to us to be but one; and this rapidity is indispensable, if we are to form an idea of the whole, which is nothing more than the resultant of the ideas of the parts and of their combination. [. . .] To the eye the parts once seen are continually present; it can run over them time after time.⁴³

Lessing’s account of the spatial domain of “painting” was limited by its assumption of immediate and holistic apprehension (a belief that would later be taken up by Clement Greenberg and Michael Fried). In this schema, the peripatetic experience of sculpture was reduced to a single consolidated perception, a position that assumed an overriding unifacial frontality. The sculptural *Laocoön* fulfills this requirement easily with its construction of a pictorial frontal viewpoint. In effect, Lessing collapsed the visual arts into “painting” in order to clarify and codify his concern with spatial juxtapositions. His argument about what *content* was proper to the visual and the literary arts polarized space and time, making these two arenas mutually exclusive.⁴⁴ For Lessing, “Material beauty arises from the harmonious effect of numerous parts, all of which the sight is capable of comprehending at the same time. It requires, therefore, that these parts should lie in juxtaposition.”⁴⁵

Leighton’s theory of sculpture opposed the traditional presumptions of stillness, frontality, and immediate spatial legibility upon which Lessing drew. Instead, Leighton separated the depiction of time from the experience of time in sculpture. The *Athlete* avoids the depiction of movement through space (better than the *Laocoön* does) while maintaining the interdependent muscular exertion of the two combatants. Instead of representing motion, he encouraged the viewer to circumambulate around the statue in order to apprehend it fully in three dimensions. When he manipulated the sketch models that inspired him to make the *Athlete*, duration played a fundamental role in his own experience. The spatial and three-dimensional complexity of a statue could be fully apprehended only through a durational process in which the viewer accumulated a series of perceptions. By deflecting frontality and formally encouraging the viewer to walk around the statue, Leighton went one step further than Lessing in his argument about the proper arenas of the arts. Leighton differentiated sculpture from Lessing’s “painting.” The *Daphnephoria* was a monument to Leighton’s emphasis on pictorial legibility and coherence. It sat well with the terms laid out in Lessing’s

Laocoön. For the sculptural tangent from this painting, however, Leighton made the temporal and perceptual complexity of a three-dimensional art object the core traits of sculpture. For him, sculpture was fundamentally a temporal art. It did not *depict* actions as in Lessing's account of poetry, but *encouraged* them in the viewer.

The *Athlete*, in this regard, is a foundational instance of the articulation of a modern sculptural idiom in which the core traits of the medium provide the focus for formal and art-theoretical claims. In its encouragement of a physicalized and temporalized encounter between viewer and object, perhaps the closest (if at first least expected) comparison can be made to the sculpture theory developed in the 1960s around Minimalism and Postminimalism. Michael Fried famously attacked the "theatricality" of works such as the human-scale grey polyhedrons of Robert Morris.⁴⁶ The formally simplified objects created by the Minimalists redirected the viewer's attention from internal formal dynamics to external environmental co-presence. Morris explained:

The better new work takes relationships out of the work and makes them a function of space, light, and the viewer's field of vision. The object is but one of the terms in the newer esthetic. It is in some way more reflexive, because one's awareness of oneself existing in the same space as the work is stronger than in previous work, with its many internal relationships. One is more aware than before that he himself is establishing relationships as he apprehends the object from various positions and under varying conditions of light and spatial context.⁴⁷

Leighton's formal spiral is clearly different in kind from Morris's opaque geometric solids, but the two share a similar definition of sculpture as an art of spatial and temporal experience. Morris rejected the assumption that the perception of sculpture should be instantaneous. He argued:

Only one aspect of the work is immediate: the apprehension of the gestalt. The experience of the work necessarily exists in time. *The intention is diametrically opposed to Cubism with its concern for simultaneous views in one plane.*⁴⁸

Similarly, Leighton denied the conventional presumption of sculptural frontality, hoping to encourage a durational encounter.

Morris and the Minimalists rejected the theories of opticality that formed the core of Clement Greenberg's account of modernism. They used the terms of his analysis – that is, an emphasis on the intrinsic qualities of each artistic medium – in order to counter his claims that sculpture should aspire to a dematerialized opticality. In one of Greenberg's best-known arguments about the modernist focus on media specificity, his "Towards a Newer Laocoön" of 1940, he cited Leighton as one of the "all-time lows" in painting.⁴⁹ Leighton, however, represents an unacknowledged precedent for Greenberg's emphasis on the specificity of artistic media.⁵⁰ The focus on temporality and spatial experience that structures Leighton's statue aligns it with the phenomenological explorations of many Minimalists such as Morris. Both were in accord with Greenberg's terms of analysis but offered a different, though no less compelling, account of what made sculpture different from painting.

Just as Morris's reduction of internal formal dynamics resulted in the movement of the viewer and a self-consciousness of the temporal and spatial elements of the encounter, the

compositional and formal concerns of the *Athlete* instigate a continuing movement and duration. In turn, the art-theoretical dynamics and formal motivations of the statue encourage experiencing (and recollecting) the work as part of a motile, physicalized, and temporal process. The *Athlete*, in other words, evokes the bodily co-presence of the viewer through its incitement to circumambulation. Leighton's statue leads, then, to a methodological issue for the study of sculpture: the consideration of how the durational experience of sculpture's physicality is recalled and consolidated. How, in other words, does the viewer remember the sculptural encounter?

