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## Edward Burne-Jones' *Andromeda*: Transformation of Historical and Mythological Sources<sup>1</sup>

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*"I need nothing but my hands and my brain to fashion  
myself a world to live in that nothing can disturb.  
In my own land I am king of it."*  
Edward Burne-Jones<sup>2</sup>

Sir Edward Burne-Jones' affinity for classical ideals, literature and art is reflected in his mythological paintings, in particular the Perseus and Andromeda series. His fascination with mythology derives from his early schooling at Oxford<sup>3</sup> and his numerous trips to Florence, Rome and Venice.<sup>4</sup> The cultural manifestations and continuous interest in antiquity by the British in sponsoring archeological excavations and purchasing and collecting ancient art, accentuated Burne-Jones' connoisseurship in the antique.<sup>5</sup> His patronage by wealthy Greek families residing in London, such as the Ionides,<sup>6</sup> and his amorous involvement with well-known Greek sculptress Maria Zambaco Cassavetti<sup>7</sup> further contributed to Burne-Jones' enchantment with the antique.

The objectives of this study are threefold: to reveal Burne-Jones' visual assimilation and aesthetic integration of Neoplatonic ideals in one of his mythological cycles, Perseus and Andromeda, to examine Burne-Jones' adaptation of the classical sources for the Andromeda theme and his awareness of the pictorial tradition for this mythological tale and, to

understand Burne-Jones' interpretation of the *femme fatale*, visually expressed in the image of *Andromeda* from the Perseus cycle, by focusing on three episodes: *The Rock of Doom*, *The Doom Fulfilled* and *The Baleful Head* of 1875-1888 (Graves Art Gallery, Sheffield, and the cartoons at the Southampton City Art Gallery and Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, Germany, Figs. 1-6).<sup>8</sup>

In 1865, as part of the cycle of illustrations to William Morris' *Earthly Paradise*, Burne-Jones made preparatory drawings for the story of King Acrisius. The Perseus and Andromeda series have their origin in this. The drawings were displayed and reworked since 1870s. Meanwhile, A. J. Balfour had commissioned Burne-Jones to decorate his music room at Carlton House Terrace with episodes of Perseus and Andromeda. At this time, Burne-Jones begins to develop a series of watercolors (now at the Tate Gallery in London), placing the narrative in sequence and framing the scenes with a decorative border. From 1876-1888, Burne-Jones designs full scale preparatory studies (now in Southampton City Art Gallery) together with actual panels (now in the Ex Huntington Hartford Collection in New York, Graves Art Gallery in Sheffield, Staatsgalerie in Stuttgart, Germany). Although Burne-Jones never completed the project, he continued working throughout until his death in 1898. Numerous drawings of



1) Edward Burne-Jones, «The Rock of the Doom», 1875-88, bodycolor. Southampton City Art Gallery.



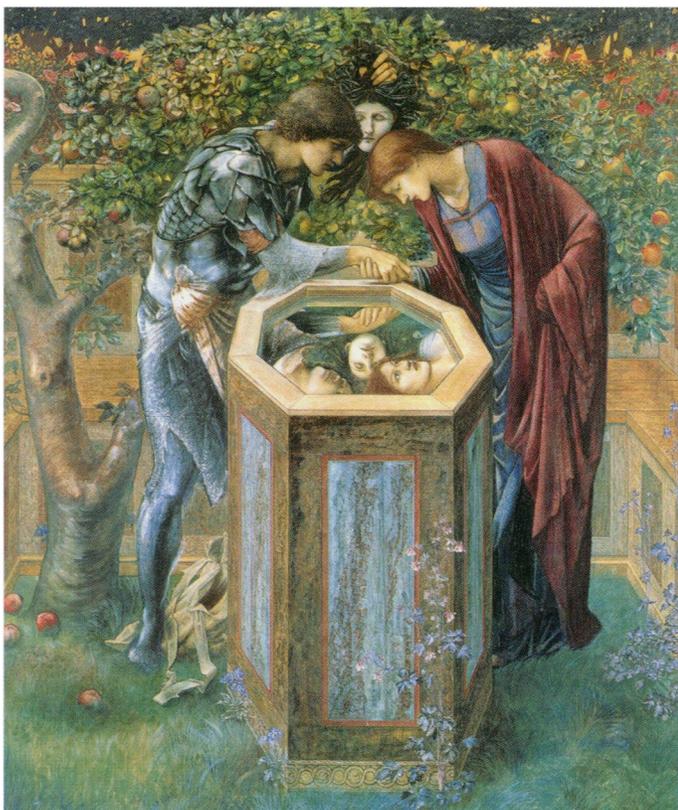
2) Edward Burne-Jones, «The Doom Fulfilled», 1875-88, bodycolor. Southampton City Art Gallery.

*The Rock of Doom*, *The Doom Fulfilled* and *The Baleful Head* are found at the Art Institute of Chicago, Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge and The Art Gallery of South Adelaide, Australia [Fig. 7].

Burne-Jones' cultural milieu provided him with an understanding of the classical revival in the arts manifested from the time of the Renaissance drifting into Mannerism, the Baroque, the Rococo, and gaining greater momentum in the nineteenth-century as a result of the excavations of Herculaneum and Pompeii. In England, the love for the antique expanded to collecting classical works of art, as the Elgin Marbles collection of the Athenian reliefs from the Parthenon in the British Museum. Since the seventeenth century, English collectors, such as the Earl of Arundel and later Lords Burlington and Leicester, commissioned other Englishmen already based in Rome to exca-

vate on site and to send back whatever antiquities they uncovered.<sup>9</sup> This taste for ancient archeological excavation expanded to sites in Greece and Asia Minor.

By the conclusion of the eighteenth century, London had become the center of the trade in Ancient art and antiquities, which is clearly illustrated in the painting by Johann Zoffany of Charles Towneley's house gallery in London [Fig. 8], where Towneley, along with his fellow antiquarians Charles Greville and Sir Thomas Astle are surrounded by his collection of antiquities.<sup>10</sup> The already established Society of Dilettanti in England and the British Art Colony in Rome, to further the knowledge of the antique world, commissioned and financed exploratory expeditions in order to understand the Grecian taste and Roman spirit as well as to encourage artists and collectors to visit, explore and excavate the ancient sites. Both



3) Edward Burne-Jones, «The Baleful Head», 1875-88, bodycolor. Southampton City Art Gallery.

4) Edward Burne-Jones, «The Rock of the Doom», 1875-88, oil on canvas. Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart.

societies functioned to further the knowledge of antiquity in England. Thus, the artistic environment and the taste of Burne-Jones' era facilitated his interests in the classical tradition, as it is reflected in the Andromeda paintings.

Before Winckelmann's writing and classification of Greek art, nineteenth-century artists made no distinction between Greek and Roman art.<sup>11</sup> The ancient Romans were lovers of Greek art, and as such, preserved, copied and collected it. European artists from the Renaissance to the nineteenth century were confronted with a mixture of so-called "ancient" styles. In England, the apperception of ancient art by Pre-Raphaelite painters, including Burne-Jones, was galvanized by the arrival of the Elgin Marbles, who displayed casts of *Theseus* and *Ilissus* in his drawing room.<sup>12</sup> Burne-Jones' affinity with ancient Roman art, which was enhanced by his Italian

travels, was further extended by his appreciation of the beauty and significance of such a Greek treasure in London.<sup>13</sup>

The impact of the classical revival in England also relates not only to the assimilation of the classical style and aesthetic appreciation, but also to the moral connection between the image and its content. The work of art, then, represents an *exemplum virtutis*, as in the tradition of Roman historians in their writings (for example, Plutarch's *Lives*) that stresses the importance of art as a positive factor in support of morality. Historical or mythological subjects, because of their inherent narrative content, could assert moral standards.<sup>14</sup> Pre-Raphaelite painters, such as Burne-Jones abided by this new artistic quest, painted subjects, especially mythological paintings, in which these ideals were embodied and visualized.<sup>15</sup>



5) Edward Burne-Jones, «The Doom Fulfilled», 1875-88, oil on canvas. Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart.

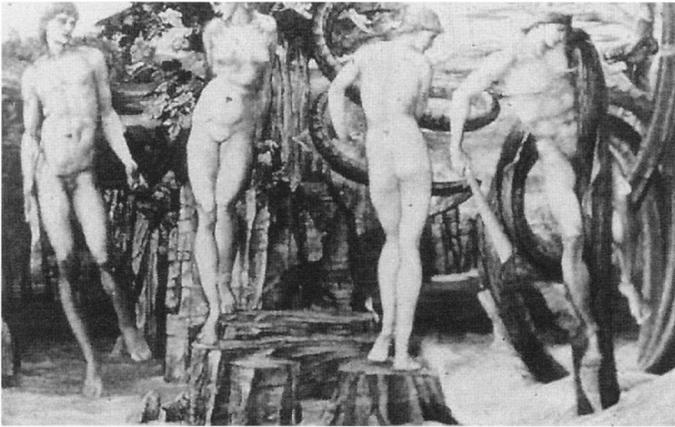


6) Edward Burne-Jones, «The Baleful Head», 1875-88, oil on canvas. Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart.

The ancient writings in philosophy and literature, for example, Plato's *Symposium* and *Phaedrus*, Virgil's *Aeneid*, Pliny's *Natural History*, and Philostratus' *Imagines*, as well as classical mythological writings, such as Hesiod's *Theogony*, Ovid's *Fasti*, *De amore* and, in particular, the *Metamorphoses*, were sources of influence and assimilation in Burne-Jones' literary and visual work. The manifestation of the impact of the classical tradition is further revealed in Burne-Jones' concept of ideal beauty and its expression and representation in his mythological and narrative paintings, as well as in his fusion of the classical and emblematic tradition in his mythological imagery. In *GERM*, a contemporary journal of the time, Burne-

Jones wrote about many of his aesthetic ideas, his theory of art and his concept of "ideal beauty." For Burne-Jones, beauty was the *summum bonum* of life and the sole inspiration for his art. He expressed his artistic pursuit in these works: "Only this is true, that beauty is very beautiful, and softens, and comforts, and inspires, and rouses, and lifts up, and never fails."<sup>16</sup> This ideal sustained Burne-Jones throughout his difficult personal life and is clearly reflected in his mythological paintings.

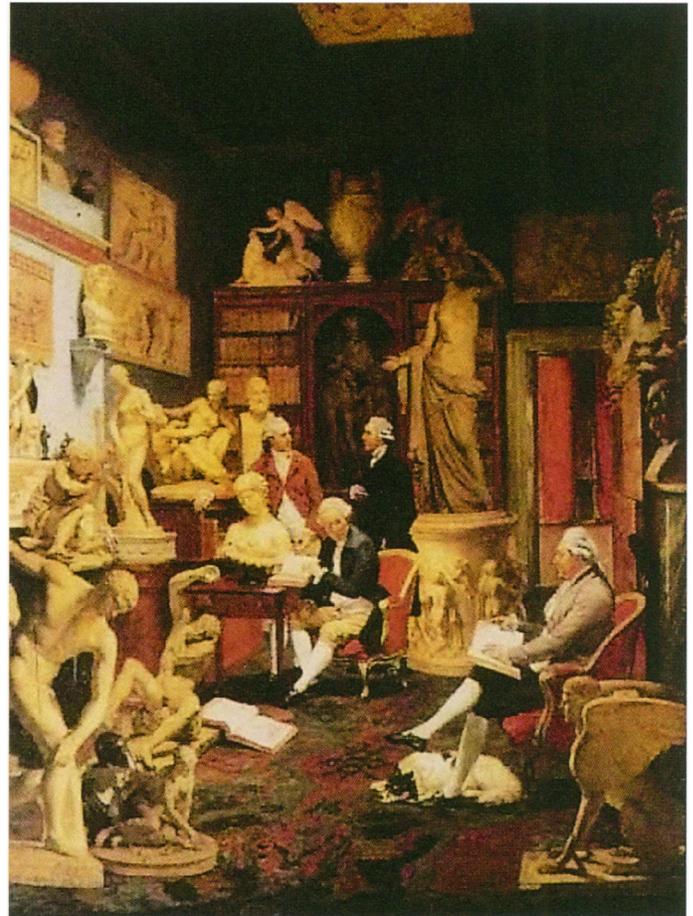
Moreover, under the spell of Maria Zambaco's beauty, Burne-Jones turns to the study the female imagery in High Renaissance, in particular Leonardo da Vinci.<sup>17</sup> In *A Sketchbook by Sir Edward Burne-Jones*, Kathleen Elizabeth Alexan-



7) Edward Burne-Jones, «The Rock of the Doom» and «The Doom Fulfilled», 1875-88 (oil on canvas, unfinished). The Art Gallery of South Adelaide, Australia.

der writes on the affinity between the ideal of beauty reflected in Burne-Jones' drawings and Walter Pater's aesthetic description of Leonardo da Vinci's drawings.<sup>18</sup> Burne-Jones' concept of ideal beauty depicted in his mythological paintings, in particular his Andromeda imagery, reveal a fusion of classical, Renaissance and aesthetic traditions coated with his innate artistic quest for female beauty. Burne-Jones observes "I must confess that my interest in a woman is because she is a woman and is such a nice shape and so different to mine."<sup>19</sup> Thus, the Andromeda saga serves as a vehicle for Burne-Jones to express visually his conception of beauty as well as manifesting his love for Maria Zambaco. In his *Memorials*, Burne-Jones refers to the impact of the cultural milieu in England, manifested by the extensive classical collection displayed at the British Museum. His affiliations and passionate affair with the Greek sculptress, Maria Zambaco, noted in his writings as well as in his paintings and drawings, for example the portrait of *Maria Zambaco* of 1870 (Clemens-Sels Museum, Neuss, Fig. 9), and *Maria*, a drawing of 1870 [Fig. 10], accentuated Burne-Jones' interest in portraying mythical imagery in his paintings.

