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BURNE-JONES AND THE DECORATION OF ST. PAUL'S
AMERICAN CHURCH, ROME.

Columbia University, Ph.D., 1976
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BURNE-JONES AND THE DECORATION OF
ST. PAUL'S AMERICAN CHURCH, ROME.

Richard Dorment

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of the requirements for
The Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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ABSTRACT

Burne-Jones and the Decoration of St. Paul's American Church, Rome

Richard Dorment

St. Paul's Within-the-Walls, the American church in Rome, was built by the English architect George Street between 1872 and 1875. In 1881, the English artist Burne-Jones began to design the cycle of mosaics that today decorates the interior. The thesis examines the evolution of that decoration using the sixty-five drawings Burne-Jones executed for the church, the one hundred and eleven drawings by his studio assistant, T.M. Rooke, and their extant correspondence. The chronology and iconography of the program are clarified; the written and visual sources are analyzed; and the origins of Burne-Jones's symbolism are discussed. Finally, the church is placed within the context of the English mosaic revival of the second half of the nineteenth century.

Chapter one outlines the history of Street's church before Burne-Jones was commissioned and shows that its iconography is consistently sectarian. The chapter examines the reasons why the American congregation in Rome commissioned an English artist to design its mosaics.

Using the drawings of Burne-Jones for the church, chapter two traces the visual development of the mosaic schemes and its chronology from 1881 until the artist's death in 1898. The close formal analysis of the mosaics and the designs for them, defines the adjustments the artist made to fit the architectural space, and how these adjustments affected the iconography. The chapter concludes with Burne-Jones's projects for the entrance wall and nave arches, which were never realized in mosaic.

Chapter three begins in 1906 when, after the death of Burne-Jones, the rector of St. Paul's, R.J. Nevin, asked T.M. Rooke to complete the mosaic in the choir. Rooke's career is summarized identifying the role he played as Burne-Jones's chief studio assistant. Using the extensive correspondence between Rooke, Nevin, and, after Nevin's death, his nephew John Nevin Sayre, this chapter focuses on the choir mosaic, The Earthly Paradise. Particular attention is paid to the use of contemporary portraits for the faces of the saints in the choir. The chapter concludes with the identification of the portraits which include Garibaldi, Presidents Lincoln and Grant, Burne-Jones's wife Georgiana, his daughter Margaret Mackail, various members of the American colony in Rome, and the Protestant theologians Dr. Dollinger and Pere Hyacinthe.

Chapter four discusses the written sources for Burne-Jones's iconography in St. Paul's. The subjects of the first arch mosaic, the Annunciation, the second arch mosaic, the Tree of Life, and the apse and choir mosaics, the Heavenly and Earthly Paradises are examined as a whole. The chapter then shows that the decoration of the church is unified by the theme of 'God's Plan for our Salvation.' The viewer entering the church, is first confronted with the promise of redemption (the Annunciation); next he sees the sacrifice of Christ for us (the Tree of Life), and, arriving at the choir nave, he sees the promise fulfilled (the Heavenly and Earthly Paradises). Analyzed in detail are written sources including the Book of Revelation, the Golden Legend, the writings of Saints Bernard and Bonaventure, and contemporary iconographic studies by Lord Lindsay, Ruskin, and Adolphe Napoleon Didron. The chapter concludes with the observation that, however much Burne-

Jones relied on written sources, we cannot separate those sources from the visual, experimental process described.

Chapter five discusses the visual sources for the mosaics with special emphasis on the Byzantine mosaics at St. Marks in Venice, Ravenna, and Torcello. In addition, a late medieval source for The Earthly Paradise is cited: Jan and Hubert Van Eyck's Ghent Altarpiece. Visual sources also include an Islamic manuscript for the Annunciation and sources within Burne-Jones's own oeuvre for both the Annunciation and Tree of Life.

Chapter six traces the history of Burne-Jones's religious upbringing from his early Evangelical faith, his exposure to Judaism, his conversion at Oxford to the High Anglican or Oxford Movement, and his interest in Roman Catholicism and particularly in the cult of Saint Francis. The artist's religious education is examined in the light of the various, eclectic written and visual sources cited for imagery of St. Paul's. I then show that Burne-Jones's religious symbolism and Ruskin's exegetic method of criticism have a common source in the Evangelical method of religious exegesis. I conclude that Burne-Jones's own thought is reflected in St. Paul's non-sectarian universal spirit and has much in common with the religious syncretism of late Victorian writings such as Frazer's The Golden Bough.

Chapter seven summarizes the history of the mosaic revival in England and concludes with a checklist of all the mosaic cycles executed in England between 1850 and 1899. The chapter stresses the role of George Street as a prime instigator in the movement to decorate the interiors of churches and concludes that Burne-Jones's work at St. Paul's

was the fulfillment of ideas and plans that had long been circulating in England.

The text is followed by two catalogues: first of Burne-Jones's drawings for St. Paul's, the second of Thomas Rooke's. The catalogues are followed by three annotated appendixes containing all extant correspondence about St. Paul's. These include Burne-Jones's letters to the director of the company that executed his designs in mosaic, Sig. Castellani, and Rooke's correspondence with Nevin and Nevin's executors concerning the choir mosaic.

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 Interior of the Guard's Chapel, Westminster
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The Commission
1870-1880

In 1859, for the first time in history, a Protestant congregation was established within the walls of Rome.¹ Until this time the Pope permitted Protestant services to be held only outside the city limits. American expatriates considered the establishment of their congregation a victory for all dissenters who wished to worship in the Eternal City, but they also faced problems. As long as Pope Pius IX (1846-1878) ruled Rome, the possibility that services would be forbidden hung over the Protestant community. The congregation constantly changed the location of its services because it had no permanent chapel. This situation changed when, on September 20, 1870, Republican troops entered Rome and freed the city from papal rule.² One of the reforms introduced by the new liberal government was the institution of a policy of religious tolerance. For the American expatriates in Rome this meant the freedom to build a permanent church in safety.³

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1. See Rev. R[obert] J. Nevin, St. Paul's Within the Walls: An Account of the American Chapel at Rome, Italy, New York, 1877. Henceforward: Nevin, 1877. Walter Lowrie, Fifty Years of St. Paul's American Church, Rome: Some Historical Descriptions by the Rector, Rome, 1926. Henceforward: Lowrie, 1926. Dr. Nevin became pastor of the congregation in 1869. At that time it was called Grace Church, but the name was changed to St. Paul's Within-the-Walls in 1872.
 2. For the history of Rome at this period see Frederick Nieppold, The Papacy in the 19th Century, trans., Laurence Henry Schwab, New York, 1900, p. 157ff.
 3. For the English reaction to the liberation of Rome see "The Episcopal American Church in Rome," The Builder, XXXIV, no. 1762, November 11, 1876, p. 1094: "Papal Rome had banished every sentiment of civil toleration and liberty. Rome of today, on the contrary, receives with open arms every manifestation of human thought."

In 1871, Dr. Robert J. Nevin (1839-1906), the rector of the American congregation, began a campaign to raise money for a new church which was to be called St. Paul's Within-the-Walls.¹ By the spring of 1872 money had been collected, and Nevin met with George Edmund Street (1824-1881), the architect who was to build the church. Nine years later, in 1881, Edward Coley Burne-Jones (1833-1898) began work on a cycle of mosaics that decorate the inside of the church.²

In choosing Street, Nevin hired the best-known architect of the Gothic and Romanesque Revival in England. Street's fame rested not only on his English buildings but on the Anglican churches he designed in Paris, Geneva, and Constantinople and it may have seemed appropriate to Nevin that Street should also build the American Anglican church in Rome.³ Street welcomed the opportunity to erect a Romanesque style church in Italy, and on February 26, 1872, set out from London for Rome. Street's purpose in visiting Rome was twofold. He had also

-
1. "St. Paul's Parish Archive, Rome. Handwritten manuscript: St. Paul's American Protestant Episcopal Church Service Records of Rev. R.J. Nevin, July 1867 to March 5th, 1876." In the hand of Dr. Nevin: "June 1871. Returned to America to raise funds to build new Ch. in Rome. Dec. 23, 1871. Returned to Rome having secured about \$13,000. April 9 to Oct. 8, 1872. 2nd visit to U.S. for funds. Secured about \$21,500."
 2. For Burne-Jones's life, see G-B-J [Georgiana Burne-Jones], Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones, 2nd ed., 2 vols., New York, 1906 (1st ed., 1904). Henceforward: Memorials.
 3. For Street see A[rthur] E[dmund] Street, Memoir of George Edmund Street, R.A., 1824-1881, London, 1888. Henceforward: Street, 1881. Still the best articles on Street are his obituary in The Times, Thursday, Dec. 29, 1881, p. 8 and The Morning Post, Dec. 30, 1881, p. 5. Important articles are: Henry-Russell Hitchcock, "G.E. Street in the 1850s," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, XIX, no. 4, Dec. 1960, pp. 145-171. Henceforward: Hitchcock, 1960. Walter Millard, "George Edmund Street's Sketches at Home and Abroad," Journal of the Royal Society of British Architects, March, 1918, pp. 97-103.

been invited by the English congregation of the Anglican Church in Rome to design a permanent church on the via del Babuino.¹ On February 25, 1872, Street wrote to the art critic F.G. Stephens (1828-1907):

We are going to start for Rome tomorrow night. I shall only be away 3 weeks. I am going to look at a church I have just built for the English at Geneva - and then to look at sites for two Churches in Rome one for the English the other for the Yankee Episcopalians. By very odd coincidence the both came to me without knowing the other's intention.²

The site on the via Nazionale chosen for the church by the Americans was in a part of Rome undeveloped at this period.³ The via Nazionale runs from the Piazza Venezia to the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli, which Michelangelo had built out of the ruins of the Baths of Diocletian.

Street stayed in Rome for only six days in March, 1872, but worked rapidly to produce designs for the church.⁴ Although some Roman architects protested that a Romanesque building was out of character in Rome, the designs were quickly approved by the government.⁵ On

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1. For Street's two Roman commissions see Carroll L.V. Meeks, "Churches by Street on the via Nazionale and the via del Babuino," The Art Quarterly, XVI, no. 3, 1953, pp. 215-228. Henceforward: Meeks, 1953.
 2. Unpublished correspondence between F.G. Stephens and G.E. Street, The Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Don. E. 77 fols. 60-61. Street's church for the English residents of Rome on the via del Babuino, All Souls, was long delayed in construction and was finished by his son, A.E. Street. Its interior is undecorated and its history has no bearing on St. Paul's. See Meeks, 1953, pp. 215-228, and Street, 1888, pp. 208-209.
 3. See Nevin, p. 55, and Helen Haseltine Plowden, William Stanley Haseltine Sea and Landscape Painter (1835-1900), London, 1947, p. 102. Henceforward: Plowden, 1947.
 4. Street, 1888, pp. 208-209.
 5. "American Church of St. Paul, Rome," The Architect, XIV, Nov. 20, 1875, p. 288.

November 5, 1872, a mere eight months after Street's first visit to Rome, Dr. Nevin broke ground for the new building.¹ The cornerstone was laid on January 25, 1873, and between Street's subsequent visits to Rome in 1874 and 1876 the church neared completion.² The structure was consecrated on March 25, 1876 (fig. 1).³

Street designed the church in the Romanesque revival style that he pioneered in England during the 1850s. Although the style was unknown in Rome in the 1870s, it was already out of date in England.⁴ A recent critic has written of Street's Law Courts, which were also built

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1. Lowrie, 1926, p. 21. For this and the following dates see Meeks, 1953, p. 225, n. 3.
 2. Nevin, 1877, p. 58, and Lowrie, 1926, p. 22.
 3. Nevin, 1877, p. 81.

The exterior of the church is of red brick and travertine. The interior is of brick and arlestone. The plan of the building is a basilica with apse, nave, and side-aisles. The dimensions are:

Length of nave, outside: 118 feet
Length of apse: 20 feet
Total: 138 feet

Width at front, outside, including tower: 66 feet

Walls: 3 feet thick
Width of nave inside (to center pillars): 32 feet
Width of aisles: 12 feet each
Height from floor to roof, inside: 59 feet

For the generally favorable critical reaction to the building of St. Paul's see the following notices: "Exhibition of the Royal Academy," The Builder, XXXIII, no. 1682, May 1, 1875, p. 382; "The Episcopal American Church in Rome," The Builder, XXXIV, no. 1762, Nov. 11, 1876, p. 1094; "Modern Work in Rome," The Builder, XL, no. 1991, April 2, 1881, p. 393; "American Church of St. Paul's, Rome," The Architect, XIV, Nov. 20, 1875, p. 288.

4. Joseph Kinnard, "G.E. Street, The Law Courts and The Seventies," Victorian Architecture, ed., Peter Ferriday, London, 1963, p. 234.

in the Romanesque style between 1868 and 1878, that avant-garde architects of the dawning Aesthetic Movement thought them too heavy, too morally earnest, and too serious. The 1870s were a transitional period from the High Victorian Gothic to the less ponderous architecture of the Aesthetic Movement. The architecture of St. Paul's therefore looked backward to what had been the ideals of the recent past.¹

Walter Lowrie (1868-1959), second rector of St. Paul's, wrote that Street modelled his church on St. Zeno in Verona (fig. 2) and Street himself wrote of his admiration for the medieval church.² St. Paul's striped facade and Romanesque tower is not a copy of St. Zeno, but it does evoke the earlier church (figs. 1 and 2). Even today St. Paul's stands out as one of the few Romanesque revival buildings in Rome and in the 1870s it must have looked jarringly out of place.

As this stronghold of the Protestant faith rose amid ancient ruins and Roman Catholic churches, contemporaries saw it as a symbolic affirmation of the principles of their religion. A description in The Builder of 1876 is characteristic: "The simplicity of the lines, the subdued light, the harmony of the whole, tend to meditation and devotional feeling--a very oasis of peace and tranquility in the midst of

1. Ibid., p. 234.

2. Lowrie, 1926, p. 22. For Street's admiration of St. Zeno see George Edmund Street, Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages: Notes of a Tour in the North of Italy, London, 1855, pp. 100-102. Henceforward: Street, 1855.

the glitter and pomp of Roman Catholic Ritual.¹

Dr. Nevin wrote in 1877 that

The building...involved much more than the convenience and honor of our particular congregation. It represented the Church at large, both to Roman Catholic and to Protestant Europe, as a body, on the one hand, reformed from the pagan corruptions of the Papacy; on the other, freed from all state establishment, and political control of things spiritual.²

For Nevin, St. Paul's was a symbol proclaiming the American Episcopalian's independence both from papal control in Rome and from Anglican subservience to the State in England.

A more substantial confirmation of Nevin's associative reading of the architecture is the inscription on the largest of the bells in the tower, installed in 1876, which reads: "VERBUM DEI NON EST ALLIGATUM" ("The Word of God is not bound"). These were the words of St. Paul when he was condemned to death while a prisoner in Rome.

Dr. Nevin, in 1876, wrote about the significance of the bells:

No American, habituated from childhood to the thought of religious liberty, as a right as free to man as God's air and water, can possibly understand what this church on the Via Nazionale, dedicated to the great Apostle to the Gentiles, means to a Roman mind. Severely pure and beautiful in its architecture, it has come to stand before the Roman (indeed the Italian) people as the material representation of all those principles of truth and freedom which flow from

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1. "The Episcopal American Church in Rome," The Builder, XXXIV, no. 1762, November 11, 1876, p. 1094. Hitchcock, 1960, p. 159, says of Street's English Church at Constantinople that the architect "...felt the design should proclaim its English authorship and not be readily confused with that of churches built for continental Roman Catholics." For the way in which buildings were meant to be 'read' by the Victorians and appreciated for the emotions called up by a process of association, see George L. Hersey, High Victorian Gothic, A Study in Associationism, Baltimore, 1972. Hersey discusses Street and the idea of the church as a citadel-fortress on p. 95.
 2. Nevin, 1877, p. 37.

St. Paul's teaching. And it has come thus to be looked to as the very type and symbol of the struggle of Protestantism, in the best and widest sense of the word, against the Papacy.¹

The completion of the building of St. Paul's nicely coincided with the centennial anniversary of American Independence. The tower was finished in July 1876 when, according to Nevin, "...flags unfurled... announced to Rome...that this our monument to religious liberty was finished."² The church was, therefore, a symbol of American democracy transported to Europe. As William Bacon Stevens, Bishop of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, had said in a speech delivered on June 30, 1871, in Philadelphia: "We need a church there [Rome], as a memorial and exponent of that freedom of conscience and religious liberty which is the priceless privilege guaranteed to us by our American institutions."³

The very name of the church, St. Paul's-Within-the-Walls, was meant to contain anti-papal implications: Nevin noted that there was no church within the walls of Rome dedicated to St. Paul and this, he wrote, was a slight against St. Paul in the city of St. Peter. St. Paul was imprisoned within the walls of Rome, according to Nevin, and had preached from a house near the site where the church was built.⁴

1. Ibid., p. 99.

2. Ibid., p. 97.

3. Bishop Stevens quoted by Nevin, 1877, p. 45. For further associative readings of the architecture see Nevin, 1877, pp. 40-41.

4. Ibid., p. 53. S. Paolo alla Regola is an ancient Roman church dedicated to St. Paul at the site of the Roman law courts. Either the Anglicans overlooked its existence or felt that the dedication to St. Paul at the Law Courts was not a pure dedication to that saint.

Eventually, in the twentieth century, a mosaic over the main door on the via Nazionale, representing St. Paul in prison, proclaimed the captivity of both St. Paul and the Protestant church in the city of Rome.¹ At the instigation of Nevin, one of the stained glass windows represented Paul admonishing Cephas, the insincere disciple (Galatians 2:11). Nevin wrote that, for him, Cephas symbolized the Catholic Church.² For the men who built and used St. Paul's, therefore, the structure testified to the vigorous religious faith and democratic traditions of post-Civil War America.

Nevin was the instigator and motivator for all projects connected with the church. According to his successor, Walter Lowrie, Nevin raised the money, selected the site, and chose the architect for the church.³ In addition he oversaw the construction of the building,

1. Lowrie, 1926, p. 29.

2. Ibid., p. 28. The stained glass, designed by the firm of Clayton and Bell, was installed before 1876. The subjects of the three apse windows (now removed and replaced by Burne-Jones's choir mosaic) were:

central window	:	St. Paul's vision of Christ
south side of apse	:	Christ arrested by the Romans
north side of apse	:	Annunciation and Nativity
the great rose window:		Christ blessing, surrounded by the Roman martyrs

The windows of the nave illustrate scenes from the life of St. Paul as do those in the baptistry. Nevin planned to install windows in the clerestory, but never did so. See Nevin, pp. 262-263.

Street designed the decorative mosaic scrollwork in the choir and the tiles in the nave.

3. Lowrie, 1926, p. 4. For Nevin, see also Walter Crane, Reminiscences of an Artist's Life, London, 1907, p. 241, footnote 1; and Maude Howe Elliot, Three Generations, London, 1925, p. 159; and Plowden, 1947, pp. 98-99. David Maitland Armstrong, Day Before Yesterday, edited by his Daughter, New York, 1920, pp. 182-186. Henceforward: Armstrong, 1920.

approved Burne-Jones's designs for the mosaics, and supervised their manufacture in Venice and installation in Rome.¹ Nevin lived a Spartan life—diverting funds that might have been used for his own comfort to the church, which became his obsession. When money was not forthcoming, he donated his own, and in fact, he died in Mexico in 1906 while prospecting for gold with which he meant to cover the interior roof of his church.²

Although Nevin was the major force behind the building, other members of the American colony deserve credit for the accomplishment. The American artists William Stanley Haseltine (1835-1900) and Elihu Vedder (1836-1923) were wardens of the church and members of the building committee.³ These men and other artists living in Rome helped the church by contributing to an exhibition and sale of their pictures and sculpture held in New York and Philadelphia in 1870; the proceeds were donated to St. Paul's. Apart from Haseltine and Vedder, other artists who contributed work were David Maitland Armstrong (1836-1918), George

1. See Crane, op. cit., p. 241, footnote 1; and Memorials, II, p. 144. Lowrie, 1926, pp. 72-73, wrote that "Dr. Nevin had a singularly fine sense of color and he superintended and revised with minute attention to color gradations the works which were fabricated during his lifetime."

2. Lowrie, 1926, p. 23.

For Nevin's death, see Appendix III, Letter 17, pp. 293-94. When Nevin died, his heirs were left to pay the bills for the unfinished choir mosaic for which he had made a contract. The difficulties in paying for the mosaics were clearly set forth in a letter from Walter Lowrie to J. Pierpont Morgan of June 3, 1907, contained in the Parish Archive, St. Paul's Church, Rome. See Appendix IV.

3. For Haseltine, see Plowden, 1947, passim. Haseltine was senior warden from 1868 until he died in 1900. For Vedder, see Regina Soria, Elihu Vedder, American Visionary Artist in Rome (1836-1923), Cranbury, New Jersey, 1970. Henceforward: Soria, 1970.

Inness (1825-1894), and Charles Caryl Coleman (1840-1928).¹

Street intended from the first that the apse of his church should be decorated with mosaics. Brief mention of this plan appeared in a description of the interior of St. Paul's in The Architect, as early as November 20, 1875, and Dr. Nevin, in his history of St. Paul's of 1877, wrote of his intention to cover the rough brickwork of the apsidal dome and the wall above the entrance door with mosaic.² After the completion of the building in 1876, Nevin and the building committee were faced with the selection of an artist to carry out the interior decoration--no easy task since by 1859 there were at least thirty American painters and sculptors in Rome.³ William Wetmore Story (1819-1895), the American expatriate sculptor, wrote to Charles Eliot Norton (1827-1908) in 1863 or 1864 that the American artists in Rome were "eaten up by jealousy and given shockingly to cabal and scandal."⁴ Again, he wrote to James Russell Lowell (1819-1891) on December 10, 1864: "For the most part, and with scarcely an exception among the American artists, art is (here) but a money-making trade, and I have no sympathy with those who are artists merely to make their

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1. Flowden, 1947, p. 102; and Nevin, 1877, pp. 37-38 and 43.
 2. "American Church of St. Paul, Rome," The Architect, XIV, Nov. 20, 1875, p. 288. The description of the church given here is so complete and so technical that it must be based on information supplied by Street.
 3. Viola Hopkins Winner, Henry James and the Visual Arts, Charlottesville, 1970, p. 115.
 4. Henry James, William Wetmore Story and His Friends, Boston, 1903, II, p. 127.

living. As for general culture there are none of our countrymen here who pretend to it...."¹ The attitude implicit in Story's own criticism reveals a basic flaw which was characteristic of the American artist living in Rome: Story's contempt for artists who earned their own living is an opinion about his countrymen that could not have been encouraging to other artists, and his low regard for American culture reflects the shared idea that American artists were provincial in comparison to their European counterparts. In their choice of an artist to decorate the American Church, Story, Haseltine and other expatriates on the building committee may not have relished a constant reminder of their American roots. Their aim may have been, to some extent, to overcome their provincial heritage in order to become international. In the 1870s there was no real tradition of American mural decoration and the ability of an American artist to carry out such a project may have been in doubt.² By contrast, mural decoration was a continuing concern of English artists and architects during the second half of the nineteenth century, and it was to that country that the Americans turned to find an artist for their church.

We do not know why Burne-Jones was chosen to decorate the American church, but we can speculate that there were two main reasons: the recommendation of Elihu Vedder and the recommendation of George

1. Ibid., II, p. 149.

2. See Helene Barbara Kallman Weinberg, "The Decorative Work of John La Farge," Diss. Columbia University, 1972, p. 88: "...mural painting as an art consistent with the structural and expressive requirements and intentions of surrounding architecture must be said to begin in this country [America] with the decoration of Trinity Church [decorations begun in 1876]."

Street.¹ In a letter to his father in August 1876, Vedder wrote:

You know that the Americans have built a splendid church in Rome--Episcopalian, and although I am not a church member nor indeed what is called a Christian, still, being a prominent resident in Rome and Carrie [Vedder's wife] being a member of this church, and my advice being useful in regard to artistic things about the building, they have made me a vestryman and I have remained so ever since.²

Vedder's advice "in regard to artistic things," may, at this date, refer to the mosaics, for the building had already been erected and the stained glass installed. From June 3 to July 15, 1876, Vedder made one of his rare trips to London, where he visited Morris and Company, which specialized in church decoration, and the studios of Burne-Jones and George Frederic Watts (1817-1904).³ Vedder's trip to England may have been undertaken on behalf of the church. Street had often used stained glass by Morris and Company to decorate his churches. He may have mentioned Watts and Burne-Jones to Nevin and the building committee as two artists with whom he had already collaborated on the decoration of churches and who would be suitable artists for the work that the committee at St. Paul's had in mind.⁴

1. William Haseltine claimed that he was instrumental in persuading Burne-Jones to design the mosaics, but of this we have no proof. See Plowden, 1947, p. 102.

2. Soria, 1970, p. 105.

3. Ibid., pp. 109-110.

4. For Watt's mural for Street in St. James the Less, painted between 1858 and 1861, see Hitchcock, 1960, pp. 163-165; "Church of St. James the Less, Garden Street, Westminster," The Builder, XIX, no. 958, June 15, 1861, p. 410; and "S. James the Less, Garden Street, Westminster," The Ecclesiologist, XXI, no. 140, October 1860, pp. 322-323.

Burne-Jones designed a set of tiles for a church built by Street between 1853 and 1878. These were executed around 1866 for St. Peter's, Hinton Road, Bournemouth, and are now destroyed. See Martin Harrison and Bill Waters, Burne-Jones, London, 1973, p. 53 and p. 87, illus. no. 114. Henceforward: Harrison and Waters, 1973.

Vedder's task may have been to describe the art of the two men whom Street knew to be capable of decorative work in public buildings. Vedder may have found the style of Burne-Jones more sympathetic to his own tastes than that of Watts and accordingly recommended to Nevin that Burne-Jones be approached.

Whatever Vedder's role in the selection of Burne-Jones, a more important factor was Street's long friendship with, and admiration for, the artist. The two men had known each other since Burne-Jones had been at Oxford in the 1850s. They had worked together on the decoration of the same churches.¹ They shared an interest in church decoration, and especially mosaics, through their common concern for the preservation of the mosaics of St. Mark's in Venice.²

On the other hand, the collaboration of Burne-Jones and Street was ironic because their artistic aims differed radically. In public life they represented opposite causes. Burne-Jones and William Morris (1834-1896) were founding members of "The Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings" (S.P.A.B.), a group dedicated to preventing architects from destroying medieval churches through over-extensive restoration. Street was an architect who specialized in restoration, and was the symbol of everything Burne-Jones fought against. When "The Saint Marks Committee" (S.M.C.) was formed in order to stop the restoration

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1. For Street's numerous contacts and friendships with the Pre-Raphaelite circle, see Arthur E. Street, "Extracts from Boyce's Diaries: 1851-1875," The Old Water-Color Society's Club: Nineteenth Annual Volume, 1941, pp. 29-33, and p. 54. For the Burne-Jones's friendship with Street and his wife, see Memorials, I, p. 187.
 2. For the concern to rescue the mosaics at St. Mark's, see below, pp. 96-98.

of the facade of the basilica, Morris and Burne-Jones found themselves on the same committee with Street. Morris was anxious that his name not be associated with that of the architect. In a letter of August 29, 1880, to the Keeper of the South Kensington Museum, Henry Wallis (1811-1891), Morris wrote that S.P.A.B. was not officially connected with The St. Mark's Committee,

As is made obvious by Street being vice-chairman of the latter. I admit I was very vexed at that old ass flitting the rubbish he did at the meeting;...the only cure for all this is to assure people of the fact that the S.M.C. has no connection with S.P.A.B.

As to Street, you needn't trouble yourself about that: the whole quarrel was at its height before he joined the Committee, I may add that it was he himself that gave it its somewhat acid turn, for entre nous, though not an ill-tempered man, he dearly loves a row. For the rest he would restore every building in England if he could, and to our minds with the necessary result of ruining them, clever architect and able man as he is;...¹

Despite their artistic differences, Street shared with Burne-Jones a life long interest in church decoration. This mutual concern accounts for the fact that Burne-Jones was called upon to design the mosaics.

There was a lapse of six years between the first mention of the plan for mosaics in The Architect of 1875, and Street's first certain contact with Burne-Jones in 1881.² This first documented contact is a letter from Street to Burne-Jones of July 1881 that mentions the plan for "a large scheme of mosaics." Lady Burne-Jones wrote: "It was for the American Protestant Episcopal Church at Rome--an incongruity not

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1. British Museum ADD. MS. 38831, fols. 59, 60.
 2. "American Church of St. Paul, Rome," The Architect, XIV, no. 20, 1875, p. 288.

lost upon him [Burne-Jones]—but the architect, Mr. G.E. Street, was a friend."¹ Despite the late date of the mosaic commission, Street and Burne-Jones must have discussed the possibility of executing the mosaics in the interval.

The reason for the delay was that the mosaics could be executed only as money became available, and patrons stepped forward to pay for them. By 1881, Junius S. Morgan (1813-1890), the banker, donated the money for the mosaic in the dome of the apse.² The decoration then lay dormant until 1888 when a parishⁱoner, Mrs. Hickson Field, paid for the decoration of the two arch mosaics.³ Thus, although Dr. Nevin raised funds for Burne-Jones to decorate the church, he did so only by stages.

The mosaic scheme that Street originally intended may not have been elaborate. An early view of the interior of the church after the apse mosaics were installed in November 1885 (fig. 3) shows only the dome of the apse decorated. The arches in the nave are striped and not left bare as they probably would have been had mosaics been planned for those spaces. The presence of windows in the choir where today there are mosaics (fig. 4) indicates that Street never thought of placing mosaics there. Finally, the photograph of 1885 shows that the mosaic in the dome of the apse is relatively unimposing, and is subordinate to the architecture. The mosaics as they are today threaten to overwhelm

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1. Memorials, I, p. 114. Although Giorgiana Burne-Jones does not name the author of the letter, it was certainly Street, who was still alive in July 1881.
 2. Lowrie, 1926, p. 37.
 3. See below, pp. 26-27.

the building.¹

Dr. Nevin's ideas for the decoration of St. Paul's were very different from Street's and the thought that mosaics would eventually cover the entire church was, from the start, a possibility nurtured by Dr. Nevin and communicated to Burne-Jones. After Street's death in December 1881, Nevin went to London to discuss the project with the artist. In 1882, Burne-Jones wrote to his friend and confidant, Mary Gladstone Drew (1847-1927), daughter of the Prime Minister, W.E. Gladstone (1809-1898): "Dr. Nevin has just gone and the mosaic will be fun, won't it, especially if it spreads over the Church."² Burne-Jones designed the mosaics in London, but although he originally planned to go to Rome, he never saw them. In a letter to Mary Gladstone Drew of July 1882, he wrote: "I may possibly go to Rome--I don't know yet. I hate traveling, especially alone, and I feel it waste of time for me--my true life is here in my studio..."³

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1. Meeks, 1953, p. 224, points out that Burne-Jones's mosaics were not planned by Street and are "...unfortunately almost equal in interest with the architecture instead of being subordinate to it."
 2. Lisle March-Phillips and Bertram Christian, eds., Some Hawarden Letters, 1878-1913, Written to Mrs. Drew (Miss Mary Gladstone) Before and After Her Marriage, London, 1917, p. 107. Henceforward: Hawarden Letters. Lowrie wrote that "...the whole decoration (and more which was not executed) was planned in the beginning by Dr. Nevin and Burne-Jones. But though the plan could be formulated at once, the execution could only be accomplished from time to time as the requisite funds were forthcoming." The fact that Lowrie knew Nevin well lends support to this statement. See Walter Lowrie, "The Mosaics by Burne-Jones in St. Paul's American Church," Parish Pamphlet, Rome, 1907, p. 3.
 3. "The Mary Gladstone Papers," XXVIII, British Museum ADD. MS. 46246, fol. 175. The same letter is published without the exact date, in Hawarden Letters, pp. 110-111.

Burne-Jones was concerned with the decoration of St. Paul's from 1881 until his death in 1898. During his lifetime the dome of the apse, and the two chancel arches were completed. The choir was not finally installed until 1907 when his studio assistant Thomas Matthew Rooke (1842-1942) supervised the translation of Burne-Jones's designs for the choir into mosaic. The decoration executed between 1881 and 1907 is still in place (fig. 4): the dome of the apse with The Heavenly Jerusalem (fig. 7), the choir wall immediately below it with The Earthly Paradise (fig. 8) and, in the nave, the two chancel arches, one with The Annunciation (fig. 5) and the other with The Tree of Life (fig. 6). In addition, Burne-Jones also designed a mosaic for the entrance wall representing The Fall of Lucifer, but it was never executed. Between 1910 and 1913, the American artist and director of the American Academy in Rome, George Breck (b. 1863), designed and executed mosaics for the entrance wall representing The Nativity and The Creation.¹ In the following chapter we will examine in detail the chronology and development of Burne-Jones's mosaics.

1. Lowrie, 1926, p. 102ff. The mosaics by Breck are not related to Burne-Jones's designs or iconography and are not within the scope of this thesis.

II

The Mosaics 1881-1898

The designs for the apse mosaic of Christ Enthroned in the Heavenly Jerusalem underwent little change from the earliest project to the final mosaic. Before his death in December 1881, Street gave Burne-Jones the measurements and curvature of the apse. The artist then constructed a model of the apse and painted it with the design, which the architect approved. In this three-dimensional model for the apse, probably painted around 1881, the basic composition of Christ flanked by archangels is fully realized (No. 1).¹ The image is conservative in comparison with the more novel iconography of the arch mosaics, and the form underwent little modification or development. The reason for this may be that Burne-Jones was not working alone here but under the direction, or even the instructions, of the architect. After the model had been approved by Street and Nevin, the artist worked out the details of the design in gouache. Not all the gouache studies served the same purpose. One study of the whole apse (No. 8) was sent to Venice as a color guide to the mosaicists. By contrast, four finished color studies of the archangels were executed after the artist had worked out the composition of the whole apse (Nos. 3-6). Burne-Jones kept them in the drawing room of North End House, Rottingdean, Sussex, where he lived in the summer, and he probably never sent them to Rome.² They

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1. Numbers in parentheses refer to the catalogue numbers of the individual works. All catalogue numbers refer to the Burne-Jones catalogue unless they are preceded by an "R" in which case they refer to the Rooke catalogue.
 2. Angela Thirkell, Three Houses, London, 1931, p. 104. Henceforward: Thirkell, 1931.

may be sketches completed after the final design was settled and the full-scale cartoons begun, so that he could retain a memento of the decoration that he did not see. The hypothesis is strengthened by the existence of several other finished gouache studies which hung in his winter home, the Grange, London (fig. 9). These, like the studies of the archangels, were executed between 1881 and 1884.

Between the years 1881 and 1883, Burne-Jones worked on the designs for the apse and the laborious job of selecting the colored mosaic tesserae in which the designs were finally executed. In November 1883 he was still completing the designs, and during the summer and autumn of 1884, he concentrated on the final stages of the project.¹ In the summer of 1884 full-sized cartoons were prepared by the artist and studio assistants in London and sent to Venice with detailed instructions to the mosaic workers. Only one fragment of these cartoons now exists, representing the head of Christ (No. 7). Lady Burne-Jones, in her biography of her husband, wrote of this period that "it would be impossible to describe the anxiety and labour connected with the mosa-

1. Memorials, II, p. 134. See also the notebook kept by Burne-Jones, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, which is inscribed in Burne-Jones's hand: "This book contains a list of all my works, also a catalogue of all books, engravings, photographs, and books of studies which I possess in this year 1872." Also inscribed in the artist's hand: "List of my designs, drawings and pictures, from 1856 when I began to draw." Inscribed in another hand: "Book containing a chronological list of the works of Burne-Jones from 1856-1898, begun by the artist in 1872 and continued until his death." Under the year 1883, fol. 30: "Worked much on the mosaic for the church in Rome." Under the year 1884, fol. 31: "Working on the Mosaic very hard - which was finished toward the end of the year - and all the tesserae numbers saw the last cartoon sent to Venice." Henceforward this notebook will be referred to as Burne-Jones Notebook, 1856-1898, Fitzwilliam.

ic."¹ She added that "Edward and [William] Morris used to give part of their Sunday morning time to sorting out colours used by the Venezia-Murano Company [who executed the mosaics] from a cabinet of tesserae which had been brought to the garden studio, and they made duplicate lists of the numbers on the tesserae, which, when the work began to be executed, formed a means of communication with the workmen."²

The artist established personal and written contact with the director of the Venezia-Murano Company, Signor Giovanni Castellani. Nevin, too, understood the art of ancient mosaics and the traditions of mosaic work that Burne-Jones was following. Nevin went to Venice to help oversee the execution of the mosaics, and Burne-Jones sent Thomas Rooke to Venice for the same purpose.³

The man who owned the company that was responsible for the execution of the mosaics in Venice, the archaeologist Sir Austen Henry Layard (1817-1894), wrote an article that described the process.⁴ Ancient mosaics had been executed by the artists themselves; they erected scaffolding in the building, applied the cement, and fixed the tesserae to the wall. In the late nineteenth century, according to Layard, this process was abandoned. The artist only prepared the cartoons and made a list of where the tesserae were to be placed in the picture. These cartoons were translated into mosaic in a studio by workmen employed by

1. Memorials, II, p. 141.

2. Ibid., II, p. 142.

3. Ibid., II, pp. 142-144.

4. Sir [Austen] Henry Layard, D.C.L., "Mosaics; And How They are Made," The Newbery House Magazine, n.s., II, no. 3, March 1894, pp. 192-201.

a mosaic company. The cartoon was divided into several sections and suspended in front of the workmen who each selected the tesserae from a tray. Thus, the work was divided so that experienced workmen executed delicate areas, such as heads or figures, while beginners did areas requiring less artistry, such as backgrounds or drapery. Each artisan fixed the tesserae with paste on the section of the cartoon assigned to him. When all the sections were finished, the complete mosaic was rejoined so that the whole effect could be judged. If the mosaic was satisfactory, it was again divided into sections and sent to the place where it was to be installed. The sections were then put together on the wall and fixed with cement. Thus, Burne-Jones's cartoons are presumably under the mosaics in the church.¹ The cartoons were exactly the size of the final mosaic, and, as this process makes self-evident, they were not reversed, as can be seen in a photograph of The Annunciation in Burne-Jones's studio taken about 1890 (fig. 10).

After sending his first cartoons to Venice, Burne-Jones wrote to Castellani in the spring of 1884:

...my difficulties I think are chiefly over by now - and yours begin. if [sic] it were possible for you to send over to me an example of about 2 feet square that I might judge of the execution and effect—it would be of great help to me since it is impossible for me to see the progress of the work at Venice—my engagements being many and important here. I send you also a list of the tesserae—classified for the guidance of

1. No. 7, the cartoon for the Head of Christ from the apse mosaic, is the only fragment we have from Burne-Jones's cartoons. Whether it is a fragment of an unused earlier cartoon or cut from the final cartoon is unclear.

the workmen as I ['told you' crossed out] said when you called upon me--although at first the work might go slowly, and prove even costly I believe you would not regret it.¹

In the same letter Burne-Jones wrote: "I have sent also with the cartoon--a little rough water colour sketch--emphasizing the idea of the concentric circles which governs this first cartoon...." This sketch is now lost, but Burne-Jones's words emphasize an important aspect of the design for the mosaic in the dome. The shape of the area above Christ with the host of miniature angels and the shape of the walls surrounding Christ were meant to convey an effect of circles in which Christ is the center.

Castellani agreed to the plan to send the artist a fragment of the mosaic work for his approval. A cartoon of one of the harp-playing angels above the throne of Christ was executed in mosaic and sent to the artist. The result was disappointing, and Burne-Jones's despair was evident in a letter written during the summer of 1884² to Rooke, who was supervising the execution of the cartoons into mosaic. Lady Burne-Jones included this letter in the Memorials:

O Rookie,--scold them, pitch into them, bully them, curse and refrain not--otherwise I must, late as it is, give it all up. You see they don't copy my outline, they don't keep to my colours told them, so what the devil can I do? The hair is dark against pale faces, they have made yellow hair against Red Indian faces--what can I do more than mark the tesserae, and what less can they do than not read my instructions? First and foremost when [Lady Burne-Jones interjected '--blank for epithet, left by himself'] thing is up, you must be able to see it--TELL THEM THAT--you must know what it is about!

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1. Appendix II, Letter 1, pp. 305-306.
 2. Lady Burne-Jones places this letter in the summer of 1884 (Memorials, II, p. 141). It was certainly written soon before Burne-Jones wrote to Rooke approving the mosaic sample on September 1, 1884 (see below, p. 24).

Secondly. It must look beautiful--and how to tell them that I don't know if they can't feel--and God only knows what poor fools they have got to work.

I wonder if it would have been better if I had sent no instructions at all. I wonder if it has only bewildered them. I will unsay all my old directions and bid them do it in their own accursed way--perhaps that would be best. But it is heartrending work--they are close to the best mosaic in the world and they can turn out this--have I bewildered them? have I frightened them? would they be better let quite alone? O for God's sake let them forget all I said about the tesserae being apart, if this is the result--but why should the tesserae in the face be seven times as big as those of the wings --and why, and why, all over it? Prythee a little see to it--draw them and colour them a face from the ancient work, which I will pay for, for a standard, since my directions are so useless. Forget that it is I that am concerned--suppose it is an old cartoon found and that it is desirable to render it, translate it, make it effective--VISIBLE, INTELLIGIBLE at a distance, at a good height--that the wings shall be shaded gold colour and distinct from one another as in a cartoon--the hair dark, the faces sweetly pale--the eyebrows straight, the darkness under them steady and solemn, the gradation of colour delicate and soft. All these things are possible, since the pavement of the South Kensington Museum gives these things--and trumpery work gives them. It must be done or I will destroy my cartoons and hand back the money.

I will write to-morrow to Castellani when I am calmer--I won't say so much as I do to you and will say it quietly--but privately I must tell you that it is only excusable on the grounds that the workmen are bewildered.¹

The artist wrote to Castellani and received the following reply which is undated but was written soon before September 1, 1884:

As to the specimen of the mosaic which you received, you must make your mind quite easy. We have done it, truly--but it is not the mosaic as we are used to make, or as we understand. We were obliged for doing it to unlearn all that in a very long practice of our art we had apprized; but the confusion of ideas originated by all sorts of misunderstandings from either side was so great that really we were at a loss not

1. Memorials, II, pp. 142-144. The pavement of the South Kensington Museum which Burne-Jones cites here as an example of adequate workmanship is non-figural mosaic, executed in the 1870s by female convicts.

knowing what to do. Add to this the inconvenience of fixing the mosaic on a metal case so combined as to allow you to see the figure on the right side and with the mortar between the tesserae. In fact it was a very long and tedious job in which we found ourselves quite out of our own way, and which, had we not promised to let you have within a certain time this specimen in mosaic, I would never have sent you. Your letter therefore did not surprise me; only I regretted not to have been left free to do as we are used to do, and to have been so exposed before you as being totally incapable of performing our duty and doing justice to your beautiful cartoons.¹

Burne-Jones then sent a new coloured drawing to Venice, the old one being under the mosaic specimen. He received the following acknowledgment from Castellani:

I really see we shall understand perfectly well each other and our work will proceed in such way [sic] as to satisfy you. Your coloured angel was admired very much, and with the assistance of Dr. Nevin we examined and studied every part of it and endeavoured with your letter before us to make all points quite clear. In a fortnight we hope to complete its execution in mosaic.²

This sample of mosaic that Castellani sent Burne-Jones proved satisfactory. On September 1, 1884, the artist wrote to Rooke, who was still in Venice, "Mosaic has come--very careful as good as ever I hoped for."³ The artist, writing to Castellani six years later, on October 20, 1890, about the translation of The Annunciation cartoon into mosaic, praised "...your artists who so admirably translated my work before."⁴ After the artist approved the sample, all the designs for the apse were sent to Venice, by mid-November 1884.⁵ In November of 1885, Dr. Nevin wrote

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1. Ibid., II, pp. 143-144.
 2. Ibid., II, p. 144.
 3. Ibid., II, p. 144.
 4. Appendix II, Letter 2, p. 272.
 5. Memorials, II, p. 144.

to Burne-Jones to announce that the apse mosaic was nearly finished. Nevin asked him to come to Rome to see the mosaic, but Burne-Jones, who rarely travelled at this time, refused.¹ The apse mosaic was unveiled on Christmas Day, 1885, and met with general approval.²

The designs for the arches, choir, and entrance wall were executed between 1886 and 1888. A few studies are later in date, but these are either color studies for the mosaic workers or the cartoons themselves. All but four known pencil sketches for the arches, choir and entrance wall of St. Paul's are contained in Burne-Jones's "Secret Book of Designs," now in the British Museum. This sketchbook is inscribed "EBJ 1885". The date refers to the year in which he acquired the book.³

1. Ibid., II, p. 159, see also above, p. 16.

2. Lowrie, 1926, p. 37.

3. The Secret Book of Designs is bound in leather and inscribed in gold letters on the cover: "EBJ 1885." Inside is fine quality sketching paper on which the artist drew projects and designs. We do not know how Burne-Jones acquired this sketchbook. From everything we know of his character, Burne-Jones was not the sort of man to have his initials engraved on an elaborate sketchbook. Then, too, the Secret Sketchbook is unique--the artist was not in the habit of buying expensive volumes in which to sketch. The expensive leather, fine paper, and gold embossed cover, suggest that the book was a gift to the artist from someone close to him. The donor may well have been his daughter, Margaret, whose portrait he drew on the first page. If this hypothesis is correct, we have two possible dates when Burne-Jones could have received the sketchbook, and therefore began to draw in it. The first date is his birthday, August 28, 1885. The second is Christmas, 1885. Both these dates fit in well with the supposition that the first designs for St. Paul's were not begun until late in 1885 or early in 1886.

The Secret Book of Designs was given its title by the artist. As the title implies, he showed the sketchbook to no one, not even, we must presume, to Rooke or Nevin. When Burne-Jones died, Lady Burne-Jones wrote that the sketches inside the Secret Sketchbook revealed "...a side of his nature that none of his other work does." (Memorials, II, p. 118). The book was the only one of his works that he left to the British Museum. Lady Burne-Jones explained why: "...the British Museum was a place that he turned to with devotion. After his death, a note of instructions to his son was found, di-

Thus, no other surviving designs for St. Paul's were begun before the mosaic in the dome of the apse was executed and installed. Since Burne-Jones was, as we have seen, extremely sensitive to the quality of the mosaic work, he may well have delayed further plans until he was satisfied that the apse mosaic was successful. This he could not have known until December 1885 or a few months later, when photographs of the completed dome were sent to him. Accordingly, the earliest date for the designs in the Secret Sketchbook would be late in 1885 or early in 1886.

We cannot, however, be certain that Burne-Jones completed the designs for the arch and choir mosaics in 1886 because, suddenly, there was no money to pay the artist or the mosaic company.¹ This Burne-Jones explained in a letter of about 1891 to Francis Horner: "I made plans to cover all the walls from roof to floor with mosaics--but the rich man who promised to give the necessary money for them died suddenly and his heirs seized all his money, so the whole arrangement fell through and nothing has been done for five or six years."² We do not know the identity of the rich man whom Burne-Jones mentioned, but the problem of a patron to pay for the mosaics was important. Until money could be found, work was suspended.

Nevin raised the money for one arch mosaic, The Annunciation, when one of the parishioners, Hickson Field, died on April 18, 1888. The

recting that his most intimate book of designs should be left to the place where he first tasted the food for which his soul hungered." (Memorials, I, p. 47).

1. For Nevin on the need for money, see Appendix III, Letter 1, p. 271.
2. Francis Horner, Time Remembered, London, 1933, pp. 124-125. Henceforward: Horner, 1933.

Palazzo Field (now Brancaccio), which Field was building at the time of his death, was unfinished, and Nevin agreed to assist Field's widow in the completion of the building on the condition that she pay for the new mosaic.¹

Thus, the first moment when Nevin could have told the artist that money had been raised for the execution of the designs was in April of 1888. In June of 1888, two months later, the archives of St. Paul's record payments for the shipment of mosaic designs from London to Rome.² These payments were only for postage, but their existence suggests that Nevin acted quickly to have Burne-Jones send sketches or photographs of sketches for Mrs. Field's approval. In December of the same year, 1888, the designs were sent back to London, possibly with the patron's approval and comments.³ We know that Burne-Jones was working on projects for the entrance wall mosaics by 1886, so he had begun his designs for St. Paul's before money actually became available for their translation into mosaic.⁴ The important point is that we have a date, June 1888, when the artist had completed and sent to Rome studies at least for The Annunciation. It is certain, however, that he had designed The Tree of Life before The Annunciation; and it is

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1. Lowrie, 1926, p. 37. Eventually Mrs. Field paid for both arch mosaics, but it is clear from a later remark by Burne-Jones that she did not give the money all at once (see p. 31).
 2. Building Fund of St Paul's Church March 12 1872 - April 6 1906 (unpaginated): "1888: June 22: payment for Freight on mosaic designs."
 3. Ibid., 1888: "Dec. 31st payment to freight mosaic designs to London."
 4. See below, p. 42.

probable that he finished both designs and sent them to Rome in 1888.¹

Although other projects for the arch mosaics were begun slightly earlier, than The Annunciation, it was the first design to be transferred into mosaic and is placed on the first arch as we enter the church. The first drawing for The Annunciation (No. 9) shows the general shape of the entrance wall of St. Paul's and part of its rose window. The angel appears here with a lighted candle in a rectangle to the left of the window. In the sketch for the Virgin, naturally to be placed at the right, the figure also appears in a rectangle (No. 10). At the top of this drawing, Burne-Jones experimented with an indoor scene. At the bottom of the sheet, in a fainter sketch, the Virgin stands in a landscape and a stream of water rushes past her feet. The location of the design for The Annunciation on the entrance wall indicates that the artist executed these drawings very early in the evolution of his plans for the decoration of the church. As I will show in the chapter on the iconography of the church, the order and position of the mosaics is important in the scheme for the decoration. Accordingly, this attempt to experiment with the position of The Annunciation suggests that specific details of the iconography were not at this point fully worked out.

In the next sketch, Burne-Jones abandoned the idea of The Annunciation on the entrance wall. No. 11 shows the same scene in the setting of an arch. Here the scene takes place out of doors in a flowered landscape. In the following drawing (No. 12), Burne-Jones eliminated all the extraneous elements of No. 11 in order to heighten the drama

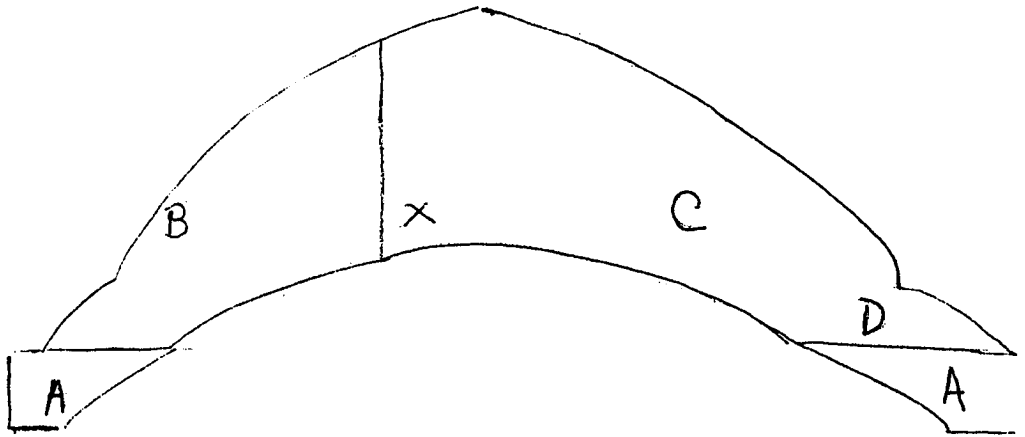
1. See below, pp. 36-37.

of Mary's encounter with the Angel. He turned the landscape into a desert, reduced the prominence of the river, and replaced the trees on the left with immense thorns. The changes in details, such as the landscape here, are related to developments in the imagery of The Tree of Life and the choir mosaic. As we treat each of these areas, the place of The Annunciation within the development of the imagery of the church will become clearer.

The next design for this subject is a rough compositional sketch, made in 1890, with color notations and instructions to the mosaic workers (No. 13), which corresponds exactly to the final mosaic. The drawing was sent to Venice as a color guide to the mosaicists. The date of this design can be fixed with accuracy. On October 20, 1890, the artist wrote to Sig. Castellani about this drawing:

There will accompany the cartoon a small coloured drawing of the whole space, as a guide--it is very roughly made but I hope will be sufficient for the purpose--the cartoons themselves of course give the drawing exactly--only the little sketch will be of help especially for the sky + general aspect of the whole picture--also some parts I did not think it needful to enlarge--for instance in the right hand corner where there is a great space of desert earth only + a few pools of water which your artists can express I know without further instruction [?] [...] if there should happen to be any difficulty you would perhaps confer with me about it--but your artists who so admirably translated my work before will I hope find no great difficulty here though I am conscious I have had to hurry through this design in a way that is unusual with me....I hope I have made no great difficulty --I know that my cartoons could have been better if I had been well--but I was weak + tired at the time, + the height I had to work made me hurry too much when I felt faint--I know you will all do the best you can. + if we do another one, as I hope, by + by, the cartoons shall be more complete.

The cartoons will reach you in bits--but with the accompanying coloured sketch you will have no difficulty in putting them together.




The letter continues with two more pages of explicit instructions.¹ Although the full-sized cartoon is now under the mosaic, a view of Burne-Jones's studio in a photograph of about 1890 shows the angel of The Annunciation (section B in the drawing; and fig. 10).

The cartoon of The Annunciation was sent in pieces to Venice in October, 1890, but was not executed until the years 1892-1893. On November 21, 1893, the archives of St. Paul's recorded payments for the cost of shipping the completed mosaics from Venice to Rome.² On December 4, 1893, were the first records of payments for scaffolding; these continued from January, 1894, through December 31, 1894.³ The reason for the long period of installation was that The Tree of Life mosaic was put into place during the same year. The Annunciation and The Tree of Life were both unveiled on November 18, 1894.⁴

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1. Appendix II, Letter 2, pp. 271-274.
 2. Building Fund of St. Paul's Church, March 12, 1872 - April 6, 1906. Record for November 21, 1893.
 3. Ibid., December 4, 1893 to December 31, 1894.
 4. St. Paul's Church Rome, Service Register November 1, 1884 to October 30, 1898. Entry in Nevin's hand under 18 November, 1894: "Mosaics on two great arches in front of Choir uncovered." See also Lowrie, 1926, p. 37.

The designs for The Heavenly Jerusalem and The Annunciation gave the artist little trouble. There are relatively few drawings, and the composition did not alter radically as the artist's ideas changed. The opposite, however, is true of his designs for The Tree of Life.

The first time Burne-Jones mentioned The Tree of Life is in a letter written during the summer of 1891 to Francis Horner about the mosaics: "...last year [1890] I gave a big design to go over an arch -- a huge thing -- and now someone has offered to pay for another arch to be covered, and there I shall make the design I had set my heart on -- of a great flowering tree...."¹ The phrasing of this letter indicates that Burne-Jones had already designed the subject and that he was waiting for a patron before working the sketches up into a cartoon.

The first design for the arch which was to become The Tree of Life is The Temptation and Expulsion of Adam and Eve (No. 14). This design in which the shape of the arch is incorrect, must have preceded the drawings for The Annunciation (Nos. 11 and 12) where the shape of the arch is correct. Possibly Dr. Nevin sent Burne-Jones a sketch of the arch which showed the trefoil shape  but failed to explain that the scene would take place under the trefoil. The artist may have assumed that the trefoil was at the bottom of the arch. He therefore invented a triangular top and filled in the area in between with his design. On the left Adam and Eve stand near the Tree of Knowledge inside the walls of the Garden of Eden. An angel appears in a crescent moon and raises his hands in warning.

1. Horner, 1933, p. 125. The patron here was Mrs. Field. See above, p. 27.

To the right, Adam and Eve are on the opposite side of the walls of the Garden of Eden and are expelled from the garden gate. They are covered with leaves and hold their hands to their faces in shame. Behind the wall is the Tree of Knowledge. We thus see both the inside of the Garden (to the left) and the outside (to the right). The angel appears again in the crescent moon with his hand raised in admonishment.

In the following sketch (No. 15) the artist concentrated on the theme of the tree. The subject here is again The Temptation. To the left, Adam and Eve stand by the Tree of Knowledge. On the right Eve raises her hands to pluck the fruit. The rounded forms of the trees, which so clearly intrigued the artist, are distinguished by fruit on the tree on the left and flowers on the one on the right. Thus we see two separate trees; this distinction between them will become important in later studies.

The subject is continued in the sketch that follows (No. 16). Once again the trefoil is at the bottom of the arch. No. 16 is a variation of No. 15, but here the walls of the Garden of Eden have been omitted. Although this is the hastiest of sketches, Burne-Jones included characteristically precise details. The variation in the poses of the angel is typical: in the first pose he flies toward Adam and Eve; in the second his drapery flows downward and suggests stasis. The scribble on the right stands for the leaves covering Adam and Eve's nakedness. For the first time Burne-Jones included the figure of God, who appears in the center above a crescent moon.

Nos. 14-16, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, were rough thoughts. Having worked them out on separate sheets, Burne-Jones then reworked them in the Secret Sketchbook in the next drawing to be con-

sidered, which contains two designs for the mosaic arch (No. 17). In this study the artist played with two subjects. At the top of the page is The Temptation and Expulsion of Adam and Eve. This is a completion of the rough ideas contained in one of the Victoria and Albert sketches (No. 14). In the drawing at the top of No. 17, Burne-Jones clarified his thoughts about the design. To the left, Adam and Eve are tempted within the walls of the Garden. The warning angel emerges from the rough crater of a full moon. In the Expulsion on the right, Adam and Eve flee through the gates of Paradise. The viewer again sees the same spot from inside and outside the walls. The idea of a wall surrounding the Earthly Paradise may be Burne-Jones's way of connecting this motif with the motif of the apse mosaic, where the walls of the Heavenly Paradise are represented. Furthermore, the idea may have been suggested to the artist by the dedication of the church - St. Paul's Within-the-Walls. As in No. 15, Burne-Jones clearly differentiated between the Tree of Knowledge (a small apple tree with light foliage, on the left) and the Tree of Life (an oak-like tree with dark foliage, on the right). There is no traditional iconographical distinction between these two trees, so this motif is Burne-Jones's own invention. On subsequent drawings he combined the two types in a single composition and then made them a single tree.

In the drawing at the bottom of the page in No. 17, the artist experimented with proportions. Just as the drawing at the top of the page is a completion of the ideas sketched out in No. 14, the drawing at the bottom is a polished version of the sketch in the Victoria and Albert that shows the Temptation and the first sin (No. 15). In the following drawing (No. 18), Burne-Jones has, for the first time, placed

his design under the trefoil of the arch. At this point Nevin probably corrected his earlier designs or Burne-Jones realized his mistake.

From this point on, the shape of the arch is correct. The subject of No. 18 is The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden.

Burne-Jones selected a pivotal moment in the drama to illustrate. The dual subjects of No. 17 lacked the compressed drama of the artist's best work. In No. 18, he isolated one incident for fuller treatment but evidently found the conception unsuitable for the arch mosaic.

The importance of the written word for the visual image is apparent in No. 19, which is an elaboration of the previous drawing, No. 18. The subject is again The Expulsion of Adam and Eve From the Garden of Eden. Here the text that inspired the artist is "The Lord God sent him forth from the Garden of Eden to till the ground from which he was taken. And he placed the cherubim and a flaming sword which turned every way before the Gates of Paradise" (Genesis 3: 23-24). This passage, lettered on the drawing, emphasizes exactly which moment is illustrated. But this design, too, was rejected--possibly because it was not dramatic enough visually or meaningful enough symbolically.

