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Burne-Jones Studies

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painted entirely on the spot, but there is no evidence to suggest that the artist had departed from the usual Pre-Raphaelite practice. In later years Brett followed the more traditional pattern of sketching from nature but painting his finished pictures in the studio.²³

In 1863 Brett travelled to Naples by sea. His sketch-books used in Italy during this and the following trip are full of drawings of boats, and these trips mark the beginning of that interest which eventually would lead him to become a specialist in paintings of seacoasts and the sea. The importance of the sea is evident in *Near Sorrento* and *Casa di Castella*, and it is equally so in *Massa, Bay of Naples*, which Brett exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1864 (Herron Museum of Art, Indianapolis). Between 1865 and 1870 Brett did not travel on the continent. Instead, he seems to have spent a good part of his time either on yachts or in various ports around the British Isles. During the late summer and autumn of 1868 he lived at Yarmouth, and he exhibited a water-colour of *The Entrance to Yarmouth Harbour* at the Royal Academy in 1869.²⁴ This may be the water-colour dated September 1868 which belongs to a granddaughter of the artist (Fig.22), but Brett painted more than one view at Yarmouth. A *Trawling Smacks at Yarmouth*, which may also have been in water-colour, appeared in The Select Supplementary Exhibition of Pictures of 1869, an English *Salon des Refusés*.

The five water-colours bearing dates in the 1860's which are reproduced in this issue all show water as a conspicuous element, and in two additional water-colours from this decade, *Near Goring-on-Thames* (Whitworth Art Gallery,

²³ For a description of his later working methods see JOHN BRETT: *Three Months on the Scottish Coast* (exhibition catalogue), Fine Art Society, London [1886].

²⁴ No.507; hung in the water-colour room in the new galleries in Burlington House.

University of Manchester), dated 1865,²⁵ and *February in the Isle of Wight*, dated 1866, water is also visible. Although in the *Yarmouth* there is proportionately no more water than in the *Mountains of St Gingough* of seven years before, the subject is now a harbour, and boats and waterside activity have become the focus of the artist's attention. The point of view is from near water level, as it is in *Casa di Castella*, and the distances can now be estimated in yards rather than miles. This circumscription, even intimacy, is not, however, something which would continue as a significant aspect of Brett's art. In 1869, the artist's chief picture at the Royal Academy was entitled *Wide Waters* (location unknown), and two years later both his pictures at the Royal Academy, *The British Channel Seen from the Dorsetshire Cliffs* (Tate Gallery) and *Etna from the Heights of Taormina*, showed vast prospects seen from high vantage-points. The former is a large oil painting (42 by 84 inches) looking over an expanse of open sea.²⁶ Although *Etna from the Heights of Taormina* was still a 'carefully mapped out scene', in *The British Channel Seen from the Dorsetshire Cliffs* dry land has finally disappeared, and, with it, all vestiges of Pre-Raphaelite detail.

After 1870 Brett worked only infrequently in water-colour, although he produced hundreds of small oil sketches in addition to his finished paintings. His water-colours from the 1860's belong neither to his earlier nor his later art, but in them we can see the interests which underlay *The Stone-breaker* and the *Val d'Aosta* gradually give way to new concerns which would be basic to his art for the remaining two-thirds of his professional life.

²⁵ STALEY, *op. cit.*, pl.72c.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pl.73.

JOHN CHRISTIAN

Burne-Jones Studies

I. BURNE-JONES'S DRAWINGS FOR 'THE FAIRY FAMILY'

WE need not suppose Burne-Jones would thank us for resurrecting his earliest drawings. He went to great lengths to create the impression that his career began when he met Rossetti in January 1856, and produced his first design, *The Waxen Image*, in that artist's style. As for art historians, of Crowe and Cavalcaselle he said: 'I detest them, they're such bores. They're the beginners of that cursed race that is always worrying at everything and leaves nothing alone.'¹

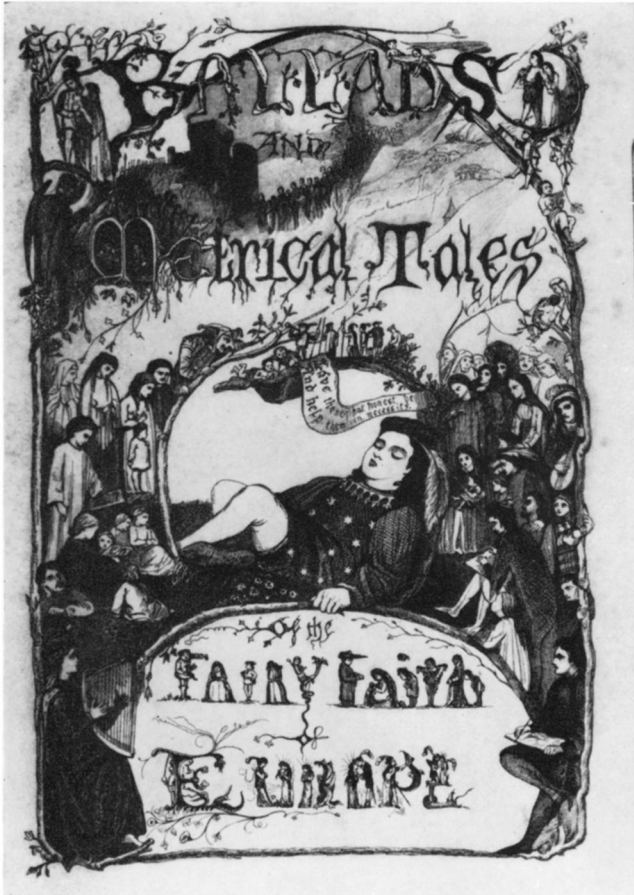
Nonetheless it was Burne-Jones himself who, in the last years of his life, left a description of his earliest attempts to

draw. 'The Khyber Pass I must have drawn forty times, and Lady Sale always . . . I drew warriors. I drew Mutius Scaevola in the tent of King Porsena at Clusium'.² At one time, wanting to buy a twenty-volume *Universal History* costing 25 shillings, he made a whole set of illustrations to Roman history and organized a raffle for them among his friends.³ He also gives a hint about his earliest sources of reference. His father was a struggling frame-maker in Birmingham and he and a Mr Caswell, a friend with some pretension to connoisseurship, 'used to look on Etty as though he were Titian'. Another of their heroes was Linnell. 'At Turner they shook their heads', though Mr Caswell owned what he believed to be a sea-piece by the master

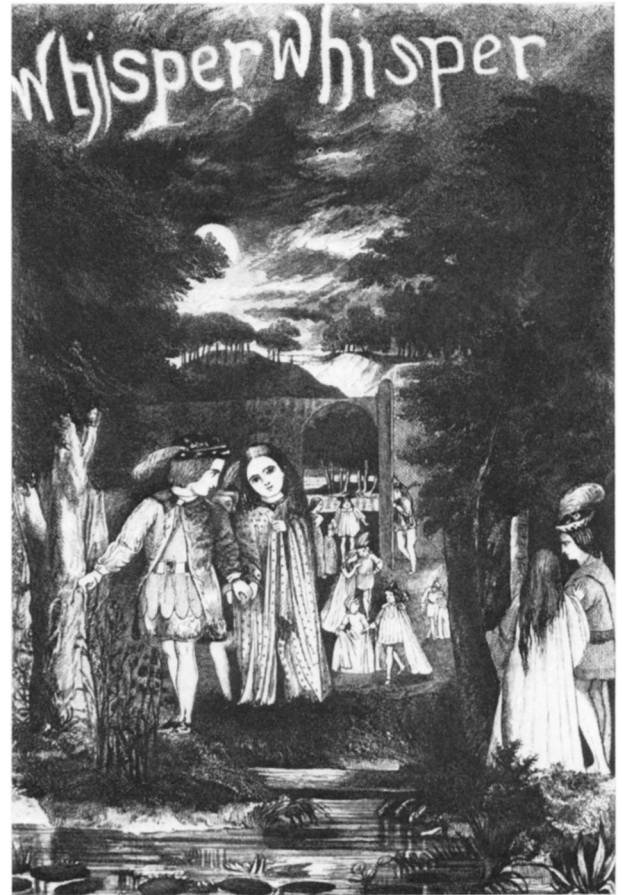
¹ *Ibid.*, p.470. Florentia, Lady Sale (1790-1853), the wife of Sir Robert Sale, the distinguished soldier famous for his defence of Jalalabad in 1842, was herself a heroine of the First Afghan War. Her *Journal* recounting her experiences was published in 1843.

² ROOKE notes, p.453.

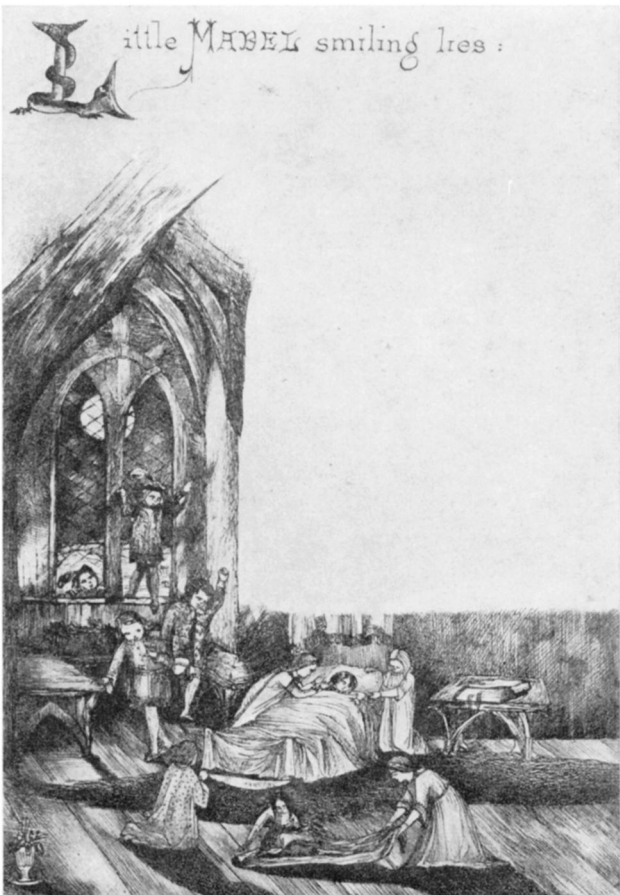
¹ From a volume of notes of conversation in Burne-Jones's studio made 1894-98 by T. M. ROOKE, the artist's assistant, and now in a private collection in England (p.320). A number of passages were quoted by LADY BURNE-JONES in her *Memorials* [1904], but by far the larger part remains unpublished.



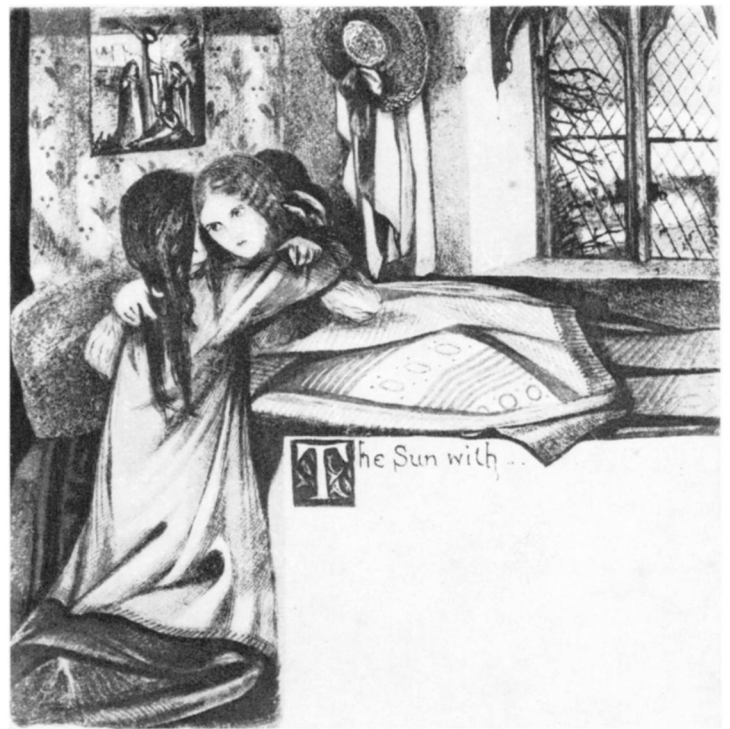
25. Illustrated title-page to *The Fairy Family*, by Edward Burne-Jones. 1857. Steel engraving.