Furthermore, in his field trips to Venice, Rome and Florence, Burne-Jones became familiar not only with the visual imagery of revival of antiquity in Renaissance art, but also with the writings of the Italian humanists who had assimilated the *all'antica modus operandi*. Studies on the Renaissance aes-



8) Johann Zoffany, «Charles Towneley in his Gallery», 1772-75, oil on canvas. Towneley Hall Museum, Burnley, Lancashire.

thetic and Neoplatonism have demonstrated the impact of this philosophy of art, not only in the imagery of Renaissance and Mannerist painters, such as Botticelli, Michelangelo, Titian and Vasari, but also in its assimilation by Pre-Raphaelite painters, such as Burne-Jones.<sup>20</sup> In the Renaissance Neoplatonic aesthetic, Marsilio Ficino observes, "Beauty consists of a certain charm," something spiritual that transcends sensual experience and that makes us long for the origin of what we perceive.<sup>21</sup> Both Botticelli's and Vasari's imagery emphasize this spiritual concept of ideal beauty, rather than the physical representation of beauty. Favoring this concept, Burne-Jones elabo-



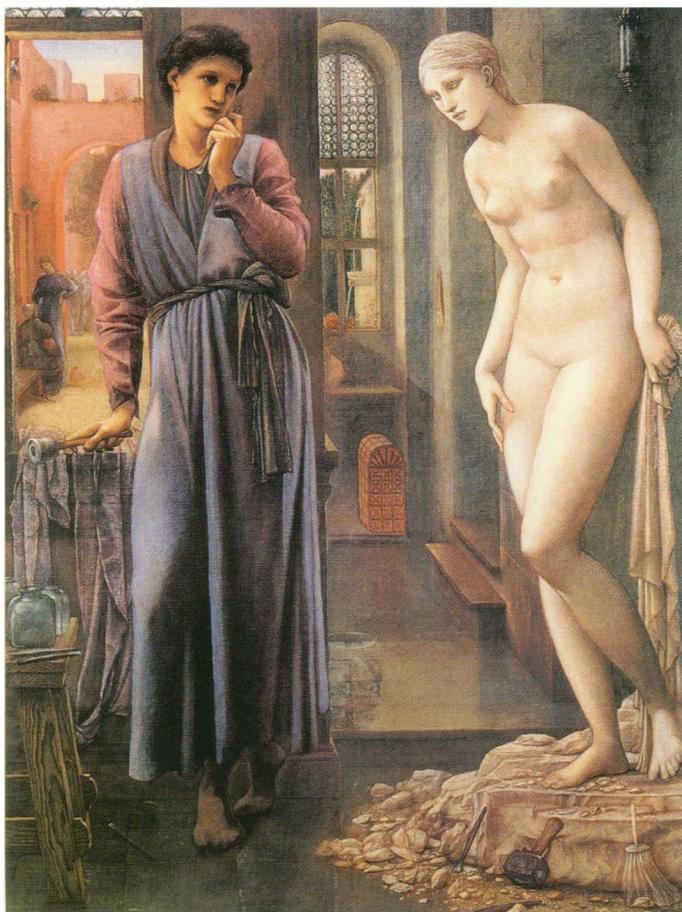
9) Edward Burne-Jones, «Maria Zambaco», 1870, bodycolor. Clemens-Sels Museum, Neuss.

rates on the Neoplatonic aesthetic ideal by creating an idealized image that combines beauty and ardor, and arouses love as “the billows of the seas.”<sup>22</sup> Burne-Jones’ innate conception for beauty was reinforced by his study of antiquity in England and of Italian Renaissance painters, who, in turn, had assimilated and reinterpreted the classical tradition in their art, in particular, in their mythological paintings, such as Botticelli’s *Primavera*, *Birth of Venus*, *Pallas and the Centaur* (seen by him at the Galleria degli Uffizi of Florence) and *Mars and Venus* (seen by him at the National Gallery of London).<sup>23</sup>



10) Edward Burne-Jones, «Maria Zambaco», 1870, pencil drawing. Sotheby’s London.

Burne-Jones’ Renaissance literary interests included the writings of Giorgio Vasari,<sup>24</sup> a Mannerist painter and theoretician, and Francesco Colonna’s *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (The Dream of Poliphilo: The Soul on Love), a Neoplatonic philosophical novel.<sup>25</sup> Burne-Jones not only owned a copy of Colonna’s enchanted tale but was also fascinated by this romantic story of a lover who dreams of wandering in the Island of Cythera, through ruins and graves, in search of his lover. However, when the dreamer awakes after crossing the magic sea and having found his lover, deception sets in as the enchantment evaporates. Did Burne-Jones see a connection with the Renaissance love story and his own impossible love for Maria Zambaco? Do paintings such as *Love Among the*



11) Edward Burne-Jones, «Pygmalion and Galatea: The Hands Refrains», 1868-78, oil on canvas. Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery.

*Ruins, Love and the Pilgrim* or the *Andromeda* series represent Burne-Jones's further attraction to Colonna's text, viewing its images as "mysterious illustrations" of Neoplatonism?<sup>26</sup>

The British writings of Walter Pater (*Studies in the Renaissance* of 1873), William Morris (*Earthly Paradise* of 1860s) and John Ruskin (*Edinburgh Lectures* of 1850s) depend on classical ideals and its revivals, unveiled in Renaissance and Pre-Raphaelite art. In his theory of art and visual representations, Burne-Jones, too, is influenced by classical resurgence in art as well as by British's commentaries on the admiration of this rebirth. In the Pre-Raphaelite

movement, however, some artists, including William Morris, William Ruskin and Burne-Jones reflect their personal dissatisfaction with the principles of the Aesthetic Movement. This sentiment was partially influenced by William Ruskin's writings and his moral and aesthetic rejection of modern civilization.<sup>27</sup> Under this spell, the Pre-Raphaelite painters rediscovered the Celtic myths and Arthurian legends, both of which are deeply absorbed in the fairy-tale of Shakespeare's comedies. Burne-Jones' nostalgia for the past extends into his quest for mythology, seeking those past artists who had also visually captured the legends, sagas and myths of antiquity. Thus, Burne-Jones' paintings created a whole world of legends and myths whose spiritual origin rested not only in the Middle Ages, but in antiquity as well. He rejected contemporary reality, desperately escaping in dreams and fantasy, thus transmitting in his painting metaphysical, moral, and aesthetic conceptions dear to his heart, which bound him intensively to the use of the world of legends and myths. Burne-Jones searched for a classical metaphor to express his dreams and existence in his drawings and paintings, that is to say, a pursuit for a canon of art that resulted in his adage, "To love beauty," as reflected in his mythological paintings, for example, the cycles of *Pygmalion and Galatea* of 1868-78 [Fig. 11], *Cupid and Psyche* of 1874-76 (both cycles at the Manchester Art Gallery, Fig. 12) and, in particular, the *Perseus and Andromeda* of 1875-1878 (Graves Art Gallery, Sheffield, and the cartoons in the Southampton City Art Gallery, England, and Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, Germany). These cycles represent the transformation of the power of the past or the power of the text into a visual celebration of the present or personal aesthetics.

Since antiquity, *ekphrasis* was employed as part of a literary work to describe an imaginary painting, frequently containing a response to art as in the writings of Philostratus, Pliny the Elder and, in particular, Ovid.<sup>28</sup> Mythological paintings are examples of *ekphrasis* because they combine two aspects of the sister arts: painting and poetry or image and word. In antiquity, Philostratus, and, in the nineteenth century, Franciscus Junius, librarian to Thomas Howard, the Early of Arundel, explain the fundamental likeness between the two arts, since both create an aesthetic contemplation and imitate nature. For example, this transformation from nature into art or art into nature is recounted in the story of Pygmalion. At first, Pygmalion falls in love with his creation, a female statue. Through Venus' magical power, his work is transformed into a real woman. Pygmalion is bewildered and mesmerized by the miracle. Renaissance poets, viewers and later Burne-Jones respond to art in a Pygmalion-line manner.

Another saga about transformation that enthralled Burne-Jones is the story of Perseus and the Medusa, which he illus-



12) Edward Burne-Jones, «Cupid and Psyche: Cupid Finding Psyche», 1865, study in bodycolor. Yale Center for British Art, Yale Art Gallery Collection, New Haven.

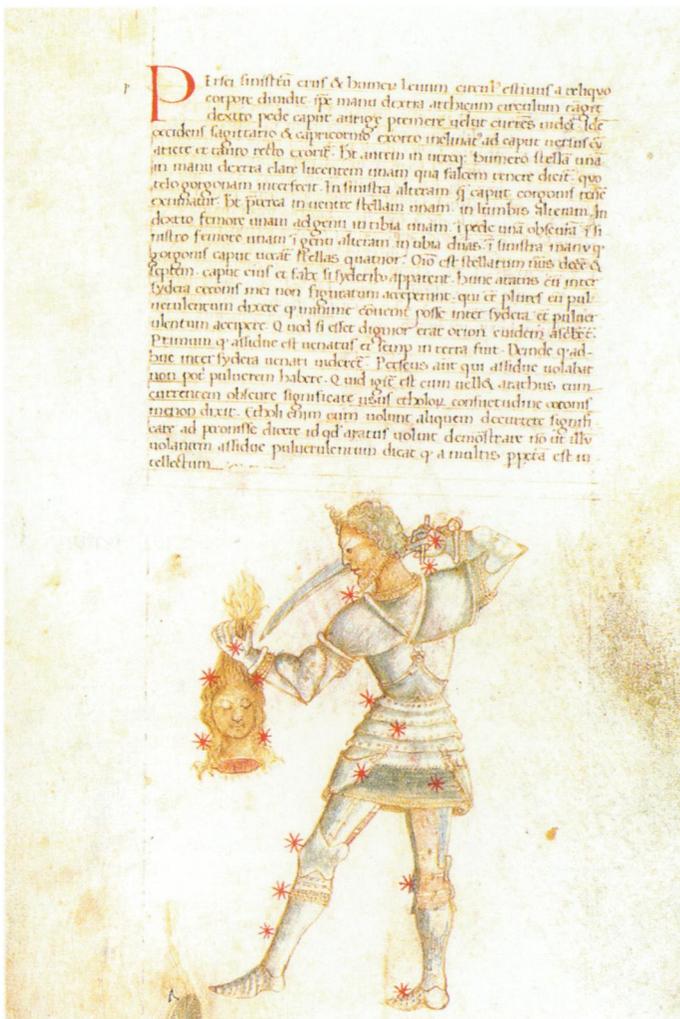
trates between 1875 and 1878. The paintings focus in the moment when Perseus, on winged Pegasus, rescues enchained Andromeda from the sea monster. After killing the dragon with the Medusa's head, Perseus brings it to Athena as a trophy of war. In his honor, Athena places it on her breastplate as an image to ward off evil. After marrying Andromeda, Perseus returns the objects borrowed from the gods (Athena,



13) Hyginus' «Andromeda» from *Poetica astronomica*, 15<sup>th</sup> century manuscript. Bodleian Library, Oxford MS Canon Class. Lat 179, f. 35.

Pluto and Mercury), including a shield, a helmet and sandals, which assisted him in liberating Andromeda.

The Andromeda myth associated with the Perseus and Medusa cycle provided Burne-Jones with a rich visual tapestry of human nature, heroic deeds and astrological prophecies. The following is a brief account of the tale of Andromeda that is closely bound to the Perseus legend. Since antiquity, it was understood that the Andromeda's union with Perseus establishes important royal lines in Ethiopia, including the Persian nation. According to the classical sources, such as Lucius



14) Hyginus' «Perseus» from *Poetica astronomica*, 15<sup>th</sup> century manuscript. Bodleian Library, Oxford MS Canon Class. Lat 179, f. 35v.

Accius, *Andromeda*; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* (4.663 and 5.249), Apollodoros, *Bibliotheca* (2.4.3), Hyginus, *Fabulae* (4) and *Poetica astronomica* (10.11) [Figs. 13 and 14], Lucian, *Dialogues of the Sea Gods* (14 on the “Triton and Nereids”), and Philostratus, *Imagines* (1.29), the story of Andromeda unfolds in Ethiopia. Cassiopea, the wife of Cepheus, King of Joppa (now Jaffa or Ethiopia) extols her daughter's beauty, or

possibly her own, above that of the Nereids, which means that she identified Andromeda, or herself, with a sea goddess. The Nereids thereupon entreated Poseidon to avenge them. He grants their request and punishes Cassiopeia's blasphemy by devastating the land with disastrous floods. Even worse, Poseidon also sends a terrible sea monster, the dragon or Cetus, which devours both human and beast. The oracle of Ammon declares that the land can be saved only by the sacrifice of the king's daughter, Andromeda, to the sea monster, Cetus. Cepheus, after some time, yields to the entreaties of his people, and Andromeda is chained to a rock close to the sea in order to appease the wrath of Poseidon. Then appears an armed Perseus, son of Zeus and Danae, who is passing through Ethiopia on his return to his native city Argos. When seeing Andromeda enchained to a rock and guarded by a dragon, Perseus felt pity for her and his parents and, wishing to rescue her, struck a bargain with Cepheus, father of Andromeda, that he would free his daughter for his hand in marriage.