The course of development shows clearly that Burne-Jones tried to get away from the biblical text and to create an image that was not a narrative but a symbol. As long as the artist's designs illustrated the words of the Bible, they could not evolve from narration towards symbolism. In the next drawing, No. 20, which shows Christ Crucified between Adam and Eve, the artist found the theme that would eventually lead to his final design. Inscribed in Latin on the page opposite the drawing in the Secret Sketchbook is the quotation from St. Bernard that had inspired the artist: QVIS · NON · RAPERETVR · AD · SPERM · QVI ·

EIVS · CORPVS · ATTENDIT · HABET · CAPVT · INCLINATVM · AD ·
 OSCULANDVM · BRACHIA · EXTENSA · AD · AMPLEXANDVM · MANVS ·
 PERFORATAS · AD LARGIENDVM · LATVS · APERTVM · AD · DILIGENDVM · PEDES ·
 AFFIXOS · AD · NOBISCVM · COMMANENDVM · TOTVM · CORPVS · EXTENSVM · AD ·
 SE · TOTVM · NOBIS · IMPARTIENDVM · -- S. BERNARDVS [Who is not seized
 with hope who has watched his body, the head inclined for kissing, the
 arms extended for embracing, the hands pierced for giving, the side
 open for loving, the feet affixed for us, the whole body extended, im-
 parting everything to us.] Here, the emphasis is on motionless figures
 in prayer. No. 20 is a departure from the earlier studies (Nos. 14-19)
 because the triangular design is compressed into a rectangular format.

In No. 21, The Tree of Life, Burne-Jones transferred the vertical,
 rectangular composition of No. 20 to the center of the arch. He then
 filled in the shapes of the corners of the arch with landscape and
 foliage. This and the subsequent two drawings show him adapting his
 composition to the architectural setting. In No. 22, Burne-Jones en-
 larged the figures and placed them further apart in order to better
 utilize the shape of the arch. Also, he experimented with a landscape
 background--here depicting a rocky desert. This drawing is inscribed:
 UBI EST MORS VICTORIA TVA UBI EST MORS STIMVLVS TVVS. [O Death where
 is thy victory, Death where is thy sting!]

In No. 23, Burne-Jones experimented with the decorative possibili-
 ties of the tree. Here, curving, sinuous branches fill the entire
 space and the pattern of the leaves becomes important in the design.
 The next design for the arch is simply a single leaf (No. 24). Al-
 though the arch is faintly sketched in around the leaf, it is clearly
 visible in the photograph. In the previous drawing (No. 23), Burne-

Jones became interested in the pattern of the tree, and here he made a study for the leaf/tree shapes that fill the lower left and right corners of the Tree of Life mosaic (fig. 6).

The composition of the Tree of Life was now fully realized. The next design we have is a finished study in gouache datable, circa 1892 (No. 25). This study corresponds exactly to the final composition, including the inscription from St. John 16:33 eventually inscribed on the mosaic: IN MUNDO PRES · SURĀ · HABEBITIS · SED · CONFIDITE · EGO · VICI · MUNDŪ [In the world you will have tribulation, but trust me, for I have overcome the world]. Also inscribed on this drawing is a verse from Matthew 11:28-30: VENITE · AD · ME · OMNES · QUI LABORATIS ET ONERATI ESTIS ET EGO REFICIAM · VOS · TOLLITE · INGVM · MEVM · SVPER · VOS · ET · DISCITE A · ME QVIA · NITIS · SVM · ET · HVMILIS · CORDE · ET · INVENIETIS · REQVIEM · ANIMABVS · VESTRIS · IVGVM · ENIM · MEVM · SVAVE · EST · ET · ONVS · MEVM · LEVE [Come unto me all who labour and are heavy laden and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn from me; for I am gentle and lowly in heart, and you will find rest for your souls. For my yoke is easy and my burden is light.]

The final design for The Tree of Life is a large and finished study one-tenth the size of the mosaic (No. 26) dating from about 1892 and painted in body color and gold for possible sale as an independent work of art.¹ The Tree of Life was translated into mosaic in 1893, at the

1. According to the notes on the cartoon in the catalogue of the Victoria and Albert Museum, it was exhibited in Dusseldorf in 1909. I can find no other record of this exhibition.

same time as The Annunciation. Both were shipped from Venice to Rome in November, 1893, and installed between January and November, 1894. The Tree of Life and The Annunciation were unveiled on November 18, 1894.¹

At this point the history of the designing and execution of those mosaics that Burne-Jones lived to see completed is finished. But this history of the decoration of St. Paul's obviously is not. From the inception of the project, Burne-Jones planned a much larger decorative scheme for St. Paul's and filled the Secret Sketchbook with designs intended for the church. After his death in 1898, one of these designs, The Earthly Paradise, was carried out on the wall of the choir of the apse by Thomas Rooke. The history of the execution of those mosaics will be treated in another chapter, but now we must examine Burne-Jones's role in the designs for the choir mosaic.

When Dr. Nevin first wrote to Rooke on December 14, 1905, to ask him to execute Burne-Jones's designs for the choir mosaic, he explained why work on the decoration had stopped after the installation of The Tree of Life and Annunciation mosaics:

Between sickness and blindness I have had a pretty hard life since, and had to suspend all aggressive work in carrying forward the decoration of my Church. Now I have a certain

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1. Building Fund of St. Paul's Church, March 12, 1872 - April 6, 1906. Payments recorded for freight costs of mosaic from Venice on November 21, 1893. On December 4, 1893, payments for scaffolding. Payments continue in January, 1894, through December 31, 1894, when the last payment for the removal of the scaffolding is recorded. The arch mosaics were thus up in 1894. This contradicts the statement made by Julia Cartwright, "Sir Edward Burne-Jones, Bart: His Life and Work," The Art Annual, Christmas Number, London, 1894, p. 28, that at this date only the apse mosaic was erected and only the Tree of Life executed in cartoon form.

return to sight, and I begin to feel a certain return of force, and I want to go on with the mosaics in S. Paul's, if I can possibly raise the money to do so.¹

Thus, it was Nevin's ill health and the church's lack of funds that halted work. The letter continued with the following proposition:

The first work I have in mind is to finish out the apse, by carrying down the mosaic + closing the three lancet windows. For this B.J. left a sketch....I have a strong sense of justice to him that this should be done as closely as possible on his lines.²

The lancet windows which Nevin mentioned can be seen in an early photograph of St. Paul's (fig. 3). The plan was to block them up in order to create an uninterrupted space for Burne-Jones's choir mosaic. According to a letter from Nevin to Rooke of February 3, 1906, Burne-Jones was eager to have these windows removed:

They made such difficulty in the composition, and I found the transmitted light of glass went so badly with the reflected light, that it was decided to close them up, to B.J.'s great content.³

With this introduction to the architectural space with which Burne-Jones was dealing, we can better understand the next design in the Secret Sketchbook. This is a drawing for the mosaic of the choir, representing Angels Separating the Firmament (No. 27). The design shows the choir as it was before the windows were blocked in for Burne-Jones's mosaic. Here, the design adapts to the architectural space created by the windows, a space clearly not satisfactory to the artist.

1. Appendix III, letter 1, pp. 277-280.

2. Ibid.

3. Appendix III, letter 7, p. 282.

The following design is for The Angels Separating the Water from the Sky (No. 28). Since the sketch ignores the windows in the choir, it must have been around the time of this drawing that Burne-Jones expressed his desire to see the windows blocked up.

In the next drawing, The Earthly Paradise, the artist again ignored the windows in the choir (No. 29). This is the design that was eventually carried out, and no other pencil sketches exist for the composition. The only other drawing by Burne-Jones for this subject is a completed color sketch that, Nevin told Rooke, had been sent to Rome by Burne-Jones for the rector's approval (No. 30).¹ Burne-Jones died before this design could be executed, but on the basis of this drawing Rooke carried out the choir mosaic as it is today.

Although The Earthly Paradise design was eventually translated into mosaic, Burne-Jones left several alternate designs for the choir mosaic. One of these is The Good Shepherd (No. 46). After Burne-Jones's death, this design was considered by Nevin and Rooke as a possible alternative to The Earthly Paradise design. On January 17, 1906, Nevin wrote to Rooke that he had seen the design for The Good Shepherd in the Secret Sketchbook.² Nevin suggested that Rooke go to the British Museum, where the sketchbook was then kept, and look at it.³ Rooke did so, but decided on The Earthly Paradise design for the choir. Evidently Burne-Jones himself preferred the subject of The Earthly Paradise, for this was the design which he had worked up into

1. Appendix III, letter 4, p. 279.

2. Presumably, Nevin saw the Secret Sketchbook after Burne-Jones's death. See Appendix III, letter 4, p. 280.

3. Appendix III, letter 4, p. 280.

a colored compositional study and sent to Nevin.

Other designs for the choir contained in the Secret Sketchbook include The Labour of Adam and Eve Outside the Gates of Paradise (Nos. 47-50). The subject of the labor of Adam and Eve for the choir mosaic probably occurred to Burne-Jones during the period when the design for the arch which was eventually to become The Tree of Life was still uncertain. At one time Burne-Jones intended the subject of that arch to be The Fall of Adam and Eve and The Expulsion From Paradise (Nos. 14-19).¹ The subject here, The Labour of Adam and Eve, is chronologically the next event in the Bible after the Fall and would have been the proper sequel to the projected subject of the arch mosaic—both from the point of view of the narrative sequence in the Bible and for the space of the church. As Burne-Jones abandoned the idea of a narrative scene in favor of a symbolic scene, he abandoned the subject of The Fall of Adam and Eve, and with it the theme of their labor. Instead, he combined both subjects with the Crucifixion and the result was The Tree of Life.

The theme of The Labour of Adam was developed in a detailed study for the choir (No. 50). This is simply an amplified version of the two previous drawings (Nos. 47-48). It was probably executed at the same time as the designs for the arch mosaic of The Temptation and Expulsion (Nos. 14-19). In No. 48, we can clearly see that the design was meant for the choir by the decorative border and the writing on the upper edge as well as the suggestion of the River of Life flowing along the top. The River of Life does appear in the mosaic as it was

1. See above, pp. 31-34.

finally executed.

The next studies for St. Paul's are Burne-Jones's designs for the entrance wall (Nos. 31-43). Although I am treating these last, they were among the first designs to be begun. They were never carried out, but they provide an insight into the artist's original intentions for the decoration and throw some light on the process through which he conceived the iconography of the whole space.

The first sketch for the mosaic of the entrance wall is The Apocalypse (No. 31). The subject is taken from the Book of Revelation, Chapters 8-10. The date of this sketch must be early in comparison to other designs for the church because No. 31 is related to the early design for The Annunciation (No. 9) that the artist attempted to place on the entrance wall.¹ Although the whole wall is sketched in, this early project makes no attempt to adapt the design to fit the irregular architectural space. Rather, the scene is boxed-in like an easel picture. In the following design for The Apocalypse (No. 32), Burne-Jones developed his idea by concentrating on a close-up view of the square design seen from a distance in No. 31. In No. 31, he visualized the whole architectural setting.

After only two attempts to work out the composition, Burne-Jones abandoned the subject of The Apocalypse. He turned next to The Fall of the Rebel Angels (Nos. 33-43), which he intended to place on the entrance wall of the church. The idea for the mosaic may have been conceived, though not designed, at the same time as the apse mosaic, The Heavenly Jerusalem (1881-85) because the two mosaics are icono-

1. See above, p. 28.

graphically related. The subject of the apse is now incomplete without the mosaic on the entrance wall. The first time the artist mentioned the theme was, however, in a letter of June 1886 to Francis Horner:

I want to go on with the American Church at Rome and have designed some bonny things to do there. On one wall, there is a space of forty feet sheer down, where I mean to shoot Lucifer and his knights out of a glittering Heaven.¹

The artist noted in a list of his pictures, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, that in 1887 he "...began the design for the Fall of the Rebel Angels, for mosaic in Rome--." ² The subject of the Fall of the Rebel Angels is, like the subject of the apse mosaic, from the Book of Revelation.³ No. 33 is the first sketch for The Fall of the Rebel Angels. Using the evidence of the artist's letter to Francis Horner of June 1886 and his 1887 entry in the Fitzwilliam notebook cited below, we must date No. 33 c. 1886-87. The drawing shows the host of good angels, surrounded by a moon-like shape, driving the rebel angels into a semi-circular pit—possibly meant to signify the sun. Here, and in other drawings for The Fall of the Rebel Angels, the artist emphasized sun and moon shapes. The large rose window, on the entrance wall, may have suggested the idea of a sun or moon around which the

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1. Fitzwilliam Museum, Burne-Jones Papers, (Horner Letters), fol. 5. See bibliography for full citation.
 2. Burne-Jones Notebook, 1856-1898, Fitzwilliam: Fol. 35, 1887. See also Fol. 35, 1888: "I worked on the Fall of Lucifer."
 3. The Fall of the Rebel Angels does not seem to be taken from Milton's Paradise Lost. Many of the subjects in the Secret Sketchbook, including Christ Enthroned, The Fall of Lucifer and The Temptation of Adam and Eve, are found in Milton's Poem, but all these subjects are also found in the Bible. Burne-Jones is not known to have chosen themes from Milton, but he frequently selected Biblical subjects.

angels fought. The Fall of the Rebel Angels is also related to the imagery of the apse. Lucifer's place in the apse is empty, and the spectator was meant to turn around and discover him on the entrance wall. On the other hand, St. Michael, who appears in full armor in the apse, reappears as the leader of the heavenly hosts in the battle against Satan on the entrance wall.

In the next drawing (No. 34) the subject of The Fall of the Rebel Angels is further developed. Once again Michael, standing before his army (at the top of the page), emerges from the moon (with its craters faintly sketched in around the bottom of the semi-circle behind him). Lucifer, holding his head in despair, has been defeated while his devils rush around below him in confusion. Burne-Jones leaves the center of the composition empty--thereby emphasizing the vast gulf separating the forces of good and evil.

In the following drawings (Nos. 35-37) the forces of the good angels issue forth from their stronghold, the moon, to drive the devils into a fiery pit. The lettering in No. 36 is a long inscription in Latin, which translates as:

It is truly meet and just, right and for our salvation, that we should at all places, give thanks unto Thee, O holy Lord, Father Almighty, everlasting God. And therefore with Angels and Archangels, with Thrones and Dominations, and with all the hosts of the heavenly army, we sing the hymn of thy glory, evermore saying: Holy, holy, holy Lord God of Hosts! Heaven and earth are full of thy Glory! Hosanna in the highest!¹

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1. For the original Latin see the catalogue entry for No. 36, p. 195. The translation I used can be found in Sylvester P. Juergens, S.M., The New Marian Missal for Daily Mass, New York, 1960, p. 599.

The second part of the quotation ("Holy, holy, holy...") is the prayer called Sanctus in the Roman Catholic and High Anglican Mass. The Sanctus occurs just before the Canon of the Mass and is an unchanging, fixed prayer. The first part of the quotation ("It is truly meet and just...") is a changeable prayer called the Preface. The Preface is always said before the Sanctus, but the form is variable. There is, for example, a Preface of the Holy Trinity, said on Trinity Sunday and on Sundays throughout the year; there is a Preface of the Nativity, said from Christmas Day until the Epiphany, a Preface for Lent, a Preface of the Cross, for Easter, the Ascension, and Pentecost. All these Prefaces contain prayers specifically for the holy day on which they are said. Burne-Jones extracted from these Prefaces the opening salutation common to all of them ("It is truly meet and just...that we should...give thanks unto Thee, O holy Lord") and the closing verse also common to all the Prefaces ("And therefore with Angels and Archangels...we sing the hymn of thy glory..."). What the artist omitted are long central sections in which the prayer addresses a specific subject. Once again Burne-Jones emphasized the role of the angels in praising God. He was aware of the religious services which would take place within the church and adapted his subjects to include parts of those services in the decoration.

In the next drawing for The Fall of the Rebel Angels, the artist once again included a passage from scripture (No. 37). The passage is taken from the Book of Revelation, 12:7-10 and the inscription reads, translated from Latin:

And I heard a great voice in heaven saying, "Now the Salvation and the power and the glory of our God and the authority

of His Christ have come. Now war arose in heaven, Michael and his angels fighting against the dragon; and the dragon and his angels fought, but they were defeated and there was no longer any place for them in heaven. And the great dragon was thrown down, that ancient serpent, who is called the Devil and Satan, the deceiver of the whole world--he was thrown down to the earth, and his angels were thrown down with him.¹

Just as Burne-Jones turned to the Book of Revelation for the imagery of The Heavenly Jerusalem in the apse, so here he turned to the same book for an account of the battle of the angels. The artist linked the imagery of the apse wall and battlements with the wall and gate in No. 37. As we stand in front of the vision of the walls of The Heavenly Jerusalem in the apse, and the angels who guard those walls, we are meant to turn around and find the reverse of the scene on the rear wall. In this drawing (No. 37), we see the backs of the good angels who guard the walls as the evil angels exit.

The subject is still further developed in Nos. 38-40. In the case of the first drawing, No. 38, the moment chosen for elaboration is the retreat of the rebel angels. For the first time Burne-Jones pays special attention to the face of Lucifer. In the next drawing, No. 39, the artist's interest in Lucifer is further developed. The leader of the rebel angels is presented as a knight. In No. 40, Burne-Jones drew an imaginary portrait of Lucifer which showed him as the beautiful angel of scripture. On his darkened halo is inscribed "Satanas," the Hebrew word for "adversary" used for the Devil in Revelation, 12:7-10, which, as we saw in No. 37, Burne-Jones used as a text for

1. For the Latin see the catalogue entry for No. 37, pp. 196-197. In the original passage in the Book of Revelation, 12:7-10, the first sentence follows, rather than precedes the next two.

his designs.

In the following drawing, No. 41, the rebel angels fall into a fiery pit. Thus, the artist again depicts a battle scene. In the drawing on the left, the artist emphasized the contrast between masses of light and dark. The good angels are, ironically, placed in darkness, while the rebel angels are all in light. This may be a reference to the meaning of the name, Lucifer--"Light Bearer." In the drawing to the right, the artist played with the abstract shape of the composition--the two semi-circles and ellipse-shape in the center. The next drawing, No. 42, is another detail study.

The Fall of the Rebel Angels was probably finished in pencil sketches by June 1888 when Burne-Jones sent designs for the new mosaics to Nevin and Mrs. Field. This date seems reasonable because the mosaic for the entrance wall completes the subject of the dome of the apse and was, therefore, one of the most important areas in the church to be decorated. We do not know why The Fall of the Rebel Angels was not executed. Possibly the patron felt that the arch mosaics were placed in a more dramatic space as the viewer entered the church and so should be executed first. Although the design was never carried out in mosaic, Burne-Jones executed a large water-color of The Fall of Lucifer. He framed this with a gold border inscribed with the verses from Revelation 12:7-10 that had inspired him. [No. 43].

We saw that The Temptation and Expulsion theme was at one point considered for the arch which contains The Tree of Life.¹ Likewise,

1. See above, pp. 31-34.

an alternate design for the arch with The Annunciation was The Nativity (Nos. 44-45). This design must have been executed simultaneously with The Annunciation. As it is a design better suited to the architectural space than The Annunciation, why Burne-Jones chose to execute the latter is a question I cannot answer. He may have sent both designs to Nevin and Mrs. Field, and the decision may have been made by them. Although The Nativity is a stronger design than The Annunciation, it is not, within the iconographic program of St. Paul's, very different. Both scenes illustrate a moment when, in different ways, Christ came to the earth; the moment of His conception and the moment of His birth. For Burne-Jones and for the iconography of St. Paul's, these scenes may have had similar meanings.

We have now discussed every known drawing for the church. It is worthwhile quickly to review the order in which the sketches were executed. The drawings for the dome of the apse were obviously executed first and raise no stylistic, or chronological, problems. After the installation of the mosaics in the dome, the mosaic decoration seems to have been designed as a whole. When the subject of one space was changed (for example, in an arch) Burne-Jones immediately modified the subjects of other spaces (the other arch or the choir). The following discussion treats only designs in the Secret Sketchbook. Although we cannot be certain that the drawings in this sketchbook are in order, they do tend to have an internal logic. Designs that are obviously early come before designs which are later, and so on. Furthermore, when Burne-Jones began a subject, he usually placed the following sketch on the next page. It is therefore reasonable to treat the sketches as more or less in order.

After the heading, "Designs for Mosaic" (Appendix I), the first drawing to appear is The Good Shepherd for the choir (No. 46). It, therefore, must be one of the earliest designs and one that Burne-Jones drew soon after the installation of the mosaic in the dome of the apse. The subject of The Good Shepherd is traditional for the choir in Byzantine art. The strict frontality of the design and its stylized appearance suggest that the artist was still under the influence of Byzantine mosaics as he had been influenced by them in the dome of the apse.

The next designs in the Secret Sketchbook are for the entrance wall. Again, these are early projects before the artist had settled on the subject of The Fall of Lucifer. These include The Annunciation (No. 9) and The Last Judgement (Nos. 31-32), which must have been executed about the same time. Soon after the second design for The Last Judgement comes the first design for The Battle of Lucifer or The Fall of the Rebel Angels—also for the entrance wall (No. 33).

From the entrance wall the artist returned to the designs for the choir. The subject of The Expulsion of the Angels from Paradise on the entrance wall (No. 33) obviously suggested to the artist that a suitable subject for the choir would be The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise. The next three drawings develop this theme (Nos. 47-50). We can conclude that Burne-Jones originally was concerned exclusively with the entrance wall and the choir mosaics. He did not begin the arches until after he had begun the designs for these two spaces. As soon as he designed one subject for the entrance wall, he modified the subject of the choir to relate iconographically to it. At the beginning, the theme of the church, which was stated in many

ways, was The Fall of the Angels and the Fall of Man.

The next drawing in the Secret Sketchbook which can definitely be associated with the church is for an arch (No. 17). Here the subject is The Temptation and The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise. Two drawings present different conceptions of the event. The shape of the arch is wrong, which means that this is an early drawing. No. 17 occurs soon after the sketches for The Fall of the Rebel Angels on the entrance wall (No. 33) and The Labour of Adam and Eve in the choir (Nos. 47-50) which suggests that all three spaces were worked on at the same time. Burne-Jones clearly tried to pull the theme of the entrance wall, choir, and arches together in order to create a visual and iconographic unity.

The next design is a study for an arch containing The Annunciation (No. 11). Here the shape of the arch is correct, which shows that it was drawn after the previous sketch (No. 17). There follow two sketches for The Expulsion of Adam and Eve (Nos. 18-19) and another sketch for The Annunciation (No. 12). Although the next drawing, showing the angels separating the firmament, is for the choir (No. 27), Burne-Jones concentrated now on the arches.

The following drawing abandons the subject of The Expulsion of Adam and Eve and begins a new theme: The Tree of Life (No. 20). As soon as he determined that the Tree of Life was a suitable subject in the next few drawings (Nos. 21-23), Burne-Jones turned to the second arch where The Annunciation was meant to be. He attempted a new subject for this arch—The Nativity (No. 44). He then abandoned that subject and returned to the detail studies for The Tree of Life (No. 24).

Burne-Jones now returned to the subject of The Fall of the Rebel Angels (Nos. 34-35). There are no more designs for the arches in the Secret Sketchbook. As soon as Burne-Jones had determined on the subject of the Tree of Life and The Annunciation for the arches he turned again to the subject of the choir mosaic. When the subject of the second arch was The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise (Nos. 17-19), the subject of the choir was The Labour of Adam and Eve (Nos. 47-50). When the subject of the arch changed, the subject of the choir changed too. After the drawings for The Tree of Life, we therefore find a two-page study for The Earthly Paradise—meant for the choir mosaic (No. 29). As we have seen, this is much more symbolic and less narrative than The Labour of Adam and Eve, and it is better suited to the new iconography that Burne-Jones invented.

III

The Choir Mosaic 1906-1907

In June, 1898, Burne-Jones died, leaving the decoration of St. Paul's unfinished. The rectors of St. Paul's, first Nevin and later Walter Lowrie, felt bound to complete the building and decoration of the church as closely to the original intentions of the architect and artist as possible. For example, the rectors were uncertain what color Street intended the unpainted ceiling to be. They knew, however, that he had been inspired in his designs for St. Paul's by the Romanesque church of St. Zeno in Verona, the ceiling of which is blue. Lowrie wrote: "It was plausible to suppose that Mr. Street had expected our ceiling to be painted like this;" the ceiling is blue today.¹

The rectors maintained the same fidelity to the plans of the artist. When Nevin and Lowrie oversaw the execution of Burne-Jones's designs for the choir mosaic, they carried out the artist's designs exactly, even though they did not necessarily approve of them. On December 14, 1905, Nevin wrote to Thomas Rooke to discuss plans for the continuance of the decoration. He wrote: "I have a strong sense of Justice to him [Burne-Jones] that this should be done as closely as possible on his lines."² In his guide of 1926 to St. Paul's, Lowrie wrote of Burne-Jones's design for the angels separating the firmament: "...if the clouds look too little like clouds and too much like the water of the sea above, it is because we felt constrained to copy

1. Lowrie, 1926, p. 23.

2. Appendix III, Letter 1, pp. 277-278.

faithfully the original design and did not venture to improve it even where the possibility of improvement was obvious.¹ The mosaics on the walls of the choir, executed by Thomas Rooke, were not begun until 1906. Rooke's correspondence with Nevin and Nevin's heirs survives largely intact. Through these letters we can reconstruct the history of the choir mosaic.²

Thomas Matthew Rooke was born in 1842 in London. He studied art at the South Kensington Art School and the Royal Academy Schools. His true career began when Burne-Jones hired him as a studio assistant in 1896.³ He came to Burne-Jones just at the time when Burne-Jones was turning away from the small canvases of the 1860s and developing towards the more monumental art and the large decorative projects that characterize his later work.⁴ It was Burne-Jones's practice to delegate to his studio assistants the mechanical task of transferring his designs from sketches to canvas.⁵ Rooke adapted well to this system because he was content to submerge his own work and personality into that of his master. As a result, Rooke's own output reflects the in-

1. Lowrie, 1926, p. 99.

2. Rooke's correspondence concerning St. Paul's is in the possession of Mr. Thomas Hancock, London.

3. An Exhibition of Drawings and Watercolours by T.M. Rooke, 1842-1942, Showing His Role as Principal Studio Assistant to Burne-Jones, Hartnoll & Eyre, Ltd., December 5 - December 22, 1972 (introductory essay by William Waters), unpaginated.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid. See also A. Charles Sewter, The Stained Glass of William Morris and His Circle, New Haven and London, 1974, pp. 46-47. Henceforward: Sewter, 1974.

fluence of Burne-Jones. Rooke treasured his friendship with, and dependence on, the artist. After Burne-Jones's death, he wrote to Morris's secretary, Sydney Cockerell (1867-1962): "Either that most vital unit of creation that I have ever known is still as much an existence as ever or it never was; a letter from him or a sight of him would seem less unnatural than the belief that I shall never have either again."¹

Rooke was, however, an artist of some talent in his own right. He exhibited The Story of Ruth at the Royal Academy in 1877 (Tate Gallery) and it shows an intense fidelity to nature in a landscape reminiscent of those of the early Pre-Raphaelites.² He painted, too, a series of pictures illustrating the story of Ahab, all now in the Russell-Cotes Museum, Bournemouth - The Death of Ahab (1878), Ahab's Coveting (1879), and Elijah, Ahab, and Jezebel in Naboth's Vineyard (1880).³ Rooke's reputation today, however, rests largely on his architectural and landscape views, executed in water-color initially under the patronage of Ruskin. When Ruskin needed an artist to help record in watercolor the mosaics of St. Mark's in 1878, Burne-Jones recommended Rooke, and thus began a long friendship and collaboration

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1. T.M. Rooke, "Extracts from T.M. Rooke's Letters to Sydney Cockerell," The Old Water-Colour Society's Club, Twenty-First Annual Volume, 1943, pp. 28-29. Henceforward: Rooke, 1943.
 2. Lionel Robinson, "Exposition de la Royal Academy," Gazette des Beaux Arts, 2nd ser., 1877, p. 294.
 3. "Elijah, Ahab and Jezebel in Naboth's Vineyard," The Art Journal, N.S., XIX, 1880, p. 172.

as Rooke travelled around Europe painting monuments, landscapes and architecture for Ruskin's Museum of the Guild of St. George.¹ Ruskin employed Rooke until 1888. In 1893, the patronage of the artist was taken over by Sydney Cockerell. In that year, Cockerell, together with Burne-Jones and the Earl of Carlisle, George Howard (1843-1911), contributed to a fund for Rooke to go to France and paint the porch of Beauvais Cathedral. By 1900, Burne-Jones had died and the support of Howard fell off, but Cockerell continued to commission studies from Rooke until 1908 when the role of patron was assumed by another benefactor, James Richardson Holliday (d. 1927).²

Burne-Jones's recorded attitude toward Rooke was a mixture of admiration and patronization. Burne-Jones wrote to Mary Gladstone Drew in September 1879 when she was in Venice:

It will be nice for you in Venice, and I will tell you of special things to see, but all the world is going there.... But none will be better than that little pupil of mine I asked you to see, though he will be frightened and stammer with shyness and wait on doorsteps; of such is the Kingdom of Heaven though. And you musn't introduce him to your Father for he will faint at such an honour. And he has a big soul in his tremulous little body.³

In October 1879 he again wrote to her:

...I knew too that you would like to see such a pretty simple good life, an ideal artist's life. How shall they be kept so? How shall I keep him from this world? His work is so excellent that people presently will notice it

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1. John Ruskin, The Works of John Ruskin, eds. E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, London and New York, 1903-1912, XXX, pp. lvi - lix and lxii - lxv. Henceforward: Ruskin, 1903-1912.
 2. Randall Davie, "Water-colours in the Birmingham Art Gallery," The Old Water-Colour Society's Club, Sixteenth Annual Volume, 1938, pp. 15-16.
 3. Hawarden Letters, pp. 51-53.

and then, and then. And he has no contempt in him to save himself by, no suspicion, nor any defence at all.¹

In his capacity as studio assistant to Burne-Jones, Rooke's job was to prepare canvases, block in the compositions of large works and help with the painting of the less important areas in certain pictures. The system worked well as long as Burne-Jones kept a close watch and exercised tight control over his assistant. As we saw, Rooke acted for his master when the first mosaics were executed in Venice.² Even though Burne-Jones had no hand in the actual translation of the cartoons into mosaic, his supervision over every aspect of their design accounts for the high quality of the mosaics finished during his lifetime. Rooke faithfully executed Burne-Jones's designs for the choir. The completed choir mosaic is, however, patently by the less gifted hand of a pupil and does not compare with the refinement of the mosaics in the dome or nave.

When Burne-Jones died, his designs for the choir were still only sketches, and after his death it was uncertain whether these would ever be carried out because the church lacked funds. Dr. Nevin, the energetic force behind the building and decoration of the church, was not, however, defeated. On December 14, 1905, Nevin wrote to Rooke to introduce himself and raise the possibility of continuing the mosaic scheme. From Nevin's letter it is clear that he and Burne-Jones had discussed designs for the entire church:

The first work I have in mind is to finish out the apse by carrying down the mosaic + closing the three lancet windows.

1. Ibid., p. 53.

2. See above, pp. 22-24.

For this B.J. left a sketch with which you are doubtless familiar (I enclose photo to refresh memory). I have a strong sense of justice to him that this should be done as closely as possible on his lines. In other work we can be more independent:....¹

Nevin then asked Rooke if he would undertake the commission. Nevin's reference to the "first" work indicates that he planned a complete scheme of mosaic, probably the decoration of the entrance wall and the nave. The design that Burne-Jones had sent to Nevin--the photograph of which he sent to Rooke--is No. 34 in the catalogue. It is this design on which the choir mosaic is based. On January 6, 1906, Rooke wrote to Nevin to say he remembered Nevin very well, but that he must refuse the commission.² He evidently changed his mind for the next known letter from Nevin to Rooke clearly implies that he had been, after all, engaged to execute the mosaics. This letter, of January 17, 1906, discussed alternative designs for the choir:

I have sent you a photo of the Apse, as it exists....Burne-Jones' original sketch is here. It has been sent to me for study on the spot, with request for suggestions--I find I had made some pencilled notes on it. The frieze of Angels needs careful study....This was to separate the heavenly part from the Earthly Paradise below - It was stronger architecturally--I think this was in a little book of intimate sketches that have been given to the British Museum, where you can probably find it--a book with thoughts--He had in it a number of sketches intended to carry on the work in S. Paul's. Notably a shepherd in a sheep-fold "without are wolves."³

The design in the Secret Sketchbook for a Shepherd in a Sheepfold mentioned by Nevin is No. 50.

We can infer that Burne-Jones himself preferred the design repre-

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1. Appendix III, letter 1, p. 277.
 2. Appendix III, letter 2, p. 278.
 3. Appendix III, letter 4, pp. 279-280.

senting The Earthly Paradise, which iconographically and architecturally is more suitable to St. Paul's, by the fact that he sent a colored drawing of it to Nevin for comment. Nevin's interest in the Shepherd design, however, suggests that he still considered it a possible alternative to the design of The Earthly Paradise.

Rooke immediately went to the British Museum to see the Secret Sketchbook of Designs. In a letter of January 1906 to Nevin, Rooke wrote that the day spent

...with the book of designs in the B[riti]sh Museum has been very fruitful. It seems to me that in most cases the first putting down of the motives is of the greatest value + cannot be too closely kept to. Enclosed are notes made from the two.

Rooke enclosed tracings made from Burne-Jones's designs in the Secret Sketchbook. The possibility of using the design of the Shepherd in a Sheepfold was still kept open for a while,² but by February 3, 1906, Nevin had made up his mind. On that day he wrote to Rooke and discussed The Church Militant, or Earthly Paradise, as though it were the final choice:

I recognize the tracings you sent me--they were the Second development of the subject--The photo I sent you was the third--The first was not in the book, but a separate sketch--the angels in all were never spoken of as parting the clouds but as spreading out, and so dividing the Church Militant on Earth from the celestial vision.

You will notice that in the tracings you sent me the windows in the apse still appear--They made such difficulty in the composition, and I found the transmitted light of glass went so badly with the reflected light, that it was

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1. Appendix III, letter 5, p. 281.
 2. Appendix III, letter 6, p. 281.

decided to close them up, to B.J.'s great content. Then he worked out the water colour and sent it to me for suggestions.¹

In the same letter Nevin first discussed the idea of introducing portraits into the Church Militant or Earthly Paradise mosaic and cited a correspondence with Burne-Jones on the subject.

At this point, Neven sent Rooke a photograph of the apse, a photo which still survives (fig. 11). In it, we can see that the choir still contained three windows, as Street had originally designed it. Pasted over the original photograph is another photograph, one of Burne-Jones's sketch for the choir mosaic (No. 34).² This second photograph (fig. 12) was evidently taken by Nevin and pasted on so that Rooke could get an idea of the effect Burne-Jones intended.

Rooke arrived in Rome on March 24, 1906. He stayed in the rectory of the church as Nevin's guest. During his stay in Rome, Rooke made full-sized cartoons for the choir mosaic. They were attached to the wall several times to test their general effect. Also during that stay, Rooke drew portraits of those American residents in Rome whose likenesses Nevin wished to include in the mosaic.³

In June of 1906 Rooke returned to London. Early in July, Nevin passed through London on his way to Mexico where he planned to prospect for gold with which to decorate the ceiling of St. Paul's. Dur-

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1. Appendix III, letter 7, p. 282.
 2. Fig. 11 is in the Rooke papers presently owned by Mr. Thomas Hancock, London. Another version of the photograph, evidently once belonging to Burne-Jones, is in the collection of Burne-Jones's great-granddaughter, Mrs. Mary Ryde, London (fig. 17).
 3. Appendix III, letter 14, p. 289. For Rooke's work at Rome during this period, see the catalogue of Rooke Drawings, pp. 217-258.

ing this week in London, Nevin gained access to Lambeth Palace, where Rooke was allowed to see a drawing of Archbishop Tait, and obtained for Rooke a photograph of Junius Spencer Morgan, the American financier who had donated the money for the mosaic in the dome of the apse. Nevin also told Rooke that he was in correspondence with a mosaic company that would carry out the designs.¹

Nevin died while in Mexico that summer.² Work on the mosaics was immediately halted. Nevin's heirs realized the importance of the mosaics to Nevin and as soon as possible wrote to Rooke asking him to resume work. The executor of Nevin's estate, John Nevin Sayre, a student at Princeton University, wrote to Rooke on November 22, 1906: "It is the wish of Dr. Nevin's relatives to carry to completion the mosaics in the nearest approach to the manner in which he would have had them done." Sayre expressed his family's desire to include his uncle's portrait among the saints and asked Rooke if he had all the photographs needed for the portraits. Sayre wrote that he possessed a list of saints whom Nevin had wished to include.³ Rooke at once replied that he would gladly finish the mosaic, and from this time on, his correspondence and dealings are with John Nevin Sayre.

Rooke worked on the designs during the winter of 1906-07. On the 7th of July, 1907, he wrote to Sydney Cockerell from Venice that the cartoons were ready and that work on the mosaic would begin at once.⁴ Thus, the cartoons were translated into mosaic in July, 1907. They

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1. Appendix III, letter 14, pp. 289-292.
 2. Appendix III, letter 17, p. 294.
 3. Appendix III, letter 13, p. 288.
 4. Rooke, 1943, p. 45.

were put in place between August and November, 1907. The scaffolding was removed by November, 1907, and the mosaics were unveiled on December 1, 1907.¹

Although Burne-Jones is not primarily known as a portrait painter, occasionally he painted portraits of intimate friends.² According to Nevin, he discussed the idea of including portraits in the choir mosaic.³ The inclusion of contemporary faces in mural decoration has a long tradition in Italian Renaissance art--as for example, in Ghirlandaio's frescoes in S. Maria Novella in Florence.⁴ Then, too, Ruskin gave his sanction to the inclusion of portraits in works of art when, in the third volume of Modern Painters, he praised:

The truly high and beautiful art of Angelico...continually refreshed and strengthened by his frank portraiture of the most ordinary features of his brother monks and of the recorded peculiarities of ungainly sanctity. But the modern German and Raphaellesque schools lose all honours and nobleness in barber-like admiration of handsome faces,....⁵

It is unclear, however, whether Burne-Jones ever specifically discussed which portraits were to be included in the choir. Certainly it was Nevin who chose the sitters. The criterion for admission into

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1. "St. Paul's Church Rome 1898-1927. Service Register November 1st 1898 to October 31st 1927." December 1st 1907: "The mosaic of the perpendicular wall of the apse, just completed and visible to the congregation for the first time."
 2. Harrison and Waters, 1973, pp. 128-129.
 3. Appendix III, letter 7, p. 282.
 4. For Burne-Jones's copies after Ghirlandaio's frescoes in S. Maria Novella, see the sketchbook of his first Italian journey of 1859 in the Fitzwilliam Museum (1084) fols. 6 and 16. In the same sketchbook are copies of the portrait heads in Ghirlandaio's St. Francis Raising a Child in the Sassetti Chapel in S. Trinita, Florence (fol. 16, upper L.) and those in Filippino Lippi's section of the frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel (fol. 18, upper L. verso).
 5. Ruskin, 1903-1912, V, p. 57.

the select circle of men and women whose likenesses were to be used seems to have been either their generosity to the church of St. Paul's, or their close relationship to Dr. Nevin. In addition, Nevin had been a Civil War cavalryman who fought for the North. He thus admired, and included in the mosaics, Presidents Lincoln and Grant, and General Hancock.

Among the papers that Nevin left at his death were lists of the men and women he wished to see portrayed as saints. His executor, John Nevin Sayre, assumed the responsibility of providing Rooke with photographs of these people. Beginning with a letter of December 26, 1906, Sayre sent their photographs to Rooke.¹ Among the photographs which Sayre provided were those of Lincoln; Theodore Roosevelt's father; Mrs. William Bacon Stevens; Mrs. Potter, the wife of Bishop Henry Codman Potter; Bishop Alonzo Potter; George Perkins Marsh; Ulysses S. Grant; and President Diaz of Mexico. It was left to Rooke to obtain photographs of Cecil Rhodes, King Humbert of Italy, and Garibaldi. Not all these portraits, however, were finally included in the mosaic.

Rooke's research was thorough. Among Rooke's papers is a letter from Mary Gladstone Drew from Hawarden Rectory (May 11, 1907), enclosing a photograph of her father;² a note from J.P. Morgan's secretary (May 1, 1908) in which she acknowledges the return of four photographs of the late J.S. Morgan;³ and a letter of April 30, 1908, from the

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1. Appendix III, Letter 18, p. 295.
 2. Appendix III, Letter 25, pp. 302-303.
 3. Appendix III, Letter 35, p. 310.

secretary of Archbishop Tait requesting the return of an engraving of Dr. Tait.¹ In addition, there is a list of horsemen saints compiled by Dr. Montague Rhodes James (1862-1936), the biblical scholar and antiquary, from Eton College, Windsor, in order that Rooke would be accurate in the iconography of these saints.²

Before the mosaics were even in place, the identity of many of the portrait heads was in doubt, and Walter Lowrie, Nevin's successor, wrote to Rooke, on November 23, 1907, to ask for a list of the portraits.³ Rooke's reply is lost, but a letter of December 27, 1907, from Lowrie to Rooke, thanked Rooke for his list of the portraits.⁴ Using the information supplied by Rooke, Lowrie recorded the identity of the portraits in his book published in 1926, which is the basis for the following list of portraits in the choir. A diagram (fig.14) will enable us to identify the saints from left to right and match them with portraits.⁵

A. The 'Ascetics' or Hermit Saints.

There are no portraits.

B. The 'Matrons.'

1. Martha is Catherine Lorillard Wolfe (1828-1887), American philanthropist and patroness of the arts. She was a

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1. Appendix III, letter 34, pp. 309-310.
 2. Appendix III, letter 26, pp. 303-304.
 3. Appendix III, letter 31, p. 307.
 4. Appendix III, letter 32, pp. 307-308.
 5. The diagram is published in "St. Paul's American Church Rome, One Hundredth Anniversary", Rome, 1959 (illustrated pamphlet). The watercolor by Burne-Jones at the top of the diagram is cat. 30 and fig. 13.

major benefactor of the American Episcopal Church and donated the bell tower of St. Paul's Church, Rome.¹

2. Mrs. William Bacon Stevens, second wife of William Bacon Stevens (1815-1887), Bishop of Philadelphia and Prelate in charge of American churches in Europe.
3. Mrs. Beckett, evidently a friend of Nevin's about whom nothing is known.

C. The Doctors of the Church.

1. St. Columba is Alonzo Potter (1800-1865), Bishop of Philadelphia from 1845 to 1865.
2. St. Gregory Nazianzen is William H. Harriman, who lived in Rome with his wife from 1865 and was active in church affairs at St. Paul's.²
3. St. Athanasius is Rev. Robert J. Nevin (1839-1906), the builder of St. Paul's.
4. St. Basil is George Perkins Marsh (1801-1882), a lawyer, diplomat and scholar whom President Lincoln appointed, in 1860, first United States Minister to the Kingdom of Italy. He remained in this post until 1881.
5. St. John Chrysostom is Sir Edward Burne-Jones.
6. St. Paul in the center is not a portrait.

1. Dictionary of American Biography, ed., Dumas Malone, New York, 1928-37. Henceforward: DAB. For her role as patroness of St. Paul's, see Armstrong, 1920, p. 183.

2. Armstrong, 1920, p. 222.

7. St. Augustine is a portrait of Richard Cecil Nevin, Dr. Robert Nevin's father, about whom nothing is known.
8. Pope St. Gregory I is Archbishop Tait. Archibald Campbell Tait (1811-1882) succeeded Dr. Arnold as headmaster of Rugby School in 1842. He was created Bishop of London in 1856 and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1869.¹
9. St. Jerome is Dr. Johann Joseph Ignatius von Döllinger (1799-1890), a German priest and professor who fought against the proclamation of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility. He defied the Pope on this issue and was excommunicated.²
10. St. Ambrose is Junius Spencer Morgan (1813-1890), international banker and founder of the banking house of J.S. Morgan & Co. His son was John Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913). The present portrait was included because J.S. Morgan was the donor of the mosaic in the dome of the apse. His son was one of the most vigorous supporters of the Episcopal Church and also donated money to St. Paul's.

D. The Virgin Saints.

1. St. Catherine (with the wheel) is Mrs. Henry Codman Potter. She was the second wife of Henry Codman Potter (1835-1908), son of Alonzo Potter and Bishop of New York.
2. St. Barbara (with the tower) is Georgiana, Lady Burne-

1. Dictionary of National Biography, ed., Leslie Stephen, London, 1885-1900.

2. Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church, II, London, 1970, pp. 417-418.

Jones (1840-1920), wife of the painter.

3. St. Cecilia (with the organ) is Mrs. William Waldorf Astor, wife of William Waldorf Astor (1848-1919), the American millionaire. In 1882 President Arthur appointed her husband minister to Italy, replacing George Perkins Marsh, (p. 63). Astor was the American Minister in Rome until 1885. During that period he and his wife became friends with Nevin and donated money to St. Paul's for the mosaics (Appendix IV, p.313).
4. St. Dorothea (with roses) is Margaret MacKail (1866-1953), daughter of Burne-Jones and wife of William Morris's biographer, J[ohn] W[illiam] MacKail (1859-1948).
5. St. Agnes (with the lamb) is Gwendolin Story, younger daughter of the American sculptor, William Wetmore Story (1819-1895). Nothing is known of her life.

E. The Soldiers of Christ.

1. St. George is General Winfield Scott Hancock (1824-1886), the Civil War general, famous for his leadership at Gettysburg. In 1880 he was nominated by the Democratic party for President but lost the election to James A. Garfield (DAB). Dr. Nevin fought in the Civil War for the North and greatly admired Hancock.
2. St. James of Spain is Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882).
3. St. Patrick is Ulysses Simpson Grant (1822-1885), Civil War general and eighteenth President of the United States.
4. St. Andrew is Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865), sixteenth President of the United States.

5. St. Longinus, the footsoldier with a spear, cannot be positively identified.
6. St. Denis is Henry White (1850-1927), American ambassador to Italy from 1905 to 1907.
7. The 6th mounted soldier does not have the attributes of a specific saint. The portrait is of Père Hyacinthe (1827-1912), who was born Charles Loyson in Orléans, France. He was famous as an eloquent and popular preacher at Notre Dame in Paris. He defied the Pope on the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, was excommunicated in 1869, and, like Dollinger, was revered in America and England as a champion of religious freedom.¹
8. The 7th mounted soldier cannot with certainty be identified as a specific saint. Here is a portrait of the father of President Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919), Théodore Roosevelt, Sr. (d. 1878) who was a prosperous merchant in New York. In March, 1874, Roosevelt Sr. contributed five hundred dollars to the building fund of St. Paul's.²

1. Grand Larousse Encyclopedique, VI, Paris, 1942. For Père Hyacinthe's interest in the building of St. Paul's, see Armstrong, 1920, p. 182.

2. Armstrong, 1920, p. 186.

IV

Written Sources

Burne-Jones learned the importance of respecting traditional iconography early in his career. When, on September 25, 1895, he gave his assistant, Thomas Rooke, Adolphe Napoleon Didron's Christian Iconography to read, it was with the following advice:

It's best not to depart from tradition--brings confusion into things that are at no time too easy to make clear. I'll lend you Didron. Once, in the ardour of youth, I tried an innovation. It was a mistake. I drew an Annunciation with Mary taking the Dove to her bosom; and when the architect who had commissioned me (he was a very good architect--Butterfield it was) objected, I wouldn't alter it. So he would never give me anything more to do, and he was quite right--and I lost the chance of a lot of work.¹

When he became engaged to Georgiana MacDonald (1840-1920) in 1856, one of the first gifts he gave her was Alexis Rio's Poetry of Christian Art.² The gift indicates that the book had special significance

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1. The Diary of Thomas Rooke [unpublished Mss. in the possession of Mr. Lance Thirkell, great-grandson of Burne-Jones, inscribed: "Georgiana Burne-Jones, North End House, Rottingdean, Sussex, 1900. Handed over to me by Lady Burne-Jones after the issue of her "Memorials" in 1904 for my possible use of those of the remaining unpublished contents, in the leisure of late years. Thomas Matthew Rooke, 7 Queen Anne's Gardens, Bedford Park, London, W 4, 1930"], pp. 12 and 526 (1898). Henceforward: Rooke's Diary. The book Burne-Jones gave Rooke was A[dolphe] N[apoleon] Didron, Christian Iconography, or the History of Christian Art in the Middle Ages, 2 vols., trans. from the French by E.J. Millington, London, 1851. The Annunciation which Burne-Jones designed for Butterfield in 1860 was first used that year at Topcliffe, Yorkshire, for a stained glass window manufactured by the firm of Lavers & Barraud. The cartoon is at the City Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham.
 2. Memorials, I, pp. 141.

for him. He had read, too, Ruskin's Modern Painters, Edinburgh Lectures, and The Stones of Venice at Oxford.¹ Although Ruskin's books are not primarily iconographic studies, they taught the artist much about traditional iconography. His wife recalled that in 1856, "every book by Ruskin that Edward possessed was brought round to me before breakfast the morning after we were engaged--a royal gift."² Burne-Jones also admired one of the great iconographic studies of the period, Lord Lindsay's three-volume Sketches of the History of Christian Art, which was first published in 1847. The artist wrote about his admiration for Lindsay's book in a letter of April 1895, to his young friend, Helen Mary Gaskell (d. 1933):

...did you ever read that book he wrote in Florence when he was Lord Lindsay--called Christian art--a book deservedly famous--for it was the pioneer of much--a lovely temperate pious book that I loved when I was at Oxford.³

Because he was attentive to traditional religious iconography, every detail of his religious works has potential for symbolic meaning. Because he designed stained glass for Morris and Co., his professional reputation rested on the accuracy of the iconography. A slip meant that the minister of the church in question might insist that the image in the glass be corrected, obviously a costly process.

If Burne-Jones knew the importance of iconographic clarity in

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1. Ibid., I, pp. 79, 85, 99.
 2. Ibid., I, p. 141
 3. British Museum Add. Ms. 54218, fol. 69-70. For Lindsay's reputation and importance for Victorian artists and architects, see John Steegman, "Lord Lindsay's History of Christian Art," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, X, 1947, pp. 123-131. Lindsay was created Eighth Earl of Balcarres in 1869.

church decoration, he also knew the value of iconographic mystification for arousing public curiosity. According to his wife, the artist once said: "if one loved a subject, it would be easy enough to find it, and I don't believe in carrying a treasure to anyone--believe only in the hunting and finding."¹ He told Thomas Rooke in 1896: "I like a little mystery in a picture, it sets people wondering and thinking..."² In the mosaics at St. Paul's, Burne-Jones imaginatively used traditional iconography in an eclectic way to create an original and quite personal synthesis.

The iconography of the mosaics of St. Paul's should be studied on two different levels, the meaning of the decoration of the whole church, and the meaning of the subjects of the individual mosaics. The theme of the decoration is the Redemption of Man through the coming and sacrifice of Christ. To begin our experience of the whole church, we enter and proceed down the nave (fig. 4). The subject of the first arch is The Annunciation (fig. 5). This is the Incarnation, the moment Christ assumed human form and the first moment in God's scheme for man's salvation from sin. The event takes place at dawn and in the desert, a symbol for the deadness of the world before Christ's coming. The only sign of fertility is a trickle of water from a rock at the right.

Mary goes out into the desert to fill her water jar. She stops to observe a pelican's drinking from a pool of water, on the left, when the angel, Gabriel, hovering a few feet above the ground,

1. Memorials, II, p. 138.

2. Rooke's Diary, p. 196.

appears. Inscribed on the lower curve of the arch are Gabriel's words to Mary (Luke 1:28) and her reply (Luke 1:38):

AVE · GRATIA · PLENA · DOMINVS · TECUM · BENEDICTA · TV ·
 IN · MVLLERIBUS · ECCE · ANCILLA · DOMINI · FIAT · MIHI ·
 SECUNDVM · VERBVM · TVVM ·

(Hail full of grace, the Lord be with you! Blessed are you among women) and (Behold the handmaiden of the Lord, may it be done unto me according to your word.)

In the second arch (fig. 6), the subject is The Tree of Life, a mystical rendering of the Crucifixion. The theme of redemption through Christ's coming and sacrifice is carried forward. Just as the world of the first arch is a barren desert before the Coming of Christ, so the world of the second arch is a stoney wasteland, but among the thorns and rubble grow a tree, grain, and lilies. Burne-Jones thus united the themes of the two arches by the symbolic use of landscape. The time in the Annunciation is dawn, with the promise of life to come; the clear blue sky here indicates that the time is mid-day and the promise is fulfilled. The open composition of the Annunciation, with its empty central space, is contrasted to the tight composition and the closed center of the Tree of Life.

In the center of the composition, Christ appears in a tree. He holds out his hands in an attitude that suggests both blessing and the Crucifixion. To our left stands Adam dressed in a short white tunic with his hands clasped in prayer. To our right is Eve in a white garment holding the infant, Abel, in her arms. At her side is Cain. To the left of the Adam is a sheaf of wheat; to the right of Eve grow lilies. Beneath the wheat and lilies are two large leaf-shaped forms that fill up the bottom corners of the arch. Along the

lower edge of the arch is inscribed a quotation from John 16:33:

IN · MVNDO · PRESSVRAM · HABEBITIS · SED · CONFIDITE ·

EGO · VICI · MVNDVM

(In the world you will have tribulation but be of good cheer,
I have overcome the world.)

The mosaic in the apse, Christ Enthroned in the Heavenly Jerusalem (fig. 7) and the choir mosaic, of The Earthly Paradise (fig. 8), together symbolize the promise of salvation fulfilled. The theme of water introduced in The Annunciation and The Tree of Life is amplified in the apse mosaics. The desert of The Annunciation contains a small trickle of water flowing from a rock. The wasteland of The Tree of Life is made green where the life-giving Tree grows. In the apse, the four Rivers of Salvation flow from the throne of Christ in a torrent that contrasts to the paucity of water in the other two arches. From the desert in The Annunciation to the wasteland of The Tree of Life, we arrive in a garden in paradise. The River of Life in the dome seems to flow below to the choir mosaic and to water the lush, flower-filled landscape in the center (fig. 8).¹ The firmament is symbolized by the band of angels that separates the apse mosaic from the choir mosaic (fig. 8). These are the angels who divide the water above from the waters below according to the Book of Genesis (Genesis 1:6).²

The mosaic in the dome represents Christ Enthroned in the Heavenly Jerusalem (fig. 7). The beardless Christ sits on a throne composed of cherubim and seraphim. Christ raises his right hand in blessing. In his left hand, He holds a sphere in which is reflected a moun-

1. Lowrie, 1926, p. 89.

2. Ibid., 1926, p. 99.

tainous landscape, symbolizing the world. At Christ's feet is a rainbow; below, four rivers flow from the base of the throne. Behind Christ rise the walls of the New Jerusalem, which are fortified by ramparts. The walls contain six gates, and before each gate but one stands an angel. To our far left is the angel, Uriel, guardian of the sun, who holds a sphere representing the sun. Next to him stands Michael, dressed in armor and holding a shield and spear. The next gate is empty. The angel directly to the right of Christ is Gabriel, Archangel of the Annunciation, who holds a lily. Next to him is Chemuel, the Cup-Bearer, who holds a goblet and a pilgrim's staff. On our far right stands Zophiel, guardian of the moon, holding the moon in his hands. Above Christ is a celestial blue sky filled with small clouds on which stand a host of miniature angels carrying harps.

Between the lower edge of the dome and the top of the choir is a gold band of mosaic with two inscriptions in Hebrew and Greek (fig.

7). They are the first words of the Book of Genesis and the Gospel of St. John. To the left in Hebrew the inscription reads, translated from Hebrew, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." To the right in Greek it reads, in translation, "In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God." These inscriptions were installed after Burne-Jones's death and were not planned by the artist.¹

The subject of the choir mosaic, The Earthly Paradise, is a representation of the various types of saints (fig. 8). To our left are male and female Hermit Saints in a desert landscape who raise their hands in a gesture of supplication. Next to these are Matron

1. Lowrie, 126, p. 92.

Saints in long robes standing in the desert. The central group, the Greek and Latin Fathers of the Church, stand in a row on a carpet of grass and flowers. Behind them is a Byzantine church. The next group, directly to the right of the Church Fathers, are the Virgin Martyrs, who enter the scene in a procession from the desert behind. To their right are the Horsemen Saints who ride in dressed in armor.

With respect to the iconography of St. Paul's, the saints are the symbol of the Church Militant, the mystical body of Christ, redeemed through Christ's sacrifice. The cycle, from Christ's coming (The Annunciation) to Christ's sacrifice (The Tree of Life), is completed by representing those who have found salvation in Christ (The Heavenly Jerusalem and The Earthly Paradise).

Before citing the written sources for the mosaic in the dome of the apse, The Heavenly Jerusalem, we must take into account the two sources that Burne-Jones claimed inspired him. In November 1883, the artist wrote to Francis Horner about the mosaics:

...for the sake of many ancient loves I am doing it. For love of Venice and Ravenna and the seven impenetrable centuries between them, and for love of many old studies and odds and ends of things I like--Talmud and Aquinas and I don't know what."¹

Although Burne-Jones had special reason for knowing and liking both the Talmud and the writings of Saint Thomas Aquinas,² there is no detail of the iconography which can be traced to either of them. It is possible that Burne-Jones merely intended to impress the young Francis Horner with his references to St. Thomas and the Talmud, or

1. Memorials, II, p. 134.

2. See below, p. 124 and p. 131.

he may have meant that the scholasticism found in both the Talmud and the work of Aquinas inspired him to create a work of art that was spiritually like them.

We cannot point to any specific passage in either the Talmud or in the writings of Aquinas that Burne-Jones used as a source for the imagery in St. Paul's. We must assume either that the statement in his letter to Francis Horner was not meant seriously or that Burne-Jones considered his own work to be in the tradition of both the Talmud and Saint Thomas. As we examine the written sources, it will become clear that the second hypothesis is correct.

The subject of the mosaic in the dome of the apse is from the Book of Revelation. Christ sits enthroned in the New Jerusalem:

At once I was in the Spirit, and lo, a throne stood in heaven, with one seated on the throne! And he who sat there appeared like jasper and carnelian, and round the throne was a rainbow that looked like an emerald...and before the throne there is as it were a sea of glass, like crystal.

(Rev. 4:2-6)

And:

...I saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband;...And he who sat on the throne said, "Behold, I make all things new....I am the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end. To the thirsty I will give water without price from the fountain of the water of life....

Then came one of the seven angels....And in the spirit he carried me away to a great, high mountain, and showed me the holy city of Jerusalem coming down out of the heaven from God, having the glory of God, its radiance, clear as crystal. It had a great, high wall, with twelve gates....

(Rev. 21:2-12)

Although the inspiration is from Revelation, the details of the iconography are from visual sources, which will be discussed in Chapter V, and from Lord Lindsay. Lindsay states that in medieval representa-

tions of Christ the rainbow upon which Christ sits represents the Trinity.¹ The Trinity is also represented by the extension of the thumb, forefinger and middle finger of Christ's hand held up in blessing.² According to Lindsay, Christ was represented as a beardless youth in early Christian art to symbolize "the everlasting prime of eternity."³ The four rivers which flow from Christ's throne represent the four evangelists.⁴

On either side of God's throne, Burne-Jones depicts five archangels, Uriel, Michael, Gabriel, Chemuel, and Zophiel, and one empty niche for the absent Lucifer. This arrangement is unique and is based on no traditional representation of the archangels. According to the Book of Revelation, (8:2), there are seven angels who surround the throne of God. The names of the seven angels of Revelation are disputed by various authorities, but three names are generally agreed upon: Michael, Gabriel and Raphael.⁵ Uriel appears on some lists and not on others: Chemuel is rarely included; Lucifer never. Burne-Jones, therefore, dropped Raphael and one other angel, but added a niche for Lucifer. According to Walter Lowrie, Burne-Jones knew that the number of angels should be seven, but there was room only for

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1. Alexander W.C. Lindsay, Earl of Crawford, Sketches of the History of Christian Art, I, London, 1847, pp. xix-xxi.
 2. Ibid., pp. xx-xxi.
 3. Ibid., p. 42.
 4. Ibid., p. 42.
 5. For the extremely complicated subject of the names of the angels of Revelation, see Gustav Davidson, A Dictionary of Angels, New York, 1967, pp. xi-xv. See also p. 338 for the names of the seven archangels as listed by the Ethiopic Enoch, the Hebrew Enoch, the Testament of Solomon, the Christian Gnostics, Gregory the Great and Pseudo-Dionysius.

five--in addition to the niche for the absent angel, Lucifer.¹

Thus, there is a dichotomy between the artist's knowledge and respect for traditional iconography as demonstrated by his advice to Rooke and his extensive readings in books on iconography, and his willingness to alter the number of angels when the architectural space demanded it. Traditional iconography, therefore, has yielded to visual effect, and in the other mosaics at St. Paul's, Burne-Jones will take even greater liberties with his written sources.

