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Eve and the Madonna in Victorian Art

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Madonna and Child type within the context of the history or landscape subject of the Flight into Egypt.¹⁷¹ In turn, late Victorian versions of the subject, generally those dating from the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century, are characterized by an Orientalist treatment. Illustrated versions of Romantic, Pre-Raphaelite and Orientalist or historical versions of the Flight into Egypt by John Martin, Turner, Arthur Hughes, Arthur Gaskin, Stanhope, Rossetti, Hunt, J.R. Herbert and Frederick Goodall will be examined.

Turner's *Dawn of Christianity (The Flight into Egypt)*, exhibited at the RA in 1841 [Fig. 30], and the *Flight into Egypt* by Martin; exhibited at the RA, in 1842 [Fig. 31], are the earliest examples that can be illustrated.¹⁷² Martin's primary concern has been described as stressing 'the exposed and lonely predicament of the Holy Family.'¹⁷³ Both Turner and the Martin dwarfed the Holy Family in relation to a vast, Romantic landscape imbued with topographical and meteorological atmosphere.¹⁷⁴ Martin represented the flight in 'the atmosphere of the hurried journey into alien lands rather than the actual route taken.'¹⁷⁵ Turner, uniquely, painted the subject of the *Flight into Egypt* in the form of a tondo, recalling the circular Italian Renaissance format. The picture can be read from left to right as the 'New Testament' emerges from the 'Old Testament:' one is reminded of Eve's transgression through the subtle inclusion of a serpent, and the Holy Family

¹⁷¹ Jameson acknowledged 'the butchery which made so many mothers childless' during the Massacre of the Innocents which necessitated the Flight into Egypt. Jameson, 1899, p. 346.

¹⁷² RA Cat., 1841, no. 532. The same year also included *The Repose in Egypt* by W. Boxall, no. 1154. RA Cat. 1842, no. 395, with the accompanying text: 'When he arose he took the young child and his mother by night, and departed into Egypt.' Matthew ii., 14.

¹⁷³ Feaver, W. *The Art of John Martin*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975, p. 171.

¹⁷⁴ There are two examples of earlier studies for the subject of the Flight into Egypt by Turner in the collection of the Tate Britain: *Four Sketches, One, Flight into Egypt*, 1819, from Naples, Paestum and Rome Sketchbook, pencil on paper, 114 x 187 mm, D15978, and *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, circa 1828, oil on canvas, 1603 x 1215 x 75 mm, N05497.

¹⁷⁵ Feaver, 1975, p. 171.

hastens to Egypt, having journeyed from the left bank, where the snake is visible, to the right bank from which they proceed into the landscape.

The subject of the Flight into Egypt was painted in the 1850s by, among others, Richard Redgrave.¹⁷⁶ An image of Redgrave's version, however, exhibited at the RA in 1851, remains untraced. Intriguingly, the composition of Redgrave's painting *Starting for the Christening*, n.d. [Fig. 32] reads like a secular *Flight into Egypt*, and represents a young Victorian mother holding a swaddled infant in her lap, riding a mule led by the father, in a horizontal landscape. In fact, the attire of the Victorian parents corresponds to the traditional colours of the Virgin Mary and Joseph's clothes. The trends of the latter half of the nineteenth century are also confirmed by a sketch for the Flight into Egypt by Arthur Hughes, n.d. (c.1860 or later) [Fig. 33], and a water-colour and gouache *Flight into Egypt*, n.d. (approximately 1880-90) by Gaskin [Fig. 34], neither of which appear to have been exhibited, however.¹⁷⁷ This study demonstrates that the proportion of the Holy Family to the landscape through which they flee to Egypt shifted by the second half of the nineteenth century: the Virgin and child riding the mule and accompanied by Joseph are the main subject of the picture, with a landscape background.

Stanhope: A 'modern Botticelli'¹⁷⁸

A decade later, Stanhope exhibited *The Flight into Egypt* at the RA in 1862 [Fig. 13].¹⁷⁹ Stanhope's version of *The Flight into Egypt* is a richly coloured oil on canvas

¹⁷⁶ RA Cat., 1851, no. 229, *The flight into Egypt: Mary meditating on the prophecy of Simeon*, with the accompanying text: 'Behold this child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel; and for a sign which shall be spoken against; yea, a sword shall pierce through thine own soul also.'

¹⁷⁷ The version by Hughes is illustrated by a Witt Library image: date and location unknown. *The Flight into Egypt*, by Arthur Joseph Gaskin, watercolour and gouache heightened with scratching out over black chalk, squared for transfer, 17 x 21 in. A Sotheby's image is available in the Arthur Gaskin file at the Witt Library.

¹⁷⁸ Anonymous, 'The New Gallery,' *Athenaeum*, May 12, 1894, No. 3472, p. 619.

nearly three feet square. The subject is nearly always represented in a horizontal composition in order to illustrate the small procession journeying through a landscape. Stanhope renders the viewer's relationship to the Madonna and Child immediate by placing Joseph in the background, on the far side of the mule. This represents the compositional norm throughout the Victorian era.

The oil sketch on panel by Hughes, *The Flight into Egypt*, n.d., is probably contemporary with that of Stanhope, and reflects a similar style, in the vaguely Northern European conception. However, Hughes' version is, unusually, a vertical composition in which the Madonna and child appear to be the subject of a devotional image rather than a history painting. The formats, particularly the relatively small proportions, of these works may, indeed, reflect the middle-class market for these Pre-Raphaelite religious paintings. The seated figure of the Virgin holding the infant Jesus and flanked on either side by the mystical forms of flying angels, and the figure of Joseph placed on the opposite side of the mule than the viewer, with his face turned away, contribute to a sense that the painting is oriented around devotional rather than historical purpose. In the version by Hughes, Joseph's attire lends an anachronistic, Flemish impression.

The Virgin's attire stands out as the most saturated aspect of Stanhope's richly hued palette. It would appear that Stanhope employed traditional, symbolic colouring.¹⁷⁹ This is reminiscent of the methods employed by Titian, for example, whereby the

¹⁷⁹ RA Cat., 1862, no. 573. *The Return from Egypt* by J.M. Wright, OWS Cat. 1862, no. 228, (with the accompanying text: 'And behold, the angel of the Lord appeared unto Joseph in Egypt saying, arise, and take the young child and his mother, and go into the Land of Israel: for they are dead which sought the young child's life.' -St. Matthew) and the *Flight into Egypt*, by J.T. Linnell was exhibited at the RA in 1866, no. 545. There were no versions exhibited in the 1870s at the venues I researched.

¹⁸⁰ The primary and secondary colours of red and blue immediately distinguish the Virgin from the neutral earth-tones around her. The infant Jesus is swaddled in orange; the complementary secondary colour to his mother's blue dress, establishes a symbolically exclusive kindred relationship between them; they are the Holy aspect of the Holy Family. Joseph is attired in green and brown which may signal his relationship to the earth tones around them; the terrestrial.

otherworldly aspect is symbolically distinguished by the bright, saturated colour of the Virgin's clothing; such as *'The Aldobrandini Madonna,'* 1532 [Fig. 35], bought by the National Gallery in 1860, and *The Holy Family with a Shepherd,* c.1510 [Fig. 36], received through the Holwell Carr Bequest, 1831. Thus, both of these paintings were in the collection of the National Gallery, where Stanhope would have seen them.¹⁸¹ Critics and colleagues alike lauded Stanhope's technique; 'he had such a command of the pure egg-yolk technique that he used it as successfully as the Old Masters of early Italian Renaissance five centuries before.'¹⁸² Stanhope travelled to Italy for the first time with Watts, in 1853 and within three years of painting the *Flight into Egypt,* he was spending winters there. His use of colour was, according to Burne-Jones, 'beyond any the finest in Europe' and Rossetti was said to be 'in a perfect state of enthusiasm about it.'¹⁸³ The influence of Burne-Jones is apparent in some of Stanhope's works after about 1860, providing visual evidence of his Pre-Raphaelite connections.¹⁸⁴

Stanhope's later treatment of the Virgin Mary was likened by a critic, writing for the *Athenaeum* in 1894, to that of a 'modern Botticelli' for the 'pure and sweet' quality of the holy character; reminiscent of Botticelli's capacity for infusing holy subjects with a

¹⁸¹ NG635 and NG4. The likely influence of Venetian painting upon Stanhope's religious paintings is discussed in Fiamura, F. 'The Ministration of Angels on Earth: Twelve Biblical Paintings by Spencer Stanhope,' *The Journal of Pre-Raphaelite Studies*, 7 (Fall 1998), p. 84. Fiamura describes stylistic connections between a version of *The Agony in the Garden*, one of a series of twelve biblical paintings by Stanhope for the Chapel of St. Michael and All the Angels, Marlborough College, Wiltshire, and those by both Mantegna and Giovanni Bellini. Fiamura states that Stanhope's version 'suggests distinct awareness' of the Mantegna and the Bellini, which were both in the National Gallery, London; the former bought in 1894 and the latter bought in 1863. Stanhope's paintings for the Chapel were executed from 1875-79, and re-worked in 1885-87.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 74

¹⁸³ Burne-Jones, G. *Memorials of Sir Edward Burne-Jones*, 2 vols., London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1906, vol. 2, p. 76.

¹⁸⁴ A friend and associate of the Pre-Raphaelites, Stanhope was introduced to Watts in 1850 and subsequently into the artistic circle at Little Holland House. In 1857 he was invited by Rossetti to participate in the Oxford Union murals, and he occupied a studio near Rossetti's at Chatham Place, Blackfriars, the following year, in 1858. *The Pre-Raphaelites*. Exhibition catalogue by Alan Bowness et al., London: Tate, 1984, p. 39.

balance of appearing 'devout and tender' as well as 'flesh and blood.'¹⁸⁵ This review was written one year after the 1893 edition of Pater's *Renaissance*, where, Botticelli's name, though 'little known in the last century' was identified as 'quietly becoming important.'¹⁸⁶ Pater described Botticelli's approach to religious subjects as one that revealed 'an undercurrent of original sentiment' which would 'touch' the viewer as 'the real matter of the picture through the veil of its ostensible subject.'¹⁸⁷ Botticelli's subjects were described as 'always attractive,' however 'mixed' or 'uncertain' their emotional or psychological states.¹⁸⁸ The connection the reviewer made between the 'devout and tender' yet 'flesh and blood' Madonna painted by Stanhope, and those of Botticelli, may lie in this quality identified in Pater's *Renaissance*.

Stanhope owned the work of Botticelli and he funded the completion of a collaborative project between himself and G.F. Bodley, between 1892-1904, on St. Mark's English Church in Florence, with the sale of an altarpiece by Botticelli.¹⁸⁹ Stanhope's relationship to Italy became a way of life; he purchased Villa Nuti at Bellosguardo, outside Florence, in 1872, moving there permanently in 1880. He had his frames 'made in gilt gesso by Florentine craftsmen,' and was one of the first British

¹⁸⁵ Anonymous, 'The New Gallery,' *Athenaeum*, May 12, 1894, No. 3472, p. 619. This review was in specific reference to *The Annunciation* by Spencer Stanhope, exhibited at the New Gallery (no. 1) in 1894. Although *The Annunciation*, 1894, could not be illustrated, the reference to the Annunciate is arguably equally appropriate to the Virgin of *The Flight into Egypt*, 1862.

¹⁸⁶ Pater, p. 39.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹⁸⁹ 'In fact, it seemed unlikely the funds for this project would have been raised unless Mr. and Mrs. Stanhope had not sold a Botticelli altarpiece which they owned.' For more on this, see Schreiner, B., 'The Collaboration of G.F. Bodley & J.R. Spencer Stanhope in Florence 1892-1904,' *Journal of the William Morris Society*, vol. 14, issue no. 2, Spring, 2001, p. 93.

artists to revive tempera painting, 'adopting it at least as early as 1877 when painting *Eve Tempted*.'¹⁹⁰

Rossetti's *Bethlehem Gate*, 1862

Rossetti, a friend and colleague of Stanhope, painted the subject of the *Flight into Egypt* the same year that Stanhope exhibited his version.¹⁹¹ Unpublished letters to Pre-Raphaelite patron Ellen Heaton describe Rossetti's *Bethlehem Gate*, 1862 [Fig. 37], having been admired by Robert Browning.¹⁹² After Rossetti's death in 1882, *Bethlehem Gate* was exhibited at the RA in 1883 and at the New Gallery in 1897.¹⁹³ Rossetti's conception is completely original; traditionally, the Virgin and Child, with Joseph, are traditionally represented fleeing or having fled to Egypt on a donkey, in a landscape setting. Rossetti shows them fleeing the town of Bethlehem on foot, amid chaos; this action precedes the traditional scene of the Holy Family in quiet procession to Egypt.