With a painting and indeed with much unifacial sculpture, recollection of the work will be organized around a single, static image. Even for Morris, the overriding comprehension of the geometric gestalt anchored the varied perceptual components. Details of the object or memories of the encounter are correlated in relation to a comprehensive, iconic mental picture (that most often coincides with the dominant unifacial view of the sculpture). Even in cases where alternative views are equally invested or complicating of the overall sculpture, the frontally organized vantage point structures all such subsequent modifications. Many sculptures cultivate the appreciation of detail, surface, and alternative views, but few thematize their avoidance of the unifacial to the degree that Leighton's *Athlete* does.

By stretching the visual encounter with the athlete's body into stages and providing transitions between each adjacent stage, the python becomes the organizing framework onto which the individual visual experiences of the sculptural flesh are attached. In walking around the figure, one is forced to follow the snake as it, too, circles around the athlete. Gradually building up a series of close-up and partial views, the viewer strings together these experiential fragments along the temporal framework embodied in the linear form of the snake. The experience of the snake's body, as well, resists immediate apprehension: it is only through following the full length of the coil that the viewer is able to fully comprehend that there is only one python attacking the athlete, for instance.

Coming to the statue from any angle, the viewer is thus confronted with an incomplete and myopic view of the bodies and their struggle. Because of this fragmentation and its thwarting of a single, all-encompassing image of the work, the viewer's reconstruction of the sculptural encounter takes the form of an accretion of such partial views. Claude Phillips was among those to criticize "the carefully studied, if too anxiously shown, muscular structure of the male figure, and that over-accentuation of the parts which so much detracts from the unity and vitality of the whole."⁵¹ The compositional obstacles to a distanced view and the temporalized structuring of the snake frustrate the conventional desire to create from the sculptural experience a single, retrospective mental picture. Even though the viewer, from every vantage point, comprehends that she or he is looking at the rendering of a single human body, this recognition of its wholeness becomes infused with the episodic and ongoing perceptions of the statue. Henry James provided a succinct appreciation of this effect in his review of August 1877:

Whenever I have been to the Academy I have found a certain relief in looking for a while at this representation of the naked human body, the whole story of which begins and ends with the beautiful play of its muscles and limbs.⁵²

For James, the experience of the *Athlete* consisted of closely observed parts of the body and the surface of the flesh that, in the end, cohere into an experiential rather than visual wholeness. Such terms as “story” and “play” reflect the temporality that is inextricable from the sculptural encounter. Unlike most traditional figurative sculpture, the recollection of the encounter with the *Athlete Wrestling with a Python* cannot be divorced from the multi-staged temporal and physical process. Any recollection of the experience of the *Athlete* will be, as the passage from James captures, episodic rather than comprehensive, taking as its organizing content memories of the viewer's movement through time and space in relation to the sculptural body.

Leighton's *Athlete* poses questions about the content of the sculptural encounter and about how the temporal and physical experience is subsequently recollected. To borrow a term from psychoanalytic discourse, Leighton's sculpture prompts us to differentiate between the mental image of a sculpture and its *imago*. When using such terms as “mental image” or “mental picture” with reference to a viewer's experience of an artwork, immediate problems present themselves. Even with a flat, pictorial artwork, the recollection of the encounter will be infused with the temporal and mnemonic processes that constituted the time both spent with and thinking about the object. Sculpture more resolutely denies the elision between the artwork and the misleading notion of a “mental picture.” How *do* we remember a sculpture? Clearly, photographs or constructed views of sculptures may dominate and may be recalled upon demand to the viewer's memory, but how do perceptions, memories, and movements relate to that iconic, frozen image? Various factors such as glimpses, focused looking, distractions, associations with one's past, interpersonal negotiations with other viewers, and identifications with content all weave themselves into the experience of sculpture and infuse our recollection of that experience. Leighton's *Athlete* highlights the physical and durational contributions to the sculptural *imago*. It brings to the surface the difference between a picture of sculpture and the experiential *imago* constructed from the sculptural encounter. This differentiated vocabulary is necessary to encapsulate the core of Leighton's theory of sculpture and its implications for our understanding of the sculptural encounter.

The concept of the “*imago*” was developed, in part, to accommodate the experiential components of memory. Especially in the fields of Kleinian and Object Relations metapsychology, there was a recognition that internal psychic objects, recollected experiences, and other subjects could not be reduced to single, static mental images. The notion of the “mental picture” is inadequate to capture the complexities of the mnemonic investment of persons and experiences. The *imago* is a nexus in which memories, perceptions, bodily sensations, and tangential associations all engage and play. It is the productive energy of these various forces that gives the internal psychic representations of individuals and experiences such potency and variability.