The primary written source for the Annunciation is the gospel story in Luke 1:26-38. This version does not describe any specific setting, except that the event took place in Nazareth. In Burne-Jones's mosaic, The Annunciation takes place in the desert. An outdoor setting for the scene does appear in many ancient legends, as, for example, the apocryphal Book of James or Protoevangelium (XI:1): "And she took the pitcher and went forth to fill it with water, and lo a voice saying: Hail, thou art highly favoured; the Lord is with thee..."² For a Man like Burne-Jones, steeped in medieval legends

1. Lowrie, 1926, pp. 87-88. We can not say why the angels Chemuel and Uriel were included whereas Raphael was not, but we can suggest a possible explanation. Lucifer and Michael originally were meant to appear in the Fall of the Rebel Angels on the entrance wall. Gabriel appears elsewhere in the church in the Annunciation. Chemuel, the cup-bearer, appears in a design for The Agony in the Garden--a subject which Burne-Jones may at one stage have considered for the church (cat. 61). Zophiel, representing the moon, and Uriel, representing the sun, are often shown in stained glass by Morris and Co. holding the sun and the moon at the Crucifixion (See Sewter, 1974, figs. 261, 262, and 492). This suggests to me that Burne-Jones may have thought of the angels as appearing and reappearing in different places in the church, but did not follow through with the idea.

2. Montague Rhodes James, trans., The Apocryphal New Testament, Oxford, 1953, p. 43.

and stories,¹ it is likely that he read a version of the Annunciation similar at least in spirit to this.

We are on less sure ground when we cite Islamic versions of the story of the Annunciation. Burne-Jones was fascinated by the religion and poetry of Islam.² It is therefore worth citing the description in the Koran of Mary's encounter with the angel:

And make mention in the Book, of Mary, when she went apart from her family to a place eastward, and took a veil to shroud herself from them: and We sent our spirit to her, and he appeared before her like a perfect man.

(Chapter LVIII, Sura XIX, "Mary")³

The wording here is ambiguous and leaves Mary's exact location uncertain. If Burne-Jones did read the Koran, however, he read an edition translated from the Arabic by J.M. Rodwell, published in 1876. In Rodwell's footnote to this passage he explains that "it may mean, to some place eastward from Jerusalem, or from the house of her parents."⁴ Thus Burne-Jones could have used this text to justify his setting the Annunciation in the desert.

Burne-Jones also read the Golden Legend by Jacobus de Voragine. We know this because William Morris loved the book and brought out an edition of the Golden Legend in 1892 that originally was to have been

1. See below, pp. 78 and 79.

2. See below, p. 117.

3. The Koran, translated from the Arabic by J.M. Rodwell, M.A., London, Bernard Quaritch, 1876, Chapter LVIII, Sura XIX, "Mary," pp. 111-112.

4. Ibid., p. 111 footnote.

illustrated by Burne-Jones.¹ The artist surely knew, then, that in de Voragine's account of the Annunciation the feast is celebrated because on that day the coming of the Son of God in the flesh was announced by an angel, and that it was fitting that an angel should announce the event, because only in this way could the fall of the angels be repaired. For de Voragine the Incarnation took place to repair not only the sin of Adam and Eve but also the fall of the angels.² The Archangel Gabriel in Burne-Jones's Annunciation may, then, take on an additional significance when one considers the importance that the theme of the Fall of the Angels was meant to have in the church. The Annunciation can be seen as repairing the sin of Lucifer, which is a theme of the dome of the apse and the project for the entrance wall. In addition, the Annunciation repaired the sin of mankind, which is represented on the arch of The Tree of Life.

All the details in The Annunciation are symbolic. Behind Mary is a stream trickling from the rock. In addition to its clear reference to the rock Moses struck in the desert [Exodus 17:4-7], the rock is a traditional symbol for Christ. The rock as Christ is not associated with a single writer or text. One writer who uses this image is Thomas Aquinas, who says, though not in connection with the Annunciation: "...as the rock in the desert was of a material nature, and yet

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1. J.W. Mackail, The Life of William Morris, II, London, 1899, pp. 248 and 279. Henceforward: Mackail, 1899.
 2. Jacobus de Voragine, The Golden Legend, 3 vols., ed. Frederic S. Ellis, Hammersmith, 1892, pp. 434-438. Henceforward: The Golden Legend.

signified Christ.¹ In the lower left of the Annunciation is a pelican - another traditional symbol of Christ because the bird was thought to feed its young with blood from its own breast.² The pelican therefore refers here to Christ's sacrifice on the Cross - a subject which appears in the mosaic of the Tree of Life.

Pervading the imagery of the Annunciation is the importance of the landscape as a symbol. The author who uses landscape imagery to explain the Incarnation is St. Bernard. That Burne-Jones used St. Bernard as a source for his mosaics is indicated by an inscription from the saint in the sketchbook containing the designs for St. Paul's, opposite a design for The Tree of Life (No. 20). It is probable, then, that the artist knew this image in St. Bernard, the metaphor of planting a tree in barren soil:

But that he might bring forth more fruit, He was planted in the earth, that is, conceived in the Virgin Mary, being made what He was not, and yet abiding what He was.... Truly blessed is she, who through the good gift of God brought forth so blessed a fruit. This is the earth of which it is written: "There was not a man to till the earth, but a spring rose out of the earth, watering all the surface of the earth."

(Gen. 2:5-6).

For this earth accepted not the operation of man, that the Son of God should be conceived in it, but it was watered with the water of the Holy Ghost; for so you read: "The Holy

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1. Aquinas, Summa Theologica, Part I, vol. III, Question 102, article I. See also Lowrie, 1926, p. 78, who cites I Corinthians 10:4: "For they drank from the supernatural Rock which followed them, and the Rock was Christ." For Christ as the rock see also Lindsay, I, p. xix, who cites John IV:14: "The well of water springing up into eternal life."
 2. For the pelican as a symbol for Christ see Lindsay, I, p. xix.

Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee."

(St. Luke 1:35).

Again, of this earth it is written: "Let the earth be opened and bud forth the Saviour."

(Isaiah, 14:8).

For it was opened by faith, when she believed and obeyed the angel; and it budded forth life and salvation, even our saviour, who giveth us the reward of eternal life."¹

This metaphor conceives of the Annunciation as the planting of a tree in infertile earth. The earth is an important aspect of St. Bernard's imagery, as it is in Burne-Jones's. At one point in the designs for the choir mosaic, as we recall, the artist planned the subject of The Labour of Adam and Eve where again the subject of the earth and the tilling of the earth was important (Nos. 47-50).

In contrast to the simplicity of the iconography of The Heavenly Jerusalem and The Annunciation mosaics, the subject of The Tree of Life is open to many interpretations. Burne-Jones's wife, for example, consistently called this subject a "Tree of Forgiveness,"² and, in spirit, she was right: it is a Tree of Knowledge, a Tree of Life, and a Tree of Forgiveness. Lady Burne-Jones quotes an undated letter from her husband to an unidentified friend in which he described the subject:

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1. S. Bernard (ascribed to), "Vitis Mystica" or The True Vine: A treatise on the Passion of Our Lord, trans. with a preface by the Rev. W.R. Bernard Brownlow, M.A., London, 1872, pp. 3-4.
 2. Memorials, II, pp. 159 and 349. Possibly Lady Burne-Jones confused this subject with the artist's second version of Phillys and Demaphoon (Port Sunlight, Lady Lever Art Gallery), which he called The Tree of Forgiveness. See Harrison and Waters, 1973, fig. 35, illustrated opposite p. 138.

It's a mustical thing--Christ hanging with outspread arms but not crucified: the cross is turned into a big tree all over leaves, and the stems of the tree are gold....There is a man on one side of Him and a woman on the other and a cornsheaf by the man and two babies and a lily by the woman--that is all. I am doing my best, but it isn't a picture and few will understand it.¹

If Burne-Jones was concerned that people would not understand his picture, he did nothing to assist them. Although in the next quotation he was slightly more helpful, he still merely described, rather than explained, the mosaic. He wrote to Francis Horner in the summer of 1891 that:

...I shall make the design I had set my heart on--of a great flowering tree growing all over the space; myriads of leaves to it, every leaf as big as a man's hand--and in the tree a very pale Christ, and on one side of it Adam, and on the other Eve, and two toddlers, and these shall stand for mankind--and Christ shall have outstretched arms on the tree as if He were on a Cross, but there will be no Cross. He will be hovering in the Tree of Life. I do hope to make it very beautiful.²

In 1898, Burne-Jones showed a niece of the artist Spencer Stanhope (1829-1908) around his studio in London. According to Lady Burne-Jones, he showed her a watercolor of The Tree of Life:

When she looked at it, he said: "He is blessing Adam and Eve, and while His hands are stretched in blessing He is in the attitude of the Cross. There is the corn behind Adam, to show that he must labour. On the left is Eve with her children, and behind her is the white lily, which means the Annunciation and the promise.³

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1. Ibid., II, p. 159. This letter is probably to Francis Horner but Lady Burne-Jones splices it with another letter in her Memorials.
 2. Horner, 1933, p. 125. Letter misquoted in Memorials, II, pp. 159-169.
 3. Memorials, II, p. 349.

The texts that mention the Tree of Life fall into three categories: the Tree of Life mentioned in Genesis, the fruit of which granted immortality; the Tree of Life identified with Christ's Cross in Jacobus de Voragine's Golden Legend; and the vision of the Tree of Life in the Book of Revelation. Genesis is the first book in the Bible, Revelation is the last. Burne-Jones chose one image common to both books, and combined all three texts to form a complex image.

The gospel account of Adam and Eve's first sin tells how God forbade them to eat the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge. The serpent tempted Eve, saying that if she ate the fruit "...then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil" (Gen. 3:5). But there is another tree in the gospel account: the Tree of Life. When God expelled Adam and Eve from Paradise, He said:

Behold, the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil; and now, lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever...therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the Garden of Eden, to till the ground from whence he was taken. So he drove out the man; and he placed at the east of the garden of Eden Cherubims, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life.

(Gen. 3:22-24)

The Tree of Life thus conferred immortality. It is worth noting that Aquinas discussed the Tree of Life:

The tree of life is a material tree, and so called because its fruit was endowed with a life preserving power.¹

and

Q. whether in the State of Innocence man would have acquired Immortality by the Tree of Life.

1. Aquinas, Summa Theologica, Part I, vol. III, Question 102, article I.

- A. Augustine says (De Civ. Dei XIV.26) man had food to appease his hunger, drink to slake his thirst; and the tree of life to banish the breaking up of old age;....The tree of life, like a drug, warded off all bodily corruption.¹

Thus we might call this first scriptural mention of the Tree of Life the "historical" Tree.²

Another mention of the Tree of Life is in legend and metaphor.

In The Golden Legend, de Voragine recounts that Adam's son, Seth, put the seeds of the Tree of Life in Adam's mouth so that it grew over Adam's grave, and from its wood the cross of Christ was made.³

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1. Ibid., Part I, vol. III, Question 97, article 4. The Tree of Life appears in the following passages in the Bible: Genesis 2:9; 3:22-24 / Proverbs 3:18; 11:30; 13:12; 15:4 / Revelation 2:7; 22:2.
 2. The image of a Tree of Life which grows in Paradise, the fruit of which grants immortality, is found in Muhammadan, Babylonian, Greek and Christian cultures. In one form it appears as the apple tree in the garden of the Hesperides--a subject that Turner painted and Ruskin admired. (Ruskin, 1903-1912, V, pp. 392ff.) Christian writers who had discussed the Tree of Life in this context include: Chrysostom, Theodoret, Augustine, Anselm of Canterbury, Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, Rupert of Deutz, St. Bonaventure, Luther and Calvin. We have no way of knowing how many of these authors Burne-Jones may have read. See George Lechler, "The Tree of Life in Indo-European and Islamic Cultures," Ars Islamica, IV, 1937, pp. 369-416. Henceforward: Lechler, 1937.
 3. The Golden Legend, I, p. 112 (of the Lyf of Adam). The principal sources of this story are: Nicodemus' Evangelinary; The Ethiopian Christian Book of Adam; Rudolf of Ems, World Chronicle; Floridus Lambertus; Vincent of Beauvais, Speculum Historiales; Henry of Freiburg, The Holy Cross. Morris gave Burne-Jones a History of the Cross (the author is not mentioned) in 1865. By the same year Burne-Jones had read Vincent of Beauvais' Speculum Historiales. See Memorials, I, p. 288. In addition, Lindsay, I, p. xiv, repeats the myth.

One certain written source for the Tree of Life is St. Bernard. On one of his drawings for the Tree of Life (No. 20), Burne-Jones inscribed the following passage from St. Bernard:

QVIS · NON · RAPERETVR · AD · SPEM · QVI · EIVS · CORPVS ·
 ATTENDIT · HABET · CAPVT · INCLINATVM · AD · OSCULANDVM ·
 BRACHIA · EXTENSA · AD · AMPLEXANDVM · MANVS · PERFORATAS ·
 AD · LARGIENDVM · LATVS · APERTVM · AD · DILLIGENDVM · PEDES ·
 AFFIXOS · AD · NOBISCVM · COMMANENDVM · TOTVM · CORPVS ·
 EXTENSVM · AD · SE · TOTVM · NOBIS · IMPARTIENDVM
 / S. BERNARDVS

(Who is not seized with hope who has watched His body, the head inclined for kissing, the arms extended for embracing, the hands pierced for giving, the side open for loving, the feet affixed to us, the whole body extended imparting everything to us.

St. Bernard)

In our discussion of the written sources for The Annunciation we quoted a passage from St. Bernard's Vitis Mystica in which the Annunciation is compared to planting a tree in barren soil, which then grows and buds into Christ, the Saviour.¹ This imagery may well be one source of inspiration for the Tree of Life mosaic.

In view of the artist's readings in St. Bernard, de Voragine, and Aquinas, he may have known of this metaphor from another mystic, St. Bonaventure, which reads in my translation:

...imagine in the spirit of your mind a tree, the roots of which are irrigated and watered by a spring which always gushes, and this spring becomes a great flowing river which divides itself into four parts, to water the paradise of the entire Holy Church. Then, from the shaft of this tree twelve branches, adorned with leaves, spring forth and are

1. See above, pp. 79-80.

born, and they bear, too, flowers and fruit. This leaf is the true medicine against every kind of illness and will cure it in such a way that the sickness will never more return. And this tree is the cross, In as much as the cross is the power of God, it gives health to all those who believe in it...(and its fruit) is that fruit which issues forth and is born from the holy womb of the most pure Virgin, and in the tree of the cross it became ripe, and was nurtured most tenderly in midday by the heat of the spiritual sun, that is by the love and charity of Christ. And it is given to eat to all those who desire it in the verdure of the garden of spiritual paradise.¹

In this passage the identification of Christ's Cross with a tree is parallel to Burne-Jones's Tree of Life mosaic. In addition, St. Bonaventure's image of a tree irrigated and watered by a spring that becomes a flowing river divided into four parts is paralleled by the four rivers of life in the apse mosaic, which, as Bonaventure states, water"...the paradise of the entire Holy Church" represented in the choir by the mosaic of The Earthly Paradise.

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1. (St. Bonaventure,) Meditazione sopra l'albero della croce, testo di lingua del buon secolo, ed ora a miglior lezione ridotto, Verona, 1828, pp. 3-6.

...imagine nello spirito della tua mente un albero, la cui radice sia irrigata e innaffiata da una fonte, che rampoli sempre, e questa fonte diventi un gran fiume vico, che si divida in quattro parte a innaffiare el paradiso di tutta la santa chiesa. Poi dello stipite di quest'albero rampollano e nascono dodici rami adornati di foglie, e di fiori, e di frutti; e la foglia sia medicina verace contra ogni generazione di infermità, e guarisca in tal modo, che non ritorni mai la 'nfermità; e quest' albero è la Croce; imperocchè la Croce è virtù di Dio di saluti a tutti i credenti in lei...il qual frutto sempre sama coloro che l'imagiano, e mangiandolo non hanno mai fastidio. E questo è quel frutto, che procedette, e nacque dal sagrato ventre della purissima Vergine, e'n sull' albero della croce si maturò, e fu cotto saporosamente di meriggi per lo caldo del sole spirituale, cioè per l'amore e per la carita dello spirito di Gesu; ed e proposto a mangiare a tutti coloro che lo desiderano nella verdura del giardino dello spiritual paradiso.

Finally, there is the vision of the Tree of Life mentioned by St. John in the Book of Revelation. Burne-Jones had used the Book of Revelation for the imagery of the apse, and it was appropriate that he should carry its imagery into the decoration of the nave. After describing the vision of the New Jerusalem, St. John writes:

And he showed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb. In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there the tree of life, which bore all manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month; and the leaves of the tree were for healing of the nations.

(Rev. 22:1-3)

Also:

Blessed are those who wash their robes, that they may have the right to the tree of life and that they may enter the city by the gates.

(Rev. 22:14)

In these two quotations from St. John we see how the image of The Tree of Life is related to the imagery of the apse mosaic. In the latter are the elements of the "water of life proceeding out of the throne of God" and the gates of the city of the New Jerusalem. Thus, the two mosaics are iconographically linked through their common source in the Book of Revelation.

No Biblical text describes Christ crucified on the Tree of Life with Adam and Eve on either side. The image of Adam and Eve's standing by a flowering tree has one traditional meaning, the temptation and fall of man. It was by eating the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge that Adam and Eve sinned and had to be redeemed. This redemption was effected by Christ's sacrifice on the Cross, the Crucifixion. In the subject of the Crucifixion, the man and woman who stand on either side

of the Cross are St. John and the Virgin Mary, and, as we saw, the Crucifixion is implied in Burne-Jones's image. The artist has here combined three subjects into one composition: the cause of Man's fall (the sin of Adam and Eve at the Tree of Knowledge), the effect (the Expulsion from the Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden), and the remedy (the Crucifixion). Christ is seen not crucified on the Tree of Life but as the Tree of Life--forgiving mankind its sins and thus granting him immortality.¹

The other details in the composition are also symbolic. The grain at Adam's side and the landscape of desolation surrounding the Tree of Life also have sources in scriptures. After Adam ate the forbidden fruit, God said:

Cursed is the ground for thy sake;
 In sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life.
 Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee;
 And thou shalt eat the herb of the field;
 In the sweat of thy face shall thou eat bread,
 Till thou return unto the ground.

(Gen. 3:17-18)

The children at Eve's side refer to God's words to Eve:

I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception;
 In sorrow thou shalt bring forth children

(Gen. 3:16)

In the mosaic, Adam and Eve are clothed to show that this is after the Fall when they are no longer naked (Gen. 3:17). Speaking to Spencer Stanhope's niece in 1898, Burne-Jones said that the lilies at Eve's side prefigure the Annunciation and thus refer to the coming of

1. Lowrie, 1926, pp. 81-82.

the Redeemer.¹ The lilies also stand for Woman and the grain for Man. The grain is a traditional symbol of the Eucharist, which reinforces the theme of Christ's sacrifice for man's salvation. Adam is Adam, but he also represents mankind. Eve is Eve, but also clearly recalls the traditional symbol of Charity (fig. 15).

The barren landscape in which the scene takes place is covered with rocks. The Tree of Life, the wheat and the lilies that bloom in this rocky desolation offer hope to mankind, and this theme is echoed in the inscription below the scene on the arch:

In mundo pressuram habebitis sed confidite.
Ego vici mundem.

(In the world ye shall have tribulation, but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world)

(John 16:33)

In addition to the biblical and legendary sources for The Tree of Life mosaic, Burne-Jones may have drawn on a contemporary source for some of the details of the iconography. Charles Caffin, an American critic writing for Harper's Magazine in 1899, discussed the iconography of The Tree of Life in detail. Caffin wrote that "...in the contrast of wheat and lilies readers will not fail to be reminded of Ruskin's allegory of Sesame and Lilies."² In that allegory, Ruskin used sesame and lilies as symbols of Man and Woman respectively. In the second lecture of Sesame and Lilies, "Lilies" subtitled "Of Queens' Gardens," Ruskin prefaced the fifth edition (1883) with a motto from

1. Memorials, II, p. 349.

2. Charles H. Caffin, "Mosaic in the American Church at Rome," Harper's Weekly, XLIII, no. 2194, Jan. 7, 1899, pp. 9-10.

Isaiah 35:1 (Septuagint): "Be thou glad, oh thirsting Desert; let the desert be made cheerful, and bloom as the lily; and the barren places of Jordan shall run wild with wood."¹ Burne-Jones designed the frontispiece for the first edition of Sesame and Lilies in 1865, the only work by Ruskin illustrated by the artist. The quotation from Isaiah matches perfectly Burne-Jones's conception of the desert made fertile. Although the relationship cannot be proved, Burne-Jones may have been inspired by Ruskin's use of the biblical passage and his symbols for man and woman.

In the same article, Caffin pointed out that in the mosaic of the Tree of Life Christ does not suffer.² There are no nails in His hands and feet and no crown of thorns. This lack of pain expressed, for Caffin, "Christ's Willing Sacrifice." This conception of Christ may also be related to Ruskin's theories of beauty. One aspect of Italian art which Ruskin criticized was the tradition of showing Christ as a bloody victim. In the second volume of Modern Painters of 1846, he wrote of "the horrible images of the Passion, by which vulgar Romanism has always striven to excite the languid sympathies of its untaught flocks."³ Ruskin again railed against the tendency in Catholic art to delight in blood and wrote in the fourth volume of Modern Painters,

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1. Ruskin, 1903-1912, XVIII, p. 109. In editions one to four, the preface was from Canticles 2:2 - "As the lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters." A lily grows among thorns in Burne-Jones's mosaic.
 2. Caffin, pp. 9-10. This is also pointed out by Lowrie, 1926, p. 80.
 3. Ruskin, 1903-1912, IV, p. 201.

published in 1856, that the baseness of a work of art may be measured by the amount of blood on the Crucifix.¹ Burne-Jones avoids just this aspect of the Crucifixion by turning the scene into a symbolic vision which suggests the Crucifixion, but is not itself a Crucifixion.

Burne-Jones recalled the writings of Ruskin in the mosaic of the Tree of Life in an even more specific way. The second rector of the church, Walter Lowrie, wrote in his book about St. Paul's that the leaf shapes in the lower right and left corners of the Tree of Life were the olive and mulberry trees, symbols of Italy for Burne-Jones.² This explanation is not convincing because neither shape looks like an olive or mulberry tree and because, as this thesis will show, Burne-Jones did not introduce prominent decorative elements for trivial reasons. These leaf shapes, and the study for them (No. 24) instead recall the illustrations to Volume I of Ruskin's Proserpina, published in 1879 (figs. 16 and 16a). . In this book, Ruskin mentioned Burne-Jones as one of the greatest English artists who had ever drawn leaves.³ It is possible that the huge mosaic leaves may be Burne-Jones's attempt to evoke Ruskin's dictum that architecture should resemble the organic growth of plants and that the only truly beautiful architecture is that which grows like a natural form.⁴

1. Ruskin, 1903-1912, VI, p. 401-402.

2. Lowrie, 1926, p. 81.

3. Ruskin, 1903-1912, XXV, p. 304.

4. Ibid., IX, p. 279 and X, p. 239.

The large leaf forms in the mosaic may represent an example of the artist's application of Ruskin's writings.¹

Burne-Jones left no clue in his designs as to what the subject of the choir mosaic was to be called. In a letter to Rooke of January 17, 1906, Nevin referred to the subject as The Earthly Paradise.² In a letter of February 3, 1906, he called it The Church Militant.³ There is no distinction between the meaning of these two designations, for both refer to the same composition, and both titles suggest the gathering together of the Elect in Paradise. If Burne-Jones thought of his subject as the Earthly Paradise, however, the theme makes more sense within the total iconography of the church, because the Heavenly Paradise is represented above it. Two facts argue in favor of this interpretation. First, the letter to Rooke in which Nevin referred to this subject as The Earthly Paradise is the earlier one. Only in later letters does he begin to call it The Church Militant. The latter designation may well be Nevin's own elaboration of the theme, not Burne-Jones's. Secondly, a photograph of the decoration of the semi-dome and arches that Nevin sent to Rooke on January 17, 1906, in order to give the artist an idea of the space to be decorated in the choir, is inscribed in Nevin's handwriting, "Earthly Paradise--windows to be closed" (fig. 17). This designation of the subject as The Earthly Paradise is again early and suggests that the title of The Church Militant was only applied to the choir mosaic at

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1. For Ruskin and Burne-Jones see Chapter VI.
 2. Appendix III, Letter 4, p. 279.
 3. Appendix III, Letter 7, p. 282.

a slightly later stage.

The literary source for *The Earthly Paradise* is problematic.¹ It is related to the passage from the Book of Revelation that describes "the great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people and tongues surrounding the throne of God" (Rev. 7:9). But this passage is vague, and we must look for a more specific description of the gathering of the saints in Paradise. The problem is compounded by the fact that the major source for the image of *The Earthly Paradise* is Jan and Hubert Van Eyck's Ghent Altarpiece. Thus, it was not necessary for the artist to have had a specific text in mind when he designed the choir. On the other hand, Burne-Jones had read one medieval description of the gathering of the saints in Paradise. This is found in Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend* which, as we saw, Burne-Jones intended to illustrate for William Morris's Kelmscott edition of 1892. The subjects of the two drawings which the artist created for Morris's edition of *The Golden Legend* were the Earthly and Heavenly Paradises.² In de Voragine's recounting of the legends surrounding the Feast of All Hallows, which takes place on November 1, de Voragine describes the dream of the warden of Saint Peter's church in which the warden saw a vision of Paradise:

For he sawe the Kynge of Kynges in an hye throne sit and alle the aungels aboute hym. And the blessyd virgyn of vyrgyns cam crowned with a ryght resplendysshyng crowne, and there folowed her a grete multitude of vyrgyns withoute nombre & contynentes also. And anone the kynge arose ageynst her, and made her to sytte on a sete by hym. And

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1. It is in no way connected with William Morris's use of the title for his poem.
 2. Mackail, 1899, II, p. 279.

after cam a man cladde with the skynne of a camell, and a grete multitude of auntyent and honourable faders folowyng hym, & after cam a man in thabyte of a bisshop and a grete multitude en semblable habyte folowyng hym. And after cam a multitude of knyghtes without nombre, whome folowed a grete company of dyverse peple. Thenne cam they all to fore the Throne of the Kynge & adoured hym vpon their knees. And thenne he that was in thabyte of a Bisshop beganne matyns and the other folowed. And an Aungel whiche ladde this sextayne thus in the vysyon, expowned this vysyon to hym, and sayd that owre blessed lady the vyrgyne was She that was in the fyrst company, & he that was cladde in the heyre of camels was saint Johan baptyst with the patriarkes and prophetes, and he that was adourned in thabyte of a bisshop, was Peter with the appostles, the knyghtes were the martirs & the other the confessours, the which at cam to fore oure lord synttynge in his throne, for to gyve to hym lawde and thankynges of thonour that was done to them in this world of the mortalle peple...¹

This description does not agree in all its details with Burne-Jones's subject, and it would be unfair to attach too much significance to either the points of similarity or difference. Its general theme, however, the vision of the gathering together with virgins, martyrs and confessors before the throne of Christ, is similar to the theme of the choir mosaic. Moreover, de Voragine explained, in the same entry for the Feast of All Hallows, the different ranks of the saints.² He divided the saints into four categories: The apostles, the martyrs, the confessors, and the virgins. The most honored category was that of the apostles, whom Burne-Jones did not include in his mosaic. The second category was that of the martyrs, described by de Voragine as the soldiers of Christ armed for combat against evil. These saints appear on horseback in Burne-Jones's composition. The third category was that of the confessors, who appear in the center of the mosaic; fourth came the virgins. Burne-Jones added two other categor-

1. The Golden Legend, III, pp. 979 ff.

2. Ibid., pp. 979 ff.

ies to his mosaic, the hermits and the matrons.¹

Our study of the written sources for the individual mosaics reveals that Burne-Jones could have drawn on any one of a number of texts, and by examining these texts we can only suggest different approaches to a full understanding of the iconography of St. Paul's. There is no clear-cut answer to the question of which literary sources Burne-Jones used and how important they were for the formulation of each subject. For example, he probably consulted a book on iconography for the mosaic of the Heavenly Jerusalem, but he altered the number of angels around Christ's throne to adapt his design to the architectural space. Likewise, he was inspired by Saint Bernard for the Tree of Life, but we can cite other sources such as Ruskin or the Book of Revelation that may be equally important. Finally, whatever written sources inspired Burne-Jones, they cannot be separated from the visual, experimental process we saw in the series of Secret Sketchbook drawings in Chapter II. The image of the Tree of Life, for example, evolved originally from the subject of the Fall of Adam and Eve, and his use of written sources seem to have been contemporaneous with the process of arriving at a visual solution for each arch. In Chapter V the issue will become still more complicated by the additional consideration of formal visual sources.

1. Nevin made the selection of individual saints for The Earthly Paradise. There is no overall pattern to the selection. He probably included St. Patrick, patron of Ireland, St. Andrew, patron of Scotland, Saint Columba, the Celtic saint who founded Iona, and St. George, patron of England, because they were connected with Britain. On the other hand, James of Spain, Denis, Catherine, Barbara, Ambrose and Jerome are not British saints.

V

Visual Sources

George Street's desire to decorate the apsidal dome of St. Paul's with mosaics reflects the architect's interest in the thirteenth-century mosaics of St. Mark's Basilica in Venice. Although the apse mosaics at St. Paul's are not directly inspired by any individual mosaics at St. Mark's, our discussion of the visual sources for Burne-Jones's decoration must begin with an examination of the importance of St. Mark's to Victorian architects, critics, and artists.

Street was one of the earliest connoisseurs of the beauty of the Venetian basilica. In his book Brick and Marble, published in 1855, he wrote:

I think I never saw an interior so thoroughly religious and religion-inspiring as this....It seems to show, as strongly as any one example can, how much awe and grandeur even a small building may attain to by the lavish expenditure of art and precious materials throughout its fabric, for it is to this that S. Mark's owes its grandeur, and to this only. There is nothing imposing either in its size or in its architecture, on the contrary,....Could we but place one of our cold, bare places of worship by the side of S. Mark's, and let the development of Christian art in the construction of the fabric be ten times as great in our northern church as in the Venetian, we may yet rest assured that every religious mind would turn at once to the latter, and scarce deign to think of the former as a place for worship at all. If this is so, does it not point most forcibly to the absolute necessity for the introduction of more colour in the interior of our buildings; either on their construction, or afterwards by the hand of the painter? And architects must remember that this ought all to be within their province as directors or designers, and, therefore, that they must not, as now, venture to design cold shells which may not afterwards receive the necessary, and indispensable decorations, but from the very first must view these decorations as part and parcel of the work in which they personally are concerned. Then,

and not till then, shall we see a satisfactory school of architects in England.¹

When Street and Burne-Jones collaborated on the mosaics of St. Paul's in 1881, they had known each other for more than twenty years.

Burne-Jones had certainly read the architect's description of St. Mark's in Brick and Marble, and his work at St. Paul's is, to some extent, the fulfillment of Street's vision of the ideal church.

Burne-Jones, too, knew the mosaics of St. Mark's. As early as June, 1862, he was appalled at an early restoration of the exterior mosaics of the basilica. In that month, he wrote to Ruskin from Venice about Gentile Bellini's painting of St. Mark's in the Accademia:

I never knew quite what a memorial of old St. Mark's that picture of Gentile Bellini's is. We followed it carefully bit by bit to-day, and it is as exact down to the least item as it can be; it will be absolutely invaluable presently, for it is quite exact as a photograph, with colour besides. We know the front of St. Mark's so well that we could have detected a slip I really believe. And do you know, they are hard at work restoring St. Mark's; all the north side is covered up and peeled off; it is so miserable. I hung quite affectionately about that Bellini, and thought how soon it might be the only record of that seventh heaven.²

When the Italian government began to restore the mosaics on the

1. Street, 1855, pp. 128-129.

2. Memorials, I, p. 245. The fear that St. Mark's was about to be destroyed, and that it was the duty of artists to preserve its memory in paint, is best exemplified by John Bunney's (1828-1882) large (57 x 89 inches), almost photographic painting of the basilica, executed between 1876 and 1882. See Allen Staley, The Pre-Raphaelite Landscape, Oxford, 1973, plate 86b and pp. 156-157.

west front of St. Mark's in 1879, Street headed the St. Mark's Committee, an international lobby to prevent the destruction of the mosaics.¹ Other members included Burne-Jones, Layard, Morris, Ruskin, and Charles Eliot Norton, as well as Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) and the artists, Alma-Tadema (1836-1912), G.P. Boyce (1826-1897), and Edward Poynter (1839-1919). Also on the Committee were the architect, Phillip Webb (1831-1915), and the critic, William Michael Rossetti (1829-1919).² Burne-Jones was so dedicated to this cause that he made one of his few public speeches, at the Sheldonian Theatre in Oxford, in 1879, to protest against the restoration. All these men signed a letter of protest, but before it could be handed to the Italian ambassador, work on the restoration was suspended.³

Burne-Jones showed his devotion to the preservation of the basilica in his work for the St. Mark's Committee and in the passionate letters he wrote about the basilica during this period. He wrote to Mary Gladstone Drew in October, 1879, to denounce the restoration and beg her to ask her father to intervene: "What centuries of pious life went to the making of that Church, that these empty creatures (who hate the thing it all symbolises, hate it deeply) want to destroy."⁴

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1. Street, 1888, p. 248, and Memorials, II, pp. 95-96.
 2. Street, 1888, p. 253. See also the correspondence about the Committee in the Layard Papers, British Museum ADD. MS. 38831, which contains an undated letter from Puvis de Chavannes (1824-1898) expressing his gratification for the work of the Committee (fol. 104).
 3. Memorials, II, pp. 95-96; and Philip Henderson, William Morris, His Life, Work and Friends, London, 1967 (rpt. Pelican Books 1973), p. 255.
 4. Hawarden Letters, p. 57; and another attack on the restoration, November 3, 1879, pp. 57-58.

It was with the recent memory of the near destruction of St. Mark's mosaics in mind that Burne-Jones began his own mosaic cycle in 1881.

The artist's feeling for the mosaics of St. Mark's was linked to his admiration for the writings of Ruskin.¹ The Stones of Venice, the first volume of which was published in 1850, was one of the earliest appreciations of the basilica.² Ruskin's eloquent praise of its mosaics pervades the three-volume work; it is enough to select one passage from the second volume in which the critic summed up his attitude towards the art of mosaic work:

I believe of all works of religious art whatsoever, these, and such as these, have been the most effective. They stand exactly midway between the debased manufacture of wooden and waxen images which is the support of Romanist idolatry all over the world, and the great art which leads the mind away from the religious subject to the art itself.³

As a student at Oxford, Burne-Jones read this book and enthusiastic-

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1. Burne-Jones's early worship of Ruskin is clear in this letter of January 1856 to his friend Cormell Price (1833-1910): "I'm not Ned any longer, I'm not E.C.B. Jones now--I've dropped my personality--I'm a correspondent with RUSKIN, and my future title is 'the man who wrote to Ruskin and got an answer by return.' I can better draw my feelings than describe them, and better symbolize them than either." Beneath was a drawing of Burne-Jones prostrate before an aureoled and nimbused caricature of Ruskin. See Memorials, I, p. 127. For a good summary of their early relationship, see John Christian, "Burne-Jones's Illustrations to the Story of Buondelmonte," Master Drawings, II, No. 3, 1973, pp. 283-284.
 2. For the novelty of Ruskin's defense of St. Mark's, see the discussion in the preface to the first volume of The Stones of Venice, in Ruskin, 1903-1912, IX, pp. xliii-xliv.
 3. Ruskin, 1903-1912, X, p. 130.

ally responded to it.¹ As late as October, 1879, he wrote to Mary Gladstone Drew: "...if The Stones of Venice had been 300 volumes instead of three, it wouldn't have been enough."²

Ruskin's influence on the artist was more personal and practical than simply indirect, through the writings about Venice and its mosaics. In May, 1862, Ruskin paid for Edward and Georgiana Burne-Jones to travel to Milan and Venice.³ The importance of this trip to Burne-Jones is clear from a letter he wrote to Ruskin in January, 1887: "My dear, there has been nothing in my life as sweet to look back upon as that journey to Milan twenty-four years ago."⁴ During that journey, the artist and the critic discussed plans to build a Byzantine church and decorate it with a cycle of mosaics. In a letter written in late May or June of 1862, Burne-Jones wrote to Ruskin from Italy:

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1. In 1853, after reading the second volume of The Stones of Venice, Burne-Jones wrote to Cornell Price about Ruskin: "His style is more wonderful than ever; the most persuasive oratory we ever read. His acme is to come. There never was such a mind and soul so fused through language yet. It has the brilliancy of Jeffrey, the elegance of Macaulay, the diction of Shakespeare had he written in prose, and the fire of--Ruskin--we can find no other." Memorials, I, p. 85.
 2. Hawarden Letters, p. 54.
 3. Memorials, I, pp. 241-244.
 4. Ruskin, 1903-1912, XXXVI, p. iv. Ruskin replied on January 10, 1887: "DEAREST AND KINDEST NED, Your letter is 'blessed' if you like! Not only the most precious I ever had from you, but at this moment the most helpful--and corrective; for O I had no conception you and Georgiana enjoyed that time--to call 'enjoy' at all!" See Ruskin, 1903-1912, XXXVII, pp. 578-579.

My blessed

Ah! who went away and left me, when my heart was full of mosaics!--and I didn't know why nor how nor when. I want nothing but this chapel, and I was left cruelly--even as maidens are left by heroes--to sob + choke and rage and lament + forgive--such is my very touching history. And now while I was out comes Mr. Marshall with your letter, but he leaves me no address so that I cannot communicate with him--nor does he forewarn me of his coming.

This is not business, and I am very businesslike, + I will see him any day he fixes and will give, as I said--as I, the poor maiden promised, one third of my years till the work is done.

I can't wrote today because it's so cold that I have somewhere lost my thumbs. But I wanted above all things a time to talk over this very serious matter--for it is no little thing and we must do something wise--not for fear of the scornful (who be damned everywhere + always) but because of the glorious company of artists, for which we have put down our names for election.

And I wanted to talk for three hours with you, as to whether a divine barn like the Arena Chapel would not be after all better than our many-domed vision--with a barrel roof that should hold our hierarchies and symbols and gods--and clear walls with windows only on one side--a clean space for our histories--and beasts and things below them--and a floor--
O what a floor.

And I am full of it--and it is my dream--and you win my heart + get promises from me + I almost named the day--nay I forgot maidenly reserve and proposed a day--and you took ship and fled--ah men--such is my tearful little history.

love to all
your most forgiving Ned

but I must know the address of Mr. Marshall--whose card is blameable blank on that subject.

Underneath is written in different ink but probably in Burne-Jones's handwriting: "You can shove this into a fire."¹ Whether this let-

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1. Unpublished letter from Burne-Jones to Ruskin, undated (1862). Collection of Kenneth Lohf, New York. We do not know who the Mr. Marshall mentioned by Burne-Jones is. He may be Peter Paul Marshall (dates unknown), the surveyor who co-founded the firm of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co. in 1861.

ter represents a Utopian dream or a real project is impossible to say. All we can affirm is that as early as 1862 Burne-Jones discussed plans to collaborate with Ruskin on a vast architectural project that included mosaics and that the project, if it ever existed as a plausible reality, was abandoned.

There is no document linking Ruskin with Burne-Jones's mosaic designs for St. Paul's. In 1883, however, when the artist was designing the first mosaic, he wrote to Ruskin about the marriage of his young friend, Francis Horner, and in this letter he maintained the coquettish tones of the letter twenty years before:

Oh these minxes! You and I will yet build us a bower and have our mosaics which none of them shall ever see. And they don't understand, do they?¹

It is possible that "our mosaics" here referred to the aborted project of 1862, but it may also have been a reference to the mosaics of St. Paul's, which Burne-Jones was working on at the time. Burne-Jones maintained his friendship with Ruskin until the former's death in 1898, and it is likely that at some point in their correspondence or conversation, the artist mentioned his project for St. Paul's. This must, however, remain conjecture,

Besides Street and Ruskin, other Victorian critics expressed their admiration for St. Mark's; they stressed not only the rich color of the mosaics, but also the iconography. One critic, the ecclesiologist Benjamin Webb (1819-1885), wrote in 1848:

....besides the church itself, and its impressiveness and associations, there is a deep symbolism of arrangement and ornament conveyed in these decorations. If ever the eye is raised, it falls on some words or scenes or fig-

1. Memorials, II, p. 131.

ures, which not only themselves convey a religious meaning, but suggest other more recondite ones for contemplation by their position and antithetical distribution.¹

This critic noted not only the iconography of the individual mosaics but stressed the importance of their position within the whole church and in relation to each other. This is exactly the way in which Burne-Jones's mosaics at St. Paul's can be appreciated.² The conception of St. Paul's as a gigantic picture into which one could step and look around at the artist's imaginary world was central to Burne-Jones's artistic aim.³ This was expressed in two cartoons by Burne-Jones in which he caricatured his own inability to step into the magical world of his canvases (figs. 18 and 19). Burne-Jones was interested in architecture and sensitive to the experience of the viewer as he stood within a church contemplating the artist's work.⁴

The position of each mosaic at St. Paul's and its relationship one to another is based on a Byzantine principle of decoration that is exemplified by the arrangement of the mosaics at St. Mark's. Of thirteenth-century Byzantine mosaics, a modern art historian, Demus, writes: "the single works are parts of an organic hardly divisible whole which is built up according to fixed principles;"⁵ he also

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1. Benjamin Webb, Sketches of Continental Ecclesiology, London, 1848, p. 269.
 2. See above, Chapter IV.
 3. The immense size of Burne-Jones's late canvases is partially accounted for by his desire to engulf the spectator. See below, p. 155.
 4. See Memorials, II, pp. 333-334, and his statements about architectural decoration in Hawarden Letters, p. 271.
 5. Otto Demus, Byzantine Mosaic Decoration, Aspects of Monumental Art in Byzantium, London, 1947, p. 3.

says: "The stress is not laid on the single picture in isolation,... The point of interest is rather the combination of the single items of the decoration, their relationship to each other and to the whole."¹ We saw that the man who entered St. Paul's entered the artist's own world, and the participation of the viewer was a part of Burne-Jones's aesthetic intention. Again, this is true of Byzantine decoration:

In Byzantium, the beholder was not kept at a distance from the image; he entered within its aura of sanctity, and the image, in turn, partook of the space in which he moved. He was not so much a 'beholder' as a 'participant.' While it does not aim at illusion, Byzantine religious art abolishes all clear distinction between the world of reality and the world of appearance.²

In addition to the general effect of the mosaics, the importance of their relationship to each other and to the observer, Byzantine art was subjected to an ordered hierarchy of images, placed within the Byzantine church according to their importance and sacredness. There were three zones of holiness. The highest space in the church, the cupola, was reserved only for Christ, the Virgin, and the angels. Only three subjects were permitted in the cupola: The Ascension, The Descent of the Holy Spirit, and the Glory of the Pantocrator or Holy Ruler.³

The second zone, the pendentives, was reserved for narrative scenes of the Life of Christ, including the Annunciation and the Crucifixion.⁴ In the third zone, the closest to the ground, was represented the Apostles, Martyrs, Prophets, and Patriarchs, distributed

1. Ibid., p. 5.

2. Ibid., p. 4.

3. Ibid., p. 17.

4. Ibid., p. 22.

according to their rank and function. The Patriarchs and the Doctors of the Church took the place of honor. The Martyrs and Warriors were in the next most important position, and the Holy Monks and Women were in the lowest position.¹

Demus's description of the hierarchical positioning of mosaics in Byzantine churches refers to a classical cross-in-square church with one central cupola like St. Mark's. The mosaics in this type of church were arranged in descending circles, from the holiest position at the top of the central cupola to the mosaics near the ground. The general principles for the placement of mosaics also applied, however, to Byzantine Churches with quite different plans. For example, the mosaic cycles at Cefalù and Monreale in Sicily from the twelfth century involved the application of a cupola scheme to an apse. The Pantocrator of the cupola scheme was adapted to the semi-dome, the rest of the program was arranged in layers with Mary and the Angels at the top and the Apostles at the bottom.²

Burne-Jones, of course, designed his mosaics for a Romanesque-revival church which, in plan, has more in common with Cefalù than St. Mark's. Although Burne-Jones's mosaics are visually very different from those at Cefalù, it is nevertheless significant that the dome of the apse, which is the most sacred space in St. Paul's, contains an image of the Pantocrator surrounded by angels, just as it.

1. Ibid., p. 26.

2. Ibid., p. 64. In early Christian mosaic cycles such as those of the sixth century at S. Apollinare and S. Vitale in Ravenna, the Byzantine hierarchical arrangement of subjects had not yet evolved. Burne-Jones knew this type of church, but his acquaintance with the mosaics at Ravenna need not exclude the possibility that he followed the later decorative tradition.

appears in the Byzantine church.¹ The arch mosaics, which are the next highest spaces in St. Paul's, contain the subjects of the Annunciation and a scene related to the Crucifixion. This is again as close as the artist was able to come to imitating the Byzantine plan. Finally, the space of the choir mosaic, which is the closest to the ground at St. Paul's, contains images of the saints--with the Doctors of the Church given the central, or most important, position--surrounded by the martyrs and warriors on the right (the next most important group in the more honored position) and the hermits, monks and women on the left (the lowest rank in the hierarchy within the space available to Burne-Jones).

Although the artist never explicitly stated that he followed the Byzantine formula, the similarities in the arrangement of a classical Byzantine scheme and the arrangement of the mosaics at St. Paul's suggest that he knew the iconographic importance of placing his subjects in specific spaces within the church. This knowledge is even more probable because the one book that we know he read on Byzantine decorative practice, Didron's Christian Iconography, is largely concerned with just this subject.² The artist's interest in the hieratic placement of his subjects is seen in a page from the Secret Sketchbook where he listed Didron's classification of the angels found in the cupola of the church dedicated to the archangels in the convent of Iurion on Mount Athos. Burne-Jones also noted Didron's explanation of the rank and function of each angel and how each type of angel was

1. Burne-Jones never visited Sicily, and I am not suggesting Cefalù as a visual source for St. Paul's.

2. See above, p. 67 and Appendix I, p. 259.

represented.¹ Also, in his letter of 1862 to Ruskin, Burne-Jones listed the subjects of his proposed mosaics in roughly the order in which they traditionally appear: the dome containing "our hierarchies and symbols and gods...." The walls "...a clear space for our histories--and beasts and things below them."²

We cannot point to any direct borrowing of a visual motive from St. Mark's for the imagery of St. Paul's, but one bit of evidence suggests a specific link between the two churches. This is the design for the entrance door, which Burne-Jones planned but did not live to see translated into mosaic. The subject of the entrance door was to be I am the Door. No designs survive to give us an idea of how he visualized the subject,³ but its source was St. Mark's: in the second volume of The Stones of Venice, Ruskin described the mosaic over the entrance door of the basilica:

...over its main entrance...a mosaic of Christ enthroned, with the Virgin on one side and St. Mark on the other, in attitudes of adoration. Christ is represented as holding a book open upon His knee, on which is written: I AM THE DOOR; BY ME IF ANY MAN ENTER IN, HE SHALL BE SAVED.⁴

(John 10:9)

The apse mosaics, while they are reminiscent of Byzantine mosaics in Venice, Ravenna, and Rome, do not depend on a single visual source. The vision of an enthroned Christ flanked by attendant angels, and the symbolic conception of the Church in the choir below (fig. 20)

1. See Appendix I, p. 259.

2. See above, p. 100.

3. Lowrie, 1926, pp. 114-115.

4. Ruskin, 1903-1912, X, p. 134.

could be based on the mosaics in any number of Byzantine churches. Although we cannot point to one Byzantine source, it is instructive to compare Burne-Jones's mosaics with the twelfth-century mosaics in the right side chapel of the Cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta at Torcello (fig. 21).¹ Here the subject is Christ Enthroned. Here too, Christ is flanked by angels holding staffs and orbs. All the elements that contribute to Burne-Jones's composition in the apse of St. Paul's are present at Torcello. In both, Christ sits enthroned and raises his hand in blessing. On either side of Christ is an angel whose weightlessness is emphasized by his feet, which point straight down instead of sideways. Above Christ in the mosaic at Torcello are four angels displaying the mystical lamb (fig. 22). Their counterparts in Burne-Jones's mosaic are more numerous and play harps (fig. 23), but their relationship to the figure of Christ is the same. In the chapel at Torcello, a band outlined in blue separates the vision of Christ and His angels above from Saints Gregory, Martin, Ambrose, and Augustine, who stand below on the earth (fig. 21). In both Burne-Jones's mosaics and those at Torcello, the relationship between the mosaics of the dome of the apse and those in the choir is similar (figs. 21 and 24). In the choir mosaic of St. Paul's, the Doctors of the Church stand on ground covered with grass and flowers, and this, too, is similar to a motive in the choir at Torcello (figs. 21 and 24).

In the central apse of the nave in the Cathedral at Torcello is a mosaic of the Virgin and the twelve apostles (fig. 26). Here the

1. For Burne-Jones's two visits to Torcello, see below, p. 108.

relationship between the heavenly vision of the Virgin in the dome, and the apostles below in the choir, is the same as in the mosaic of Christ Enthroned in the right side chapel of the same church (fig. 21). In the central apse at Torcello, heaven above is separated from the earth below by a band that is filled with writing and not, as in St. Paul's, with angels (figs. 24 and 26). Again, the apostles, (fig. 25) in contrast to the Deity above, stand on a grassy area filled with flowers--and this too is the case in Burne-Jones's choir mosaic (fig. 24). The stiff, stylized drapery of the figures at Torcello is paralleled in the drapery of Burne-Jones's apse figures, and the blank expressions on the faces of the Byzantine models are echoed in the faces of Burne-Jones's Christ and angels.

On two occasions, the artist wrote of his admiration for the Cathedral at Torcello. In June of 1862, he wrote to Ruskin: "We went early to Torcello and confided much poetic sentiment to each other on the occasion--it was lovely beyond words."¹ To Mary Gladstone Drew he wrote in October, 1879, when she was in Venice: "There are two places where the history of Venice is most told, and the air is full of it. One is the Piazzetta....And the other place is Torcello."²

It is difficult to assign one source for the apse mosaic of St. Paul's because it resembles so many medieval mosaic cycles in Italy. The image of Christ Enthroned surrounded by angels recalls the sixth-century mosaic of the same subject at the church of St. Vitale, in Ravenna (fig. 27). In this composition, Christ is beardless and is

1. Memorials, I, p. 246.

2. Hawarden Letters, p. 54; misquoted in Memorials, II, p. 92.

seated upon a globe. From the base of the globe spring four rivers that water a flowered landscape. The youthful Christ and the four rivers are repeated in Burne-Jones's design for the dome of the apse of St. Paul's (fig. 23). In the dome of St. Vitale, too, are two angels who present St. Vitale and a bishop to Christ. Although this motif is iconographically unrelated to Burne-Jones's apse, the composition of an enthroned central figure with figures on either side is close to Burne-Jones's design. Furthermore, above Christ in the St. Vitale mosaic are thin clouds that resemble those clouds above Christ in the dome of St. Paul's, although above the clouds of St. Paul's are angels (figs. 23 and 27).

The Christ in Burne-Jones's apse mosaic is seated above a rainbow. We can point to several Byzantine representations of Christ in this attitude. A typical example is the central figure of Christ in a mosaic of about 1345 by Paolo Veneziano (c. 1290-1362) in the Baptistery of St. Mark's (fig. 28). If we compare this Christ to the Christ in St. Paul's we see that Burne-Jones did not depart from traditional Byzantine representations of Christ.

Finally, Burne-Jones's Christ is seated on a throne composed of seraphim and cherubim (fig. 23). This motif was first used by the artist in a composition of 1880, Dies Domine (Port Sunlight fig. 29). The four rivers flowing from the throne of Christ reflect not only a Byzantine source, but Burne-Jones's "Adoration of the Lamb", a stained glass window at All Hallows, Allerton, East Liverpool, Lancashire, of 1874 (fig. 30), which, in turn, is related to Hubert and Jan Van Eyck's Ghent Altarpiece (fig. 35).

On the apse mosaic, the niche before which the angel Lucifer

should stand is empty (fig. 23). This device may be based on a similar motif in the Sala del Consiglio Maggiore in the Ducal Palace in Venice. In this room are portraits of the Doges. One space is left empty, and this is the space which should contain the portrait of the Doge Marino Faliero, who was beheaded for treason.¹ Although the contexts are different, Burne-Jones may have thought of this historical curiosity when he designed the gate of the treasonous angel at St. Paul's.

Another possible source for the composition of the choir mosaic at St. Paul's, The Earthly Paradise (fig. 24), is the mosaic of the Transportation of the Body of St. Mark to Venice, at the head of the first portal (Sant'Alipo) on the north-west porch of St. Mark's (1260-70, figs. 31 and 32). This is the same facade that was to be restored in 1879 before the Saint Mark's Committee intervened. The mosaic represents groups of male and female worshippers standing in front of St. Mark's. In Burne-Jones's choir mosaic (fig. 24), the central group of the Doctors of the Church who stand before a Byzantine church corresponds in its general composition to the group of worshippers on the facade of St. Mark's. The building in Burne-Jones's choir mosaic is not a specific church, but the rounded arches and domes are similar to those in the mosaic on the facade of St. Mark's.²

1. See Lowrie, 1926, p. 88; and Ruskin's description in the second volume of The Stones of Venice (Ruskin, 1903-1912, X, p. 296).

2. Ruskin executed a watercolor study of the portal in 1877 (Bembridge School, Isle of Wight, 25" x 30"), that Burne-Jones could have seen (fig. 32).

A more general source for the central group of saints in the choir mosaic at St. Paul's is the processions of the Emperor Justinian and Empress Theodora on either side of the apse of St. Vitale (figs. 33 and 34). Here again, Burne-Jones borrowed no specific figures or motives, but the position of the St. Vitale mosaics in relation to the dome of the apse above, and the fact that this is an earthly procession in contrast to the heavenly vision in the dome, may have influenced his composition. The artist visited Ravenna in 1873 and wrote later of the "heavenly" churches to be seen there.¹

Although the central group of the confessors is modelled on Byzantine sources, the whole composition and theme of the choir mosaic is based on Hubert and Jan Van Eyck's Ghent Altarpiece, which was finished in 1432 (fig. 35).² The choir mosaic is related specifically to the panels of the lower register of the Altarpiece, The Adoration of the Lamb (figs. 24 and 37). Before considering individual borrowings, however, we should view the Altarpiece as a whole (fig. 35). Open, it depicts Christ Enthroned, flanked by The Virgin Mary and John the Baptist, who in turn are flanked by music-making angels and by Adam and Eve. Below is the Gathering of the Saints in Paradise for the worship of the Lamb, which is a symbol for Christ's sacrifice on the Cross. In the apse of St. Paul's as a whole, Christ is enthroned above, surrounded by angels (fig. 20). Below in the choir is the gathering of the Saints in Paradise. The relationship between the Vision of Christ above and the Saints below is the same in St. Paul's

1. Memorials, II, pp. 37 and 66.

2. Elisabeth Dhanens, Van Eyck: The Ghent Altarpiece, Art in Context, eds., John Fleming and Hugh Honour, London, 1973.

as in the Ghent Altarpiece.

Burne-Jones was inspired not only by the program of Van Eyck's painting, but also by specific details. The clearest instance of this is the group of the virgin martyrs which appears to the right of the confessors in Burne-Jones's mosaic (fig. 39). In the central panel of the lower tier of the Ghent Altarpiece (fig. 37), the female martyrs enter the scene in a procession in the right background which trails off into the distance in much the same way as in Burne-Jones's mosaic. As in the mosaic, we can distinguish in the altarpiece St. Barbara with her tower, St. Dorothea with her flower basket, and St. Agnes with her lamb.¹

To the right of the virgin martyrs in Burne-Jones's composition are the horsemen saints who ride in dressed in armor and carrying spears (fig. 39). This group corresponds to the panel of The Knights of Christ in the Ghent Altarpiece who appear in the first panel to the left of the Adoration of the Lamb (fig. 36), although we cannot here cite specific borrowings of costume and pose.

To the left of the confessors in Burne-Jones's mosaic appear the matron saints and the holy hermits (fig. 40). They are placed together partly because the most important of the matrons, Mary Magdalene (who holds the jar of ointment), was also a hermit. In the Ghent Altarpiece, Mary Magdalene also appears, holding the jar, with the other hermit saints in the first panel to the right of the Adoration of the Lamb. (fig. 38). Burne-Jones's hermits make gestures of supplication, in contrast to the more staid poses of Van Eyck's, and the

1. Ibid., p. 62, for a detail photograph.

former are slightly more tattered than the latter.

The frontal poses of the central group of confessors in the mosaic (fig. 41) are, as we saw, related to similar groups in Byzantine mosaics. At first glance, their placement and the details of their costume owe little to the group of confessors who appear in the central panel of the lower register of the Van Eyck (fig. 37). Here they enter at an angle from the background to the left of the Adoration of the Lamb. We view Van Eyck's confessors obliquely and Burne-Jones's from straight on. Most of Van Eyck's figures wear tiaras or Cardinal's hats; in the group of confessors in the choir of St. Paul's, six out of ten are bareheaded. In Burne-Jones's original design, however, his confessors wear tiaras, as we can see from the artist's final study for the choir (No. 30). Had they appeared in tiaras, as in this drawing, the effect would have been closer to the group in the earlier painting.