The subject of the painting is primarily the haloed Virgin clinging to the haloed infant Jesus following an angel bearing a palm out of the gates of Bethlehem. They are accompanied by Joseph, whose head is seen in the background, as is the beginning of the massacre of the innocents. The figure group is led away from Bethlehem by the Holy

¹⁹⁰ Julian Treuherz: 'Stanhope, (John) Roddam Spencer,' Grove Art Online. Oxford University Press, [26 September, 2006], <http://www.groveart.com/> In 1901, Stanhope was among the founders of the Society of Painters in Tempera. See: 'Burne-Jones and His Followers,' *The Last Romantics: The Romantic Tradition in British Art, Burne-Jones to Stanley Spencer*. Exhibition catalogue by John Christian et al., London: Barbican Art Gallery, 1989, p. 79.

¹⁹¹ A sketch indicates that Rossetti conceived the subject as early as 1851. Surtees, V. *The Paintings and Drawings of Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882): A Catalogue Raisonné*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971, p. 89. While Surtees identifies the painting as oil, Tate Britain identifies it as watercolour on paper: see Surtees, 1971, p. 89 and Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Bethlehem Gate*, Tate N05232, [Online] <http://www.tate.org.uk/servlet/ViewWork?workid=12809&searchid=17142> [24th October 2006]

¹⁹² '59 Lincoln's Inn Fields, 28 May 1862. I write according to promise to tell you that I have now 2 water colour drawings finished... "Bethlehem Gate," for which you saw a design.'" and 'Letter to Ellen Heaton, "24 June 62...Mr. (Robert) Browning was I think really much pleased with *Bethlehem Gate*, at which he looked for some time.'" See: Surtees, 1971, p. 89.

¹⁹³ RA Cat., 1883, no. 292. NG Cat., 1897-8, no. 48.

Spirit in the form of a haloed dove; a symbol associated with the Virgin Mary, and also present in Rossetti's 1850 Annunciation, *Ecce Ancilla Domini!*, the 1855 watercolour *The Annunciation*, and in a 1857 watercolour of the young Virgin tending lilies and roses outdoors, *Mary Nazarene*. Rossetti's version of the subject is symbolic and mystical in the inclusion of the haloes, the angel and the dove. Although the dimensions are those of a horizontal painting, *Bethlehem Gate* is comprised vertical composition, with the procession of figures fleeing the gate through the city walls, and these architectural elements underline the verticality. Stanhope's conception, by contrast, is somewhat static, the donkey appears to have halted in the center of the composition and the Virgin and child are seated in profile. Stanhope's composition is horizontal; anchored by the figures of Joseph and the young woodcutter on either side of the Virgin and child on the donkey. Nevertheless, it may be a significant indication of the personal relationship between Rossetti and Stanhope, and subsequent artistic affinities, that the rounded modeling of the Virgin's features, the colour and mode of head covering she wears, and even the head of the infant Jesus, are markedly similar to one another; representing close artistic relationships and stylistic affinities.

In *Dante Rossetti and the Pre-Raphaelite Movement*, published in 1894, Wood lauded a tendency she identified in Pre-Raphaelite art to reconcile the 'crucifixion principle,' described as an 'essentially Catholic element in religion,' with the 'resurrection principle,' described as 'peculiar to Protestantism.'¹⁹⁴ This relates to a 'conception of the dual truth in Christianity- the necessity of suffering and the assurance of victory;' the former being associated by Victorians with Catholic art, such as scenes

¹⁹⁴ Wood, Esther *Dante Rossetti and the Pre-Raphaelite Movement*, London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company, Limited, 1894, p. 216.

representing the crucifixion and martyrdom, and the latter being associated with Protestantism.¹⁹⁵ The author commends both Rossetti and Hunt for representing 'not merely victory *over* suffering, as Protestantism insists on which they teach, but victory *through* suffering,' thereby effecting a 'fusion of Catholic ethics with Protestant faith.'¹⁹⁶

Generally, Wood notes;

it is remarkable that the Pre-Raphaelites find as much inspiration for the thought of victory through suffering in the incidents of Christ's childhood as in the story of His martyrdom.¹⁹⁷

This effect is achieved, for example, by the inclusion of an angelic escort, bearing a palm, and guiding the Holy Family away from the Massacre of the Innocents, upon which the angel behind them literally closes the door. This could be said to represent a conception of the incident which treats it, in the words of Jameson, as a 'mystery' more than an 'event.' Jameson described the Flight into Egypt as an 'event' which normally did not, and should not, include a representation of the Massacre of the Innocents. It was deemed incompatible with scenes from the Life of the Virgin because the contrast between the association of the Virgin Mary, and, Jameson specified, mothers in general, with those mothers who lost their children to the Massacre, 'was too painful.'¹⁹⁸

The Late Victorian Flight into Egypt: Hunt, Herbert, and Goodall

Versions of the Flight into Egypt from the third and fourth quarters of the nineteenth century demonstrate that an Orientalist approach characterized the late Victorian paintings of the subject. Hunt's conception of the Virgin Mary was comprised

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 216-217.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 217.

¹⁹⁸ Jameson, 1899, p. 353.

of the influence of the Italian Old Masters combined with the results of his journeys to Palestine, where his observations of contemporary women increasingly affected his work. Herbert's paintings were described by contemporaries as conveying an authenticity observed first-hand in Palestine, and Goodall, like Hunt, authored his own mythology of an artist journeying in search of authentic experience of religious sites. Interestingly, both Hunt and Herbert could be said to have worked from an 'outsider' identity; the former as a Protestant artist seeking to pioneer a new style of religious art, and the latter as a Catholic convert working in Protestant Victorian culture.

Three versions of *The Triumph of the Innocents*, by Hunt, were painted from 1870-1903.¹⁹⁹ Hunt's conception is unique for the inclusion of a procession of spirit children representing the massacred innocents who suffered the fate that Joseph and the Virgin Mary seek to prevent for the infant Jesus by escaping to Egypt. Jameson, remarked upon the 'martyred children' in a context of oblique pacifism, or perhaps even anti-Imperialism, commenting plainly upon her modern times in her art historical narrative:

There is surely something very pathetic in that feeling which exalted these infant victims into objects of religious veneration, making them the cherished companions in heavenly glory of the Saviour for whose sake they were sacrificed on earth...to these were granted the perogatives of pain as well as the priveleges of innocence. If, in the day of retribution they sit at the feet of the Redeemer, surely they will appeal against us, then and there; against us who, in these days, through our reckless neglect, , slay, body and soul, legions of innocents, body and soul...yet dare to call ourselves Christians.²⁰⁰

The version of *The Triumph of the Innocents*, begun in 1870 [Fig. 38] as a study for the two later paintings, represents the Virgin in a tender yet somber posture as she rests her

¹⁹⁹ The second of these was exhibited alone at the Fine Art Society in February 1885; a venue which is not, however, among the six selected for this study.

²⁰⁰ Jameson, 1899, p. 355.

head close to that of the baby Jesus standing on her lap, thus demonstrating 'a more formal Italianate concept.'²⁰¹ However, the later two versions represent a less formal, more 'naturalistic' posture whereby the Virgin holds an infant straining with curiosity. Additionally, an increasingly Orientalist treatment of the Virgin is visible in the decorative ornamentation of her headpiece. This treatment relates to that of *The Bride of Bethlehem*, 1884 [Fig. 39], exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery in the spring of 1885.²⁰² The painting is a vertical bust-length portrait of a woman with her hands crossed over her breast in a gesture reminiscent of the Annunciate. Asserting authenticity, both spiritual and cultural, Hunt claimed her identity to be that of 'a mystical and devout Jewess' who was attired 'in the exact costume of marriage at Bethlehem.'²⁰³ Whatever her identity, this painting clearly relates to Hunt's conception of the Virgin Mary, herself mythologized as 'a mystical and devout Jewess.'²⁰⁴ In 1879, Hunt exhibited *Nijmi, a Bethlehemite Woman, study for 'The Triumph of the Innocents'* [Fig. 40] at the Water Colour Society. It was subsequently described in the *Athenaeum* as a 'learned and vigorous specimen.'²⁰⁵ Overall, Hunt's conception of the Virgin Mary as a mystical Jewess is consistent throughout: *The Finding of the Saviour in the Temple*, 1860 [Fig. 41], and 1862, *The*

²⁰¹ Bennett, M. *Catalogue of Works in the Walker Art Gallery, Lady Lever Art Gallery and Sudley Art Gallery: Artists of the Pre-Raphaelite Circle: The First Generation*, National Museums & Galleries on Merseyside, Liverpool, 1988, p. 88.

²⁰² GG Cat., 1885, no. 14.

²⁰³ John Ruskin, *Notes on the Pictures of Mr. Holman Hunt exhibited at the Rooms of the Fine Art Society, 1886*, London, 1886, p. 39 cited in Christie's catalogue, *Important British and Irish Art, London King Street, Nov, 26, 2003*, Lot Number 22, Sale Number 6831. If in fact she were to function as an Annunciate, a reduction, or, abstraction of the subject of the Annunciation, the picture would have an eerily disconcerting effect of giving the viewer the distinct impression that the Archangel Gabriel is standing just behind us as we view this little picture which seems very like a devotional image when experienced in person.

²⁰⁴ Mary Bennett also describes the *Bride of Bethlehem* as a painting 'linked with the group' of studies for the Virgin Mary. See Bennett, 1988, p. 96.

²⁰⁵ OWS Cat., 1879, no. 104. *The Athenaeum*, 13 Dec. 1879, p. 769, cited in Bennett, 1988, p. 96.

Shadow of Death [Fig. 42], 1870-73, and in the various versions of *The Triumph of the Innocents*.²⁰⁶

Art critic Sidney Colvin described Hunt as 'a child of his age' on account of his interest in 'geography and ethnology and archeology and local colour, performing the work of Societies of Biblical Archeology.'²⁰⁷ It is this concern with authenticity, expressed through an Imperialist perspective, which also characterizes late Victorian historical subjects and aspects of Orientalism, as evinced by the versions of the *Flight into Egypt* painted by Herbert and Goodall, for example. Herbert's version was described in a review of the 1881 RA exhibition in the *Art Journal*:

Here under the bright moonlight of the Syrian night, the Virgin and Infant Jesus, accompanied by St. Joseph, are wending their way along the plain lying between the mountains and the sea to the land of Egypt. As always with Mr. Herbert, the aspect of the country in Palestine is rendered with a vivid truth and reality especially charming to those who from experience are able to appreciate it.²⁰⁸

Neither Turner, Gaskin, nor Stanhope sought to represent an authentic, historical setting for the subject of the *Flight into Egypt*. Turner's palm tree was but an eastern suggestion in an otherwise indistinct, atmospheric landscape, Gaskin's version suggests a vaguely European reference in the costumes, and Stanhope's setting appears to be European, even anachronistic. Martin's Romanticism differed from that of Turner in the legible references to his conceptions of Eastern landscape and architecture. Gaskin and Stanhope

²⁰⁶ Liverpool, Birmingham, Manchester and Leeds, Fogg Art Museum, 1870 version at Harvard University, 1876-87 version at Liverpool, 1883-4 version at Tate Britain.

²⁰⁷ 'William Holman Hunt 'The Triumph of the Innocents'' [Online]

<http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/online/pre-raphaelites/triumph.asp> [18 December, 2005]

²⁰⁸ This description was prefaced by the following: "No.299. The Flight from the Sword of Herod, J.R. Herbert, RA The picture already described, No. 259 (On the return from Egypt to the land of Israel, Joseph is warned that Archelaus reigns in Judea in the room of his father Herod) forms the sequence to this one." Anonymous, 'The Royal Academy: The One Hundred and Thirteenth Exhibition, 1881,' *Art Journal*, p. 185.

were painting Victorian conceptions of a European 'Medieval' style that Pre-Raphaelites, their associates and followers shared an interest in.

Herbert, like Hunt, however, was concerned with an historical approach. An admirer of A.W.N. Pugin, a Catholic convert, and a friend and colleague of Dyce, Herbert was influenced by contact with the Nazarene painters in the 1830s. He is identified with a dry, linear Nazarene style and palette, such as that of '*Our Saviour Subject to His Parents*,' RA 1847. As early as 1847, the exhibition catalogue of the Royal Academy specified that the landscape was 'painted from a very careful drawing made at Nazareth.'²⁰⁹ *The Holy Family Approaching Jerusalem from Nazareth* [Fig. 43], 1878, by Herbert, bridges his so-called Nazarene manner and the increasingly historical approach which characterizes his paintings of the last two decades of his life. In 1880, the year before the *Flight into Egypt*, Herbert's painting *The First Christmas Eve in Bethlehem* [Fig. 44] was exhibited at the RA.²¹⁰ The 'vivid truth and reality' of the Palestinian landscape reflects concerns with 'Near Eastern details of atmosphere,' including topography and costume, to which Colvin referred when addressing the work of Hunt, and Herbert has here represented.²¹¹

Likewise, writing his autobiography, published in 1902, Goodall asserted that his painting of *Flight into Egypt*, exhibited at the RA in 1884 [Fig. 45], was one of his two 'favourite pictures' that he had painted up to that time.²¹² Goodall had travelled to Egypt

²⁰⁹ RA Cat., 1847, cited in Christie's, London: *The Forbes Collection of Victorian Pictures and Works of Art II*, Thursday, 20 February 2003, Sale Number 6747, Lot Number 134, p. 202.