The usefulness of the *imago* can be traced back to Freud's formulation of the unconscious. The conscious mental presentation (*Vorstellung*) of objects involves both the presentation of the word (what Jacques Lacan would later develop as the Symbolic) and of the thing. An object becomes available to consciousness (and to communication) when the *Vorstellung* of the word, the shared linguistic sign, is attached to the *Vorstellung* of the thing. The application of the word to the thing, however, does not comprehensively encompass the thing, the

full complexity of which is not available to consciousness. Freud wrote that the *Vorstellung* of the thing “consists in cathexes, if not of the direct memory-images of the thing, at least the remoter memory-traces derived from these.”⁵³ The concept of the imago, especially in its Kleinian and Object Relations manifestations, points to the interwoven complexity of each intrapsychic object in both its conscious and unconscious manifestations and its constitution by a variety of psychic and mnemonic contributions that are irreducible to a single, comprehensive image or sign.⁵⁴

Jean Laplanche and J.-B. Pontalis offer this workable definition of the “imago”:

Unconscious prototypical figure which orientates the subject’s way of apprehending others; it is built up on the basis of the first real and phantasied relationships within the family environment.⁵⁵

Imagos can exist both of others (mother, father, etc.) and of the self. Jacques Lacan’s “mirror stage” and D. W. Winnicott’s “transitional space” both involve the consolidation, condensation, and imaging of the imago of the self, which in turn becomes an operative intrapsychic component.⁵⁶ Laplanche and Pontalis go on to explain that the imago

should be looked upon, however, as an acquired imaginary set rather than as an image: as a stereotype through which, as it were, the subject views the other person. Feelings and behaviour, for example, are just as likely to be the concrete expressions of the imago as are mental images.⁵⁷

Images, recollections, and perceptions contribute to the imago but none adequately fix or summarize the range of experiences, associations, and other images that constitute it.

The concept of the imago can be employed productively as an analogy for the recollection of the sculptural encounter. It helps to define the limitations that arise when the aesthetic encounter is characterized, metaphorically, as pictorial. The assumption of flatness, instantaneity, and pictoriality have been longstanding and operative factors in many discussions of the experience of sculpture. Hildebrand’s “relief conception” and his arguments about frontality stand as culminations of this understanding. Leighton’s *Athlete*, however, demands a different account of the encounter with sculpture – one that gives primacy to physical relations, temporality, movement, and the accretion (rather than the consolidation) of perceptions. In other words, Leighton’s formulation of modern sculpture makes it imperative to recognize that mental representation of the encounter with sculpture is composed, as well, of physical, phenomenal, and temporal elements and associations.

Combining the cumulative set of experiences of the sculpture into one replete nexus, the sculptural imago becomes the orienting core of the recollection of the encounter and of the object. It cannot be denied that for the experience of most art objects, the imago is determined by a single, retrospective visual image that fixes and organizes the recollections of it. Leighton’s statue, however, resists this collapsing of the sculptural encounter into a static picture. It structures the viewer’s experience self-reflexively so that the visual components of the imago are more closely interwoven with temporal processes and corporeal relations between viewer and statue. The memory of Leighton’s *Athlete* is primarily of and about the process of bodily engagement. In this work Leighton emphasized the fundamental importance of the

temporal and physical relations between viewer and sculpture. Consequently, the viewer's recollection of the statue, as James said, was all about intimate flashes of "the beautiful play of its muscles and limbs" rather than about a distanced, coherent visual picture.

Leighton made a proposal with the *Athlete*: that in order to recapture the vitality of sculpture, it was necessary to move beyond the repetition of established formulae and to reconsider the definition of sculpture itself. With its emphasis on three-dimensionality and its staging of an imago reliant on duration, physical engagement, and movement, it opened up issues that sculptors needed to begin to explore. The *Athlete* had an immediate impact on British sculpture, and during the following years there were many responses to its claims. Some literally took up the theme of the serpentine form, as in Thomas Brock's *A Moment of Peril* (1881), depicting a Native American on horseback battling with a snake, or in "Pen" Barrett Browning's *Dryope* (fig. 46). William Blake Richmond engaged with Leighton's exploration of the tensile strength of bronze as an analogue for muscular ability and grace in his *Athlete* (fig. 15). Alfred Gilbert also responded to Leighton on this issue in his *Icarus* (see chapter 3). Hamo Thornycroft offered a manifesto for marble as a parallel to Leighton's for bronze with his *Lot's Wife* (1878) and investigated the potential of spiral composition and an address to the phenomenal space of the viewer in his *Artemis* and *Teucer* (see chapter 2). Leighton's statue provided a recurring reference point throughout the following decades, and responses to it became a theme within the New Sculpture, for instance in the prize-winning *Hero* of 1895 by Margaret Giles.⁵⁸

15 William Blake Richmond, *An Athlete*, 1879, bronze, life-size; St. Peter's Square, London; photo: David Getsy.



Leighton returned to sculpture some years later, exhibiting the small statuette *Needless Alarms* and the life-size *Sluggard* (fig. 17) at the Royal Academy exhibition of 1886. Both works take up the spiral composition of the *Athlete*, but the *Sluggard*, in particular, can be seen as a return to its core themes. Many considered it to be a pendant to the *Athlete*, and at one time its title was *An Athlete Awakening from Sleep*. Like its predecessor, the *Sluggard* encountered resistance to its ambiguous subject matter and focus on the male nude body (Leighton added the discarded laurel wreath at the figure's feet late in the work's conception and execution). Overall, the *Sluggard* exhibits a more refined articulation of musculature, amplifying the attention to anatomical structures that made the *Athlete* such a success. The statue also reflected Leighton's engagement with the progress in the techniques of sculptural naturalism that characterized the early work of such artists as Thornycroft, Gilbert, and

Onslow Ford. The well-defined body proved to be an obstacle for some critics, who thought that a "sluggard" was inappropriate for representation in a prime physical state.