26. Frontispiece to *The Fairy Family*, by Edward Burne-Jones. 1857. Steel engraving.



27. Illustration for *The Fairy Family*, by Edward Burne-Jones. Pen and ink with grey wash.



28. Illustration for *The Fairy Family*, by Edward Burne-Jones. Pen and ink with grey wash.

which he 'improved' by adding dramatic waves to the sea. Naturally he also admired Claude and was upset to discover Ruskin's poor opinion of him. 'And', Burne-Jones added, 'he had a picture that fascinated me. One of the kind of romantic landscape pictures of the last century manner. A great medieval sort of Adriatic palace that was broken and ruined and washed over by the sea'.⁴ As for motives which the young artist actually borrowed, Lars Porsena's tent – 'not a tent at all . . . but drawing-room curtains with great thick cords and tassels and an urn overturned' – was found 'in some horrible Rubens or other'; and Lady Sale had already been drawn 'with a riding whip' by Edward Corbould. Now largely forgotten, Corbould was an artist whose book illustrations and water-colours in a sentimental troubadour style were much admired at the time. In 1843 he won a premium in the competition to select artists to decorate the new Houses of Parliament with frescoes; and his work so impressed Prince Albert that he was appointed drawing master to the royal children.

All the drawings mentioned so far would have been made before 1853 when Burne-Jones went up to Oxford at the age of twenty. They obviously had a strong period flavour. As a boy he had read Ossian, 'Monk' Lewis, and quantities of Scott and Byron; and it was almost inevitable that he based another early drawing on one of the most popular romantic ballads of the day, Bürger's *Lenore*.⁵ At this stage, of course, he had no training, beyond the odd tip from Mr Caswell and some evening classes he attended at the Birmingham School of Design. Indeed he had no thoughts of becoming a painter for he went up to Oxford intending to be ordained. He had not been there long, however, before he discovered that the Oxford Movement, which had inspired his ambition to enter the Church, was already in rapid decline; and he began to search for some new means of expressing the devotional fervour Tractarianism had aroused but could no longer satisfy. Various literary and philanthropic possibilities were explored, but by the summer of 1855 he had finally decided to devote himself to painting. His heroes were now Chaucer, Malory and Dürer among the ancients, Carlyle, Tennyson, Ruskin and the Pre-Raphaelites among contemporaries. The drawings we hear of from this period reflect these enthusiasms. Fired by Ruskin he began to make studies of landscape and foliage in the Oxford countryside, and in 1854 he was found illustrating *The Lady of Shalott*.⁶

Neither these drawings nor the still earlier group have survived. But we are fortunate in possessing one set of designs which show Burne-Jones's development in its initial phase.⁷ These designs, for Archibald Maclaren's *Fairy*

Family,⁸ are our subject here.

The author was a man some twelve years older than Burne-Jones who owned a gymnasium in Oriel Lane frequented by members of Burne-Jones's Oxford set. Burne-Jones himself was introduced to him by a Balliol man early in 1853. He took fencing lessons from him and their acquaintance grew. Soon, together with his friend William Morris, he was making visits to Maclaren's house in the still rural district of Summertown north of Oxford. Maclaren admired his Ruskinian studies of landscape and commissioned him to make illustrations for his forthcoming volume. These were begun early in 1854.⁹

Maclaren was a man of varied gifts and interests. He wrote a number of books, most of which, dating from the 1860's, were systems of physical education with special reference to its use in military training. But in the earlier *Fairy Family* he attempted a very different theme. The book consists of some twenty stories in verse illustrating the powers of various types of fairy – mermaid, brownie, pixie, fata morgana, etc. – each of which is preceded by a passage of explanatory text. It is a typical product of its time. Readers of Meredith's *Ordeal of Richard Feverel* (1859) will recall how Hippias Feverel 'forsook his prospects at the Bar, and, in the embraces of dyspepsia, compiled his ponderous work on the fairy mythology of Europe'. Perhaps the most famous example was Thomas Keightley's *Fairy Mythology* which had already run to several editions by 1854. Indeed, the frequency with which contemporary compilers of fairy-tale collections refer to this work, and the close resemblance which it bears in subject and arrangement to the *Fairy Family*, strongly suggest that it was Maclaren's immediate source of inspiration.

Burne-Jones continued to work on the drawings till late in 1856, but he was not to finish them. His meeting with Rossetti in January that year so revolutionized his sense of style, and made him so dissatisfied with what he had already achieved, that he found it impossible to complete the task. When the book appeared the following year, published by Longmans, it included only three designs and their authorship was not revealed. As for the unused drawings, they were put together by Maclaren and held at Burne-Jones's disposal, but he evidently failed to reclaim them. Thus, no doubt, they survived, for had they returned to him he would almost certainly have destroyed them, as he probably destroyed the other work of these early years. He refused to include anything in the canon of his work that preceded his meeting with Rossetti. In neither of two lists of work that he

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.468–9.

⁵ G[EORGIANA] B[URNE]-J[ONES]: *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones* [1904], I, p.57. 'The terrible demon ride, "Tramp, tramp, across the land they speed"', which was the subject of the drawing mentioned here, refers to the refrain of the best known of several English translations, by William Taylor of Norwich (See also note 15 below).

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.81, 99.

⁷ The only other work to survive from this period is a series of decorations in a room on the first floor at No.33 High Street, Oxford. These are plausibly attributed to Burne-Jones and Morris who seem to have painted them late in the Long Vacation of 1856. They are discussed in an illustrated article by E. A. TUNSTALL and ANTONY KERR in *THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE*, LXXXIII [February 1943], pp.42–6.

⁸ *The Fairy Family: A Series of Ballads and Metrical Tales Illustrating the Fairy Mythology of Europe*. First edition. London: Longmans [1857]. This was an octavo volume bound in dark red cloth with stamped and gilt decoration, and was anonymous. It contained three illustrations by Burne-Jones, a frontispiece and illustrated title-page (steel engravings) and a tailpiece (wood engraving), but the authorship of these was not revealed. A second edition, published by Macmillan in 1874, appeared with Maclaren's name. It retained the three designs, the tailpiece being moved to the printed title-page, but there was still no reference to Burne-Jones. For a discussion of the two editions, see ROGER LANCELYN-GREEN: 'Burne-Jones and "The Fairy Family"' in the *Times Literary Supplement*, No.2221 [26th August 1944], p.420; and a corrective letter by the same, *T.L.S.*, No.2854 [9th November 1956], p.665.

⁹ For a history of the illustrations, see *Memorials*, I, pp.80, 100, 120, 135–6.



29. Illustration for *The Fairy Family*, by Edward Burne-Jones. Pen and ink with grey wash.



30. Illustration for *The Fairy Family*, by Edward Burne-Jones. Pen and ink with grey wash.



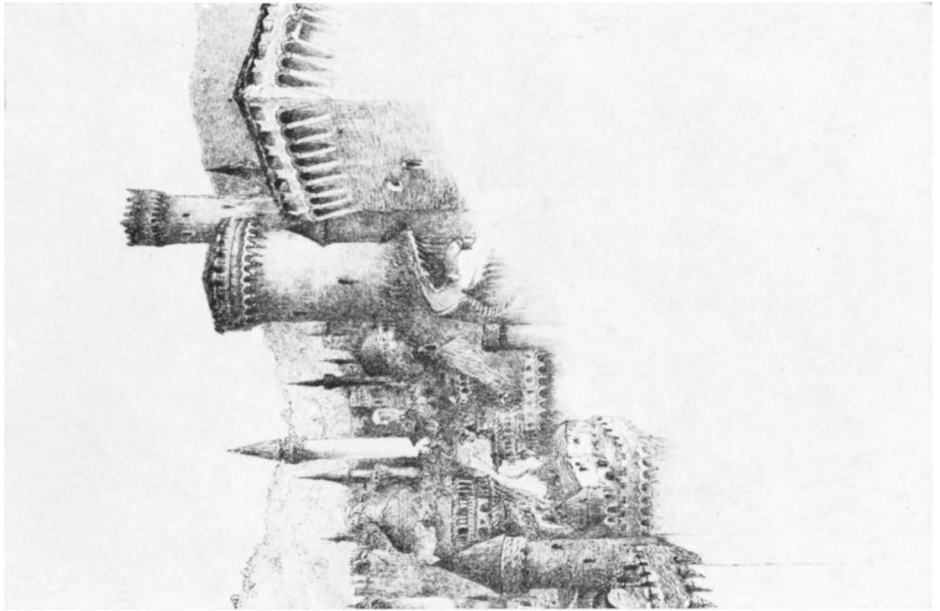
31. Illustration for *The Fairy Family*, by Edward Burne-Jones. Pen and ink with grey wash.



32. Tailpiece to *The Fairy Family*, by Edward Burne-Jones. 1857. Wood engraving.



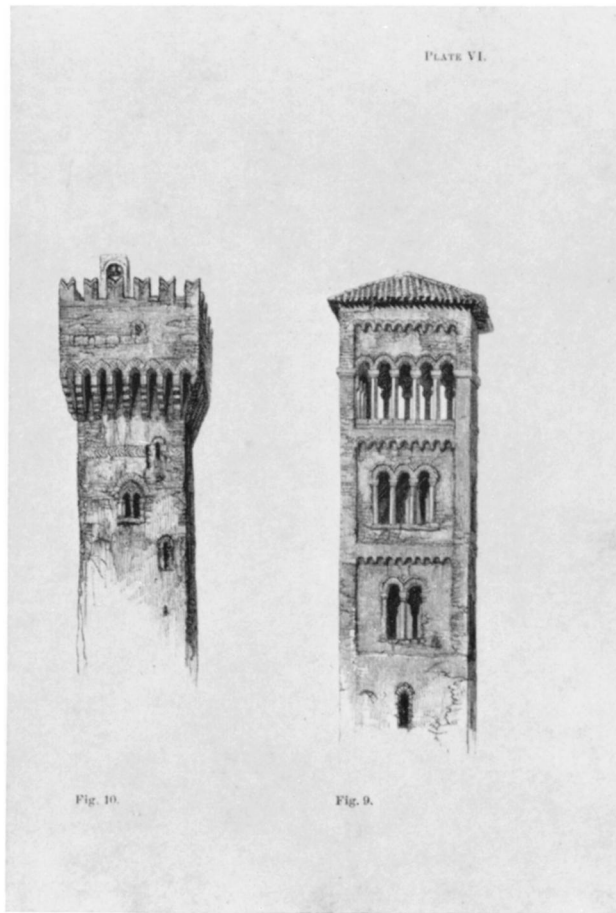
33. Illustration for *The Fairy Family*, by Edward Burne-Jones. Pen and ink with grey wash.



34. Illustration for *The Fairy Family*, by Edward Burne-Jones. Pen and ink with grey wash.



35. Illustration for *The Fairy Family*, by Edward Burne-Jones. Pen and ink with grey wash.



36. Illustration to Ruskin's first *Edinburgh Lecture*, 1854.



37. Illustration for *The Fairy Family*, by Edward Burne-Jones. Pen and ink with grey wash.



38. Frontispiece to Thomas Keightley's *Fairy Mythology*, ed. C. 1850, by George Cruikshank. Etching.



39. *The Lass of Lochroyan*, by Dante Gabriel Rossetti. c.1855. Pen and ink with wash, over black chalk. (Private Collection.)

made¹⁰ did he mention Maclaren's drawings, and all outside reference to them was smothered. There is nothing in Malcolm Bell's *Record and Review* of his career, written in his lifetime and in fact heavily based on the more comprehensive of the work-lists, begun in 1872 in a notebook now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. And it is clear that Gleeson White was refused permission to discuss the subject in his pioneer book on Victorian illustration of 1897.¹¹

Though Maclaren is said to have collected 'a portfolio' of the drawings in 1856,¹² we are not told how many were made altogether and only twelve are now known. Besides the three in the book, Lady Burne-Jones reproduced two in her *Memorials* of 1904. The originals of these have not been traced but seven original drawings, hitherto unpublished, survived until recently in Maclaren's family and are now on the London art market.¹³

Maclaren's themes are slight and childish, but it is worth at this stage relating the designs to the text.