²¹⁰ RA Cat., 1880, no. 269.

²¹¹ Anonymous, 'The Royal Academy: The One Hundred and Thirteenth Exhibition, 1881,' *Art Journal*, p. 185, and Kenneth Bendiner: 'Orientalism,' Grove Art Online. Oxford University Press, [27 September, 2006], <http://www.groveart.com/>

²¹² Goodall, Frederick *The Reminiscences of Frederick Goodall, RA*, London & Newcastle-on-Tyne: The Walter Scott Publishing Co., LTD., 1902, p. 180.

twice before painting the *Flight into Egypt* which is set against the pyramids at Giza.²¹³ The landscape setting speaks to the authority of his research. From Cairo, where he resided in the Coptic quarter, Goodall 'went on expeditions to Giza to draw the Nile, the Sphinx and the Pyramids.'²¹⁴ He asserted that the 'sole object' of the first visit to Egypt 'was to paint Scriptural subjects.'²¹⁵ Therefore, although he produced a vast quantity of genre paintings, he consciously authored a legacy of religious purpose. Where the topographical Orientalism, of Hunt was concerned with particulars such as authenticity in costume, ethnic type, artifacts and architecture, it would seem that Goodall was engaged by exotic landscape. The Virgin's veil, however, is long and flowing in a manner much like the treatment employed by Tissot when representing the Annunciate some ten years later, circa 1894-95, after several trips to Palestine. Topographical Orientalism, therefore, figured in a variety of Madonna types, reflecting the fact that Eve or the Madonna have proven to be sites where the broader trends of the nineteenth century played out.

The Annunciation

The subject of the Annunciation debuted 1850, and was exhibited most often during the 1890s. This is counter to the overall trend in religious painting, whereby the number of religious subject paintings decreased from the mid-nineteenth century. The Pre-Raphaelites appear to have first introduced the subject of the Annunciation into the Victorian repertoire: Rossetti's small oil *Ecce Ancilla Domini!*, 1850, was the first to be

²¹³ Goodall traveled to Egypt in 1858-9 with German painter Carl Haag, and again in 1870-71.

²¹⁴ Briony Llewellyn: 'Goodall: (2) Frederick Goodall,' Grove Art Online. Oxford University Press, [26 September, 2006], <http://www.groveart.com/>

²¹⁵ Goodall, 1902, p. 97.

exhibited, and was shown again after his death, in 1883.²¹⁶ Pre-Raphaelite follower Arthur Hughes, painted the *Annunciation*, 1857 [Fig. 46], evidently not exhibited at the venues selected for study. The subject was exhibited by: Burne-Jones, in 1861 [Fig. 47], 1864 [Fig. 48] and 1879 [Fig. 4], Simeon Solomon, 1890 [Fig. 17], Marianne Stokes, 1891 [Fig. 49], Arthur Hacker, 1892 [Fig. 50], Beatrice Parsons, 1899 and 1900 [Fig. 12], and Gotch, 1903 [Fig. 51].²¹⁷ In total, twelve, versions of the subject, out of more than twenty versions exhibited between 1850-99, are illustrated here.

Exhibition records demonstrate that the subjects of the *Annunciation* and those titles which apparently refer to the sole Madonna are virtually exclusive to the latter half of the nineteenth century and surpassed the most frequent subjects of the early Victorian period; the *Flight into Egypt* and the *Madonna and Child*. Overall, approximately half of the Victorian *Annunciations* were exhibited at the New Gallery and the other half at the RA. More than two-thirds of the *Annunciations* identified were exhibited from 1890-1900, a decade when, with the exception of three at the RA the subject had become almost entirely the domain of the Grosvenor Gallery and the New Gallery. I would posit that where the *Flight into Egypt* was an opportunity to paint a Romantic landscape, the *Annunciation* was an opportunity to paint a one or two figure study that fit the formula of Aestheticism and even Symbolism, and therefore was a stronger subject in the latter half of the century, when iconic femininity was favoured.

²¹⁶ No. 225. The Free Exhibition at the National Institution, Portland Place was alternative venue. 'Exhibition of works by the Old Masters and by Deceased Masters of the British School including a special selection from the works of John Linnell and Dante Gabriel Rossetti,' RA, 1883, no. 228: see Surtees, 1971, p. 14.

²¹⁷ Bateman, RA Cat., 1871, no. 551, Burne-Jones, OWCS Cat. 1864, no. 200, and GG Cat., 1879, no. 166, S. Solomon, GG Cat., 1890, Stokes, RA Cat. 1891, no. 236, Hacker, RA Cat. 1892, no. 901, Parsons, RA Cat., 1899, no. 879, Gotch, RA Cat., 1903, no. 377. *The Message*, by T.C. Gotch, was also exhibited Liverpool, August 1903, no. 1045. There are two very similar versions of the Parsons *Annunciation*; one vertical, 72 x 45 feet, RA. Cat. 1899, no.879, and horizontal, 45 x 72 feet, Figure 12, (Private collection).

Jameson deemed the Annunciation 'eminently beautiful' even when considered merely as an artistic subject.²¹⁸ She identified two different conceptions of the Annunciation, each to be realized through different artistic means; treating the Annunciation as an event might be said to represent a Protestant approach, while treating it as a mystery could be said to represent a Catholic approach. Consider, in other Madonna subjects, Hunt's Protestant realism and Rossetti's artistic identity as a self-proclaimed 'Art Catholic.'²¹⁹ Of the Annunciation, Jameson wrote:

it places before us the two most graceful forms which the hand of man was ever called upon to delineate; -the winged spirit fresh from paradise; the woman not less pure, and even more highly blessed- the chosen vessel of redemption, and the personification of all female loveliness, all female excellence, all wisdom, and all purity.²²⁰

Jameson advocated the subject of the Annunciation as an opportunity to make a connection with viewers through the ideal moral representation of a woman who stood for redemption. For Victorian artists and visitors to the Grosvenor or New Gallery, which were proponents of Aestheticism, the Madonna, like Eve, may simply have represented an opportunity to contemplate a beautiful, feminine icon. In a culture experiencing a Gothic Revival, and increasing interest in the Renaissance, the Annunciation, like the Nativity, also represented an opportunity to paint in a Renaissance idiom, angels and all. Jameson described the Annunciation as a historical subject which could be represented as both as a 'mystery' and an 'event,' asserting that the latter 'admits a style of treatment which would not be allowable in the representation of an event...the artists is emancipated from all considerations of locality or circumstance.'²²¹ She wrote:

²¹⁸ Jameson, 1899, p. 281.

²¹⁹ Craig-Faxon, 1989, p. 34.

²²⁰ Jameson, 1899, p. 281.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

Whether the background be of gold, or of blue, or star-bespangled sky, -a mere curtain or a temple of gorgeous architecture; whether the accessories be...simple or...elaborate...real or...ideal...is of little moment and might be left to the imagination of the artist...so long as the chief object is fulfilled- the significant expression of an abstract dogma, appealing to the faith, not the sense or understanding, of the observer.²²²

The Annunciation, although described as an 'incomprehensible vision', is also narrated in the Scriptures a real event, and when viewed as such, writes Jameson, 'the fancy of the artist' should be 'controlled and limited only by the worlds of the Scripture as commonly understood and interpreted, and by those properties of time, place, and circumstance, which would be required in the representation of any other historical incident or action.'²²³ According to Jameson, therefore, the story should be told 'with all the fidelity or at least all 'likelihood' that is possible, 'with such accessories and accompaniments as might bring the scene within the sphere of the actual.'²²⁴ Accessories appropriate, even indispensable to the scene are described as the pot of lilies, a 'symbolical *Fleur de Marie*', and a basket containing needlework or a spinning wheel.²²⁵ Reflecting a Protestant concern that religious art should adhere to the scriptures, Jameson advised that the presence of the Holy Spirit in historical Annunciations is accounted for by the words of St. Luke, advocating for 'the visible form of the Dove' as a 'conventional and authorized' element.²²⁶ Nevertheless, the mystical, symbolic presence of the dove is often omitted from Victorian conceptions of the subject. Rossetti's 1850 and 1855 versions, and Burne-Jones' 1861 version of the Annunciation are the only ones illustrated

²²² *Ibid.*, p. 285.

²²³ *Ibid.*, p. 291-2.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 292.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 294-5.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

here which include the dove. Burne-Jones included it in Mary's hands, like a pet, as though it were an attribute.

Jameson noted disapprovingly that in pictures by the later masters 'the drapery given to the angel is offensively scanty; his sandals and bare arms, and fluttering robe, too much *a l'antique*.'²²⁷ She describes the treatment in early Italian pictures approvingly, however, when the angel's garb is 'arranged with...solemn propriety...that of an acolyte, white and full, and falling in large folds over his arms, and in general concealing his feet.'²²⁸ In contrast to the simplicity associated with early Italian versions, the angel is described as often 'wearing a priestly robe, richly embroidered, and clasped in front by a jewel' in German, or Northern, versions.²²⁹ In all cases, Jameson states, 'the wings are essential, never omitted.'²³⁰ Her books were widely reviewed, read and published in multiple editions. Victorians were experiencing a revival of interest in Renaissance art, and artists painted 'modern' interpretations, or adaptations of, the Annunciation, representing the angel, for example, with less symbolism and formality than the Old Masters had.

The first record of an Annunciation having been exhibited at any of the six venues under discussion is '*...Hail, thou art highly favoured...*', RA, 1862, by the now obscure R. Thorburne, ARA.²³¹ *The Annunciation* by Burne-Jones, was exhibited at the OWS shortly thereafter, in 1864. Annunciation paintings were exhibited five times throughout

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 296-7.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

²³¹ Apparently obscure, R. Thorburne is neither in Christopher Wood's *Dictionary of Victorian Artists*, nor the Grove Dictionary of Art, and is not listed as having been promoted from A.RA to a full Academician by the Royal Academy of Arts.

the 1870s, at the RA, the Dudley Gallery, and the Grosvenor Gallery.²³² Only Rossetti's Annunciation paintings of 1850 and 1855 were exhibited in the 1880s, but Annunciations were exhibited at least ten times throughout the 1890s; approximately once per year.

The Victorian Annunciation could be identified, for the most part, as a 'Pre-Raphaelite' subject introduced by Rossetti in 1850 and taken up by Pre-Raphaelite followers and associates during the latter half of the century. The Marian subject persisted into the early twentieth century, albeit in a somewhat secular guise, *Holy Motherhood*, RA, 1902, and *The Message*, RA, 1903, by Gotch, are dependent upon definite allusions to Marian iconography, the Virgin enthroned and the Annunciate. Recognizing this, the *Art Journal* referred to *Holy Motherhood* as a 'Madonna subject.'²³³

Exhibiting the Madonna by Rossetti: 1849-97

Like the *Girlhood* before it, *Ecce Ancilla Domini!* was identified as a work 'in the manner of the early Italian school,' specifically with Perugino.²³⁴ Rossetti's unconventional conception of the Annunciation, despite being popularly read as Anglo-Catholic, arguably represented a Protestant artistic agenda. In 1888, P.R.B. associate and art critic F.G. Stephens wrote about the painting for the *Portfolio*; an article that divulged the interests of his own time, as much as the conditions of the art work's mid-century creation, exhibition and critical reception. Stephens articulated the values associated with

²³² RA Cat., 1871, no. 551, DG Cat., 1872, no. 598, RA Cat., 1872, no. 1228, RA Cat., 1873, no. 1557, GG Cat., 1879, no. 166.

²³³ *Art Journal*, 1901, pp. 211 & 216.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

the Virgin; describing her as submissive, chaste, virginal, even 'passionless', 'earnest' and 'reverent'.²³⁵ He wrote:

Fra Angelico, whose designs of the *Rosa Mystica* are the chastest and most virginal of all, never produced a maiden more passionless than this; her earnest and reverent eyes brood, not without knowledge of pain to come, upon the meaning of Gabriel's salutation; while awestruck but not overwhelmed, she shrinks against the wall...

Stephens was mindful to construct a distinctly English Protestant art historical legacy for Rossetti's Annunciation. Rossetti's unique conception was distinguished from that of Italian, Flemish and German artists. A debt to the Nazarene painters and the attendant contemporary Catholic associations, was refuted, although one to Fra Angelico was acknowledged: 'the shrinking and submission of Mary are in the mood of (Fra) Angelico.'²³⁶ I would suggest that association with contemporary, radical and strong proponents of Catholicism such as the Nazarenes was potentially threatening and therefore undesirable to Stephens while the historical, mystical, early Renaissance Catholicism of Fra Angelico was sufficiently removed from Victorian society and sufficiently integrated into a codified artistic paradigm over the course of the nineteenth century, in part by Jameson, to be acceptable, even desirable. Giebelhausen defined the Victorian significance of Fra Angelico as a model of enthusiasm and sincerity that effected an artistic approach defined by heartfelt emotion and tenderness which was advocated 'across the denominational divide' of Catholicism and Protestantism through the writing of Nicholas Wiseman in the *Dublin Review* and that of Lord Lindsay in

²³⁵ Stephens, F.G., 'Ecce Ancilla Domini! By Dante Gabriel Rossetti,' *Portfolio*, 1888, No.19, p. 126.