More than the surface naturalism, however, the composition displays Leighton's continued engagement with the terms set out in the *Athlete*. The *Sluggard*, too, has a spiral composition: beginning with the left leg that juts back behind the buttock, one can follow the path upward around the figure. The spiral has been subsumed under the body itself, allowing for a closer view of the details of the anatomy. Photographs tend to flatten the three-dimensional complexity of the figure, disguising the composition. Unlike the *Athlete's* insistence on a temporalized and episodic imago, the *Sluggard* is a more traditional statue in that it relies upon an organizing, unifacial vantage point. The *Sluggard* was, in effect, an attempt to stage the kind of bodily encounter offered by the *Athlete* without the aid of the linear form of the python.

The *Sluggard's* connection to the earlier agenda of the *Athlete* is perhaps best evidenced in the widespread popularity of the statuette version, published in 1890 by Arthur Collie. The 52.8 cm. statuette reproduced a modello for the finished statue that exhibited an unfinished surface quality that implied Leighton's touch (fig. 16). The sketchiness of the *Sluggard* statuette contrasted greatly with the finely articulated surface of the life-size statue. On a smaller, domestic scale, the statuette bore the indexical traces of Leighton's handling of the modello and incited the viewer to take up the statuette her or himself. In fact, the spiral composition of the *Sluggard* resulted in a figure that fits perfectly into one's right hand, with the thumb under the left armpit and the fingers wrapped around the back and right torso. At this size, it offered a satisfying manual experience that implied the ability to handle and rotate the figure. In effect, the *Sluggard* statuette represented the return of the initial conceit that led Leighton to argue for sculpture as a three-dimensional, perambula-

16 Frederic Leighton, *Sluggard*, 1886/1890, bronze, 52.8 cm. h., examples in Royal Academy of Arts, London and Leeds City Art Galleries; photo: Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, London.





17 Frederic Leighton, *Sluggard*, 1886, bronze, 190.1 × 90.2 × 59.7 cm.; Tate, London.

tory art – the small sketch models he rotated in his hands. In turn, the *Sluggard* became one of the most popular of late Victorian statuettes, influencing other artists who explored the spiral composition and tactile engagement.⁵⁹

In sum, the challenge posed to sculpture by the *Athlete* took the form of an allegorization of the sculptural encounter itself, replacing pictorial and visual primacy with the physical and temporal relations between viewer and object. The sculptural imago encouraged by Leighton's statue cultivated the peripatetic encounter as the privileged arena for sculptural investigation. Sculptors responded to this in various ways, for example with the overlapping of represented and perceptual space that I discuss in the next chapter. At the threshold of modernism, Leighton formulated an exemplary case that emphasized the importance of the viewer's co-presence with the sculpture. This served his restorative agenda, the aim of which was to demonstrate to sculptors what they needed to do in order to vitalize their medium and cease emulation of a pictorial mode.

Opening up further inquiry into theories of the sculptural encounter, Leighton's *Athlete* and its imago can prompt questions about the relationship between the viewer and object proposed in Minimalism. Artists such as Morris denied internal relations, representation, and anthropomorphism. Leighton, however, did not reject figural representation. If anything, the experience of the *Athlete* becomes amplified through the viewer's apprehension of the representational content of the statue and her or his identification with the human form.⁶⁰ The movement around the statue corporeally engages the viewer, and its closest analogue would be the movement not around an object but around another person. One of Michael Fried's most cutting comments in his attack on Minimalism was that the works were most like "a surrogate person – that is, a kind of *statue*." He bluntly stated: "I am suggesting, then, that a kind of latent or hidden anthropomorphism lies at the core of literalist theory and practice. The concept of presence all but says as much."⁶¹ Fried perspicaciously brought out an unresolved issue for the theories proposed by such artists as Morris, Tony Smith, and Carl Andre (though less so for Donald Judd). The experience of a sculptural object, especially one on the "human scale" that Morris and Smith encouraged, resulted in an imago infused with bodily engagements between viewer and object. The most highly charged interrelations are with other bodies, and it is highly unlikely that an evocation of the viewer's bodily self-awareness could be devoid of such intercorporeal associations. The sculptural imago, that is, will always to some degree incite questions about other bodies (such as gender identification and sexuality) when it addresses the physicality or spatial co-presence of the viewer.

The durational and circumambulatory experience of Leighton's *Athlete* was deeply wedded to its figural content and naturalistic display of the active, engaged body. It established a precedent for subsequent investigations into the corporeal interplay between figural denotation and the physicality of the sculptural object. The viewer's potential for corporeal engagement became a persistent issue for sculptors and critics, who began to understand the relations between viewer and object to be not static and distanced but potentially intimate, physical, and bodily.