In view of the fact that Burne-Jones turned to the Ghent Altarpiece as a visual source for the choir mosaic, this is the proper place to ask how the source affects the theme and meaning of the entire church. According to Elisabeth Dhanens, "The paintings of which it [The Altarpiece] is composed express the whole complex, abstract, dogmatic theme of the Redemption of man...."¹ The theme of man's redemption through Christ is made explicit by the inclusion of Adam and Eve in a prominent place in the upper register (fig. 35).² It was because of their sin that man had to be redeemed. This redemption was effected through the coming of Christ, which is repre-

1. Ibid., p. 16

2. Ibid., p. 85.

sented by the Annunciation on the outside panels (fig. 35). Inside, the Adoration of the Lamb is a symbol for Christ's sacrifice on the Cross (fig. 37). It was through this oblation that we are redeemed. In front of the altar of the Lamb is the fountain of life which bears the inscription: HIC EST FONDS AQVE VITE PROCEEDENS DE SEDE DEI + AGNI (This is the fountain of the water of life proceeding out of the throne of God and the Lamb Rev. 7:17; 21:6; 22:1 and 17). As does the Fountain of Life in the dome of St. Paul's, the Fountain of Life in the Ghent Altarpiece visually flows out of the composition to a lower panel.¹

The general meaning of the Ghent Altarpiece is relatively straightforward: the Redemption of Man. An artist like Burne-Jones, who had studied the Bible and medieval writers, would have had no difficulty in understanding its program. Whether he studied the iconography in detail is not important. What matters is that the program of Burne-Jones's mosaics at St. Paul's, which we have called "The Redemption of Man Through the Coming of Christ," is remarkably similar to the program of the Renaissance painting: the fall of Adam and Eve; the Annunciation; the symbolic Crucifixion; our salvation through Christ; the water of life that flows from the throne of Christ; and the vision of the Saints in Paradise—all are specific elements common to both works of art. Only in the choir did Burne-Jones borrow specific visual motives from the Van Eyck painting; but the fact that he was inspired by it means that he had studied the altarpiece and therefore

1. Ibid., p. 86. The lower panel has been lost since the Renaissance.

understood its meaning. Burne-Jones never went to Ghent. He knew the altarpiece only in reproduction. In the mid-1860s, he filled two pages of a sketchbook with copies from the figures above The Adoration of the Lamb, including color notes. He must have seen a reproduction of the picture, which was well-known in the nineteenth century.¹

The second mosaic to be created by Burne-Jones was The Annunciation over the first arch (fig. 42). In comparison to the apse mosaic, The Annunciation is quite naturalistic. Although the style is different from the apse, we should compare Burne-Jones's composition with a typical Byzantine example. At Torcello, in the arch of the nave just before the dome, is an Annunciation (fig. 26). The spatial relationship of this arch at Torcello to the dome of the apse is essentially the same as the relationship between the Annunciation arch and the apse at St. Paul's. In both compositions the Angel and Mary fill the sides of the arch, and in both the central area of each arch is left empty. On the other hand, there are more differences than similarities--Burne-Jones's Annunciation takes place in a landscape where the one at Torcello, as we can see by the chair behind the Virgin, occurs indoors. The pertinent point, however, is the presence of the Annunciation on the arch before the apse. This tra-

1. Burne-Jones's sketchbook, Victoria and Albert Museum, 91.D.40.E 4-1955, pp. 82-84. Burne-Jones may have seen an old copy of the Ghent Altarpiece. There was at least one in nineteenth-century England, in the Aders Collection, by 1819. The panel from the left wing, The Knights of Christ, was etched by John Linnell (1792-1882) in 1826. See Eric Adams, Francis Danby: Varieties of Poetic Landscape, New Haven and London, 1973, p. 36.

ditional position for the Annunciation is also found in Giotto's Annunciation painted on the arch before the altar in the Scrovegni chapel in Padua. Here, however, the scene is visually very different from Burne-Jones's Annunciation because the event takes place indoors in an architectural setting, and both participants kneel.

Although the Annunciation in the Desert is not a subject found in Western art, it does occur in Byzantine and Islamic representations of the event. One example that Burne-Jones knew was in the mosaics at St. Mark's. This thirteenth-century Annunciation shows Mary filling her water bucket at a well (fig. 43). The composition has nothing in common with the mosaic at St. Paul's, but it is a Byzantine precedent for an outdoor setting. Much closer to Burne-Jones's Annunciation is a representation of the subject in the manuscript of Rashīd ad-Dīn's Jami 'at-Tarawikh (Universal History) by a Muslim painter from Tabriz in the north of Persia which bears the date A.H. 710 (A.D. 1310-11)¹ (fig. 44). Here the landscape of barren rocks in the background is remarkably similar to Burne-Jones's composition. In addition, the angel and the Virgin relate to one another in Burne-Jones's mosaic in the same way as the figures in the Persian manuscript. We have no way of knowing whether Burne-Jones saw the Rashīd ad-Dīn manuscript, although it was in Great Britain in

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1. Edinburgh University Library, Mss. no. 20, fol. 23b. See Sir Thomas W. Arnold, "The Old and New Testaments in Muslim Religious Art," The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1928, London, 1932, p. 14, plate III and Sir Thomas W. Arnold, Painting in Islam, A Study of the Place of Pictorial Art in Muslim Culture, Oxford, 1925, p. 99, plate XXIV. See also D.T. Rice, "Who were the Painters of the Edinburgh Rashīd al-Dīn?," Central Asian Journal, XIV, nos. 1-3, 1970, pp. 181-185.

nineteenth century.¹ Burne-Jones may have known a similar Islamic representation of the Annunciation, although this imagery is not common and I cannot cite other examples.

The artist's interest in Persian culture is well documented. In about 1862, Swinburne introduced him to Edward Fitzgerald's translation of the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam.² Burne-Jones showed his devotion to Omar Khayyam by decorating a handwritten version of the poem on vellum.³ This happened in 1873, a fact which indicates a long period of interest in the poet. In the same year, Burne-Jones attempted to find a prose translation of Shah Nameh of Firdousi but was disappointed because he could only obtain an eighteenth-century edition.⁴ This attempt suggests a more than casual interest in Persian poetry. In 1883, he wrote several letters to Lady Lewis, wife of Sir George Lewis (1833-1911), the Victorian trial lawyer. These letters concern Persian poetry and discuss especially the possibility of a prose translation of the poet Hafiz. Burne-Jones wrote of his love for the poet, and concluded:

O what a nice round world that has Persian rose gardens and
Syrian gods and Arabian prophets and Greek stories and
Italian dreams and North and South and East--....⁵

This quotation documents Burne-Jones's interest in every kind of myth and culture, and as we have seen in his sources for St. Paul's, a

1. The Rashid was part of the collection of Oriental Manuscripts owned by Lieut-Col. John Baillie of Leys (1772-1833); it was presented to the Edinburgh University Library in 1876 by his grandson, Mr. John B. Baillie. Burne-Jones never visited Edinburgh and the manuscript was not, to my knowledge, exhibited in London.

2. Memorials, I, p. 234.

3. Ibid., II, p. 34.

4. Ibid., II, p. 41.

5. Ibid., II, p. 137.

variety of religious traditions were included in his sphere of interest.

The Annunciation was one of Burne-Jones's favorite subjects. He returned to it six times between 1861 and 1887, not counting his numerous stained glass windows.¹ One example is particularly relevant here. In the Annunciation executed between 1876 and 1879, Burne-Jones emphasized that through the Incarnation, Christ redeemed the sin of Adam and Eve (fig. 45). The artist linked the two events by including a carved relief showing Adam and Eve expelled from Paradise in the background of the picture. In St. Paul's, the relationship between the first sin and Christ's Incarnation is shown by the proximity of the next mosaic, The Tree of Life, which is related to the subject of Adam and Eve's expulsion from paradise (fig.20).²

The subject of The Tree of Life incorporates the theme of the Crucifixion (fig.46). Byzantine representations of the Crucifixion could be either narrative or symbolic. In the Crucifixion on the entrance wall at the Cathedral of Torcello (fig. 47), the traditional formulation of the subject, Christ is alive on the cross, flanked by Mary and St. John. Another Byzantine rendering of the subject, in the vault of the tribune of S. Clemente, Rome, is more symbolic (fig. 48). Here, the roots of the tree from which the cross grows spread

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1. For the subject of the Annunciation in Burne-Jones's oeuvre, see Malcolm Bell, Sir Edward Burne-Jones, 1898, (rpt. New York, 1972), p. 86.
 2. See above, pp. 31-34. The only other outdoor Annunciation I can cite is one attributed to Burne-Jones's pupil, Spencer Stanhope. See Harrison and Waters, 1973, p. 108, fig. 153.

out in leafy tendrils to fill the space. Below, lambs stand on a grassy landscape. As we saw, Burne-Jones considered a design for the choir mosaic that included lambs to symbolize, as here, the Church (No. 46).¹

Although the subject of the Tree of Life is related to The Crucifixion, it is also a separate theme in Christian art. The Tree of Life was a motif frequently used in the Middle Ages. Examples include a fresco, dating from the end of the thirteenth century at Godshill Church on the Isle of Wight (fig. 49);² a miniature from the Praise of the Holy Cross, executed in Regensburg in the twelfth century (fig. 50);³ or Agnolo Gaddi's Tree of Life painted in the fourteenth century in the refectory of Santa Croce in Florence (fig. 51).

The subject of the Tree of Life was revived in the nineteenth century. In a translation of St. Bernard, which Burne-Jones may have read as a literary source for the image of the Tree of Life, the frontispiece is an engraving of Christ crucified on a vine-like tree

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1. Burne-Jones never mentioned seeing S. Clemente, although he was in Rome in 1871. Memorials, II, pp. 25-26.
 2. Both Morris and Burne-Jones, as dedicated medievalists, and founding members of the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings, could have known some examples of this type of Christ crucified on a living tree. See Henderson, William Morris, London, 1967, pp. 233-234.
 3. The Cross is here identified with the Tree of Life, for the text reads: "The Church offers to mankind the blooming tree of life of the cross." See Lechler, 1937, notes on fig. 3, not paginated.

with wheat in the background (fig. 52).¹ Stained-glass windows by Morris & Co. show Christ crucified on a tree that sprouts leaves. Two examples are the East Window of the church of St. Michael-Pimlico in Torquay, Devon, of 1877 (fig. 53) and the window at the Church of All Saints, South Darley, Derbyshire of 1875 (fig. 54).²

Although we can point to numerous precedents for the representation of the Tree of Life in art, Burne-Jones's image should really be compared to subjects that attracted the artist throughout his career. In The Merciful Knight of 1863 (fig. 55), Burne-Jones treated the theme of Christ alive on the Cross for the first time. Phyllis and Demophoon (1870) or The Tree of Forgiveness (1880-1881) (fig. 56) combine, in a mythological scene, the iconography of a living figure encased in a tree, with the theme of the power of love and forgiveness. On the other hand, a person who is trapped in a tree is shown in The Beguiling of Merlin of 1870-1874 (fig. 57).

Burne-Jones's interest in human or divine transformation into, or identification with, trees is the most complicated issue raised in this chapter. Two versions of another subject, the Annunciation, one executed by Burne-Jones in 1863, the other between 1876 and 1879, must, ironically, be discussed at this point because they raise problems related to the Tree of Life. In the earlier Annunciation (fig. 58), the Archangel Gabriel appears in a tree at Mary's bedroom

1. See above, p. 80 footnote 1.

2. On the cope of the figure of Bishop John Alcock in the south transept window of Jesus College Chapel, Cambridge, designed in 1873, Burne-Jones depicted a crucifixion on a living tree. See also the cartoon for the window that hangs in the chapel.

window. In the later version, the angel again appears silhouetted against a tree (fig. 45). Both examples prefigure the Christ who appears in the Tree of Life at St. Paul's. All these associations suggest to me that Burne-Jones felt a kind of pantheistic association between nature and divinity, and indeed Pantheism was much discussed in Burne-Jones's immediate circle. His close friend, Charles Algernon Swinburne (1837-1903) believed in Pantheism and his poetry is full of pantheistic tenets.¹ This is not the place to go into detail about Burne-Jones's philosophical interests, except to say that, as far as I know, he never spoke or wrote about an interest in Pantheism.

This discussion of the specific visual sources for The Tree of Life should end by recalling that Burne-Jones arrived at the subject by visual experimentation only after beginning with the subject of the Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise (Nos. 14+19). The source of that image is Burne-Jones's own Expulsion in a painted bas-relief on the arch in the background of the Annunciation of 1876-1879 (fig. 45). Having once coupled an Expulsion with an Annunciation scene in the same picture, Burne-Jones then separated the two and experimented with the idea of having them appear in two consecutive arch mosaics. In the final project the artist changed the subject of the arch at St. Paul's from the Expulsion to the Tree of Life; but even in the Expulsion within the Annunciation (fig. 45) the angel is appearing in a tree. The numerous examples of the Tree of Life in art that are similar in form and meaning to Burne-Jones's final design are but one

1. Deborah Dorfman, Blake in the Nineteenth Century, His Reputation as a Poet from Gilchrist to Yeats, New Haven, 1969, p. 155. Henceforward: Dorfman, 1969. For Swinburne see below, p. 129.

more indication of the complexity of the visual sources the artist drew upon for his work at St. Paul's.

The visitor who enters St. Paul's today sees the mosaic illuminated by electric light. In Burne-Jones's time, of course, the effect was quite different. As the spectator's eyes adjusted to the darkness, the mosaics must have loomed above him, emerging slowly from the shadows. In the nineteenth century, the predominant golds, reds and blues, would have hovered above the visitor, and the visionary intensity of the scenes would have been more apparent than it is today.

For me, the mosaics are a tour de force, Burne-Jones's masterpiece. The drawings and gouache studies for the mosaics do not begin to approximate the sensation of seeing the gigantic, incongruous figures that seem to be pinned, motionless, near the ceiling. No description can catch the density and richness of the colors, the restrained dignity of the figures, the artist's awe at the importance of the events he depicts.

These are the real strengths of the mosaics. That Burne-Jones used both visual and literary sources to achieve his ends, does not detract from the blazing originality of his achievement. The mosaics are in no sense eclectic, but truly embody one man's vision of the incomprehensible and the mysterious.

VI

Burne-Jones and Sacred Symbolism

On August 12, 1862, John Ruskin, in a letter to his father, described Burne-Jones as a man "...whose knowledge of history and of poetry is as rich and varied, nay--far more rich and varied, and incomparably more scholarly, than Walter Scotts [sic] was at his age."¹ Another contemporary, A. Warrington Taylor (1838-1870), business manager of Morris and Co., wrote to the architect, E.R. Robson (1835-1917), on December 9, 1865, that Burne-Jones was "a first rate scholar--well known at Oxford for his metaphysical knowledge."² The iconography of the mosaics of St. Paul's reveals the artist's lifelong preoccupation with the study of religious thought and his commitment to the search for truth in different religious traditions.

Burne-Jones was, in a way unusual for a Victorian, exposed to three religions. The history of his religious upbringing is confused, but it is certain that until he was seventeen he attended services in the Evangelical wing of the Anglican Church.³ This low church party

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1. John Ruskin, The Winnington Letters, John Ruskin's Correspondence with Margaret Alexis Bell and the Children at Winnington Hall, ed., Van Akin Burd, Cambridge, Mass., 1969, letter 185, p. 370. Henceforward: Winnington Letters.
 2. Fitzwilliam Museum, Burne-Jones Papers, "Letters between A.W. Taylor and E.R.R.," fol. 21ff. This description of Burne-Jones is especially important because Taylor was an intellectual in touch with developments in religious and philosophic thought. In the letter from which I have quoted, Taylor defended the Gothic revival in religion, literature, and art from the charge of "degenerated medievalism:" "Again E.B. Jones the painter,...let him speak of St. Thos. d'Aquinas and ask him whether he thinks he had degenerated from the first faith." For Taylor, see Memorials, I, pp. 290-291.
 3. Memorials, I, pp. 40-41.

(the one in which Ruskin was brought up) was characterized by its fierce, simple piety, its devotion to the literal words of the Bible, and its passionate study of Biblical texts for symbolic or typological meaning in the words of scripture.¹

The death of Burne-Jones's mother at his birth created a loose family structure, so that he was allowed to worship with a Jewish family next door.² From an early age the artist knew and respected the traditions of Jewry--the holy days, the study of the Talmud, and the symbolism of its ceremonies. He retained his interest in Judaism as an adult. Like Rossetti and Holman-Hunt (1827-1919), Burne-Jones was attracted to subjects from the Old Testament such as Sponsa di Libano from the Song of Songs (watercolor, 1891, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool) and The Temple of Solomon (stained glass, 1882, Holy Trinity Church, Boston, Massachusetts).³

His knowledge of different religions expanded still further at Oxford, which he entered in 1853. There, Burne-Jones joined the Oxford Movement. This movement began in 1833 as an effort to restore to the Church of England the purity and integrity of the Church before the Reformation. It, therefore, stressed its historical continuity

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1. For the full implication of what it meant to be a member of the Evangelical movement see Geoffrey Best, "Evangelicalism and the Victorians," The Victorian Crisis of Faith, ed., Anthony Symonds, London, 1970, pp. 37-56.
 2. Memorials, I, pp. 4, 8, 16.
 3. Neither of these works was begun as an independent picture. Burne-Jones's sympathy for Jewish subjects may also have been encouraged by his contact with the painter, Simeon Solomon (1840-1905) and by the widespread attraction to Old Testament subjects by members of the Pre-Raphaelite circle in the 1850s and 1860s.

with the early Christian church and with Rome. With John Henry Newman (1801-1900) as its leader, the Oxford Movement preceded other attempts to restore pre-Reformation sincerity to architecture (Pugin's churches) and painting (Pre-Raphaelitism). As a young man, Burne-Jones's hero was Newman, and the artist continued to admire Newman all his life.¹ If Burne-Jones's early Evangelical training gave him a solid knowledge of the Bible and Biblical interpretation, the Oxford Movement gave him a feeling for the beauty of church architecture, vestments, and decoration.

At Oxford, Burne-Jones studied to enter the Anglican priesthood. This intended career was not the whim of a young man, for Burne-Jones was an intensely serious, committed person, and his early vocation was the expression of a genuine religious impulse. Nevertheless, with his friend William Morris, who also meant to become a clergyman, Burne-Jones abandoned the Church in favor of a life devoted to art. Although he never again regularly attended services in the Church of England, Burne-Jones retained his familiarity with its laws and ceremonies. In an ironical letter written from Exeter College to his cousin Maria Choyce on October 15, 1855, he described his ostentatious high church leanings at Oxford:

at the beginning of the time, a school-boy, stuffed to the finger-nails with rawest knowledge, inclined to High Churchism, with marvellous respect for the powers that be, whether in Church or State, a strong Tory, and with a political creed, consummating in Charles the First - then a Freshman at College, quite Tractarian now, no mistake about it, omni-

1. See Memorials, I, p. 59; Horner, 1933, pp. 120-121; and Rooke's Diary, p. 524.

scient in all questions of Ecclesiastical rights, state encroachments, church architecture and priestly vestments....¹

In the same letter, he wrote of

the time when all my plans were laid for future days--romantic and utopian, but entirely meant, and not impracticable if persevered in--a little brotherhood in the heart of London of cleric and lay members--the plan had gone far toward completion--I had six who promised to join, and friends were not wanting....²

The idea of a semi-religious brotherhood devoted to art appealed to Burne-Jones's romantic idealism. If that brotherhood did not come into being, one must remember that Morris and Co. was founded in 1861 partly to supply the needs of ecclesiastical decoration.³ To some extent Morris and Co. was the heir to Burne-Jones's failed brotherhood. The firm specialized in the manufacture of embroidery, altar-cloths, stained glass and floor tiles for churches. Burne-Jones spent a large part of his life designing stained glass for churches as well as murals and mosaics.⁴ In one sense he always served God--as did Morris--and this dedication to the adornment of churches was an outgrowth of their early religious enthusiasm.

Burne-Jones equated religion not with any particular denomination but with the search to discover God and the mystery of life in art. In January, 1856, he wrote, in an essay published in The Oxford and

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1. Fitzwilliam Museum, Burne-Jones Papers, (Envelope no. 15) letter no. 3. [See Abbreviations for full citation.]
 2. Ibid.
 3. See Rosalie Glynn Grylls, Portrait of Rossetti, Carbondale, 1964, pp. 225-226, Appendix C, Prospectus of 'The Firm' Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co.
 4. Mackail, 1899, I, p. 162.

Cambridge Magazine:

Oh! life and reality, shall we ever know them as they are?
 ...their dark wisdom is far withdrawn from us at the feet
 of God; but something surely, either by symbol or the dark-
 ness of similitude, is yet possible, something whereby we
 may discern the dream within the dream, and choose the true.¹

In this early statement were the seeds of Burne-Jones's belief that through symbols the artist revealed the secret of life.

Burne-Jones was, then, a man who knew many religious paths. It is hard to convey how different this attitude was from the conventional religious experience in Victorian England. One feels a kind of intolerance in the way in which Holman Hunt or John Everett Millias (1829-1896), with their concern to find a truly Protestant religious art, purposely excluded much of the art of Italy from their sources for religious imagery.² One thinks of Ruskin's early bigotry (although this was to change) or of the English No-Popery riots which continued to occur through the 1860s and 1870s.³ Even more pertinent

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1. (Edward Burne-Jones), "Essay on the Newcomes," Oxford and Cambridge Magazine, I, January 1856, p. 52. Burne-Jones wanted to find a faith to believe in but could never bring himself to settle on one religion. This he expressed in a letter to Mrs. Gaskell of September, 1895, in which he discussed a friend who was unhappy: "...but she has a religion, that is the hardest thing of all to have in these days, it is so strange to have what is most difficult to get and not to have what is all around for the gathering." (British Museum, Add. Ms. 54218, fol. 144).
 2. Herbert Sussman, "Hunt, Ruskin and the Scapegoat," Victorian Studies, XII, no. 1, Sept. 1968, pp. 88-89.
 3. For the no-popery riots, see Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church, II, London, 1970, pp. 323-324. For Ruskin's religion see George Landow, The Aesthetic and Critical Theories of John Ruskin, Princeton, 1971, pp. 243-244. Henceforward: Landow, 1971.

to our study of the decoration of St. Paul's is the difference between Burne-Jones's toleration of all religious traditions and the sectarian spirit of Protestant defiance which the architecture of St. Paul's expressed to Dr. Nevin and the Americans who worshipped there.¹

Burne-Jones's curiosity about all religions belongs to the study of religious syncretism, a tradition more common to the late nineteenth century than to the mid-Victorian period. In Burne-Jones's circle it was A. Warrington Taylor who encouraged this study. Among the Burne-Jones papers in the Fitzwilliam Museum is a letter of about 1863 from Taylor to Robson extolling an article in The Westminster Review about "Orientalism + Early Christianity viz the effect of Greek, Roman, Indian and Buddhist philosophy + doctrine upon the apostles + Early Christian writers."² This Victorian interest in religious syncretism resulted in work such as James George Frazer's The Golden Bough, first published in 1890, or Walter Pater's Greek-Christian equations.³ In the iconography of St. Paul's the spirit of

1. See above, pp. 5-7.

2. "Letters from Warrington Taylor to E.R. Robson + one from Mr. Robson to G B-J" Fitzwilliam Museum, Burne-Jones Papers (envelope 23), fol. 17 [typed transcript]. The article to which Taylor referred was an unsigned review, "The Growth of Christianity," The Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review, n.s. XXIV, July 1, 1863, pp. 1-35.

3. For Pater, see Gerald Cornelius Monsman, Pater's Portraits: Mythic Pattern in the Fiction of Walter Pater, Baltimore, 1967, p. 146: "It is, of course, to religious myth that Pater turns..., for myth is the natural creation of man's search for meaning, and it, more perfectly than anything else, embodies his universal and recurrent ideas..."

religious tolerance was more important for Burne-Jones than any one religious doctrine. Like his other great decorative cycle, The Perseus Series (1875-1888, Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart), the mosaics are not only narrative scenes but an archetypal myth of redemption.¹

We can discern three major stages in the artist's spiritual life. Until about 1860 he followed conventional religious thought. From 1860 until about 1875, he fell under the spell of Swinburne's and Rossetti's almost pagan hedonism. Swinburne's belief in "the evolution towards Pantheism through the agency of sensual liberty" affected Burne-Jones in two ways.² In his private life it led to the artist's love affair with a Greek woman, Maria Zambaco.³ In his art, it may be responsible for the pantheistic imagery of women emerging from, men imprisoned in, and angels appearing on top of, trees (figs. 56, 57, 58).

Because Burne-Jones destroyed all his letters from Swinburne, it is hard now to put this period of his life into perspective. A recently published letter from the artist to the poet shows that they both shared an interest in the writings of de Sade and the less

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1. Kurt Löcher makes the same point about The Perseus Series where the theme is again redemption. See Der Perseus-Zyklus Von Edward Burne-Jones, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart (catalogue compiled and introduced by Kurt Löcher), Stuttgart, 1973, p. 40.
 2. Deborah Dorfman, 1969, p. 155.
 3. For Maria Zambaco, see Henderson, 1967, pp. 124-125; and Rossetti's description of the affair to Ford Madox Brown (1821-1893) on January 23, 1869, in Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, eds. Oswald Doughty and J.R. Wahl, Oxford, 1965, II, letter 809, pp. 684-485.

respectable side of Victorian life.¹ But Burne-Jones, unlike Swinburne, clung to religion and continued to paint religious subjects.

The influence of Swinburne lessened in the 1870s, and after about 1880, one religion exerted a particular attraction for the artist.

To Francis Horner, he wrote on July 7, 1890, "I wish I was a CatholicI wouldn't have left it: if I had been born to it."² On December 15, 1890, he wrote again to Francis Horner:

One afternoon came a deputation of Wesleyan Methodists, to invite me to decorate their chapel--their most historic and beautiful chapel--somewhere in the City Road, with subjects from the life of Wesley and showing the birth, rise and culmination of Methodism. One of the deputation said it was a beautiful building of brick, with round topped windows and a doric portico. I was very polite, but excused myself. I said that as an Englishman I was proud of the distinction with which they honoured me--but as a Romanist I had psychical difficulties which I knew they would appreciate as gentlemen though they might deplore them as divines.³

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1. See Philip Henderson, Swinburne, The Portrait of a Poet, London, 1974, pp. 129-130.
 2. Fitzwilliam Museum, Burne-Jones Papers (Horner Letters), fol. 15 [typed transcript].
 3. Unpublished letter from Burne-Jones to Francis Horner, December 15, 1890, Fitzwilliam Museum, Burne-Jones Papers, (Horner Letters), fol. 21 [typed transcript]. The same theme is reiterated in the following unpublished letter to Mrs. Gaskell of August 3, 1893: "A van has come on the Green opposite--and over it is printed in enormous letters

THE LUTHER PROTESTANT
VAN
ESTABLISHED TO MAINTAIN A
PROTESTANT CHARACTER
IN THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND

and it has made me quite sick and undone all the good that the sea winds were doing. And tomorrow I join the Church of Rome--so now." (British Museum, Add. Ms. 54217, fol. 102).

To the same correspondent he wrote in June 1886 about St. Paul's:
 "I will influence the mind of Dr. Nevin to give the church to the
 Pope--I really want to end in that faith. Somehow it isn't a banner
 to rally to, but what a lovely one to have been born under."¹

It is not surprising in view of his broad religious education
 that in November, 1883, in a letter to Francis Horner, he wrote
 about the mosaics at St. Paul's that he was doing them partly because
 of his liking for the Talmud and Thomas Aquinas.² At Oxford, Burne-
 Jones studied the scholastic theology of Thomas Aquinas. We saw that
 Warrington Taylor was impressed with the artist's knowledge of Aquinas.
 Thomas Rooke, after noting Burne-Jones's interest in Catholicism
 and his rejection of all organized religion,³ recorded the following
 dialogue in his diary:

Burne-Jones: "Thomas of Aquinas was a great name, a very great
 name, and in the ancient church he is important
 still."

Rooke: "Is he readable still?"

Burne-Jones: "I read through the greater part of him when I was
 young, I found him exceedingly interesting."⁴

To appreciate the significance of the artist's admiration for Aquinas,
 and even more, the influence of Aquinas on the decoration of an Angli-

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1. Fitzwilliam Museum, Burne-Jones Papers (Horner Letters, fol. 5)
 [typed transcript].
 2. Memorials, II, p. 134. See above, p. 73.
 3. Rooke's Diary, p. 36.
 4. Ibid., p. 65.

can church, one must consider what Aquinas meant to men of the nineteenth century. St. Thomas was used as the apologist for the Roman Catholic position in the most volatile religious issues of the period. It was Aquinas who, after centuries of neglect, supplied the scholastic foundations for the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, and no doctrine so aroused the fury and determined opposition of the Protestant Church in the late nineteenth century.¹ We saw that Burne-Jones was inspired by the spirit of Aquinas for the imagery of St. Paul's, and in 1883 wrote to Francis Horner that he was executing the mosaics for love of the medieval saint.² It may therefore be significant that in 1880 Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903) had issued the encyclical decree Aeterni Patris which ordered that the medieval philosophy of Aquinas be made the foundation for all religious studies in Roman Catholic schools and seminaries.³ The Protestant world viewed this as hopelessly reactionary in every way, a rejection of rational philosophy in favor of medieval scholasticism.⁴

It would be too strong to say that Burne-Jones's contemporaries regarded him primarily as a religious painter, but they did look to him as an exemplar of the most spiritual, sacred form of art. One

1. Friedrich Nieppold, The Papacy in the 19th Century, trans., Laurence Henry Schwab, New York, 1900, p. 195.

2. See above, p. 73.

3. Ibid., p. 194.

4. According to Nieppold, p. 194, this decree was "against the modern world of ideas." In making Aquinas the basis for the Catholic faith, Rome condemned Darwinism, Socialism, rationalism, and liberalism.

artist, the French painter, James Jacques Joseph Tissot (1836-1902), was apparently so inspired by an exhibition of Burne-Jones's work in London that he turned to religion as a result. In August, 1896, after a visit to an exhibition of Tissot's recent religious paintings, Burne-Jones wrote to Helen Mary Gaskell:

And now let us talk more of Tissot--he began life by being a romantic painter-- + I remember a beautiful little design by him, that Rossetti praised too, made ages ago--then in the miserable seventies he came to London-- + painted ladies in hammocks, showing legs + ladies smoking--and all manner of things not tending to edification, + one day just after my pictures were shown at the Grosvenor he called on me--a big stoney looking man--and made me pretty compliments + said he should paint no more as he had done of late--then he went back to France-- + I heard no more for a dozen years till they told me he had turned religious + gone to Palestine, to travel over it step by step--so of course I am mightily interested--but don't tell this story please.¹

If this quotation reveals one aspect of how a contemporary viewed the art of Burne-Jones, it also tells us much about Burne-Jones's attitude toward painting. His amusement at Tissot's early work--those pictures "not tending to edification"--is essentially a denigration of genre painting. For Burne-Jones, a good picture conveyed a spiritual message. Thomas Rooke recorded a conversation in Burne-

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1. British Museum, Add. Ms. 54218, fols. 177-180. For more of Burne-Jones's comments about Tissot, see Rooke's Diary, p. 179. Burne-Jones's account of Tissot's conversion is at odds with the French artist's own version of his change of heart. According to Tissot, the event happened when he was sketching some ladies in a fashionable Parisian church and caught sight of the elevation of the host during mass. He said that he was instantly converted and devoted the rest of his life to painting the life of Christ. See R.H. Sherard, "James Tissot and his 'Life of Christ,'" The Magazine of Art, XVIII, 1895, pp. 1-8. See also James Jacques Joseph Tissot, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, and the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, 1968, (exhibition catalogue compiled by David S. Brooke, Michael Wentworth and Henri Zerner), cat. nos. 56-59.

Jones's studio when the master said, "It is the message, the 'burden' of a picture that makes its real value."¹ When in the 1890s Rooke told him that French painting was not based on literature, he replied:

What do they mean by that? Landscape and whores? That's what they want--nothing but landscape or if any figure pictures, more or less languid whores. But what do they mean by literary painting? All the Greek Art was about their heroes and gods and all the Mediaeval Art was concerned with the religion of the time.²

According to Rooke, the artist disliked English painting before Rossetti because it was "unintelligent and stupid--nothing but portraits and landscape."³ His own pictures were, Burne-Jones said, "so different to landscape painting, I don't want to copy objects, I want to tell people something."⁴

Burne-Jones's message was usually a spiritual one, although he understood other possible aims in painting. He drew a clear distinction between works whose purpose was merely to please and those whose goal was to elevate mankind. In an undated letter to Francis

1. Rooke's Diary, p. 556.

2. Ibid., pp. 536-537.

3. Ibid., p. 556. In 1933, Rooke wrote of Burne-Jones: "his object was not so much to become a painter as to express what could be signified in the art, to affect people's minds, wanting to go further than giving pleasure to their eyes." See A Centenary Exhibition of Painting and Drawings by Sir Edward Burne-Jones, Bart., Tate Gallery, London, 1933 (with introduction by W. Rothstein and note by T.M. Rooke), pp. 8-9.

4. Ibid., p. 20. Lady Burne-Jones records that her husband objected to the Impressionists because "...they don't make idea, they don't make anything else but atmosphere--and I don't think that's enough--I don't think it's very much." See Memorials, II, p. 188.

Horner, he wrote:

...in painting there are countless grades of possible delight from the little pictures that charm and the sketch that amuses and gives hope, to the mighty one that strengthens life and confirms and seals aspirations, and like Prometheus that steals fire from heaven.¹

It was the latter type of painting that he most approved. The difference to him between the merely decorative function of stained glass and the ennobling function of a great picture was clear when he wrote to Mary Gladstone Drew in 1896 about her brother's mistaken conception of the purpose of a stained glass window:

...I can see he is thinking of a picture all the time, and for that purpose an altarpiece would certainly be better. A stained glass window cannot teach anything, it is at best a kind of splendid ornament...²

This is one reason the medium of mosaic was ideal for Burne-Jones; with it he could combine the teaching function of an altarpiece with the ornamental quality of stained glass.

The distinction Burne-Jones drew between fine and decorative art is rooted in the aims and purposes of his own art, and his conception of his role as an artist. His idea of what an artist was is related to Ruskin's contention that an artist should be a kind of saint. For Ruskin, the holier the man, the greater his art. He wrote in the third volume of Modern Painters of 1856 that Fra Angelico was a great artist because he led a saintly life and his sanctity enhanced his

1. Horner, 1933, p. 128.

2. Hawarden Letters, p. 271. (*Italics mine*). Burne-Jones also told Rooke that "the object of art must be either to please or exalt; I can't see any other reason for it at all--one is a pretty reason, the other a noble one for it." (Rooke's Diary, p. 44).

painting.¹ For Ruskin, Fra Angelico's holiness was a more important factor in his art than his technical ability. Accordingly, the attitude of the public toward the work of such a man must be almost religious. Ruskin's theory of the sacred nature of art applied to artists very different from Fra Angelico. In the first volume of Modern Painters of 1843, Ruskin had written of Turner's art that the paintings of a true artist "are not to be received as in any way subjects or matters of opinion, but of faith. We are not to approach them to be pleased, but to be taught; not to form a judgment, but to receive a lesson."² For Ruskin, the artist was a mystic who emptied himself of all personal ego and became the receptacle of a grace from God which allowed him to body forth God's goodness to the world. In this way the artist was a medium through which passed God's messages. In 1856 Ruskin wrote, in the third volume of Modern Painters, that the artist can never be egoistic, for:

The whole of his power depends upon his losing sight and feeling of his own existence, and becoming a mere witness and mirror of truth, and a scribe of visions--always passive in sight, passive in utterance--lamenting continually that he cannot completely reflect nor clearly utter all he has seen--not by any means a proud state for a man to be in.³

Commenting in 1883 on a passage in the second volume of Modern Painters (1846), in which he had written that a man must be good before he can find beauty outside himself, he added, "This...certainly does

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1. Ruskin, 1903-1912, V, p. 104.
 2. Ruskin, 1903-1912, III, p. 629.
 3. Ruskin, 1903-1912, V, p. 125

mean that a painter of saints must be a saint himself...."¹

The idea that an artist must be a holy man is found over and over in Victorian criticism. George Street, for example, wrote in 1855:

...I wish that all artists could remember the one great fact which separates, by so wide a gap, the architects, sculptors, and painters of the last days of the middle ages from us now--their earnestness and their thorough self-sacrifice in the pursuit of art, and in the exaltation of their religion. They were men who had faith, and hearts earnestly bent on the propagation of that faith; and were it not for this their works would never have had the life, vigour, and freshness which even now they so remarkably retain.²

The editor of The Ecclesiastical Art Review for 1878 wrote:

A painter of churches should be a Christian artist: one who has made it his study to inquire into art as it affects religion, and who will, in all things, make it his duty to let art be subservient to religion. Our churches want men who will exalt religion, not art...³

Burne-Jones took this ideal to heart. In his later years, from about 1880 to 1898, he encouraged men to regard him as a holy man. In a statement of about 1893 made during a conversation with his friend, the journalist, Sebastian Evans (1830-1909), recorded by Lady Burne-Jones, he showed how totally he agreed with another idea of Ruskin's:

That was an awful thought of Ruskin's, that artists paint God for the world....Think of what it means. It is the power of bringing God into the world--making God manifest. It is giving back her Child that was crucified in Our Lady of the Sorrows.⁴

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1. Ruskin, 1903-1912, IV, p. 177.
 2. Street, 1855, p. 286.
 3. "Church Painting: A Glance at the Past, Present and the Future," The Ecclesiastical Art Review, No. I, February 1878, pp. 16-18.
 4. Memorials, II, p. 257.

Lady Burne-Jones records that during a discussion of the limitations of art in 1895, he said: "But of course, it is God that creates, and the more that man can create, the more God he has in him."¹ Since the artist was, by definition, a creator, Burne-Jones came perilously close, here, to identifying himself with God. Indeed, his immediate circle of friends thought of him as saint-like.

The first person to use sacred imagery when describing Burne-Jones and his art was Ruskin. In a letter written to his father on August 12, 1862, Ruskin described the life of the young artist as "pure as an archangels." [sic]² In June of 1864, Ruskin wrote to his friend, Mary Frances Bradford (1839-1913), of the "joyful and holy power of that Boyce and Jones school."³ Burne-Jones's adoring studio assistant, Thomas Rooke, described the master in his diary as

...a Demi God or kind of Divine Creature who was never satisfied with less than the whole possession of the heart of whatever mortal he might happen to be with.⁴

According to the painter and illustrator, W. Graham Robertson (1867-1948):

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1. Ibid., II, p. 263.
 2. Winnington Letters, letter 185, p. 370.
 3. Ibid., letter 310, p. 509. It is also significant that in 1858 Burne-Jones sat for the head of Christ in Rossetti's Mary Magdalene at the Door of Simon the Pharisee (Fitzwilliam Museum). See Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Painter and Poet, The Royal Academy of Arts, January-March 1973 (Catalogue compiled by Virginia Surtees) cat. no. 115.
 4. Rooke's Diary, p. 1.

There was about him a suggestion of the priest, more than a touch of the mystic,...If a marriage could have been arranged between Brother Francis of Assisi and the Mona Lisa...their offspring might conceivably have been very like Edward Burne-Jones.¹

The mention of Francis of Assisi is apt, because Burne-Jones, together with a small group of Anglo-Italian landscape painters such as Giovanni Costa (1833-1903) and George Howard (1843-1911), seems to have formed a brotherhood in which the example of St. Francis was held up as an ideal. According to Costa's biographer, the Italian artist

...had become permeated with the Franciscan spirit, a spirit which animates much of his work, and which has set its mark also on many of the followers of his school. Lord Carlisle [George Howard] was a sympathiser with him in his attitude of mind.²

In a letter from Costa to George Howard of August 5, 1898, soon after Burne-Jones's death, Costa wrote:

...It seems that in our age, so eager for gain, and for the betterment of the material side of life, a secular Franciscan Brotherhood is springing up here and there, opposing with simplicity, love, work, and the striving after lofty ideals, the scientific calculations of those whose only care is to improve material conditions....We are weeping for the irreparable loss of Frate Burne-Jones. --I embrace you,

"Frate Giovanni"³

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1. Edward Burne-Jones, Letters to Katie, With an introductory note by W. Graham Robertson, London, 1925, p. vi.
 2. Olivia Rossetti Agresti, Giovanni Costa, His Life, Work, and Times, 2nd ed., London, 1907, p. 270. Henceforward: Agresti, 1907.
 3. Ibid., p. 270. It is worth noting, too, Ruskin's interest in St. Francis in the second and fourth volumes of Modern Painters. See Ruskin, 1903-1912, IV, p. 149 and VI, p. 428.

Costa's expression of admiration for the Franciscan Brotherhoods and his designation of Burne-Jones as "Frate," as well as his own signature, "Frate Giovanni," suggests, but does not prove, that the three artists shared a common reverence for St. Francis. It is difficult to know how concrete this feeling of brotherhood among the three artists was. It may have been a simple feeling of mutual admiration and shared ideals. On at least one occasion, however, Burne-Jones exhibited with Costa in the latter's Society, In Arte Libertas, which had been formed in 1886. In 1890, an exhibition of In Arte Libertas held at the Galleria delle Belle Arti, Rome, contained Burne-Jones's cartoon for the Annunciation mosaic of St. Paul's.¹ This inclusion of Burne-Jones's work may, however, mean little, for works by Rossetti and Frederic Leighton (1830-1896) were exhibited at the same show.

Burne-Jones also cultivated the simplicity of St. Francis's prose style. To his wife, who was staying in Italy with the family of the poet and fairy-tale writer, George MacDonald (1824-1905), he wrote in 1898: "Give my love to my brothers the MacDonalds and my sister the Sunlight and my mother the Blue."²

Burne-Jones's interest in St. Francis manifested itself not only in saintly language and pious attitudes, but in his work as an artist. In 1887, he made a water-color sketch, now lost, of St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata and sent it to Father Damien (1840-1888), the Belgian missionary who administered a leper colony on the

1. Agresti, 1907, p. 220.

2. Memorials, II, p. 327.

island of Molokai in Hawaii.¹ Burne-Jones's act of admiration for Damien reflects a general awareness by the English of Damien's saintly work,² but was also a concrete effort by the artist to make contact, and express his admiration for a genuinely heroic man. Burne-Jones's respect for Father Damien suggests a romantic longing by the artist to associate his own life and art with heroic or epic deeds. As a recent critic of the influence of the Oxford Movement has pointed out, the Movement -

brought one into a world of saints and martyrs which had an instant appeal to the Romantic mind....It was the ethos of these times which touched the heart; having an epic, heroic quality--mighty deeds, self sacrifice unto death, a sort of total theological involvement, which the Tractarians craved to emulate.³

Burne-Jones was treated by his admirers as a mystic healer and teacher. Strangers wrote to him and were given comfort in their distress.⁴ Young men confided their religious aspirations to him, and, like Tissot, at least one young man (unidentified by Lady Burne-Jones) associated his religious vocation with the master's pictures. Lady Burne-Jones quotes her husband's version of what this stranger told him. "He was a lawyer of Brussels, who had vowed himself to poverty...and is off to live in Asissi for love of the Saint there, Saint

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1. See Memorials, II, p. 175, and illustration facing p. 176.
 2. Chadwick, 1970, II, p. 409.
 3. David Newsome, "Newman and the Oxford Movement," ed., Anthony Symondson, The Victorian Crisis of Faith, London, 1970, p. 79.
 4. Memorials, II, p. 227-228.

Francis. He wanted to tell me of it because of my pictures,..."¹

In a doubtful world, men came to the artist for assurance. In 1897, he wrote to a correspondent whom Lady Burne-Jones does not name:

I never doubt for a moment the real presence of God, I should never debate about it any more than I should argue about Beauty and the things I love most.²

In a more obscure and mystical statement made during a conversation with Sebastian Evans in 1893, he said:

Day of Judgement? It is a synonym for the present moment-- it is eternally going on....The 'Dies irae dies illa' is everlastingly dissolving the ages into ashes everywhere. It is Nature herself, natura, not past or future, but the eternal being born, the sum of things as they are, not as they have been or will be....We are a living part, however small, of things as they are.³

This last sentiment shows that the artist shared the belief of men who had had mystical experiences: that man is an organic part of nature and the universe and a minute part of the universal flow of life.⁴

The church of St. Paul's is one of the great monuments of English art. It is, therefore, pertinent to ask what exactly was the nature of the symbolism used by the artist to convey religious ideas. The landscape imagery of The Annunciation and the Tree of Life mosaics in St. Paul's--the barren desert, flowering tree, and life-giving water--combine to make the whole decoration of the church a symbol for the

1. Ibid., II, p. 210. 2. Ibid., II, p. 325. 3. Ibid., p. 256.

4. William James, The Varieties of Religious Experience A Study in Human Nature, The Gifford Lectures delivered at Edinburgh, 1901-1902 (reprint, The Fontana Library, paperback, 1971), pp. 401-404: "We pass into mystical states from out of ordinary consciousness as from a less into a more, as from a smallness into a vastness....This overcoming of all the usual barriers between the individual and the absolute is the one great mystic achievement. In myatic states we both become one with the absolute and we become aware of our oneness." (pp. 401 and 404).

saving power of Christ's love. Throughout the decoration are symbols that signify Christian concepts such as the Tree of Life, the grain, lilies, and the pelican.

The roots of Burne-Jones's use of symbols in The Annunciation and The Tree of Life lie in Ruskin's critical writing and its relationship to Victorian religion. Burne-Jones, like Ruskin, was raised in the Evangelical wing of the Anglican Church.¹ Whenever he was in London as a boy, Burne-Jones attended Evangelical services at Beresford Chapel, Walworth Road, as had Ruskin in his youth.² This simple, puritan religion shunned all ritual and emphasized the word of Christ, that is, preaching and Bible reading. The Bible was studied incessantly and, through reading the literal words of Christ, the reader of the Bible learned to find hidden or mystical meaning in even the most prosaic events recorded therein.³ This method of Bible study, where every event was a symbol presaging Christ's coming or our redemption, is similar to medieval and renaissance allegorical writing and painting.⁴

In their youth, Burne-Jones and Ruskin did not read the Bible to

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1. See above, pp. 123-124.
 2. Ruskin was taken there by his father before Burne-Jones was born. When the artist discovered this fact after reading Ruskin's autobiography, Praeterita, in 1885, he wrote a long letter to the critic recalling the ambience of that gloomy chapel. See Memorials, I, pp. 40-41.
 3. Landow, 1971, passim. In this section I have relied heavily on Landow's interpretation of Ruskin's critical writings.
 4. Landow, p. 335.

find out that Christ was divine but to pick apart passages which could then be read as symbols of higher truths about Christ:

Bible reading had to be a meditation on the types of Christ, but the believer did not read his Bible figurally to authenticate Jesus Christ as the true Saviour of men, for the devout reader was already convinced of this truth. Instead, he read the Bible as a means of discovering and meditating upon the universal role of Christ's coming in human history.¹

It was pleasure ⁱⁿ to intellectual subtlety that accounts for the Evangelical love of long sermons once or twice every Sunday when a favorite preacher dissected a Biblical passage and revealed hidden meanings for his audience.² The Evangelical mentality saw in all things the symbol or type of Christ. This way of looking at the world led Ruskin to some of his most brilliant interpretations of natural phenomena, architecture and painting. As Landow points out, Ruskin believed "that the arts function as language to communicate fact, but also that painting and architecture should be read, like poetry, for complex, symbolical meanings."³ Ruskin was a master of typology-- finding in one object the type or symbol of another object. For example, Moses, though he was always Moses, was also the Old Testament type of Christ. For Ruskin the literal object remained important as reality even though that object was a symbol of something greater.⁴ Ruskin wrote, in the third volume of Modern Painters, that allegory and symbol arose "...out of the use or fancy of tangible signs to set forth an otherwise less expressible truth; including nearly the whole range of symbolical and allegorical art and poetry."⁵ That profound

1. Ibid., p. 335.

2. Ibid., p. 334.

3. Ibid., p. 84.

4. Ibid., p. 369.

5. Ruskin, 1903-1912, V, p. 132.

truths could not be expressed simply was central to Ruskin's theory of allegory since it was through unravelling the puzzling, mysterious visual or verbal symbol that the viewer or reader became wise.¹ The process of participation by the audience became in itself an enlightening experience, just as Evangelical Bible readers learned through the process of meditation on the riddles and enigmas of the Bible.

We who enter St. Paul's learn from Burne-Jones not by 'reading' a visual retelling of Biblical stories but by being puzzled at the novel conceptions of sacred events presented to us. Just as the Evangelicals assumed that the reader of the Bible already knew the mere facts of the sacred stories and would read for deeper meaning and higher truths, so Burne-Jones probably assumed a religious sophistication on the part of his audience, one which would enable them to interpret his mosaics. In the Middle Ages, there was a need for a 'Biblia Pauperum,' a strict visual iconography that would teach illiterate men and women the outlines of sacred history. By Burne-Jones's time, the middle-class audience likely to enter St. Paul's was expected to have read the Bible and know the stories of the Creation, Temptation, Annunciation, and Crucifixion. It was, therefore, up to the artist to reveal a higher truth through stimulating the imaginations of his audience. Burne-Jones, by creating a symbolic space in which his audience was invited to move, participate, pray and meditate, assumed the role of a teacher. A part of the experience of entering St. Paul's is the joy of searching for meaning in the

1. Landow, p. 394.

mosaics and so understanding more fully the nature of Christ's love. We are not necessarily meant to think of St. Thomas, St. Bernard or Jacobus de Voragine; but long meditation on the significance of the mosaics leads us to these sources. In addition, it is only by seeking meaning in the whole cycle and not simply in the individual subjects that we share fully the vision of the artist. Furthermore, the church was used mainly on Sundays when the congregation expected a sermon. The decoration was, as it still is, a source for the preacher to launch a discussion of the meaning of Christ's scheme for man's salvation. Even if individual members of the congregation did not find in the mosaics profound meaning, a preacher educated in theology and sophisticated in methods of religious exegesis would do so. On the other hand, if we do not subject the mosaics to searching visual and literary analysis, we see only the surface and miss what Burne-Jones called the 'burden' of his art. There is no single, correct reading of the mosaics; there are, there were intended to be, many subtle meanings and interpretations: how deeply we search for them depends on us.

VII

Street, Burne-Jones, and the Mosaic Revival in England
 (with a Checklist of Mosaic Cycles and Projects
 in England 1862-1899)

Street's decision to use mosaic in St. Paul's was not an innovation. Rather, the architect used a material that had gained wide popularity in England during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. By the early 1860s, the frescoes in the Oxford Union and those in the Houses of Parliament had begun to deteriorate in England's damp climate.¹ Inevitably, architects advocated the medium of mosaic as the solution to the problem. Indeed, the possibility of using mosaic to decorate churches was never far from the thoughts of English architects. Even Sir Christopher Wren (1632-1723) originally advocated the use of mosaics for the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral, London,² but the idea was abandoned until the mid-nineteenth century. In 1851, in an article that urged his fellow architects to adopt non-figured constructional polychromy for their churches, Street mentioned mosaic as a possible method of applying gold to interior walls.³ The suggestion that mosaic could be used for figure decoration had not yet been proffered, but several books and articles that

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1. T.S.R. Boase, "The Decoration of the New Palace of Westminster, 1841-63," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XVII, 1954, pp. 345 and 351.
 2. Victorian Church Art, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, November 1971-Jan. 1972, Section H, "St. Paul's Cathedral," p. 86.
 3. George Edmund Street, "Mr. Street on the Mural Paintings at Colton, Staffordshire," The Ecclesiologist, XII, no. 86, October 1851, pp. 373-376.

appeared in the 1850s and 1860s were to make the idea attractive.

The second volume of Ruskin's Stones of Venice was published in 1853 and was favorably reviewed in the Ecclesiologist.¹ The critic's appreciation of the mosaics of St. Mark's was a relatively new phenomenon, but the popularity of Ruskin's writing assured a widening interest in the mosaics of Ravenna and Venice.

Other scholarly books about mosaics followed the publication of Stones of Venice. Curiosity about the history of medieval mosaics developed alongside interest in mosaics for contemporary decoration. In 1864, Charles Texier and R. Popplewell Pullan published their Byzantine Architecture and discussed mosaic at length.² Pullan (1825-1888) was an architect and a prominent, vocal member of the Ecclesiological Movement.³ He wrote other articles on the use of mosaic in contemporary churches, and in his own buildings, such as S. Philip of 1875 in Baveno, Italy, he made extensive use of the medium.⁴

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1. "Ruskin's Stones of Venice," The Ecclesiologist, XIV, no. 49, Dec. 1853, pp. 415-427.
 2. Charles Texier and R. Popplewell Pullan, Byzantine Architecture, London, 1864. See also Alphonse Warrington, "Why The Early Mosaics are more Effective than Fresco," The Builder, XIX, no. 938, Jan. 26, 1861, p. 62.
 3. Ecclesiology, which flourished in England during the years 1845-1865, is the science of church building and decoration. The magazine of the movement, the Ecclesiologist was the most important arbiter of taste during the Gothic revival. See James F. White, The Cambridge Movement, Cambridge, 1962, pp. xi and 49.
 4. Pullan's mosaics at Baveno were executed in geometrical patterns by the firm of Salviati. See R.P. Pullan, "The Decoration of Basilicas and Byzantine Churches," The Architect, XIV, Nov. 20, 1875, p. 284.

Mosaics isolated from architecture were treated in a scientific, scholarly manner by John Henry Parker (1806-1884) in his Mosaic Pictures in Rome and Ravenna of 1866 and by the artist W. Cave Thomas (b. 1820-fl. 1838-1884) in his Mural or Monumental Decoration of 1869.¹ H. Digby Wyatt's "On Pictorial Mosaic as an Architectural Embellishment" ran in two parts in The Builder in 1862.² Here Wyatt (1820-1877) argued for mosaic as a decoration able to withstand the damp climate of England. All these books helped to create interest in the revival of mosaic decoration; they were widely read by architects and, just as important, carefully reviewed in the architectural magazines of the period.

The first time contemporary mosaics were actually seen in England was at the Great Exhibition of 1851. The editor of The Ecclesiologist was impressed by the examples on display:

We are chiefly induced to make a separate head of mosaic, in order to call the attention of the Society to some beautiful reproductions of the ancient Italian decorative mosaic, of small geometrical pieces of golden and coloured glass, which are exhibited in the English nave by Mr. Stevens.....The pictures in mosaic from Rome also claim peculiar

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1. John Henry Parker, Mosaic Pictures in Rome and Ravenna, briefly described by John Henry Parker, F.S.A. With Diagrams, Oxford and London, 1866. See also the review, "Mural Decoration, and Mosaics," The Builder, XXIV, no. 1233, Sept. 22, 1866, pp. 698-699. For Thomas, see W. Cave Thomas, Rural or Monumental Decoration, London, 1869.
 2. M. Digby Wyatt, V.P., "On Pictorial Mosaic as an Architectural Embellishment," The Builder, XX, no. 998, Mar. 22, 1862, pp. 199-201, and The Builder, XX, no. 999, Mar. 29, 1862, pp. 218-220.

attention from the peculiar applicability of this imperishable method of painting to the cold damp climates of the North.¹

The Ecclesiologist was pleased not only by the suitability of mosaic as a medium, but by the religious associations evoked by the mosaics of Venice and Ravenna. One Victorian writer, for example, regarded Ravenna as a medieval parallel to Protestant England because both England and Ravenna resisted papal influence:

Nothing is more evident indeed, in the ecclesiastical story of Ravenna, than the fact that this city was slow to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome, at least in the sense now claimed by the latter, and in many instances the recorded administration of church affairs in this arch-diocese seems to attest a principle of local independence quite unchecked.²

Mosaic was thus a material free from associations with Romanism and untainted by the kind of 'monkish' religiosity for which the Times had criticized the first Pre-Raphaelite pictures.³ Protestant English suspicions of this medium were thus minimal in comparison with the other possible forms of mural decoration.

The Great Exhibition of 1851 represented the patronage of the government and the Queen. This world initiated the revival of mosaic by first utilizing it for large-scale decoration. Queen Victoria's taste for mosaic set the fashion for its use, and two important deco-

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1. "Ecclesiological Aspect of The Great Exhibition," The Ecclesiologist, XII, no. 84, June, 1851, p. 187. The Mr. Stevens mentioned here may be the artist, Alfred Stevens (1817-1875), but no mention is made by Stevens's biographers or in the catalogue of the exhibition of his exhibiting mosaics at The Great Exhibition.
 2. C.J.H. "The Monuments of Ravenna, Part II," The Ecclesiologist, XXVII, 174, June, 1866, p. 132.
 3. Allen Staley, The Pre-Raphaelite Landscape, Oxford, 1973, p. 15; and The Times, 7 May 1851, p. 8. See Raymond Watkinson, Pre-Raphaelite Art and Design, London, 1970, p. 64.

rative projects commissioned by Victoria, the memorials to Prince Albert in the Wolsey Chapel at Windsor (1864) and Hyde Park (1864-1870), were precedents for Street's use of the medium at St. Paul's.¹

Once Victoria set the fashion for mosaic in the two memorials to Prince Albert, the medium was used by architects in other decorative projects in the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s.² The use of the medium at St. Paul's, therefore, was not a new idea, but had dated at least from 1864 with the Albert Memorial in Hyde Park and had been used repeatedly by Victorian architects in the second half of the century. Among those architects was George Street.

George Street had long been interested in the problem of church decoration. Because the idea for mosaic work in St. Paul's was probably Street's, it is pertinent to review some of the decorative schemes in his own buildings in order to see how the mosaics at St. Paul's fitted into his career.

According to his biographer, Street tried to obtain real artists, not "decorators," to adorn his churches. He was, however, constantly disappointed that few fine artists were willing to undertake architectural decoration.³ He hoped that architects would also paint and sculpt the decoration of their own buildings. In one of his own early churches, All Saints, Boyn Hill, Berkshire, of 1858 (fig. 59), Street put his theories into practice and decorated the chancel arch with a

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1. The importance of Queen Victoria's taste for mosaic was recognized even in 1869 when W. Cave Thomas mentioned it in his book Mural or Monumental Decoration, London, 1869, p. 101.
 2. See the checklist at the end of this chapter, pp. 160-167.
 3. A.E. Street, 1888, pp. 91-92.

Christ in Glory of his own design.¹

Boyn Hill was not an entire success because of Street's limitations as a draughtsman and the fragile nature of fresco painting in a damp climate. He was encouraged to try again, however, in his church of Saint James the Less, Garden Street, Westminster, of 1861. Here he commissioned G.F. Watts to paint Christ in Glory over the chancel arch (fig. 60).² Watts painted the arch during the year 1861 by the "water glass process," a newly invented technique of fresco painting in which a solution of silicate of soda or potash is combined with pigment which then solidifies when exposed to the air. The use of the new process underscores Street's consciousness of the tendency of fresco to decay in the damp climate of England. Watt's fresco survived but began to fade within a few years, and Street was cautious about using any kind of fresco on his church interiors for the next ten years. In his most elaborate decorative scheme before St. Paul's--the Guard's Chapel, Westminster, begun in 1879--Street had the firm of Clayton and Bell decorate the chapel in mosaic.(fig. 61).³

Burne-Jones had also been long interested in church decoration and welcomed the opportunity to work on Street's Roman church. In a

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1. "Shottesbrook and Boyn Hill," The Ecclesiologist, XIX, no. 128, Oct. 1858, pp. 314-318.
 2. "Churches and Schools in London," The Ecclesiologist, XXII, no. 146, Oct. 1861, p. 326.
 3. See below, pp. 164-165.

photograph taken in his London home, The Grange (fig. 9), four compositional studies for the church can be seen hanging on the wall of the drawing room (Nos. 25 and 45). Because it was not Burne-Jones's custom to hang sketches of his own pictures, we can conclude either that he was especially pleased with his design or that the commission had a personal meaning for him. A point in favor of the latter theory is that four studies for the apse of St. Paul's (nos. 3-6) for the angels who guard the Gates of Paradise, hung in Burne-Jones's other house, at Rottingdean, Sussex.¹ These designs are by no means the most beautiful of all Burne-Jones's works. Two of the angels were even executed by a studio assistant.² It is, therefore, probable that they were a memento of a work especially significant for the painter.

On several occasions Burne-Jones wrote or spoke of the reasons for his enthusiasm for the work at St. Paul's. The most important incentive was the chance it gave him to work in an architectural setting. Burne-Jones often expressed as much interest in architecture as in painting. His wife records the following statement made by her husband in 1898 during a discussion in his studio about obtaining good light to paint by:

I never could understand anything but a picture painted in the place it is intended to fill, never cared for a traveling picture, though mine are all that, never really cared for anything but architecture and the arts that connect with it.³

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1. Thirkell, 1931, p. 104.
 2. Nos. 5 and 6.
 3. Memorials, II, p. 333-334.

When working on a picture, he pretended that he was working on a wall.¹

In the last year of his life, Burne-Jones wrote to Helen Mary Gaskell about his love of architecture:

Outside Genoa, towards the East, is an ancient church that I used to love above everything else in Genoa. I think it is called S. Ambrogio but am not quite sure. Guide-books are such fools and know nothing, they tell one of bad pictures amply enough, but of God-invented architecture they say nothing:...²

The artist's work at St. Paul's was, in part, architectural. This he articulated in a letter to Francis Horner, written during the summer of 1891. Here, he listed the reasons for his enthusiasm for the design of The Tree of Life mosaic.