²³⁶ My parenthetical insertion. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

Sketches of the History of Christian Art respectively.²³⁷ According to Ruskin, Rossetti could achieve sincerity through devotion to art.²³⁸

Stephens described the Virgin's appearance: 'the features of the damsel are very English...no early Florentine depicted a more intelligent or chaster Mother of God.'²³⁹ He stated that Rossetti's conception of 'the face of Mary as a true and just likeness, with hardly any alteration, of the painter's younger sister, Miss Christina Rossetti, now a renowned poetess, who sat for it.'²⁴⁰ The appearance of the Annunciate was not historically accurate, therefore, but was invested with the significance of describing her inner, spiritual qualities.

The Annunciations of Northern artists were singled out as fanciful and decadent, particularly when contrasted with the stoicism and reticence that characterizes Rossetti's Gabriel and Mary:

nearly all the more ancient pictures of the Italian, German, and Low Country Schools...give magnificent if not royal adornments –sometimes even archangelic crowns, armour, and weapons- to Gabriel when appearing to Mary.²⁴¹

Stephens took Holbein to task for representing Gabriel 'adorned and robed like the Kaiser...accompanied by the fattest of doves' and appearing to 'a round-eyed and plump Jungfrau'.²⁴² He described Rossetti's Annunciate as having just been 'aroused from sleep' and humbly dressed: 'Rossetti gave her no ornaments, except the gilded nimbus which...glows round her hair, and was kindled when the angel spoke'.²⁴³

²³⁷ Giebelhausen, 2006, p. 13.

²³⁸ John Ruskin *Modern Painters*, vol. 3 in *Works*, vol. 5, p. 50 cited in Giebelhausen, M. *Painting the Bible: Representation and Belief in mid-Victorian England*, Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006, p. 13.

²³⁹ Stephens, F.G., 'Ecce Ancilla Domini! By Dante Gabriel Rossetti,' *Portfolio*, 1888, No.19, p. 125.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 126.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

Rossetti's original conception of the Annunciation, including representing Mary in bed, influenced others. His 1850 painting clearly influenced three Annunciations painted in the 1890s: *Ecce Ancilla*, 1893, [Fig. 52] by Australian painter Rupert Charles Wolston Bunny, an Annunciation, c.1894-5, by Tissot [Fig. 53], and *The Annunciation*, 1898, [Fig. 54] by African-American artist Tanner.

Despite the art historical mythologizing of Rossetti's alleged aversion to exhibiting in response to the critical notoriety of the Pre-Raphaelites in 1850, Rossetti's various paintings of the Virgin Mary were, in fact, among those of his works exhibited in the 1850s and 1860s. Rossetti exhibited several paintings of the Virgin Mary: *Mary Nazarene* (dated variously to 1855-1857) [Fig. 55] was exhibited in 1857, *Mary in the House of St. John*, in 1859 [Fig. 56], and *The Seed of David*, a triptych for Llandaff Cathedral which included a central panel of the Nativity, was exhibited in 1861 [Fig. 57].²⁴⁴ *Mary Nazarene* was intended as the left panel of a triptych representing her in youth and in old age, after the crucifixion, as she is in *Mary in the House of St. John*, 1857.²⁴⁵ Although the subject of the central panel is uncertain, it is significant that Rossetti's conception was one of a triptych, a format associated with medieval and Renaissance devotional art, which he had observed firsthand and been inspired by during a trip to Europe with Hunt in 1849.

²⁴⁴ *Pre-Raphaelite Exhibition*, 4 Russell Place, Fitzroy Square, no. 57. Exhibited at the Hogarth Club. Exhibition at 6 Whitehall. See: Surtees, 1971, pp. 50, 65, 58.

²⁴⁵ Surtees states that *Mary Nazarene* was 'originally conceived as the left panel of a triptych' inclusive of *Mary in the House of St. John*, and cites a July 28, 1849 journal entry by W.M. Rossetti (ed., *Pre-Raphaelite Diaries and Letters*, London, 1900, p. 215) as the source indicating that the *Girlhood of Mary Virgin* was intended as the central picture. See Surtees, 1971, pp. 50, 66. It is, alternatively, also suggested that 'the central panel was to show the Holy Family eating the Passover meal': see *Dante Gabriel Rossetti*. Exhibition catalogue by Julian Treuherz, Elizabeth Prettejohn and Edwin Becker, Amsterdam & Liverpool: Van Gogh Museum & National Museums Liverpool, 2003, p. 172.

G.P. Boyce, himself impressed with Rossetti's palette, recorded Simeon Solomon's remarks upon the effect of *Mary in the House of St. John*: 'Rossetti has a beautiful solemn purple drawing of Mary in the house of St. John. Simeon said, 'The impression of intense, thoughtful repose after the strife and excitement of the previous years is most impressive.'²⁴⁶ Memorial exhibitions of the art of Rossetti were held at both the Royal Academy of Arts and the Burlington Fine Arts Club (BFAC) in 1883, the year after his death.²⁴⁷ At least five paintings of the Virgin Mary were exhibited at the New Gallery as late as 1897, which may have inspired continued Pre-Raphaelite influence upon religious subject painting, both in subject and in style.²⁴⁸

Burne-Jones: the Water Colour Society, 1864, and the Grosvenor Gallery, 1879

When Burne-Jones' *Annunciation* ('*The Flower of God*') was exhibited at the Society of Painters in Water Colours in 1864 [Fig. 48], the *Athenaeum* criticized for effeminacy in his representation of the Angel Gabriel, but nevertheless described him as 'an able painter almost unknown to the public, but not so to artists.'²⁴⁹ The *Athenaeum* critic identified Burne-Jones as a non-academic painter, explaining that his paintings should be 'tested by other standards than those proper to conventionally excellent

²⁴⁶ *Extracts from G.P. Boyce's Diaries, 1851-1875, Old Water-Colour Society's Club*, vol. xix (London, 1941), entry for January 3rd, 1859, cited in Surtees, V. *The Drawings and Paintings of Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882): A Catalogue Raisonné*, 2 Vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971, p. 67.

²⁴⁷ *Works by the Old Masters, including a Special Selection from the Works of John Linnell and Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, The Royal Academy of Art, and *Pictures, drawings, designs and studies by the late Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, Burlington Fine Arts Club; both 1883. In 1883, the *Art Journal* noted that the *Girlhood of Mary Virgin* and the *Annunciation, Ecce Ancilla Domini!* were 'among those pictures which excited the most attention at the Royal Academy.' Anonymous, 'Rossetti's Exhibitions at the Royal Academy and the Burlington Fine Arts Club,' *Art Journal*, 1883, p. 61.

²⁴⁸ *Pictures Ancient and Modern by Artists of the British and Continental Schools, including a Special Selection from the Works of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, 1897-8*. N.G. Cat., 1897, no.s 27, 44, 48, 53, 59. See Surtees, 1971, pp. 11, 40, 89, 33, 59.

²⁴⁹ Anonymous, Reviews: 'Society of Painters in Water Colours,' *Athenaeum*, April 30, 1864, no. 1905, p.618.

pictures,' and cautioned that the artist would subsequently 'have a difficulty' with viewers who look for representations of 'actual objects' and for 'reflexions of their own thoughts on given themes, or even for deliberate and precise executions of the academical and serviceable kind.'²⁵⁰

Burne-Jones' palette, however, was heartily admired, the critic proclaimed to be 'enjoying to the utmost the colour of *The Annunciation*, 'declaring; 'these works will be prized and appreciated by those who are competent to enjoy the precious gift of colour this artist possesses.'²⁵¹ Mocking objections to the perceived 'frivolity' of the figure of the angel Gabriel followed, however, and the artist's own masculinity was subsequently called into question as a result of the apparently sensual, feminine sensibility identified in his elements of style, which conjured sixteenth-century Venetian *colore*, rather than High Renaissance *disegno* associated with artistic masculinity:

'we protest against the *minauderie* of the angel Gabriel, who, with the air of a French *modiste*, "presents" the lily to the amazed little Virgin.'²⁵² The frivolity of the figure is obvious. Mr. Jones is capable of graver thoughts. It is an abuse of terms to call his works medieval in style or feeling; the intensity of medievalism, its earnestness and pathos, were gone from the world when the highly-wrought sensitiveness and nervous irritability which characterize his pictures appeared among men. Mr. Jones' prototypes...appeared in Venice at a later time.'²⁵³

Thus Burne-Jones was disparaged, not for the manner of representing the Virgin, but for a perceived ignoble effeminacy in the representation of the archangel Gabriel which was felt to make a mockery of a grave scene that was expected to be treated with 'intensity'

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 618.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 618.

²⁵² The use of '*minauderie*' is '[préciosité] affectation' and relates to the French verb '*minauder*,' 'to simper.' A 'French *modiste*' was a French milliner. See: *Grand Dictionnaire Français-Anglais, Anglais-Français*, Carney, F. (General Editor), Paris: Larousse, 2003.

²⁵³ Anonymous, Reviews: 'Society of Painters in Water Colours,' *Athenaeum*, April 30, 1864, no. 1905, p.618.

'earnestness' and 'pathos' if represented in a medieval idiom, or 'proper' conventional standards of 'deliberate and precise' execution identified with academicism.

Where Rossetti's Annunciation, *Ecce Ancilla Domini!*, employed a palette reminiscent of fresco, a medium appropriate to the fifteenth-century Italian manner, Burne-Jones married a sixteenth-century signature Venetian colouring to an apparently medieval idiom when representing the biblical scene. At a time when fresco was identified as the medium of 'spiritualists' and oil that of 'sensualists', Burne-Jones' approach could be understood as inappropriate. It would appear, however, that the Venetian colouring may have been a palatable quality to the *Athenaeum* critic in a secular subject, and that, had the angel been represented with gravity and masculinity rather than a flourish, Burne-Jones may not have been disparaged.

Burne-Jones' 1879 version of the *Annunciation* [Fig. 4] was described by the *Athenaeum* critic as a 'more important picture' than any other he exhibited at the Grosvenor that year.²⁵⁴ Burne-Jones was highly commended for both the beauty of the figures and their expressions as well as for the degree of finish, or, refinement, both in subject matter and formal elements which comprised this 'large upright design.'²⁵⁵ Both the *Athenaeum* and the *Art Journal* reviewed the *Annunciation* favorably, and in the context of, or with direct reference to early Italian art. The latter admired the painting in spite of elements of early art, which signified Catholic devotional works, such as 'the metallic or archaic character of the angel'.²⁵⁶ The former, however, unreservedly admired the *Annunciation* based on the beauty and dignity perceived in the expressions of the

²⁵⁴ Anonymous 'The Grosvenor Gallery Exhibition,' *Athenaeum*, May 3, 1879, No. 2688, pp. 575-6. Burne-Jones also exhibited the 'Story of Pygmalion' series at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1897.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 575.

²⁵⁶ Anonymous, 'The Spring Exhibitions: The Grosvenor Gallery,' *Art Journal*, 1879, p. 135.

angel and the Annunciate, as well as the degree of finish and compositional design. Although it was suggested that Burne-Jones conjured early Renaissance masters, his figures were deemed more beautiful and expressive than their prototypes.

Of the Archangel and the Annunciate to whom he directs his address, the *Athenaeum* critic wrote:

The action and expression of the messenger indicate at once the *dignity of his nature* and the *noble respect he feels* for the object of his ministrations. There is in this figure a dash of greater *beauty* than Mantegna affected, a *mood* similar to that of Piero della Francesca pervades its *high refinement and pure grace*; we recognize something which is to the Mantuan's art what Greek art was to Roman. The beautiful face of the Virgin indicates her condition; the eyes express more than that astonishment or simple reverence which most of the Old Masters imparted to their versions of the Annunciation; there is *wonderful beauty and less self-abnegation* than in its prototypes.²⁵⁷

The *Athenaeum* clearly found that the statuesque, 'beautiful' and refined Annunciate of Burne-Jones' 1879 version demonstrated the 'graver thoughts' preferable to the perceived 'frivolity' of the angel reaching through the bedroom window towards the 'amazed little Virgin' of the 1864 version, reviewed fifteen years earlier.²⁵⁸ A solemn, Aesthetic idiom was in fashion and Burne-Jones achieved fame by embracing and embodying this manner. Another periodical described the Virgin Mary by Burne-Jones as a 'passionless, pale woman, with that mysterious sorrow whose meaning she was so soon to learn mirrored in her wan face, is standing, in grey drapery.'²⁵⁹ The setting was described as 'the open courtyard of an empty and silent house,' where 'through the branches of a tall olive tree, unseen by the Virgin's tear-dimmed eyes, is descending the angel Gabriel with his joyful and terrible message, not painted as Angelico loved to do, in the varied

²⁵⁷ Anonymous 'The Grosvenor Gallery Exhibition,' *Athenaeum*, No. 2688, May 3, 1879, pp. 575-6. My italics.