- 46 Etienne Gilson, *Forms and Substances in the Arts* [1964], trans. Salvator Attanasio (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1966).
- 47 John Ruskin, "The Cestus of Anglia" [1866], in *The Works of John Ruskin*, ed. E. T. Cook and A. Wedderburn, 39 vols. (London: George Allen, 1905), 19:154.
- 48 Gilson, *Forms and Substances*, 77.
- 49 *Ibid.*, 79.
- 50 Potts, *Sculptural Imagination*, 34. Also of note on this issue is Alex Potts, "The Impossible Ideal: Romantic Conceptions of the Parthenon Sculptures in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain and Germany," in *Art in Bourgeois Society, 1790–1850*, ed. Andrew Hemingway and William Vaughan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 113.

Chapter 1

- 1 Examples are reproduced in Michael Hatt, "Physical Culture: The Male Nude and Sculpture in Late Victorian England," in *After the Pre-Raphaelites: Art and Aestheticism in Victorian Britain*, ed. Elizabeth Prettejohn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 247; and Leonée Ormond, "Edward Linley Sambourne: A Cartoonist in the Art World," *British Art Journal* 3, no. 1 (2001): 9.
- 2 Edmund Gosse, "The New Sculpture: 1879–1894," *Art Journal* 56 (1894): 140.
- 3 For a discussion of Leighton's interventions into the genre of history painting, see Elizabeth Prettejohn, "Aestheticising History Painting," in *Frederic Leighton: Antiquity, Renaissance, Modernity*, ed. Tim Barringer and Elizabeth Prettejohn (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 89–110.
- 4 Leighton later described a similar process in working from the model for a single figure composition in Frederic Leighton, "The Building up of a Picture," [1889], *Magazine of Art* 22 (1898): 1–2. Leighton was not alone in using sketch models for paintings but was unconventional in the emphasis he placed on the many such modellos he created.
- 5 "Artists as Craftsmen, no. 1: Sir Frederic Leighton, Bart., P.R.A., as a Modeller in Clay," *The Studio* 1, no. 1 (1893): 6. Figure 4 depicts the Choragus without the lyre and was used to illustrate this essay which provides the account of Leighton's handling of statuettes.
- 6 See Frederic Leighton, *Addresses Delivered to the Students of the Royal Academy* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1896).
- 7 A further contribution to Leighton's choice of Apollo and the Python may also have been John Ruskin's *Modern Painters* vol. 5, part 1x, chapter 1x, devoted to J. M. W. Turner's *Apollo and the Python* (1811, Tate) [*The Works of John Ruskin*, ed. E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 39 vols (London: George Allen, 1905), 7:409–23]. For Ruskin, this painting prefigured Turner's mastery of color, becoming an emblem of Turner as an artist. While Ruskin does provide an important reference for the use of the Python in Victorian art, it seems unlikely that this passage provided anything more than a secondary context for Leighton's sculpture. Ruskin emphasized the role of color for painting, whereas Leighton specifically explored sculptural values with the *Athlete*. Ruskin even stated, "[For painting] is distinctively the art of colouring, not of shaping or relating. Sculptors and poets can do these, the painter's own work is colour" (7:412). As discussed forthwith, while the *Athlete* may have been inspired by Leighton's representation of Apollonian myths, he quickly left this specific identification behind.
- 8 Oscar Wilde, "The Grosvenor Gallery," *Dublin University Magazine* 90 (1877): 126.
- 9 H. Heathcote Statham, "At the Royal Academy," *Fortnightly Review*, 1 July 1877, 72.
- 10 Marion H. Spielmann, "British Sculpture of To-Day," *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* 16, no. 11 (1909): 382.
- 11 Harry How, "Illustrated Interviews No. xiv – Sir Frederick Leighton, P.R.A.," *Strand Magazine* 4 (1892): 137. Though it was most likely Legros, there is some confusion as to whether it was Dalou who made this comment. See Benedict Read, "Leighton as a Sculptor: Releasing Sculpture from Convention," in *Lord Leighton 1830–1896 and Leighton House: A Centenary Celebration*, ed. Robin Simon (London: Apollo Magazine, 1996), 65.
- 12 For a discussion of Leighton's choice of bronze for the genre of the ideal statue, see Benedict Read, "Just what is it that made Leighton's sculpture so different, so appealing?," in Joanna Barnes, ed., *Leighton and His Sculptural Legacy: British Sculpture 1875–1930*, exh. cat. (London: Joanna Barnes Fine Arts, 1996), 5–12. As Malcolm Baker has discussed, bronze had in the eighteenth century been an expensive and rare material for sculpture in Britain and was used in large amounts only on important monument commissions. After the influx of commercially available small-scale bronzes from France in the nineteenth century and the material's greater availability due to its associations with newer industrial products and processes, bronze had largely lost the "royal" connotations Baker identified in the work of eighteenth-century sculptors. See