Illustrations in the book.

A (Fig.25) *Illustrated title-page* (steel engraving). Inscribed: *Ballads and Metrical Tales of the Fairy Faith of Europe*. It appears from the Introduction that the youthful figure in the centre of the design, seen sleeping beneath a scroll bearing the legend in gothic letters *Love them that honest be/And help them in necessity*, is intended for Robin Goodfellow, the 'son of the Fairy King'. He is surrounded by numbers of fairy-tale figures on a smaller scale, some of whom sit or stand about while others climb the roots and tendrils which form the letters of the earlier words of the title. Others again take up attitudes to represent the letters of the later words.

B (Fig.26) *Frontispiece* (steel engraving). The design is inscribed *Whisper Whisper* in fluid letters in the sky and refers to the verse which begins with these words at the opening of Part II of *The Elf-Folk and Little Mabel: A Tale of Northern Germany*, the book's first and principal story. Maclaren dedicated the volume to his daughter Mabel who is seen here being led by moonlight into Fairy Land.

C (Fig.32) *Tailpiece* (roundel: wood engraving). Illustrating the last poem in the book, *The Neck and the Faithless Lover*. The Neck, who is seen standing deep in water and playing a harp, was 'a river spirit of Scandinavia . . . an old man with long beard (and) a great musician'.

Drawings reproduced in the 'Memorials' (1st ed. only, Vol.I, following p.120).

D (Fig.27) Pen and ink, probably with grey wash. Related to

the same story as the Frontispiece but to Part I. In the form of an L-shaped vignette, this design would have framed two sides of the opening stanza, the first line of which ('Little Mabel smiling lies') is fancifully inscribed above. Details such as the box of mignonette in the window embrasure and the group of fairies folding a smock in the foreground are mentioned in the text.

E (Fig.28) Pen and ink, probably with grey wash. Intended to stand at the head of Part II of *The Pixies and the Orphan Sisters*, the fourteenth story. In the angle of the design (an inverted L) are the opening words of the relevant stanza, 'The Sun with (bright and cheerful face)'. The good sister, Mary, who fills the Pixies' pail with water and is rewarded by finding it full of silver coins, is seen comforting the selfish one, Alice, who neglected to fill the pail and was punished accordingly.

Original drawings: All are in pen and ink over pencil, with grey wash, meticulously worked.

F (Fig.29) Roundel, 70 mm. diam. (sight size). A third design for the opening tale, *The Elf-Folk*. It was clearly intended as a tailpiece to the poem and illustrates the last lines:

In between the aspens grey
Glide the Elfín band;
They have carried far away
To their own green land
Little Mabel. . . .

Under a canopy of trees and in brilliant moonlight a company of little figures is seen from behind approaching a lake, beyond which rises an enchanted castle.

G (Fig.33) 134 by 88 mm. (sight size). An illustration to the second poem, *The Korrigán and the Red Cross Knight*. Set in Brittany, the story is similar to that of Tannhäuser and describes how a Knight successfully withstands the temptations of a fairy castle. The moment represented seems to be that when the Knight, still resisting all blandishments, is relieved by the breaking of dawn and the disappearance of the castle, when

The Lady from his breast has slipped
And down among the ruins crept.

The confused passage at R. is perhaps unfinished.

H (Fig.30) Roundel, 55 mm. diam. (sight size). Related to the third poem, *The Moss-Woman and the Widow: A Tale of Southern Germany*, and probably intended as a tailpiece referring to the closing lines, which describe the Widow knitting, with her child at her side, in her cottage by the Danube. In the drawing she seems rather to be standing at the cottage door.

I (Fig.34) 134 by 88 mm. (sight size). A vignette of similar form to (E), made to stand at the head of the fourth poem, *The Vila and the Patriot: A Legend of Servia*. In light pencil the opening words, 'The sun (behind the wood-clad mountain sets)', are written in the angle of the design. The elaborate townscape represents Belgrade where the story is set. The time is evening and the 'gilded minarets' are catching the dying rays of the sun sinking behind the distant mountains. The Vila herself is indicated in pencil at the bottom of the design 'with streaming hair out-floating', flying through the air on her 'chariot cloud'.

J (Fig.31) Roundel, 55 mm. diam. (sight size). The most difficult design to relate to the text, but probably connected with the fifth poem, *The Dame Abonde and Joan of Arc: A Legend of Lorraine*. Burne-Jones seems to have used the roundel form to indicate the surface of the well in which the Fairy Queen shows Joan's glimpses of the future. The pale disk in the middle of the drawing, which at first sight suggests the space beneath a bridge over which figures are crossing, is probably intended for a reflection of 'the moon, full-orbed' which is described as visible in the well. The design may refer to the verse which

¹⁰ The earlier, in a sketchbook in the Victoria and Albert Museum (91.D.37: E.1 - 1955), includes pictures only up to 1861 and was probably made in that year. The later list, begun in 1872 and continued till the end of his life, is in a notebook in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

¹¹ *English Illustration. 'The Sixties': 1855-1870*. It can only be to *The Fairy Family* that White referred when he wrote (pp.175-6): 'Others (i.e. designs by Burne-Jones) to a quite forgotten book must not be mentioned; but it is safe to say that no human being, who did not know by whom they were produced, would recognize them'. There is also an interesting copy of *The Fairy Family* (1st ed.) in the Birmingham Art Gallery (1616'27), from the collections of Sydney Cockerell, Fairfax Murray and J. R. Holliday. In a note dated 24th October 1917, Cockerell has written at the front that he bought the volume in 1895 at the suggestion of William Morris who pointed it out in a bookseller's catalogue with the words 'Don't let Burne-Jones know that I told you, but that book contains his earliest illustrations'.

¹² *Memorials*, I, p.135.

¹³ They were sold at Sotheby's, 22nd February 1972, lot 54, and bought by Messrs. Hartnoll and Eyre, who kindly allow them to be published here. I am also grateful to Mr John Gere for his help in tracing the drawings initially.

occurs half-way through the poem describing a vision of
 The halls of Vaucouleurs, with glancing lights,
 And sparkling feast upon the ample board;
 High dames and nobles, gallant squires and knights,
 Around its brave old lord.

K (Fig.35) Oval, 73 by 55 mm. (sight size). Illustrating the last lines of the ninth poem, *The Fairy Boy and the Laird of Co: A Legend of the West of Scotland*. The Fairy is shown, after rescuing the Laird from captivity, bringing him to

A castle that hangs o'er the ocean waves,
 And rests on the roofs of the Fairy-caves.

He is shown as described in the poem, with long hair floating over his shoulders, wearing a dress bound round the waist with a garland of wild flowers, and carrying a bow and arrow.

L (Fig.37) Roundel, 55 mm. diam. (sight size). Connected with the thirteenth tale, *The Hill-Man and the Avalanche: A Legend of Switzerland*. This describes how, of all the folk in the village, only one good couple would shelter a fairy in a storm, and so were saved by magic from the ensuing avalanche. The drawing shows the good couple's cottage outside the village, and indicates the brewing storm.

Charming though some of them are, these drawings would hardly command much attention were they not the earliest surviving work of an artist as important as Burne-Jones. They are interesting not so much for their own sake as for what they tell us about his artistic origins. It is true that much of what emerges was soon to be cancelled by the impact of Rossetti; but at least these origins are revealed as having been far more diverse, initially, than is generally supposed on the evidence of the early designs made under Rossetti's influence.

In the first place, just as Maclaren's subject makes his book so characteristic of its time, so the illustrations belong to the currently fashionable genre of fairy painting. Pictures of this type, whose roots went back at least to Reynolds, Blake and Etty, may well have been known to Burne-Jones. A *Titania's Elves Robbing the Squirrel's Nest* by R. Huskisson appeared at the first Royal Academy exhibition he attended, that of 1854; and the exhibition the following year, which he also saw, included a version by George Jones of one of the most popular of all fairy subjects, Aired's song *Come Unto These Yellow Sands* from *The Tempest*.

Books, however, must have provided examples most readily. We are told, for instance, that as a child Burne-Jones had been 'affected' by 'the grotesque vigour of Cruikshank';¹⁴ and I have mentioned the probable connection between Maclaren's volume and Keightley's *Fairy Mythology*. It is curious to note that Cruikshank's frontispiece to the 1850 edition of this book (Fig.38) contains, below, a long-haired figure immersed in water and playing a harp similar to that in the *Fairy Family* tailpiece.

All the drawings, in fact, suggest that Burne-Jones had a good knowledge of contemporary illustration, and are conceived in terms of conventions which prevailed in this field before the revolution which took place there in the 1860's. Most obvious is their vignette form, a symbol of the ephemeral, decorative rôle of illustration before the Pre-Raphaelites began a fashion for more considered, independent designs intended as pictorial counterparts to carefully selected passages of text. Here again some specific comparisons may be made. We are told that before he went up to

¹⁴ *Memorials*, I, p.44.

Oxford Burne-Jones owned 'a book of English Ballads with engravings'.¹⁵ Whether or not this was S. C. Hall's *Book of British Ballads* of 1842-44, as I suspect it may have been, it was clearly a work of this kind, lavishly embellished with border designs by popular draughtsmen of the day. Again, in 1853 Burne-Jones was deep in Poe's *Tales of Mystery and Imagination*.¹⁶ The edition he is most likely to have used has L-shaped and roundel vignettes arranged very much as the *Fairy Family* designs would have been.¹⁷ Burne-Jones himself offers a third piece of evidence. The first number of the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*, the journal he and his friends had been planning for several months, appeared in January 1856. Burne-Jones contributed a review of Thackeray's recent novel *The Newcomes*. He had much to say on the subject of illustration, and though he took the opportunity to declare his preference for the work of Holman Hunt and Rossetti, which he had just discovered, he was far from unappreciative of Richard Doyle's designs for the book under review. It is interesting that all those he singled out for praise at the end of his article were vignettes and chapter headings, and he described these in words that clearly represent his own intentions - 'little sketches apt to be passed over in carelessness, but on examination found to be full of real art and poetical comprehension'. In fact the *Fairy Family* title-page is comparable to Doyle's frontispiece, which shows J. J. Ridley, Clive Newcome's fellow art-student, surrounded by the stock characters of romance which haunt his imagination. And Ridley's whole imaginative world, which Thackeray paints with such tender feeling, is very close to that of Burne-Jones in the childhood drawings we have already seen him recall. It is clear from his review, moreover, that at this point, when he himself was taking the decision to become an artist, Burne-Jones tended to identify himself with Ridley. And indeed this endearing character is not unlike the young Burne-Jones - self-effacing, industrious, given to day-dreaming, and with more than a touch of Pre-Raphaelite earnestness about him.

Another period feature of Maclaren's book is the large percentage of stories (six in all) which are set in Germany. This tendency is again reflected in the drawings, the *Red Cross Knight* (G) being the best example. Among the favourite reading of Burne-Jones and his Oxford friends were the romances of the Baron de La Motte Fouqué, and none was more admired than *Sintram and his Companions*, a tale about a young German knight who struggles with and eventually overcomes the forces of evil. Burne-Jones in fact considered writing on Fouqué for the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*, and the story he wrote for the second number, *A Story of*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.57. Lady Burne-Jones connected this with another book owned by Burne-Jones as a boy which she had mentioned earlier in her account (pp.18-19). This was 'a volume of ballads and translations' containing William Taylor's version of Bürger's *Lenore*, a description which strongly suggests M. G. Lewis's celebrated *Tales of Wonder*. No edition of this, however, appears to have had illustrations, and there was probably no ground for connecting the two volumes.