It is something between sculpture and architecture--only it's bright colour and will be high up and very big when it is carried out...and it can't be sold and will be in Rome and will last forever. That's why I like doing them.³

In this explanation, we can distinguish five reasons for Burne-Jones's interest in the decoration of St. Paul's: the mosaics could not be sold; they combined fine art with architecture; they were large in size; they were permanent; they were located in Rome.

During the late 1850s and early 1860s, Burne-Jones learned the art of large-scale design in stained glass, working first for the firm of Powell's, the glass company in Whitefriars, and later with Morris and

1. Ibid., II, p. 334.

2. Ibid., II, p. 328.

3. Fitzwilliam Museum. Burne-Jones Papers (Horner Letters), fol. 41. (See Bibliography for full citation). This letter to Francis Horner is quoted inaccurately or possibly spliced with another letter by Lady Burne-Jones in Memorials, II, p. 159.

Co.¹ This type of work was congenial to him because he disliked exhibiting his paintings in commercial galleries. Decorative glass in public buildings and churches satisfied his desire to reach masses of people through a medium that he considered more democratic than oil or canvas. According to Lady Burne-Jones:

He did not, of course, wish his work unseen, but the whole system of exhibitions was distasteful to him, and an easel picture but makeshift: what he always sought for was to design on a large scale for special places and to paint his pictures in situ. 'I want big things to do and vast spaces, and for common people to see them and say Oh! - only Oh!' was one way in which he put it. The mosaics that he designed for the American church at Rome were the nearest approach that he ever knew to a fulfillment of this wish, but he did not see them after they were carried out. 'The chance of doing public work seldom comes to me', he wrote in 1888; 'if I could I would work only in public buildings and in choirs and places where they sing.'²

Burne-Jones's desire to decorate St. Paul's was, therefore, partly the response of a highly-developed social conscience. The commission for the mosaics was the realization of a dream. Like his friends Morris and Ruskin, he wanted art to be available to all men, not only the few wealthy collectors who frequented art galleries. He wrote in June 1886 to Francis Horner about St. Paul's, wondering whether he would live "...to fill all the church with lasting, un-saleable pictures."³

In addition, he resented the conventions which separated art into categories such as applied and fine art. He hoped to blur these dis-

1. Harrison and Waters, 1973, pp. 28-32.

2. Memorials, II, p. 13.

3. Fitzwilliam Museum. Burne-Jones Papers (Horner Letters), fol. 5. [*Italics mine.*]

tinctions through his own work. When the artist Alfred William Hunt (1830-1896) invited Burne-Jones to rejoin the Old Water-Colour Society in 1886, Burne-Jones declined, replying by letter that:

...my real home would be in a society which embraces and covers all art--everything that art enters into--and the disintegration of art and the development and favouring of little portions of it is a sore matter to me.¹

Murals made of mosaic allowed Burne-Jones to create a work of fine art in a medium that was associated primarily with the decorative arts. Through mosaics, Burne-Jones was able to put the ideals he expressed to Hunt into practice.

The importance of the immense size of the mosaics of St. Paul's cannot be underestimated as a factor in Burne-Jones's interest in this project. According to Lady Burne-Jones, one reason for his acceptance of the commission was that "...the chance of working on so large a scale was irresistible."² His work displays a steady progression from the minutely-detailed, small-scaled, drawings of the Fairy Family of 1854-1856,³ through the larger easel pictures of the middle years, to the immense canvases of the 1880s and 1890s such as Arthur in Avalon (1881-1898, oil on canvas, 110 x 264 inches, Museo de Arte, Poncé, Puerto Rico). St. Paul's is an example of how, in Burne-Jones's late style, sheer size accounts for much of the impact of the work of art.

1. Memorials, II, p. 170.

2. Memorials, I, p. 114.

3. For the size and location of the illustrations for The Fairy Family, see John Christian, "Burne-Jones Studies," The Burlington Magazine, CXV, Feb., 1973, pp. 93-109.

Then, too, the medium of mosaic in the decoration of St. Paul's offered the artist a chance to create a work of art in an architectural setting that was permanent. In 1891, the architect, G.F. Bodley (1827-1907) invited Burne-Jones to decorate with mosaics the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral in London. The artist wrote to the architect to discuss his mixed feelings about the project. He rejected, on aesthetic grounds, the idea of putting mosaics in the dome of Wren's church, but he wrote that he liked the idea of working in a public building on a large scale,

...to which I find myself more and more inclining in design, whilst the fact of its necessary permanence in the place for which it was designed would be additionally attractive to me.¹

The two qualities he listed in favor of the commission were permanence and scale. In the late 1870s, Burne-Jones became concerned that the colors of his paintings would change or vanish. As a result of the advice of Holman Hunt (1827-1910), Burne-Jones began to paint in monochrome or pale colors in an effort to preserve his pictures.² Mosaic, unlike oil or water-color, was durable.

Finally, Burne-Jones was well aware of the problem of executing any kind of mural work in England. Burne-Jones watched his first two murals fade soon after he painted them because the grounds had been improperly prepared. The ruined murals of the Oxford Union (1857) and Red House (1861) were a lesson that he never forgot; all his later work on a large scale was either stained glass, oil on canvas, water-

1. Memorials, II, p. 218-219.

2. Ford Madox Hueffer, "Edward Burne-Jones," Contemporary Review, LXXIV, Aug. 1898, p. 191.

color, or mosaic.¹

In a letter of 1875, to the publisher and book dealer, F.S. Ellis, Burne-Jones wrote:

...no known colour can stand for centuries the burning of constant sunlight--but on the other hand how many days a year does one see the sun in this country...? About two or in lucky years three days--I think in England my pictures will last seven thousand years of burning sun--but a day's damp would hurt a picture if it reached it through the wall [more] than a hundred years.²

At St. Paul's, Burne-Jones was offered the chance to work in mosaic in a climate where he could expect his art to endure.

The location of St. Paul's in Rome struck Burne-Jones as ironic.³ In addition to the anomaly of a Protestant church in a Catholic city, the artist was aware that his mosaics were safer from physical harm in Catholic Rome than in Protestant England. The use of ritual in Protestant churches was still controversial. Ritual involved ornamentation: a vast decorative cycle by Burne-Jones might not have been entirely safe in England. No-Popery agitation was still strong in England in the 1870s, especially after the declaration of Papal Infallibility at the Vatican Council of 1869-1870.⁴ The common man reacted even more violently against Anglican Ritualists than against

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1. For the Oxford Union murals, see Memorials, I, pp. 158-169. For the ruin of the murals of Red House, see Ibid., I, p. 213.
 2. Fitzwilliam Museum. Burne-Jones Papers (Bound Volume of Letters), fol. 118.
 3. Memorials, II, p. 114.
 4. Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church, II, London, 1970, pp. 323-324.

Roman Catholics.¹ Burne-Jones certainly knew one instance of danger still present for works of art placed in Anglican churches in England. In 1876, Street finished his restoration of Bristol Cathedral. When the architect tried to erect sculptures of the saints on the north porch, a mob defaced the statues. Public hostility to the statues on doctrinal grounds was so great that Street removed them.² In 1878 one periodical summed up the problems of church decoration in England.

Even yet...the times are hardly favourable for this branch of religious art. The uncertain state of ecclesiastical law places donors at the caprice of Bishops and Courts, with their apparently wholly arbitrary distinctions between 'works of art' and 'superstitious monuments.' Another element of danger lies in the existence of organized associations of Iconoclasts, who hound on the ignorant multitude to acts of senseless destruction....Between bishops, judges, and mob, ecclesiastical artists are likely to have a rough time of it for a while.³

Although he never explicitly said so, Burne-Jones must have known that in Rome his work would never be defaced.

1. Ibid., II, p. 407.

2. A.E. Street, 1888, pp. 179-182.

3. "Church Painting: A Glance at the Past, Present and the Future," The Ecclesiastical Art Review, I, Feb. 1878, p. 17.

A Checklist of Mosaic Cycles and Projects in England

1862-1899

1862 St. Paul's Cathedral, London (first project).

Although Sir Christopher Wren (1632-1723) originally intended that the dome of St. Paul's be decorated in mosaic no such project was attempted until the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1862, Alfred Stevens (1817-1875) presented a project for the decoration of the cathedral with mosaics and sculpture. On July 22, 1864, Stevens's first mosaic, representing the Prophet Isaiah on the pendentive of the dome, was unveiled. A year later, G.F. Watts's St. Matthew, also in the pendentives, was completed, and work was abandoned until the 1870s.

References: "Mosaic Work in St. Paul's Cathedral," The Builder, XXII, no. 1121, July 30, 1864, p. 567; Walter Armstrong, Alfred Stevens A Biographical Study, London, 1881, pp. 25-26; Hugh Stan-
nus, Alfred Stevens and His Work, London, 1891, pp. 25-26; Victorian Church Art, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Nov. 1971 - Jan. 1972, Section H, "St. Paul's Cathedral," pp. 86-94 (with bibliography).

1864 The Memorial to Prince Albert, Wolsey Chapel, Windsor.

Commissioned by Queen Victoria, the mosaics on the vaulted roof were designed by Clayton and Bell under the direction of Gilbert Scott (1811-1878) and carried out by the Italian mosaic company of Salviati in 1864. Each of the ninety-two spaces between the groins was filled with a mosaic representing a nimbused angel surrounded

by foliage and clouds. Sixty-four of the angels have shields with the arms of the Prince Consort while the other twenty-eight held shields on which were depicted emblems of Christ's Passion.

References: "The Mosaic Work in Wolsey's Tomb House, Windsor Castle," The Builder, XXII, no. 1103, Mar. 26, 1864, p. 223.

1864-1870 The Albert Memorial, Hyde Park.

Gilbert Scott used mosaic on the Albert Memorial because it was out-of-doors, exposed to the elements and only mosaic for the pictorial decoration could survive. The mosaic representations of Sculpture, Architecture, Painting and Poetry on the tympana and spandrels were designed by Clayton and Bell and executed by Salviati & Co.

Scott first proposed mosaic for the Memorial in 1864. Full-sized cartoons were prepared in July, 1867, and sent to Venice in March, 1868. Although they were finished by November, 1868, they required two years for the cement to harden and were not finally unveiled until the spring of 1870.

References: The National Memorial to His Royal Highness The Prince Consort, London, 1873, pp. 47 and 50-51; Handbook to the Prince Consort National Memorial Published by Authority of the Executive Committee, London, 1872, pp. 22-23; C. Handley-Read, "The Albert Memorial Re-Assessed," Country Life, CCXXX, no. 3380, Dec. 14, 1961, pp. 1514-1516.

1865 Portrait of Nicolo Pisano, South Kensington Museum (first project).

This mosaic, by Frederic Leighton (1830-1896), was in the East Court. It was executed by Salviati and is now destroyed.

References: "Mosaic Work, South Kensington," The Builder, XXIII, no. 1154, Mar. 18, 1865, p. 189.

1867 Fulham Palace Chapel.

In 1867 William Butterfield decorated this chapel with mosaics designed by Alexander Gibbs and executed by Salviati. This decoration is now destroyed.

References: Thompson, William Butterfield, London, 1971, p. 460.

1866 The Houses of Parliament (first project).

As early as 1862, when it became apparent that the frescoes in the Houses of Parliament were fading, mosaic was discussed as a possible alternative medium of decoration. One of the strongest advocates of the medium was Austen Henry Layard. Gladstone appointed Layard Chief Commissioner of Works in 1868, and the latter campaigned for the use of mosaic for the internal and external decoration of the Houses. Layard founded his own company to see that the mosaics were carried out, but in so doing was publicly accused of conflicting interests. The first project thus came to nothing and he resigned his post to become the English Ambassador to Spain in 1870.

References: G.M. "Mosaic Versus Frescoes For the Houses of Parliament," The Builder, XX, no. 1018, Aug. 9, 1862, p. 565; "The Decaying Frescoes in the Houses of Parliament," The Builder, XX, no.

1024, Sept. 20, 1862, pp. 669-670; A.H. Layard, "Mosaic Decoration, A Paper Read at the Royal Institute of British Architects," The Builder, XXVI, no. 1348, Dec. 5, 1868, pp. 887-889; A.H. Layard, "Mr. Layard on Mosaic Decoration," The Builder, XXVI, no. 1349, Dec. 12, 1868, pp. 906-909; Gordon Waterfield, Layard of Nineveh, London, 1963, passim.

1869 Exeter College Chapel, Oxford.

The mosaics in the apse of Burne-Jones's old college at Oxford represented Christ, SS. Peter and Paul, and SS. Mark and Luke. They were designed and executed by the firm of Salviati.

References: "New Buildings in Oxford," The Builder, XXVII, no. 1403, Dec. 25, 1869, pp. 1022-1023.

1873 South Kensington Museum (second project).

In 1873, Sir Henry Cole (1808-1882), director of the South Kensington Museum, commissioned James McNeill Whistler (1834-1903) to design a mosaic panel for the central gallery. The panel represented a woman in Japanese robes carrying a parasol called "The Gold Girl." According to his biographers, Whistler was enthusiastic about the transference of his sketch into mosaic, but the plan came to nothing and the mosaic was never executed.

References: E.R. and J. Pennell, The Life of James McNeill Whistler, I, London, 1908, p. 150.

1875 Church of the Immaculate Conception, Farm Street.

In 1875, two large mosaic panels representing the Annunciation and the Coronation of the Virgin were unveiled on the East Wall of the Jesuit church in Farm Street, Mayfair. The church had been built by a follower of Charles Augustus Pugin, J.J. Scowles, in 1849. The mosaics were executed in a primitive style by anonymous Italian workmen and still exist.

References: "Guide to the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Farm Street," Parish Pamphlet, pp. 3-5.

1876 Keble College Chapel, Oxford.

The mosaics were designed by William Butterfield and executed by Alexander Gibbs. They formed the largest mosaic cycle executed in England up to this time, consisting of narrative scenes running along the nave, with the Old Testament subjects on the right, and the New Testament subjects on the left.

References: Thompson, Butterfield, pp. 246-247 and p. 460.

1879 The Guards' Chapel, Westminster.

The decoration of the Guards' Chapel, Westminster, the most important mosaic cycle executed in England in the nineteenth century, was initiated by George Street in the late 1870s. The Chapel was a Georgian building which Street restored in 1876. In 1878, the architecture was completed and the possibility of decorating the Chapel with mosaics was first mentioned in a report by the building committee. In the same year, Captain Sir Coutts Lindsay (1824-1913), the amateur painter and founder of the Grosvenor Gallery, offered his free assis-

tance, together with several unidentified artist friends, in decorating the space with religious pictures painted in oil on canvas. On June 5, 1878, however, the committee in charge of the decoration of the Chapel declined Lindsay's offer after it had asked the advice of Street. Street was president of the St. Mark's Committee which agitated, in these years, to save the mosaics of St. Mark's. Possibly with the mosaics of the Venetian Basilica in mind, Street used mosaics to decorate the Guards' Chapel.

The first space to be decorated was the arch of the chancel with a mosaic representing Christ in Majesty Flanked by Two Angels Carrying the Cross and the Pillar of the Flagellation, which was in place by 1879. This mosaic was donated by Queen Victoria and designed by John R. Clayton of Clayton and Bell. In the same year, the Transfiguration was unveiled in the North chancel gallery. By this date, too, the three lower mosaics in the choir were designed but only the Crucifixion was in place. The subjects of these mosaics are: The Carrying of the Cross, the Crucifixion, and the Descent from the Cross. The semi-dome of the apse, with its mosaic representing the Resurrection, was not unveiled until 1894 and there are no drawings to suggest that it was conceived much before this date. The mosaic of the Ascension on the East Wall was unveiled in 1905, and the band of the vaulted roof above the choir representing the archangels Gabriel, Uriel, Raphael and Michael was not unveiled until 1911.

References: "The Guards' Chapel, Wellington Barracks," The Builder, XXXVII, no. 1896, June 7, 1879, p. 635; Neville Wilkinson, The Guards' Chapel, 1838-1938, London, 1938.

1878-1884 St. Paul's Cathedral (second project).

In 1878 plans to decorate St. Paul's with mosaics were again revived. On this occasion Frederic Leighton and Edward Poynter (1836-1919) finished cartoons for a complete mosaic cycle, the subject of which was from the Book of Revelation. This project was never executed.

References: "Designs for the Decoration of the Dome of St. Paul's," The Builder, XLVII, no. 2161, July 5, 1884, pp. 11-12; "The Two Designs for the Decoration of St. Paul's," The Builder, XLVII, no. 2170, Sept. 6, 1884, pp. 313-314; Victorian Church Art, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

1878-1881 Houses of Parliament (second project).

Three small mosaics in the Central Hall of the Houses of Parliament were executed by Edward Poynter and Robert Anning Bell (1863-1933). The chronology of their execution is unclear, but by 1881 Poynter's St. George was in place. The artist later executed a St. David, patron of Wales, but when this was installed is not certain. Likewise, the St. Patrick by Robert Anning Bell was executed after 1885, but I am unable to find reference to it in the architectural magazines of the period.

References: "Decoration of the Central Hall, Houses of Parliament," The Builder, XLI, no. 2015, Sept. 17, 1881, pp. 349-351; Boase, 1954, p. 341.

1887-1888 Clifton College Chapel, Oxford.

William Holman Hunt's design, representing The Boy Christ with the Doctors was executed in mosaic by Powell & Co.

References: "'Christ Among the Doctors:' An Exposition of the Design for the Mosaic in Clifton College Chapel," Contemporary Review, LVIII, Aug. 1890, pp. 181-192; William Holman Hunt, Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, II, 1905, p. 352.

1891-1899 St. Paul's Cathedral (third project).

In 1891, W[illiam] B[lake] Richmond (1842-1921), produced designs to cover the apse and choir of St. Paul's with mosaic. Working with assistants, by June, 1895, Richmond was able to boast of the success of his project, and by 1899 the decoration was complete. The completed mosaics met with a storm of disapproval.

References: W.B. Richmond, A.R.A., "The Decoration of St. Paul's," Journal of the Society of Arts, XLIII, no. 2222, June 21, 1895, pp. 715-724; Edward S. Prior, "The Decoration of St. Paul's," The Architectural Review, VI, June-Dec., 1899, pp. 42-44; Victorian Church Art, op. cit., pp. 88-89 and 91-92.

Catalogue of Studies by Burne-Jones for
the Mosaics of St. Paul's American Church, Rome

Note:

The catalogue is divided into the following categories:

1. Studies for the Dome of the Apse
2. Studies for the Annunciation
3. Studies for the Tree of Life
4. Studies for the Choir mosaic by Burne-Jones
5. Unexecuted Studies by Burne-Jones for St. Paul's
6. Rejected attributions

All drawings are by Burne-Jones unless otherwise noted.

Height before width.

Abbreviations

- Nevin, 1877: Rev. R.J. Nevin, St. Paul's Within the Walls: An Account of the American Chapel at Rome, Italy, New York, 1877.
- Stephens, 1889: Frederic George Stephens, "Mr. Edward Burne-Jones, A.R.A., as a Decorative Artist," Portfolio, XX, November 1889, pp. 214-219.
- Stephens, 1890: F[rederic] G[eorge] Stephens, "Mr. E. Burne-Jones's Mosaics at Rome," Portfolio, XXI, May 1890, pp. 101-108.
- Leprieur, 1892: Paul Leprieur, "Burne-Jones, décorateur et ornamaniste," Gazette des Beaux Arts, période 3, VIII, November 1892, pp. 381-399.
- Lehor, 1894: Jean Lehor, "Sir Edward Burne-Jones," La Revue de Paris, no. 5, 1 September 1894, pp. 102-122.
- Magazine of Art, 1895: "Mosaics by Sir Edward Burne-Jones at Rome," Magazine of Art, XVIII, 1895, pp. 256-260.
- Fantoni, 1896: A.F. Fantoni, "L'Arte de mosaico a Venezia," Emporium, IV, 1896, pp. 360-361.
- Wilson, 1897: H. Wilson, "The Work of Sir Edward Burne-Jones, More Especially in Decoration and Design," Architectural Review, I, April 1897, pp. 225-233 and I, May 1897, pp. 273-281.
- Bell, 1898: Malcolm Bell, Sir Edward Burne-Jones A Record and Review, London, 1898 (reprint of 1893 edition).
- Cartwright, October 1898: Julia Cartwright, "Review," Quarterly Review, CLXXXV-III, October 1898, pp. 338-359.
- Cartwright, August 1898: Julia Cartwright, "In Memoriam--Edward Burne-Jones," Art Journal, LX, August 1898, pp. 247-248.
- Magazine of Art, 1898: "In Memoriam: Sir Edward Burne-Jones, Bart.," Magazine of Art, XXI, 1898, pp. 513-528.
- Sharp, 1898: William Sharp, "Sir Edward Burne-Jones," Atlantic Monthly, LXXXII, September 1898, pp. 375-383.
- Artist's Sale 1898: "Catalogue of Remaining Works of That Eminent Painter Sir Edward Burne-Jones, Bart., Deceased," Christies, July 16, 1898 and July 18, 1898.

- Monkhouse, 1899: Cosmo Monkhouse, British Contemporary Artists, London, 1899.
- Slayter, 1899: John A. Slayter, "An Ethical Retrospect of the Traditions and Aims of Sir Edward Burne-Jones," Architectural Review, VI, September 1899, pp. 70-75.
- Phillip Burne-Jones, 1900: Phillip Burne-Jones, "Notes on Some Unfinished Works of Sir Edward Burne-Jones, Bart.," Magazine of Art, XXIII, 1900, pp. 159-167.
- Cartwright, 1900: Julia Cartwright, "Burne-Jones," Gazette des Beaux Arts, période 3, XXIV, July 1900, pp. 25-38 and September 1900, pp. 237-252.
- Vallance, 1900: Aymer Vallance, "The Decorative Art of Sir Edward Burne-Jones, Baronet," The Easter Number of the Art Journal, London, 1900.
- Schleinitz, 1901: Julius Wilhelm von Otto Schleinitz, Burne-Jones (Künstler Monographien, IV), Bielefeld und Leipzig, 1901.
- Bayliss, 1902: Sie Wyke Bayliss, Five Great Painters of the Victorian Era: Leighton, Millais, Burne-Jones, Watts, Holman Hunt, London, 1902.
- De Lisle, 1904: Fortunée De Lisle, Burne-Jones, London, 1904 (second edition, revised, 1906).
- Phythian, 1908: J.E. Phythian, Burne-Jones, London, 1908.
- Horner, 1933: Francis Horner, Time Remembered, London, 1933.
- Lowrie, 1926: Walter Lowrie, Fifty Years of St. Paul's American Church, Rome: Some Historical Descriptions By the Rector, Rome, 1926.
- Thirkell, 1931: Angela Thirkell, Three Houses, London, 1931.
- Harrison and Waters, 1973: Martin Harrison and Bill Waters, Burne-Jones, London, 1973.
- Thirkell Sketchbook: "Designs by Edward Burne-Jones given by his daughter Margaret to his granddaughter Angela" in the collection of Burne-Jones's great-grandson, Mr. Lance Thirkell, London.

Exhibitions

- Arts & Crafts, 1888: Arts & Crafts Exhibition Society Catalogue of the First Exhibition, 1888, The New Gallery, London, 1888.
- The New Gallery, 1892-1893: Exhibition of the Works of Edward Burne-Jones, The New Gallery, London, 1892-1893.
- The New Gallery, 1898-1899: Exhibition of the Works of Sir Edward Burne-Jones, The New Gallery, London, 1898-1899.
- Tate, 1933: A Centenary Exhibition of Paintings and Drawings by Sir Edward Burne-Jones, Bart., Tate Gallery, London, 1933 (with an introduction by W. Rothenstein and a note by T.M. Rooke).
- Leighton House: High Victorian Art, An Exhibition in Conjunction with the Tate Gallery, The Victoria and Albert Museum and the York Art Gallery, Leighton House, London, 1969.
- Hartnoll & Eyre, 1971: Drawings, Studies & Paintings by Sir Edward Burne-Jones 1833-1898, Exhibition jointly arranged by Hartnoll & Eyre Ltd. and The Picadilly Gallery, Ltd., London, June 1971.
- Sheffield: Burne-Jones, The Mapin Art Gallery, Weston Park, Sheffield, October-November, 1971 (catalogue compiled by W.S. Taylor).
- Rome, 1972: Aspetti dell'Arte A Roma Dal 1870 al 1914, The Palazzo Barberini, Rome, 1972.
- Munich, 1973: Burne-Jones und der Einfluss der Pra-Raffaeliten, Exhibition at Michael Hasenclever, Ltd., Munich, November 1972-January 1973.

Studies for the Dome of the Apse

No. 1

Model of the Semi-Dome of the Apse of St. Paul's-Within-the-Walls, Rome: The Heavenly Jerusalem

The Victoria and Albert Museum (as George Street)

Plaster and wood painted in tempera; 24 inches x 39 1/2 inches (61 x 100.4 cm.).

Inscribed above the two angels on the left: "Chemuel"
"Gabriel"

c. 1881-1883

The model for the mosaic in the semi-dome represents the earliest surviving sketch for The Heavenly Jerusalem. The general design is the same as the mosaic eventually executed, but the position of the archangels was changed and, in the mosaic, the throne of Christ is composed entirely of angels.

Provenance: Charles Fairfax Murray; gift to the Victoria and Albert Museum.

References: De Lisle, 1904, p. 146/ Cartwright, Oct., 1898, p. 351/ Sharp, 1898, pp. 375-383/ Vallance, 1900, p. 14.

No. 2

Christ Enthroned

Gouache; 27 x 16 3/4 inches (68.6 x 42.6 cm.).

1881-1884

This sketch represents a second stage in the preparation of the designs for the mosaic, probably executed after the model of the

apse as a figure and color study. The figure of Christ is almost unchanged in the mosaic, but Burne-Jones eliminated the two armed angels standing on the battlements above Christ. The present sketch was probably never sent to Rome.

Both Hartnoll & Eyre and Taylor in the Sheffield catalogue (1971) erroneously state that this work was illustrated in the Magazine of Art for 1875. Since there is no Magazine of Art for 1875, they presumably mean 1895. Although the Magazine of Art for that year contains a long article on the mosaics, the present study is not illustrated.

Provenance: Graham McInnes Esq., the artist's grandson, sold Christie's Nov. 17, 1970, lot 175; Hartnoll & Eyre; the Piccadilly Gallery.

Exhibitions: Leighton House, 1969, cat. 37; Hartnoll & Eyre, 1971, cat. 26 (reproduced); Sheffield, 1971, cat. 164; Munich, 1973, cat. 7.

References: Bell, 1898, pp. 83-87.

No. 3

Uriel, Archangel of the Sun

Hartnoll & Eyre, Ltd., London

Gouache; 20 x 10 inches (50.8 x 25.5 cm.).

1881-1884

The angel Uriel, with the following three angels, represents an advanced stage in the design. The four angels were evidently

favorite designs of Burne-Jones, since he kept them in the drawing room of his home, North End House, Rottingdean, Sussex. His granddaughter, the novelist Angela Thirkell (1890-1961), remembered seeing them there as a child, and they were never sold during his lifetime. Only the archangels Uriel and Gabriel are by Burne-Jones. The remaining two angels are by a studio assistant, possibly Thomas Rooke.

The style and subject of these angels are related to Burne-Jones's Days of Creation, which he designed in 1871, began in 1872, and finished in 1876 (Cambridge, Fogg Museum). In addition to the four angels in this catalogue, the Magazine of Art, 1895, p. 257, illustrated a design for the Archangel Michael which at one time completed the set. It is at present lost.

Provenance: Burne-Jones; by descent to Margaret Mackail, the artist's daughter; Graham McInnes, the artist's grandson; sold Christie's Nov. 17, 1970, lot 179, Hartnoll & Eyre.

Exhibitions: Leighton House, 1969, no. 35.

References: Stephens, 1890, p. 106 (reproduced)/ The Magazine of Art, 1895, p. 257 (reproduced)/ Monkhouse, 1899, p. 151 (reproduced)/ Thirkell, 1931, p. 104/ Harrison and Waters, 1973, p. 135 (reproduced fig. 193).

No. 4

Gabriel, Angel of the Annunciation

Hartnoll & Eyre, Ltd., London

Gouache; 20 x 10 inches (50.8 x 25.5 cm.).

1881-1884

Provenance: Burne-Jones; by descent to Margaret Mackail, the artist's daughter; Graham McInnes, the artist's grandson; sold Christie's Nov. 17, 1970, lot 178; Hartnoll & Eyre.

Exhibitions: Leighton House, 1969, no. 34.

References: Stephens, 1890, p. 107 (reproduced) The Magazine of Art, 1895, p. 258 (reproduced)/ Thirkell, 1931, p. 104.

No. 5

Chemuel, The Cup Bearer (by Thomas Rooke?)

Location unknown

Gouache; 20 x 10 inches (50.8 x 25.5 cm.).

1881-1884

The present drawing, like Cat. 6, is by an assistant. The formless, indelicate handling of the wings and insensitive face show that Burne-Jones barely touched this sketch.

Provenance: Burne-Jones; by descent to Margaret Mackail, the artist's daughter; Graham McInnes, the artist's grandson; sold Christie's Nov. 17, 1970, lot 177.

No. 6

Zophiel, Archangel of the Moon (by Thomas Rooke?)

Dr. and Mrs. Robert Mandlebaum, Brooklyn, New York

Gouache; 20 x 10 inches (50.8 x 25.5 cm.).

1881-1884

The lack of structure in the wings, bland drapery, and coarse gestures all betray the hand of an assistant.

Provenance: Burne-Jones; by descent to Margaret Mackail, the artist's daughter; Graham McInnes, the artist's grandson; sold Christie's Nov. 17, 1970, lot 176; Dr. and Mrs. Robert Mandelbaum, Brooklyn, New York.

Exhibitions: Leighton House, 1969, No. 36.

References: Stephens, 1890, p. 107 (reproduced)/ The Magazine of Art, 1895, p. 258 (reproduced)/ Thirkell, 1931, p. 104.

No. 7

Head of Christ

City of Manchester Art Gallery

Watercolor on card mounted on linen; 27 1/8 x 21 5/8 inches (68.9 x 55.3 cm.).

c. 1883-1884

No. 7 is a fragment of the final cartoon for Christ in Majesty in the semi-dome of the apse. Taylor, in the catalogue to the Sheffield exhibition, dates this drawing 1875, presumably from an erroneous idea, also stated in the catalogue, that it was reproduced in the Magazine of Art in that year. This fragment was evidently saved from the original, gigantic, cartoon which is under the mosaics.

Provenance: Trustees of Burne-Jones; sold Christie's June 5, 1919, no. 102, bought through Eldan Gallery for C.C. Rutherston, who presented it in 1925 to the Manchester Art Galleries.

Exhibitions: Sheffield, 1971, no. 165.

No. 8

Compositional Study for the Heavenly Jerusalem

St. Paul's American Church, Rome

Gouache, watercolor on brown paper; 54 x 164 inches

(137.2 x 416.8 cm.).

c. 1884

No. 8 represents the last stage in the design, executed just before the preparation of the full-sized cartoons. This design corresponds exactly with the mosaic, and was probably sent to Venice and Rome as a guide to Sig. Castellani of the Venezia-Murano Glass Company. It may also have been presented to the building committee and Dr. Nevin for approval.

Exhibitions: Rome, 1972, no. 148.

Studies for the Annunciation

No. 9

Design for the Annunciation

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (EM

1899 -7 -13 -378).

Pencil; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

c. 1886-1888

Burne-Jones experimented here with placing the Annunciation on the entrance wall, as shown by the presence of a faintly sketched-in rose window.

No. 10

Two Designs for the Annunciation

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (EM 1899 - 7 - 13 - 337)

Pencil; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

c. 1886-1888

The post of the Virgin in the lower sketch resembles the final pose, but here she carries what appears to be a water bucket and a stream of water rushes from the rocks past the Virgin's feet. The faint design for an angel with a fiery sword is cat. no. 49 on the verso of this sheet.

No. 11

Design for the Annunciation

EBJ Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (EM 1899 - 7 - 13 - 408)

Pencil; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

Inscribed: bottom left AVE GRATIA

PLENA DO

MINUS TE C̄

BENEDIC

TA TU IN

MULIERIBUS

and bottom right ECCE ANCILLA

DOMINI FIAT

MIHI SECŪ

DŪ VERB

VM TVŪ

c. 1886-1888

The present drawing represents an early idea for the mosaic of the Annunciation. A comparison with nos. 18-21 (drawings for the Tree of Life) shows that Burne-Jones did not begin this design for the Annunciation until after the first designs for the Tree of Life. This is proved by the incorrect shape of the arches in the Tree of Life drawings (nos. 18-21) and the fact that in this sketch the shape of the arch is correct.

No. 12

Design for the Annunciation

EBJ Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum 1899 - 7 -
13 - 411)

Pencil; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

c. 1886-1888

No. 13

The Annunciation; Rough Compositional Sketch with color notations and instructions to mosaic workers

St. Paul's American Church, Rome

Gouache and watercolor on brown paper; 20 1/2 x 29 1/2 inches (52.1 x 74.9 cm.).

Inscribed: Top left corner in Burne-Jones's hand:

ANGEL/NIMBUS outer narrow enclosing rim of blue .. 5 /
then lighter narrow rim 1505 / body of nimbus silver 93 /
growing light toward head 92 / DRESS 415 2071 865 503 /
note on the shoulders and where the light / comes from the
nimbus a little silver / may be used /

Hair / shadow 1748, [in the hand of a translator]:

capelli ombre / local 856 locale / light 2354, lume /

Mask lies 1396 labbra / outline 544 contours (or if this
is too / [unintelligible word] 488) / face 1656 viso /
1245 / 814 piedi e mani / eyes 1794 occhi / hands and feet
same / as face

In the top right corner in Burne-Jones's hand:

SKY. gold. 76 at the bottom 73 above it. 20 above that.
/ if any blue is sprinkled, which may prove difficult it /
should be a dim blue such as 425 toward top / and 1565
lower down - the 2 blues used in the / angel nimbus /

WATER 2056. 939. 72 / 960 1269 2097 / use the white
sparingly / as for / edges here and there when it / meets
the earth - and / sparkles of silver may be used.

In the bottom left corner is printed

AVE · GRATIA · PL
 ENA · D^(m) INVS
 TECV̄ · BE
 NEDI (TA
 TV · IN ·
 MVLI
 ERI
 BV
 S

In the bottom right corner is printed

ECCE · ANCILLA
 DOMINI · FI
 AT · MICHI
 SECVND
 VM · VE
 RBV̄
 TV
 V̄
 1890

The numbers on the drawing refer to mosaic tesserae picked by Burne-Jones in London from a master key provided by the mosaic company. On October 20, 1890, Burne-Jones sent this drawing to Venice as a guide to the mosaic workers. He accompanied the sketch with a letter to the director of the Venezia-Murano Glass Company, Sig. Castellani, which gave the workers explicit instructions. (Appendix II, letter 2)

Exhibitions: Arts & Crafts, 1888, no. 179(?); Rome, 1972,
no. 149.

.Studies for the Tree of Life

No. 14

The Temptation and Expulsion

Burne-Jones Sketchbook, The Victoria and Albert Museum.

V & A 91. D. 45 no. 15: E. 9-1955 fol. 60

Pencil on white paper; 3 3/4 x 6 1/2 inches (9.6 x 16.5
cm.).

c. 1886-1888

One of the earliest designs for the arch which was to become The Tree of Life. On the left Adam and Eve stand near the Tree of Knowledge inside the wall of the Garden of Eden. An angel, who appears in a crescent moon, raises his hand in warning. To the right, Adam and Eve appear on the opposite side of the wall of the Garden of Eden and are expelled from the garden gate. They are covered with leaves, and hold their hands to their faces in shame. Behind the wall is the Tree of Knowledge. We are thus meant to be seeing both the inside of the Garden (to the left) and the outside (to the right). The angel appears again in the crescent moon with his hand raised in admonishment.

No. 15

The Temptation of Eve and The First Sin

Burne-Jones Sketchbook, Victoria and Albert Museum

V & A. 91 D. 45 No. 15: E. 9-1955 fol. 62

Pencil on white paper; 3 3/4 x 6 1/2 inches (9.6 x 16.5 cm.).

c. 1886-1888

The temptation and the first sin take place in the extreme left

and right of the composition. Burne-Jones distinguishes between a fruit-bearing tree on the left (The Tree of Knowledge) and the flowering tree on the right (The Tree of Life).

No. 16

The Temptation and the Expulsion from the Garden of Eden

Burne-Jones Sketchbook, The Victoria and Albert Museum

V & A 91 D. 45 No. 15: E - 9 - 1955, fol. 63

Pencil on white paper; 3 3/4 x 6 1/2 inches (9.6 x 16.5 cm.).

c. 1886-1888

A variation of no. 14. Here, however, the walls of the Garden of Eden have been omitted and the Trees of Knowledge and Life both appear, as in no. 15. The figure of God appears in the center above a crescent moon.

Although this is the hastiest of sketches, Burne-Jones has included characteristically precise details. The variation in the poses of the angels is typical: in the first pose he flies toward Adam and Eve; in the second his drapery flows downward and suggests a static pose. The scribble on the right stands for the fig leaves that cover Adam and Eve. Once again, the trefoil is at the bottom of the arch. For the first time Burne-Jones includes the figure of God in the center of the Garden of Eden.

No. 17

Two designs for a mosaic arch: The Temptation and Expulsion of Adam and Eve and the Temptation and the First Sin

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (BM 1899 - 7 -
13 - 406)

Pencil; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

c. 1886-1888

These two designs are highly finished and are polished sketches executed after the rough sketches in the Victoria and Albert Museum: (cat. nos. 14 - 16).

The drawing at the top of the page is a completion of no. 14. The alternative design at the bottom of the page is a clarification of no. 15. Again, there are two separate genera of trees. Here, however, Eve plucks the apple from the flowering tree at the right.

No. 18

Design for a mosaic arch: The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (BM 1899 - 7 -
13 - 409)

Pencil; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

c. 1886-1888

This sketch is the first in which the artist has drawn the correct shape of the arch. The subject here is the expulsion from Eden. The moment of the expulsion and the hovering angel will lead Burne-Jones to the passage in the Bible which mentions the Tree of Life.

No. 19

Design for a Mosaic Arch: The Expulsion of Adam and Eve From
the Garden of Eden

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (BM 1899 - 7 -
13 - 410)

Pencil; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

Inscribed lower left:

EMISIT EVM DŌ

INVS DEVS DE

PARADISO VOLV

TATIS UT OPE

RATUR TER

RĀ DE OVA

SŪPTUS

Inscribed lower right:

ET COLLOCAVIT

ANTE PARADIŠV

VOLVPTATIS

CHERVBIM

ET FLĀM

EVM GL

ADIV

(The Lord God sent him forth from the garden of Eden to till
the ground from which he was taken. And he placed the
cherubim and a flaming sword which turned every way before
the Gates of Paradise) - Genesis 3:23-4

c. 1886-1888

No. 19 is an elaboration of No. 18. Here the angel holds a fiery sword.

No. 20

Design for the Tree of Life and a quotation from St. Bernard

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (BM 1899 - 7 - 13 - 413 and 414)

Pencil; each page 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

Inscribed left page:

QVIS * NON * RAPERETVR * AD * SPEM * QVI * EIVS * CORPVS *
 ATTENDIT * HABET * CAPVT * INCLINATVM * AD * OSCULANDVM *
 BRACHIA * EXTENSA * AD * AMPLEXANDVM * MANVS * PERFORATAS *
 AD * LARGIENDVM * LATVS * APERTVM * AD * DILIGENDVM *
 PEDES * AFFIXOS * AD * NOBISCVM * COMMANENDVM * TOTVM *
 CORPVS * EXTENSVM * AD * SE * TOTVM * NOBIS * IMPARTIENDVM *

- S. BERNARDVS

(Who is not seized with hope who has watched His body, the head inclined for kissing, the arm extended for embracing, the hands pierced for giving, the side open for loving, the feet affixed for us, the whole body extended, imparting everything to us - St. Bernard.)

c. 1886-1888

Although the design is compressed and placed in a rectangular format, its major elements correspond to the final mosaic. Adam and Eve stand on either side of a blooming tree on which Christ is crucified.

No. 20 is the first drawing in which Burne-Jones abandoned his earlier ideas (nos. 14-19) for a more symbolic and less dramatic mosaic. Here the emphasis is on motionless figures in prayer. The rectangular format is a first attempt to visualize a triangular composition.

References: Vallance, 1900, p. 14 (reproduced p. 15).

No. 21

Design for a Mosaic Arch: The Tree of Life

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (EM 1899 - 7 - 13 - 416)

Pencil; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

c. 1886-1889

No. 21 is the second stage in designing this particular arch. Burne-Jones transferred the verticle, rectangular composition of no. 20 to the center of the arch. He then filled in the shapes of the corners of the arch with landscape and foliage.

No. 22

Design for a Mosaic Arch: The Tree of Life

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (EM 1899 - 7 - 13 - 418)

Pencil outlined in purple chalk; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

Inscribed lower left:

UBI EST

MORS

VICTO

RIA

TVA

Inscribed lower right:

UBI EST

MORS STIM

VIVS

TV

VS

c. 1886-1888

In this design the artist enlarged the proportions of his figures and placed them further apart. He also experimented with landscape backgrounds - here using a rocky desert landscape. The inscription is: "O Death where is thy Victory, Death where is Thy Sting".

No. 23

Design for a Mosaic Arch: The Tree of Life

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (EM 1899 - 7 -
13 - 420 and 421)

Pencil with faint outline in brown chalk; 12 x 18 inches
(30.5 x 51 cm.).

c. 1886-1888

No. 24

Design for a Mosaic Arch: A Leaf

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (EM 1899 - 7 -

13 - 422)

Pencil; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

c. 1886-1888

This picture of a single leaf is a study for the leaf/tree shapes which fill up the lower left and right corners of the Tree of Life mosaic, recalling the illustrations to Ruskin's Proserpina. (Figs. 16 and 16A).

No. 25

The Tree of Life

Piccadilly Gallery, London

Gouache on brown paper; 20 x 27 1/2 inches (50 x 70 cm.).

Inscribed above:

IN MUNDO PRES • SURĀ • HABEBITIS SED CONFIDITE • EGO •
VICI • MUNDŪ •

Inscribed below:

VENITE • AD • ME • OMNES QUI LABORATIS ET ONERATI ESTIS ET
EGO REFICIAM • VOS • TOLLITE • INGVM • MEVM • SVPER • VOS •
ET • DISCITE A • ME QVIA • NITIS • SVM • ET • HVMILLIS •
CORDE • ET • INVENIETIS • REQVIEM • ANIMABVS • VESTRIS •
IUGVM • ENIM • MEVM • SVAVE • EST • ET • ONVS • MEVM • LEVE

(In the world you will have trouble, but trust in me, for I have overcome the world) [John 16:33] and (Come unto me all who labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest.

Take my yoke upon you, and learn from me; for I am gentle and lowly in heart, and you will find rest in your souls.

For my yoke is easy and my burden is light). [Matthew 11:28-30]

c. 1890-1893

This finished gouache study for the Tree of Life was the final stage in the evolution of the composition. It is unlikely that it was sent to Rome. An early photograph of Burne-Jones's London home, the Grange, shows this and other finished studies for the mosaics hanging in the drawing room (fig. 9).

This drawing was finished before 1893 (Appendix II, letter 3). It was executed after the designs in the Secret Sketchbook which were probably finished before June, 1888. Since Burne-Jones was not certain that his designs for The Tree of Life would be executed before October, 1890 when he sent the designs for the Annunciation to Venice, this final colored version of the Tree of Life was probably executed between 1890 and 1893.

Exhibitions: Arts & Crafts, 1888, no. 177(?); Royal Society of British Artists, 1897 (no catalogue).

References: Vallance, 1900, p. 14 / "Society of British Artists," The Builder, vol. LXXIII, no. 2857, November 6, 1897, p. 366.

No. 26

Design for the Tree of Life

Victoria and Albert Museum (584-1898)

Body color and gold on paper; 71 1/4 x 95 1/4 inches
(146.3 x 242.3 cm.).

Designed in 1892, executed in 1893

No. 26 is a large and finished study for The Tree of Life. It is one-ninth the size of the finished mosaic.

Provenance: Sold at the Artist's sale, Christie's, July 16 and 18, 1898, no. 57; bought by the Victoria and Albert Museum for £770.

Exhibitions: The New Gallery, 1892-93, no. 67 / Royal Society of British Artists, 1897, no catalogue / Dusseldorf, 1909 (?).

Literature: Lehor, 1894, p. 120 / The Magazine of Art, 1895, p. 295 and 1898, p. 101 / Wilson, 1897, p. 281 (reproduced) / Cartwright, October, 1898, p. 351 / Cartwright, 1900, pp. 246-248 / Bayliss, 1902, pp. 81-82 (reproduced opposite p. 82)

Memorials, II, p. 349.

Studies for the Choir Mosaic by Burne-Jones

No. 27

Design for Choir Mosaic: Angels Separating the Firmament

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (EM 1899 - 7 - 13 - 412)

Pencil; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

c. 1886-1888

The design on the right shows the choir as it was before the windows were blocked in (fig. 6) for Burne-Jones's mosaic. Here he tries a design of the Angels Separating the Firmament with the windows still in place.

Literature: Vallance, 1900, p. 14.

No. 28

Design for the Choir Mosaic: The Angels Separating the Water from the Sky

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (EM 1899 - 7 -

13 - 467 and 468)

Pencil; 12 x 18 inches (30.5 x 45.8 cm.).

c. 1886-1888

A second design for the Angels of the firmament which ignores the windows in the choir.

No. 29

Design for the Choir Mosaic: The Earthly Paradise

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (BM 1899 - 7 - 13 - 440 and 441)

Pencil; 12 x 18 inches (30.5 x 45.8 cm.).

c. 1886-1888

This design for the choir music ignores the windows in the choir. It is substantially the same as the design eventually carried out.

No. 50

Study for the Choir Mosaic: The Earthly Paradise

St. Paul's American Church, Rome

Mixed media (gouache and chalk) on brown paper; 21 1/4 x 55 inches (54 x 139.8 cm.).

Inscribed in left hand corner in Burne-Jones's hand:

Latin Bishops Church Greek Bishops / ... Alexander / ... /
Ursula / Margaret / Cecil / Agnes / / / Dorothy /
Warrior Saints / S. Maurice / / Victor

c. 1886-1888

A final color design sent by Burne-Jones to Dr. Nevin. Burne-

Jones died before this design could be executed but on the basis of this drawing Thomas Rooke carried out the choir mosaic as it is today.

Exhibited: Rome, 1972, no. 150.

No. 31

Unexecuted projects by Burne-Jones for St. Paul's

The Entrance Wall

The Apocalypse

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (EM 1899 - 7 - 13 - 380)

Pencil; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

c. 1886

This sketch of the entrance wall of St. Paul's shows Burne-Jones's first thought for its decoration.

No. 32

Unexecuted Design for the Entrance Wall: The Apocalypse

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (EM 1899 - 7 - 13 - 381)

Pencil; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

c. 1886-1888

No. 32 is a close up view of the square design seen from a distance in no. 31. The subject is from the Book of Revelation, chapters 8-10.

Literature: Vallance, 1900, reproduced p. 14.

No. 33

Unexecuted Design for the Entrance Wall: The Expulsion of
Lucifer; or the Fall of the Rebel Angels

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (BM 1899 - 7 -
13 - 395)

Pencil and orange chalk; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

c. 1886-1888

This is the first idea for the subject of the Fall of the Rebel Angels. According to a note in a book containing the artist's own list of his pictures, he began to design this subject in 1887. (See Chapter II, p. 42). The composition is here pushed to the left side of the page. This is because the rose window of the entrance wall broke up the space, forcing the artist to design around it.

No. 34

The Fall of Lucifer

Secret Sketchbook, 1885-1898, British Museum (BM 1899 - 7 -
13 - 425)

Pencil; 12 x 9 inches (33.5 x 22.9 cm.).

c. 1886-1888

A second design for the entrance wall. The empty space in the center may be the rose window. The figures would here have appeared above and below the window.

No. 35

Unexecuted Design for the Entrance Wall: The Expulsion of
Lucifer

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (EM 1899 - 7 -
13 - 424)

Pencil; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

c. 1886-1888

The forces of the Good Angels issue forth from their stronghold,
the moon, to drive the devils into a fiery pit.

No. 36

Inscription Facing a Sketch for the Fall of Lucifer

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (EM 1899 - 7 -
13 - 436)

Pencil; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

Inscribed: folio 436:

VERE · DIGNVM · ET · JUSTVM · EST · AEQVVM · ET · SALVTARE ·
NOS · TIBI · / SEMPER · ET · VBIQUE · GRATIAS · AGERE ·
DOMINE · SANCTE · PATER · / OMNIPOTENS · AETERNE · DEVS ET ·
IDEO · CVM · ANGELIS · ET · ARCHANGELIS · / CUM · THRONIS ·
ET · DOMINATIONIBVS · CVMQUE · / OMNI · MILITIA · COELESTIS ·
EXERCITVS · / HYMNV · GLORIAE · TVAE · CANIMVS · SINE ·
FINE · DICENTES · SANCTVS · SANCTVS · SANCTVS · DOMINVS ·
DEVS · SABAO · TH · PLENI · SUNT · COELI · / ET · TERRA ·
GLORIA · TVA · OSANNA · IN · EXCELSIS

("It is truly meet and just, right and for our salvation,

that we should at all times and in all places, give thanks unto Thee, O holy Lord, Father Almighty, everlasting God. And therefore with Angels and Archangels, with Thrones and Dominations, and with all the hosts of the heavenly army, we sing the hymn of Thy glory, evermore saying: Holy holy holy Lord God of Hosts! Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory! Hosanna in the highest!")

c. 1886-1888

See the text, pp. 43-44. The drawing that this inscription faces is catalogue no. 37.

No. 37

Unexecuted Design for a mosaic: The Expulsion of Lucifer from Heaven

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (BM 1899 - 7 - 13 - 437)

Pencil; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

Inscribed:

ET · AVDIVI · VOCEM · MAGNAM · IN · / COELO · DICENTEM ·
 NVNC · FACTA / EST · SALVS · ET · VIRTVS · ET · REGN · /
 VM · DEI · NOSTRI · ET · POTESTAS · CHRISTI · EIVS · / ET ·
 FACTVM · EST · / PR(E)LIUM · MAGNUM · IN · COELO · /
 MICHAEL · ET · AN/GELI · EIVS · PRO / ELIABANTUR · / (VM
 DRAGONE · / ET · DRACO · PVG/NABAT · ET · AN/GELI · EIVS ·
 ET / NON · VALVERUNT · /NECQVE · LOCVS · / INVENTVS · EST · /
 EORVM · AMPLIVS · / IN · COELO · ET · / PROIECTVS · EST · /
 DRACO · ILLE · MAG/NUS · SERPENS · ANTIQVVS · QVI · /

VOCATVR · DIAB/LVS · ET SATANAS / QVI · SEDVCIT · /
 VNIVERSV̄ · ORBĒ · / ET · PROIECTUS · / EST · IN · TERRAM · /
 ET · ANGELI · EIVS · / CVM · ILLO · MISSI / SVNT ·

(And I heard a great voice in heaven saying, "Now the salvation and the power and the glory of our God and the authority of his Christ have come. Now war arose in heaven, Michael and his angels fighting against the dragon; and the dragon and his angels fought, but they were defeated and there was no longer any place for them in heaven. And the great dragon was thrown down, that ancient serpent, who is called the Devil and Satan, the deceiver of the whole world - he was thrown down to the earth, and his angels were thrown down with him.")

c. 1886-1888

The quotation is from The Book of Revelation, 12:7-10. Burne-Jones has, however, transposed the verses so that the verse which comes first in the Bible ("Now war arose ...") is placed second in Burne-Jones's text and the second verse ("And I heard a loud voice ...") comes first in Burne-Jones's text.

No. 38

Expulsion of Lucifer from Heaven

Secret Sketchbook, 1885-1898, British Museum (EM 1899 - 7 -
 13 - 438 and 439)

Pencil; 12 x 18 inches (30.5 x 45.8 cm.).

c. 1886-1888

No. 39

The Angel Lucifer

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (BM 1899 - 7 -
13 - 443)

Pencil; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

c. 1886-1888

No. 40

Lucifer or Satan

Secret Sketchbook, 1885-1898, British Museum (BM 1899 - 7 -
13 - 444)

Pencil; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

c. 1886-1888

This portrait of Lucifer shows him as the beautiful angel of scripture. On his darkened halo is inscribed 'Satanas', the Latin word for the devil in Revelation 12:7-10, which, as in no. 37, Burne-Jones used as a text for his designs.

No. 41

Two Studies for The Fall of the Rebel Angels

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (BM 1899 - 7 -
13 - 445)

Pencil and colored chalk; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

c. 1886-1888

The fallen angels here plunge into a fiery pit. Burne-Jones returns to the idea of a battle scene. In the drawing on the left, the artist contrasts masses of light and dark. The good angels

are, ironically, placed in darkness while the rebel angels are all light. In the drawing to the right, the artist plays with the abstract shape of the composition - the two semi-circles and ellipse-shape in the center.

No. 42

The Expulsion of Lucifer

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (EM 1899 - 7 - 13 - 446)

Pencil; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

c. 1886-1888

This drawing comes close to the final design that Burne-Jones painted in gouche (no. 43).

No. 43

The Fall of Lucifer: Vexilla Regis Prodeunt

(Gouache Executed when the plans for Mosaics were Abandoned)

Gouache; 97 1/2 x 46 1/2 inches (248 x 118 cm.)

1888-1895

Inscribed: EBJ 1894

Inscribed on the frame starting at bottom left and running along the lower border:

AVDIVI * VOCEM * MAGNAM * IN * COELO * DICENTEM * NVNC *
 FACTA * EST * SALVS * ET * VIRTVS * ET * REGNVM * DEI *
 NOSTRI * ET * POTESTAS * CHRISTI * EIVS * ET * FACTVM *
 EST * PROELIVM * MAGNVM * IN * COELO * MICHAEL * ET *
 ANGELI * EIVS * PROELIABANTVR * DRACONE * ET * DRACO *

PVGNABAT * ET * ANGELI * EIVS * ET * NON * VALVERVNT *
 NECQUE * LOCVS * INVENTVS * EST * EORV̄ * AMPLIVS * IN *
 COELO * ET * PROIECTVS * EST * DRACO * ILLE * MAGNVS *
 SERPENS * ANTIQVVS * ET * ANGELI * EIVS * CVM * ILLO *
 MISSI * SVNT * PROPTEREA * LAETAMINI * COELI * ET * QVI *
 HABITATIS * IN * EIS * VAE * TERRAE * ET * MARI * QVIA *
 DESCENDIT * DIABOLVS * AD * VOS * HABENS * IRĀ * MAGNĀ *
 SCIENS * QVOD * MODICV̄ * TEMPUS * HABET.

(And I heard a loud voice in heaven, saying, "Now the salvation and the power and the Kingdom of our God and the authority of his Christ have come, ... Now war arose in heaven, Michael and his angels fighting against the dragon; and the dragon and his angels fought, but they were defeated and there was no longer any place for them in heaven. And the great dragon was thrown down, that ancient serpent, and his angels were thrown down with him ... Rejoice then, O heaven and you that dwell therein! But woe to you, O earth and sea, for the devil has come down to you in great wrath, because he knows that his time is short!").

The quotation is from Revelation, 12:7-12. Burne-Jones rearranged and spliced the chapter to obtain his inscription on the frame. He transposed verse seven in the Bible ("Now war arose ...") with verse 10 ("And I heard a loud voice"). In addition he has omitted part of verse 9, part of verse 10 and all of verse 11.

Burne-Jones first conceived of the present picture as a mosaic for the entrance wall of St. Paul's. The preparatory work on the Fall of Lucifer was thus begun in 1887. Although the

present picture is inscribed 1894 it is likely that the artist did not actually finish it until April 1895 when he wrote to Mrs. Gaskell that the picture was finished. (British Museum ADD. MS. 54218 fol. 89). It was in his studio at the time of his death.

Provenance: The artist's studio; Artist's Sale, 1898, lot 90 for £1000; Thomas Agnew and Sons Ltd.; David Greig; sold Sotheby's April 2, 1964, lot 41; Shepherd Gallery Associates, New York; David Hughes; sold Christie's July 2, 1971, lot 195; Mr. and Mrs. Robert Walker, Paris.

Exhibitions: The New Gallery, 1898-99, no. 119 / Tate Gallery, 1933, no. 2.

Literature: Phillip Burne-Jones, 1900, p. 167; Vallance, 1900, p. 16.

No. 44

Unexecuted Design for St. Paul's: The Nativity

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (EM 1899 - 7 - 13 - 404)

Pencil; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

c. 1886-1888

No. 45

Unexecuted Design for St. Paul's: The Nativity

Piccadilly Gallery, London

Gouache, body color on brown paper; 20 x 27 1/2 inches
(50.9 x 69.3 cm.).

c. 1866-1888

Like no. 44, no. 45 is a possible design for the arch eventually filled by the Tree of Life. Harrison and Waters date this study c. 1885, but it was executed at the same time as the Annunciation, and can be dated slightly later.

Exhibited: Arts & Crafts, 1888, no. 175(?).

References: Vallance, 1900, p. 16

Harrison and Waters, 1973, p. 135, fig. 192.

No. 46

Unexecuted Design for the choir Mosaic of St. Paul's: The Good Shepherd Surrounded by Wolves on a Starry Night

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (BM 1899 - 7 -
13 - 376 and 377)

Pencil; 12 x 18 inches (30.5 x 45.8 cm.).

Inscribed upper right: "DOMINUS PASTOR MEUS"

c. 1886-1887

One of the first drawings under the heading "Designs for Mosaic" in the Secret Sketchbook. A letter of January or February, 1906, from Thomas Rooke to Nevin says of the present sketch: "The sheepfold with the wolves is a quite completed design as are several others with a large number of suggestions of plans & detail of parts, all of which you probably bear in mind." (Appendix III, letter 6)

References: Vallance, 1900, p. 12.

No. 47

Unexecuted Design for the Choir Mosaic: The Labour of Adam and Eve Outside the Gates of Paradise

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (BM 1899 - 7 - 13 - 396)

Pencil; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

c. 1887-1888

The rectangular shape suggests that this design was meant for the choir. The theme of the labor of Adam and Eve as a choir mosaic must have occurred to Burne-Jones during the period when the design of the arch which was eventually to become the Tree of Life was still uncertain. At one time Burne-Jones meant the subject of that arch to be the Fall of Adam and Eve and the Expulsion from Paradise (nos. 14-19). The subject here of the Labour of Adam and Eve - chronologically the next event in the Bible after the Fall, would have been the sequel to the projected arch mosaic - both in terms of the story in the Bible and in terms of the space of the church. Burne-Jones abandoned the subject of the Fall of Adam and Eve, and with it the theme of their labor. Instead, he combined both subjects and the result was the Tree of Life.

No. 48

Unexecuted Design for the Choir Mosaic: The Labour of Adam

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (BM 1899 - 7 - 13 - 397)

Pencil and sepia; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

c. 1887-1888

The present drawing is another version of the previous drawing (no. 47) and has the same history. In this sketch we can clearly see that the design was for the choir by the decorative border and writing on the upper edge as well as the suggestion of the river of life flowing along the top - which does appear in the executed mosaic.

No. 49

The Angel with a Fiery Sword

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (EM 1899 - 7 - 13 - 338)

Pencil and sepia; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

c. 1887-1888

One of the designs for the Labour of Adam and Eve.

No. 50

Unexecuted Design for the Choir Mosaic: The Labour of Adam and Eve Outside the Gates of Paradise

Secret Sketchbook, 1885-1898, British Museum (EM 1899 - 7 - 13 - 398 - 399)

Sepia, chalk and watercolor; 12 x 18 inches (30.5 x 45.8 cm.).

c. 1887-1888

See nos. 47 and 48. Designs which may be related to the Tree of Life.