²⁵⁸ Anonymous, 'Society of Painters in Water Colours,' *Athenaeum*, No. 1905, April 30, 1864, p. 618.

²⁵⁹ Anonymous, 'The Grosvenor Gallery, 1879,' *Saunders's Irish Daily News*, May 5, 1879.

splendour of peacock-like wings and garments of gold and crimson, but somewhat sombre in colour, set with all the fine grace of nobly-fashioned drapery and exquisitely ordered design.²⁶⁰

In late 1871 Burne-Jones traveled to Italy again for the first time in nine years:

During a three week tour he revisited Genoa, Florence, Pisa, and Sienna and saw for the first time San Gimignano, Orvieto, and Rome, besides Assisi, Perugia, Cortona, and Arezzo. As on previous visits he drew from paintings. His favourite artists, he wrote on his return, were now Giotto, Orcagna, Uccello, Piero della Francesca, Mantegna, Signorelli, Botticelli, Michelangelo, and Andrea del Sarto.²⁶¹

Burne-Jones' work has subsequently been described as 'never more Italianate than at this time...the background of *The Annunciation*, 1879, is developed from notes of doorways, alleys, and courtyards.'²⁶² Later, after his death, the *Art Journal* wrote: 'It may be that Burne-Jones would have sacrificed with gladness many years of his life if only he could have been transported to that Florence of his dream when Sandro Botticelli was at work there.'²⁶³

The Annunciate is attired in light, Classical drapery and stands beside a well in a stone courtyard. The texture of the well recalls the clever illusion of marble often used in Renaissance paintings. Behind her, a relief of the Expulsion reminds the viewer that the Virgin Mary is the New Testament antitype of Eve, or, the Second Eve. Burne-Jones viewed Italian Renaissance art first-hand in Italy, and may have benefited from models closer to home such as *The Introduction of the Cult of Cybele at Rome*, 1505-6, a painting

²⁶⁰ Anonymous, 'The Grosvenor Gallery, 1879,' *Saunders's Irish Daily News*, May 5, 1879.

²⁶¹ 'Mantegna, Botticelli, Signorelli, and Michelangelo were to be expected. The inclusion of Piero della Francesca is...original for this date.' *Ibid.*, p. 142.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 142.

²⁶³ *Art Journal*, 'The New Gallery', p. 184.

of a carved relief, by Mantegna, acquired by the National Gallery, London in 1873.²⁶⁴ The Archangel relates to the Expulsion in the background as he does to the Annunciate; he can be read as an Archangel expelling Adam and Eve from Paradise as well as the angel of the Annunciation approaching the Virgin Mary.

Although somewhat characteristic of Aesthetic figures, the apparent stiffness of *The Annunciation* may be a consequence of Burne-Jones' decorative arts career; he painted vertical formats with few figures or a single figure 'for paintings which had no connection with stained glass' and it was remarked upon that Burne-Jones' paintings might 'suffer from the connection' to stained glass and tapestries when Henry James lamented an 'element of painful niggling embroidery- the stitch-by-stitch process that had come at last to beg the *painter* question altogether.'²⁶⁵ The 'stitch-by-stitch process' is not explicitly present in this case, however, the disposition of the figures may represent an arguably disadvantaged decorative arts influence upon a painting.

The subject of the Annunciation was exhibited more frequently in the 1890s than at any other time since its 1850 debut. Mid-century Annunciations could be said to demonstrate that the subject was one of almost exclusively Pre-Raphaelite domain, those of the latter half nineteenth century demonstrate a mix of enduring Pre-Raphaelite influence, Orientalism of the third and fourth quarters of the nineteenth century, and a continental quality defined by contemporary critics as evidence of a 'wave of foreign influence.'²⁶⁶

²⁶⁴ NG902.

²⁶⁵ Wildman, S. and Christian, J. 'The Seven Blissfullest Years,' *Edward Burne-Jones: Victorian Artist-Dreamer*. Exhibition catalogue by Stephen Wildman and John Christian with essays by Alan Crawford and Laurence des Cars, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998, p. 147.

²⁶⁶ Anonymous, 'Summer Exhibitions at Home and Abroad,' *Art Journal*, June 1890, p. 161.

During the 1890s, Solomon Joseph Solomon exhibited an *Annunciation* at the Grosvenor Gallery, and Burne-Jones, Simeon Solomon, Stanhope and Gaskin exhibited *Annunciation* paintings at the New Gallery, as did Walter Spindler, apparently now an obscure artist. Burne-Jones was the subject of a retrospective at the New Gallery in 1892-3 and 1898-9, where his earlier treatment of the subject was seen again. These exhibitions, as well as the Rossetti memorial exhibitions, may have infused the late nineteenth century with a renewed Pre-Raphaelite influence upon some followers. The three *Annunciations* at the RA in the 1890s were by Stokes, Hacker, and Parsons, each representative of those various strands of nineteenth-century art: European (French), Orientalist and Pre-Raphaelite influences, respectively.²⁶⁷

A 'puzzle' at the Grosvenor Gallery: *The Annunciation*, 1890, by Solomon²⁶⁸

The Grosvenor Gallery was the venue for progressive trends where several late nineteenth-century *Annunciations* were exhibited.²⁶⁹ Solomon's 1892 version of *The Annunciation* [Fig. 17], an earlier version of which was exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1890, demonstrates a highly unique conception; the subject is reduced to busts of the Annunciate and the Archangel facing each other with only a lily to indicate the subject.²⁷⁰ The subject was so recognizable that it could be abstracted for Solomon's unique style of Aestheticism. In a horizontal format the Archangel and the Annunciate

²⁶⁷ RA Cat., 1891, no. 236, RA Cat., 1892, no. 901, RA Cat. 1899, no. 879.

²⁶⁸ Cruise, C. 'Simeon Solomon and Pre-Raphaelite Masculinity' in Harding, Ellen, *Re-framing the Pre-Raphaelites: Historical and Theoretical Essays*, Aldershot, England: Scolar Press, 1996, p. 198.

²⁶⁹ Denney, C. 'The Role of Sir Coutts Lindsay and the Grosvenor Gallery in the Reception of Pre-Raphaelitism on the Continent' in Casteras, S.P. and Faxon, A.C. (eds), *Pre-Raphaelite Art in its European Context*, London: Associated University Presses, 1995, p. 66.

²⁷⁰ GG Cat. 1890, no. 246. The version illustrated here is dated 1892 as a result of direct communication with the Russell-Cotes Art Gallery and Museum. It is, however, dated 1894 in *Love Revealed: Simeon Solomon and the Pre-Raphaelites*. Exhibition Catalogue by Colin Cruise, et al. London and New York: Merrell, 2005, p. 164.

are represented in bust-length profiles, androgynously pictured, and mirroring one another in a moment of spiritual dialogue and engagement. Solomon's approach, in abandoning the traditional types isolates and describes the atmosphere of the Annunciation as one of mystical communion between the two figures.

The androgyny of Solomon's figures is apparent when one observes that the Virgin Annunciate bears as much resemblance to *David* (undated, watercolour) [Fig. 58] as the Archangel Gabriel does to the Roman lady devotee of the 1865 watercolour *In the Temple of Venus* [Fig. 59]. Arthur Symons wrote of Solomon's subjects; 'these faces are without sex'.²⁷¹ The *Athenaeum* commended Solomon, in a review of the General Exhibition of Water Colours at the Dudley Gallery, for having 'produced many works of a manly and poetical character' but was bewildered by 'a person of uncertain sex' in a recent work.²⁷² Colin Cruise identified Solomon's paintings as presenting a 'puzzle' whereby the ambiguity 'of both emotion and of sex' prompts questions: 'do these faces represent pain or pleasure, sweetness or bitterness, or as Pater, Swinburne and other critics were to suggest, both at the same time...are these the faces of men or women, or do they represent an attempt to combine the features of both sexes?'²⁷³ In a dialectical puzzle, Solomon's ambiguities are replete with the potential to represent both male and female precisely because of the resistance to identify the subjects as one or the other; in

²⁷¹ Arthur Symons 'The Painting of the Nineteenth Century' in *Studies in Seven Arts* (London: Constable, 1906), p. 61, cited in Cruise, C. 'Simeon Solomon and Pre-Raphaelite masculinity' in Harding, Ellen, *Re-framing the Pre-Raphaelites: Historical and Theoretical Essays*, Aldershot, England: Scolar Press, 1996, p. 198.

²⁷² The specific painting to which the reviewer referred was *One Dreaming by the Sea*, no. 73. Anonymous, 'Reviews: General Exhibition of Water Colours at the Dudley Gallery,' *Athenaeum*, No. 2310, February 3, 1872, p. 149.

²⁷³ Cruise, Colin 'Simeon Solomon and Pre-Raphaelite masculinity' in Harding, Ellen, *Re-framing the Pre-Raphaelites: Historical and Theoretical Essays*, Aldershot, England: Scolar Press, 1996, p. 197.

refusing identification with one sex or the other, androgyny could be said to be inclusive of both sexes.

1890: 'Hail, Mary' by Stokes and *The Annunciation* by Hacker

'Hail Mary' by Marianne Stokes [Fig. 49] and *The Annunciation* by Arthur Hacker [Fig. 50], both exhibited in 1890, represent a new format for the Annunciation, perhaps indebted to the 1879 version of the subject by Burne-Jones. Both are vertical works, with the figure of the Virgin Mary dominating, and the angel occupying an ancillary position behind or even above her. This type of Annunciation arguably has the effect of rendering the atmosphere increasingly mystical precisely because the angel is removed from the Virgin's sight, which renders any communication between them more spiritual in the rejection of the traditional horizontal format where normal, human dialogue is implied. This represents a trend that developed in the third quarter of the nineteenth century and could be said to have matured in the fourth; moving away from didacticism in favour of Symbolism.

Stokes was Austrian-born painter whose religious work was identified as exemplifying the 'modern realistic point of view'.²⁷⁴ She studied in Munich for five years followed by study in Paris at the academies under Colin and Courtois and with Dagnan-Bouveret, 'a proponent of the square brush technique' of Bastien Lepage.²⁷⁵ 'Hail Mary,' RA, 1891, is a simple, vertical composition representing the Annunciation.²⁷⁶ Contemporary reference to her 'modern realistic style' may refer to the attire of the

²⁷⁴ Anonymous, 'Summer Exhibitions at Home and Abroad,' *Art Journal*, 1890, p. 172. This article refers specifically to Marianne Stokes' Nativity subject painting *Light of Light*.

²⁷⁵ Jan Marsh and Pamela Gerrish Nun, *Pre-Raphaelite Women Artists*, Manchester: Manchester City Art Galleries, 1997, p. 147.

²⁷⁶ RA Cat., 1891, no. 236.

Virgin Mary, who is dressed similarly to the modern life subject *The Passing Train*, 1890. Both the woman watching the passing train and the Annunciate are wearing the same short red cape, thereby treating the Annunciation anachronistically. Contrary to Jameson's advice, Rossetti was the first to do away with the traditional, formal symbol of the angel's wings, and Stokes and Hacker follow, although retaining the lily as a signifier.

The Annunciation by Hacker, exhibited at the RA in 1892, resembles Stokes' composition but his exotic, Orientalist treatment of the subject differs greatly from Stokes' 'modern realistic' style in its historical concern to represent her in traditional Middle-Eastern costume.²⁷⁷ Hacker studied at the RA schools and at Atelier Bonnat in Paris.²⁷⁸ He traveled in Spain and North Africa, where he might have had an opportunity to study exotic costumes. He was made A.R.A in 1894, two years after exhibiting *The Annunciation*, and was, therefore, embraced by the academic establishment. A unique aspect of Hacker's version is the position of the angel behind the Annunciate rather than beside or in front her. This unusual arrangement of the figures was employed by Bouguereau c. 1879 [Fig. 60], however, where Bouguereau represents the angel Gabriel as a full length figure standing behind the Annunciate, Hacker's angel recalls those of Guido Reni [Fig. 61]. He appears less an Archangel than a celestial sprite. Hacker's conception is otherworldly an eerily intimate; the angel whispers in the Annunciate's ear.

In a 1901 article about Hacker's Annunciation, the *Art Journal* described the end of the nineteenth century as being characterized by a 'conscientious reaction towards the

²⁷⁷ RA Cat., 1892, no. 901.

²⁷⁸ Léon-Joseph-Florentin Bonnat was a French Academic painter who was educated in Madrid and traveled to Italy, the near east and Greece. See: Wood, C. *Dictionary of Victorian Painters*, Woodbridge, Suffolk: Baron Publishing, for the Antique Collector's Club, 1971, p. 57.