Perseus is assisted by Athena, who provides him with a shining shield to bewitch the sea monsters or Gorgons at the gaze of their reflection on the shield. Perseus sweeps in rapid flight through the sky and severs the dragon's head with a magical weapon, a *harpe*, a curved sword or knife with a curved blade. As Perseus cleans his hands and weapon in the sea, he places the Medusa's head on a bed of leaves and sea-weed. At the touch of the sea nymphs, the seaweed hardens and turns into coral, delighting the nymphs.<sup>29</sup>

The legends of the Medusa, Perseus and Andromeda, recounted by the ancients, Hesiod, Homer, Euripides and Pliny, allude to the mortals committing a sin of pride against the gods and receiving punishment as a result.<sup>30</sup> The Medusa offends Athena because she made love to Poseidon in the Temple of Athena. As her punishment, Perseus decapitates her with the assistance of Athena. Cassiopea offends Poseidon by exalting her beauty above the Nereids, the sea-goddesses. Cassiopea's daughter, Andromeda, is sacrificed by being enchained to a rock and guarded by a sea-monster, the dragon or Cetus. Again, it is Perseus who comes to rescue the victim by decapitating the dragon and freeing Andromeda, whom he subsequently weds. At the core of the Andromeda saga is the quest for good over evil, virtue over sin.

After their deaths, Cassiopeia, Cepheus, Andromeda, Perseus and Dragon (Cetus) all became constellations [Fig. 15]. In *On Architecture*, Book IX, Chapter I, Vitruvius describes, according to Hyginus' *Poetica astronomica*, how the zodiac signs and constellations are designed by nature and how divine intelligence is viewed by the natural philosopher Democritus.<sup>31</sup> The northern constellations depict, as a square of stars,



15) Apian's «Star Chart» from *Astronomicum Caesareum*, 1540. The British Library, Maps C.6.d.5.

Perseus holding the head of the Gorgon or Medusa. At his feet are Andromeda with arms outstretched, as positioned when she was enchained to the rock, and the Dragon recumbent over the southern horizon, separated from Andromeda by Pisces, the fishes. On Perseus's right is Cassiopeia with Cepheus resting above Andromeda.<sup>32</sup> The conclusion of the Andromeda saga with the deaths of Cassiopeia, Cepheus, Andromeda, Perseus and Dragon and mutation into constellations conveys another level of transformation from natural to cosmic. Because Perseus conquers both the Cetus, the sea monster, and the Medusa, an earth monster, the Andromeda saga illustrated the human's control over nature. However, the myth also explains the powers of divinity as gods control mortal's fate. For example, Poseidon punishes Cassiopea's vanity by flooding Ethiopia and sending the hideous Cetus to destroy the kingdom. In contrast, Athena and Mercury assist Perseus in his victory against Cetus and the Medusa. Furthermore, Athena pities the weak-



16) «Andromeda and Perseus», krater, mid-sixth century BCE. Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

ness of Cassiopea, Cepheus, Cetus and the Medusa, on one hand, and rewards the heroic actions of Perseus and Andromeda by transforming all of them into constellations and placing them in a protected environment, the firmament.

Burne-Jones was also fascinated by the Perseus cyclic connections with alchemy and astrology. He recalls visiting the British Museum “for the most ancient ways of portraying Medusa for the Perseus story as illustrated in the constellations represented in the Malcolm celestial globe.”<sup>33</sup> This sphere is a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century Islamic brass-globe acquired by the British Museum in 1871 and known to Burne-Jones.<sup>34</sup>

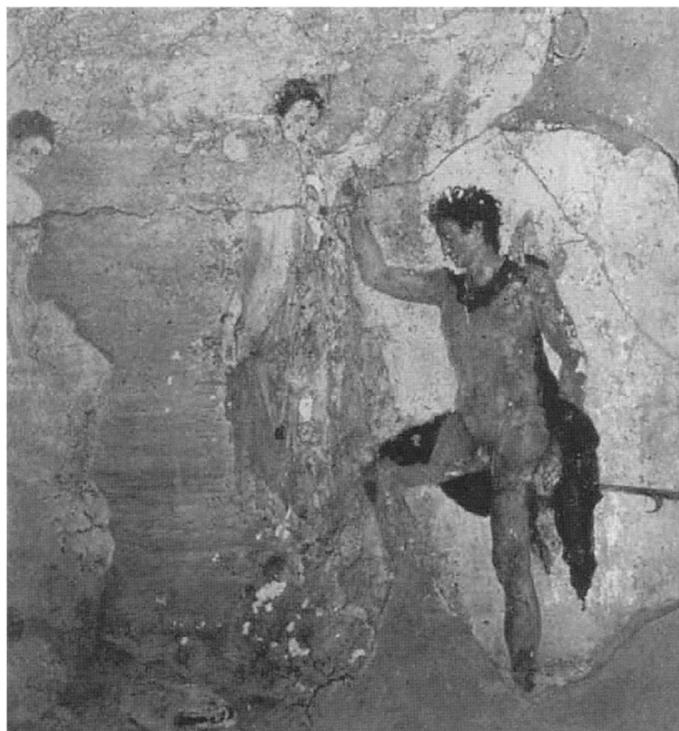
In the second part of the present study, the focus is on one aspect of the Perseus' cycle, the story of Perseus and Andromeda as illustrated in the history of art in two ways. One type of representation depicts the entire episode in a triptych format, focusing on the story in the center—Andromeda enchained to a rock. On her right, the family of Andromeda gathers together, on her left, Perseus slays the dragon and rescues her. The second type of representation centers solely on Andromeda's rescue by Perseus.

Early representations of this theme appear in black-figure vases and on a metope of the temple of Selinus, Sicily, both of which date from the mid-sixth century BCE. There are two paintings of *Perseus with Andromeda* on the wall of paintings of Pompeii, the larger one thought to be a direct copy of a Greek original by a contemporary of Praxiteles.



17) «Perseus Freeing Andromeda», after Nicias, before 79, Roman fresco. National Archeological Museum, Naples.

Corinthian vase paintings reveal that the story of Perseus and Andromeda was known far back as the mid-sixth century, as seen in the Attic red-figure calyx krater at the Staatliche Museen in Berlin [Fig. 16]. The myth was used by Euripides, whose *Andromeda* came out in 412 BCE, this romantic play now lost save for some fragments. It was all the rage in its time, and centuries later, it has so left its stamp on the myth that no other Andromeda than Euripides can be pictured. On an Attic krater of the early fourth century, the Euripidean Andromeda stands against a cliff, arms outspread, wrists bound, as she speaks the prologue. She wears the rich dress of the tragic actor, a floor-length, long-sleeved robe woven with elaborate patterns. Here, the artist is recalling from memory, and the performance and story blend into one. No mon-



18) «Perseus Freeing Andromeda», before 79, Roman fresco. National Archeological Museum, Naples.

ster is visible, but on the left of Andromeda, the maleficent king sits petrified. Naked Perseus stands to her right. The Corinthian vase, based on Euripides play, depicts the political implications of government.

Other earlier paintings illustrating the story of Perseus and Andromeda were executed by an unknown Roman painter of Pompeii, likely before 79, depicting *Perseus Freeing Andromeda* from the third quarter of the first century, after Nicias, (originally from the House of the Dioscuri, now in the National Archeological Museum of Naples, Fig. 17). There are many versions of this subject on the wall of paintings from Pompeii, and it seems likely that its inspiration comes from a famous picture of the fourth century BCE or of the Hellenistic period. The painting reveals considerable skill in modeling with color, and in the handling of light and shade. It is noble in concept and full of true classic restraint and straightforward representations of the narrative. Andromeda's liberator, Perseus, who holds the head of Medusa in his left hand, is



19) Piero di Cosimo, «Liberation of Andromeda», 1510, oil on panel. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

helping Andromeda down from the rock. In the sea behind Andromeda, the remains of the monster are visible. Another Pompeian version, from the House of the Five Skeletons, also depicts *Perseus Freeing Andromeda* from the second quarter of the first century (now in the National Archeological Museum of Naples, Fig. 18), represents a seated figure, probably the petrified king. The conquered sea monster can be seen in front of Andromeda.

The Renaissance humanists and artists, enamored with the revival of classical ideals and imagery, focused on the study of mythology. For example, in the sixteenth-century or Cinquecento, the Andromeda saga had great appeal to humanists and artists because it combined aesthetic, cosmological and political implications. The sixteenth century representations also emphasized accurate depictions of the classical legend and artistic ability to depict beautiful images.<sup>35</sup>

One of the earliest representations of the Perseus and Andromeda story in Cinquecento paintings was Piero di Cosimo's *Liberation of Andromeda* of 1510, now at the Galleria degli Uffizi and originally commissioned by Filippo Strozzi, the Younger [Fig. 19].<sup>36</sup> Numerous portraits of contemporary dignitaries are included. Filippo Strozzi the Younger portrait (the man with a white turban on the right hand corner) can be seen in the figure of Cepheus, Lorenzo de Medici, future Duke of Urbino as Perseus, and Piero as the elderly man facing the viewer, thus the painter Cosimo signing his work. On the right hand, the melancholic Giuliano de Medici stands next to Strozzi as Cepheus. Filippo Strozzi, by marrying Clarice,



20) Giorgio Vasari, «Perseus Freeing Andromeda», 1570, oil on panel. Tesoretto, Palazzo Vecchio.

daughter of Piero di Cosimo, in 1508, raised the republican suspicions of the Florentine government. But with the return of the Medici to power, he was exonerated. The return of the Medici to Florence and Lorenzo de Medici's leadership in the Compagnia del Broncone are alluded to by the depiction of the sea monster. In Piero's painting, the political intrigues parallel the Ovid story, as Andromeda personifying Florence, and Perseus, the Medici family or Andromeda personifying Clarice, and Perseus, Lorenzo de Medici.

Vasari highly praised this painting in the *Vita* for its Mannerist qualities: "For Piero never did a more lovely or a better-finished picture; no more curious sea-monster can be seen than the one which he drew there, while the attitude of Perseus is fine as he raises his sword to strike." Andromeda's beautiful face is torn between fear and hope, as she stands



21) Giorgio Vasari, «Perseus Freeing Andromeda», 1570, drawing. Private Collection.

bound. Before her are many people in various curious costumes, playing and singing, some laughing and rejoicing at her release. The landscape is lovely and the coloring soft, graceful, harmonious and well blended.”<sup>37</sup> The biographer’s admiration for Piero’s painting is shown years later in Vasari’s *Perseus Freeing Andromeda* of 1570, in the Tesoretto of the Palazzo Vecchio [Figs. 20 and 21]. Vasari clearly interprets Ovid’s episodes 4, 663 and 5, 249 from the *Metamorphoses*.

Several visual sources contribute to Vasari’s depiction of *Perseus and Andromeda*. Some of these influences are from

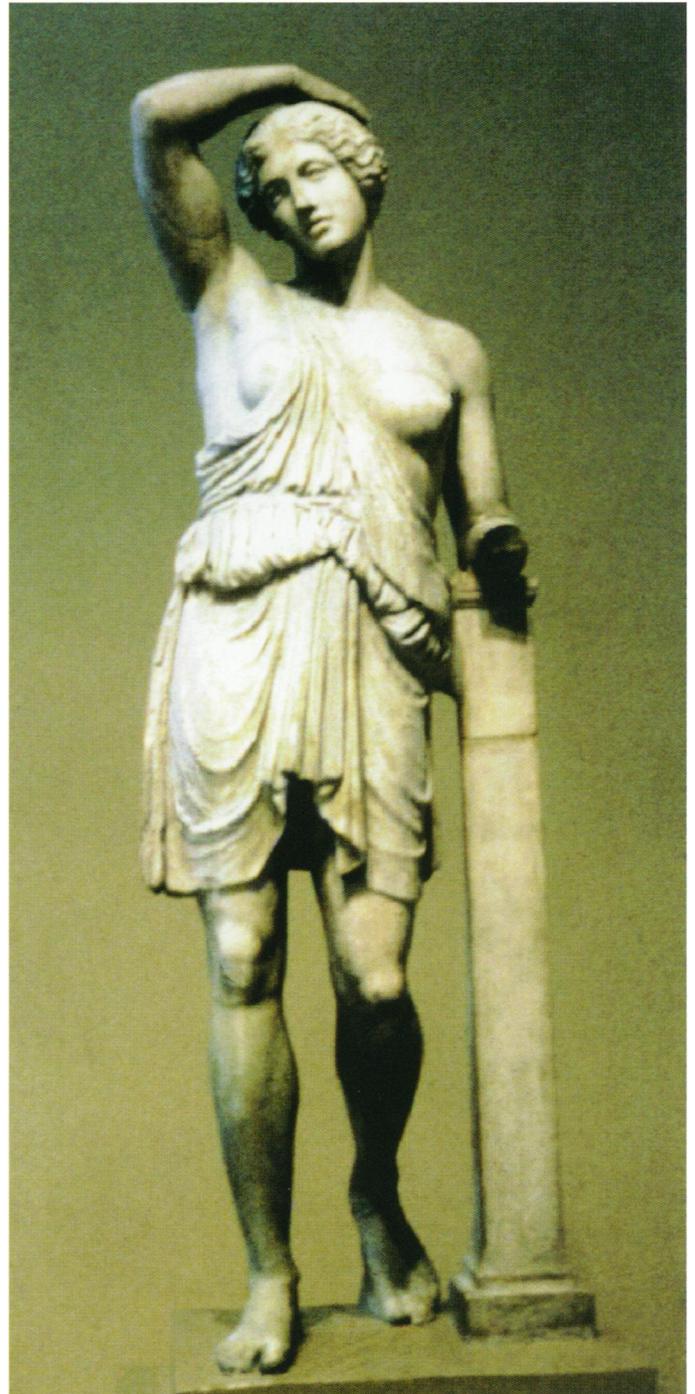


22) A. di Bandoni, «Perseus and Andromeda», 1508, woodcut from Ovidio *Metamorphoseos vulgare*.

Cinquecento representations of the myth in prints, for example, the Venetian printed edition of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, as *Ovidio Metamorphoseos vulgare*, by A. di Bandoni in 1508 [Fig. 22]. Also, Bernard Solomon’s woodcuts of the same edition in 1557 [Fig. 23], must have had an influence on the iconographical tradition of the Perseus and Andromeda theme for Vasari as well as Cinquecento artists.