No. 51

Christ with the Cross and Chalice in a Desert before a Vision
of an Empty Throne

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (EM 1899 - 7 -
13 - 400)

Pencil; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

c. 1887-1888

The early position of this design in the secret sketchbook suggests that this is one of the first ideas for the mosaic which was to become the Tree of Life. This symbolic sketch is reminiscent of Giovanni Bellini's famous picture, The Blood of the Redeemer which was purchased by the National Gallery between June and December 1887. The fact that this design was based on the Bellini picture (see No. 58) provides a rough date for the drawing. The desert landscape is Burne-Jones's invention, possibly a symbol of the spiritual aridity of the world before Christ's sacrifice on the cross. Christ displaying His body, the presence of the chalice for His blood, and the lighted altar candles all signify the Eucharist. The empty throne is a Byzantine symbol for Christ.

The dots in the sky may not be stars, but may be meant to convey to Burne-Jones the effect of the scene in mosaic. Burne-Jones clearly did not, at this early stage, know the shape of the arch at St. Paul's - hence the rectangular format.

No. 52

Christ with the Cross and Chalice

Thirkell Sketchbook

Pencil; 4 x 3 inches (10.1 x 7.6 cm.).

c. 1887

No. 52 may be a first sketch for no. 51, and therefore would represent the earliest idea for the composition of what was to become the Tree of Life. Burne-Jones may simply have been making a quick note of Bellini's Blood of the Redeemer which entered the National Gallery in 1887 - certainly the small size of this sketchbook and the hasty nature of the sketch argue that Burne-Jones carried the sketchbook in his pocket and made the sketch on the spot. As a quick sketch of the Bellini painting it is the germ of the idea of the Tree of Life - Christ standing living by His cross - but is not necessarily connected with the actual project of Saint Paul's.

No. 53

Christ Crucified Before a Full Moon and the Skyline of a City

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (EM 1899 - 7 - 13 - 401)

Pencil; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

c. 1886-1888

The early position in the Secret Sketchbook indicates, but does not prove, that this design may be an early idea for the Tree of Life. Christ is bearded and crowned with thorns. He is crucified on a T-shaped cross with his arms raised. The city in the back-

ground is probably Jerusalem as the historical scene demands.

The vaguely middle-eastern domes and spires confirm this.

Burne-Jones may have sought to connect this scene with the subject of the apse through the association of the earthly Jerusalem here with the heavenly Jerusalem in the apse.

No. 54

Christ Crucified Before a Full Moon with Angels Before a Landscape and City Skyline

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (BM 1899 - 7 - 13 - 402)

Pencil; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

c. 1887-1888

Christ is, in no. 54, a beardless young man without the Crown of Thorns. He is crucified with four nails on a regular cross. The drawing is a point for point reversal of no. 53, where Christ is bearded, crowned, and crucified with three nails. This drawing (no. 54) shows a Christ who does not suffer. The conception is more symbolic than no. 53 as is emphasized by the angels who appear in the moon. The angels and the city in the background may be Burne-Jones's attempt to link the imagery of the apse with this mosaic.

No. 55

Christ on the Cross Before a Full Moon

Thirkell Sketchbook

Pencil; 4 x 3 inches (10.1 x 7.6 cm.).

No. 55 may be a preliminary sketch for nos. 53-54, which are, in turn, first ideas for the Tree of Life, but in the absence of positive proof it must remain only tentatively linked with St. Paul's.

No. 56

Christ Hanging

Thirkell Sketchbook

Pencil; 4 x 3 inches (10.1 x 7.6 cm.).

A drawing in which Burne-Jones experiments with the placing of Christ's arms. Possibly executed in this sketchbook before drawing in the Secret Sketchbook which was meant for posterity. Again, it cannot be certainly linked with the mosaics of St. Paul's.

No. 57

Christ Crucified Before a Full Moon

Thirkell Sketchbook

Pencil; 4 x 3 inches (10.1 x 7.6 cm.).

Possibly a preliminary study for nos. 53-54 in the Secret Sketchbook.

No. 58

Christ Crucified Before a Landscape

Thirkell Sketchbook

Pencil; 4 x 3 inches (10.1 x 7.6 cm.).

Possibly an early study for nos. 53-54.

No. 59

Christ Crucified on a Tree Before a Full Moon

Thirkell Sketchbook

Pencil; 4 x 3 inches (10.1 x 7.6 cm.).

See nos. 54-58.

No. 60

Design for an arch mosaic

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (EM 1899 - 7 -
13 - 405)

Pencil; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

c. 1886-1888

The arch is a pure landscape representing a forest with trees in full bloom. Walls of bricks on either side of the archway are faintly visible in the drawing, but hard to see in a photograph.

At first glance, no. 60 does not seem to be a study for St. Paul's. The arch does not span a large enough space. Its early position in the sketchbook, however, and the fact that it is a design for the arch of a building (not stained glass) around 1885-90, suggests that this is one of Burne-Jones's first ideas for the Tree of Life mosaic at St. Paul's. It is possible that at this early stage, as in nos. 14-18, Burne-Jones did not know the exact shape of the arch to be filled - hence the primitive, simple arch in this drawing. The subject may be the Garden of Eden.

No. 61

Unexecuted Design Possibly for St. Paul's: The Agony in the Garden

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (BM 1899 - 7 - 13 - 403)

Pencil; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

c. 1886-1888

This rough sketch for an Agony in the Garden was not executed at St. Paul's. The subject does appear in a stained glass window for Jesus College Chapel, Cambridge, of 1872-1877. Several factors argue, however, that it is an idea for a mosaic in St. Paul's. Since the Secret Sketchbook was not begun until at least 1885, it cannot be a sketch for the Jesus College window. Its place in the Secret Sketchbook, soon after a title page by Burne-Jones announcing the beginning of his Mosaic Designs (Appendix I) suggests that this was an experimental design. The early placing of the sketch in the Sketchbook also argues for an early idea which was soon rejected. Also, the angel who bears the cup of consolation, Chemuel, who appears in the upper right of this drawing, appears as one of the angels who guards the gate of the Heavenly Jerusalem in the apse mosaic of St. Paul's. Burne-Jones originally intended that several of the angels who guarded the gates in the apse mosaic should reappear in other mosaics throughout the church. Gabriel is present at the Annunciation, and Michael and Lucifer were to appear in the mosaic of the Fall of the Angels on the entrance wall. It is thus possible that Burne-Jones thought of finding a scene for Chemuel to appear

in, and tentatively designed this Agony in the Garden. Since straightforward scenes from the Life of Christ do not appear elsewhere in the church, this seems to be the only logical reason for Burne-Jones's choice of subject.

No. 62

Unexecuted Design Possibly for St. Paul's: The Agony in the Garden

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (EM 1899 - 7 - 13 - 404)

Pencil; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

c. 1886-1888

No. 62 is related to the previous drawing. Whereas no. 60 shows Christ and the Angel Chemuel, this drawing concentrates on the other part of the story, the apostles who slept during the Agony in the Garden. Note here the presence of a garden wall with a city in the distance. The motif of walls (of the Heavenly Jerusalem and in several designs for the Tree of Life) was important to Burne-Jones and at one point he clearly thought of linking every scene in the church by the common element of walls.

No. 63

Unexecuted Design Possibly for St. Paul's: Angels in a Cloister

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (EM 1899 - 7 - 13 - 419)

Pencil; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

This design, which appears at the beginning of the drawings for

St. Paul's, corresponds to none of the executed mosaics. It is difficult to place where in the church these angels would have appeared, but it is possible that they were intended for the wall of the nave on the left-hand side. The walls of the cloister shown here would then have appeared to be an extension of the walls of the Heavenly Jerusalem which is shown in the dome of the apse.

No. 64

Unexecuted Design Possibly for St. Paul's: Angels Singing in a Tower

Secret Sketchbook 1885-1898, British Museum (BM 1899 - 7 - 13 - 442)

Pencil; 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.).

This design corresponds to no executed mosaic. It is impossible to guess where Burne-Jones intended these angels to be placed although the fortress tower and mountains carry on themes that appear elsewhere in the church.

Rejected Attributions

No. 65

Formerly attributed to Burne-Jones

Study for the Tree of Life

Black and white chalk on dark grey paper heightened with white; 18 1/4 x 13 1/2 inches (46 x 34 cm.).

Provenance: The Nicholson Gallery, 45 St. James's Place, S.W. 1; F.A. Drey, London, 1943.

The poor quality of this drawing and its stylistic incompatibility with the work of Burne-Jones indicate that it is a copy and not a school piece by a member of Burne-Jones's studio. Attached to the drawing is a quotation which purports to be taken from a letter from a personal friend of Burne-Jones:

The large watercolour was done in 1892-3 developed from the mosaic dome for American Church Rome. It is not a crucifixion. The figure of Christ is on the elaborate, many branched tree, not fixed there but in the mind of the worshipper. The body is in no sense hanging; the hands are giving out divine life, not nailed and broken....It is also the figure of Atlas in the 'story of Perseus' cartoons, which is considerably like a Christ--with arms raised but not out-stretched.

Catalogue of Drawings by Thomas Rooke for the Choir Mosaic

The following studies by Thomas Rooke for the Choir mosaic of St. Paul's were buried by the artist under the floorboards of his studio in Bedford Park. The current occupant of Rooke's house, Thomas Hancock, discovered these and dozens of other drawings in 1972. All the drawings are in the collection of Mr. Hancock unless otherwise noted.

The idea of including portraits in the mosaics was Dr. Nevin's. Evidently this practice led to much rivalry and jealousy among the Americans living in Rome. Nevin's successor, Dr. Lowrie, with the support of the Vestry in charge of the work, asked that "the element of portraiture should not be emphasized. Mr. Rooke was instructed not to introduce any portraits for the angels and not to be at pains to make the others too prominent" (typewritten memo from Lowrie, December 1907, St. Paul's Parish Archive). After Nevin's death, Rooke purposely blurred and generalized the faces, particularly those of the angels. A few portraits among the angels are identifiable, but on the whole, the correlation of drawings with the angels is confusing and unclear. This will be apparent in the catalogue.

The drawings are organized here according to the following sections: Compositional Studies, Detail Studies, Portraits of Saints, Drapery Studies, and Studies for the Frieze of angels. In each case, I begin at the left among the hermit saints, work toward the right among the Military saints and finish with the

Angels in the frieze. The catalogue begins with a section that briefly identifies every portrait.¹

1. Every catalogue number is preceded by an R to distinguish the Rooke catalogue from the Burne-Jones catalogue.

Exhibitions

Hartnoll & Eyre, December 1972: An Exhibition of Drawings and Watercolours by T.M. Rooke 1842-1942 Showing his Role as Principal Studio Assistant to Burne-Jones. Hartnoll & Eyre Ltd., London, December 5th - December 22, 1972.

R. No. 1

Compositional Study for Choir Mosaic

Pencil on tracing paper, heightened with pen and red ink;

3 3/4 x 11 inches (9.5 x 27.7 cm.)

Inscribed clockwise from upper left:

#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8	#9	#10
(Mrs. H. Book									- 0)
(Miss ? S.I.									-14)
(Mrs. H. Book									-13)
(M.R. Nev -									-12)
(Katherine									-11)
(Mrs. B.									-10)
(?									- 9)
(Mr. N.									- 8)
(M. B. J.									- 7)
(M. R.									- 6)
(?									- 5)
(Miss S									- 4)
(3 - Claire Mrs. H. hair)
(Mrs. H.								75	. 2)
(Mrs. S.									- 1)
(Mrs. H's book									- 0)

Vacant 29 here

6 check only

9 Mrs. Norton

15

A compositional study. The numbers are probably to simplify the

installation of the portraits for the workmen by assigning a number to each part of the composition.

R. No. 2

Compositional Study for the Church Fathers and Angels of the Firmament

Pencil, sepia wash and watercolor on gray paper with erasures; 18 7/8 x 24 1/4 inches (48 x 61.7 cm.).

Inscribed:

Lucilla in center of 3

whole effect lighter than in cartoons (Greek)

Herriman 7

angel dresses will repeat the whole of themselves

i.e. about tint of this paper or with a little

whitish yellow

highest lights in clouds sky a quiet green colour

? Potter behind that of Marsh 8

EBJ

Tait reversed

9

Dollinger

rev.

Morgan rev 10 ? Nizoff 11

R. No. 3

Fragment of compositional Study for Hermit Saints and Angels of
the Firmament

Pencil on gray paper heightened with erasures, semi-squared;
18 7/8 x 12 1/4 inches (48 x 31.1 cm.)

R. No. 4

Compositional Study for Knights of Christ, Female Martyrs and
Angels of the Firmament

Pencil on gray paper with sepia wash and erasures, semi-
squared; 18 7/8 x 24 1/4 inches (48 x 61.7 cm.)

R. No. 5

Female Virgin Saints

Red chalk and pencil on tracing paper;
16 3/4 x 7 1/4 inches (42.3 x 18.2 cm.)

Compositional study for the group of saints to the right of the
Doctors of the Church.

R. No. 6

Group of Suppliant Figures

Piccadilly Gallery

Pencil and watercolor; 20 x 11 3/4 inches (50.8 x 29.9 cm.)

Provenance: Denis Mackail, grandson of Burne-Jones; Abbot and
Holder Ltd., Terrance Rowe

Exhibitions: Symbolists 1860-1925, Piccadilly Gallery 2 June -

1925.

4 July, 1970, no. 9 (reproduced); Symbolists, The Power Art Gallery, Eastbourne, September - October 1970; Symbolists, Spencer Samuels & Co. Ltd., New York, November 1970, no. 16 (reproduced); Burne-Jones und der Einfluss der Pra-Raffaeliten, Michael Hasenclever, Ltd., Munich, November 1972 - January 1973, cat. 8 (reproduced).

R. No. 7

Colour Studies of Six Church Figures; Female portrait Head;
faint male portrait Head

Black ink on tracing paper with watercolor, heightened with Chinese white; 12 1/2 x 12 1/2 inches (31.6 x 32 cm.).

Inscribed:

[Illegible Greek behind Church fathers.]

below: Dr. Nevin's Byzantine panel 1756

Costume studies for the Greek and Latin Fathers at the center of the mosaic.

Detail Studies

From ~~Left~~ to Right across the composition

R. No. 8

Study of the Arms of a Suppliant Saint

Pencil, watercolor on lined grey paper; 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 14 $\frac{7}{8}$
inches (27.5 x 37.8 cm.)

Inscribed:

Six arm small

Six + hand too large

This study was reversed.

R. No. 9

Studies of a Male Suppliant and Hand Studies

Red chalk heightened with sepia; 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches
(32.4 x 50 cm.)

Inscribed:

Last

Paul

Studies for the male saint on the extreme left.

R. No. 10

Study of a Suppliant Saint and Female Saint's Head

Pencil, red chalk and sepia; 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches
(50 x 32.2 cm.)

A study for the female suppliant on the right of the group of
Hermit saints.

R. No. 11

Two studies for St. Mary of Egypt

Top: Red chalk and pencil on white paper

Bottom: Sepia, pencil and red chalk on tracing paper;

16 1/2 x 10 inches (41.8 x 25.4 cm.)

Inscribed:

Mary of Egypt (twice)

Mary of Egypt appears as the fourth hermit saint from the left.

R. No. 12

Studies for Suppliant Saint

Red chalk and sepia on white paper; 8 5/8 x 19 3/4 inches
(22 x 50 cm.)

Inscribed:

Last

Last

Hyacinthe

Francis

Flap for fingers

back Flap:

with one [...]

[...]

the NE-Jones containing the [unintelligible word]

? on which I began draw

S. Marks at Venice after arrival

by on the 1st of May in that year

R. No. 13

Female Suppliant Saint

Ink over red chalk on tracing paper; Irregular size:

14 3/4 x 8 1/2 inches (37.2 x 22 cm.)

A study for the female penitance directly below the figure of St. Francis, fourth from the left in the group of suppliant saints.

R. No. 14

Male Portrait Head and Study of Hands

Pen on pink paper, heightened with white chalk; 4 1/2 x 7 1/3 inches (11.5 x 18.7 cm.)

This head corresponds to none of the heads in the final mosaic.

R. No. 15

Study of Arm and Hands

Pencil and sepia on tracing paper; irregular, 5 x 7 1/4 inches (12.7 x 18.3 cm.)

Inscribed:

last hermit rock woman

A study for the hermit on the extreme left.

R. No. 16

Study of Hands

Pencil on white paper; 3 1/2 x 4 1/2 inches (9 x 11.5 cm.)

Inscribed recto:

rock, woman

Inscribed verso:

Art-Worker's Guild

Exhibition of Buttons and Clasps
of various periods and countries
Friday, April 26th, 3 to 6 o'clock
Clifford's Inn Hall Admit bearer
Fleet Street, E.C. and friends

A study of the hands of one of the penitent saints which was then reversed.

R. No. 17

Studies of Female Saint and Saint's Head

Sepia and red chalk; 19 3/4 x 9 inches (50.4 x 22.8 cm.).
Possibly a study for the matron saint directly behind and to our left of Mary Magdalene.

R. No. 18

Five Male Heads and a Study of Feet

Red chalk and pencil heightened with sepia; 10 3/4 x 17 7/8 inches (27.5 x 45.4 cm.).

Inscribed:

3^d Latin
Greeks

R. No. 19

Figure Study of a Female Saint

Red chalk on white paper; 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches (50.4 x 22.5 cm.)

Probably a study for Saint Barbara (with the tower) reversed.

R. No. 20

Study of a Female Saint

Red chalk on white paper; 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches (50.4 x 22.5 cm.)

Probably a figure study for St. Cecilia (with hand organ).

R. No. 21

St. Dorothy

Red chalk on white paper heightened with sepia; 19 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches (49.2 x 21.1 cm.)

Study for St. Dorothy with a flower basket.

R. No. 22

St. Barbara Holding a Tower

Pencil and red chalk on white paper heightened with sepia; 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches (50 x 26.5 cm.)

R. No. 23

St. Agnes

Pencil and red chalk on tracing paper; 23 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 16 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches (59 x 41 cm.)

St. Agnes is in the group of Virgins behind St. Dorothy.

R. No. 24

Study of a Knight on Horseback

Red chalk and sepia; 16 1/4 x 9 3/4 inches (41.5 x 24.8 cm.)

Inscribed:

No. 4

1st Horse

projecting)

further)

beyond)

underjaw)

nose longer

R. No. 25

Study of a Knight on Horseback and Study of Horse's HeadPencil on grey paper heightened with chalk; 15 7/8 x
9 1/4 inches (40.3 x 23.4 cm.)

Inscribed:

[...] the size first illeg.

R. No. 26

Study of HorsesPencil and sepia heightened with white and orange chalk;
12 1/2 x 18 1/2 inches (31.8 x 47 cm.)

Inscribed:

Last horse

short

R. No. 27

Studies for a Horse

Pencil on grey paper; 10 1/2 x 18 inches (26.5 x 45.5 cm.)

Inscribed:

1st Horse

Anatomic study for the first horse of the Soldiers of Christ.

R. No. 28

Drapery Studies for a Church Father

Pencil on grey paper heightened with white chalk; 18 x
10 1/2 inches (45.5 x 26.5 cm.)

R. No. 29

Anatomical Study of a Horse

Pencil on tracing paper mounted on white paper; irregular,
12 3/4 x 14 3/4 inches (32.5 x 37.5 cm.)

Inscribed:

2 Horse

No. 1 Black

2 Grey

3 Cream

4 Yellow

5 (red)

(front legs ?)

6 Bl.

7 Wh.

Study for the second horse from the left in the group of Soldiers of Christ.

R. No. 30

Study of Foot in a Stirrup (recto of R. no. 31)

Red chalk, black ink on white paper; 7 x 4 1/2 inches
(17.5 x 11.3 cm.)

R. No. 31

Study of Foot in Stirrup (verso of R. no. 30)

Red chalk on white paper; 7 x 4 1/2 inches (17.5 x 11.3 cm.)

Inscribed:

With Miss Barlings best thanks.

R. No. 32

Study of Horse's Head

Black ink on tracing paper; 7 1/2 x 7 1/2 inches (19 x 19 cm.)

A study for the third horse from the left in the group of the
Soldiers of Christ.

R. No. 33

Study of an Angel

Pencil on grey paper; 12 x 18 1/2 inches (30.5 x 47 cm.)

Inscribed:

No. 13 [twice]

R. No. 34

Study of an Angel

Pencil on grey paper heightened with white chalk; 12 x 18 5/8
inches (30.5 x 47.4 cm.)

Inscribed:

No. 14

hand turned thumb to us

R. No. 35

Two Studies of an Angel

Pencil on grey paper heightened with white chalk;

12 x 18 1/2 inches (30.5 x 47 cm.)

Inscribed:

13 + 14

13

14

12

17, 13, + 14

drawing for 16

12

R. No. 36

Study of Hand

Pencil on tracing paper; irregular, 3 1/2 x 5 inches

(9 x 12.5 cm.)

Inscribed:

Change of hands by reversal,

number 13

Possibly a study for one of the hands of an angel.

R. No. 37

Mr. William H. Herriman as St. Gregory Nazianzen

Water color on brown paper; 26 x 19 5/8 inches (65.8 x
49.7 cm.)

Inscribed:

? mitre

VEDE IL CARTONE

right for eye

(on verso):

Heads

St. Gregory appears among the Church Fathers the second from the
left.

R. No. 38

Mr. William H. Herriman as St. Gregory Nazianzen

Pencil on grey paper, heightened with white; 18 3/4 x
12 1/4 inches (47.8 x 31.2 cm.)

Inscribed:

Mr. W.H. Herriman

Rome May 1906

Mr. Rooke

R. No. 39

Portrait of a Male Head Squared and Numbered

Pencil on white paper heightened with white chalk;
20 x 12 3/4 inches (50.5 x 32.6 cm.)

Inscribed:

Who on Earth?

I believe that this is a portrait of Mr. Nevin taken from an early photograph. Nevin's head was used after his death as St. Athanasius (third from the left among the Doctor Saints) but his beard was lengthened in order to make the portrait resemble more closely the Nevinⁱ whom Rooke knew.

St. Athanasius was the bishop of Alexandria who died in A.D. 373.

R. No. 40

George Perkins Marsh as St. Basil

Pencil on grey paper; irregular, 18 1/2 x 11 1/2 inches
(47 x 29 cm.)

Inscribed:

Advance the beard which was flattened against
the breast

-- -- to Rome (?) Mark

from Franklin Simmons [?]

St. Basil is among the Church Fathers, the fourth from the left.

No.No. 41

George Perkins Marsh as Saint Basil

Watercolor; irregular, 17 3/4 x 9 7/8 inches (45 x 25 cm.)

R. No. 42

Study of a Bearded Church Father

Watercolor on white paper; irregular size, 18 3/4 x 10 3/8

inches (47.6 x 26.4 cm.)

This may be a study of the head of George Perkins Marsh. Rooke originally intended all the Doctors to wear headdresses but changed h's mind. The likeness of this drawing to Marsh's head in the mosaic is very general and positive identification is impossible.

R. No. 43

Sir Edward Burne-Jones as St. John Chrysostus

Watercolor on brown paper; 23 1/2 x 16 1/2 inches (59.7 x 41.9 cm.)

Inscribed:

? Too big, Query

No Head dresses

on these Eastern doctors

(on back:

Greeks

Mosaics

Rome

St. John Chrysostum appears as the Doctor of the Church fifth from the left.

R. No. 44

Rev. Richard Cecil Nevin as St. Augustine

Watercolor on white paper; 27 1/4 x 17 1/2 inches (69.3 x 44.4 cm.)

Inscribed:

Either with fillet or without head dress
 less pain in the expression
 mouth larger to my left
 opposite cheek bone higher
 Take away line across nose
 [?] Latin [?] Bishop

R. No. 45

Richard Cecil Nevin as St. Augustine and a Small Study of a
 Horse's Head

Dark watercolor on tracing paper; 10 1/2 x 9 1/2 inches
 (26.7 x 24 cm.)

St. Augustine is in the center group of the Doctors of the Church. He is the fourth from the right. As Richard Nevin was dead at this time, the present drawing was traced from a photograph.

R. No. 46

Portrait of Archbishop Tait, the Archbishop of Canterbury, as
 St. Gregory

Pen, watercolor on tracing paper; 8 x 12 1/2 inches (24 x
 31.5 cm.)

St. Gregory is the Doctor of the Church who stands the third from the left.

R. No. 47

Portrait of Dr. Döllinger as St. Jerome

rev

[on verso];

Heads Church

St. Jerome is the Doctor of the Church the second from the right.

R. No. 48

J.S. Morgan as St. Ambrose

Watercolor on white paper; 15 5/8 x 13 5/8 inches (39.5 x 34.5 cm.)

Inscribed:

no mitres

take off end of nose

thin nose also

straighten & finer mouth

eyebrow heavy

R. No. 49

J.S. Morgan as St. Ambrose

Pencil on tracing paper; irregular size, 14 1/2 x 11 1/4 inches (36.5 x 28.5 cm.)

Inscribed:

This way

Inscribed on reverse:

11 1/2 eye corner to chin

R. No. 50

J.S. Morgan as St. Ambrose

(Outline of R. No. 49)

Pencil on white paper; 18 3/4 x 13 1/8 inches (47.5 x 33.4 cm.)

Inscribed:

Nevin

Morgan

Tait

Dollinger

R. No. 51

J.S. Morgan as St. Ambrose

Watercolor on white paper heightened with pencil; 22 1/2 x 15 3/8 inches (57.4 x 39 cm.)

Inscribed:

4th Latin unknown Bishop

[?] to whom likeness

name of other man from Greek 7

1st Latin Augustine

[?] overhead

R. No. 52

J.S. Morgan as St. Ambrose

Watercolor on white paper; 18 3/4 x 13 1/8 inches (47.5 x 33.4 cm.)

Inscribed:

Greater breath

+ [?]

more repose

mouth wider

right eye

R. No. 53

Portrait of a Bearded Man

Pencil on tracing paper; 10 x 9 3/4 inches (25 x 24.8 cm.)

Inscribed:

4 1/4 above

The present portrait corresponds to no saint's head in the finished mosaic, and identification is impossible.

Portrait Studies for the Virgin Saints

R. No. 54

Two Studies of Female Heads

Sepia on white paper; 8 1/2 x 12 1/4 inches (21.6 x 31.2 cm.)

To the right is a portrait of Georgiana Burne-Jones, wife of Burne-Jones, who appears as St. Barbara. It is related to another study of Georgiana's head (R. no. 55).

On the left is a portrait of Margaret Burne-Jones Mackail, the artist's daughter, who appears as St. Dorothy.

R. No. 55

Georgiana Burne-Jones

Sepia on yellow tracing paper; 11 1/2 x 9 inches (29.3 x 22.9 cm.)

According to Hartnoll & Eyre Ltd., this is a larger version of a drawing Rooke made after Burne-Jones's painting Portrait Group of the Painter's Family: Lady Burne-Jones with her son Philip and daughter Margaret (1879. Oil on canvas. Mrs. Graham McInnes, Paris). The first drawing is illustrated in Hartnoll & Eyre, Catalogue no. 25, October 10th - 27th, 1972, no. 26.

The portrait was probably used for the St. Barbara (with her tower) in the Choir mosaic.

Exhibited: Hartnoll & Eyre, December 1972, no. 23.

R. No. 56

Margaret Mackail, daughter of Burne-Jones, as St. Dorothea

Pencil, watercolor, heightened with gold on tracing paper;
10 x 10 inches (25.5 x 25.5 cm.).

Inscribed:

number 2

Gregory Pope

St. Dorothea appears in the group of virgin saints behind St. Cecilia with the hand organ.

R. No. 57

Portrait of Gwendolin Story

Pencil on grey paper heightened with white chalk; 18 3/4 x
12 1/4 inches (47.5 x 31 cm.).

Inscribed:

No. 4 rev. younger Miss Story

R. No. 58

Portrait of a Female Saint

Watercolor on white paper; 22 3/8 x 15 1/4 inches (57 x
39 cm.).

Inscribed:

Names of Priest for Greek 7

illegible

Possibly a study for St. Cecilia (with hand organ) the first among the Virgin saints. Although positive identification of this study with the mosaic of St. Cecilia is not certain, it is possible. This study would therefore be a portrait of Mrs. Waldorf Astor who appears as St. Cecilia.

Portrait Studies for the Soldiers of Christ

R. No. 59

Portrait of Mr. Henry Write as St. Denis

Pencil on grey paper; 18 3/4 x 12 inches (47.8 x 30.5 cm.)

Henry Write (1850-1927) appears as St. Denis, the soldier on horseback, third from the right.

R. No. 60

Mr. Henry White as St. Denis

Pencil on grey paper; 18 3/4 x 12 1/4 inches (47.5 x 31.4 cm.)

See R. no. 59

R. No. 61

Portrait of Père Hyacinthe

Pencil on grey paper, heightened with white chalk; 18 3/4 x 12 1/4 inches (47.7 x 31 cm.)

Inscribed:

Père Hyacinthe Layson

Rome, 7 May 1906

Signed: T.M. Rooke

Père Hyacinthe (1827-1912) appears as a horseman in the soldiers of Christ, the second from the right.

Miscellaneous Female Portrait Heads

R. No. 62

Portrait of Edith Story

Pencil on grey paper, heightened with white chalk;

18 1/4 x 12 inches (47 x 30.5 cm.).

Inscribed:

No. 14

Elder Miss Storey, Rome 8 June 1906

Edith Story was the daughter of William Wetmore Story (1819-1895). Little is known of her life except that in 1876 she married the Marquis Simone Peruzzi di Medici. Why Rooke, who apparently drew this portrait from life in 1906, spells her name Storey is difficult to say. He spelled her sister's name correctly in R. no. 57.

R. No. 63

Female Portrait Head

Pencil on brown paper, heightened with brown chalk; 15 1/8

x 10 3/4 inches (38.5 x 27.5 cm.).

Inscribed:

Bottom left:

6 or 7 28 June 1906

Top right:

No 6

+ 12

rev^d

The identity of the sitter is not known.

R. No. 64

Portrait of Female Head

Pencil on grey paper; irregular (18 3/4 x 12 inches (47.5 x 30.4 cm.))

Inscribed:

Catherine

The identity of the sitter is unknown but Catherine's portrait was used for one of the angels of the firmament, the 11th angel from the left. See R. no. 107.

R. No. 65

Female Portrait with Head Tilted to Right

Pencil on grey paper, heightened with white chalk; 18 3/4 x 12 1/4 inches (47.5 x 31.2 cm.)

Inscribed:

[?] No 8 [crossed out]

The identity of the sitter is unknown.

R. No. 66

Mrs. W.B. Stevens, wife of the Bishop in charge of the European Convocation

Pencil on grey paper, heightened with white chalk; 18 3/4 x 12 1/4 inches (47.5 x 31 cm.)

Inscribed:

No. 1 Rev. ^d†

No. 2 Rev. Mrs. S.

Mrs. Stevens appears in the group of Matrons as the second from the left, the companion of Catherine Lorillard Wolfe.

R. No. 67

Unknown Female Portrait

Pencil on grey paper; 18 3/4 x 12 1/4 inches (47.5 x 31.2 cm.)

Inscribed:

Rome 7th June 1906

The identity of the sitter is not known.

R. No. 68

Portrait of Lucilla, daughter of Marcus Aurelius

(recto of R. No. 69)

Pencil on grey paper; 18 1/2 x 12 inches (47 x 30.7 cm.)

Inscribed:

Lucilla daughter of Marcus

Aurelius

for Mrs. Potter

rev. for middle one of the

3 women

[?] not so full cheeked or full

eyed

As the inscription suggests this is a study of a classical head which may have resembled Mrs. Potter, the wife of the Bishop of New York, Henry Codman Potter (1835-1908). The classical head here was used for the center figure of the isolated group of three matron saints who stand directly to the left of Mary Magdalene with the ointment jar.

R. No. 69

(Verso of R. no. 68) Drapery Studies

Pencil on grey paper, heightened with blue, white and orange chalk; 12 x 18 1/2 inches (30.7 x 40.7 cm.).

Inscribed:

No 3^d Greek

1st Latin 3 Greek

Studies from the drapery of the Doctors of the Church.

R. No. 70

Female Head as Saint Mary Magdalene

Red chalk on white paper, heightened with sepia; 9 3/4 x 6 3/4 inches (25 x 17.2 cm.).

Inscribed:

Fri. 22 Mch.

This is a study for Mary Magdalene with the ointment jar, who appears as one of the Matron Saints immediately to the left of the Church Fathers. There is no record that the figure of Mary Magdalene is a portrait, but the inscription would suggest that Rooke took a likeness on that day, 1906, when he was in Rome.

R. No. 71

Portrait of Countess Czernin

Pencil on grey paper; 18 1/4 x 12 1/4 inches (47.2 x 31 cm.).

Inscribed:

No 7 [two times]

Countess Czernin

R. No. 72

Female Portrait Head

Pencil, red chalk, sepia on white paper; 16 1/2 x 10 inches
(41.8 x 25.4 cm.)

Inscribed:

Barbara Tower

Katherine Wheel

Dorothy Flowerbasket

Agnes Lamb

Drapery Studies

(From left to right)

R. No. 73

Drapery Studies

Pencil on grey paper, heightened with white chalk; 12 x
18 1/2 inches (30.5 x 47 cm.)

Inscribed:

No. 10 No. 10 or 12

No. XI [two times]

Probably studies for an angel's drapery.

R. No. 74

Drapery Studies

Pencil on grey paper, heightened with white chalk; 12 x
18 1/4 inches (30.6 x 46.5 cm.)

Inscribed:

25th Sleeve 4 + reverse

Sleeve for 14

Cuff for 6

Studies for angels' drapery.

R. No. 75 (verso)

(verso) Drapery Studies

Pencil on grey paper, heightened with white and orange chalk;
12 x 19 inches (30.5 x 48 cm.)

Inscribed:

No. 13

14

Sat. 15 Dec.

Probably studies for angels' drapery.

R. No. 76 (recto)

Drapery Studies

Pencil on grey paper, heightened with white chalk; 11 3/4 x
18 3/4 inches (30 x 47.5 cm.)

Inscribed:

2, 3, 5

No. 9

No. 10 reversed

Drapery studies for angels.

R. No. 77 (recto)

Drapery Studies

Pencil on grey paper, heightened with white and yellow
chalk; 11 3/4 x 18 1/2 inches (30 x 47 cm.)

Inscribed:

9 & 27 Wed. 12. Dec.

used for No. 7

23, 5 or 6

Drapery studies for angels.

R. No. 78

Drapery Studies

Pencil on grey paper, heightened with white chalk; 12 1/4 x
18 1/2 inches (30.8 x 47 cm.)

Inscribed:

No. 6, No. 8 + 3, No. 8

? Dec.

Possibly for angels.

R. No. 79

Drapery Studies (with extra piece)

Pencil on grey paper, heightened with white and blue chalk;
11 3/4 x 18 1/4 inches (30 x 47.5 cm.)

Inscribed:

Sun. 16 Dec

11 or 12

10 or 12

No 12

Sunday 16 Dec

6 7 or 8

(flap attached: lower right)

Study for angels' drapery.

R. No. 80

Drapery Studies

Pencil on grey paper, heightened with white, green, yellow
chalk; 12 x 18 1/3 inches (30 x 46.6 cm.)

Inscribed:

10, 12 or 14

12 or 14

No., 12

Wed 12th Dec.

skirt of 11

Studies for angels' drapery,

R. No. 81

Drapery Study of a Suppliant Saint

Pencil on grey paper, heightened with red and white chalk;

18 1/2 x 9 7/8 inches (47 x 25.1 cm.)

Full length study for the male suppliant who appears third from the left.

R. No. 82

(verso) Drapery Studies

Pencil on grey paper, heightened with white chalk; 18 3/4 x

11 3/4 inches (47.5 x 30 cm.)

Possibly studies for the drapery of the group of three Matron Saints.

R. No. 83

Drapery Studies

Pencil on grey paper, heightened with white chalk; 18 1/2 x

11 3/4 inches (47 x 30 cm.)

Inscribed:

Hyacinthe

and Rock figure

Studies for drapery of a hermit saint.

R. No. 84

Drapery Studies

Pencil on grey paper, heightened with white chalk;

18 1/2 x 12 1/4 inches (47 x 30.8 cm.).

Inscribed:

Third of 3; Rock figure

"Rock figure" means the Hermit Saint in the left foreground.

R. No. 85

Drapery Studies

Pencil on grey paper, heightened with white chalk;

18 1/4 x 11 3/4 inches (47.5 x 30 cm.).

Inscribed:

Rock, figures

Cecily

R. No. 86

Drapery Studies

Pencil on grey paper, heightened with white chalk;

18 1/4 x 12 inches (46.5 x 30.6 cm.).

Probably a study for the drapery of a Doctor of the Church.

R. No. 87

Drapery Studies

Pencil on grey paper, heightened with white chalk;

19 x 12 inches (48 x 30.5 cm.).

Inscribed:

mid of 3

Study for the drapery of the Matron Saint in the middle of the group of three Matron Saints behind and to our left of Mary Magdalene.

R. No. 88

Drapery Studies for Female Hooded Saint

Pencil on grey paper, heightened with white chalk; 18 5/8 x 11 7/8 inches (47.4 x 30 cm.)

Inscribed:

last Fri 22 [illegible]

W 27 6

T 28 6

Studies for the drapery of Mary Magdalene.

R. No. 89

Two Drapery Studies for the Doctors of the Church

Pencil on grey paper, heightened with red, yellow, blue, brown and white chalk; 15 1/4 x 18 1/2 inches (38.8 x 47.3 cm.)

Inscribed:

[upper left] PAULUS without pattern

[lower left] discont. - of face.

R. No. 90

Study of Drapery for the Figure of Paul in the center of the Doctors of the Church

Inscribed:

big toe

Columban Jn. 23. Apl.

Drapery study for St. Columban who appears as the last Father of the Church on the left.

R. No. 91

Drapery Study for a Church Father

Pencil on grey paper, heightened with white and blue chalk;
16 x 9 1/4 inches (40.8 x 23.8 cm.)

Inscribed:

1st Latin

Study for the drapery of St. Augustine.

R. No. 92

Dr. Döllinger as St. Jerome

Pencil on grey paper, heightened with white chalk and green watercolor; 18 1/2 x 11 1/4 inches (47 x 28.5 cm.)

Inscribed:

Jerome

Friday [?] last day

R. No. 93

Drapery Studies

Pencil with white chalk; 12 x 18 1/2 inches (30.5 x 47 cm.)

Inscribed lower left:

Barbara

Inscribed upper right:

Dorothy

Drapery studies for Saints Barbara (Georgiana Burne-Jones) and Dorothy (Margaret Burne-Jones Mackail).

R. No. 94

Drapery Studies

Pencil on grey paper, heightened with white chalk;

12 x 18 1/3 inches (30 x 46.6 cm.).

Inscribed:

Agnes, Cecily

Studies for St. Agnes (with lamb among Virgins) and Cecily (with hand organ).

R. No. 95

Portrait of a Model as Longinus

Pencil, chalk, pen, heightened with white and green chalk

on grey paper; 18 3/4 x 8 1/4 inches (47.5 x 21 cm.).

Inscribed:

Crown to thumb - that ? last

but one - that to instep

Coat where collar bone

Longinus appears among the Soldiers of Christ as the foot-soldier with a spear, the fourth from the right. Originally Dr. Nevin asked to be included as Longinus, the piercer of Christ's side.

Studies for the Frieze of Angels

(Portraits and figure studies)

R. No. 96

Head of Angel

Hartnoll & Eyre, Ltd., London

Pencil on tracing paper; 8 3/4 x 7 1/2 inches (22.2 x 19.1 cm.)

Inscribed:

1875, no. 2

A working drawing for R. no. 99. Like R. no. 97 and R. no. 98, this study is for the angel second from the left.

Exhibited: Hartnoll & Eyre, December 1972, no. 22.

R. No. 97

Miss H

Hartnoll & Eyre, Ltd., London

Watercolor; 12 x 9 1/4 inches (30.5 x 23.5 cm.)

Inscribed:

"No. 2 revd Miss H"

The drawing is for the second angel from the left. According to Hartnoll & Eyre, this portrait of Francis Horner derives from a Burne-Jones sketchbook of 1875.

Exhibited: Hartnoll & Eyre, December 1972, no. 18.

R. No. 98

Female Head

Pencil on tracing paper; 7 x 6 1/4 inches (17.9 x 15.5 cm.)

Inscribed:

3 [crossed out]

The model for this head was probably the same model as for R. nos. 96 and R. 97. The schematic handling of the hair and cursory modelling of the flesh suggests that Rooke here copied an earlier sketch.

R. No. 99

Female Head (Portrait of Francis Horner?)

Hartnoll & Eyre, Ltd., London

Watercolor; 15 1/2 x 9 1/2 inches (39.4 x 24.2 cm.)

Inscribed:

No. 2 [crossed out] 3

According to Hartnoll & Eyre, "Burne-Jones used this sketch, from which this drawing is taken, as a study for one of the Nereids in his Call of Perseus (1875-1897)". Study for the angel, third from the left. The identification of the model as Francis Horner is Hartnoll & Eyre's.

Exhibited: Hartnoll & Eyre, December 1972, no. 21.

R. No. 100

Head of an Angel

Watercolor on white paper; 14 1/2 x 12 1/4 inches (36.7 x 31.2 cm.)

Inscribed:

No. 4

This is a study for the angel who appears as the fourth from the left.

R. No. 101

Head of an Angel

Watercolor on grey paper; 12 1/4 x 9 3/8 inches (31 x 23.8 cm.)

Inscribed:

No. 7

No. 8 too small too dark

No. 5

This is the angel who appears seventh from the left, directly over the central dome of the basilica behind the Church Fathers.

R. No. 102

Study for an Angel's Head

Watercolor on tracing paper; 10 1/4 x 8 3/4 inches (26 x 22 cm.)

Possibly related to the previous drawing (R. no. 101), a study for the central angel, seventh from the left.

R. No. 103

Head of a Female Angel

Watercolor on white paper; 12 1/8 x 9 7/8 inches (30.8 x 24 cm.)

Inscribed:

No. 7 (top right)

No. 8 (bottom left)

Like R. nos. 101 and 102, possibly related to the central angel, seventh from the left.

R. No. 104

The Head of a Girl

Hartnoll & Eyre, Ltd., London

Watercolor; 12 x 9 1/4 inches (30.5 x 23.5 cm.)

Inscribed:

No 9; Mrs. H's book; 16

Probably a study for the last angel on the right.

Exhibited: Hartnoll & Eyre, December 1972, no. 19.

R. No. 105

Female Portrait Head

Pencil on tracing paper mounted on cardboard; 9 1/4 x 7
inches (23.4 x 17.9 cm.)

Inscribed on reverse:

T.M. Rooke

Bedford Park, London

Possibly a study for the last angel on the right.

R. No. 106

Female Portrait Head

Pencil on tracing paper mounted on cardboard; 9 x 7 inches
(23 x 17.5 cm.)

The same head as in R. no. 105. Possibly for the last angel on
the right.

R. No. 107

Kathleen

Hartnoll & Eyre, Ltd., London

Watercolor; 12 x 9 1/4 inches (30.5 x 23.5 cm.)

Inscribed:

No. XI

Possibly the 11th angel from the left. The present drawing relates to the portrait of Catherine (R. no. 64) but the identity of the sitter is not known.

Exhibited: Hartnoll & Eyre, December 1972, no. 20.

R. No. 108

Two Studies of Angels

Pencil on tracing paper; 10 1/8 x 7 1/2 inches (25.6 x 19.1 cm.)

Inscribed:

No. 9

(on side) This re-drawn because
head in drawing done for
15 in mistake this
figure having been done
first

No. 16 the body is more facing
than in drawing,
hard to get head further
around

The inscription refers to the drawing on the side which is for the second angel from the right.

R. No. 109

Studies for Five Female Heads

Faint pencil on tracing paper; 9 7/8 x 12 1/2 inches (25 x 31.7 cm.)

Inscribed:

9, # 16, (on reverse # 12

The head in the pencilled box is probably the angel who appears ninth from the left. The identification of the other portraits is not certain.

R. No. 110

Study of an Angel's Head

Hartnoll & Eyre, Ltd., London

12 x 9 1/4 inches (30.5 x 23.5 cm.)

Inscribed:

No. 2 [crossed out] 3

R. No. 111

Two Studies of Women's Heads

9 x 7 inches (30.5 x 17.8 cm.)

Inscribed:

No. 14 and No. 10

Appendix IBurne-Jones's Handwritten Frontispiece to the Series of Designs
for St. Paul's American Church, Rome.

Secret Sketchbook, British Museum (EM 1899 - 7 - 13 - 375)

Pencil: 12 x 9 inches (30.5 x 22.9 cm.)

Inscribed:

DESIGNS FOR MOSAIC

Order of the Hierarchy - in the convent of Iurion on Mount Athos in the cupola of a church dedicated to the Archangels - The Creator in the centre - round him in nine rows the nine choirs of angels - an inscription under each rank, with the title and office of the order. A crowd of angels which loses [?] itself in clouds represents each group, and from the crowd detaches itself a little angel who holds a label on which is written the name of the group to which he belongs.

- Seraphins [sic] - angels all red like fire, with three pairs of red wings, a flaming sword in the right hand, naked feet, no other covering but wings. They are fires.

- Cherubins - Two wings only - cloak, mantle and tunic below, all covered with embroidery - tunic down to the knees, feet richly sandalled.

- Thrones: a wheel of fire, winged with four wings full of eyes. An angel's head nimbused lower [?] from behind the wheel and [?] to the centre. Amongst the Thrones sits the Virgin.

- Dominations: Two wings only, robe and mantle without ornament, feet shod. In the right hand a long staff with a crown [?], in

the left a globe where is written $\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{XC}}$. St. John the Baptist stands among the Dominations, winged, with his goatskin coat and a cloak, and his feet bare.

- Virtues: Two winged, bare feet, coat, cloak and tunic to the knees. Border to the coat and the tunic collar of the cloak embroidered. Staff and glove as in the Dominations.

- Powers) Two winged, feet shod - branch of lily instead
) of [?] - dressed as Dominations
 Principalities)

- Archangels: As warriors without helmet. Breastplated and shod - globe in left hand - in the right a sword with the point upwards, two winged.

Angels. Dressed like dreams - alb, tunic, maniple - globe in left hand in the right a staff carved [?], feet shod and two winged.

c. 1885-1886

Appendix IIBurne-Jones's Letters to Castellani¹

Fitzwilliam Museum, Loose Collection of Letters and Notes.

1085^a, Collocation 13 ff.

Letter 1

Ink on off-white paper; 8 x 12 inches (203 x 30.5 cm.).

Undated but written during the spring of 1884.

f. 1 recto:

Dear Mr. Castellani

The first part of the design for the mosaic at St. Paul's Rome goes from here tomorrow. The rest will follow, during the spring and summer--[the words 'and I' crossed out] I hope and intend without inte [...] this first prt is the sphere of angels at the top [the words 'of the' crossed out] the next will be the central design of Christ enthroned and after that will follow the sides--my difficulties I think are chiefly over by now--and yours begin.

If it were possible for you to send over to me an example of about 2 feet square that I might judge of the execution and

-
1. All letters are exact quotations including misspelling and abbreviations. Brackets surrounding a word or symbol indicate my own interjections. Brackets surrounding an ellipsis indicates that the word or part of a word was unintelligible to me. A question mark surrounded by brackets indicates that I was unsure of my reading of the previous word.

effect--it would be of great help to me since it is impossible for me to see the progress of the work at Venice--my engagements being many and important here

I send you also a list of the (numbered) [inserted above the line by a carat] tesserae--classified for the guidance of the workmen--as I [the words 'told you' crossed out] said when you called upon me. The colours are few and simple.

I send also a drawing of one of the heads and part of a nimbus and wing, with tesserae arranged in the way I feel the mosaic should be executed--if the workmen had this set up before them I believe it would help them--they would soon fall into the way of designing the flow of the lines, and although at first the work might go slowly, and prove even costly I believe you would not regret it. I cannot repeat and insist on this point that the tesserae should not be driven up close to each other but that a good [the word 'space' crossed out] reasonable space should be left of mortar between them--and that the tesserae should often be rounded [the word 'and shaped' crossed out] at the edges a little and triangular bits here and there used--and all

f. 2 verso

Workmans means taken to avoid the mechanical look of much modern mosaic. On this second point I think of great importance that the size of tesserae in great size and unvaried spaces should not therefore be increased to get over the space [the words 'but be fairly in' crossed out] but be of the same size as in more important parts, so that the look of the whole may be uniform--so

that great spaces of sky or water or golden wall will [?] look equally rich and cared for--I know this means costly work, but I am sure you will not grudge it. I have sent also with the cartoon--a little rough water colour sketch--emphasizing the idea of the concentric circles which governs this first cartoon--it is meant for no idea of colour but only to [...] in the idea of gradated tone [the words 'for a' crossed out] [...] ing through wings and sky alike.

all the forms will be detached by a fairly strong [?] dark line--and everywhere I want the gradation to be soft--in most cases 3 or 4 tesserae give the shading for the dark outline through 2 tones of diminishing [?] depth to the centre light tone. [the words 'to begin then--' crossed out]

to begin then WINGS the wings will be of gold colour, deeping toward the centre at the top and heightened with silver outermost line brown. 352 light rim around each feather, silver 789 then three shades of gold to colour the feather

A 15. A10 A1.

NIMBUS--strong outline of red. 321. is first three or four rows innermost top nimbi only [?] have outline of strong blue 1686 nimbus itself to be of silver &.89 with dots of gold

A.15. Pencil.

f. 3 recto

list of numbers used as codes for colours for the tesserae for the mosaics at St. Pauls Rome.

dresses Christ 2097 (only sometimes for dark--) 2406 (reinforcing colour) 761 [the words 'use chiefly' crossed out] shading colour

[the number '2060' crossed out] 344 local colour 204 sometime for highlights

Gabriel and Uriel (2408, 2297--shadows--1288. shade for local 1691 local) (Chemuel Michael (819. 1252. 2060. local 637.

Pencil

f. 3 verso is blank

f. 4 recto

list of numbers used as codes for colours for the tesserae for the mosaics at St. Pauls Rome. [...] 76 White dress [the number '8270' crossed out] 855. 14. 1253--from dark to light red-- (from dark scarlet to flesh 856, 1863, 15, 1731, 637, 1488 a dark red black 1748 shade of flesh. lips 1863, cheek 15, light [the word 'dark' crossed out] local colour 1731 dark d. 488 from indian red to pink 1805, 212 1833, 1785, 2163, 664 bright scarle[t] 321 purples 1848, 2055, 1853, 2332) blue-- (dress 1686, 1675 1804 522, 1726--there are positive [?] blue 2 odd blues for nimbus or what not 551. 1992 sky 38. 281. 130. 1139 turquoise 1110. 1417. 1774. 550) greens--(water 1478, [the numbers '161 16' crossed out] 8191305 nimbus--bright 1202. 295. 971. 1057 wing possibly, blue green 1866. 330, 1280 yellow [the words 'gold colour' crossed out] 1288. 2361. 529 brown-- [the words 'for hair extra flesh colour 532' crossed out] 352 1691^x hair 2080. 352 musical instruments--a yellow shaded with brown

^xdark gold 10 main gold colour gold--1 [at bottom of page upside down] cut gold small--all neck parts very small this matters more than faces all white. one white, not blue white a yellow white

strings gold. Pencil.

f. 4 verso

list of numbers cont. Gold-tinsel silver 89 red gold 15

f. 5 recto

list of numbers used as codes for colours for the tesserae for the mosaics at St. Pauls Rome continued. Clouds--centre blue 551--lighter tin 1675 pink 1785--1139 for outer rim--sky--1686. 551. 1675. 1804. 522 draw in all figures with dark outline [the number '376' crossed out] 1866--shading from that through 330. 1305. 1726. 1774 sandal gold 1253. 550--silver dots on shoulders and pale gold instruments 2361--centre from lighter shade of brown than [the number '3521' crossed out] [added above:] yellow shaded through 2033 to outline 352. Strings gold buttons silver--(don't make big tesserae in side space--all tesserae about the same size. they must send sample (about 2 feet [g...]) of wings strong dark outline of brown for wings dark gold shading to light gold and ending in silver for [...ens] of wings nimbus gold with silver spots. (note): I suppose flat side is the colour not the edge ask for a warm orange brown to shade the gold for outline to wings and nimbus. Pencil.

f. 5 verso: blank

f. 6 recto

list of numbers cont. wants by [the words 'silver 89 dark gold 10' crossed out] wings outer line brown 352 to all the gold then [the word 'shade' crossed out] light--at the rim of feathers silver--between shade with the 3 golds A15 A10 A 1 Nimbus good shiny outline of red in first [the word 'front' crossed out] 3

rows silver nimbus with dots of gold A 15 above this 321 (red)
then the furthest innermost angels same only with gold nimbus
and silver dots.

f. 6 verso: blank

f. 7 recto: blank

f. 7 verso: blank

f. 8 recto:

list of numbers continued ANGEL GABRIEL WITH LILY wings. 1155.
2097 [the number '1866' crossed out] 1686. 1992. 551 nimbus--
1982. 873. [the number '92.1616' crossed out] [written above:]
1616 92 but keep reflection of wall seen through it as in car-
toon, using a little gold as indicated. [text continues] Shield
and helmet 2231. 1805. 1833. 1785 spear shaft 984. 1956 1731
spear point 1155. 1062. 945. MICHAEL--wings 38. 281. 130.
2332 nimbus 1992. 1987. 1110. 2361. 1488 leg armour and
arms-----) 1155. 2097. 1975. 1064. 2406. 67[?] label indis-
tinct light gray for highlight URIEL wings. 1686. 1675. 1804/
410 [the number '1410' crossed out] nimbus 244. 1833. 1785.
2332--Sun. 1748-8560, are chiefly 321--lightened to 1288. 2361.
529. 1488 interspece [?] gold 81 int. 321 A. 15 int 856 12 int.
1288 A1 int. 2361. CHEMUEL--1420. 2055. 1853. [the number
'2332' crossed out] nimbus [the numbers and words '1833. 1785.
(rosy gold 81)' crossed out] [Written below:] 1833 1785 (rosy
gold 81)--ZOPHIEL wings. 1866. [the number '19' crossed out]
1982. 174 1075) to be intermixed 1604.
1616. nimbus 1853. 1408. 2332 use a little purple gold 94.
moon. dark. 1155. 2097. 1064. 2173. 2406. 1062. 281.

130. 1305. 1124. 945. F89 (silver to be toned) perhaps a thin black line round all wings? Pencil [Upper right corner notated "verified"]

f. 8 verso: blank

f. 9 recto

list of code numbers continued. furthest innermost angels. those that have hard blue outline, gold nimbus A. 15. with silver dots 7. 89 HAIR. nearest front angels 2370. 488 furthest innermost angels 2080. 352. [the word 'FACE' crossed out] FLESH. FACE. lips 1863--cheek 15 light local colour 1731 highlight 1691 dark outline. 488 Hands and feet [the word and number 'outline 488' crossed out] local colour [the number '1691' crossed out] 1691 1731 then outline 488 draw in all figures with dark outline 1866 shading from that through 330. 1305. 1726. 1774. this for the front rows -[...ts] of dresses of the [h]indmost angels 1376. 855. and 14 sandals--gold. 1253. 550 silver dots on shoulders and pale gold ornaments in dresses. instruments 2361--and shaded with a light brown to 352 which is the dark outline strings. gold--[the word 'buttons' crossed out] pegs silver. Pencil.

f. 9 verso: blank

f. 10 recto: blank

f. 10 verso

list of code numbers cont. p 4 [the word 'Background' crossed out] BACKGROUND OF SKY in layers of increasing darkness as it mounts us. [the word 'dar[k]' crossed out] ring of darkest blue 1686 second ring--551. third--(interring [?] 1675 use 1992 fourth

1804 [the word and numbers 'fifth 552 552' crossed out] this comes to the end of the [the word 'after' crossed out] present cartoon--afterwards the sky is continued through 522 to the top of the wall. the [the word 'rings' crossed out] extent of these rings is indicated in the coloured sketch. CLOUDS centre blue of them [the number '35' crossed out] 551--lighter tint of 1675--pink 1785--for out rim card of cartoons and drawings-----to be returned care [?]

f. ll recto

[Notation in upper left corner:] "Verified list of code numbers continued: WALL [the word 'AND' crossed out] SKY + WATER FOUNDATIONS OF JEWELLED WORK copy from cartoon, all length of the wall outlin[e] of dark brown 1122 to gold--gold brick A1 with center of deeper gold A.15. gold wall mortar between bricks to be a tone like 344 [the number '627' crossed out] only grayer and a little darker. BANK OF ORNAMENT copy tone in Gabriel STONEWORK copy tone in Gabriel all along BATTLEMENTS copy tone of Gabriel all along SKY I have made the sky a little too green to keep to sky colour breaking it with greenish tints now and then-- keep the graduations. [the letters 'Sh' crossed out] and make [?] the tone descend softly from dark top deepest behind furthest row of angels, use a little 1155. 1686. 551. 1992. 1804. 1100. WAVE WATER. 1975. 819. 330. 1280. 1305 blue water where it pours out of fountain 1686. 1062. 2406. 281. 130 FOUNTAIN 1376 1418. 1202. 295. 971. ROCK 1748. 984. 2080. 352. CLOUDS outline 1686. 83. 1785. 2332. Pencil

f. 11 verso: blank

f. 12 recto

[Notation in upper left corner] "Verified"

list of code numbers continued: DOORWAYS INNER MOULDINGS¹

(same throughout) CAPITALS OF PILLARS- imitate all from Gabriel
 BASES OF PILLARS ORNAMENT OVER DOOR green pillars red over red
 pillars to left of colour explanation sketch of ornament^x DARK
 OPENING ['1376. 1866. 1418. 1478. 1202' crossed out] and a
 darker gray. played about with what a skih [...] gr[...] car
 1155. 2097. 1064. 1975. 1418. 1202 intermingled at discre-
 tion PILLARS red behind sun angel green----Michael 295. 1057.
 971 red-- empty doorway. 321. 1863. green-----Gabriel red-----
 Chemuel with cup green-----Zophiel with moon.

f. 12 verso: blank

f. 13 recto

[Notation in upper left corner: Verified list of code numbers
 continued CHRIST AND ANGELS PURPLE WINGS--outline of nearly black
 1155. 1420 [the word 'then' crossed out] 1848. 2055. 1853.
 1408 2332 Keep a watch on gradation--wing darker at bottom--
 lighter round head--use your own skill. face and nimbus as well
 as you can in nimbus use a little purple gold 94. RED. outline
 2442 [the number '1748' crossed out] [the numbers '321 321. 1863.
 2163' crossed out] shadow 620--use mostly 321 shading through [?]

1. These can be seen above the heads of the archangels flanking Christ in the apse mosaic.

1863 to 2163 nimbus 244. 1833. 1785. --hair and outline 2231.
imitate cartoon. BLUE. outline 1376, 1686, 1922. 330 and
1675 at discretion ('instead of 330 another lighter shade [?]
would be better face and hair of blue angel. 2097. 2420.
1548. 130 nimbus outline 551. 1987. 1804. Christs hair 1748
shadow. 856 local. 2354 light Angels hair 788. 2370. 488
f. 13 verso: blank

Letter 2

Burne-Jones to Sig. Castellani

October 20. 1890

dear Mr. Castellani,

I have today finished the cartoons for the new mosaic at St. Paul's Rome.¹ I have written to St. James St. to inform them-- so that they may send for them + transmit them to you without delay--what delay there has been of late is because I fell ill in the middle of the work, + I fear it may have suffered in incompleteness in consequence.