Ideal in art' because 'the human soul' had 'grown weary of the brutalities of...realism' and of 'the arid wastes of rank materialism, both in art and letters'.²⁷⁹ The author counted Puvis de Chavannes and Gustave Moreau as leaders of this 'movement towards the Ideal' in France, and Fritz von Uhde in Germany, as well as Rossetti, Watts and Burne-Jones in England.²⁸⁰ Hacker was identified as one 'among the singular phenomenon of men who are at one and the same time mystics and realists; men who attempt the daring experiment of endeavoring to express the supernatural.'²⁸¹ Perpetuating the mythology of the necessarily devout artist attempting religious art, the writer added; 'It is an experiment which in any but very reverent hands leads often to absurd and sometimes offensive results.'²⁸² Hacker was identified as an artist who tried 'to introduce the supernatural into the natural, to clothe what is purely spiritual, mystical, in actual form' in the representation of 'that subject which has attracted artists of all times- the mystery of the Annunciation'.²⁸³ Hacker's *Annunciation* was described thus:

His white-draped Virgin is hardly flesh and blood, for he (Hacker) has refined away that flesh and blood until it is little more than the suggestion of spirit. But the copper waterpot at the well, the flowers of the field, the sparse grey foliage of the olives, the shining white-walled city, are as true to the natural world as if no blue cloud, thin as smoke that flies upward-the mysterious, lily-bearing angel-floated softly overhead. Very graceful, very tender, and very thoughtful, the picture is delightful in its light scheme of colour, its light touch, its dreamy atmospheric harmonies of white, grey, and blue...evolve the Ideal from the Real...apprehend the spiritual in the natural.²⁸⁴

²⁷⁹ Kingsley, R.G. 'The Annunciation: The Ideal in Modern Art,' *Art Journal*, January 1901, pp. 8-9.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

The description of the 'light scheme of colour' brings to mind Rossetti's, white picture,' *Ecce Ancilla Domini!*'²⁸⁵ Hacker was perceived to have effaced the physical, thereby effecting a commendable tribute to the Virgin's spirituality. Victorians sought idealism in the representation of the Madonna as an outward signifier of her inner spiritual purity.

Two Versions of the Nativity by Marianne Stokes: 1890 and 1893

The *Art Journal* identified three Nativity subjects exhibited in 1890 as a 'little sub-division, all to themselves' of the 'quasi-sacred genre'.²⁸⁶ One of these, *Light of Light*, 1890, by Stokes [Fig. 62], was described as 'a representation from the modern realistic point of view of the Virgin and Child.'²⁸⁷ Stokes' Nativity, like '*Hail Mary*', represents the Madonna anachronistically, as a contemporary, humbly dressed European woman. The 'conception and execution' of her work, which indeed suggests 'foreign models,' was noted and the particular influence of Dagnan-Bouveret was observed, as he had 'exhibited at Munich, in 1888, a *Madone avec L'Enfant*, in which the effect of ruddy illumination was produced by similar means'.²⁸⁸ In Stokes' version, 'The infant Saviour lies sleeping in his primitive cradle, casting a supernatural radiance upon the Virgin, who, in a kneeling posture- herself asleep- rests against his rude wooden couch.'²⁸⁹ Stokes' 'modern' manner was commended, the painting having been 'executed with much

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8. *Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti* ed. Oswald Doughty and J.R. Wahl, 4 vols. , Oxford: Clarendon Press, p. 122, cited in Surtees, p. 13.

²⁸⁶ Anonymous, 'The Summer Exhibitions at Home and Abroad,' *Art Journal*, 1890, p. 172.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 172. GG Cat., 1890, no. 82.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 172. Dagnan-Bouveret was among the French artists identified as 'leaders' of a 'movement towards the Ideal' identified and discussed by Rose G. Kingsley in 'The Annunciation: The Ideal in Modern Art,' *Art Journal*, January, 1901, p. 8. Stokes studied with Dagnan-Bouveret in 1885-6. See: Christian et al., 1989, p. 124.

²⁸⁹ Anonymous, 'The Summer Exhibitions at Home and Abroad,' *Art Journal*, 1890, p. 172.

breadth' but 'a certain coarseness' was observed.²⁹⁰ Although the 'simple conception' was associated with sincerity, a 'lack of emotional power, without which so great a theme cannot be successfully approached,' was lamented.²⁹¹

Three years later, Stokes exhibited another version of the Nativity, *Angels Entertaining the Holy Child*, 1893 [Fig. 63].²⁹² This version of the same subject appears to have been inspired by Stokes' trip to Italy in 1891; the Madonna and infant Jesus are both represented more formally and traditionally and two youthful angels appear beside them. The humble, contemporary attire worn by the Virgin in *Light of Lights* is here replaced by a richly coloured blue dress and delicate transparent veil with gold embroidery along the edges. The haloes of the Virgin and child are formalized too; in place of the radiant light of the previous version, a halo containing a cross is visible over the infant Jesus. The *Times* identified the style of this work as one often 'seen in the Salon' and, in the *Athenaeum*, F.G. Stephens wrote: 'Examining the very realistic, but not coarse, treatment ungraceful.'²⁹³

The Annunciation: 'Hail, thou art highly favoured!,' 1899 and 1901,

by Beatrice Parsons, and *The Message*, 1903, by T.C. Gotch

Beatrice Parsons exhibited *The Annunciation: 'Hail, thou art highly favoured!'* at the RA in 1899.²⁹⁴ Two versions can be illustrated here; both of which appear to demonstrate the influence of the early Pre-Raphaelite Annunciations by both Rossetti and

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

²⁹² RA Cat., 1893, no. 447.

²⁹³ *Times*, 1893, and F.G. Stephens for the *Athenaeum*, 1893, cited in *The Last Romantics: The Romantic Tradition in British Art, Burne-Jones to Stanley Spencer*. Exhibition Catalogue, John Christian (ed.), London: Lund Humphries in association with the Barbican Gallery, 1989, p. 124.

²⁹⁴ RA Cat., 1899, no. 879.

Burne-Jones that were exhibited at the New Gallery in the 1890s. The 1897-9 version [Fig. 12] is horizontal, and the 1900 version is vertical. The latter was exhibited at the R.A in 1899. Beatrice Parsons also exhibited *Hail, Mary* at the New Gallery during the summer of 1901.²⁹⁵

The posture of Parson's Annunciate recalls that of Rossetti's 1855 water-colour *The Annunciation* and the profile, including the hairstyle, recalls that of Burne-Jones' 1863 water-colour *The Annunciation*. The posture and the increasingly medievalised dress of the Virgin in Parson's version dated 1900 also recalls that of Burne-Jones' *The Prioress's Tale*, c.1865-98 [Fig. 64], exhibited at the New Gallery twice in the late 1890s.²⁹⁶ In light of the clear pictorial relationships, it is highly likely that Parsons admired the 1855 water-colour by Rossetti, exhibited at the memorial exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1883, and at the New Gallery in 1897, and *The Annunciation* by Burne-Jones, exhibited at the New Gallery both in 1892-3 and 1898-99.²⁹⁷ In fact, the 1863 *Annunciation* by Burne-Jones appears to have been inspired by Fra Angelico's Annunciate in San Marco [Fig. 65].

Although Parson's Annunciate derives from mid-century Pre-Raphaelite sources, the garden in which the Annunciation is set represents a signature style that characterizes her career as a painter of contemporary gardens in England and abroad, and the absence of the angel of the Annunciation in the RA version exhibited in 1899 represents a highly unusual conception of the Annunciation on the part of the artist. The mystical, intuitive

²⁹⁵ NG Cat., 1901, no. 323. It is unclear which version was exhibited at the New Gallery; I suspect that it may, in fact, have been the former.

²⁹⁶ NG Cat., 1898, no. 82, NG Cat., 1898-9, no. 36.

²⁹⁷ BFAC Cat., 1883, no. 3, NG Cat., 1897, no. 53, NG Cat., 1892-3, no. 5, NG Cat., 1898-9, no. 59. This particular type of silhouette may have suggested itself to Parsons through more than one picture in the exhibition of Edward Burne-Jones' works at the New Gallery, 1898-99, where, for example, the 1866 oil on canvas, *Saint George and the Dragon: The Princess Tied to the Tree* was no. 97 and *Saint George and the Dragon: Princess Sabra Drawing the Lot*, 1865-66, was no. 71.

and inquisitive sense conveyed by the representation of an Annunciate apprehending an angel, who is not visible to the viewer, but whose presence, and message, are implicit in the lily the Annunciate holds in her hand, is now further abstracted from the traditional narrative. It does recall, however, a traditional format of the Annunciation in the context of church decoration, whereby the angel and the Annunciate were often represented in separate paintings which nevertheless related to each other, the early fourteenth-century Annunciation fresco by Giotto in the Scrovengi Chapel, Padua, and the early sixteenth-century Annunciation fresco of Jacopo Pontorno at Santa Felicità, Florence [Fig. 66], are two examples of this common format. Another traditional aspect of Parson's Annunciation is the representation of the Virgin Mary receiving the Annunciation in the *hortus conclusus*; the enclosed garden traditionally symbolic of virginity, which also recalls Eden. The Annunciate is young, virtuous, and innocent; a youthful Victorian woman in a garden with her fiancé could be her secular counterpart. The Madonna, when removed from the trappings of her traditional context, is easier to relate to.

The angel of the Annunciation is present, however, in the horizontal 1897-99 version, in which the bare-footed Virgin is pictured in a simple, white, contemporary dress. Therefore, in spite of allusions to the Victorian conception of the medieval, this is effectively a relatively informal, anachronistic Annunciation. There is a radiant light above the head of the angel, just in front of the horizon line where the sunset diminishes as dusk approaches. He is neither winged, nor proffering the lily, but he is clearly addressing the Virgin Mary, who may hold the lily as a sign that she has heard and accepted, although the title refers to the initial address. Although many Annunciations of

the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century tended to adapt an Orientalist approach, this scene appears to be English or European.

The Message by Gotch was exhibited at the RA in 1903 [Fig. 51], a year after *Holy Motherhood* [Fig. 22].²⁹⁸ Gotch was a 'plein-air' artist working in the French style from the time he studied in Paris in the early 1880s; he was a founding member of the New English Art Club (NEAC) and settled in Newlyn in 1887, but a trip to Italy in 1891-2 marked a distinct stylistic change in his work.²⁹⁹ *The Message* is comprised of a blend of Italian Renaissance formal elements and nineteenth-century details that constitute a non-academic formula.

Gotch incorporates the influence of Italian Renaissance elements inspired by Botticelli in the subject and composition of *The Message*: the form of the circular tondo reflects that of the *Madonna of the Magnificat*, c.1480-81, by Botticelli [Fig. 67]. Gotch's angel relates to the so-called *Cestello Annunciation*, 1489-90, by Botticelli [Fig. 68]. The Annunciate, however, is a decidedly anachronistic, nineteenth-century woman whose hair and dress signal that the Florentine Renaissance elements are interacting with a contemporary subject, modeled after the artist's daughter Phyllis, as evinced by preparatory drawings [Fig. 69]. The dove grey tonal quality of the sky, the angel's wing and the young woman's dress balances and unifies the composition and may represent an enduring influence of James McNeill Whistler, a friend whose 'tonal and compositional innovations' influenced Gotch's painting.³⁰⁰ The large print of flowers and foliage on the woman's Victorian dress remind one of late nineteenth-century textiles of the Arts and

²⁹⁸ RA Cat., 1903, no. 377. RA cat., 1902, no. 249.

²⁹⁹ Betsy Cogger Rezelman: 'Gotch, Thomas Cooper,' Grove Art Online [November 4, 2006], <http://www.groveart.com/shared/views/article.html?from=search§ion=art.033427>

³⁰⁰ Betsy Cogger Rezelman: 'Gotch, Thomas Cooper,' Grove Art Online [November 4, 2006], <http://www.groveart.com/shared/views/article.html?from=search§ion=art.033427>

Crafts Movement, themselves inspired by Medieval and Renaissance textiles. The poppies are a signature late nineteenth-century symbol associated with Symbolist art. Conjuring the morbidity of death, dreams and opiates, a similar field of poppies surrounds the subject of Gotch's painting of 1895, *Death the Bride* [Fig. 70], and therefore lends a psychologically dark quality in the association with death. In the context of an Annunciation, the poppies may signal a dream state conducive to apprehending the otherworldly presence of the angel communicating with a young woman. As a traditional symbol of death, the poppies have sinister implications considering the *fin-de siècle* context.

This angel, like that of Hacker's version, approaches the Annunciate from behind, and, though not seen by the young woman, is nevertheless perceived. Gotch's angel is winged, but does not bear a lily. Symbols of the Annunciation such as the dove of the Holy Spirit or haloes of the mid nineteenth-century are here abandoned in favor of representing the simple communion between the two subjects. The art of the late nineteenth-century favoured mystery and symbolism over the early-mid century narrative purpose with which religious art was invested.

Overview: The Madonna in Victorian Art

Titles referring solely to the Madonna as the subject of the art work occurred only three times in the twelve years from 1838-50, but increased to a proportion of occurring more than twenty-five times over the next 50 years from 1850-1900. Titles referring solely to the Madonna occurred with equal frequency in the 1850s and the 1890s,

occurring, therefore, in double the frequency during the latter half of the century, compared to the first half of the century.