In addition, antique reliefs were other visual source for artists. Craig Hugh Smyth successfully established the Mannerist painters’ association with ancient reliefs, in particular with Hellenistic sarcophagi.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, the delight in appropriating images, gestures and stances from ancient sarcophagi and statues by Quattrocento and Cinquecento artists in their art was elaborated by both Phyllis Bober and Francis Haskell.<sup>39</sup> In the prefaces of the *Vite*, Vasari discusses at length the history of ancient art as well as the Cinquecento taste for ancient art in lieu of the new sculptural discoveries and their restoration, such as the Laocoon, Ariadne and the Amazon [Figs. 20 and 24].<sup>40</sup> Vasari’s visual familiarity with these works, in particular with the Amazon, 430 BCE, a Roman copy, presently at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, can be seen when comparing the raised arm gesture of Vasari’s *Andromeda* and the Amazon.

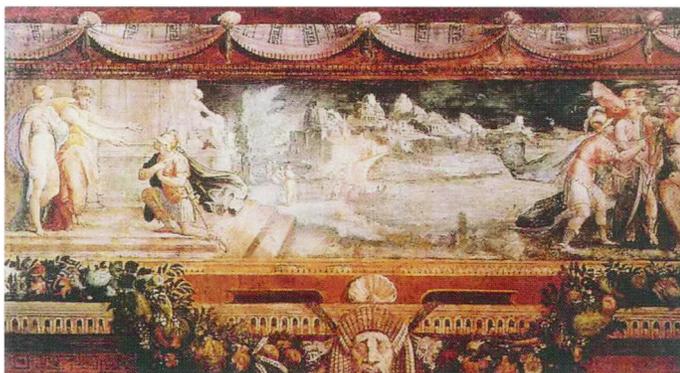
Another visual influence for Vasari’s *Perseus Freeing Andromeda* was Perino del Vaga’s decorative cycle illustrating the Ovidian myth of Perseus and Andromeda in the *Sala of Perseus* in Castel Sant’Angelo for Pope Paul III Farnese in



23) Bernard Solomon, «Perseus and Andromeda», 1508, woodcut from Ovid *Metamorphoses*.

24) «Amazon», 430 BCE, marble statue. Roman copy. Metropolitan Museum, New York.

1545 [Figs. 25 and 26].<sup>41</sup> Perino executed many drawings for this commission, including *The Liberation of Andromeda*, *The Origin of Coral* and *The Wedding of Perseus and Andromeda* (now all at the Musée Condé in Chantilly). The sale or stanze in Castel Sant'Angelo served as private rooms for the pope.



25) Perino del Vaga, «Liberation of Andromeda», 1545, fresco, detail. Sala of Perseus, Castel Sant'Angelo, Rome.



26) Perino del Vaga, «Liberation of Andromeda», 1545, drawing. Sala of Perseus, Castel Sant'Angelo, Rome.

The pope and members of his humanistic court were responsible for the program decoration in these rooms. The appropriation of the Ovidian myth of Perseus for the decoration of the pontiff's chamber has specific intentionality. The myth alludes to political as well as moral conflicts paralleling the conflict of the papacy with Luther and in an allusive way, to Luther's heresy. Perseus transforms into a Christian knight, defender of the Christian faith, personification of harmony and concord—the pope. The dragon or sea-monster alludes to the source of evil, such as Luther's heresy, and the adversaries to the papacy and church. And Andromeda symbolizes Christendom.

Vasari was strongly influenced by Perino's Perseus cycle, especially in the depiction of the sensual nymphs playing in the water and with fragments of coral, whose formation resulted from the blood of the beheaded Medusa. Vasari's playful and charming composition is contrasted with Benvenuto Cellini's somber and tragic scene.<sup>42</sup> This relief illustrates the liberation of Andromeda by the swift Perseus. Cellini's relief of 1554 is located at the base of *Perseus with the Head of the Medusa* at the Loggia dei Lanzi in Florence [Fig. 27]. Duke Cosimo de Medici has commissioned the *Perseus* as a pendant to Donatello's *Judith* of 1450.<sup>43</sup> Judith was connected politically with the power of Florence's citizens against tyranny, while Perseus was to represent the heroic and powerful divinely ordained ruler, Cosimo I as the victor over the "Gorgon of Republicanism."<sup>44</sup> Cellini reflects this political sentiment in sculpture while earlier Piero di Cosimo advances it in painting.



27) Benvenuto Cellini, «Perseus and Andromeda», 1554, bronze relief. Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence.

The sole Mannerist painter who depicts the actual liberation of Andromeda is Giorgio Vasari [Fig. 20]. In the painting, Perseus is unchaining Andromeda from the rock. At their feet



28) Giulio Romano, «Andromeda», 1530s, drawing. Kunsthalle, Hamburg.



29) Giulio Romano, «Perseus», 1530s, drawing. Kunsthalle, Hamburg.

is the head of the Medusa, whose blood is being transformed into coral, and Perseus' shield of Athena. Now the image reflected in the shield is of a blue sky and not of the sea-monster. Perseus has already killed the dragon. Behind him soldiers are pulling the dragon ashore.<sup>45</sup>

Vasari's purpose in this commission is twofold. The first aim is to reveal the Medici prince's interest on alchemy, a Renaissance revival on ancient magic and scientific studies. Vasari emphasizes the symbolism of the coral and its aquatic elements to address to his patron's fascination. The coral is named sea-tree because its branches are similar to the earth tree's branches and roots. Therefore, the symbolism of the coral parallels the tree's signification. Both are rooted in a horizontal surface, for example, for the coral is the deep sea and for the tree is the ground of the earth. Both arise vertically to connect one natural element with another, for example, the tree bound to the earth expands its forces in air, whereas the coral from the rock extends in the sea. Besides the coral's abyssal connotation, a visceral significance is added by being red in color, relating to blood, because, according to the ancient legend, coral grew out of the drops of blood of the Gorgon Medusa. The second purpose of Vasari's commission involves the function of the panel painting, which appears as a door-cabinet protecting the content of precious and rare corals belonging to the Medici collection.

Vasari's painting was commissioned by Francis I de' Medici, Duke of Tuscany, for his treasury room, *tesoretto*. In this chamber, Francis I stored his collection of precious stones and materials, and antique objects and statues. The duke was a lover of art and science, in particular alchemy and astrology. Vasari's *Perseus Freeing Andromeda* was intended to cover the door to a cabinet containing a coral collection. Although the Christian symbolism could be implied at one level, the purpose of the commission and playfulness of this Ovidian myth could be just another Vasarian or Mannerist conceit.

Unlike the Cinquecento painters of central Italy, such as Piero di Cosimo, Perino del Vaga, Benvenuto Cellini and Giorgio Vasari, all of whom represented the Andromeda legend, the Northern Italian painters, including Giulio Romano, Titian and Veronese, focused on one aspect of this legend, the attempt to free Andromeda. For example, Romano's pencil drawings of *Perseus* and *Andromeda* in the Kunsthalle of Hamburg, belong to the late artistic period of the artist, circa 1530 [Figs. 28 and 29]. These two drawings are pendant works, although, the purpose of their execution is unknown. In separate niches can be seen a Perseus standing on the beheaded Medusa and an enchained Andromeda fearing the dragon.

Several visual sources contributed to the sixteenth-century Venetian depictions of Titian's and Veronese's *Perseus and*

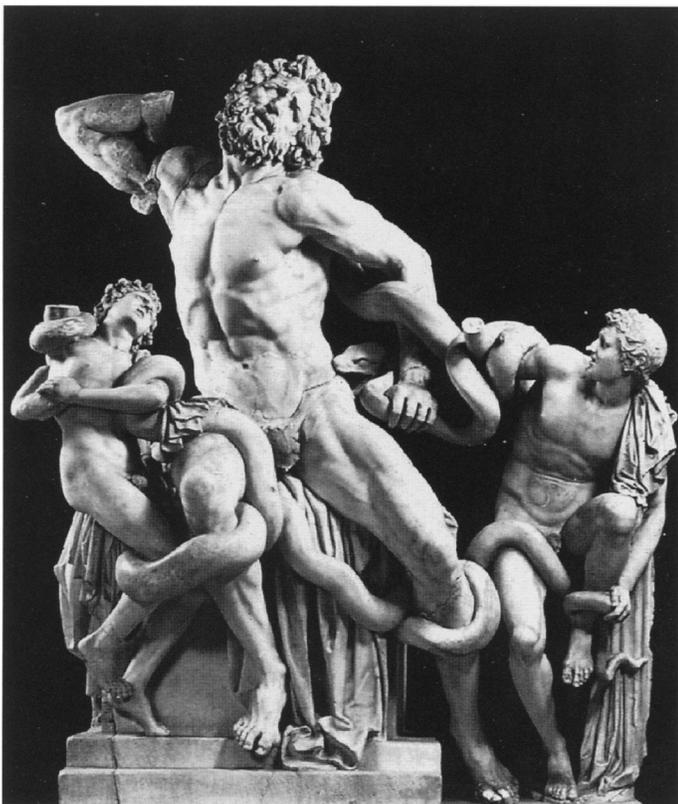


30) Titian, «Perseus and Andromeda», 1554-56, oil on canvas, Wallace Collection, London.

*Andromeda*. Some of these influences came from Cinquecento representations of the myth in prints, paintings and reliefs, whereas others derivations came from the appropriation of antique statues. Also, classical and Cinquecento literary influences contributed to the popularization of this myth, for example, as noted earlier, the Venetian printed edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, as *Ovidio Metamorphoseos vulgare* by A. di Bandoni in 1508, Bernard Solomon's woodcuts of the same edition, 1557, and Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, Canto X.<sup>46</sup>

According to the Venetian art critic, Ludovico Dolce (1557), Titian's *Perseus and Andromeda* of 1554-56, now in the Wallace Collection [Fig. 30], was among the paintings commissioned in 1554 by Philip II King of Spain.<sup>47</sup> Another version of this theme was offered to the Emperor Maximilian II in 1568, but it has been lost.

However, some art historians have argued in favor of attributing the 1568 version to being Titian's painting in the Wallace Collection because X-ray reveals Titian's *pentimento* approximating closely to the 1568 version. Originally, the Venetian painter had placed Andromeda to right of the composition, as in a drawing of 1558 at the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (No. 12911 F verso) and in Cellini's relief.



31) «Laocöon», 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, marble statue. Roman copy. Vatican Collection.



32) Paolo Veronese, «Perseus and Andromeda», 1584, oil on canvas. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes.

Titian's painting focuses on the valiant act of rescuing. Perseus, in flight, is slaying the dragon, while Andromeda, on the first plane, is enchained on a cliff. In the distance, a landscape reminiscent of the Venetian lagoon is seen. Unlike other representations of this theme, no other figures appear in the scene. Titian's painting celebrates moments of challenge and liberation. The cosmological implications are eliminated and the mythological description is limited to the aesthetic time of the "pregnant moment in the story" which is the liberation of Andromeda.

Cecil Gould's *"The Perseus and Andromeda and Titian's Poesie"* and Erwin Panofsky's *Problems with Titian: Mostly Iconographic*, discussed Titian's stylistic changes based on X-ray photography.<sup>48</sup> Their work reveals a different pose and an elongated body, likely due to the influence of Cellini's relief

and the Nereids' sarcophagus, which influenced Titian's imagery. However, Andromeda's pose clearly reflects Titian's knowledge of the newly discovered Hellenistic sculpture in Rome in 1506, the Laocöon [Fig. 31].<sup>49</sup> Like Vasari, Titian clearly illustrates this point of appropriating from the antique in the imagery of Andromeda.

As noted earlier, the Venetian printed edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, must have had an influence on the iconographical tradition of the Perseus and Andromeda theme. Titian not only examined prints, pictures and works of sculpture, but also read the Ovidian text. In "Apelles Redivivus," Ruth Kennedy studies Titian's paintings and observes three unprecedented representations in his depiction of the Andromeda myth, as well as his careful interoperation of Ovid's text: the branches of coral seen at shores, Perseus



33) Hendrick Goltzius, «Perseus and Andromeda», 1597, drawing. Private Collection.



34) Jacob Matham, after Goltzius' «Perseus and Andromeda», 1597, engraving. Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum.

foreshortening down “heels over head” and Perseus carrying a spear (brandishes weapon) rather than a sword, as seen in Solomon’s woodcuts, known to Titian.<sup>50</sup>

Another Venetian painter, Paolo Veronese, depicts *Perseus and Andromeda* in 1584, at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Rennes [Fig. 32], recalling Titian’s earlier *pentimento* by portraying Andromeda enchained to the rock at the right of the composition, while Perseus, flying from the left, attacks the dragon below. In *The Art of Veronese*, W. R. Rearick describes how the background of the composition represents “a most evocative passage of a maritime city, a visionary jumble of exotic Venetian architecture.” Veronese’s adroitness in foreshortening and chiaroscuro light produce a circular composition where intersecting diagonals interlock the three protagonists in a suspended nightmare. He paints a powerful foreshortened figure of Andromeda, whose erotic body is bathed in chiaroscuro light and reveals a “resonant rusty-orange mantle.” Perseus’ colored attire matches the mantle of Andromeda as well as the color of the sunset. The landscape coloration alludes to the time of rescue and foresees its inevitable triumph. The dragon is a Veronese invention, “wondrously strange in its clawed wings and toothy maw, but simultaneously vulnerable as it recoils in amazement from the unexpected aerial attack.”<sup>51</sup>

Like Vasari, Titian and Veronese elaborate on the aesthetic principles of beauty in the depiction of Andromeda’s body

and the dragon’s ugliness in his bestiality and evil pursuits. Although the Christian, alchemical and theoretical symbolisms could be implied at one level, Titian’s and Veronese’s purpose for the commission and playfulness of this Ovidian myth could be just another Mannerist conceit of seducing and teasing the viewer.