- Malcolm Baker, *Figured in Marble: The Making and Viewing of Eighteenth-Century Sculpture* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2000), 85–93. Nevertheless, as Read notes (7), there were few ideal, imaginative, or “subject” sculptures on a large scale produced in bronze. For a useful account of the processes involved in the realization of Victorian sculpture, see Benedict Read, *Victorian Sculpture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982), 52–65.
- 13 See Minneapolis Institute of Arts, *Victorian High Renaissance*, exh. cat. (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1978), 119–21.
 - 14 The *Athlete* was for many years on permanent display outdoors at Leighton House. Photographs from that installation are used throughout this chapter in order to provide a more thorough account of the process of encountering the object. The statue has since been restored and is no longer exhibited outside. The photographs of the statue in its restored state (figs. 1, 12–13) more closely represent the object’s surface as it would have been in 1877.
 - 15 Statham, “At the Royal Academy,” 71.
 - 16 Letter from Joseph Edgar Boehm to Leighton, 11 May 1877, in *The Life, Letters and Work of Frederic Leighton*, ed. Emilie [Mrs. Russell] Barrington, 2 vols. (London: George Allen, 1906), 2: 200. The private view of the Royal Academy exhibition was on 4 May 1877 and opened to the public the following day.
 - 17 Henry Blackburn, ed., *Academy Notes* (1877), 59.
 - 18 See Susan Beattie, *The New Sculpture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983), 14–16.
 - 19 Gosse, “New Sculpture,” 140.
 - 20 See Benedict Read, “Leighton and Sculpture,” in *Frederic, Lord Leighton: Eminent Victorian Artist*, exh. cat. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996), 81–92.
 - 21 On the tradition of the male nude and its role in the initial formulations of modern sculpture (with reference to the *Athlete* and *L’Âge d’airain*), see David J. Getsy, “Encountering the Male Nude at the Origins of Modern Sculpture. Rodin, Leighton, Hildebrand, and the Negotiation of Physicality and Temporality,” in *The Enduring Instant: Time and the Spectator in the Visual Arts*, ed. Antoinette Roesler-Friedenthal and Johannes Nathan (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2003), 296–313.
 - 22 Lene Østermark-Johansen, “The Apotheosis of the Male Nude: Leighton and Michelangelo,” in *Frederic Leighton: Antiquity, Renaissance, Modernity*, ed. Tim Barringer and Elizabeth Prettejohn (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 126.
 - 23 Statham, “At the Royal Academy,” 72.
 - 24 Walter Pater, “Luca della Robbia” [1893], in *The Renaissance*, ed. Adam Phillips (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 42–44. See further discussion in chapter 4.
 - 25 Walter Pater, “Winckelmann [1867],” in *The Renaissance*, ed. Adam Phillips (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 139.
 - 26 *Ibid.*, 137. For discussion, see Alex Potts, “Walter Pater’s Unsettling of the Apollonian Ideal,” in *The Uses and Abuses of Antiquity*, ed. Michael Biddiss and Maria Wyke (Bern: Peter Lang, 1999), 107–21.
 - 27 See, in general, Joseph Kestner, “Constructing the Renaissance: Leighton and Pater,” *Journal of Pre-Raphaelite Studies* n.s. 2, no. 1 (1993): 1–15.
 - 28 William Michael Rossetti, “British Sculpture, Its Conditions and Prospects” [1861], in *Fine Art, Chiefly Contemporary: Notices Re-Printed, with Revisions* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1867), 339.
 - 29 William Michael Rossetti, “The Royal Academy Exhibition (Fourth and Concluding Notice),” *The Academy*, 16 June 1877, 539.
 - 30 For example, “The Royal Academy. First Notice,” *The Times*, 5 May 1877, 12.
 - 31 [F. G. Stephens], “The Royal Academy (First Notice),” *The Athenaeum*, 5 May 1877, 580.
 - 32 For a discussion of the sixteenth-century origins of the *figura serpentinata* and its superficial appropriation in later centuries, see David Summers, “*Maniera* and Movement: The *Figura Serpentinata*,” *Art Quarterly* 35, no. 3 (1972): 269–301. The assumed link between the *figura serpentinata* and uniface legibility is discussed in Emily Apter, “*Figura Serpentinata*: Visual Seduction and the Colonial Gaze,” in *Spectacles of Realism: Body, Gender, Genre*, ed. Margaret Cohen and Christopher Prendergast (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 163–78.
 - 33 Charles Millard, “Sculpture and Theory in Nineteenth Century France,” *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 34, no. 1 (1975): 16.
 - 34 Emanuel Loewy, *The Rendering of Nature in Early Greek Art* [1900], trans. John Fothergill (London: Duckworth & Co., 1907).
 - 35 Adolf von Hildebrand, *The Problem of Form in Painting and Sculpture* [1893], trans. Max Meyer and R. M. Ogden (authorized), fourth revised ed. (New York: G. E. Stechert & Co., 1907). For a discussion of Hildebrand’s assertion of frontality in his own sculpture, see Getsy, “Encountering the Male Nude.”
 - 36 Charles Baudelaire, “The Salon of 1846,” in *Art in Paris 1845–1862: Salons and Other Exhibitions*, ed. Jonathan Mayne (London: Phaidon Press, 1965), 111.