Those titles referring solely to the Madonna which are here illustrated are: *Mater Purissima* [Fig. 71], *Mater Dolorosa* [Fig. 72], both by Goodall and both exhibited at the RA in 1868, the *Madonna of the Vineyard: A Study* [Fig. 26], by Walter Crane, exhibited at the Water Colour Society in 1891, and *Rosa Mystica* [Fig. 73] by T.R. Spence, exhibited at the New Gallery in 1892.³⁰¹ Nearly one third, some twenty-nine percent, of the total Madonna titles are Latin, imbuing a surprising quantity with Catholic undertones. Within three years of being exhibited in 1850 Rossetti's painting *Ecce Ancilla Domini!* was renamed *The Annunciation* in order to 'avoid any suspicion of popery.'³⁰² Latin titles are primarily derived from hymns or prayers; the most frequent being '*Mater dolorosa*'; the sorrowful mother.³⁰³ The earliest of the Latin titles is a '*Mater dolorosa*' by W.C.T. Dobson, exhibited at the RA in 1852, accompanied by Latin text.³⁰⁴ A fifteenth-century *Mater Dolorosa* by the workshop of Dirk Bouts [Fig. 74] was presented to the National Gallery in 1863 by Queen Victoria, at the Prince Consort's wish, however, without Victorian versions of the subject to compare it to, one cannot be sure that this Flemish work inspired Victorian artists.³⁰⁵ The National Gallery acquired

³⁰¹ RA Cat., 1868, no.s 267 & 284. NG Cat., 1892, no. 238.

³⁰² Surtees (1971), p. 15.

³⁰³ The title is derived from the Latin phrase *Stabat Mater Dolorosa*, 'sorrowfully his mother stood,' the text of a thirteenth-century hymn which was a meditation on the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin. Among the composers who used the text are: Hayden, Schubert, Liszt, Dvorzak, Verdi and Rossini; C.H. Bitter listed more than 100 settings of the *Stabat mater* composed between 1700 and 1883 in *Eine Studie zum Stabat Mater* (Leipzig, 1883). John Caldwell and Malcolm Boyd, *Stabat mater dolorosa*, Grove Music online, http://www.grovemusic.com/shared/views/article.html?from=search&session_search_id=364891196&hitnum=1§ion=music.26489 [23rd November 2006] Other titles of art work include '*Mater carissima, ora pro nobis*', *Mater Amabilis* (Mother Most Amiable), *Mater Purissima* (Mother Most Pure), *Sancta Maria* (Holy Mary), and *Rosa Mystica* (Mystical Rose).

³⁰⁴ RA Cat., 1852, no. 1136 ('*Stabat mater dolorosa, Juxta crucem lacrymosa.*')

³⁰⁵ NG711.

the Arnolfini Portrati in 1842, and with the increasing popularity of the school of Van Eyck by the 1860s, early Northern painting influenced the Pre-Raphaelites and certainly has some bearing on mid-nineteenth century religious art. However, most works of the third quarter of the nineteenth century examined here are characterized by either Aesthetic or Orientalist concerns. Several works of the 1890s demonstrate the Pre-Raphaelite effect of Burne-Jones' fame, a strong Italian Renaissance influence, or Symbolist concerns.

'*Rosa Mystica*,' 1892, by Spence, reflects his architectural background combined with a classical aesthetic. The proportions, approximately 5' x 2', and the representation of the Madonna enthroned on a raised dais against a wall decorated with reliefs, are qualities appropriate to church decoration.³⁰⁶ Blackburn described the rich colouring: 'Madonna in purple vestiture, with her feet on orange carpet'.³⁰⁷ This formal treatment recalls Italian Renaissance types of the Madonna enthroned, such as the *Maestà*, c.1270, by Cimabue [Fig. 75], '*Ansidei Madonna*,' 1505, by Raphael [Fig. 76], acquired by the National Gallery, London, 1885, and the '*Castelfranco Madonna*,' c.1505, by Giorgione, [Fig. 77].³⁰⁸

The pendant paintings, *Mater Purissima* and *Mater Dolorosa*, 1868, by Goodall, are Orientalist treatments of the sole Madonna figure. *Mater Purissima*, is a vertical, three-quarter length, Virgin Mary in a white veil, holding two white doves to her breast. The architectural feature behind her, carved with decorative, Middle-Eastern patterns, recalls as a traditional cloth of honour behind an otherwise informally pictured Madonna.

³⁰⁶ NG Cat., 1892, no. 238.

³⁰⁷ Blackburn, H. *New Gallery Notes: 1892*, London: Chatto and Windus, p. 20.

³⁰⁸ The '*Ansidei Madonna*,' NG1171. The '*Castelfranco Madonna*,' or, *The Madonna and Child Enthroned between St. Francis and St. Liberalis*.

The composition of the *Mater Dolorosa* is similarly organized; she leans against a column, eyes shut, and wringing her hands. In contrast to the youthful promise of the Annunciate, the *Dolorosa* is a mature mother in mourning. *Holy Mother*, 1875, by Goodall [Fig. 78], also underlines the Orientalist treatment associated with the artist.

The Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, and Adoration of the Shepherds

The frequency with which the Nativity was exhibited appears to have remained consistent throughout the Victorian years. Most of the Nativity paintings that can be traced are those of Pre-Raphaelite painters. The *Nativity*, like the *Madonna and Child*, was painted both in an iconic and in a realistic treatment: it was an opportunity for artists to represent an authoritative Madonna with the infant Christ or a humble young mother with the baby Jesus.

Hughes' painting *The Nativity*, exhibited at the RA 1858 [Fig. 79], represented a humble, child-like Virgin in the Pre-Raphaelite style.³⁰⁹ Contemporary criticism reveals that the *Art Journal*, for one, disapproved of the Medieval conception in 1858, although the painting was bought for the Liverpool Museum and Art Gallery collection in 1881:

This is a kind of extravagance for which it is not difficult to account, since there is extant so much fanaticism in painting. The angel holding the lantern for the Virgin to swathe the Infant, which is held by another angel, is a conception existing, we believe, at Cologne. There is some good execution in the work, but its pretension is unlike anything in heaven, or on earth, or in the waters under the earth.³¹⁰

Stokes' approach was intimate, even realist, in *Light of Lights*, 1890 [Fig. 62].³¹¹ She included angels in a later nativity, *Angels Entertaining the Holy Child*, 1893, exhibited at

³⁰⁹ RA Cat., 1858, no. 284.

³¹⁰ Anonymous, 'The Royal Academy,' *Art Journal*, Vol. IV June 1, 1858, p. 166.

³¹¹ GG Cat., 1890, no. 82.

the RA [Fig. 63]. Iconic formality, however, characterizes the representation of the Madonna in large-scale public works by Pre-Raphaelites.

Rossetti's formal conception of the *Adoration*, 1858-64, [Fig. 80], is the central panel of an altar-piece commissioned by Llandaff Cathedral, Cardiff in 1856. Rossetti hoped to exhibit the Llandaff Cathedral *Adoration*,³¹² in a letter of September 21, 1861, addressed to Pre-Raphaelite associate James Smetham, he wrote: 'My time has been wholly taken up till the end of last week in finishing the large 'Adoration' for Llandaff Cathedral...someday I must borrow it if I can and exhibit it with other works.'³¹² Studies for the *Seed of David*, 1858-64, [Fig. 57], demonstrate an affectionate, maternal relationship of the Virgin Mary to the infant Jesus, and a style characteristic of Rossetti's work in the 1850s. The altar-piece, however, took on the appearance of Rossetti's later style, when Jane Morris rather than Lizzie Siddal, was his primary model, and his work became more Aesthetic than Pre-Raphaelite.

Burne-Jones represented a Madonna characterized by grandeur in *The Star of Bethlehem*, 1891 [Fig. 81], painted for the collection of the new Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, and exhibited at the New Gallery.³¹³ The *Adoration* by Rossetti and *The Star of Bethlehem* by Burne-Jones are unique among the works researched for this dissertation because they were painted for a cathedral and public art collection,

³¹² Letter from D.G. Rossetti to James Smetham, 21 September, 1861, National Art Library, Victoria & Albert Museum, pressmark 86.NN. Box II (XXIX) Pt. 4. 'On view, 13 Sept. 1861, probably for one day only, at 6 Whitehall.' *Letters*, p. 420 cited in Surtees (1971), p. 58. RA Cat., 1883, no. 296. It was shown briefly at Whitehall, therefore, in 1861 and was exhibited, following his death in 1882, at the 1883 memorial exhibition held at the Royal Academy.

³¹³ While working on a design featuring the *Adoration*, which was initially conceived for a tapestry commissioned by William Morris for the chapel of Exeter College in 1886, Burne-Jones "agreed to repeat the composition in water colour on a vast scale for the Corporation of Birmingham." Mancoff, D. "Too Beautiful not to be true': Edward Burne-Jones" in *Pre-Raphaelite and Other Masters: The Andrew Lloyd Weber Collection*. Exhibition catalogue by Richard Dormant et al., London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2003, p. 70.

respectively. Generally, the paintings discussed in this study were intended for the art market, and therefore, private collection.

Primary Sources: Victorian Books, Periodicals and Manuscripts

Twenty-five years after Jameson's *Legends of the Madonna*, the Rev. Clay, a British Chaplain at Messina, published *The Virgin Mary and the Traditions of Painters*, 'in the expectation of an approaching period when the Fine Arts, and especially painting, (would) once more be brought into use in the embellishment of...ecclesiastical edifices.'³¹⁴ Clay's book traced 'the history of Christian Art, as exhibited in pictures of the Virgin, from the earliest period to the decadence of the Italian Schools' with a view to 'the restoration of pictures' to English churches.³¹⁵ *Religion in Recent Art*, by P.T. Forsyth was published in 1889 and asserted that 'the deepest influences on the art of our Victorian era have been religious influences.'³¹⁶ Forsyth's book addressed early Italian painting and teased out a view of the agendas of various Christian denominations active in Victorian England and sought to identify the principles of those denominations in the work of various contemporary artists such as Hunt and Rossetti. Forsyth's method is reminiscent of one demonstrated by critic R.N. Wornum in 'Romanism and Protestantism in the relation to painting' published by the *Art-Journal* in 1850; although Forsyth endeavoured to apply principles of Romanism and Protestantism to contemporary art, where Wornum was more concerned with a re-evaluation of the art of the Renaissance.

³¹⁴ 'Reviews: *The Virgin Mary and the Traditions of Painters*. By the Rev. J.G. Clay, M.A., British Chaplain at Messina. Published by J.T. Hayes.,' *Art-Journal*, vol. XII, 1873, p. 224.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

³¹⁶ Forsyth, P.T., *Religion in Recent Art* (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1889), p. 188.

The mid-nineteenth century was characterized by a transition towards an increasing level of professionalization in periodical writing.³¹⁷ Jameson's *Memoirs of Earlier Italian Painters* was published in serial form in the *Penny Magazine* in 1842, and subsequently as a book in 1845. Contemporary articles written for periodicals on the subject of Victorian religious pictures, or 'Sacred Art' as it was identified by contemporaries, include 'Romanism and Protestantism in their Relation to Painting,' by art critic R. N. Wornum, a key to interpreting the Victorian distinction between what constituted Protestant and Catholic art.³¹⁸ Wornum asserted that 'Protestantism is essentially antagonistic to the development of high Religious art, which is on the other hand, signally fostered by Romanism.'³¹⁹ Wornum stated that although 'there are thousands of pictures in... Roman Catholic countries' which are not in accord with 'the spirit of Protestantism' but are specifically Catholic, there are also 'thousands more of a more universal character which Protestantism might universally recognize.'³²⁰ Wornum declared that

of Romanism we have positive results, of Protestantism, as yet, only negative but the idea of Protestantism being more spiritual in its essence than Romanism is pure arrogance; if there is a difference in this respect, it is that in Protestantism we have a spirit without a body, while in Romanism we have both spirit and substantial body too.³²¹

Wornum's view of Catholicism and Catholic art, however, was also disparaging at times and he constructed an argument whereby 'an investigation of the peculiar and

³¹⁷ See Prettejohn, Elizabeth, 'Aesthetic Value and the Professionalization of Victorian Art Criticism 1837-78,' *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 2 (1997).