Other sixteenth-century artists also represent the story of Andromeda, for example, Hendrick Goltzius’s *Perseus and Andromeda* of 1597, a pen-and-brown-ink and wash drawing, signed and dated on the rock behind Andromeda [Fig. 33]. The subject is also taken from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, Book IV. A nude Andromeda is chained to a rock in the center. Numerous spectators including her parents, Cassiopeia and Cepheus, who are seen to the right of the rock, surround Andromeda. In the sky on the left, Perseus, with his sword held aloft and mounted on Pegasus, flies down toward the monster advancing in the narrow rocky inlet. The drawing departs from Ovid’s account by depicting Perseus mounted on Pegasus, rather than being carried by his own wings, as represented in the Venetian woodcut of A. di Bandoni in 1508. But Goltzius’ image appears to be the earliest representation in the Netherlands to include Andromeda’s parents and other spectators, as described by Ovid, unlike the artist’s earlier engraving of the subject after Blocklandt, dated 1583. The drawing is engraved in reverse by Goltzius stepson, Jacob



35) Giuseppe Cesari, «Perseus and Andromeda», 1602, oil on canvas. Rhode Island School of Design, Providence.

Matham, in the same year *Perseus and Andromeda*, in Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum [Fig. 34]. The engraving corresponds very closely to the drawing and is precisely the same size. The drawing is among the earliest of the colored preparatory drawings executed by Goltzius for other engravers.

Giuseppe Cesari, known as Cavalier d'Arpino, painted many versions of *Perseus and Andromeda* for Rudolf II in 1602 [Fig. 35]. Several of them can be seen in the Accademia in Venice, in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, the Metropolitan

Museum of Art in New York, the Rhode Island Museum, the Ringling Museum in Sarasota and the Pinacoteca of Bologna. D'Arpino's interpretation of the Ovidian theme combines Goltzius' inclusion of a Perseus mounted on a flying Pegasus and Titian's depiction of Perseus rescuing Andromeda. Several drawings demonstrate d'Arpino's concern for depicting two episodes in the story of Andromeda, such as Perseus in flight and Andromeda in chains. D'Arpino's drawings reveal different types of reactions and movements in Perseus' valiant action, as well as in Andromeda's placement in the rocks and exposure of her beautiful body to the fortuity of the weather. Both drawings, found at the Chatsworth Collection, are done with gray and sanguine pencil. Conversely, d'Arpino's drawings and paintings at the Accademia in Venice elaborate on the aesthetic principles of beauty in the depiction of Andromeda's body and on the dragon's ugliness in his bestiality and evil pursuits.

In the seventeenth century, the Andromeda saga was portrayed by several painters, including Annibale Carracci, Artemisia Gentileschi, Peter Paul Rubens, Anthony van Dyck, Nicolas Poussin and Rembrandt van Rijn. However, the Pre-Raphaelite painters, in particular Edward Burne-Jones, relied on the influence of the sixteenth-century artist and revitalized and further elaborated on the legend's complex metaphors. Burne-Jones' interpretation of Andromeda's myth and its implication in a Victorian society are considered in this last section of the essay.

In *The Decadent Imagination: 1800-1900*, Jean Pierrot explains how mythical and legendary stories are integrated within a national cultural tradition and provides a framework for artists to express their personal ideas or images beneath the veil of fiction.<sup>52</sup> In *La Légende des siècles*, Victor Hugo incorporates the totality of human history into his historical and philosophical meditations by including many legions or myths drawn from the Bible, Greco-Roman mythologies and Nordic legend. These legends echo the deepest desire of the *fin-de-siècle*, at once unreal and vague, to satisfy the desire for an escape and a rescue experience. The very nature of myths and legendary stories, the frequent element of improbability they contain, strengthens still further this imaginary dimension so necessary to artists and a public by then weary of excessively dismal depictions of every day life.

Legendary themes and characters borrowed from Greek mythology were even more widespread. It was to Greek mythology that Burne-Jones turned for the themes of many of his paintings, including *Pygmalion and Galatea*, *Paris and Helen*, *Cupid and Psyche*, *Orpheus and Eurydice*, and *Perseus and Andromeda*.

According to Edoard Schuré's *Grandes Légendes de France* of 1892, the assimilation and interpretation of Greek

mythological works by French Symbolist and Pre-Raphaelite artists can be set into a series of cycles, each centered on a great mythic figure or spiritual symbol, such as the *cycle of the poet*, the *cycle of the woman* and the *cycle of the hero*. Also, Burne-Jones's mythological works can be set into these series of cycles, each focus on a great mythic figure or spiritual symbol.

For Schuré, the *cycle of the poet* alludes to the driven or wondering poet or artist, tormented by his modern age, with a storm-tossed soul at once potent and weak, sublime and wretched, who wavers continually from doubt to faith, from splendid ecstasies to black discouragement.<sup>53</sup> For Burne-Jones, *comical caricature* illustrates the frustration and tragedy of the modern artist and clearly represents Schuré's *cycle of the poet*.

According to Schuré, the *cycle of the hero* contains four stages: the *cycle of the centaur*, which represents the struggle between animalistic and intelligence; the *Hercules cycle*, which presents a larger-than-life version of the struggle with the forces of evil; the *Jason cycle*, which alludes to the celebration of conquest of magical secrets or divine; and the *young person's life and death cycle*, which provides a foretaste of the supreme revelation awaiting the perfected hero, mowed down in the flower of his youth and lying at the threshold of the other world. For Burne-Jones, this cycle is best illustrated by the complex legend of *Paris and Helen* from the Troy polyptych where the struggle is parallel between the human and divine, the weakness and strength of the will, and the vice and virtue of love.

For Schuré, the *cycle of the woman* illustrates the irresistible and cruel power of woman, the dangerous attraction exerted by woman, represented in particular, apart from the biblical heroines such as Judith and Salome, by Andromeda and the Sirens. Burne-Jones' painting of *Andromeda* from the Perseus cycle elucidates Schuré's cycle.

Correspondingly, central to Burne-Jones' aesthetic view on the dissatisfaction with the principles of the Aesthetic Movement is, for example, the fact that he also viewed woman as a symbol of love and lust. Thus, his images of woman reflect or correspond to the various embodiments of the *femme fatale* depicted in paintings such as *Andromeda*, which portrays more than a study in formal relationships, that is to say, a canon of beauty, but also a personal fear or quest for love.

Burne-Jones' representation of *Andromeda* alludes, in part, to the ancient myth, but mostly portrays the milieu of his time as well as his personal artistic and emotional struggles. This myth for a nineteenth century artist may allude to gender issues such as male conflicts about woman's sexuality or to

political power such as a patriarchal society in conflict.<sup>54</sup> Burne-Jones likely selected this violent theme of Andromeda as a consequence of his unresolved passionate affair with the Greek sculptress, Maria Zambaco.

The numerous images of Andromeda reveal an interpretation of myths, together with an exploration of beauty and an appeal to the senses. Andromeda embodies the essence of purity as well as of temptress. According to Adrienne Auslander, Munich's *Andromeda's Chains*, this ambiguity of character alludes to both Greek legend and Biblical tradition that represent woman as the first cause of evil and death.<sup>55</sup> Aristotle's *Politics* explicitly states, "The male is superior and the female inferior, the male ruler and the female subject."<sup>56</sup> Thus, the female's moral inferiority represents the state of nature. However, the woman's physical vulnerability was introduced into Western literature from Christian doctrine and mythology in the early centuries of the Christian era.<sup>57</sup> In his teachings, Paul also refers to the female inferiority (I Corinthians 11:1-15). Under the influence of Saint Paul's preaching, early Christians became obsessed with the dangers of woman's sexuality, and it is from the Christian writings, rather than the ancient writings of Aeschylus, Euripides and Plato, that the fear of the female body, rather than her mind, ultimately derives.

The legend of Andromeda embodies this misogynic position. The saga is associated with one of the most celebrated episodes of the Perseus myth—her rescue from the sea-monster and from marrying her father's brother. The story is more than a magical adventure—it is a folktale in which enchantments overcome the monster (evil/ugliness/corruption) and fine deeds (good/beauty/sacrifice) win the fair lady. The theme of Andromeda represents the transformation or metamorphosis of an ancient Ethiopian theme, as well as reflecting the interaction between art and literature. The paintings reveal the power of the past and the power of images.

Burne-Jones' *Andromeda* of 1875-1888 is part of the Perseus cycle commissioned by Lord Arthur Balfour, later to become British Prime Minister in 1885, for the music room of his house at Carlton House Terrace. The Perseus Series was inspired by Morris' preface, "The Doom of King Acrisius," in *Earthly Paradise*.<sup>58</sup> The Medusa-Andromeda story attracted Burne-Jones the most in the Perseus cycle. He felt bewitched by the imagery, observing that, "The Medusa is to be very fine and cost me much trouble... ah, many a day shall I have of heartbreak before it is done."<sup>59</sup>

Once a beautiful maiden, Medusa was cursed by Athena for desecrating her temple by becoming the lover of Poseidon within its sacred precincts. In retribution for this violation, the angry goddess transformed Medusa's golden hair into

writhing snakes, giving her a fearful countenance with the power to petrify the beholder. William Morris, who presents her as a woman in despair, laments her wretched plight, emphasizing the tragic fate of Medusa:

For me no rest from shame and sore distress,  
 For me no moment of forgetfulness;  
 For me a soul that still might love and hate,  
 Shut in this fearful land and desolate,  
 Changed by mine eyes to horror and to stone;  
 For me perpetual anguish all alone...<sup>60</sup>

Perseus is portrayed as Medusa's savior who grants her the release of death for which she has been longing:

Her constant woeful prayer was heard at last,  
 For now behind her unseen Perseus passed,  
 And silently whirled the great sword around;  
 and felt no more of all her bitter pain.<sup>61</sup>

The themes of seeking, finding, waiting and rescue that recur throughout Burne-Jones' work are also reflected in this dramatic composition. His representation of Medusa is also influenced by his study of precedents in classical art. During his trip to Italy in 1871, Burne-Jones visits the Etruscan tombs in Perugia, recording in his sketchbook several fearsome heads of Medusa that appeared in the burial site.<sup>62</sup> He feels that the spirits in the sarcophagi protect him against his disrespectful action of drawing the images in these tombs, desecrating the site. In 1875, he writes to his son Philip, "I have worked at the British Museum lately looking up all the most ancient ways of portraying Medusa, and they are few but very interesting."<sup>63</sup> His research includes studying the antique vases and old prints as well as books of reproductions at the British Museum. In accord with his usual practice, Burne-Jones borrows what he needs from the art of the past, adapting these influences to his own personal style. However, he rejects the depiction of Medusa as a monster, which was popular in Archaic art, for a more idealized classical conception.

When analyzing *Andromeda's* visage in drawings and paintings, as well as other Burne-Jones paintings, such as *Phyllis and Demophoon* of 1870 and the *Tree of Forgiveness* of 1881, the visage of Maria Zambaco, a woman whom he still loved, but could not share, except in his imaginative world of his paintings, is portrayed [Figs. 36 and 37 compare with Fig. 10]. These paintings embody the power and spell of the *femme fatale* and reflect Burne-Jones' frustrated love-fantasies and his fairy-tale mysticism of romantic union with Maria Zambaco. That is to say, the mythological flowering tree

(Phyllis) entraps its prey (Demophoon), a mermaid carries off her victim, and the Medusa embodies both actions. In all these myths, the woman, Maria, is composed of a hybrid shape: a tree-woman, a fish-woman, a shield/head-woman, while the Burne-Jones or the man's metamorphosis is not physical, but metaphysical where he succumbs willingly or unwillingly to the woman or Maria's seduction.

This ambiguity of action may also allude to the androgynous quality of Burne-Jones' male and female figures. In *Fin de siècle*, Shearer West explains how Burne-Jones' imagery reflects Walter Pater's androgynous ideas expressed in *Studies in the Renaissance* (1873). Pater considers the idea of male beauty in ancient sculpture as sexless. He observes, "The statues of the gods had the least traces of sex. Here, there is a moral sexlessness, a kind of impotence, and ineffectual wholeness of nature, yet with a divine beauty and significance of its own."<sup>64</sup> No doubt, Burne-Jones deals with two conflicts in the creation of this pictorial world that dominates his life—the personal and the aesthetic. The former, the love conflict, is created by his crisis of male identity and indecision of wishing to be with a woman that he loves with passion, Maria, and choosing instead to remain dutifully with his wife, Georgiana, as a result of societal pressures and personal character weaknesses. The aesthetic conflict projects, in part, Burne-Jones' personal conflict and reflects his concept of art as beauty and not art as function, manifested in the aims of the modern industrial society in which he lived.