¹⁶ *Memorials*, I, p.88.

¹⁷ Published by Clarke, Beeton and Co. (London), 1852 and '54 (two editions). At Oxford Morris is also known to have owned Poe's *Poetical Works*, with an introduction by James Hannay, London [1853], which again has vignette illustrations. His copy, as Mr A. R. Duffy has been kind enough to tell me, is now at Kelmscott Manor.

the North, was clearly inspired by *Sintram*. That he also saw his *Knight* as a figure of *Sintram* is suggested by a further fictional parallel. Another book which made a great impact on his Oxford circle was Charlotte Yonge's *The Heir of Redclyffe*. Childish though some of its values may now appear, it embodied for them and for many of their generation all the aspirations, religious, social and aesthetic, unleashed by the Oxford Movement. In particular the book's hero, Guy Morville, gained their adherence by his own devotion to romantic literature, above all the *Morte d'Arthur* and *Sintram*. The parallel with Burne-Jones's *Red Cross Knight* is the drawing which another character, Laura Edmonstone, makes of *Sintram* and gives to Guy to take with him when he goes up to Oxford.

In this connection it is worth recalling that Burne-Jones specifically mentions Corbould. Many of the German romances then so much in vogue were illustrated by him. Indeed the copy of another, Fouqué's *Minstrel Love*, which Burne-Jones gave away as a present about 1856,¹⁸ may well have been Burns's edition of 1845 which has designs by Corbould. Another artist of the same type was John Franklin. His knights, always in long-plumed helmets like Burne-Jones's, gallop or joust their way across the pages of Fouqué or Tieck with equal frequency. More seriously, Burne-Jones's *Knight* may represent his earliest response to Dürer, an artist who was certainly to play a great part in his development after 1856. *Sintram* had been inspired by Dürer's *Knight, Death and the Devil*, and the frontispiece of the copy used by Burne-Jones and Morris (and, Charlotte Yonge tells us, by Guy Morville) was a bowdlerized woodcut version of the engraving.¹⁹ It was this that first aroused their interest. Indeed it is clear that for some time their attitude to Dürer was coloured by highly romantic, chivalric associations derived from Fouqué. In 1855 Morris was considering buying an impression of the *St Eustace*, which he described in the most rapturous terms.²⁰ And the first of a number of copies that Burne-Jones was to make from Dürer, dating from 1856, was a tracing of the *St George on Horseback* (B.54).²¹

Of all the influences on Burne-Jones at Oxford none was so great as Ruskin's, and we should certainly expect the drawings to reflect his tastes. The roundel with an Alpine landscape (*L*) is surely one that does so, and in some of the effects of cloud and moonlight, in the designs (*B*), (*F*) and (*K*), we seem to catch echoes of Turner. The meticulous technique of all the drawings suggests that Burne-Jones was trying to simulate the appearance of steel engravings, and at this stage Ruskin may well have led him to look at examples by Turner, though we know that Turner was an artist he did not admire in later life. It is interesting to note that in 1856 Morris gave a copy of *The Rivers of France* to Georgiana Macdonald, who became engaged to Burne-Jones in June that year.²²

Above all, Ruskin is brought to mind by the most architectural of the drawings, (*I*). One thinks, particularly, of that panegyric in praise of picturesque Gothic, the first of the *Edinburgh Lectures* of 1854, a volume which we know was received with tremendous enthusiasm by Burne-Jones and Morris. In fact one of Ruskin's illustrations to the lecture, his Fig.10 (here Fig.36), shows a tower so like the highest one in the drawing that it seems likely that Burne-Jones drew the detail from it. The problem of representing a fortified town,

. . . the gilded minarets
Of wall-engirt Belgrade,

might well have reminded him of Ruskin's passage on towers – 'watch-towers . . . points of offence, as in towers built on the ramparts of cities, and . . . elevations for the transmission of sound . . . Turkish minaret and Christian belfry'. Certainly the one he seems to have copied exactly suited his purpose. 'Built for military service . . . such towers . . . were attached to every important palace in the cities of Italy, and stood in great circles – troops of towers – around their external walls'. Since the drawing was to show an effect of declining evening light there was perhaps an added source of interest in Ruskin's evocative picture of how the ruins of these buildings 'still frown along the crests of every promontory of the Apennines, and are seen from far away in the great Lombardic plain, from distances of half-a-day's journey, dark against the amber sky of the horizon'.²³

In view of this apparent connection it would be rewarding to know if the drawing was made after the summer of 1855 when Burne-Jones and Morris, inspired by Ruskin, made a tour of the Cathedrals of North France. If so, it might also reflect the 'panorama of the high-pitched roofs and irregular streets of the town' that Burne-Jones saw from the tower of a church familiar from Ruskin's *Seven Lamps*, St Wolfran's at Abbeville; or even perhaps the sketch he is said to have made in one of the streets.²⁴ That drawing itself sounds as if it might have been prompted by another passage in the first *Edinburgh Lecture*, on 'the street effects of foreign cities' which, Ruskin observed, had been treated so successfully by modern artists such as Prout and Nash.

We have touched here on the fundamental problem the drawings present, for the truth is that, with one exception, we do not know when the different designs were made within the period 1854–56. The point is not of vital importance so far as Ruskinian associations are concerned; but it is in relation to Burne-Jones's first response to Rossetti. One clue lies in the fact that he seems to have worked through the book consistently, so that the drawings for the earlier stories appear to be the earliest in date and *vice versa*. At least, the one drawing which, on stylistic grounds, must date from after his meeting with Rossetti in January 1856, belongs to the second to last story for which we have an illustration, the fourteenth; while the illustration to the last tale of all, the tailpiece, could conceivably show something

¹⁸ *Memorials*, I, p.141.

¹⁹ J. W. MACKAIL: *Life of William Morris* [1950 ed.] (World's Classics), I, p.43. The edition of *Sintram* they used was probably that of 1842, published by James Burns.

²⁰ MACKAIL, *op. cit.*, I, pp.72–3.

²¹ In a sketchbook in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, No.1083, p.45 *recto*. For the date of this, see below, note 27.

²² *Memorials*, I, p.135.

²³ *Works of John Ruskin*, ed. E. T. COOK and ALEXANDER WEDDERBURN (Library Edition) [1903–12], XII, pp.37–40.

²⁴ *Memorials*, I, p.112.

of Rossetti's influence in the type of the figure. Yet it does not necessarily follow that all the other designs are earlier, even though they form a more or less coherent group and appear to show no signs of Rossetti's influence. It is true that Lady Burne-Jones believed she could tell a drawing made by her husband before he had seen a Rossetti from one done after,²⁵ but other evidence suggests that she may have over-simplified the picture. That Burne-Jones was not able to assimilate the new style overnight is indicated by the fact that he did not even allow Rossetti to see his work for many months.²⁶ Our uncertainty over the tailpiece may also be significant here; and certainly a few drawings in a sketchbook in the Fitzwilliam, which appears to date from 1856 at the earliest, are still close in style to the majority of Maclaren's designs.²⁷

The one firmly datable drawing to which I have just referred is the vignette for Part II of *The Sisters* (*E*). This is unmistakably dependent on Rossetti and must be among the last, if not *the* last, of the surviving series. Lady Burne-Jones dated it 1856 and in reproducing it side by side with the very different design (*D*) (which she dated 1854) sought to illustrate her point about a radical change of style. Rossetti is responsible for the increased scale of the figures, a new concern with emotion, and the trick of intensifying this by creating a strong sense of an interior, often (as here) by introducing a glimpse of a scene through a window. To him is also due the interest in flat pattern (in the hanging behind the bed) and the careful selection of details such as the straw hat and the painted Crucifixion. Even the awkward drapery forms look like poorly realized versions of Rossetti's characteristic pipe-like folds, and are in fact very similar to those sometimes drawn by Elizabeth Siddal in imitation of Rossetti. The nearest parallel in Rossetti's work is his illustration to the ballad *The Lass of Lochroyan*, dating from c. 1855²⁸ (Fig. 39), in the collection of Mr Basil Gray. This again shows two sisters embracing, one comforting the other, and it may well have served as the point of departure for Burne-Jones's design.

After all the sources have been considered, there remains the question of to what extent the drawings are characteristic

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

²⁶ On his first visit to Rossetti he concealed his ambition to be an artist altogether (*Memorials*, I, p. 130). As late as the summer of 1856, when it was proposed that he should draw the woodblock for an engraving of W. L. Windus's *Burd Helen*, Rossetti had still not seen his work, for we are told that when Morris showed him some of Burne-Jones's 'original designs' he refused to let him draw the block (*ibid.*, p. 136). It was only in December 1856 that Rossetti was able to volunteer an opinion of his pupil's drawing, Burne-Jones (he complained) having done 'the ingenuous and abject so long' (*Letters of D. G. Rossetti*, ed. O. DOUGHTY and J. R. WAHL, 1965-7, I, p. 311).

If the paintings round the fireplace in the Painted Room at Oxford (see above, note 7) are in fact by Burne-Jones and date from c. October 1856, this would be a further argument against his immediate conversion, for they are still in a style remote from Rossetti's.

²⁷ Sketchbook 1083, pp. 10 verso - 11 recto. In particular a head of a King (p. 10 verso) is comparable to that of the principal figure in the *Fairy Family* design (*J*). The volume cannot be earlier than 1856, if we accept that a long series of tracings from the plates in CAMILLE BONNARD's *Costumes des XIIIe, XIVe et XVe Siècles* [1829-30] was made from a copy which belonged to Rossetti (Sale of contents of 16 Cheyne Walk, 5th-7th July 1882, lot 471); and this seems likely since this book was much used both by Rossetti and by Millais. On the other hand the sketchbook cannot be much later than 1856 for the tracings lack any sign of the personal mannerisms that Burne-Jones was able to bring even to copies a few years later. A few sketches dating from the early 'sixties have, however, been 'tipped in' between the leaves at a later date.

²⁸ Pen and ink and light brown wash, over black chalk, 5¾ in. by 6½ in. VIRGINIA

of Burne-Jones himself, what, if anything, in them anticipates his later work. Whether or not the change of style that occurred when he came into contact with Rossetti was sudden and decisive, it is clear that Rossetti's influence, once it took root, was strong enough to make most of the designs almost unrecognizable as from Burne-Jones's hand. Nonetheless there are certain elements that may be considered prophetic. One drawing, the roundel (*H*), contains in embryo a feature found in numerous subsequent compositions, a high screen drawn across horizontally between the foreground figures and the distance. Throughout the series, moreover, there is already a marked facility and charm of invention, and an instinctive sense of design, the latter especially well seen in the component parts of the title-page. Curiously enough it is also this design, the most deeply rooted in the old traditions of illustration, that seems to hold still further hints of the future. The grouping of the figures on either side of the central space, their poses, and the style of their dress, suggest that Burne-Jones was thinking here of the wood engravings after Giotto's Arena Chapel frescoes which the Arundel Society had begun to issue in 1853 accompanied by notes by Ruskin. We know that these were familiar to him for Morris belonged to the Society, and Burne-Jones himself refers to the frescoes in another article in the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*.²⁹ It was through a deeper understanding of sources such as these that he was to evolve his highly distinctive later style.

SURTEES: *Dante Gabriel Rossetti* [1971], I, p. 32, No. 68. I am grateful to Mr Gray for kindly allowing me to illustrate his drawing, and to Mr Philip James of the Royal Academy for supplying a photograph.