I hope the measurements are nearly right--no exact duplicate [?] was sent but I think it must be nearly right

There will accompany the cartoon a small coloured drawing of the whole space,² as a guide--it is very roughly made but I hope will be sufficient for the purpose--the cartoons themselves of course give the drawing exactly--only the little sketch will be of help especially for the sky + general aspect of the whole picture--also some parts I did not think it needful to enlarge--- for instance in the right hand corner where there is a great space of desert earth only, + a few pools of water which your artists can express I know without further instructions [?]

I have packed up all the tesserae, belonging to the different objects in the picture in separate parcels, labelled "mountains" "deserts" etc. which I hope will prove sufficient-- if there should happen any difficulty you would perhaps confer with

1. The Annunciation.

2. Cat. 13.

me about it--but your artists who so admirably translated my work before will I hope find no great difficulty here though I am conscious I have had to hurry through this design in a way that is unusual with me.

The colours I happen to have used in the cartoons is not to count--I wanted only to make the drawing clear--+ I believe it would be best to abide by the tesserae I have chosen though I have misgiving about the Virgins dress that I may have chosen too light a tint but about this the difficulty might be solved by keeping the lighter tints only for the shoulders + arm--as if the angel threw a bright light upon her-- + all the lower two-thirds of his figure could be all in the deeper shade--this effect is indicated in the coloured sketch. So too in the figure of the angel, the lighted tones of his wings should be near his head.

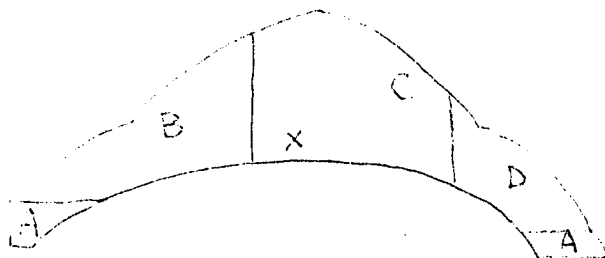
You will see in the sketch that I have tried to vary the great space of gold sky by a redder gold near the earth and have even sprinkled a little faint indigo towards the top amongst the gold--but of this latter I am doubtful, that it might not be easy to express--but if you think it could, and that little blue tesserae might be scattered here + there which would not be too clearly discerned but would only have the effect of shading + influencing the gold a little then I would leave it to the skillfulness of your artists to carry this idea out.

Everywhere, as in the former work, I have used not more than 3 or 4 or 5 tones to shade each other--one for the highest light--one or two for the general colour one or two for the dark outline that which I recommended before--marked there 488 would still be

the most serviceable of all tints--this outline I would recommend to be used just as it was in the former mosaics--I believe that it outlined the flesh too.

If it would help in the little pools of water to use a few sparkles of silver, here + there that could be done. I hope I have made no great difficulty--I know that my cartoons could have been better if I had been well--but I was weak + tired at the time, + the height I had to work made me hurry too much when I felt faint--I know you will all do the best you can. + if we do another one, as I hope, by + bye, the cartoons shall be more complete-----

the cartoons will reach you in bits--but with the accompanying coloured sketch you will have no difficulty in putting them together¹



- A.A. Come on the same cartoon containing the inscription--silver letter on a varied blue ground + bands of 1/3 [?] round
- B. Contains the figure of the Angel + the pelican-- + where the mountains leave is marked by a little X which is shown on the next Cartoon C containing the figure of The Virgin and the pot
- D I leave to your artists to work out from the small sketch-- it has in it only the rest of the desert + three pools of water

1. See fig. 13 .

+ the stream of water + the stream flowing out of the mountains.
there is also a separate explaining on one of the cartoons of
the blue distant mountains.

All will I hope reach you safely--and I look forward to the
result with much hope + confidence.

believe me dear Sir

Yours Very truly

Edward Burne-Jones

Letter 3

Burne-Jones to Sig. Castellani May 12. 1893

Dear Mr. Castellani,

I sent off the full sized cartoons + the small sketch in colour to you more than a fortnight ago, meaning at the same time to send you a full explanatory letter + a table of the tesserae which I have chosen, but I was unable to send it off at once, through illness.

I now enclose to you a list of the numbers of the tesserae for the mosaic which is called the "Tree of Life". I believe that every object in the Design is accounted for in the enclosed List. I wrapped up, + separately sealed, little packets of tesserae for each part of the design: only in one case I lost the two numbers which I had chosen for the goatskin mosaic coat of Adam. These are numbered 383. 393. and are of a dark brown colour. Supposing that your list of the colours is identical in numbering with the tesserae sent to me to choose from, there will be no difficulty in this matter. If in any of the little parcels a number is missing, it will be found in one of the others. For instance: 81 occurs twice, in the Earthen stones, + in Christ's girdle. 135 occurs twice, in the stem of the tree + in the leafage. Gold, no 4, occurs in leafage + in the band of writing. - 316 occurs in the blue bank of writing, + in the leafage of the Tree; + 346. in the corn + in the lily.

I have given no tesserae for the thorns in the [?] the lilies; the same tesserae that are used for the corn can be used for these thorns. I forgot also, to choose a dim gray green

for the stems of the lilies, but your workmen will find no difficulty in choosing one that I am sure will be satisfactory.- As before, I have used very few colours + the system is very simple. In the main, it is one colour for local tint, one for the high light, one for the darker shade, + sometimes an enclosing line of dark.

If there is any difficulty at all + you will let me know I shall be glad to do what I can to help.

The little rough sketch in colour gives a kind of indication of the appearance of the whole mosaic. If there is any difficulty at all about the use of the gold in the sky I will send a further tinted drawing: but my meaning is, that the pale blue of the sky shall be shredded with gold here + there, sometimes accumulating in flushes, especially towards the leafage of the tree + the horizon.

I have used gold number 1. for this purpose.

I sent also a little key of the whole design marked off in spaces corresponding to the numbers at the back of the big cartoons.

Believe me, dear Mr. Castellani,

Yours Very truly

Edward Burne-Jones

APPENDIX III

Rooke's Correspondence

Letter 1

Nevin to Rooke, December 14, 1905

Dear Mr. Rooke,

I do not know if you will remember having met me in Burne-Jones's studio - a good many years ago.

Between sickness and blindness I have had a pretty hard life since, and had to suspend all aggressive work in carrying forward the decoration of my Church. Now I have a certain return to sight, and I begin to feel a certain return of force, and I want to go on with the mosaics in S. Pauls, if I can possibly raise the money to do so--

The first work I have in mind is to finish out the apse, by carrying down the mosaic & closing the three lancet windows. For this B.J. left a sketch with which you are doubtless familiar (I enclose photo to refresh memory).¹ I have a strong sense of Justice to him that this should be done as closely as possible on his lines. In other work we can be more independent. I am inclined to think you could carry out this work better than any one else--so I write 1^o Whether you would undertake it on these lines [?]-2^o At what charges? The church has no foundation: never raises enough to pay my salary in full,--and I must [...] the money for this work which I want to do before I die--

3^o If you will undertake it, can you come here some time

1. Possibly fig. 11.

this winter to see for yourself--"a" the work done, "b" the work to be done. I hold this [?] for the proper treatment of certain architectural details, and the complementary treatment of the whole colour [?] scheme. This new work must [...] together all that has gone before.^x

Sincerely yours,

R.J. NEVIN

Rector of S. Pauls Church, Rome

^xI think B.J. would have disliked coming here before going on with this work.

Letter 2

Fragment of a letter from Rooke to Nevin dated 6 January 1906:

Dear Dr. Nevin

Yes I do remember seeing you in London + missing you in Ravenna + writing + hearing from you there; and now am exceedingly sorry to hear of you[r] ill health....I hardly know what apology to make to you for leaving your kind letter so long without an answer, if it is not excuse enough to tell you that I have been considering [?] [...] proposal + hoping [...] Now I am very sorry to say that in thanking you for making me an offer I have regretfully [,...]

Letter 3

Fragment of a letter from Rooke to Nevin [ripped up, crossed out]: (January 1906)

The meeting with you in London I do remember as well as missing you in Ravenna + writing to you from there. I now with regrets at not being able to cooperate with you in this work + more apologies for the loss of time thus lost am thirsting [?] to see you before long + thus [...] at an early renewal of our former meeting + to the beginning of a successful cooperation.

Letter 4

Nevin to Rooke, January 17, 1906:

Dear Mr. Rooke,

Influenza and much work have delayed me in answering yours of the 17th [sic]. I have sent you a photo of the Apse, as it exists.¹

The space below which I want to continue now--if I can get the means, is a [...] semi-cylinder 16 metres and 20 cm^s long--and five metres high. In this is included a string [?] course of projecting stones (intended for carving) 40 cm high. This can be cut to any shape we wish--it will need very careful treatment. Burne Jones original sketch is here.² It has been sent to me for study on the spot, with request for suggestions--I find I had made some pencilled notes on it. The frieze of Angels needs careful study. In his first sketch,³ the angels [...] half or three quarter figures, but foreshortened--in fact only church heads and arms spreading out the clouds in front of these--This was to separate the heavenly part from the Earthly Paradise below--It was stronger architecturally--I think this

1. Fig. 14 or 24 2. Cat. 30. 3. Cat. 28.

was in a little book of intimate sketches that have been given to the British Museum, where you can probably find it--a book with thoughts--He had in it a number of sketches intended to carry on the work in S. Pauls. Notably a shepherd in a sheepfold "without are wolves".¹

I must have some more distinct idea of what your idea of this work might cost. The Church has no foundation--no funds from House--I have to beg for every penny put into it and for the last two years it has been able to pay me only 60% of my nominal salary of £500--I am not allowed to go into debt.

Will you not come down now to Rome, and see how we can arrange--I will gladly pay myself your travelling expenses, and put you up in the Rectory, where I can give you handsome parlours and large working rooms and the Director of the American Art School will put all his resources at your service.² He can advise about [?] plates and enlargements--but I doubt if photos can be satisfactorily [.;.]...If you can come, give me [...] and all will be ready for you.

Sincerely yours,

R.J. Nevin

1. Cat. 46.

2. George W. Breck (b. 1863), mural painter and first director of the American Academy in Rome.

Letter 5

Fragment of a letter from Rooke to Nevin (first draft):

The day with the book of designs in the B^{sh} Museum has been very fruitful.¹ It seems to me that in most cases the first putting down of the motives is of the greatest value & cannot be too closely kept to. Enclosed are notes made from the two ...

Letter 6

Fragment of a letter from Rooke to Nevin (updated, ripped up, crossed out):

verso:

[...] + after perhaps but slight glance at them when you were not alone with the book. + could not give it absolute attention.

The other tracing enclosed (of the anchorites + the Soldier Saints) has an importance to me as giving more gold ground on which the figures are in part silhouetted a thing of great consideration in all the old examples known to me.²

recto:

The sheepfold with the wolves is a quite completed design as are several others with a very large number of suggestions of plans + detail of parts, all of which you probably bear in mind. I have made a list. No doubt the change towards solidity was to give weight to the ends of the design + repose [...]

1. The Secret Sketchbook, 2. Possibly traced from no. 29.

Letter 7

Nevin to Rooke February 3, 1906:

Dear Mr. Rooke,

I recognize the tracings you sent me--they were the Second development of the subject¹--the photo I sent you was the third²--The first was not in the book, but a separate sketch³--the angels in all were never spoken of as parting the clouds but as spreading out, and so dividing the Church Militant on Earth from the celestial vision.

You will notice that in the tracings you send me⁴ the windows in the apse still appear--They made such difficulty in the composition, and I found the transmitted light of glass went so badly with the reflected light, that it was decided to close them up, to B.J.'s great content. Then he worked out the water colour, and sent it to me for suggestions.⁵ Most especially in regard to the personages to be introduced He marked the groups from left to right 1 Hermits 2 the Marys & Martha 3 Latin Bishops & doctors (Ravenna figures evidently in mind) 4 S. Paul & Byzantine Church in background 5 Greek fathers 6 Virgin Saints 7 Warrior Saints--giving a lot of suggested names under each category--

It had always been my idea that we could introduce freely portraits by BJ of those who were connected with our earlier

-
- | | |
|--------------|------------------------|
| 1. No. 29. | 2. No. 30 and fig. 13. |
| 3. Now lost. | 4. No. 27. |
| 5. No. 30. | |

work--There is a lovely portrait by him of Lady Windsor--¹ and I should like Margaret and Lady B.J. of whom he must have left portraits and the Misses Gladstone, all of whom took great interest in these mosaics. Then there was the original giver Mr. J.S. Morgan who had a noble head--

This is a detail however to be thought out later--I made a Mem. of names at the time I got the sketch. I think also we exchanged some letters on this matter which I will try to find-- Now, however, I am prepared to ask you definitely to undertake this work, and I beg you will come to Rome as soon as you can. Time presses, as we must try to get the work under way as early as we can in the summer--

I would not advise waiting for enlargements to bring with. Better have them done from the water colour which is about a foot and a half high--I can have [...] plates prepared--if possible of the same toned paper as the Water Colour. The angel band is in one piece. Then I suppose 5 uprights--for the several [...] (By the way BJ wanted distance behind the "Hermits" for sketching deserts of barren rock--Originally he called the next group "the penitents"--but he dropped that name on the water colour. Instead he had written "Mary Magdalene--

1. Lady Windsor, Countess of Plymouth, 1893, oil on canvas
(78 1/2 x 37 inches) National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.
Lady Windsor was born Alberta Victoria Paget and married Clive Windsor, second Earl of Plymouth.

Martha--Mary of Egypt--Mary the penitent".

Faithfully Yours

E.J. Nevin

Letter 8

Nevin to Rooke, February 6, 1906:

Dear Mr. Rooke,

I shall look out for you in Easter Week. It might be well to send you by post a small sample of the two kinds of paper you want.

I want to introduce Mr. Gladstones face among the doctors (or possibly soldiers) as he took great interest in the Church and especially in these mosaics¹--also the heads of Archbishop Tait, and of Dr. Dollinger--there is a magnificent portrait of the latter by Lembache²--I think possibly Lord Acton had it--
sincerely yours,

R.J. Nevin

-
1. Presumably Gladstone became interested in the mosaics through his daughter's friendship with Burne-Jones.
 2. Franz Seraph von Lenbach (1836-1904), German portrait painter.

Letter 9

Nevin to Rooke, February 15, 1906:

Dear Mr. Rooke,

I will expect you on the 24th. Come direct to above address where your room will be ready. It is not far from the station. The Director of our Art School will put everything he can at your service. Mr. Breck himself an architectural painter of marked ability.

Sincerely Yours,

R.J. Nevin

Letter 10

Nevin to Rooke, February 30, 1906:

Dear Mr. Rooke,

Come down as an angel. Come to my house day or night. Rooms ready for you. Thru the Head of our Art School here, in the Villa Aurora Mr. Breck (They have just raised \$200,000 (million dollars) to start with will do all he can to help you. I have given him the paper samples--my sight is not yet adjusted on colours.

No, the door sketch is not what we want.¹ I have thought of the ^t in judgement (after the Pisa frescoes) which George Howard has, but that is repellant and we both agreed it would

1. Possibly one of the sketches for the entrance hall such as The Last Judgement or The Fall of the Rebel Angels (cat. 31 and 33 - 42).

not do--¹

"Come unto me" was what we wanted, I fear he never could satisfy himself how to g[et] it out.²

Any ordinary box or trunk coming in here is not bothered with any duty.

Faithfully yours,

R.J. Nevin

Letter 11

Nevin to Rooke, June 12, 1906:

Dear Mr. Rooke,

Thank you for your letter of measurements. I got back a good deal better for my rest,--but the noose [...] for a while is called "hay fever" (or rose fever) taken by two days sitting in bowers of roses, listening to nightingales, who really seemed to want to show off their voices to an audience. They sang within ten feet of me.

We cannot find place for Mr. Mackail among our Champions.³ You would scarcely turn out Mr. Gladstone or Roosevelt for him, and I have a half dozen in mind for other places, men who have helped me as much in my work and who have been great soldiers of Xst in

1. Possibly Dies Domine, fig. 29.

2. Nevin may be thinking of Burne-Jones's project for the exterior entrance door, "I am the Door", which was never executed.

3. John William Mackail (1859-1945) classical scholar, poet, literary critic and biographer of William Morris, married Burne-Jones's daughter Margaret in 1888.

freeing and building up humanity. Among these must come in Mr. Lincoln. We need not take these all at this extreme age--Gladstones young face was good. I wish you would do what you can with Mr. Morgans face and Archbishop Tait's.--before I come up I want you to show the letter to Mrs. Davidson¹ and the former J. Pierpont Morgan now in London.

Sincerely yours

R.J. Nevin

I found this old photo of [...] I think it would be well to put in Margaret Mackail as the angel immediately above her father.

Letter 12

Rooke to the Venice and Murano Glass Company: October 30, 1906

Many thanks for your sympathetic letter of 27th of this month rec^d. today, wh I hasten to answer. The news of Dr. Nevin's death has only lately reached me + I am awaiting reply from Rome to my request made on hearing of it for information as to what is to be done about mosaic work in the American Church.

It w^d seem to be advisable too for you to let the committee in Rome know how matters stand with you as to the proposed work communication with some responsible authority being apparently needful now that Dr. Nevin is no longer with us to represent the

1. Wife of Randell Thomas Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury 1903-1928.

management of the Church.

Believe me

Faithfully yours

Tom Rooke

Letter 13

John Nevin Sayre¹ to Rooke, November 22, 1906¹

Princeton Charter Club

Dear Sir,

As an executor in going over certain letters and papers of my uncle, the late Dr. Robert J. Nevin, I find a number of letters written to him from you, from which I gather that you are the artist in charge of putting in the Burne-Jones mosaics in St. Pauls Church Rome. It is the wish of Dr. Nevin's relatives to carry to completion the mosaics in the nearest approach to the manner in which he would have had them done. But our information in regard to most of the details and the present status of the work is almost nothing. We would like to put in Dr. Nevin's head among the different figures, if a suitable place can be feasibly arranged. How much of the work is completed, if any? What remains still to be done? Also I infer that faces for all the figures have not yet been decided upon. Can you tell me what faces still have to be filled in and what faces my uncle had already chosen for certain positions. I have come across a few lists, but they are of uncertain and fragmentary character.

1. Dates of birth and death unknown.

Also have you the photographs needed? I want if possible to get over to Rome about Christmas time, and in that case, should want to see you about the work. However my going to Rome is still very uncertain and you will therefore kindly communicate with me at 23 Seventy Nine Hall, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A. I am sending this letter to London in the hope that it will be forwarded in case you are not there. Hoping for a reply from you at the earliest convenience,

Believe me

Very Sincerely Yours

John Nevin Sayre

Letter 14

Rooke to John Nevin Sayre (first draft, undated but autumn, 1906):

The letters you mention having found among Dr. Nevin's papers from me to him resulted in a stay of 2 months with him in Rome after last Easter, during which time I made full sized cartoons of the additional mosaic work he proposed in the first place to have put up from a design by Sir Edward Burne-Jones who [...] These cartoons were complete only as to general effect + were put up + taken down + modified many times + until a result was secured which both he + I considered satisfactory as to the direction in which they sh^d be completed in detail. Beyond this I had sittings from many of his friends in Rome whose portraits he wished to have included in the work + made a good many trial heads for his criticism or approval. some from the resulting studies from life + others from photographs he obtained for me, he choos-

ing those heads he was most anxious to see done. On the list enclosed you will see what the present conditions are as to these + as to the photographs supplied or still needed ✕.

On returning home I saw him three times during the week he remained in London in the early part of July, mostly on the subject of the portraits with regard to which he obtained me access to a drawing of archbishop Tait in Lambeth Palace + photog. of Mr. Pierpont Morgan's father in the latter gentleman's house. Beside that he told me of a correspondence he was engaged in with the Mosaic Company in Venice on the subject of the way they were to carry out the contract for executing the mosaics, which contract had been made between him + the Company before I left Rome. The part of this correspondence addressed to Dr. Nevin you have doubtless also come across + Mr. Page, whom Mr. Herriman¹ informs me is the Roman Executor has probably the best information on this subject.

I believe the main part of the work might get done in that time + that the two ends would have to be afterwards completed. Dr. Nevin said that no work ought to go in the Church between Xmas + Easter the busiest time of the Roman Season.

I have the cartoons with me here + the last fortnight have started work on them again on hearing that Dr. Nevin had left directions as to it. This came from Mr. W.H. Herriman whom Dr. Nevin informed me is the only surviving [...] shares in all

1. Page and Herriman were expatriates living in Rome. Nothing is known of their lives except that the records of St. Paul's cite them as actively involved in church affairs.

his executions [?] on behalf of the church in Rome + with whom it was his Custom to dine every Sunday evening in Rome. an observance in which I was included during my stay. Mr. White¹ the Ambassador now in America but [...] to Rome [?] has also written about the mosaics (much interest as to what is to be done) + doubtless if you sh^d be able to get to Rome this Winter you will there meet all concerned interested or informed on the subject. one result of it was Dr. Nevins decision to have nothing begun until his return this autumn, + this delay together with that consequent on his sad death puts difficulties in the way of his plan of having the work put up between June + Christmas of next year 1907, during the Summer 3 mos. of wh. period the American Church is closed by mutual arrangement with the English Episc. Church, each Church alternately being closed + serving for both congregations during the off Season.

I often urged him to let me make a drawing of him for one of the heads but he showed disinclination, putting me off with "put me in as 'Longinus'" the legendary piercer of Christ's side. There is a place among the Greek fathers next to the one he designated for his friend Burne-Jones I used to suggest as the right one for him, which he used to [...] it by his self humiliating hint.

Among the Consulting Committee was Mr. Abbott retired architect + Mr. Breck principal of the American College in Rome. I wrote to him on hearing of Dr. Nevin's death but owing I believe to his absence in America have not yet had a reply. Mrs. Richard

1. See above, p. 66.

Norton wife of the Principal of the college for Classic studies was also a close friend of Dr. Nevin's who told me she had de-vised his intention of being at the expense of putting up these Mosaics since she was unable to get him to say from whom he had obtained any funds for the purpose.

Letter 15

Fragments of a letter (first draft)

Rooke to John Nevin Sayre, autumn 1906:

[...] during which time I made full sized cartoons of the addi-tional mosaic work he proposed in the first place to have put up from a design of Sir. E. Burne-Jones in his possession. These cartoons were complete only as to general effect & were put up & taken down & modified & put up again many times & until a result was secured which both he & I considered satisfactory as to the direction in which they sh^d be completed in detail. Beyond this I had sittings from many of his friends in Rome whose portraits he wished to have included in the work & made a good many trial heads for his criticism or approval some from the resulting studies from life & others from photographs he obtained for me, he choosing those heads he was most anxious to see done.

Letter 16

Fragment of a letter from Rooke to John Nevin Sayre, autumn, 1906 (rough draft):

...obtained me access to a drawing of archbishop Tait in Lambeth

Palace & a photog[raph] of Mr. Pierpont Morgan's father in the latter gentleman's house. Besides that he told me of a correspondence he was engaged in with the Mosaic Company in Venice on the subject of the way they were to carry out the contract for executing the mosaics, which contract had been made between him & the company before I left Rome.

Letter 17

George Breck to Rooke, December 11, 1906:

My dear Mr. Rooke:

I am just back after four & a half months in America and your letter of Oct. 23rd after twice traversing the seas is now at hand. Dr. Nevins death was indeed a great shock--not that his failing strength might not have warned us--but to die alone, so far from friends, and as the result of what under other circumstances would have been a trifle--bites of mosquitos & vicious flies!

He left Rome before me and we expected to meet at the Century Club, New York--when I arrived there was a note from him, but he had already gone on to Chicago. It was there he fell & injured a couple of ribs--He wrote me about it but spoke of it lightly and was happy to add he would be off to Mexico in a few days. He secured the picture of Pres. Lincoln from Robt. Lincoln, the son in Chicago and I hope he had forwarded it to you, as he was anxious to have it used as one of the warriors.

From Mexico I received his last letter, written by one of his nephews, who had joined him for the hunting expedition in the

S.W. of that country--He spoke of being tired, but patched up after his Chicago accident, & eager to be off for his camping ground.

Evidently he was more exhausted than he thought, & suffering from the bites of vicious insects--His nephews were with him awhile, but their terms at College were opening. The Doctor feeling improvement--after a little quiet & rest--he advised them to return to the States while he would stay a little longer to thoroughly recuperate. That he never did for he suddenly grew worse & died quite unexpectedly. I've no doubt he was well looked after for he had letters to Pres. Diaz¹ & others--but how forlorn to have no friends or none of one's family about!

His body was transported to Washington where he was buried in the soldiers National Cemetery at Arlington, with Military honors--the "last taps"--which he loved to describe as the most touching thing in the world; & never without tears in his eyes.

I haven't been back long enough for a complete understanding of Church matters--but I did run in[to] Mr. Page who is Treasurer & one of the Drs. Executors. He thinks there is no doubt about the completion of the Dr's plans, but nothing definite can be done until meeting of the Vestry. We hope that will be soon but neither of the wardens have returned to Rome as yet. Mr. Herri- man is expected soon, & Mr. White about Christmas. Have you communicated directly to the Church? If you haven't I will present this or any further letters you may write--& keep you informed as to events here....

Yours Very Sincerely,

George Breck

1. José De La Cruz Porfirio Diaz (1830-1915), President and Dictator of México from 1876 to 1911.

Letter 18

John Nevin Sayre to Rooke, December 26, 1906:

Dear Sir,

I acknowledge with many thanks your letter of December 1st giving me the desired information about the mosaic work. I should have answered it sooner, but having been away from Princeton it took some time to reach me and Christmas intervening delayed matters still further.

Among my uncle's papers I found a memorandum, undated, to send to you the following photographs:

1. Lincoln
2. Roosevelt without glasses
3. Mrs. Stevens¹
4. Mrs. Potter (Bishop Potter's wife)²
5. Bishop Potter³

Grant

What about Grant? Did Dr. Nevin ever suggest putting him in the work to you. He would be among the Warriors, I suppose.

In your letter you mention not having Mrs. Stevens, Mrs. Potter, Bishop Potter, and president Diaz. Shall I procure these photographs for you and send them to you.

Also do you want any of the other photographs referred to in the memorandum left by Dr. Nevin, such as Lincoln, Roosevelt etc. or do you have them already.

1. See above, p.63. 2. See above, p. 64. 3. See above, p.63.

With regard to the photographs of King Humbert¹ and Mr. Rhodes,² I assume you can get them in London easier than I can obtain them here.

Regarding your own work in connection with the mosaics, my understanding is that a contract for putting in same was made between St. Pauls Church at Rome and the Venice Murano Co. The financial obligation incurred under such contract was guaranteed by Dr. Nevin in case the money did not come in for it to the building fund of the church. Dr. Nevin's Estate can incur no indebtedness or make any payments on account of the mosaic work, which Dr. Nevin was not obligated to make under the contract in question. I am not familiar with the work done and to be done under this contract, but I understand that Mr. Page in Rome is cognizant of everything concerning it. I write you in this way so that you may understand my position as an Executor under my uncle s will. I am personally very desirous of seeing the mosaic work completed in the manner in which I feel sure that Dr. Nevin would have wished had he lived; but of course the Estate of Dr. Nevin can take no action in regard to it except in so far as the Estate is bound under the contract mentioned. I therefore suggest that you communicate with Mr. Page as to any unfinished work by you with reference to this matter. I make this suggestion because I now find that it will be impossible for me to go to Rome

1. Humbert I (Umberto I) (1844-1900), son of Victor Emmanuel II, succeeded his father as King of Italy in 1878. He was assassinated by an anarchist in 1900.

2. Cecil John Rhodes (1852-1902), English imperialist and financier.

this winter as I had hoped. Again thanking you for your letter, believe me,

Very truly yours,

John Nevin Sayre

Letter 19

George Breck to Rooke, January 7, 1907:

My dear Mr. Rooke:

The vestry of St. Paul's Church of Rome have asked me to act for them in the matter of the mosaics, and I am very glad to have the opportunity of carrying out the plans of our late friend; though I hesitate when I think of the importance of the work and of trying to do justice to the memories of both the rector, and the great artist whose ideas we are trying to execute.

Now as to details;--arrangements or contracts with you, and with the company Venezia--Murano. I know nothing about, so I must look to you for all such information. I am promised a copy of the contract between the Doctor + the aforesaid company, and I have a letter from the old gentleman, Castellani, formerly director--in which he pleads for the cartoons! He says that they were shipped to Venice in July, but subsequently withdrawn, with the promise that they were to be returned in August. Since then they have waited in vain!

Wether you wrote, or wether it was from other sources,--I heard that the Doctor was displeased with the company for farming out the contract & therefore broke off relations with it. Mr. Castellani says there is nothing in this & that they are

ready & waiting to proceed with this work. Can you throw light on this? And further tell me whether you have all the data-- photos, etc., for completing the cartoons?

Hoping to have an early reply--giving me whatever information you have--So I shall be able to proceed intelligently--for which I shall be extremely obliged.

Believe me

Very Sincerely Yours,

George Breck

p.s. You will be interested to know that Mr. Walter Lowrie of Newport U.S.A. has accepted the invitation of the vestry to continue as Dr. Nevin's successor. He is a scholarly youngish man --well up in Art matters--has written on Church [...] etc.

Letter 20

John Nevin Sayre to Rooke, March 17, 1907:

My dear Mr. Rooke,

Since writing you last, I have received a letter from Mr. George W. Breck, of the American Academy in Rome, from which I am very glad to learn that work is progressing well with the mosaics for St. Pauls at Rome.

Mr. Breck says that you still need photographs of Diaz, Roosevelt, without glasses, Grant, Mrs. Stevens, the 1st wife of the present Bishop Potter, and of Dr. Nevin.

I had sent to you about ten days ago some photographs of Dr. Nevin which I trust reached you all right. I hope that among

them you may find something suited to your purpose. In as much as certain of them belong to mother, and are the only ones which we have of my uncle, she is especially anxious to have them back after you have finished. So when you have no further need of them, I ask as a special favour that you will return them to me; and meanwhile take the best care possible.

As to the other photographs, I will send them to you as soon as I can procure same. But in regard to this unavoidable delay seems to set in at every step. Also I think I can get a good picture of Mr. Marsh¹ for you.

Very truly yours,

John Nevin Sayre

Letter 21

John Nevin Sayre to Rooke, April 3, 1907:

Princeton, N.J.

Dear Mr. Rooke,

I am sending you today, under separate cover pictures of Bishop Alonzo Potter, and Mrs. Eliza N. Potter² for the mosaics. They were procured through the kindness of Mr. A. Potter, grandson of the bishop, taken from old family portraits, I believe.

I am also making arrangements to have a photograph taken of the bust of Mr. Marsh, which was modeled by Mr. Simmons of Rome,³

1. See above, p. 63.

2. See above, p. 63. Her portrait was not included.

3. Franklin Simmons (1839-1913), American sculptor who had lived in Rome since 1868.

and is now in Bennington Vermont. So I hope you will be able to put him in after all.

The other photographs which you desire me to procure, are as I understand it:

Mrs. Stevens

Roosevelt without glasses

Grant

Diaz

Is there anything else I can do to help along?

Very Sincerely Yours

John Nevin Sayre

Letter 22

John Nevin Sayre to Rooke, April 15, 1907:

Princeton, New Jersey

My dear Mr. Rooke,

I am mailing you today under separate cover a photograph of Mrs. Stevens for the mosaics, which I trust will prove satisfactory. The other photographs I am trying to procure as rapidly as possibly. I hope everything goes well in connection with your work.

Very Sincerely,

John Nevin Sayre

Letter 23

John Nevin Sayre to Rooke, April 20, 1907:

Princeton, New Jersey

My dear Mr. Rooke,

I am mailing you today under separate cover three pictures which I had taken of the bust of Mr. Marsh modeled by Mr. Simmons of Rome and now at Burlington, Vermont. There is also a photograph from life, which some of his family have kindly given me. I hope very much these will prove satisfactory and reach you in time, to put his figure in the Mosaics as originally intended. For he was, I believe, one who was long interested in St. Pauls.

Very Sincerely,

John Nevin Sayre

Letter 24

John Nevin Sayre to Rooke, April 25, 1907:

Princeton Charter Club

My dear Mr. Rooke,

I am mailing you today under separate cover a photograph of President Roosevelt's father,¹ which I trust will prove satisfactory for the mosaics.

Very Sincerely,

John Nevin Sayre

P.S. I have reopened this letter upon receiving yours of April

1. See above, p. 66.

14th this morning. By this time you will also probably have received the photograph of Mrs. Stevens and Mr. Marsh which I sent you. I do not understand what you mean by saying that Mrs. Stevens will not be needed. She was one who helped especially in building the church, I believe; and I am quite sure she was among those whom my uncle intended introducing in the mosaics; and I do not want his plans changed without very good reason therefore; as my whole idea was to finish the thing in the strictest possible accord with his every wish. Besides I have gone to some trouble in getting the photograph from the Stevens family and would not want them now to be disappointed or offended.

I understood from Dr. Nevin that President Roosevelt's father was the man wanted; but that if a good photograph of him could not be obtained, one of the President would do without glasses. Both seem equally hard to get. Will try to procure a profile picture, but send this one in case it may help you.

Very Sincerely Yours,

John Nevin Sayre

Letter 25

Mary Gladstone Drew to Rooke, May 11, 1907:

Hawarden Rectory

Chester

Dear Mr. Rooke,

This is the very earliest profile I can find, except the Bradley

portrait when he was 28 which you will find in the Morley life. [?]. . . . greatly resembled one of the Raphael portraits of himself; in those days his dear olive complexion + the dark depths of his eyes often resulted in his being taken for an Italian.¹ Do you know I am putting in a [window?] Burne-Jones (the Crucifixion) in the East Window of Hawarden Church instead of a terrible Wailes [?].

Yrs. Most truly

Mary Drew

Letter 26

List compiled by M.R. James of Horsemen Saints

11 May (1907?)

Eton College

Windsor

Dear Mr. Rooke

Dr. James sends a list as follows of horseman saints

S George

--Martin of Tours

--Theodore

--Eustace

--Maurice

1. The portrait of Gladstone by the Manchester artist William Bradley (1801-1857) is reproduced in John Morley, The Life of William Ewart Gladstone, I, London, 1903, facing p. 86.

Santiago = James the Great on a white horse.

S Louis

S Gereon

B. Jeanne d Arc

s Oswald

or a Scandinavian e.g. Eric or Olaf.

he does not answer the question whether they ought to be National Champions nor does he say definitely which [?] shd be selected. I think you will be safe within the limits of his list.

Yours very truly

H E Luxmoore

Ascension day

Letter 27

John Nevin Sayre to Rooke, May 16, 1907:

Princeton Charter Club

My dear Mr. Rooke,

I am sending you under separate cover a profile photograph of a bust of Gen. Grant, now in the Smithsonian Institution at Washington. If you would rather have a photograph from life, I will try to get one; though it seems hard to procure one in profile. In about two weeks or so I will be able to get hold of another picture of President Roosevelt's father--profile--which I will send on. Have had some trouble trying to get one of Diaz, but have at length gotten hold of a man in Mexico who has promised to send some on. I am sorry there has been so much delay in all this, and I hope it has not seriously incon-

venienced or incommoded you in your work. If any of the photographs are not satisfactory, I hope you will let me know and I will try to get what you want. Also if there is anything else I can do to help matters along. My plans for the summer are still uncertain, as things depend somewhat on some work to be done in settling up my father's estate. I rather hope however to go abroad, and in that case will certainly look forward to seeing you and Dr. Lowrie in Venice. About what time do you expect to be there?

Very Sincerely,

John Nevin Sayre

Letter 28

John Nevin Sayre to Rooke, June 4, 1907:

Princeton Charter Club

My dear Mr. Rooke,

My Aunt and brother and myself have decided to give the rest of the money needed to finish the mosaics; and I have decided to go abroad this summer with my mother and brother. I am writing you to tell you of my plans so as to arrange to meet you when we can talk over the work still to be done. We expect to sail from New York on July sixth by the Hamburg American Line steamer Pennsylvania. As it is a slow boat we will probably not reach London until about the sixteenth or seventeenth of July.

I am very anxious to see you there, so as to talk things over; and later on I may go to Venice and Rome if necessary. Can you

write me if you will be in London about that time; and if not where I could see you? As I leave Princeton next week, please address letter to me at South Bethlehem Pa.

Trusting that everything is going satisfactorily,

Very Sincerely,

John Nevin Sayre

Letter 29

Fragment of a letter from Rooke to John Nevin Sayre,
June 17, 1907 (rough draft):

In my letter of 28th May which probably has reached you after the dispatch of yrs of 4 June just received I think mention was made of our intended departure about the end of this month for Venice. This is still what I expect to happen so that most unfortunately I cannot look forward to seeing you in London but must hope you may be able to come on to Venice the City in all Europe the best worth seeing + journeying to see.

Letter 30

George Breck to Rooke, November 21, 1907:

My dear Mr. Rooke:

I thought you might be interested in hearing that the mosaics are rapidly nearing completion--perhaps by another week all in place--and that they promise to hold their own with the old mosaics in every respect--Remarkable to relate- the mosaics fitted into place beautifully.

Letter 31

Walter Lowrie to Rooke, November 23, 1907:

Dear Mr. Rooke:--

The mosaic is rapidly approaching completion. By the 29th we hope that the scaffolding will be removed.

In a provisional way I would express my thanks to you for the zeal and efficiency with which you have done your work.-- Only this briefly now because we would make a more formal expression of our obligation to you when the work is done and all have seen it.

But now I would beg of you to let me have some sort of key to the portraits you have used. For the most part we are quite at a loss to identify the various heads, and I foresee that the moment the work is uncovered I shall be assailed with demands on this score. Also I should like to satisfy my own curiosity. I do not propose to make any publication of the persons or personages whose faces appear in this mosaic. But we ought to have some record.

I do not know how you can best manage to make the identification easy for us. I leave it to your ingenuity.

Sincerely Yours,

Walter Lowrie

Letter 32

Walter Lowrie to Rooke, December 27, 1907:

Dear Mr. Rooke:--

I thank you for the explanation of the portraiture in the mosaics.

Your letter also explained other matters which I had either overlooked or wrongly interpreted in a pamphlet I wrote describing the mosaics as a whole.¹ I have consequently revised that pamphlet for another edition. By the way, did I send you a copy? If not I shall do so at once.

If you can recall who is portrayed by the footsoldier with a spear in the group of Militant saints, I should be glad to know.² But I write now more expressly to know if you have any portraits of persons here in Rome who would be likely to claim them. I am prompted to ask this because one lady has asked if she could recover the photograph of her daughter--which, it appears, was not actually used.

If you have any such photographs, it would be well, I think, to send them to me.

Sincerely Yours,

Walter Lowrie

Letter 33

Jesse Benedict Carter to Rooke, January 28, 1908:

Dear Sir

At a meeting of the Vestry of S. Paul's American Protestant Episcopal Church in Rome, held on Thursday, January 16, 1908 the following resolution was taken.

"Whereas the officers and the Vestry of S. Paul's American

-
1. Parish Pamphlet 1907 (see bibliography).
 2. Unknown.

Protestant Episcopal Church in Rome wish to express their satisfaction with the mosaics recently applied to the vertical wall of the apse of that Church, Thus completely (sic) the apsidal decoration as originally planned"

"Resolved: that Thanks to M. Rooke Esq. The artist who completed Them, be and hereby is formally Thanked for the (?) manner in which he developed the slight suggestion of the design for this space left by his master, Sir Edward Burne-Jones, and for his able supervision of the work of the Venezia-Murano Company:

Resolved further: that their resolution be (wh?) the minister of the Vestry, and a copy of it sent to Thomas M. Rooke, Esquire.

Respectfully,
 Jesse Benedict Carter
 Secretary of the Vestry

Rome 5 Via Vicenza

Letter 34

E. Fitzgerald to Rooke, April 30, 1908:

Lambeth Palace S.E.

Dear Mr. Rooke,

Mrs. Davidson asks me to thank you for your letter. She was glad to hear about the mosaics and would be very grateful if you would be so kind as to return the engraving of Dr. Tait which she lent to Dr. Nevin. The Archbishop and Mrs. Davidson are both well at present and were able to go to Scotland for a short

holiday.

Believe me.

Yours Truly,

E. Fitzgerald

Letter 35

Pierpont Morgan's Secretary to Rooke, May 1, 1908:

13 Prince's Gate S.W.

Dear Sir,

Mr. Pierpont Morgan desires me to acknowledge your letter of 4th April returning the 4 photographs of the late Mr. J.S. Morgan, for which he is obliged--

He is only just back from the continent which accounts for the delay in replying.

Yours truly

[...]

Letter 36

Walter Lowrie to J.P. Morgan

June 3d, 1907

Dear Mr. Morgan:-

I send you herewith a formal report of St. Paul's American Church in Rome, covering the ordinary parochial receipts and expenditures of the past year, the use of its invested funds, and the present financial liabilities and needs. I make several recommendations which, if they are promptly and favorably acted upon by the Trustees, would relieve us here of much anxiety. If on your return to America it proves to be too late in the season to get a quorum of the Trustees together, it would be a relief to me if I might have from you an expression of your own opinion in regard to my recommendations and the likelihood that they will be accepted in the autumn or whenever a meeting can be held.

In addition to this report I must explain to you more personally the situation we are in with regard to the fabrication of the new mosaic. Before I arrived here the work which had been inaugurated by Dr. Nevin and interrupted by his death had been resumed again by order of the Vestry. Dr. Nevin's estate is liable for the whole cost of the work contracted for by the Venice-Murano Co., which will amount to about \$8000. The charges of the artist who is making the cartoons will amount to nearly \$3000 more, and the cost of removing the windows and preparing the walls (including scaffolding &c) will bring the total cost

to nearly \$12,000. Though we have no funds in hand, and no assurance of any, to meet these considerable expenses (of nearly \$4000) which are apart from the contract with the Venice-Murano Co., the Church has been forced to continue the work to avoid breaking our contract with the Murano Co., which requires that the work shall go on without interruption, and we are encouraged to go on by the hope that Dr. Nevin's heirs would generously consent to provide for the whole, or nearly the whole, cost of the mosaic, irrespective of the question whether the money be applied to meet the contract with the mosaic company or the contract with the artist, which Dr. Nevin also made on his own responsibility. His heirs gave us reason to hope for this. They were led in the first instance to expect that the Murano Company's bill would be about \$10,000, and one of the three heirs, whom I saw before leaving America, expressed to me his willingness to contribute that amount as a total. I have written to the heirs asking that they give us positive assurance to this effect: I asked even that they guarantee to meet all expenses incidental to the fabrication of the mosaics up to the sum of \$11,000. As yet, however, we have no assurance, and though I still hope that they will consent to contribute \$10,000, I have reason to think now that they will not go beyond that figure. In the meanwhile we are obliged to defray the artist's monthly charges out of the general building fund, which, as it stands now, is all of it pledged to meet a contract we have made for the rebuilding of our organ and was mostly given for that express purpose. Our situation therefore in this respect is very embar-

rassing. As it is the only grave embarrassment of our present situation, and one which may by the action of Dr. Nevin's heirs be at any time relieved, I do not present an account of this matter in my formal report to the Trustees. I give this account, however, to you as the ground of a plea that you will come to the relief of our necessity. With the utmost that can be expected of the Nevin heirs we shall still lack something like \$1000 of the total sum needed for the mosaic. When I saw you in New York previous to my departure from America I was under the impression that it was you that had probably contributed much or all of the \$15,000 which Dr. Nevin informed me had been "given" for this mosaic. You told me that this was not so, but that you fancied you had subscribed perhaps \$1000, which I would probably find recorded. I have no doubt that Dr. Nevin did receive promises of contributions for this mosaic, but no list of such subscriptions has been found, nor was any money paid into the treasury on this account. It is evident that he launched forth upon this project rather in the hope of support than with the assurance of it, and that in representing the needful money as "given" he intimated his resolution (later indicated in his will) to defray himself all expenses on this account that were not otherwise met. It occurs to me as possible--in view of his disposition of Mr. Astor's gift--that he expected to get permission of the Trustees to use for such purposes a part of the money derived from the sale of the Villino.

I write therefore to beg that you will be good enough to renew

your subscription of \$1000 to this object, and if you do so, that you will send the gift at once to Mr. George Page (Banca Commerciale, Via del Plebiscito, Roma) to replenish our exhausted treasury.

I remain,

Very truly yours

Walter Lowrie

J. Pierpont Morgan, Esq.,

New York

P.S. If the Trustees cannot meet this summer, perhaps you could send to each a copy of this report and get a expression of opinion which would either encourage us here to continue the works in hand or counsel to interrupt them.

I sail the end of this month for America, and until Oct. 1st my address will be: Keene Valley, Essex Co., N.Y.

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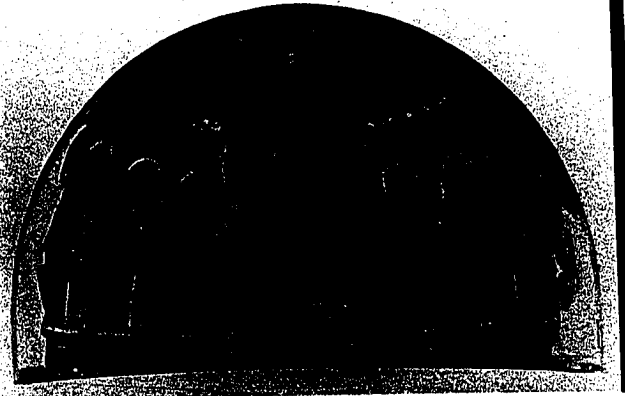
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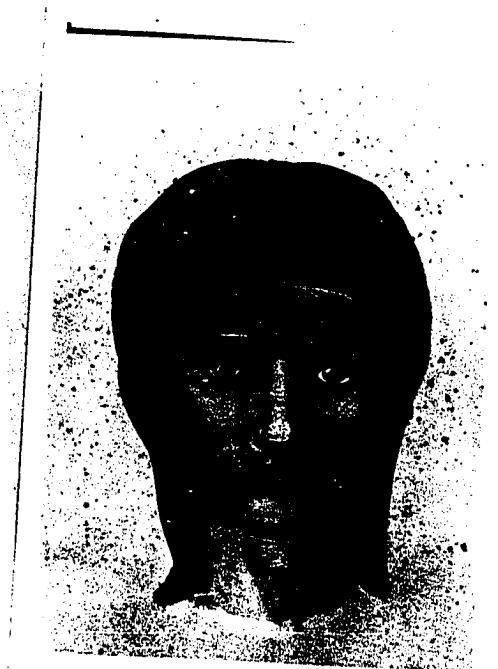
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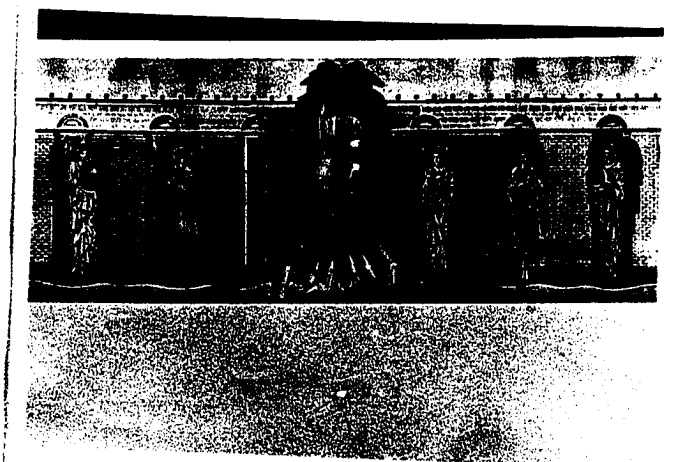
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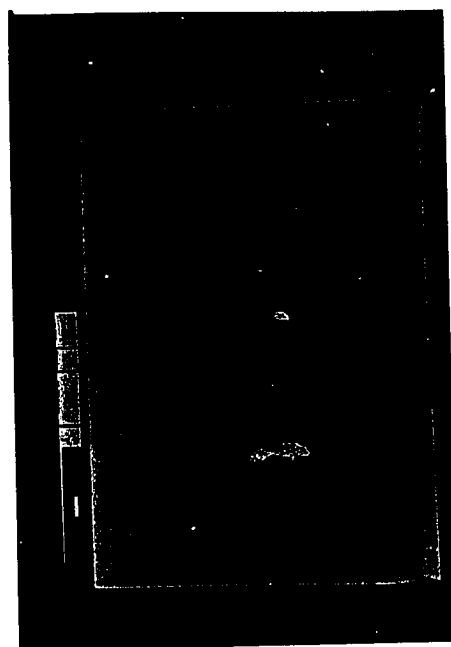
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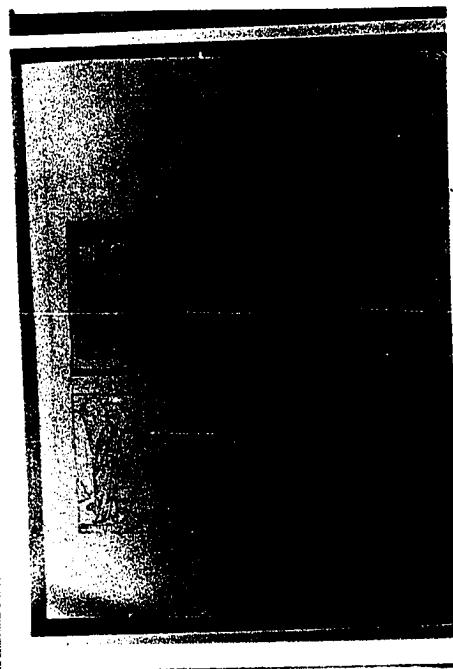
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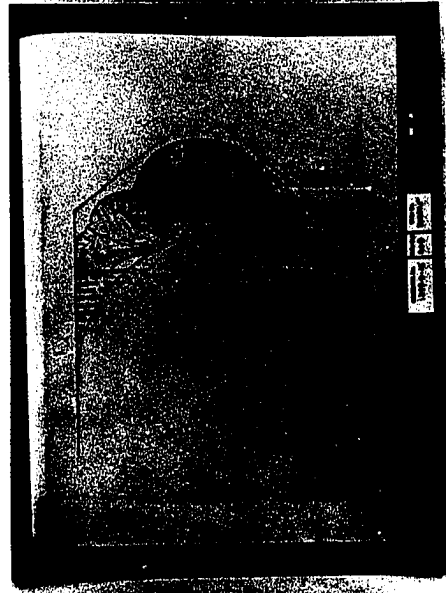


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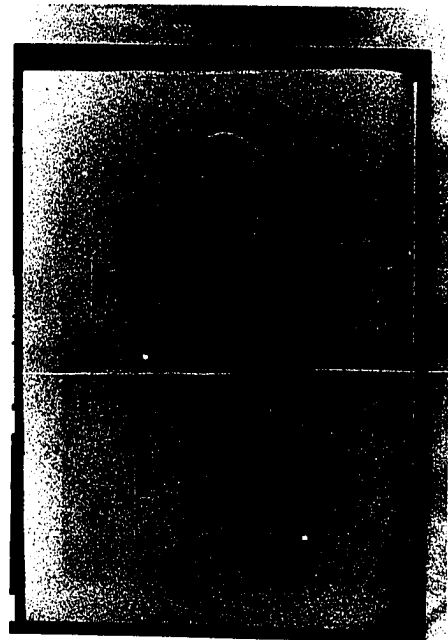


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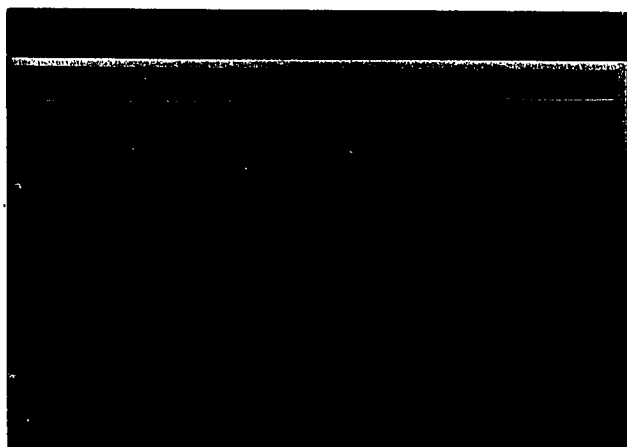


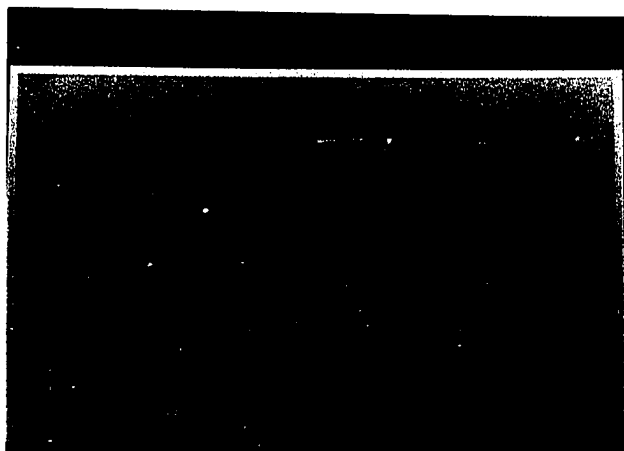
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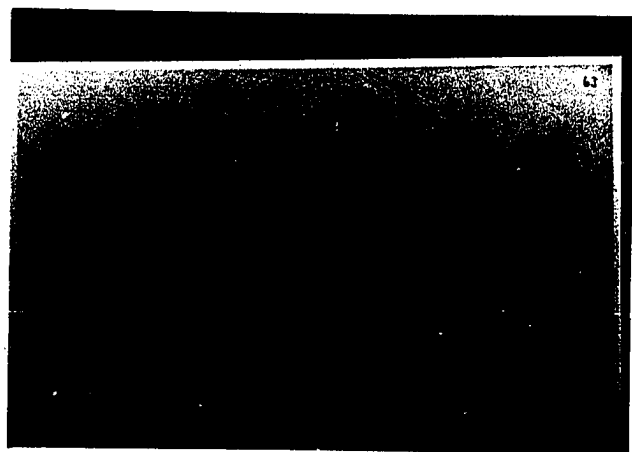


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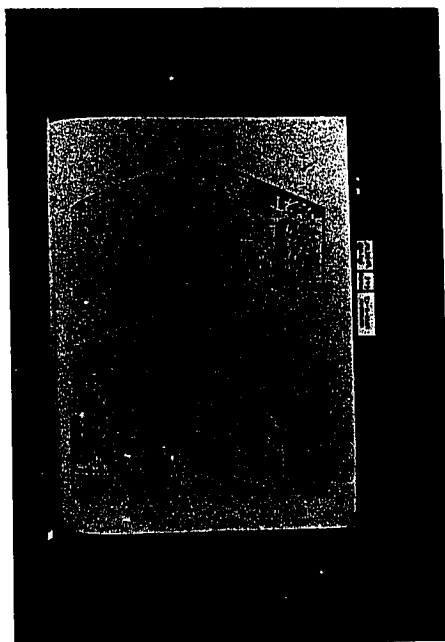


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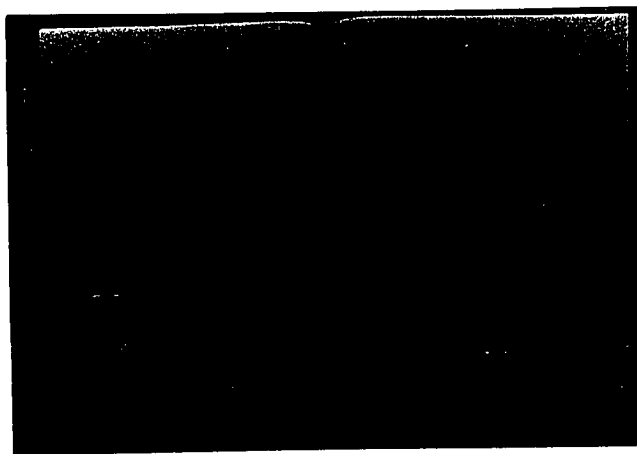


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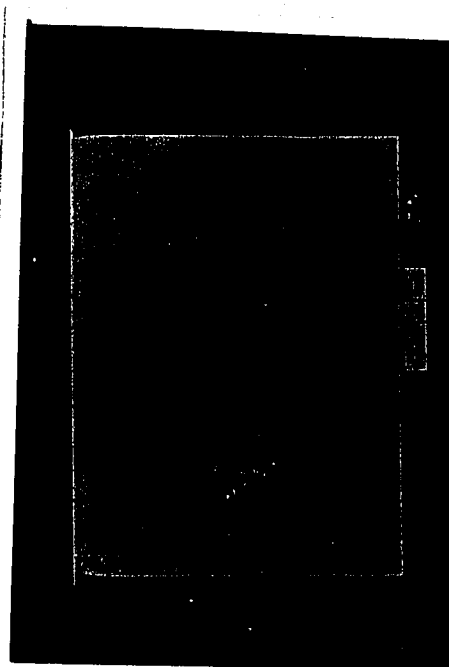


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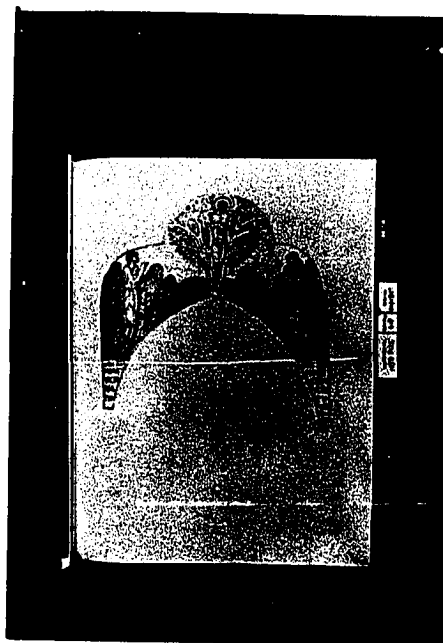


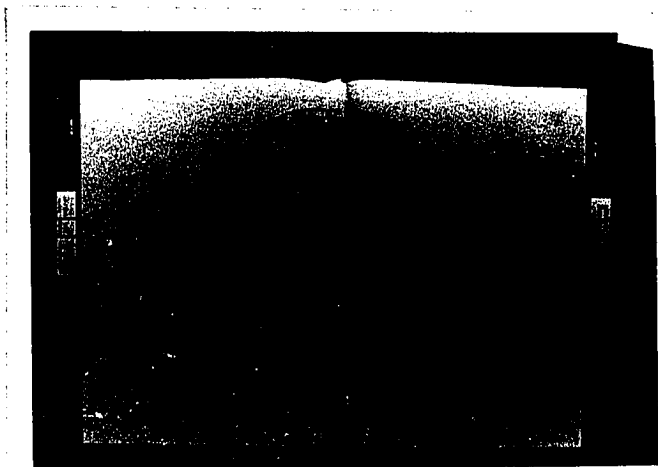
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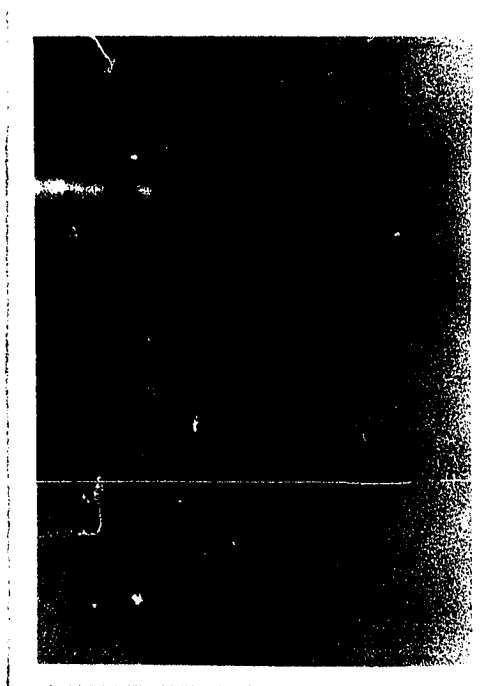