The enchantment of the *Medusa's* image was such for Burne-Jones that the *Andromeda* scenes, which were part of the end of the story, are completed first. A letter written toward the end of September contains the secret on how he conceptualized art:

I have worked solely at *Andromeda* and at last it begins to look what I wanted it to be—but all the sick weeks I have worked at it when I ought to have done nothing nearly ruined it. You see I began to play with it and filled it with little houses and fields, and road, and walled gardens and mills, and bushes and winding shores and islands, and one day the veil was lifted and I saw how every pretty incident helped to ruin the (thing) painting, and I had three days to havoc at it, and took them all out; and now in their place is a gray, doleful rock, and for the first time there is hope in the picture. It is folly to work when one cannot, and blasphemous to change one's first design.<sup>65</sup>

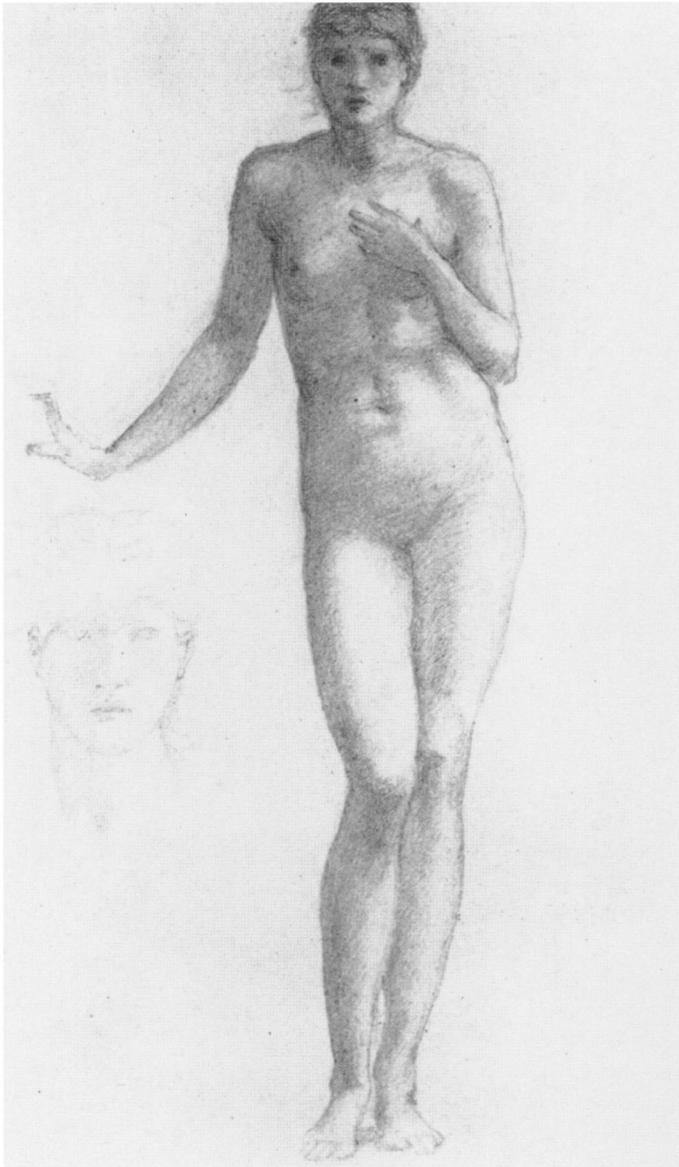
Burne-Jones depicts the saga between Perseus and *Andromeda* in three scenes: *The Rock of Doom*, *The Doom Fulfilled* and *The Baleful Head* [Figs. 1-6]. Ovid recounts that in



36) Edward Burne-Jones, «Phyllis and Demophoon», 1870, bodycolor. Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery.



37) Edward Burne-Jones, «The Tree of Forgiveness», 1881, oil on canvas. Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight, Liverpool.



**38) Edward Burne-Jones, «Study for Medusa», 1875, drawing, inv. 2000. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.**



**39) «Venus of Cnidus», 350 BCE, marble statue, Roman copy. Vatican Collection.**

order to appease the god Poseidon, who had been insulted by the act of pride by Cassiopeia, wife of Cepheus, King of Ethiopia. Cepheus is advised to sacrifice his daughter,

Andromeda, to a sea monster sent by Poseidon to eat her. On his way back to Seriphos, Perseus sees the beautiful woman chained to the rocky coast, falls instantly in love with her and resolves to save her from the monster.

In Burne-Jones' painting, *The Rock of the Doom* [Figs. 1 and 4], Perseus, carrying a bag containing the head of the Medusa, removes his helmet and pauses in flight so that Andromeda might see him and will not fear him as he approaches to rescue her. The beautiful Andromeda stands nude in a frozen pose, her head bent demurely as if to emphasize her shame at her nakedness, which nonetheless is idealized, white and chaste, as a marble statue. A drawing of a nude female reveals Burne-Jones' careful study of classical nude statues, such as the Praxitelean type, *Venus of Cnidus* of 350 BCE [Figs. 38 and 39]. His classical fascination is also revealed in the design and expression of his Perseus, derived from several antique sources, including the Phidias' relief from the Panathenaic Procession and Scopas' relief for the Mauseleos funerary monument, both at the British Museum, as well as the Hellenistic sculpture of *Apollo Bebevedere* in Rome. In addition, Burne-Jones makes his last studies of Andromeda with his favorite model and mistress, Maria Zambaco. In the late 1870s, Maria also modeled for a series of paintings on the cardinal virtues, Temperance, Faith and Hope, commissioned by F. S. Ellis. In despair, Burne-Jones writes to his patron asking if "[Ellis] wouldn't like one [a painting] of a Drunk and Polygamy instead."<sup>66</sup>

Burne-Jones' original intention was to combine, in one image, the arrival of Perseus and his fight with the sea-monster sent by Poseidon. He works on such a painting for several months in 1876, as seen in two oils on canvas studies now in the Art Gallery of South Adelaide, Australia, and at the Tate Gallery, London. In a letter written in September of that year, Burne-Jones describes the anguish of failing to achieve a satisfactory resolution on a part of *The Rock of Doom*.

In *The Doom Fulfilled* [Figs. 2 and 5], Burne-Jones represents Andromeda liberated from her chains. Perseus uses Andromeda as bait for the sea-monster, rather than flying away with her and exhibiting the Medusa's head. This would have brought the wrath of Poseidon down on the innocent people of Joppa (Java). He prefers instead to fight the sea-monster. Burne-Jones depicts a Perseus valiantly struggling with the violent sea serpent, whose body coils in sweeping arcs around the hero to squeeze the life out of him. Burne-Jones' drawings of Perseus' action and Andromeda's pose reveal his careful study of the Phidias' metope *The Lapith and Centaur*, as well as his familiarity with Hellenistic sculptures, such as the Laocoon and Medici Venus, a Praxitelean Venus. The serpentine movement seen in the contorted figure of the

Laocoon is reflected in Perseus' *contrapposto* movement, and the classical, beautified female body represented in the Medici Venus is portrayed in Andromeda as well.

Another of Burne-Jones' major painting cycles is represented in the Art Institute of Chicago's sketchbook for the famous Perseus series. An accomplished drawing of a female nude viewed from the back is reminiscent of Ingres in its decorative use of linear contours. Burne-Jones may have become aware of Ingres' work through Rossetti or through his visits to the Louvre. The sketchbook drawing under consideration is similar to Ingres' odalisques in its use of sinuous outlines to suggest form, departing from the classical norms of proportion to create an effect of languid grace. Walter Pater's comparison of Botticelli's treatment of the female nude in *The Birth of Venus* with "the faultless nude studies of Ingres"<sup>67</sup> might be applied with justice to this drawing by Burne-Jones, whose draftsmanship shares an affinity with both these masters of line.

Although it has not been identified as a preliminary drawing for any specific composition, the study of a female nude is similar to the figure of Andromeda in *Perseus Slaying the Sea Serpent*, a gouache cartoon for the Perseus series executed between 1876 and 1888. The view from the back and the *contrapposto* stance of the two figures are similar, although the wary twist of the head and the position of the arms are reversed in the sketchbook drawing. It seems possible that Burne-Jones may have been working on a tentative study for the figure of Andromeda using his model, Maria Zambaco.<sup>68</sup>

The drawing of Andromeda is a fine example of Burne-Jones' treatment of the female nude. A less sensuous interpretation of a female nude illustrates the androgynous quality sometimes found in Burne-Jones' figures. The heavy form and close-cropped hair give this nude a rather masculine appearance, in contrast to the graceful feminine figure described above. Burne-Jones is introduced to the theme of hermaphroditism through the paintings of Simeon Solomon and the poetry of Algernon Charles Swinburne, but by the late 1860s, he develops his own personal interpretation of the androgyny in which sensuality is de-emphasized in favor of a more cerebral approach.<sup>69</sup>

*The Baleful Head* [Figs. 3 and 6] is the conclusion to Burne-Jones' Perseus and Andromeda cycle, commissioned in 1875 by A. J. Balfour for his music room but never completed. A gouache version exists in the Southampton Museum and the unfinished oil cycle is in the Staatsgalerie in Stuttgart. Burne-Jones is inspired by two poems written by his friends, Dante Gabriele Rossetti and William Morris. In Rossetti's *Aspecta Medusa* of 1865, Andromeda fears the Medusa's head seen in the fountain, but Perseus reassures Andromeda that the Medusa cannot harm her.

Andromeda, by Perseus saved and wed,  
 Hankered each day to see the Gorgon's head:  
 Till o'er a fount he held, it, bade her lean,  
 And mirrored in the waves was safely seen  
 That death she lived by.<sup>70</sup>

In Morris' poem *The Doom of King Acrisius*, the Medusa addresses with fear Perseus wishing for her death, since she cannot bear being so evil and in exile, with petrifying powers and snaky coiffure.

O ye, be merciful and strike me dead!  
 How many an one cries unto you to live,  
 Which gift ye find no little thing to give,  
 O give it now to such, and unto me  
 That other gift from which all people flee!  
 For me no rest from shame and sore distress  
 For me no moment of forgetfulness;  
 For me perpetual anguish all alone  
 Midst many a tormenting misery.<sup>71</sup>

In the *Baleful Head* [Figs. 3 and 6], Burne-Jones demonstrates how, in order to convince Andromeda of his divine origins and win her hand in marriage, Perseus reveals to her the head of the Medusa, taking care that they look at the reflection of a well. The Medusa's head reflects the impact of a Leonardesque painting on the subject.<sup>72</sup> In contrast to the ugliness of the Medusa, Burne-Jones portrays an enclosed, luxurious and perfumed garden where the lovers meet.<sup>73</sup> This *hortus conclusus* (Persian for perfumed, enclosed garden) alludes to their marriage site as they hold hands and witness, by their reflections, their bond of love and mystery as seen in the classical sculpture of Orestes and his sister. The space in the foreground is emphasized by the foreshortening of the octagonal top of the well and enclosed by the screen of foliage behind the lovers. The halo, created by the rich, fruitfulness screen as well as and the undisturbed crystal reflection, both allude to the interrupted couple's happiness. In noticing this moment of bliss and wanting to retain it forever, the goddess Athena immortalizes it and transforms the lovers into celestial constellations.

The theme of Andromeda has a new meaning for Burne-Jones, as Andromeda is a portrait of his favorite model and mistress, Maria Zambaco, while the head of the Medusa bears the features of his wife Georgiana. However, in *The Beguiling of Merlin* of 1874, at the Lady Lever Art Gallery [Fig. 40], Burne-Jones depicts Maria as the sorceress Vivien with snakes in her hair, an unusual depiction of evil as Vivien, since she is not usually portrayed with serpentine locks. Using snakes in the hair of both his wife and his mistress may suggest Burne-Jones' gen-

eralized fear of women and sexuality, although in *Baleful Head*, Georgiana's attribute as a Medusa is also revealed by her stony gaze when confronted with this irregular liaison.

The symbolism of the dragon or Medusa unites the protagonists of the story, Perseus and Andromeda, in a complex and universal story, appearing in the mythology and symbolism of all nations, as noted in the alchemist treatise of Senior's *De Chemia* of 1566. The dragon, or the *winged serpent*, combines the serpent and bird as matter and spirit, as illustrated by Leonardo da Vinci's *Medusa* drawing. In 1819, the poet Shelley, moved by Leonardo's image, composed a poem, "On the Medusa by Leonardo in the Uffizi Gallery," first published by his wife in *Posthumous Poems* in 1824. It begins:

It lithe, gazing on the midnight sky,  
 Upon the cloudy mountain-peak supine;  
 Below, far lands are seen trembling;  
 Its horror and its beauty are divine.  
 Upon its lips and eyelids seem to lie  
 Loveliness like a shadow, form which shire  
 Fiery and lurid, struggling underneath,  
 The agonies of anguish and of death.<sup>74</sup>

Originally, the dragon was wholly beneficent as the manifestation of the life giving waters (the serpent) and the breath of life (the bird), and was identified with sky gods and their early delegates emperors and kings. Subsequently, in mythology it became ambivalent as both the fertilizing rains, following thunder, and the destructive forces of lightning and flood. The dragon is associated with the deep sea, as well as with mountaintops. In the Occident, it becomes chthonic, destructive and evil. It has an ambivalent gender—it can be solar or lunar, male or female. In monotheistic religions, particularly Christian iconography, the dragon is a symbol of power of evil, the Tempter, the enemy of God or Satan or the great dragon (Rev. 12:9). It also relates to paganism and heresy. Knowledge of these meanings is reflected in Burne-Jones' depiction of the Andromeda saga as well as the Perseus and Medusa legend, such as *The Call of Perseus*, *Perseus and the Graiae* and *The Arming of Perseus and the Sea Maidens* of 1876-1892.<sup>75</sup>

In the Old Testament (Psalms 44, 19), the dwelling of the dragon is associated with an abyss of darkness containing waters and marshes of fetid odors. The habitation of a dragon is a place of desolation and destruction. Iconographically, a dragon with a knotted tail symbolizes a defeated sea monster since it was thought that, like the scorpion, the dragon's powers are in the tail. An earlier depiction of the Greek myth of Herakles/Hercules as a slayer of monsters is prefigured in Christian representations of the archangel Michael slaying the



40) Edward Burne-Jones, «The Beguiling of Merlin», 1874, oil on canvas. Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight, Liverpool.

dragon, symbolizing victory of the sun god over darkness, good over evil, victory over sin. This pictorial imagery derives

from *The Revelation of St. John the Divine* (Rev 12:7-9). Numerous biblical legends also associate the evil dragon with holy saints, such as Andrew, Martha, Samson and Margaret of Antioch. The well-known saga of St. George and the dragon has its counterpart in many ancient traditions, including the conflict between Perseus and Medusa, Apollo and the Pytho, and Hercules and the Hydra, as well as the romantic legend of Tristan and Iseult of 1225.