- 37 Rudolf Wittkower, *Sculpture: Processes and Principles* (London: Allen Lane, 1977), 149–50. This insistent frontal address of figurative sculpture can be noted in a number of earlier discussions of figurative sculpture, as well. In 1888, for instance, W. Watkiss Lloyd noted, “By close observation of every ancient statue, and even of every bust of fine style, we may discover the one point of view which has been chiefly consulted sometimes alone, sometimes associated with it may be only one, and sometimes with an extraordinary number of others subordinate. [...] When such an advantageous point is found, it is curious to observe that if we swerve from it either to right or left, some leading outline will at once become vague, or, worse, will be interfered with by the emergence of some detail that breaks continuity. The contrivances are endless by which a spectator who is worthy of his opportunities is edged away, even unconsciously, from one position to another until he is fixed by pure satisfaction.” W. Watkiss Lloyd, “Sculpture Galleries,” *The Portfolio* 19 (1888): 222.
- 38 See Alex Potts, *The Sculptural Imagination: Figurative, Modernist, Minimalist* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 40–42.
- 39 Henry Moore, “The Sculptor Speaks” [1937], in *Henry Moore on Sculpture*, ed. Philip James (New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), 65. My emphasis.
- 40 Ezra Pound, *Gaudier-Brzeska: A Memoir* (New York: New Directions, 1916; reprint, 1970), 77.
- 41 Read, *Victorian Sculpture*, 289. See also Horst Woldemar Janson, *Nineteenth-Century Sculpture* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1985), 242.
- 42 Gorthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laokoon* [1766], trans. E. C. Beasey (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1853; reprint, 1914), 91.
- 43 *Ibid.*, 98.
- 44 For a critique of Lessing’s use of the space-time distinction, see W. J. T. Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 95–115.
- 45 Lessing, *Laokoon*, 116.
- 46 Michael Fried, “Art and Objecthood,” *Artforum* 5, no. 10 (1967): 12–23.
- 47 Robert Morris, “Notes on Sculpture, Part 2,” *Artforum* 5, no. 2 (1966): 23.
- 48 *Ibid.* Emphases original.
- 49 Clement Greenberg, “Towards a Newer Laocoön” [1940], in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism*, ed. John O’Brian (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 1: 27.
- 50 Elizabeth Prettejohn has found that Leighton’s art can be fruitfully considered in light of Greenbergian modernism. She bases her claim on Lessing’s terms, characterizing temporality in reference to depicted content (i.e., narrative). Arguing, generally, that Aestheticism’s focus on de-narrativized form has deep affinities with Greenberg’s account of modernist painting, she sees the *Athlete* as willfully transposing Leighton’s painting style into sculptural form. I would add to Prettejohn’s thesis a more extended account of the differences between Leighton’s painting and sculpture. Her analysis, I believe, perhaps places too much stress on the importance of surface naturalism in his sculpture. Surface naturalism, in Leighton’s case, was but one engagement with the classical authority of sculpture in his attempt to restore its vitality. Of equal or more importance, I would argue, was his thematization of the perceptual complexity of the sculptural encounter in the spiral form of the python. See Elizabeth Prettejohn, “The Modernism of Frederic Leighton,” in *English Art 1860–1914: Modern Artists and Identity*, ed. David Peters Corbett and Lara Perry (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 31–48, 221–25. I developed my account of Leighton’s *Athlete* first for a conference paper in 1999 and subsequently became aware of Prettejohn’s argument about Leighton’s modernism, which she generously shared with me in manuscript form. I am grateful for the on-going discussion about Leighton that has ensued and which informs this chapter.
- 51 Claude Phillips, “Sculpture of the Year,” *Magazine of Art* 14 (1891): 402.
- 52 Henry James, “The Picture Season in London, 1877,” in *The Painter’s Eye: Notes and Essays on the Pictorial Arts by Henry James*, ed. J. Sweeney (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1956), 149.
- 53 Sigmund Freud, “The Unconscious” [1915], in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. James Strachey (London: Hogarth Press, 1956), 14:201.
- 54 For instance, see Melanie Klein, “A Contribution to the Psychogenesis of Manic-Depressive States” [1935], in *The Selected Melanie Klein*, ed. Juliet Mitchell (New York: Free Press, 1986), 116–45; and D. W. Winnicott, *Through Paediatrics to Psycho-Analysis: Collected Papers* (New York: Bruner/Mazel, 1958; reprint, 1992), especially “The Manic Defence” [1935], 129–44; and “Transitional Objects and Transitional Phenomena” [1951], 229–42.
- 55 Jean Laplanche and J.-B. Pontalis, *The Language of Psycho-Analysis* [1967], trans. D. Nicholson-Smith (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1973), 211.
- 56 See Jacques Lacan, “The Mirror Stage as Formative of the Function of the I as Revealed in Psychoanalytic Experience” [1949], in *Écrits* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1977), 1–7; and D. W.