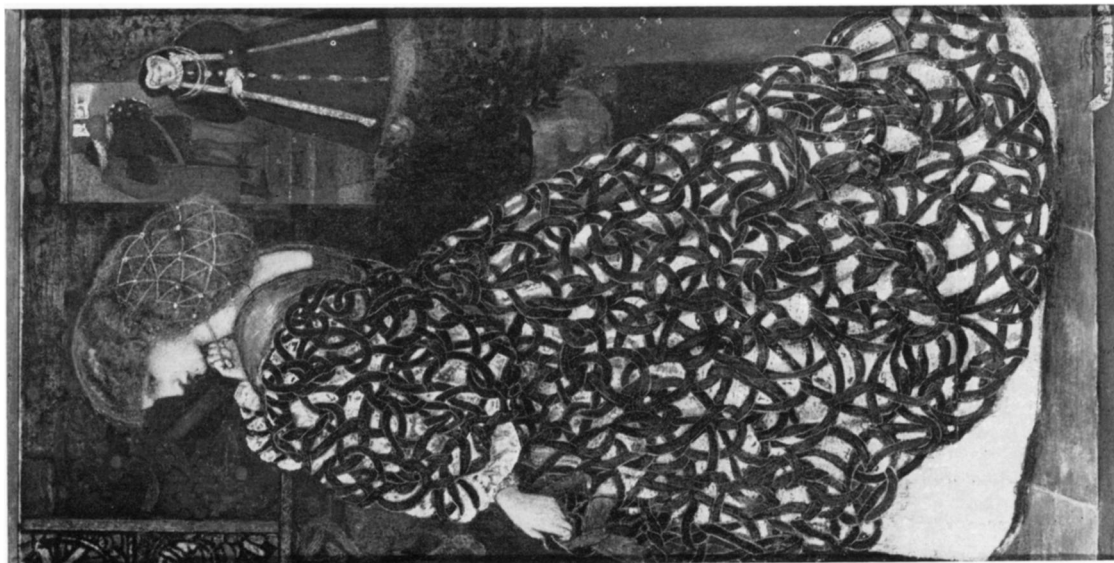
²⁹ *Ruskin and the Quarterly*, in the number for June 1856. This has been attributed to Morris but Mackail believed that Burne-Jones was actually the author (see E. T. COOK: *Life of Ruskin* [1911], I, p. 348, note 2).

II. SOURCES FOR BURNE-JONES'S VON BORK DESIGNS

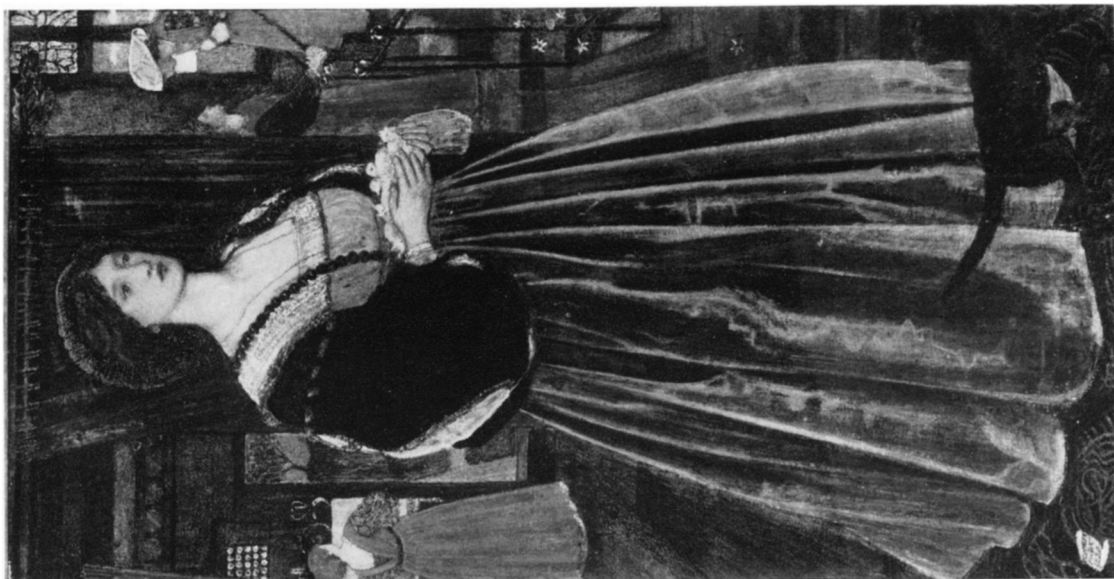
BURNE-JONES'S two small water-colours *Sidonia* and *Clara von Bork* (Figs. 41-42)¹ are among his best known pictures. They are prominently placed in the Tate Gallery and mentioned in most of the literature. They are also amply documented. Each is dated 1860, and Lady Burne-Jones implies that they were finished by August that year when she and Burne-Jones left London to stay with William Morris and his wife at the newly built Red House.² Yet they deserve to be re-considered. Much of their background has been over-

¹ *Sidonia von Bork*, No. 5877, water-colour with body-colour, 13 in. by 6½ in. Inscribed 1860 *E. Burne Jones fecit* on a small scroll at lower right. *Clara von Bork*, No. 5878, water-colour with body-colour, 13½ in. by 7 in. Inscribed *E. Jones pinxit 1860* on a cartouche at lower left. Both pictures are in their original frames, made by Burne-Jones's father, and have inscriptions *Sidonia von Bork 1560* and *Clara von Bork 1560* on their respective mounts. Their first owner was James Leathart of Newcastle, whose name appears against them in a list of early pictures which Burne-Jones made in a sketchbook of c. 1859-61 in the Victoria and Albert Museum (E. 1-1955: 91.D.37, p. 163), and in a record of work which he began to keep in 1872, in a notebook now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Leathart died in 1895 and the following year they were exhibited with the rest of his collection at the Goupil Gallery, London, and bought by Graham Robertson who bequeathed them to the Tate Gallery in 1948. For details of exhibitions and literature, see *The Leathart Collection*, exh. Newcastle-upon-Tyne [October-November 1968], cat. No. 26, 27.

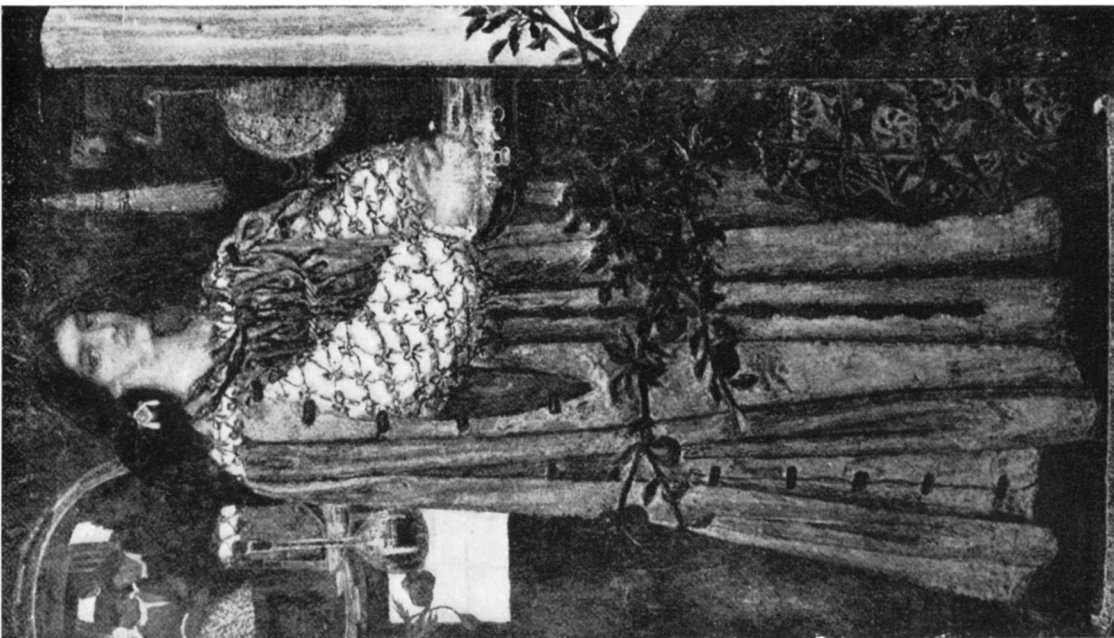
² G. B.-J. (LADY BURNE-JONES): *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones* [1904], I, p. 215.



40. *Sidonia von Bork*, by Edward Burne-Jones. Signed and dated 1860. Water-colour, 33 by 17.1 cm. (Tate Gallery.)



41. *Clara von Bork*, by Edward Burne-Jones. Signed and dated 1860. Water-colour, 33.6 by 17.8 cm. (Tate Gallery.)



42. *Lucretia Borgia*, by Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Begun 1860. Water-colour, 43.2 by 24.7 cm. (Tate Gallery.) Photograph taken before the later repainting.



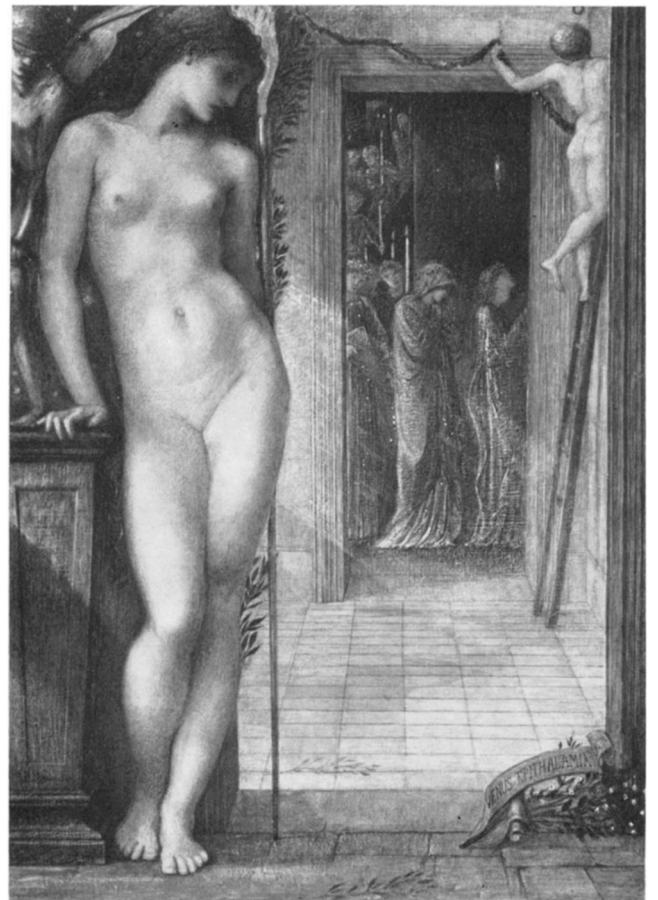
43. *Bocca Baciata*, by Dante Gabriel Rossetti. 1859. Panel, 33.6 by 30.5 cm. (Private Collection, U.S.A.)



44. *Sidonia von Bork*, by Edward Burne-Jones. Water-colour with body-colour, 29.2 by 16.5 cm. (Collection John Walker, Washington, D.C.)



45. *Portrait of Isabella d'Este*, by Giulio Romano. Panel, 101.3 by 90.9 cm. (Hampton Court Palace.) Reproduced by Gracious Permission of H.M. the Queen.



46. *Venus Epithalamia*. Copy by Charles Fairfax Murray after Edward Burne-Jones. Water-colour, 37.8 by 25.9 cm. (Private Collection, London.)

looked, and their value in providing an insight into current Pre-Raphaelite ideas has consequently passed unrecognised.

Their literary source, Wilhelm Meinhold's *Sidonia von Bork, die Klosterhexe*, was published in 1847. Written in the form of a contemporary chronicle, it traces the career of a girl from a noble Pomeranian family who in 1620, at the age of eighty, was executed as a witch at Stettin. Of great beauty, so that all who see her fall in love, Sidonia is also incurably vicious. First at the decorous court of the dowager Duchess of Wolgast, then in alliance with her lover, the leader of a gang of outlaws, and finally in the convent of Marienfliess (hence the book's title), she pursues a life of crime, eventually bewitching the entire ruling house of Pomerania to death or sterility. In 1849, as *Sidonia the Sorceress*, the book appeared in an admirable English translation by Lady Wilde.³ There was only one edition,⁴ and in 1864 Swinburne complained that the book was 'very rare'.⁵ But it appeared in the popular *Parlour Library*, and a degree of success is further suggested by the acclaim given to Meinhold's other book to achieve an English version, *Mary Schweidler, the Amber Witch*. This too was in chronicle form, having been written as a pastiche of an old MS in a deliberate attempt to confound theologians who claimed to be able to detect the authenticity of Biblical texts. The story was set in Coserow, the village where Meinhold was pastor on the Prussian shore of the Baltic, in the time of the Thirty Years' War. Published in 1843, it was translated twice the following year, by Lady Duff Gordon (to whom Meinhold dedicated *Sidonia*) and E. A. Friedlander. Lady Duff Gordon's version ran to at least two popular editions and was adapted as an opera by W. V. Wallace, produced at Her Majesty's Theatre in February 1861.