Dragons as monsters are autochthonous or masters of the ground, against which heroes, conquerors and creators must fight for mastery or occupation of the land. They also serve as the guardians of treasures and of the portals of esoteric knowledge. The struggle with the dragon symbolizes the difficulties to be overcome in acquiring the treasures of inner knowledge. In the *Symposium*, Plato explains that in order for man to achieve the treasure of female's love, which is usually guarded by the dragon, man must fight the dragon, and by doing so, man accomplishes a threefold endeavor: expurgation of his instinctual desires through the strength of the will, purification of his soul by demonstrating his moral courage, and realization in accepting the necessity of the feminine component in his life. After these assertions, man is in complete harmony with nature and the cosmos.

Alchemically, the wing dragon depicts the volatile. Its association with cosmological forces renders this monster as one of the twelve symbolic creatures of the zodiac. In alchemy terms, conquering the dragon or chaos means not only opposing evil forces, natural torments and fears, but also controlling and surpassing them as well in order to reestablish human and celestial order in the universe. Or, in other terms, conquering the dragon is to comprehend nature in order to create eternal survival. As observed in mythological texts and pictorial representations, the dragon acts in a devouring manner, with an open mouth and an aggressive body expression, usually ready to attack women. In alchemist language, an equal force must absorb every nurturing desire. Therefore, the dragon's passivity represents the feminine power that generates life and nurturance, while the dragon's aggressiveness symbolizes the inherent sensual nature of the male. In this alchemical context, the anagram of the dragon alludes to struggle and conquest achieved by man in order to obtain and control the female natural powers so that he creates balance in the nature.

For individuals to confront the dragon, they must confront their passions and their natural instincts that devour individuals and dragons. To enchain the dragon means to confront one's dual feminine and masculine nature as well as to achieve control over nature, including the feminine power. To conquer the dragon represents controlling the feminine aspects of nature, such as fire and blood or the instinctual nature of man. Killing

the dragon represents the conflict between light and darkness, the slaying of the destructive forces of evil, or the individual overcoming his or her own dark nature and attaining self-mastery. Rescuing the maiden from the dragon symbolizes the releasing of pure forces after killing evil powers. The dragon is often the opponent of the dying god. Then, Perseus is seen as the conqueror of sin and ascends to virtue, with Andromeda as a soul saved. Thus, the killing of Medusa or the dragon could even be interpreted as a symbol of Christ triumphing over the Prince of Evil.<sup>76</sup> Does Burne-Jones seek an understanding of the passion and love that he experiences for Zambaco through the myth of Andromeda?

Burne-Jones' early experiences about love are distorted by his feeling of abandonment by his mother's death and by his father's lack of love. At a young age, his recollections are based on having forcefully been taken to his mother's grave on the anniversary of her death by his father, who wept constantly over her lost and was unwilling to care for his son. Joseph Kestner contends that Burne-Jones could not finish the cycle of Perseus and the Medusa because Burne-Jones psychologically identifies with Perseus and his slaying of a matriarchal figure, the Medusa with his deceased mother.<sup>77</sup> The Andromeda cycle embodies important recurring themes in Burne-Jones' art, such as rescue, loss and risk. Perseus is one of Burne-Jones' hero figures as Saint George. In his writing on Gustave Moreau, Emil Zola says on Burne-Jones, "He, too, paints his dreams, sophisticated, complex, enigmatic, where you cannot get your bearings... I see in this a simple reaction again the modern world."<sup>78</sup>

The notion of ambiguity inherent in the dragon's gender is similar to the notion of ambiguity encountered in definition of woman in the sixteenth century. The Renaissance notion of woman depends on the ancient perception and definition of *femina*: "imperfectior male" ("inferior male").<sup>79</sup> The notion of female inferiority continues its previous long history. Although Humanism and the Enlightenment did much to enhance the dignity of individual, these periods were long in liberating the "man feminine" from her subordinate status.<sup>80</sup> During the Pre-Raphaelite movement, the notion of gender duality further transforms into a female duality or *femme fatale*, the woman is either a temptress or a healer.

Central to this aesthetic view, for example, is the fact that both Burne-Jones and the French Symbolist painters viewed woman as a symbol of love and lust, as commented in the writings of Jean Pierrot and Shearer West.<sup>81</sup> Burne-Jones' images of mythological woman reflect or correspond to the various embodiments of the *femme fatale* as also represented in Symbolist art, as observed in the writings of both Victor Hugo and Edouard Schuré in 1892. Paradoxically, on the one

hand, for Burne-Jones and the Symbolist painters, Gustave Moreau and Odilon Redon, woman represents an embodiment of purity as Venus (Redon's *Birth of Venus* of 1890s, Private Collection, in New York). But on the other hand, woman appears as a temptress or Eurydice (Moreau's *Eurydice and Orpheus* of 1865 at the Louvre).

Burne-Jones' fascination with Andromeda is for its symbolic ambiguity (temptress or benefactor). In portraying her, he crystallizes his fear of women and their destructive power over men. In this attitude, he was very much part of the *fin de siècle* views of women as expressed by many Symbolist artists and poets. Dread and fascination echo throughout the Perseus and Andromeda cycle, a mythological cycle Burne-Jones ultimately could not finish perhaps because of the conflicts and fears it raises in the artist's subconscious—his troubling connection to his own mother, his wife and his mistress, as well as to his attraction to, and fear of, women. In the mirror in which the hero sees the dragon, Medusa's head, and Burne-Jones reflects on his own conflicted desires—the fear and fascination with the female.<sup>82</sup> For Burne-Jones, "the myth is only alive if it is the image of individual experience."<sup>83</sup> Therefore, the Andromeda story provides Burne-Jones with a vehicle for expressing his dictum, "*dic mihi quod feci? Nisi non sapienter amavi*" ("Tell me what I have done, except to love unwisely?").<sup>84</sup> In the Andromeda's imagery, Burne-Jones projects the transcendence of his love for Maria Zambaco, thus, paralleling Perseus' love for Andromeda with his own for Zambaco. In Victorian society, the passionate man must be tamed into a patriarchal mold or else be destroyed, as well as for the woman who arouses such a love in a man must be castigated. The double standard of Victorian society weighed on Burne-Jones' psyche as he wrote, "We are soaked in Puritanism and it will never be out of us and I hate it..."<sup>85</sup> His unfinished Perseus and Andromeda cycle creates a paradigm of the *fin de siècle*'s ambiguous relationship to women in both its devotion to, and repudiation of, the feminine.

Thus, Burne-Jones embodies in his mythological paintings of Andromeda an unprecedented strangeness that is bound to strike the imaginations of other artists in the Pre-Raphaelite and Symbolist movements. Moreover, his paintings provide Burne-Jones contemporaries with examples of classical appropriation in Pre-Raphaelite paintings, along with a systematic use of the great themes of Greek mythology, whose modernized symbolism is adapted to the major preoccupation at the heart of the decadent view of the world, that is to say, the tragedy of the artist confronted with modern life and contemporary society, the fear of woman and a terrified obsession with sexuality, and the consternation at the mystery of things represented by the myth of Perseus and Andromeda.

<sup>1</sup> A version of this essay was presented at the congress of Classical International Tradition in Tübingen, Germany on July 29, 1998. This study greatly benefited by the helpful comments and insights of Luba Freedman, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Alicia Faxon, Simmons College of Boston, and John Christian, Christie's London

<sup>2</sup> G(eorgiana) B(urne)-J(ones), *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones* [henceforth: *Memorials*], London, 1904, vol. 2, p. 337.

<sup>3</sup> *Memorials* vol. 1, p. 68. See also Christopher Wood, *Burne-Jones*, New York, 1997, pp. 12-17, on Burne-Jones' Oxford years.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, for Florence see, vol. 1, p. 197 and vol. 2, pp. 24, 27, 64 and 334; for Rome, see vol. 2, pp. 25 and 26; and for Venice, see vol. 1, pp. 198, 244 and vol. 2, p. 334. See Penelope Fitzgerald, *Edward Burne-Jones*, London, 1989, pp. 58-59, for a discussion on the impact of A. F. Rio's *Poetry of Christian Art* (trans. 1845) on Burne-Jones' appreciation of Italian art. This book was so significant for Burne-Jones that he gave it to his wife as a nuptial gift, see *Memorials*, vol. 1, p. 141 and vol. 2, p. 141.

<sup>5</sup> M. A. Goldberg, "John Keats and the Elgin Marbles," *Apollo*, November, 1965, pp. 374-78, Frank M. Turner, *The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain*, London, 1981, pp. 1-14, Caroline Clifton-Mogg, *The Neoclassical Source Book*, New York, 1991, pp. 16-26, and Sam Smiles, *The Image of Antiquity in Ancient Britain and the Romantic Imagination*, London, 1994, pp. 1-8.

<sup>6</sup> Julia Ionides, *The Ionides Family*, London, 1995. Burne-Jones also attended many parties and social activities sponsored by Greek families in London, such as the Ionides and Legros. See Fitzgerald, *Edward Burne-Jones*, p. 119.

<sup>7</sup> Fitzgerald, *Edward Burne-Jones*, pp. 114-115, 119, and, 147, she recounts how in an undated letter to F. S. Ellis Burne-Jones comments on Maria Zambaco as the most beautiful Greek woman and "so constant of heart am I..." and "...that I think so still." See Liana De Girolami Cheney, "Edward Burne-Jones' Cupid and Psyche: The Enchantment of an Ancient Tale," in *Wege zum Mythos*, ed. Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich and Luba Freedman (Germany: University of Mannheim, 2000), pp. 56-69.

<sup>8</sup> Kurt Löcher, *Der Perseus-Zyklus von Edward Burne-Jones*, Stuttgart, 1973, for an excellent monograph on the subject. Other important sources on this topic are: Maria Teresa Benedetti and Gianna Piantoni, *Burne-Jones*, Milan, 1986, pp. 176-180, John Christian, "Burne-Jones et L'Art Italien," in Hilary Morgan, ed. *Burne-Jones 1833-98: Dessins de Fitzwilliam Museum de Cambridge*, Nates, 1992, pp. 33-57, Christopher Wood, *Burne-Jones*, New York, 1997, pp. 142-53, and Stephen Wildman and John Christian, *Edward Burne-Jones: Victorian Artist-Dreamer*, New York, 1998, pp. 221-223.

<sup>9</sup> Fani-Maria Tsigakou, *The Rediscovery of Greece*, New York, 1981, pp. 14-16 and 21-24, see the drawing by Charles Robert Cockerell, *Lord Elgin's Museum at Park Lane*, London, 1808, p. 25.

<sup>10</sup> Clifton-Mogg, *The Neoclassical Source Book*, pp. 23-24; Michael Greenhalg, *The Classical Tradition in Art*, New York, 1978, pp. 197-201.

<sup>11</sup> Greenhalg, *The Classical Tradition in Art*, pp. 197-199. The Pre-Raphaelite painters, such as Burne-Jones, wanted to preserve the classical culture in the same manner as the ancient Romans, who were lovers of Greek art, preserved, copied and collected the works. See also Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, London, 1981, pp. 79-99 and Fig. 30, Johan Zoffany's *The Tribuna* (Her Majesty the Queen's Collection in London), displaying the antique collection of the Medici.

<sup>12</sup> Alison Smith, *The Victorian Nude: sexuality, morality and art*, Manchester, 1996, p. 139, for a discussion on Burne-Jones' study of the Elgin Marbles as part of the search for ideal form.

<sup>13</sup> E. Waterhouse, "The British contribution to the neo-classical style in painting," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XL (1954), pp. 57-74.

<sup>14</sup> Turner, *The Greek Heritage*, pp. 15-76, for Victorian Humanistic Hellenism, and pp. 77-134, for the Victorian classicists, commentators and historians on Greek myths.

<sup>15</sup> Joseph A. Kestner, *Mythology and Misogyny*, Madison, WS, 1989, pp. 65-112, for a provocative analysis of Burne-Jones' and the Pre-Raphaelite's interpretation of classical-subjects and a psychosexual approach to Burne-Jones' androgynous figures in the *Andromeda* series, described as "narcissistic epipsyche Andromeda/Maria" message. This message reflects the *femme fatale* cultural anxiety of Burne-Jones' times.

<sup>16</sup> *Memorials*, vol. 2, p. 125.

<sup>17</sup> Burne-Jones described Maria Zambaco as a "beauty of High Renaissance", see Fitzgerald, *Edward Burne-Jones*, p. 115.

<sup>18</sup> Kathleen Elizabeth Alexander, *A Sketchbook by Sir Edward Burne-Jones*. M. A. Thesis, Northwestern University, Illinois, 1980, p. 88, quoting Walter Pater, *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry*, London, 1912, p. 105, in this fashion: "Some of them (*Leonardo's drawings*) are full of a curious beauty, that remote beauty which may be apprehended only by those who have sought it carefully; who, starting with acknowledged types of beauty, have refined as far upon these, as these refine upon the work of common forms."

<sup>19</sup> Fitzgerald, *Edward Burne-Jones*, p. 115, referring to Maria Zambaco's beauty.

<sup>20</sup> Turner, *The Greek Heritage...*, pp. 369-446, for a discussion on the Victorian Platonic revival. See also Liana De Girolami Cheney, *Botticelli's Neoplatonic Images*, Potomac, MD, 1993, Liana De Girolami Cheney, "Giorgio Vasari's Theory of Feminine Beauty," in *Concepts of Beauty in Renaissance Art*, London, 1997, pp. 180-90, Konrad Eisenbichler, et. al., *Ficino and Neoplatonism*, Toronto, 1986, *passim*, and Erwin Panofsky, *Problems with Titian, Mostly Iconographic*, Princeton, 1969, pp. 166-168.