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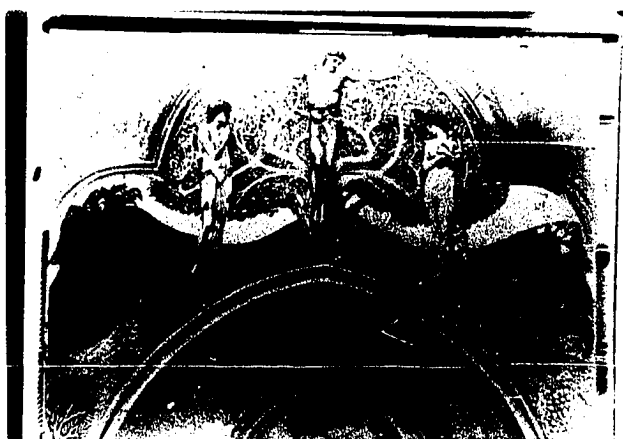
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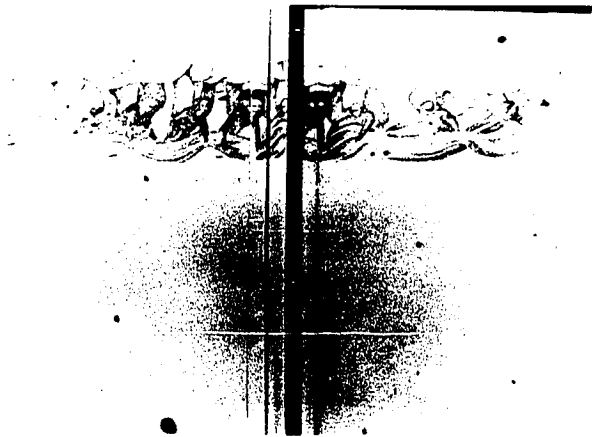


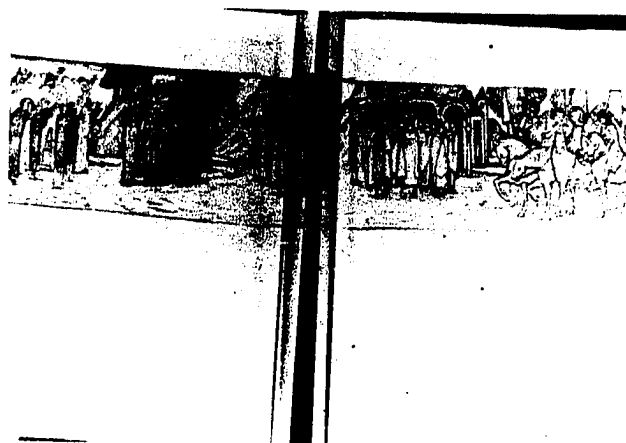
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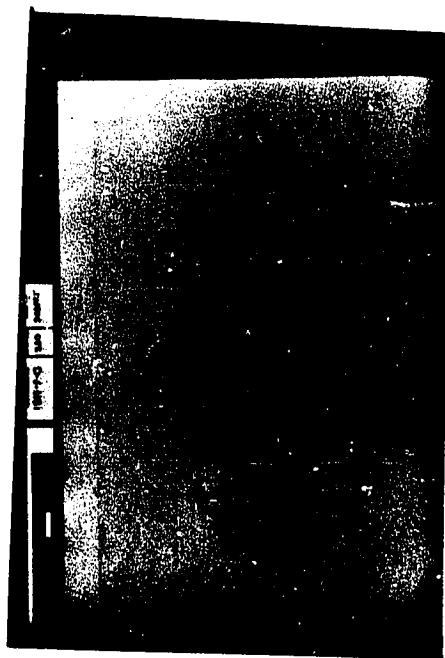


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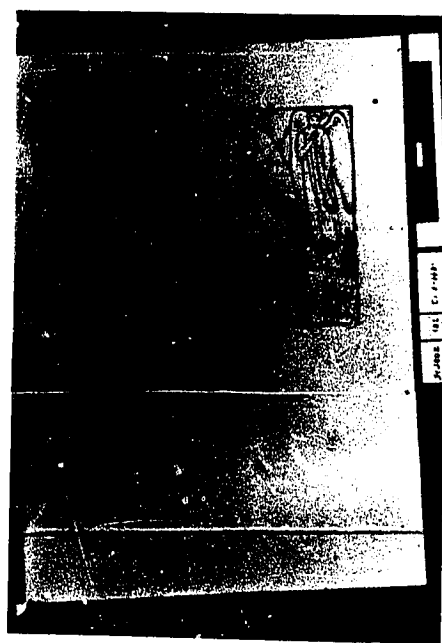


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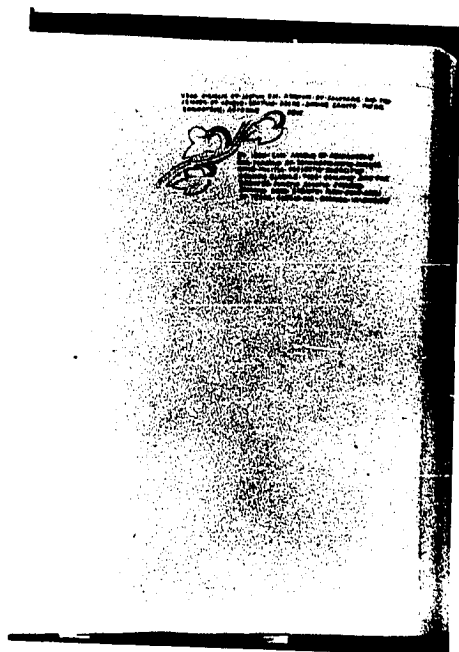


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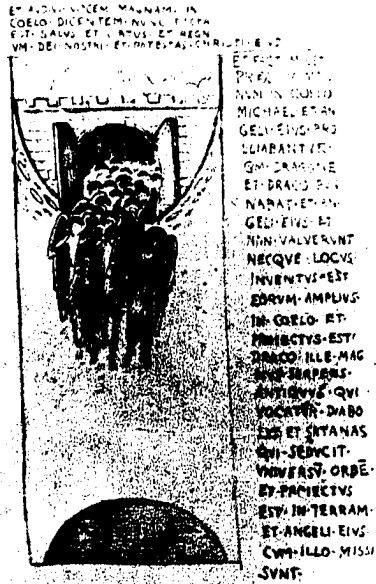




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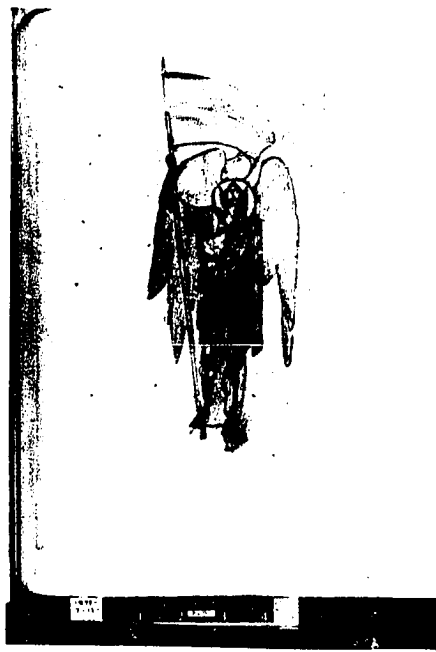


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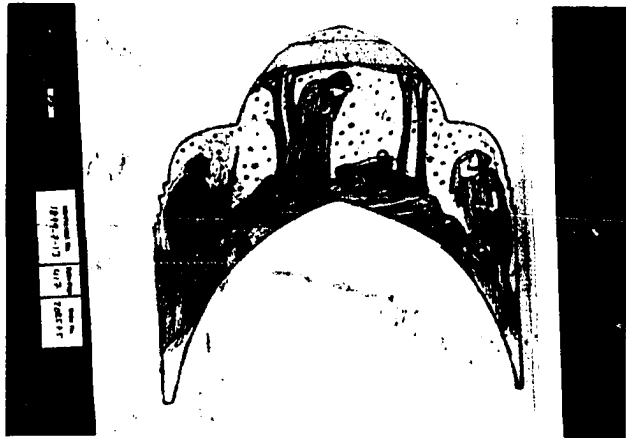
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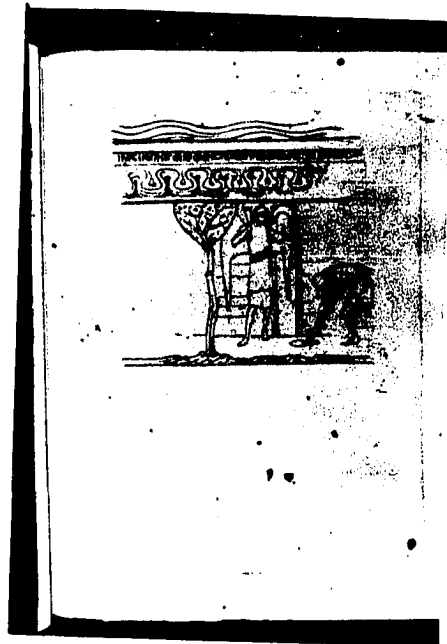
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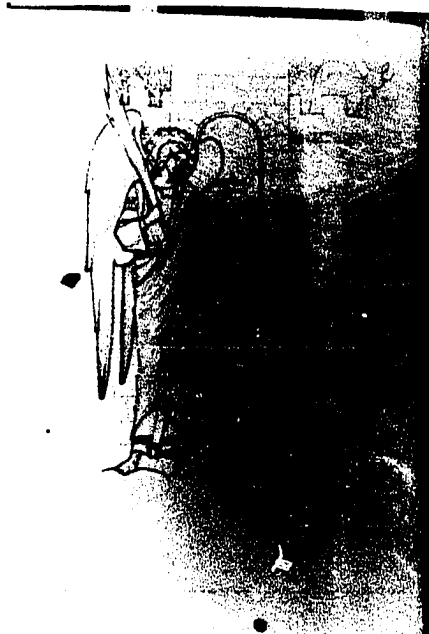
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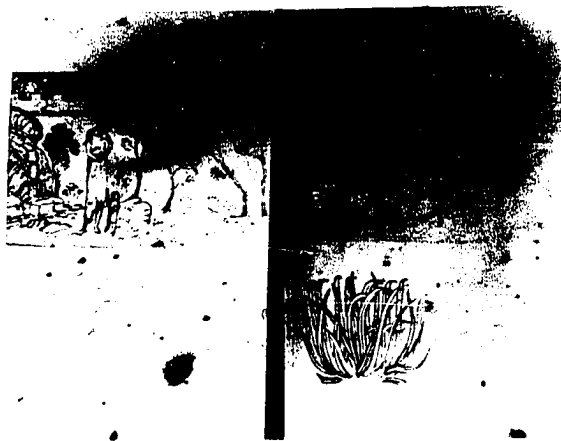
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Burne-Jones no. 49

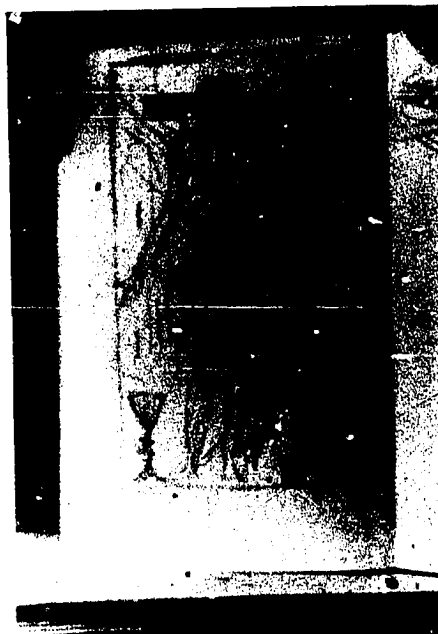


Burne-Jones no. 50

Burns-Jones no. 51



Burns-Jones no. 52



Burne-Jones no. 53



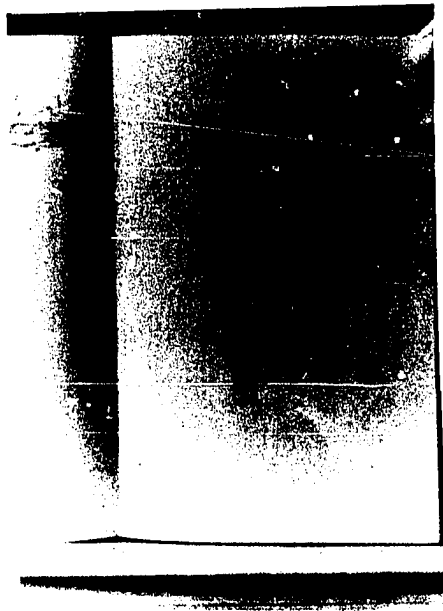
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Burne-Jones no. 55



Burne-Jones no. 56



Burne-Jones no. 57



Burne-Jones no. 58





Burne-Jones no. 59



Burne-Jones no. 60

Burne-Jones no. 61



Burne-Jones no. 62



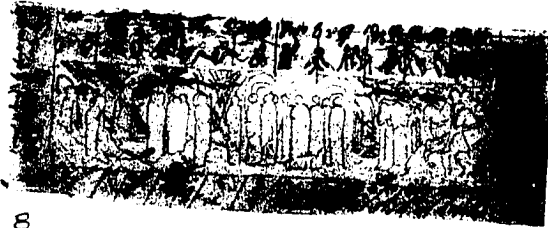
Burne-Jones no. 63



Burne-Jones no. 64

Burne-Jones no. 65





8

R. no. 1



R. no. 2

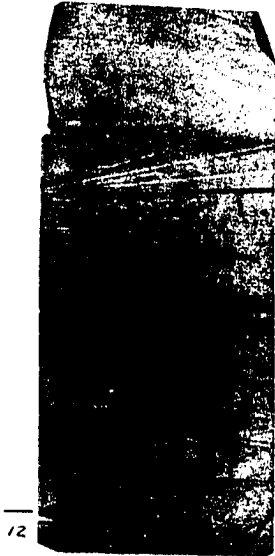
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R. no. 5



R. no. 6



R. no. 7



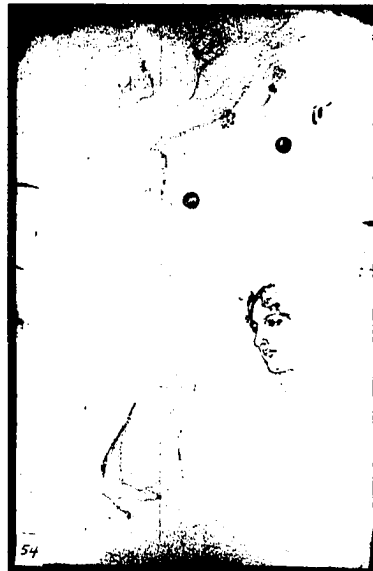
R. no. 8



R. no. 9



R. no. 10



R. no. 11



R. no. 12

72

R. no. 13



R. no. 14

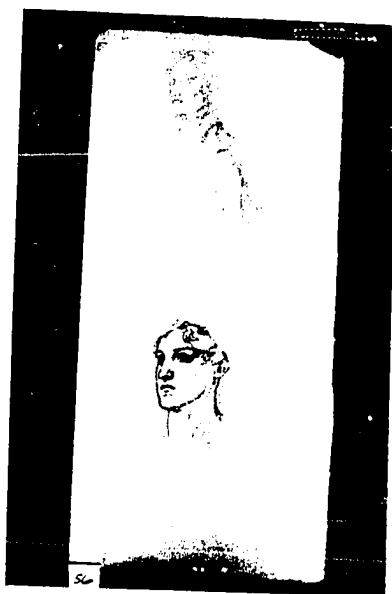


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R. no. 16

R. no. 17



R. no. 18



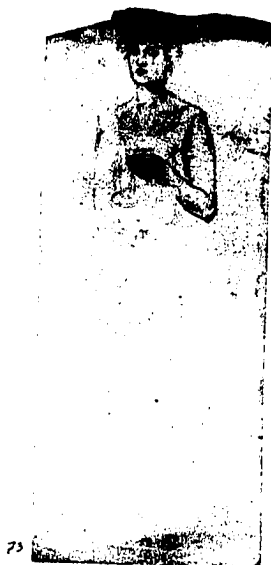
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R. no. 20



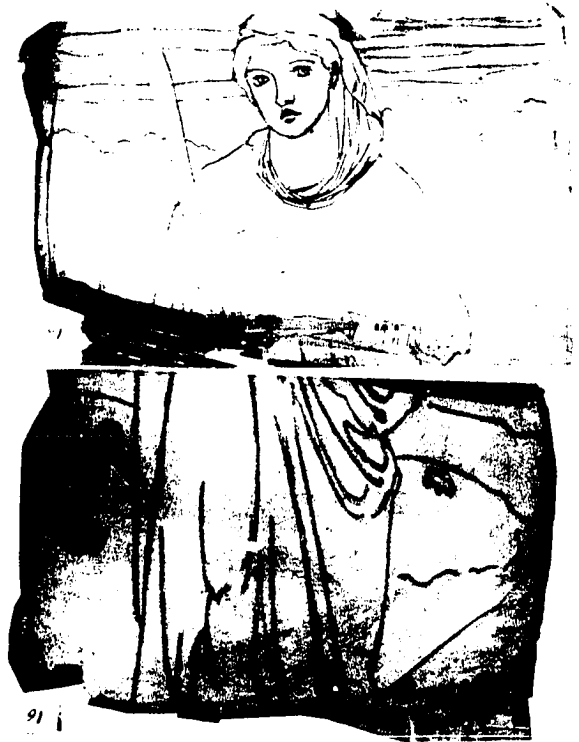
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R. no. 22



R. no. 23



R. no. 24



R. no. 25



R. no. 26



R. no. 27



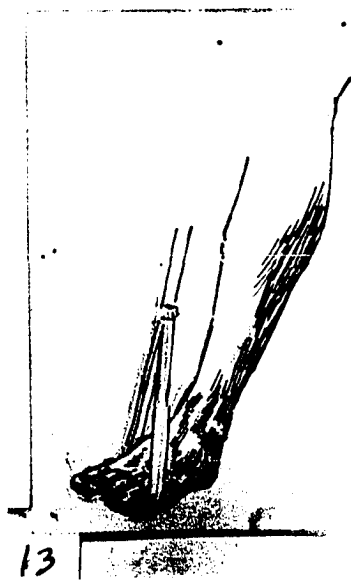
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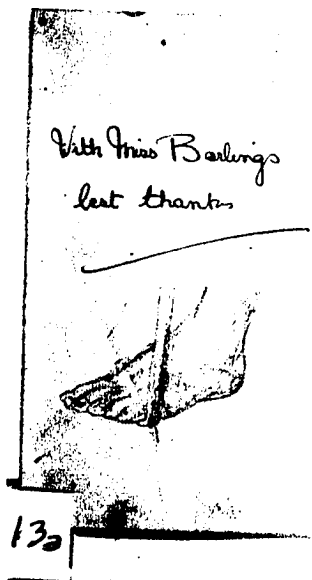
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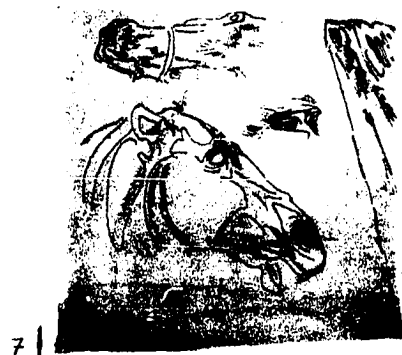
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R. no. 31



R. no. 32



7 |

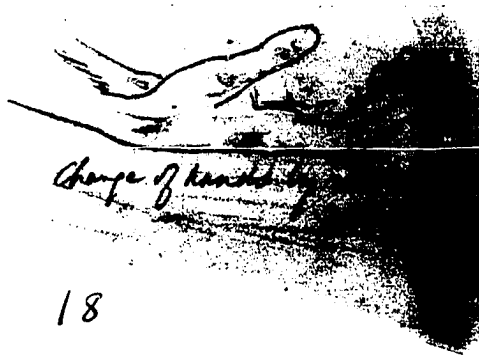
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R. no. 34



R. no. 35



R. no. 36

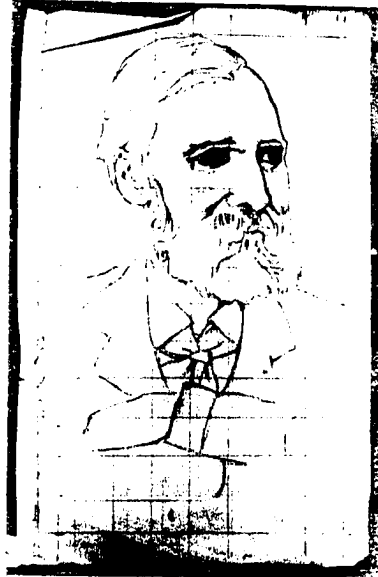
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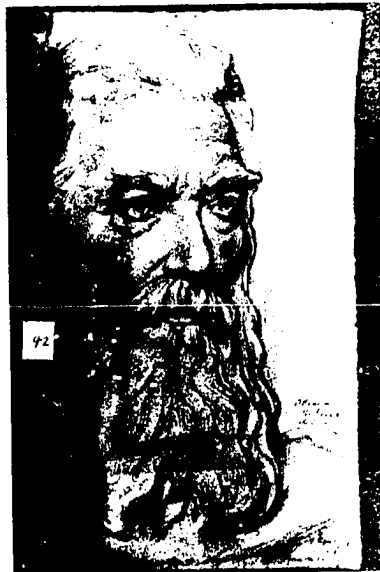
R. no. 38



R. no. 39



R. no. 40



R. no. 41



R. no. 42



R. no. 43



R. no. 44



R. no. 45



10

R. no. 46

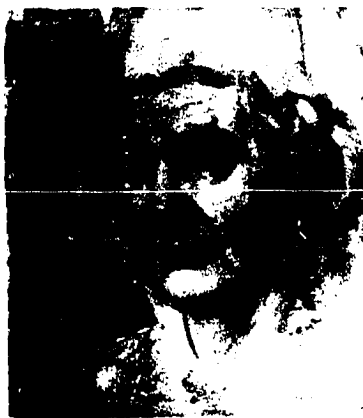


6

R. no. 17



R. no. 18



18

R. no. 49



R. no. 50



R. no. 51

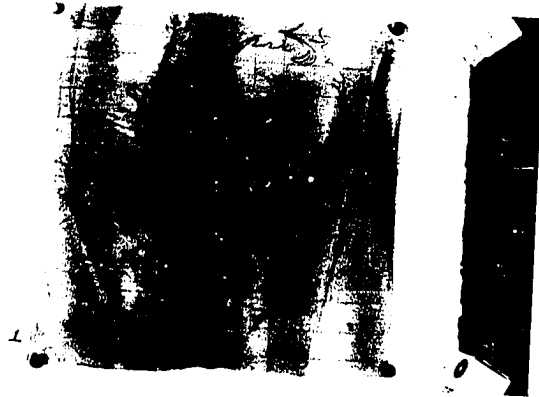


R. no. 52



29

R. no. 53



R. no. 54



20

R. no. 55



R. no. 56



14

R. no. 57



R. no. 58



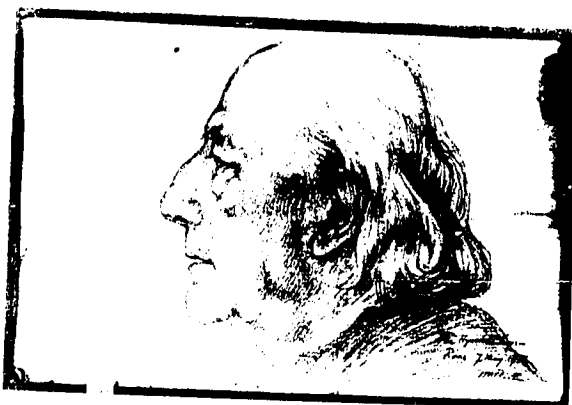
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R. no. 60



R. no. 61



R. no. 62



R. no. 63



87

R. no. 64



R. no. 65



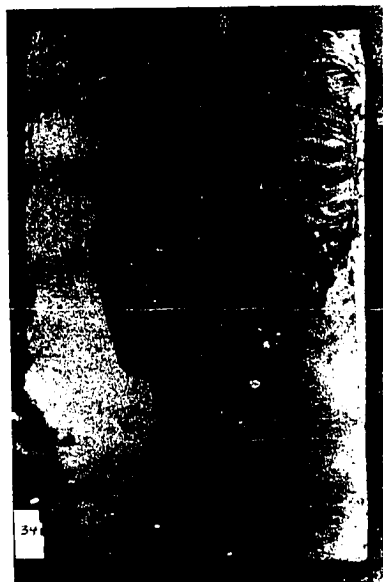
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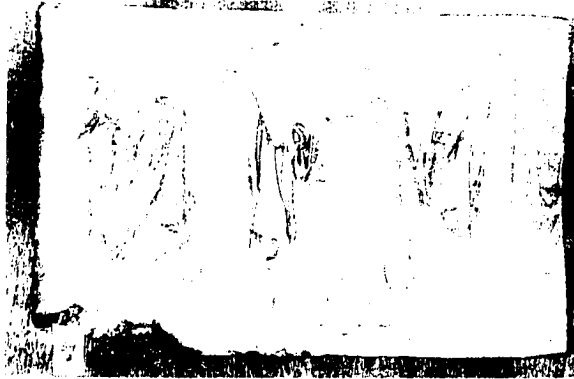
R. no. 67



R. no. 68



R. no. 59



R. no. 70



24

R. no. 71



R. no. 72



R. no. 73



R. no. 74



R. no. 75



R. no. 76



R. no. 77



R. no. 78



R. no. 79



R. no. 80



R. no. 81.



R. no. 82



R. no. 83



R. no. 84



R. no. 85



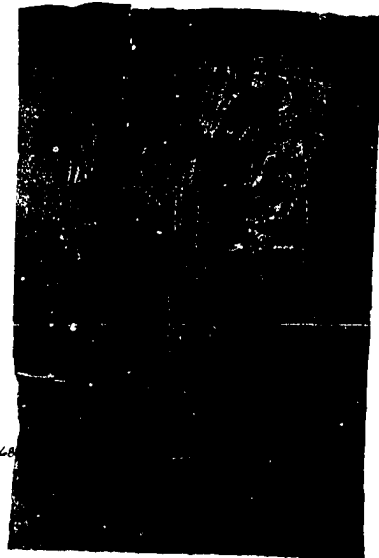
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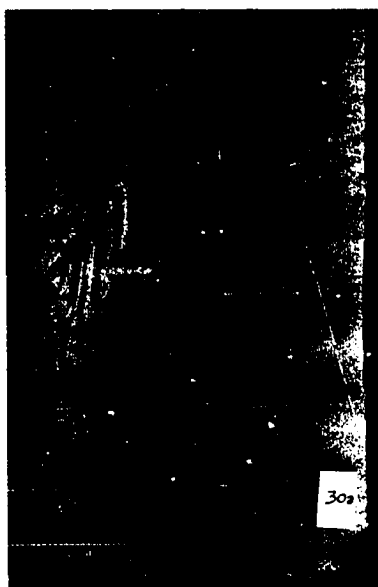
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R. no. 8,



R. no. 90



R. no. 91



R. no. 92



R. no. 93



R. no. 94



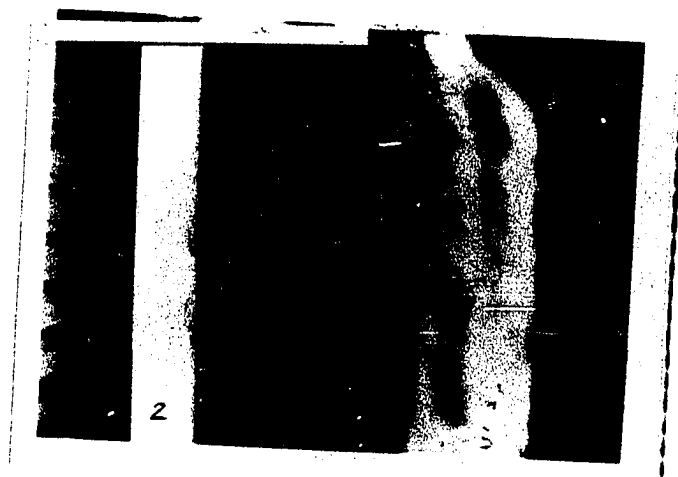
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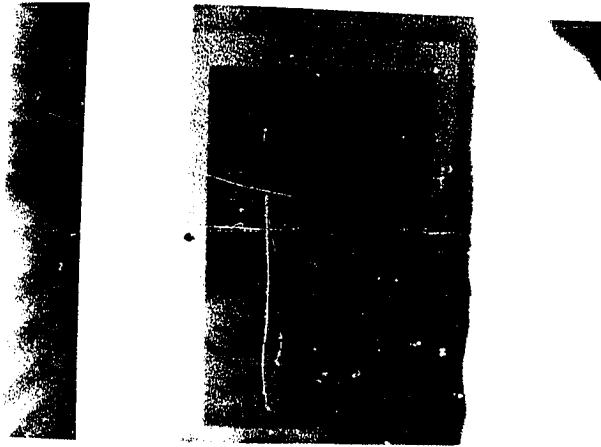
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R. no. 97



R. no. 98



R. no. 99



R. no. 100

R. no. 101



R. no. 102



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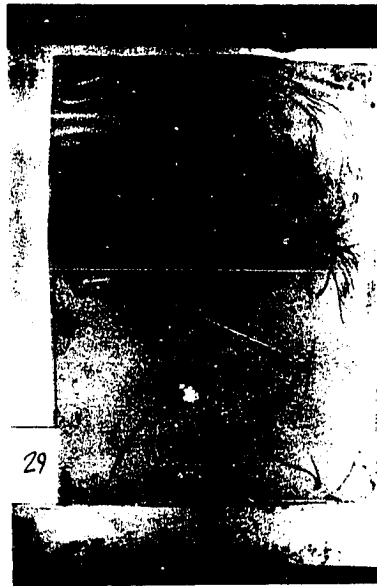
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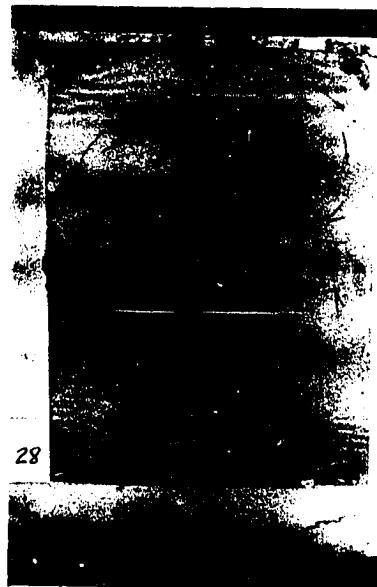
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R. no. 105



R. no. 106





R. no. 107



R. no. 108

R. no. 109



R. no. 110



R. no. 111

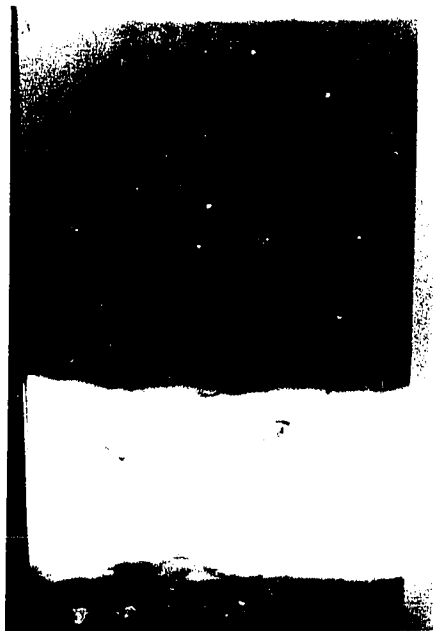




Fig. 1 George Street
St. Paul's Within-the-Walls
1872-1876
Via Nazionale, Rome



Fig. 2 Anonymous
S. Zeno
12th century
Piazza S. Zeno, Verona



Fig. 3 George Street and Edward Burne-Jones
Interior of St. Paul's Within-the-Walls
1885
via Nazionale, Rome

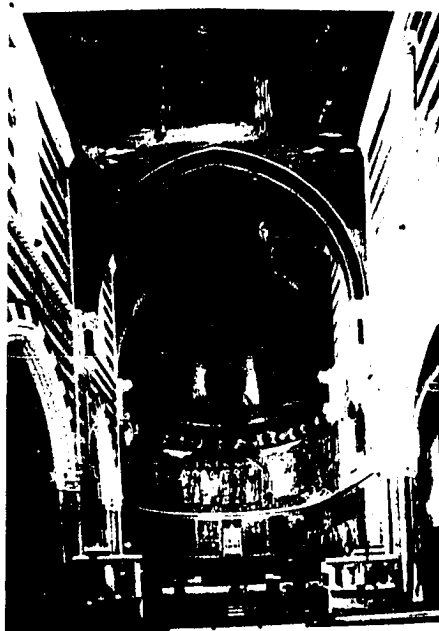


Fig. 4 George Street, Edward Burne-Jones and Thomas Rooke
Nave and choir of St. Paul's Within-the-Walls
1872-1907
via Nazionale, Rome
(photographed in 1973)



Fig. 5 Edward Burne-Jones
The Annunciation
1886-1888
Mosaic
St. Paul's Within-the-Walls, Rome



Fig. 6 Edward Burne-Jones
The Tree of Life
1886-1888
Mosaic
St. Paul's Within-the-Walls, Rome

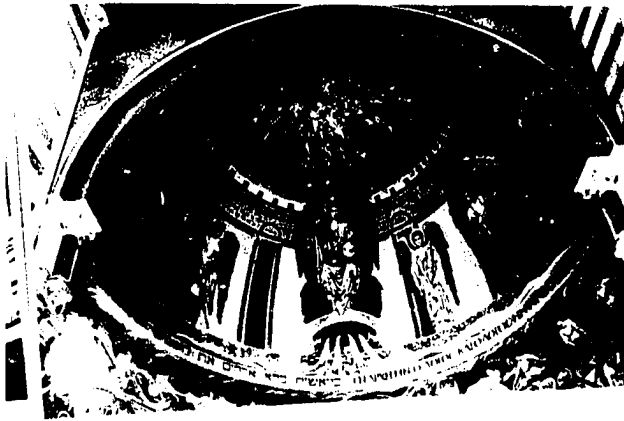


Fig. 7 Edward Burne-Jones
The Heavenly Jerusalem
1881-1885
Mosaic
St. Paul's Within-the-Walls, Rome

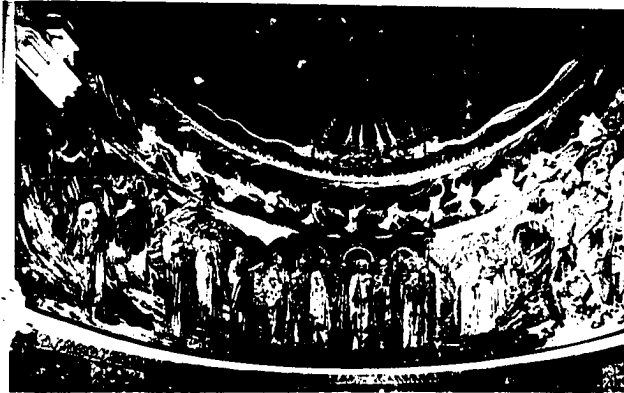


Fig. 8 Edward Burne-Jones and Thomas Rooke
The Earthly Paradise
1886-1907
Mosaic
St. Paul's Within-the-Walls, Rome



Fig. 9 Anonymous
Photograph of the Interior of Burns-Jones's London
house, The Grange
c. 1890-1900
National Monuments Record, London



Fig. 10 Anonymous
Photograph of the Interior of Burne-Jones's London
studio
c. 1890-1892
National Monuments Record, London



Fig. 11 Anonymous
Photograph of St. Paul's before 1907
c. 1905
Collection of Thomas Hancock, London



Fig. 12 Anonymous
Photograph of St. Paul's with a photograph of Burne-Jones's design for the choir pasted over the choir area before 1907
Collection of Thomas Hancock, London

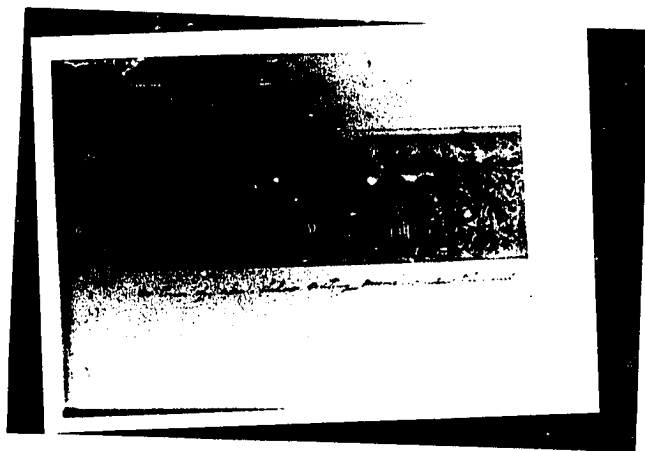


Fig. 13 Rev. R.J. Nevin
Photograph of Burne-Jone's Study for the Choir
Mosaic of St. Paul's
c. 1890-1906
Collection of Mary Ryde, London



Portraits in the Mosaic of the Church Triumphant (from left to right)

- A. In the group of "Ascetics", there are no portraits.
- B. In the group of "Matrons":
1. Martha is Mrs. Catherine Lovilland Wolfe.
 2. Mrs. W. B. Stevens, the wife of the Bishop in Charge of the European Convocation.
 3. The only other portrait in this group is of a Mrs. Beckett.
- C. In the central group of Church Fathers:
1. St. Cuthbert is Bishop Alanzo Potter.
 2. St. Gregory Nazianzen is Mr. William H. Herriman.
 3. St. Athanasius is the church's builder the Rev. Robert J. Nevin.
 4. St. Basil is George Perkins Marsh, in 1861 American Minister to Italy.
 5. St. John Chrysostom is Mr. Edward Burne-Jones.
 6. St. Paul in the center is not a portrait.
 7. St. Augustine is the Rev. Richard Cecil Nevin, father of Dr. Nevin.
 8. Pope St. Gregory is the then Archbishop of Canterbury, Archbishop Tait.
 9. St. Jerome is Dr. Dollinger.
 10. St. Andrew is J. S. Morgan, the father of J. P. Morgan.
- D. In the group of Virgin Saints:
1. St. Catherine (with the wheel) is Mrs. Lyster, wife of the then Bishop of New York, Henry Colman Potter.
 2. St. Barbara (with the tower) is Lily Burne-Jones.
 3. St. Cecilia (with the organ) is Mrs. William Walkley Ailes.
 4. St. Theresia (with the rose) is Mrs. Mackail, daughter of William Morris.
 5. St. Agnes (with the lamb) is Conventicle Stoney.
- E. In the group of National Saints:
1. St. George is General Hancock.
 2. St. James of Spain is General Garibaldi.
 3. St. Patrick is General U.S. Grant.
 4. St. Andrew is Alexander Lincoln.
 5. The footsucker with the spear is Mr. T. M. Banks, who completed the mosaic after the death of Burne-Jones.
 6. St. Denis is Mr. Henry White, then the American Minister to Italy.
 7. The 6th mounted figure is Fern Hyacalle.
 8. The 7th is a portrait of the father of President Theodore Roosevelt.

Fig. 14 Anonymous
Diagram of the Choir Mosaic
1965
Printed pamphlet for St. Paul's Within-the-Walls
Rome



Fig. 15 Edward Burne-Jones
Charity
c. 1875-1880
Oil on canvas
60 x 36 inches
London art market

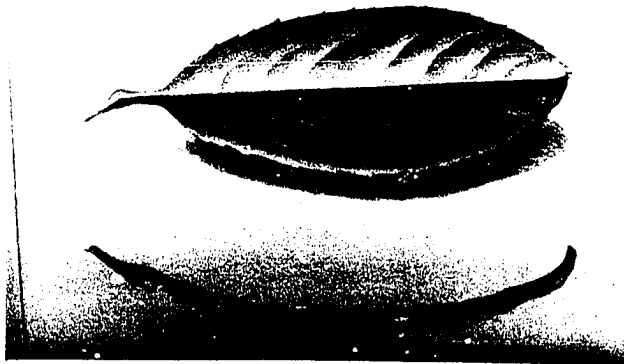


Fig. 16 John Ruskin
Leaf Studies, The Common Bay-Laurel
c. 1879
Engraved by G. Allen
Printed page from Proserpina, Vol. I, Plate XI

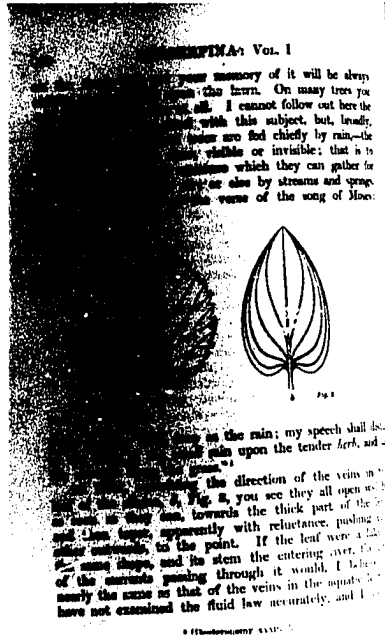
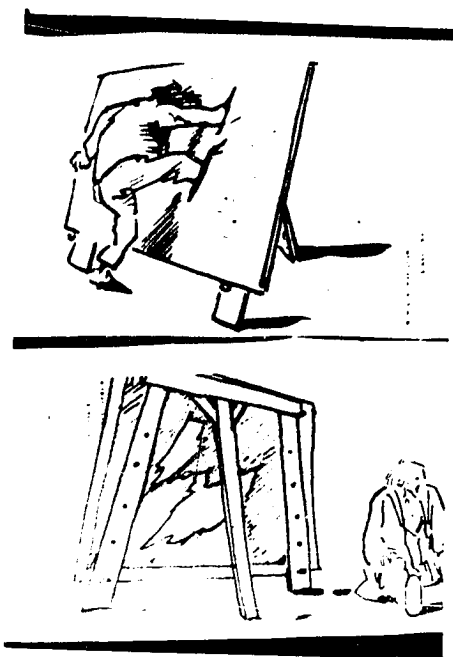


Fig. 16a John Ruskin
 Two Leaves
 c. 1879
 Printed page from Proserpina, Vol. I, p. 240



Fig. 17 Anonymous
Early photograph of St. Paul's Within-the-Walls
before 1907
Collection of Mary Ryde, London



Figs. 18 and 19 Edward Burne-Jones
The Artist Attempting to Join the World of Art
with Disastrous Results
1883
Pen and Ink
4 x 5 inches each
The British Museum, London



Fig. 20 George Street, Edward Burne-Jones and Thomas Rooke
Interior of St. Paul's Within-the-Walls
1872-1907
via Nazionale, Rome



Fig. 21 Anonymous
Side Chapel in the Basilica of Torcello
12th century
Mosaic
Island of Torcello, Venice

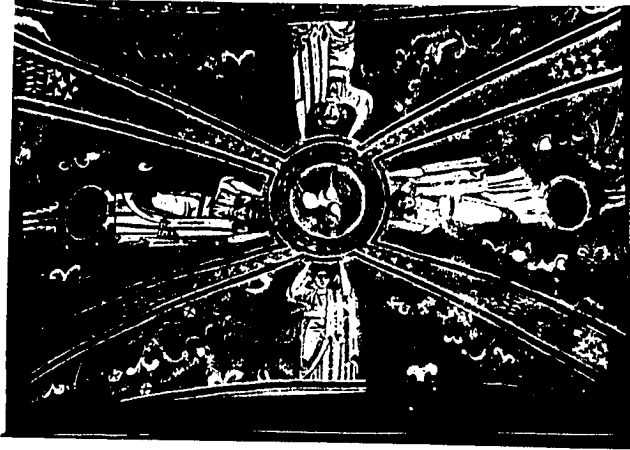


Fig. 22 Detail of Fig. 21



Fig. 23 Edward Burne-Jones
Dome Mosaics
1881-1885
St. Paul's Within-the-Walls, Rome

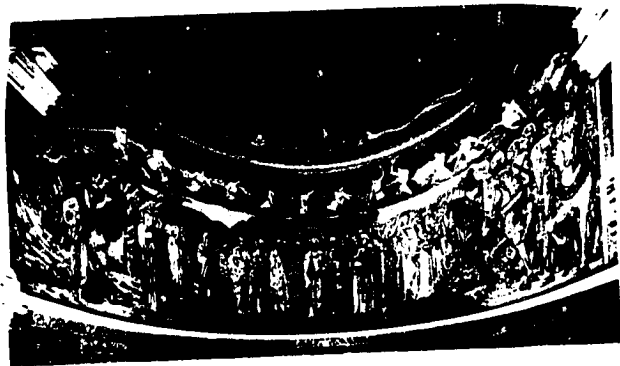


Fig. 24 Edward Burne-Jones and Thomas Rooke
Choir Mosaics
c. 1886-1907
St. Paul's Within-the-Walls, Rome



Fig. 25 Anonymous
The Apostles from the central Apse of Torcello Basilica
12th century
Mosaic
Island of Torcello, Venice



Fig. 26 Anonymous
Central Apse of the Basilica of Torcello
12th century
Mosaic
Island of Torcello, Venice



Fig. 27 **Anonymous**
Christ Presenting the Crown of Martyrdom to S. Vitale
6th century
Mosaic
S. Vitale, Ravenna



Fig. 28 Paolo Veneziano
Christ Enthroned on a Rainbow
1345
Fresco
Basilica of St. Mark's, Venice



Fig. 29 Edward Burne-Jones
Dies Domini
Crayon on paper
48 inches diameter
Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight



Fig. 30 Edward Burne-Jones
Adoration of the Lamb
1875
stained glass
All Hallows Church, Allerton, Lancashire

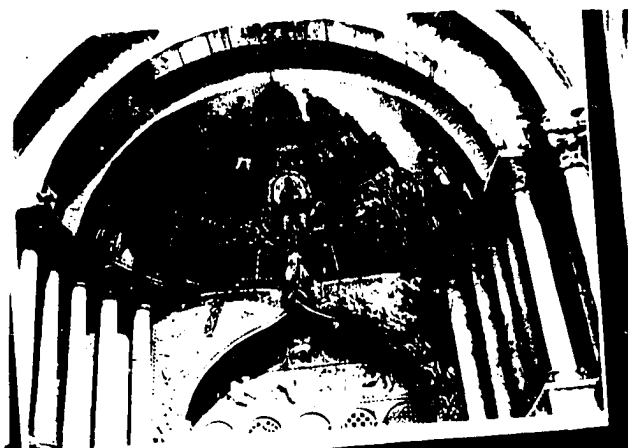


Fig. 31 Anonymous
Portal of the North-West Facade
1260-1270
Mosaic
Basilica of St. Mark's, Venice

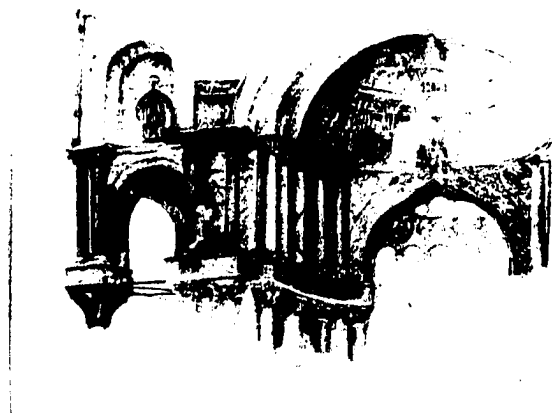


Fig. 32 John Ruskin
North-West Corner of St. Mark's, Venice
1877
Watercolor, 24 x 30 inches
Cambridge School, Isle of Wight

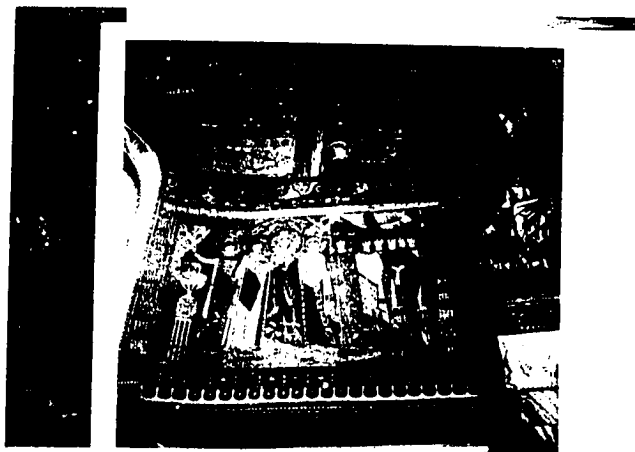


Fig. 33 Anonymous
Procession of the Empress Theodora
6th century
Mosaic
S. Vitale, Ravenna

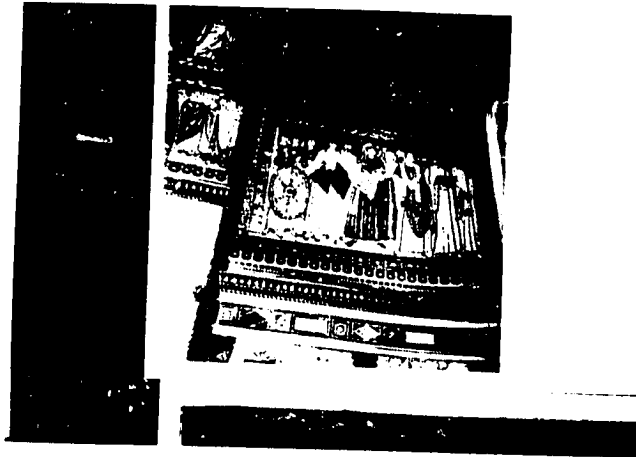


Fig. 34 Anonymous
Procession of the Emperor Justinian
6th century
Mosaic
S. Vitale, Ravenna

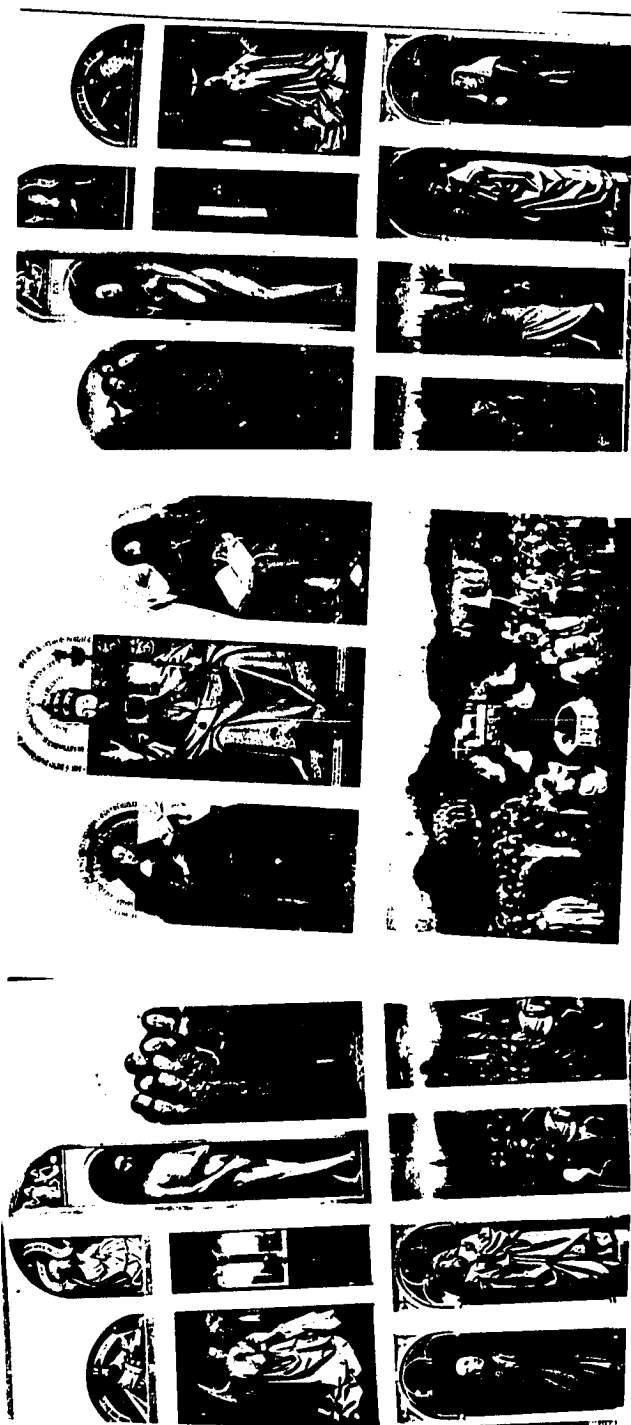


Fig. 35 **Hubert and Jan van Eyck**
The Ghent Altarpiece
1432
Oil on panel
St. Bavo, Ghent



Fig. 36 Detail of Fig. 35



Fig. 37 Detail of Fig. 35

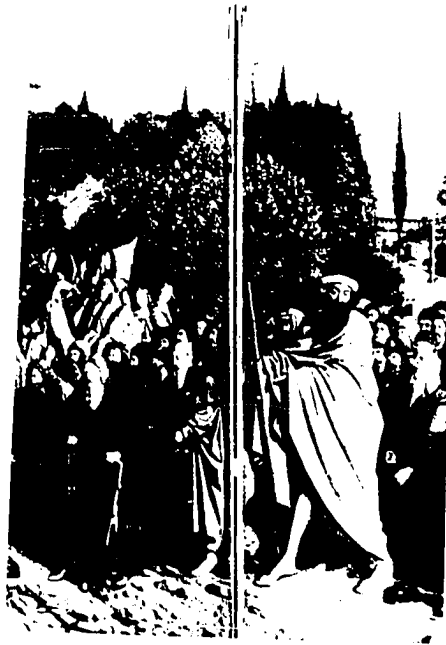


Fig. 38 Detail of Fig. 35



Fig. 39 Edward Burne-Jones and Thomas Rooker
The Knights of Christ and the Virgin Martyrs
1885-1907
Mosaic
St. Paul's Within-the-Walls, Rome



Fig. 40 Edward Burne-Jones and Thomas Rooke
The Matron Saints and the Hermit Saints
1885-1907
Mosaic
St. Paul's Within-the-Walls, Rome



Fig. 41 Edward Burne-Jones and Thomas Rooke
The Church Fathers
1885-1907
Mosaic
St. Paul's Within-the-Walls, Rome



Fig. 42 Edward Burne-Jones
The Annunciation
1885-1893
Mosaic
St. Paul's Within-the-Walls, Rome



Fig. 43 Anonymous
The Annunciation
13th century
Mosaic
Basilica of St. Marks, Venice



Fig. 44 **Anonymous Persian Mss.**
The Annunciation
1310-1311 A.D.
 Tempera on paper
 7 3/4 x 13 1/4 inches
 Edinburg University Library



Fig. 45 Edward Burne-Jones
The Annunciation
1876-1879
Oil on canvas
98 x 44 inches
Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight



Fig. 46 Edward Burne-Jones
The Tree of Life
1885-1893
Mosaic
St. Paul's Within-the-Walls, Rome



Fig. 47 Anonymous
Crucifixion from the Basilica of Torcello
13th century
Mosaic
Island of Torcello, Venice

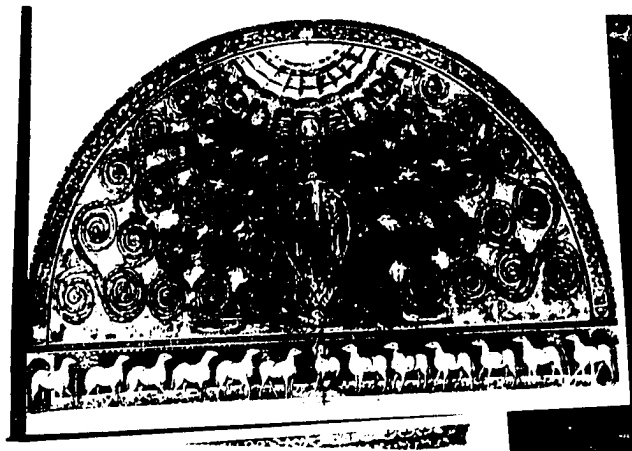


Fig. 48 Anonymous
The Tribune Vault of S. Clemente, Rome (5th century)
18th century copy
Watercolor
12 x 24 inches
Royal Library, Windsor



Fig. 49 Anonymous
The Saviour Crucified on a Budding Tree
14th century
Fresco
Godhill, Isle of Wight

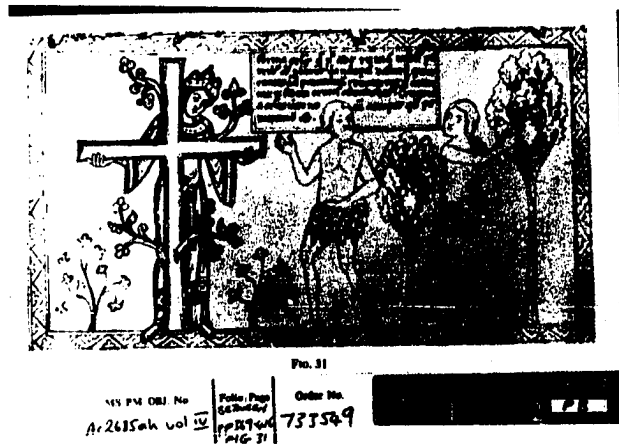


Fig. 50 Anonymous
In Praise of the Holy Cross
 12th century
 Miniature book illustration
 3 x 6 inches
 Regensburg Library



Fig. 51 Agnolo Gaddi
The Tree of Life
14th century
Fresco
Santa Croce, Florence

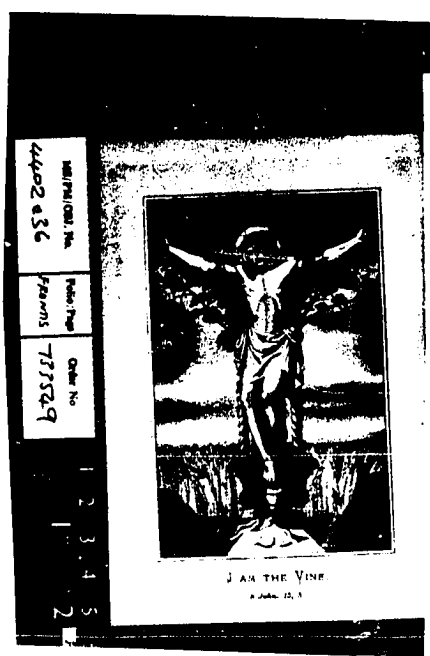


Fig. 52 Anonymous
I am the Vine
 1873
 Engraving
 Frontispiece to Vitis Mystica, S. Bernard, published
 as A Treatise on the Passion of Our Lord, trans. with
 a preface by the Rev. Bernard Brownlow, London, 1873.



Fig. 53 Morris and Co.
The Crucifixion
1877
Stained glass
Church of St. Michael-Pimlico, Torquay, Devon



Fig. 54 William Morris for Morris and Co.
The Crucifixion
1875
Stained glass
Church of All Saints, South Darley, Derbyshire



Fig. 55 Edward Burne-Jones
The Merciful Knight
1863
Gouache
39 1/2 x 27 inches
Birmingham City Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham



Fig. 56 Edward Burne-Jones
The Tree of Forgiveness
1881
Oil on canvas
75 x 42 inches
Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight



Fig. 57 Edward Burne-Jones
The Beguiling of Merlin, or Merlin and Vivien
1870-1874
Oil on canvas
72 x 43 inches
Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight



Fig. 58 Edward Burne-Jones
The Annunciation (The Flower of God)
1862
Gouache
24 x 21 inches
Private Collection, London



Fig. 59 George Street
All Saints Church
1858
Boyn Hill, Berkshire



Fig. 60 Anonymous
Choir of St. James the Less, Garden Street, Westminster
(George Street, architect, with mural by G.F. Watts)
1861
Engraving, published in The Builder, March 15, 1862



Fig. 61 Clayton and Bell
Interior of the Guard's Chapel, Westminster
1879-1917
Mosaic
Wellington Barracks, London