Rossetti's enthusiasm for Meinhold is well known. Soon after they appeared in England he read both *Sidonia* and *The Amber Witch* and for *Sidonia* conceived 'a positive passion'.⁶ In 1854 he wrote that no work of fiction had impressed him so much until he read *Wuthering Heights* that year.⁷ It is therefore generally assumed that he introduced the book to Burne-Jones when they met early in 1856 and Burne-Jones became his pupil. This may indeed have been the case; but it is perhaps worth noting that Burne-Jones's discovery could have been independent. Besides Meinhold's reputation in England there is the evidence of Burne-Jones's early reading. When he was up at Oxford (1853-6) he certainly read Fouqué and Grimm, probably Tieck's stories, and no doubt some of the other German romance writers whose work enjoyed such a vogue in England at the time. There is in fact a hint as to how he might first have heard of Meinhold. A favourite pastime of his Oxford set was to read aloud the stories in *Household Words*, and one they specially admired, *Colonel Quagg's Conversion*, appeared within a few months of an article drawing the reader's attention to *The*

Amber Witch.⁸ It is possible, too, that at this time Burne-Jones knew something of Meinhold's life, as Swinburne certainly did in 1859.⁹ His career at Oxford included a near conversion to Rome; and he might well have learnt of Meinhold's progress along the well-trodden path of German Romantics towards the Roman Catholic Church, which he was about to enter when he died in November 1851. Meinhold's position was similar to that of the Schlegels whose work was certainly known to Burne-Jones at Oxford.

Whatever the truth may be, it is clear that Burne-Jones had acquired a good deal of Rossetti's imaginative experience before they met. His discovery of the *Morte d'Arthur* in 1855 is the obvious case in point and a few other examples may be mentioned since they are not irrelevant in the context of interest in occult themes. One of Burne-Jones's earliest recorded drawings, made in the mid 'forties when he was still at school, was an illustration to Bürger's famous poem *Lenore*. Rossetti had translated this from the German about 1844. Burne-Jones probably knew the poem in M. G. Lewis's popular *Tales of Wonder*. At an early age Rossetti read this and Lewis's other books, the *Tales of Terror*, *The Monk* and *The Castle Spectre*. At Oxford Burne-Jones admired Fouqué's story of *Sintram*, a hero haunted by the Devil who provides a neat parallel to Rossetti's preoccupation with Goethe's *Faust*. Both men had absorbed the horrific tales of Poe.

There can be no doubt, however, that the climate which produced our pictures was essentially Rossetti's creation. As a child he had loved the illustrated serials *Tales of Chivalry* and *Legends of Terror* 'full of ghosts, fiends, and magic . . . enchanters and other marvels of pseudo chivalry';¹⁰ and a passion for supernatural themes, so common in the sensational literature thrown up in the aftermath of Romanticism, was perhaps the outstanding feature of his early reading. The taste was rooted in a deep strain of superstition, revealed in a number of incidents at different times of his life. In the late 'fifties he was interested in the much discussed subject of spiritualism, though he liked to affect the scepticism of his hero Browning, whose scathing attack on the craze, *Mr. Sludge, 'The Medium'*, was written about 1859-60. Burne-Jones lacked this inner compulsion, although, like so many contemporaries, he tried his hand at table-turning. But in the circle which he and his friends were forming round Rossetti any fancy of the master must become an article of faith. We may note here that Rossetti led them to Browning, who was also fascinated by the supernatural despite his distrust of spiritualism. Burne-Jones read *Paracelsus*, and no doubt *The Laboratory*, the poem about an act of sorcery under the *ancien régime* that had inspired a water-colour by Rossetti in 1849. But it was *Sidonia* that aroused the greatest interest. It has, indeed, everything the Pre-Raphaelite heart could desire. Besides magic, beauty, passion and savage cruelty are all present in abundance. So, too, are precise, quaint detail and brilliant colour, for Meinhold has a superb visual sense. At the same time the book's complete lack of compromise made it a welcome addition to the group's armoury of weapons

³ WILLIAM MEINHOLD: *Sidonia the Sorceress*, vols. XXIX-XXX in *The Parlour Library*, London [1849]. The translator's name was not mentioned until the Kelmscott Press edition appeared in 1893.

⁴ The date of the British Museum copy appears as 1847 in the Catalogue, giving the false impression that there were two.

⁵ *The Swinburne Letters*, ed. CECIL Y. LANG [1959-62], I, p. 104.

⁶ W. M. ROSSETTI: *Dante Gabriel Rossetti* [1895], I, p. 101.

⁷ *Letters of D. G. Rossetti*, ed. O. DOUGHTY and J. R. WAHL [1965-67], I, p. 224.

⁸ The article referring to Meinhold ('Amber Witchery') was published on 25th March 1854, *Colonel Quagg's Conversion* on 30th December following.

⁹ *Swinburne Letters*, I, p. 29.

¹⁰ W. M. ROSSETTI, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

designed to shock or mystify the Philistine. They embraced its values, delighting in the outrageousness of the standpoint involved. Above all, it added a new dimension, dark and menacing, to their cult of female beauty or the 'stunner'. It appealed to their sense of chivalry. When, in 1857, Rossetti protested at the execution of a beautiful murderess and George Birkbeck Hill suggested that moral law was supreme even over feminine beauty, his friends replied with horrified cries of: 'Oh Hill, you would never hang a stunner!'¹¹ Even those outside the set were involved. There is the scene of Madox Brown describing the story in French to Alphonse Legros in 1865;¹² and Tennyson's knowledge of the book ('I would not have missed it for anything, but I would not read it again for anything')¹³ may have been due to Rossetti. Nor was the subject simply a passing fashion. In 1886 Swinburne included Meinhold's works in a list of his hundred favourite books.¹⁴ Morris reprinted *Sidonia* at the Kelmscott Press in 1893. An edition of *The Amber Witch*, illustrated by Philip Burne-Jones and dedicated to his mother, appeared in 1895.¹⁵

Rossetti's devotion to occult themes had found expression in much of his early work, notably in the poem *Sister Helen*, first published in 1854, and the much-repeated design *How They Met Themselves*, conceived in 1851. Burne-Jones was naturally inspired to do likewise. *The Waxen Image*, the first design he made in Rossetti's manner, was virtually an illustration to *Sister Helen*. In 1857 he chose the death of Merlin at the hands of the enchantress Nimue for his mural painting in the Oxford Union. Another *Merlin and Nimue* (1861), a *Morgan le Fay* (1862), and a *Circe* (1863-69) followed in quick succession.

In the case of the *Von Bork* designs it is not surprising to find the *Sidonia* the more compelling image of the two, or that she alone achieved the distinction of a second version¹⁶

¹¹ O. DOUGHTY: *A Victorian Romantic: D. G. Rossetti* [2nd ed., 1960], p.233.

¹² LADY BURNE-JONES, *op. cit.*, I, p.293.

¹³ J. SAXON MILLS: *Sir Edward Cook* [1921], p.282, note.

¹⁴ *Pall Mall Gazette* [26th January 1886]. As late as 1901 he told E. T. Cook that *Sidonia* was a 'real work of genius, but very horrible, the most horrible in literature' (J. SAXON MILLS, *loc. cit.*)

¹⁵ Published by David Nutt, with a useful introduction by Joseph Jacobs. Charles Ricketts also added to this tradition, printing an edition of *The Amber Witch* at the Ballantyne Press in 1894. And see the interesting article on Meinhold of 1895 by York Powell, a long-standing friend and admirer of Morris, Rossetti and Swinburne, in OLIVER ELTON: *Frderick York Powell* [1906], II, pp.302-09.

¹⁶ Water-colour with body-colour, 11½ in. by 6½ in. (sight size). Signed with monogram and inscribed *Sidonia von Bork* upper R. Coll. Mr John Walker, Washington, D.C. The picture is less highly finished than the Tate version and there are a few differences in the treatment of the background, notably the introduction of a half-open window at the left. In 1905 it belonged to Burne-Jones's follower, Edward Clifford, who owned or copied so many of his master's early water-colours. It was subsequently in the collection of Bernard Berenson at I Tatti.

A second version of *Sidonia* appears in Burne-Jones's list of early pictures in a sketchbook in the Victoria and Albert Museum (see note 1 above). It is there dated 1860 and has the name of T. E. Plint of Leeds against it. In fact it was probably one of two pictures (the other being the Fogg *Blessed Damosel*) which Plint received in a case with others by Simeon Solomon and acknowledged on Christmas Day, 1860 (LADY BURNE-JONES, *op. cit.*, I, p.191). At the Plint sale at Christie's on 8th March 1862 (second day: lot 207) it was sold (according to the V. and A. copy of the catalogue) to J. Miller for 15 gns. This was probably the 'Miller (of) Liverpool' whose name appears against another water-colour (*Belle et Blonde et Colorée*, 1860-61) in Burne-Jones's early list of pictures; and he in turn was almost certainly John Miller, the Liverpool merchant and collector who bought pictures from Rossetti and was the father-in-law of P. P. Marshall, one of the founders of the firm of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co. in 1861.

(Fig.44). Here, as in the book, the gentle Clara von Dewitz, who marries Sidonia's virtuous cousin Marcus Bork, defends her when she gets into trouble, but is brought by her in time to a gruesome death, is essentially a foil to the figure of the witch herself. Both pictures relate to the early part of the story. Their mounts are inscribed with the date 1560 so that Sidonia at least is portrayed at the age of twenty. She is seen plotting some new outrage while the Duchess of Wolgast approaches in the distance. In the other picture Clara appears wearing her 'citron' dress. In her hands she holds young birds to show her compassionate nature, and perhaps – since a black cat, Sidonia's familiar, looks up at them hopefully – to symbolize her approaching death.

For us, too, *Sidonia* is the more interesting figure. As elsewhere at this stage, Rossetti provides a close parallel – his water-colour *Lucretia Borgia*, also in the Tate. This in its original form is generally dated 1860-61.¹⁷ Apparently, therefore, it was finished after *Sidonia*, and as the resemblance extends to details a certain influence may run from the younger to the older artist. But in other cases of this kind the initiative is clearly Rossetti's, and there is no reason to doubt that this was substantially true here. In fact, for all practical purposes, the two pictures are twin expressions of the same idea. The two themes obviously have much in common, and this resemblance is reflected in the compositions. To appreciate the point fully one should look not at Rossetti's picture in its present form but at the old photograph taken before it was largely repainted in 1869 (Fig.42).¹⁸ Lucretia

The measurements given in the Plint sale catalogue (11 in. by 6½ in.) are practically the same as those of the picture in America, and in all probability this and Plint's version were the same. It is true that the second day of the sale was devoted to paintings (as against drawings which were sold on the first day), but it does not follow that Plint's *Sidonia* was an oil. *The Blessed Damosel*, which is certainly a water-colour, was also sold that day (lot 203), and the large quantity of body-colour that Burne-Jones used with water-colour has often led to his works in this medium being mistaken for oils.