<sup>21</sup> Marsilio Ficino, *Symposium*, l. 3. in *Opera*, Basel, 1561. For an understanding of Mannerist art theory, see David Summers, *The Judgment of Sense*, New York, 1987 and for a study on the impact of Ficino's Neoplatonism in Renaissance art, see Cheney, *Botticelli's Neoplatonic Images, passim*, Erwin Panofsky, *Studies on Iconology*, New York, 1960, pp. 129-230.

<sup>22</sup> Fitzgerald, *Edward Burne-Jones*, p. 115, referring to the impact of Maria Zambaco's beauty on him, and William Gaunt, *The Pre-Raphaelite Tragedy*, New York, 1942, p. 152. Probably Burne-Jones was aware of Walter Pater's philosophical writings, particularly *Plato and Platonism*, London, 1893, pp. 241-244, where Pater discusses Plato's ideas of Beauty and Nature. See also Robin Spencer, *The Aesthetic Movement: Theory and Practice*, London, 1972, p. 37.

<sup>23</sup> Fitzgerald, *Edward Burne-Jones*, pp. 142-43 and 155, for a discussion on the *Primavera* and *Mars and Venus*.

<sup>24</sup> Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, Roma, 1991, 9 vols.

<sup>25</sup> Fitzgerald, *Edward Burne-Jones*, pp. 108-109. Under the influence of this book and the Mantegna's woodcuts for this collection, Burne-Jones completed the *Cupid and Psyche* cycle for William Morris' *Earthly Paradise* illustrations.

<sup>26</sup> Fitzgerald, *Edward Burne-Jones*, pp. 108 and 119, and Cheney, "Edward Burne-Jones' Cupid and Psyche", pp. 57-69.

<sup>27</sup> Henry Ladd, *The Victorian Morality of Art: An Analysis of Ruskin's Esthetic*, New York, 1932, pp. 295-327.

<sup>28</sup> Liana De Girolami Cheney, "Burne-Jones: Mannerist in an Age of Modernism," in: *Pre-Raphaelite Art in Its European Context*, ed. Susan Casteras and Alicia Faxon, Cranbury, N.J., pp. 113-116.

- <sup>29</sup> Vitruvius, *The Ten Books on Architecture*. Trans. Morris H. Morgan, New York, 1969. In book IX, chapter I, Vitruvius describes according to Hygieus' *Poetica astronomica* how the zodiac signs and constellations are designed by nature and divine intelligence according to the view of the natural philosopher Democritus. The northern constellations depict Perseus holding the head of the Gorgon; at his feet is Andromeda and the Dragon, on his right is Cassiopea with Cepheus resting above her. Vitruvius, as illustrated in Hygieus' *Poetica astronomica*, known to Titian and Veronese through the Venetian-Cinquecento printed editions. See *Memorials*, vol. 1, p. 58, and vol. 2, pp. 303-304, for Burne-Jones' love of astronomy.
- <sup>30</sup> Hesiod, *Theogony*, v. 216-30, 270-90, and 333ff; Homer, *Illiad*, 14, v. 319ff, Euripides, *Ion*, 989ff and Pliny, *Naturalis historiae*, 3:56. See also Robert Graves, *The Greek Myths*, Baltimore, 1961, Vol. 1, pp. 240-43, and Kurt Löcher, *Der Perseus-Zyklus von Edward Burne-Jones*, Stuttgart, 1973, passim. See Alain Laframboise and Françoise Sigure, *Andromède*, Paris, 1996, for a collection of essays on Andromeda presented in the international symposium at the University of Montreal.
- <sup>31</sup> Vitruvius, *The Ten Books on Architecture*, Book IX, Chapter 1. See Peter Whitfield, *The Mapping of the Heavens*, London, 1995, pp. 61-74.
- <sup>32</sup> Cinquecento painters such as Vasari, Titian and Veronese through the Venetian-Cinquecento printed editions knew Vitruvius' writings, as seen illustrated in ancient reliefs (*Andromeda* at the Salzburg Museum in Austria) and Cinquecento frescoes decorations by Taddeo Zuccaro, *Signs of the Zodiac and Constellation* of 1560, in the Villa Farnese at Caprarola.
- <sup>33</sup> *Memorials*, vol. 2, p. 58.
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.
- <sup>35</sup> Liana De Girolami Cheney, "Giorgio Vasari's *Andromeda*: Transformations of an Ancient Myth," *Discoveries* (Fall, 1998), pp. 2-5.
- <sup>36</sup> Sharon Fermor, *Piero di Cosimo: fiction, invention and fantasia*, London, 1993, pp. 60-62.
- <sup>37</sup> Vasari, *Le vite...*, p. 579.
- <sup>38</sup> C. H. Smyth, *Mannerism and Maniera*, New York, 1962, pp. 51-54.
- <sup>39</sup> Phyllis Pray Bober and Ruth Rubenstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture*, Oxford, 1986, pp. 31-40, and Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, London, 1981, pp. 7-22.
- <sup>40</sup> Vasari, *Le vite...*, pp. 98 and 109.
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 907.
- <sup>42</sup> Benvenuto Cellini, *The Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini*, trans. by John Addigton Symonds, New York, 1938, p. 2.
- <sup>43</sup> John Pope-Hennessy, *Cellini*, New York, 1985, p. 183, and Liana De Girolami Cheney, "Giorgio Vasari's *Judith*: Athena or Aphrodite," *Fifteenth Century Studies Journal*, Vol. 25 (2000), pp. 154-192.
- <sup>44</sup> Anthony Bertraum, *Florentine Sculpture*, New York, 1969, p. 143.
- <sup>45</sup> Other visual sources for Cinquecento's imagery on the *Andromeda* story are drawings and engravings of Nereids, sea-centaurs and sea-creatures of Polidoro da Caravaggio and Andrea Mantegna.
- <sup>46</sup> Ariosto recounts the Ovidian theme in Cinquecento vocabulary with Ruggero liberating Angelica from the giant monster.
- <sup>47</sup> Cecil Gould, "The *Perseus and Andromeda* and Titian's *Poesie*," *Burlington Magazine*, CV (1963), pp. 112-114. This excellent study informs that according to Dolce's *Dialogue* of 1557, Vasari greatly admired Titian's *Perseus and Andromeda*, after seeing it in Titian's workshop in 1556, before the painting was sent to Spain.
- <sup>48</sup> Gould, "The *Perseus and Andromeda* and Titian's *Poesie*," pp. 112-114, and Panofsky, *Problems in Titian: Mostly Iconographic*, pp. 154, 166-168.
- <sup>49</sup> Vasari's visual familiarity with these works, in particular with the Amazon, 430 BCE, a Roman copy, presently at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, can be seen when comparing the raised arm gesture of Vasari's *Andromeda* and the Amazon.
- <sup>50</sup> Ruth Kennedy, "Apelles Redivivus," in *Novelty and Tradition in Titian's Art*, Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann, New York, 1964, p. 166 and n. 79.
- <sup>51</sup> W. R. Rearick, *The Age of Veronese*, Cambridge, MA, 1989, p. 171.
- <sup>52</sup> Jean Pierrot, *The Decadent Imagination: 1800-1900*, p. 191, and Edouard Schuré's, *Grandes Légendes de France*, Paris 1892.
- <sup>53</sup> Pierrot, *The Decadent Imagination: 1800-1900*, p. 200 and n. 32.
- <sup>54</sup> Nina Auerbach, *Woman and the Demon: The Life of a Victorian Myth*, Cambridge, MA, 1982, pp. 1-34, Erna Olafson Hellerstein, et. al., *Victorian Women*, Stanford, 1981, pp. 124-127, Adrienne Auslander Munich, *Andromeda's Chains: Gender and Interpretation in Victorian Literature and Art*, New York, 1989, pp. 123-129, Smith, *The Victorian Nude: Sexuality, morality and art*, pp. 196 and 198-199.
- <sup>55</sup> Munich, *Andromeda's Chains: Gender and Interpretation in Victorian Literature and Art*, pp. 123-129.
- <sup>56</sup> Sister Prudence Allen, R.S.N., *The Concept of Woman*, Grand Rapids, MI, 1985, pp. 83-126, for a meticulous study of Aristotole's concept of gender, and Fredrika H. Jacobs, *Defining the Renaissance Virtuosa: Women Artists and the Language of Art History and Criticism*, Cambridge, MA, 1997, pp. 30-33 and 76-77.
- <sup>57</sup> Mary R. Lefkowitz, *Women in Greek Myth*, Baltimore, MD, 1986, pp.113, 129-132.
- <sup>58</sup> William Morris, *The Doom of King Acrisius*, New York, 1902, Burne-Jones is the illustrator and William Morris is the editor of the text. See also William Morris, *The Earthly Paradise*, London, 1907.
- <sup>59</sup> *Memorials*, vol. 2, p. 208.
- <sup>60</sup> William Morris, "The Doom of King Acrisius," *The Earthly Paradise*, London, 1896, vol. 1. pp. 260-261.
- <sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 261.
- <sup>62</sup> Fitzgerald, *Edward Burne-Jones*, p. 138.
- <sup>63</sup> Löcher, *Der Perseus-Zyklus*, p. 38.
- <sup>64</sup> West, *Fin de siècle*, p. 77, quoting Pater.
- <sup>65</sup> *Memorials*, vol. 2, p. 68.
- <sup>66</sup> Martin Harrison and Bill Waters, *Burne-Jones*, London, 1989, p. 119.
- <sup>67</sup> Alexander, *A Sketchbook*, p. 67.
- <sup>68</sup> Harrison and Water, *Burne-Jones*, p. 119.
- <sup>69</sup> Alexander, *A Sketchbook*, p. 68.
- <sup>70</sup> Jerome H. Buckley, ed., *The Pre-Raphaelites*, Chicago, 1986, p. 81. Burne-Jones is also inspired by Rossetti's early drawing of *Andromeda*, where she sees the reflection of the Medusa in the waters of the fountain.
- <sup>71</sup> Morris, "The Doom of King Acrisius," pp. 260-261.
- <sup>72</sup> Walter Pater described the work in these terms, "What may be called the fascination of corruption penetrates in every touch of its exquisitely finished beauty." Walter Pater, *The Renaissance*, New York, 1919, pp. 87-88.
- <sup>73</sup> A. T. Mann & Jane Lyle, *Sacred Sexuality*, Shaftesbury, Dorset, 1995, pp. 160-169, for a discussion of lovers in a garden as a metaphor for courtly love, for example as in medieval poem of the *Roman de la Rose*, a well known text to Burne-Jones.
- <sup>74</sup> Shelley's poem "On the Medusa by Leonardo in the Uffizi Gallery," 1819.

<sup>75</sup> See Löcher, *Der Perseus-Zyklus*, pp. 38-39, Benedetti and Piantoni, *Burne-Jones*, pp. 176-80, Wood, *Burne-Jones*, pp. 142-53, and Wildman and Christian, *Edward Burne-Jones: Victorian Artist-Dreamer*, pp. 221-23.

<sup>76</sup> Daniel Beresniak and Michel Random, *I simboli: il Drago*, Rome, 1987, pp. 40-51.

<sup>77</sup> Kestner, *Mythology and Misogyny*, pp. 101-102.

<sup>78</sup> Emil Zola, *Le Bon Comat*, Paris, 1974, p. 181.

<sup>79</sup> See also Ian MacLean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life*, Cambridge, 1980, pp. 92, 6; P. R. Ackroyd, ed. *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, Cambridge, 1963-70, III, pp. 79-93, 213-217. See also Baldassare Castiglione, *Il cortegiano* (Venice, 1528), Book 3, for a dialogue discussion for and against female inferiority, and Margaret L. King, "The Woman of the Renaissance," in Eugenio Garin, ed. *Renaissance Characters*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane, Chicago, 1991, pp. 207-250, for an excellent discussion on the place of woman in Renaissance society. She argues that Renaissance women had three faces: "Mary, Eve and Amazon; virgin, mother and crone." The first two were caught in opposition "as frozen poles of female possibility; the future lay on the third," the Amazon who fought for her freedom. See also Fredrika H. Jacobs, *Defining the Renaissance Virtuosa*, pp. 10-11 and 163-164.

<sup>80</sup> Kestner, *Mythology and Misogyny*, pp. 25-63. For issues on feminism see Linda Alcoff, "Cultural Feminism versus Post-Structuralism: The Identity Crisis in Feminist Theory," *Signs* 13 (1988), pp. 405-436, Joan W. Scott, "Deconstructing Equality-versus-Difference: Or, the Uses of Poststructuralist Theory for Feminism," *Feminist Studies* 14 (1988), pp. 33-50; eadem, "Multiculturalism and the Politics of Identity," *October* 61 (1992), pp. 12-19; Lisa Tickner, "Feminism, Art History and the Sexual Differences," *Genders* 3 (1988), pp. 92-128.

<sup>81</sup> Jean Pierrot, *The Decadent Imagination: 1800-1900 and Shearer West, Fin de siècle*.

<sup>82</sup> Alicia Faxon, "The Magic Mirror in Holman Hunt's *The Lady of Shalott*: Its Development and Meaning," in Liana De Girolami Cheney, ed., *The Symbolism of Vanitas in the Arts, Literature, and Music*, New York, 1992, pp. 291-312, Jeanne A. Nightingale, "From Mirror to Metamorphosis: Echoes of Ovid's *Narcissus* in Chrétien's *Erec et Enide*," in Jane Chance, *The Mythographic Art*, Gainesville, 1990, pp. 47-82, and Laurie Schneider, ed. "Mirrors in Art," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* (Winter/Spring 1985), pp. 3-88, for a collection of articles on the symbolism of mirrors.

<sup>83</sup> Fitzgerald, *Edward Burne-Jones*, p. 120.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127, Burne-Jones letter to Helen Mary Gaskell of January, 1893.