- Winnicott, *Playing and Reality* (London and New York: Routledge, 1971), especially “The Use of an Object and Relating through Identifications” [1969], 86–94; and “Mirror-role of Mother and Family in Child Development” [1967], 111–18.
- 57 Laplanche and Pontalis, *Language of Psycho-Analysis*, 211.
- 58 See Joanna Barnes, ed., *Leighton and His Sculptural Legacy: British Sculpture 1875–1930*, exh. cat. (London: Joanna Barnes Fine Arts, 1996); and George Landow, “Margaret M. Giles’s *Hero* and the Sublime Female Nude,” in *Gender and Discourse in Victorian Literature and Art*, ed. Beverly Taylor and Antony H. Harrison (DeKalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 1992), 233–50.
- 59 See Martina Droth, Jason Edwards, David Getsy, and Matthew Withey, *The Cult of the Statue in Late Victorian Britain*, exh. cat. (Leeds: Henry Moore Institute, 2000), especially my introduction, “Sculpture in the Home,” and entry on the *Sluggard*, 2–4, 7. See also Beattie, *New Sculpture*, 181–99.
- 60 For comments by Leighton on the importance of the human form as a vehicle for formal and aesthetic considerations, see Frederic Leighton, “Presidential Address” [1888], in *The Life, Letters and Work of Frederic Leighton*, ed. Emilie Barrington, [Mrs. Russell] 2 vols. (London: George Allen, 1906), 2: 355–56.
- 61 Fried, “Art and Objecthood,” 19.
- Similarly, I have referred to Edmund Gosse’s letters directly rather than rely on Evan Charteris, *The Life and Letters of Sir Edmund Gosse* (London: William Heinemann, 1931), where there are also editorial liberties. The largest collection of Gosse’s correspondence can be found in the Brotherton Library, University of Leeds (BLUL).
- 2 Manning, *Marble & Bronze*, 32.
- 3 See Richard Jenkyns, *The Victorians and Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1980); Richard Jenkyns, *Dignity and Decadence: Victorian Art and the Classical Inheritance* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1992); and Frank M. Turner, *The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981).
- 4 Hamo Thornycroft Journal, 8 May 1871, HTP J-a, 58.
- 5 Ibid., 12 September 1871, HTP J-a, 67–68.
- 6 Thornycroft to Agatha Cox, 29 July 1882, HTP Tii-C-T[H]6.
- 7 Journal, September–October? 1870, HTP J-a, 28.
- 8 Walter Armstrong, “Sculpture,” *Art Journal* 49 (1887): 178.
- 9 Edmund Gosse, “English Sculpture in 1880,” *Cornhill Magazine* 42, no. 248 (1880): 180.
- 10 For assessments of these artists, see Benedict Read, *Victorian Sculpture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982); Alex Potts, “Chantrey as the National Sculptor of Early Nineteenth-Century England,” *Oxford Art Journal* 4, no. 2 (1981): 17–27; Alison Yarrington, “Anglo-Italian Attitudes: Chantrey and Canova,” in *The Lustrous Trade: Material Culture and the History of Sculpture in England and Italy, c.1700–c.1860*, ed. Cinzia Sicca and Alison Yarrington (London and Leicester: Leicester University Press, 2000), 132–55; Elisabeth Darby, “John Gibson, Queen Victoria, and the Idea of Sculptural Polychromy,” *Art History* 4, no. 1 (1981): 37–53; Benedict Read, “John Henry Foley,” *The Connoisseur* 186, no. 750 (1974): 262–71; Benedict Read and Joanna Barnes, *Pre-Raphaelite Sculpture: Nature and Imagination in British Sculpture 1848–1914*, exh. cat., Henry Moore Foundation (London: Lund Humphries, 1991); Paul Barlow, “Grotesque Obscenities: Thomas Woolner’s *Civilization* and Its Discontents,” in *Victorian Culture and the Idea of the Grotesque*, ed. C. Trodd, P. Barlow, and D. Amigoni (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 97–113; and Chris Brooks, ed., *The Albert Memorial: The Prince Consort National Memorial: Its History, Contexts, and Conservation* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000).
- 11 Journal, 9 February 1871, HTP J-a, 45–46.

Chapter 2

- 1 On the artistic environment of the Thornycroft household and for general biographical information about the family, see Penny McCracken, “Sculptor Mary Thornycroft and Her Artist Children,” *Woman’s Art Journal* (1997): 3–8; David Getsy, “Thornycroft Family (Thomas, Mary, and Hamo),” in *The Encyclopedia of Sculpture*, 3 vols., ed. Antonia Boström (London and New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2004), 3: 1655–59; and Elfrida Thornycroft [Manning], *Bronze and Steel: The Life of Thomas Thornycroft, Sculptor and Engineer* (Shipton-on-Stour: King’s Stone Press, 1932). In the biography of her father (*Marble & Bronze: The Art and Life of Hamo Thornycroft*, London and Westfield, N.J.: Trefoil Books and Eastview Editions, 1982), Elfrida Manning sometimes edited and altered the archival evidence she chose to quote. She later donated the majority of her family’s papers to the Henry Moore Institute, Leeds. To avoid replicating any of her alterations, my references are to these archival materials directly (HTP).

David J. Getsy

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Sculpture in Britain, 1877–1905

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Frontispiece James Havard Thomas, *Lycidas*, 1905 (cast 1908),
bronze, 161 × 83 × 52 cm.; Tate, London.

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