There is one more piece of evidence which might either indicate another version altogether, or, if it refers to Plint's picture, fill in the history of this a little further. On 12th March 1862 Ruskin wrote to Miss Ellen Heaton of Leeds suggesting she should buy a picture by Burne-Jones, whose career he was anxious to advance. Miss Heaton replied that she did not care for Burne-Jones's work, but by the beginning of May Ruskin had chosen her a picture of *Sidonia* from the artist's studio. For this she was to pay 20 gns., but Ruskin agreed to take it back if she did not like it. In fact it failed to please her and the picture was eventually returned to Ruskin in March 1863. The last we hear of the transaction is in a letter from Ruskin dated 18th November this year in which he replied to Miss Heaton who had written to express her shock that Meinhold's romance should have been chosen as the subject for 'drawings . . . for a young lady'. Presumably she had only at this stage read the book or been told the story, but why Ruskin now refers to 'drawings' is not clear. (For the full correspondence, at least on Ruskin's side, see *Sublime and Instructive. Letters from John Ruskin to Louisa, Marchioness of Waterford, Anna Blunden and Ellen Heaton*, ed. VIRGINIA SURTEES [1972], pp.239-52).

Ruskin gave Miss Heaton to understand that he was buying the drawing for her direct from Burne-Jones's studio, having selected it from the works available for sale. It is not inconceivable, however, that he had somehow acquired Plint's drawing from Miller soon after the Plint sale, and that it was this he 'chose' for Miss Heaton. Ruskin revelled in the rôle of intermediary in complicated negotiations between painters and patrons; and it is worth noting that he first broached the subject of Miss Heaton's buying a Burne-Jones four days after the Plint sale. Later in the 'sixties he was certainly in the habit of buying Burne-Jones's pictures when they appeared at sales, allowing the artist to re-sell them and keep any profit.

¹⁷ For the history of this picture see VIRGINIA SURTEES: *D. G. Rossetti: Catalogue of Paintings and Drawings* [1971], I, p.77, No.124.

¹⁸ Reproduced in H. C. MARILLIER: *Dante Gabriel Rossetti* [1899], p.105.

is shown washing her hands of the poison she has just administered to her husband Alfonso of Biselli, who is seen with her father Pope Alexander VI in the mirror behind her shoulder. Thus she and Sidonia, though they face opposite directions, are identical in relationship to their victims. Both look out of the picture to engage us better in their ugly deeds. The common details include a large potted plant and a narrow scroll along the bottom edge of the picture on which Burne-Jones writes his signature and Rossetti an inscription. In the second version of *Sidonia* (Fig.44) there is also a long-necked bottle, a pair to that holding poisoned wine in the *Lucretia*.

The two themes are linked more closely still by Swinburne. While he never ceased to admire Meinhold, throughout his life he maintained 'the deepest and most reverential interest' in the Borgias.¹⁹ One of his fullest expressions of this, the *Chronicle of Tebaldeo Tebaldei* in which Lucretia appears as the heroine, was written in 1861; and the following year the *Ballad of Life*, the opening poem in his *Poems and Ballads* of 1866, was composed in her honour.²⁰ This volume was to be dedicated to Burne-Jones, and a number of the poems it contains are connected with his pictures. *Sidonia*, moreover, was a picture which clearly appealed to Swinburne. In his article published in the *Fortnightly Review* in July 1868, *Notes on Designs of the Old Masters at Florence* (which itself has internal links with *Poems and Ballads*) he refers to it as a 'nobler' drawing of a witch than another by an artist he already rates highly, Filippino Lippi.²¹ Burne-Jones for his part may well have known some of Swinburne's sources for Lucretia's story – Dumas's *Crimes Célèbres*, Alexander Gordon's *Lives of the Borgias*, Victor Hugo's melodrama, perhaps William Roscoe's chivalrous Dissertation on her character in his *Life of Leo X*.²² He would certainly have known about the famous lock of her golden hair and letters to Bembo preserved in the Ambrosiana, which Swinburne was anxious to see in 1861,²³ and which was already known to Ruskin.²⁴ It may be observed that he gave to Sidonia a mass of golden hair, a motive which had not appeared in his work before.

There was, however, a better reason for this. Sidonia's coiffure is exactly that found in a portrait of the witch that Meinhold claimed to have seen 'at Stargard, near Regenwalde, in the castle of the Count von Bork', and describes at length.²⁵

'Sidonia is here represented in the prime of mature beauty – a gold net is drawn over her almost golden yellow hair, and her neck, arms, and hands are profusely covered with jewels. Her

bodice of bright purple is trimmed with costly fur, and the robe is of azure velvet. In her hand she carries a sort of pompadour of brown leather, of the most elegant form and finish. Her eyes and mouth are not pleasing, notwithstanding their great beauty – in the mouth, particularly, one can discover an expression of cold malignity.

'The painting is beautifully executed, and is evidently of the school of Louis Kranach (*sic*).

'Immediately behind this form, there is another looking over the shoulder of Sidonia, like a terrible spectre (a highly poetical idea), for this spectre is Sidonia herself painted as a Sorceress. It must have been added, after a lapse of many years, to the youthful portrait which belongs as I have said to the school of Kranach, whereas the second figure portrays unmistakably the school of Rubens. It is a fearfully characteristic painting, and no imagination could conceive a contrast more shudderingly awful. The Sorceress is arrayed in her death garments – white with black stripes; and round her thin white locks is bound a narrow band of black velvet spotted with gold. In her hand is a kind of work-basket, but of the simplest workmanship and form.'

In reading this Burne-Jones was probably attracted not only to details but the general idea of a picture by Cranach. There is ample evidence to show that he was studying German engravings in these early years. Their influence appears in the stippling technique of his pen and ink drawings of the late 'fifties, and may still be felt in the finicky handling of the *Von Bork* designs. At the same time these reveal the beginnings of the much looser style he was soon to adopt, based on Venetian example. About this time a marked interest in Venetian painting arose in Rossetti's circle. The earliest expression of this in Rossetti's own work is the well-known *Bocca Baciata* of 1859, the picture in which he laid the foundations of his later manner (Fig.43). Abandoning the meticulous water-colour technique he had used for many years, Rossetti painted this in oil in a deliberately 'rapid' style,²⁶ and regarded the result as having 'a rather Venetian aspect.'²⁷ In *Sidonia* Burne-Jones moved along similar lines, though the process is much less obvious. *Bocca Baciata* is a portrait of Fanny Cornforth who, with her worldly type and thick golden hair, became the genius of Rossetti's 'Venetian' phase just as Miss Siddal had inspired his earlier 'medieval' work. It is known that Fanny was sitting to Burne-Jones as early as January 1858,²⁸ and she may well have been the model for the golden-haired *Sidonia*. Again, G. P. Boyce, for whom the *Bocca* was painted, described it as a 'portrait . . . in late 16th century costume.'²⁹ In a contemporary sketchbook Burne-Jones made drawings of female costume of this period from Cesare Vecellio's *Abiti Antichi e Moderni*, a copy of which belonged to Rossetti.³⁰

²⁶ *Rossetti Letters*, I, p.358. *Bocca Baciata* is not mentioned here by name, but is clearly the picture in question.

²⁷ Letter to G. P. Boyce, 5th September 1859; see V. SURTEES: *D. G. Rossetti*, I, p.69.

²⁸ F. M. HUEFFER: *Ford Madox Brown* [1896], p.154.

²⁹ *Extracts from G. P. Boyce's Diaries, 1851-1875*, in *The Old Water-Colour Society's Club*, vol. XIX [1941], p.34.

³⁰ Burne-Jones's drawings, which are in fact tracings, occur in the earliest of the series of his sketchbooks in the Victoria and Albert Museum, dating from c.1859-61 (E. 1-1955: 91.D.37, pp.258-260). Rossetti's copy of the *Abiti Antichi*, in the edition published in Venice in 1664, appeared at the sale of the contents of 16 Cheyne Walk, T. G. Wharton, Martin and Co., 5th-7th July 1882, lot 478. Burne-Jones's tracings are taken from plates 50, 60, 259, 272, and perhaps 167 and 275. Another figure (p.260) wearing a *zazara* and a dress

¹⁹ *Swinburne Letters*, VI, p.164.

²⁰ It was only in 1876 that Swinburne asked his publisher Andrew Chatto to insert the words '*In honorem D. Lucretiae Estensis Borgiae*' below the title in a new edition (*Swinburne Letters*, III, pp.199-200); but from the start the poem's connection with Lucretia was made clear in the last stanza.

²¹ *Complete Works of A. C. Swinburne*, ed. EDMUND GOSSE and T. J. WISE [1925-27], V, p.169.

²² For a long discussion of Swinburne's Borgia sources, see the Golden Cockerell Press edition of *The Chronicle of Tebaldeo Tebaldei*, with commentary and notes by RANDOLPH HUGHES [1942], pp.111-27.

²³ *Swinburne Letters*, I, p.39. Early that year Swinburne saw these relics, and in December 1863 (*loc. cit.*, p.91) asked his sister Alice to 'salute (them) respectfully for me' when she was in Milan. It is possible that he knew the edition of Lucretia's letters to Bembo which was published by Bernardino Gatti in Milan, 1859.

²⁴ *Effie in Venice*, ed. MARY LUTYENS [1965], p.54.

²⁵ In the Preface.

But the most interesting is the third connection. Rossetti's painting was evidently based on the female half-lengths of Titian and Palma Vecchio.³¹ Burne-Jones actually made copies of this type of picture, notably one from Titian's *La Bella* in the Pitti which he saw in 1859³², and he too began a series of original designs in the same idiom. In a sense *Sidonia* was the first of these, for, though a standing figure, we know that she was inspired by a half-length Renaissance portrait. Burne-Jones's follower Edward Clifford, who once owned the second version, wrote that *Sidonia*'s dress was 'suggested by a picture at Hampton Court';³³ and this can only have been the portrait of *Isabella d'Este* (Fig.45), now given to Giulio Romano, but in 1860 still attributed to Parmigianino.³⁴ In fact *Sidonia* borrows from this not only the pattern of the dress with its black velvet coils but the motive of figures entering the room beyond in the upper right-hand corner. Together with the sitter's impassive expression and fantastic head-dress (the *zazara* for which *Isabella* was famous), these elements combine to produce a disturbing, if not sinister, effect. Here, in other words, was Meinhold's description of *Sidonia*'s portrait embodied: what better model for a picture intended to give tangible form to that description? At the same time the characteristically Mannerist design must have interested Burne-Jones for its own sake, for he returned to it later in quite different circumstances. It recurs, for instance, in the *Venus Epithalamia* of 1871 in the Fogg (copy, Fig.46),³⁵ in the *Portrait of Lady Burne-Jones*, begun in 1883 (Fig.47), and, less emphatically, in the *Danaë and the Brazen Tower*, of which the last of three versions, finished in 1888, is at Glasgow (Fig.48).

This is not the place to discuss this phase of Pre-Raphaelite taste at length, but two points may perhaps be made. First, the change owed much to a new emphasis in Ruskin's

with voluminous sleeves may also have been found in Rossetti's copy since it appears in the French reprint of the *Abiti*, ed. A. F. DIDOT, Paris [1859-60], Fig.46.

³¹ The evidence for this is mainly internal, though he had admired Venetian portraits in the Louvre in 1849, and was to conceive his *Monna Vanna* (Tate) of 1866 as a 'Venus Veneta'. He also studied Veronese on his return to the Louvre in 1860 (*Letters*, I, pp.367, 371).

³² This sketch, in pencil inscribed with colour notes, is one of many copied from Old Master paintings, mainly dating from Burne-Jones's first visit to Italy in the autumn of 1859, in a scrapbook in the Fitzwilliam Museum, No.1084, p.14. Other copies in this which may be mentioned here show an unidentified head of a woman, close to Palma Vecchio in type, inscribed 'green leaves behind/gold hair,' etc. (p.7); and the woman seated to the left of the table in Bonifazio's *Rich Man's Feast* in the Accademia, Venice (p.12). The first, in pencil only, may date from 1859. The second, a water-colour, was made on Burne-Jones's second visit to Italy, in 1862, being identical in style to other copies done at that time.

³³ E. C. (EDWARD CLIFFORD): *Broadlands As It Was* [1890], p.55.

³⁴ E.g. in the *Handbook* by FELIX SUMMERLY (Henry Cole) [1841], p.50, No.73, as an *Italian Lady*; and in MRS JAMESON'S *Handbook to the Public Galleries of Art in and near London* [1842], p.305, No.67, as a *Portrait of a Lady*. The attribution persisted until comparatively recent times (for full bibliography see S. J. FREEDBERG: *Parmigianino* [1950], pp.227-28). It would be interesting to know if the new attribution would have lessened the picture's appeal to Burne-Jones, for no artist was currently abused so much as Giulio. His detractors included Rio, whose popular *Poetry of Christian Art* was known to Burne-Jones by 1856, Ruskin and Layard; and Madox Brown made him his 'pet hatred among Italian artists' (W. BELL SCOTT: *Autobiographical Notes* [1892], II, p.191).

³⁵ Water-colour with body-colour and gold, on canvas, 14½ in. by 10½ in., signed and dated E. B. J. MDCCCLXXI, lower left. Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass. (1943. 453). A version, the same size and in the same technique as the original, was in the collection of the late Charles Handley-Read and has been exhibited in London recently (R.A., Spring 1971, No.D.148, and Fine Art Society, October 1972, No.42). This is almost certainly the copy by Charles Fairfax Murray recorded by MALCOLM BELL: *Sir Edward Burne-Jones. A Record and Review* [4th ed., 1898], p.43, and here reproduced.

critical opinion, to that shift in interest from the Primitives to the great Venetians which emerges so strongly in the last volume of *Modern Painters* (1860). In particular the curiosity that pictures like the *Isabella d'Este* aroused in Burne-Jones and Rossetti should be related to the attention that Ruskin paid to Titian's series of female portraits at Dresden in 1859. Ruskin may well have brought reproductions of these to Burne-Jones's notice, as he was certainly giving him German engravings. Readers of the last volume of *Modern Painters* are encouraged to study Lefèvre's engravings after Titian and Veronese, and it is known that Ruskin owned a print of one of the Dresden paintings, Tintoretto's *Portrait of a Woman in Mourning*, then believed to be by Titian.³⁶

In the second place, it is worth recalling the rôle of G. F. Watts. Just as earlier in the 'fifties Ruskin had tried to influence Millais and then Rossetti, so now he was urging Burne-Jones along a path mapped out in accordance with his new ideals. In this attempt he seems to have enlisted the help of Watts whose own work, rooted in the tradition of the Grand Manner, owed so much to Venetian painting. Burne-Jones was to acknowledge Watts's early influence, which he must have experienced first when he stayed, recovering from illness, at Little Holland House in the summer of 1858. Indeed here in the Prinsep circle he found an entire way of life cultivated to harmonize with the spirit of Watts's pictures. There are many reflections of this – Watts's own portrait of Mrs Prinsep called *In the Days of Giorgione*, which probably dates from the early 'sixties;³⁷ Val Prinsep's full-length portrait *Leonora di Mantua* at Liverpool; Leighton's *Noble Lady of Venice* of 1866 (Leighton House); above all, some of Mrs Cameron's photographs of c.1865-70, showing the sitters in elaborate costume in poses inspired by the Old Masters. Several of Burne-Jones's early pictures – notably a *Viridis of Milan* of 1861 – were in this taste. We know that Watts lent him studio properties; and it is not surprising that the costume worn in one of Mrs Cameron's prints, the *Hypatia* of c.1870, was said to be copied from *Sidonia*.³⁸ In fact this was not the case, though the dress does appear in pictures by Rossetti of 1860.³⁹ It was derived from that of Ippolita Sforza in one of Luini's frescoes in S. Maurizio, Milan, from which Ruskin was to ask Burne-Jones to make copies in 1862.⁴⁰

³⁶ Ruskin's notes on pictures seen at Dresden are printed in the Fourth Appendix to *Modern Painters*, vol.V, in the Library Edition of the *Works* [1903-12], vii, pp.490-93. The Tintoretto, No.265a, which was held to be by Titian until Berenson and Loeser suggested the present attribution, is described by Ruskin as 'a dark woman in black, of which I have engraving; all brown'.

³⁷ Formerly coll. Sir Edmund Davis, Chilham Castle; photograph Witt Library.

³⁸ By a relation of the sitter, Marie Spartali (see H. GERNSEHEIM: *Julia Margaret Cameron* [1948], p.58 and Pl.9: *Sidonia* is mistakenly attributed here to Rossetti.)

³⁹ The water-colours *Borgia* (Carlisle) and *Bonifazio's Mistress* (coll. Miss Lillian Murray). The first was started in 1851 as an illustration to two lines in *Richard III*. In 1858, however, it was re-worked and converted into a Borgia subject; and it was only signed in 1860 (v. SURTEES: *D. G. Rossetti* [1971], I, p.15). The dress in question, worn by Lucretia, was almost certainly among the later additions.

⁴⁰ The link was CAMILLE BONNARD'S *Costumes des XIIIe, XIVe et XVe Siècles* [1829-30], vol.II, MCCCC – No.59 and text p.117. This book was much admired and used by the Pre-Raphaelites. Millais copied from it (Millais Exh., Liverpool and R.A. [1967], cat. No.237-240); Rossetti owned a copy (Sale of Contents of 16 Cheyne Walk, 5th-7th July 1882, lot 471); and Burne-Jones himself made a number of coloured tracings from it about 1856. These occur in his earliest surviving sketchbook, in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (1083).

For Burne-Jones's copies in S. Maurizio, Milan, see LADY BURNE-JONES, *op. cit.*, I, pp.247-8.



47. *Portrait of Lady Burne-Jones*, by Edward Burne-Jones. Begun 1883. Canvas, 78.7 by 53.3 cm. (Collection Lance Thirkell, London.)



48. *Danaë and the Brazen Tower*, by Edward Burne-Jones. 1876-88. Canvas, 231 by 113 cm. (Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum.)



49. *Sideboard*, by Edward Burne-Jones. June 1860. Wood. (Victoria and Albert Museum.)

All these strands find some point of contact in our two drawings. We may turn, finally, to two more which relate not to specific details but to general qualities of mood, tone and colour. Burne-Jones was certainly at Hampton Court in October 1860,⁴¹ but he must have been there before if the Tate pictures were painted the previous summer. There are several references to visits to the palace in Rossetti's letters of the early 'sixties, showing that about this time it became an object of some interest to his circle, though it had in fact been open to the public since 1830. The pictures – and it is significant that they include so many Venetian works – were clearly one attraction. Besides the evidence of *Sidonia*, we hear of Rossetti and Boyce studying them for a '2 hour spell' in 1865.⁴² Yet for anyone trying to envisage Renaissance crimes, the airless closets and narrow passages of the building itself no doubt held an added charm. We may compare Rossetti's enthusiastic account of another Tudor house, Haddon Hall in Derbyshire, in 1857;⁴³ or his plan in 1860 to rent a château he had seen near Boulogne and thought would provide 'very paying backgrounds';⁴⁴ or again, Millais painting his *Eve of St Agnes* at Knole in 1863.

More important, however, was the modern equivalent found for the evocative gloom of ancient houses, – that High Victorian decorative taste which sought to re-create effects of depth and mystery, of gothic shadows pierced by the refulgent gleams of painted manuscripts. Burne-Jones, of course, was closely concerned with this furnishing style, mainly through his work as a designer of stained glass for James Powell and Sons (1857–61) and (from 1861) for Morris, but also through independent commissions from Butterfield, Street, Seddon, Bodley and Burges. His easel pictures reflect the connection at every turn. In the case of *Sidonia* there are hints in the background of stained glass windows and massive pieces of furniture of the kind now being designed by Philip Webb and Morris. The figure itself is similar in pose to that of a woman feeding parrots on the front of a sideboard in the Victoria and Albert Museum which Burne-Jones painted about the same time as the water-colour, in June 1860 (Fig.49).⁴⁵ Above all, the colour harmony of both pictures – reddish browns and blacks set off against passages of dull white and touches of acid yellow, blue and green – is typical of the schemes of rich polychromy favoured by so many of the architects for whom Burne-Jones was working.⁴⁶

Shorter Notices

Gustav Klimt's Beethoven Frieze

BY PETER VERGO

THE XIVth exhibition of the Vienna *Secession* (15th April–27th June 1902) represents a significant departure from the association's earlier shows in that its *raison d'être* was the presentation of a single work: the monumental, polychrome sculpture of Beethoven by the Leipzig artist Max Klinger (Fig.50).^{*} The efforts of the artists of the *Secession*, among them Klimt, Hoffmann, Alfred Roller and Adolf Boehm, were on this occasion directed entirely towards the creation of a suitable setting for Klinger's masterpiece, and embodied, in the particular juxtaposition of fresco, oil-painting, sculpture, lighting, and interior design the *Secession's* own slightly wilful interpretation of the Wagnerian notion of the total work of art. (It may be noted that this notion was given complete expression only at the private opening of the exhibition, when wind-players from the Vienna Philharmonic, under Gustav Mahler's direction, welcomed Klinger as guest of the *Secession* with the strains of Mahler's own re-arrangement of part of the last movement of Beethoven's 'Choral' Symphony.)¹ In one further respect, also, this particular exhibition was unusual: in that the works by Austrian artists which were to constitute the framework for Klinger's *Beethoven-Plastik* had, for the most part, been created exclusively for this purpose and, as the foreword to the exhibition catalogue makes clear, were intended to be wholly ephemeral:

'Our hope, to provide a worthy setting for the profound and wonderful reverence which Klinger, in his monument, expresses for the great Beethoven sufficed to call forth that *joie de travail* which, despite our knowledge that we were creating but for a few days, evoked lasting dedication to the task in hand. Thus came into being this exhibition, which one should not brand with the accusation of mere transitoriness . . .'²

The murals by Roller, Boehm and Andri, Hoffmann's interior design, and much more besides – all was destroyed at the close of the exhibition. Of the monumental works created for this occasion, only the large fresco with which Gustav Klimt decorated the room on the left-hand side of the main entrance to the exhibition (see Fig.51), the so-called *Beethoven-frieze*, has survived.

That Klimt's frieze should, contrary to the original intention, have outlived the exhibition for which it was painted would appear to be due to the collector Carl Reininghaus. A letter from Klimt to Reininghaus of 16th December 1907 records that the

* I am indebted to the staff of the Oesterreichische Galerie im Belvedere, Vienna, and in particular to Direktor Dr Hans Aurenhammer, Dr Michael Krapff, and Dr Gerbert Frodl, for every possible assistance, including supplying photographs of the frieze, and enabling me to take the necessary measurements. I should also like to thank Christian M. Nebehay, Vienna, for much assistance.

¹ 'Auf der Empore des linken Seitenschiffes stand gerade Direktor Mahler mit seinen Blechleuten und probierte mit Macht ein Motiv aus der "Neunten", das er für Posaunen arrangiert hatte. Abends, vor dem Klinger – Bankett im Grand Hotel, wird nämlich ein ganz privater Willkomm in der Secession stattfinden. Die Mitglieder werden ihren geliebten Gast begrüßen und jene Klänge Beethovens werden ihm entgegenrauschen . . .'
(L. HEVESI: *Acht Jahre Secession*, Vienna [1906], p.382f).

² *Secession, XIV Ausstellung*, Vienna [1902], Katalogvorwort von E. STÖHR.

⁴¹ *Rossetti Letters*, I, p.381.

⁴² BOYCE, *op. cit.*, p.50. It is possible that the Pre-Raphaelites' attention was first drawn to the Hampton Court pictures by an article by JOSEPH CROWE which appeared in the *Daily News* on Monday, 22nd September 1856. There is evidence to suggest that they read this paper, and Crowe's brother Eyre was a close friend of Rossetti's circle. The article omits to mention the *Isabella d'Este* but devotes considerable attention to the Venetian pictures and those currently attributed to Holbein.

⁴³ *Rossetti Letters*, I, p.329.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.367.

⁴⁵ W. 10–1953.

⁴⁶ I am indebted to Mr John Walker and Mr Lance Thirkell for permission to reproduce their paintings (Figs.44 and 47).