³¹⁸ Wornum, R.N., 'Romanism and Protestantism in their relation to painting,' *Art-Journal*, vol. XII, May 1, 1850, pp. 133-136. Art critic Ralph Wornum Nicholson (1812-1877) was educated at University College, London, studied drawing and painting, toured the galleries and museums of Europe for several years, and served as gallery keeper at the National Gallery of Art, London. He published scholarly studies on art over the course of twenty years, and contributed to periodicals.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

common grounds of these two Art-provinces' would 'endeavour to show that their greatness is in the *common* while the peculiar,' or, that which is exclusive to Catholicism, 'is without general interest' and 'has never conferred the slightest dignity to art.'³²² Wornum sought to construct a method through which Protestant culture could claim a connection to 'high Religious art' representing 'Faith, Hope, and Charity,' with Raphael's *Transfiguration* offered as 'a grand example of Faith' and 'Etty's great pictures' as an example of 'how a Protestant can treat such matters.'³²³ Historic religious art is described as having the potential to be 'impressive and instructive,' and 'capable of 'inculcating or spreading the leading principles of Christian morality.'³²⁴ Among the subjects of cycles that could effectively function as 'visible embodiments of the prophecies' the author listed the Fall and the Nativity.³²⁵ Wornum noted a 'special cycle relating to the Virgin' evolved as well, and that these subjects 'are of a Catholic character, and not more Romanist or Greek than Protestant in sentiment.'³²⁶ Finally, Wornum pronounced that one 'should never argue...that a man who cannot satisfy himself with an abstract idea is *necessarily* material and sensual' and declared that 'every worthy idea may be worthily embodied.'³²⁷ Admonishing the P.R.B., however, he explicitly exhorts contemporary British artists to 'dwell in the *spirit* of their religion, and not in the revival of a dead ceremonial, or the affected resuscitation of the old *quattrocento form* of Art.'³²⁸

³²² *Ibid.*, p. 133.

³²³ Specifically, those works by Etty that had been 'lately exhibited at the Society of Arts.' *Ibid.*, p. 133.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

³²⁷ My italics. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

'Modern Sacred Art in England' by a Pre-Raphaelite associate, painter James Smetham, was published in the *London Review* in 1862. Smetham discussed the 'Sacred Art' of the ancient Greeks, early Christians, Renaissance, and described the debilitating effects of the Reformation upon English art extensively; demonstrating a continued effect of limitation he perceived it to have on 'Modern Sacred Art' in England. 'Realistic Attempts at Sacred Art,' published in the *Art Journal*, 1873, is a short piece on addressing the 'realistic School of sacred Art' for the purpose of admonishing the contemporary fashion for reproducing 'the actual details of the Oriental life of to-day, by way of illustrating the scenes which surrounded the cradle of Christianity.'³²⁹ The author acknowledges that 'this is thought to be, as a realistic performance, something close upon the truth' but judges the approach to be misguided, stating:

the poetic idea of a prophet, or apostle, or One greater than either, is far more faithfully conveyed to the western world by the Romanesque grandeur of the draped figures of Raffaele than by the photograph of some half-naked sheik.³³⁰

It was deemed equally distasteful for the appearance of a religious character to recall 'an English washerwoman.'³³¹ The objection to realistic art was rooted in the belief that it delivered 'the carcass alone' therefore, 'uninformed by the spirit' essential to the treatment of a 'sacred story.'³³² The 'true mission of art' is the 'indication' of the spirit through the idealization of sacred subjects.³³³ The author disapproved of representations of Jesus as a workman (carpenter), as he is in *The Shadow of Death*, 1870-73, by Hunt [Fig. 42]. It was asserted that 'no one familiar with Hebrew literature can suppose that Jesus was devoted to any other object than the study of the law' and that the 'testimony

³²⁹ Anonymous, 'Realistic Attempts at Sacred Art,' *Art-Journal*, vol. XII, 1873, p.86.

³³⁰ A sheikh is an Arab chief, and traditional dress hardly leaves one 'half-naked.'

³³¹ Anonymous, 'Realistic Attempts at Sacred Art,' *Art-Journal*, vol. XII, 1873, p.87.

³³² *Ibid.*, p. 87.

³³³ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

of the Evangelists' renders the carpenter's workshop a 'myth...as non historic and unreal as the stiffest idol of Byzantine feebleness of conception, or the black Madonna of the Abyssinian Church.'³³⁴

'Realism in Painting', published in the *Art Journal* by D.C. Thompson, 1874, endeavoured to 'consider the merits' of Realism' and 'Idealism' and favoured artistic selection over literal realistic replication. The writer argues for the idealism, identified as requiring 'fidelity to nature both in form and colour' and the artist's 'discrimination and power in bringing up the principal features,' thereby 'leaving out what is objectionable, and representing only what is beautiful and notable.'³³⁵ Realism is acknowledged to have 'taken a strong hold on a large portion of the public during the past quarter of a century' (1850-75), supported by 'Ruskin's views on Pre-Raphaelitism,' and, the author posits, inspired by 'the art of photography.'³³⁶ Disparaged by the author as 'unimaginative' and 'mechanical,' Realism was identified as lacking skill and inspiration.³³⁷

Victorian articles which addressed religious iconography specifically inclusive of the Virgin Mary include: 'The Nativity in Art,' by Alice Meynell, published in the *Art Journal*, December 1890, and 'The Annunciation: The Ideal in Modern Art,' by Rose G. Kingsley, published in the *Art Journal*, January, 1901. Meynell surveyed Old Master Nativities, beginning with the 'passionate expression' she identifies in 'the first compositions of the Florentine and Siennese schools. She examines the work of Filippo Lippi, Fiorenzo di Lorenzo (for 'all who love Botticelli'), Lo Spagna, Bernardino Luino, Luca and Giovanni della Robbia, John Bartholomew Zeitblum, Correggio, Nicolo

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

dell'Abate, Bloemaert, and ends admiringly with 'the force of sincerity' she attributes to the religious subjects of Fritz Von Uhde.³³⁸ Kingsley's writing on the Annunciation argues in favour of Idealism over Realism in modern religious subjects, writing about *The Annunciation* by Arthur Hacker as a contemporary English example.³³⁹

In addition to Victorian art historical writing, contemporary fiction published in the periodicals provides a telling resource for identifying the place that the Madonna held in the mythologizing of the artist's psyche; Henry James published 'The Madonna of the Future' in 1879, and a seven-page short fiction piece entitled 'Hargrove's Madonna,' M.E. Francis, was published in the *Art Journal* in 1892. James' short story inspired a painting by Philip Burne-Jones, *An Unpainted Masterpiece- 'The Madonna of the Future' Henry James*, which was exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1886 [Fig. 82].³⁴⁰ The painting was exhibited a second time, at the New Gallery, in 1892, notably, the year that 'Hargrove's Madonna' appeared in the *Art Journal*. Both short stories depict an artist's struggle to capture both the beauty and nobility associated with the Madonna and, intriguingly, both tales end in futility and tragedy, underlining the impossibility of realizing that high, artistic ambition.

³³⁸ Alice Meynell, 'The Nativity in Art,' *Art Journal*, December, 1890, pp. 353-360.

³³⁹ Rose G. Kinglsey, 'The Annunciation; The Ideal in Modern Art,' January, 1901. pp. 8-9.

³⁴⁰ GG Cat., 1886, no. 13.

Chapter III. Eve

This chapter will explore the subject of Eve in Victorian art. Looking at the same prominent exhibition venues studied in Chapters I and II, it can be shown that Eve was represented in just over 50 works from 1838-1901: appearing approximately only one third as often as the Madonna was represented. The types of Eve represented in Victorian art include, in order of frequency from greatest to least: works titled simply "Eve", the Birth or Creation of Eve, the Expulsion, the Temptation of Eve and works titled "Adam and Eve." The subject of "Eve Repentant" is unique to Watts.³⁴¹

In the 1840s and 1850s, works representing Eve were divided equally between paintings and sculpture. Where there was little to no British sculpture of the Madonna, there was a significant amount of sculptural work representing Eve. The total number of works representing Eve, including sculpture, was high during the 1850s, when most works were inspired by Milton, as evinced by the frequent inclusion of text from Milton in or with the title of each work. The number of works representing Eve was high again during the last quarter of the nineteenth-century, c. 1870-1900, when she was a popular *femme fatale* figure, both Academic and Symbolist. Like the Madonna, therefore, the frequency of works representing Eve was particularly strong during the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century. In the 1860s, nearly all of the few art works representing Eve, some nine out of ten works, were sculpture, perhaps indicative of an increase in sculptural production in the latter half of the nineteenth century.³⁴² In the 1860s, seven out

³⁴¹ *Eve (One of a series of designs for large Pictures)*, DG Cat., 1873, no. 75 and *Eve Repentant*, NG Cat., 1891-2, no. 154.

³⁴² RA Cat. 1861, no. 1116, *Eve seeing her shadow in the water*, by T. Sharp, RA Cat., 1862, no. 1123, *Sketch for a bust of Eve*, by S.F. Lynn, RA Cat. 1865, no. 892, *Eve-a marble statuette*, by J.S. Westmacott, no. 903, *Adam and Eve*, by E.G. Papworth, sen., and no. 937, *Eve*, by P. MacDowell, RA, RA Cat. 1866, no. 1029, *Eve*, by G. Halse, RA Cat., 1868, no. 954, *Eve's dream*, by W.C. Marshall, RA Cat. 1869, no.

of nine of the sculptural works referred explicitly to the Eve of Milton's *Paradise Lost* in the title or in the accompanying text printed in the RA exhibition catalogue beside the title. Data collected for this study, from nineteenth-century exhibition catalogues, demonstrates that Milton's Eve of *Paradise Lost* provided a significant source of inspiration in Victorian art, and was, therefore, a major literary source to inspire images of Eve in the nineteenth century, when the work of Milton continued to be influential, particularly to the Romantics. Similarly, the work of Jameson published throughout the Victorian era, inspired discourse and artistic production of the subject of the Madonna. In the 1870s and 1880s, 60-70% of the art works representing Eve were paintings. Overall, however, a high proportion of nineteenth-century works representing Eve, over 40%, were sculpture. In the 1890s, all but one of the art works representing Eve identified in this chapter were paintings; this statistical anomaly is due to the quantity of Eve subjects painted and exhibited by Watts alone during that time.³⁴³

A type of 'New Testament Eve' in the ancillary role Eve plays in the iconography of the Annunciation will also be addressed in this chapter; this can be observed in the *Annunciation*, by Burne-Jones, 1879, where the Expulsion was shown in the form of a relief carving in the architecture behind the Annunciate, and *Ecce Ancilla*, by Rupert Bunny, 1893, where the Expulsion was shown in the form of a tapestry decorating the room where the Annunciate receives the archangel. Lastly, the subject of 'Daughters of Eve' was adapted to a variety of time periods, as it specifically identified women as Eve's descendants. Iconographically, this symbolic connection is implicit in the inclusion of an

1189, *Statue of Eve*, by J.W. Wood. *Eve*, a painting by William Edward Frost, RA, was exhibited at the British Institution (BI) in 1867; see Graves, A., 1908.

³⁴³ The sole, sculptural exception was identified in the RA Cat., 1890, no. 2073, *Eve—statuette, bronze*, by Henry Pegram (Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool).

apple or apple tree acting as an attribute and the connection is, of course, explicit in the title.

The earliest work representing Eve identified in this study is a sculpture *Adam and Eve*, anonymous, exhibited at the BI in 1838, but the first nineteenth-century Eve subject traced and illustrated here is E.H. Baily's sculpture *Eve listening to the Voice*, exhibited at the RA in 1841 [Fig. 83].³⁴⁴ The earliest Victorian painting of Eve identified in this study is John Tenniel's *The Expulsion from Eden*, exhibited at the RA in 1853 [Fig. 84].³⁴⁵ The latest nineteenth-century representations of Eve illustrated in this study are *Eve*, a statue by Thomas Brock, 1900, [Fig. 85], and *The Expulsion*, a painting by Spencer Stanhope, exhibited in 1900 [Fig. 86].³⁴⁶ The plaster version of Brock's *Eve* was exhibited at the RA in 1898 and the marble statue was completed in 1900 and exhibited at the Paris Exposition Universelle.³⁴⁷ Stanhope's *Expulsion* was exhibited at the New Gallery in 1900. Among the varieties of style demonstrated by the Victorian works representing Eve illustrated in this study one can identify Academicism, Aestheticism, and Symbolism, reflecting English and European styles.

Paradise Lost: Milton's Eve

In addition to obvious literary origins in Genesis, Eve was frequently represented with reference to Milton's epic poem, *Paradise Lost* (1667). Milton inspired a significant proportion of the Eve subjects in Victorian art, particularly in the early Victorian period, when his influence upon the Romantics was profound; just over one third, at least

³⁴⁴ RA Cat., 1841, no. 1219.

³⁴⁵ RA Cat., 1853, no. 1127.

³⁴⁶ RA Cat., 1898, no. 1965, NG Cat., 1900, no. 58.

³⁴⁷ RA Cat. 1898, no. 1965. In 1900, the year that the marble *Eve* was at Paris, Brock exhibited: Tomb for the late Lord Leighton, P.R.A., for Saint Paul's Cathedral, see RA Cat. 1900, no. 2053.

nineteen, of the Victorian art works representing Eve were accompanied by literary reference to Milton. Among the Miltonic Eve subjects, *Eve's Dream*, and the subsequent *Temptation* are among the most frequent. Approximately half of the Miltonic Eve subjects identified in this study date from the 1840s and 1850s, and the remainder date from the 1860s and 1870s. Half of the Miltonic Eve subjects are sculptural works, and half are pictures. The subject seems to have finally disappeared by the fourth quarter of the century.

Eve's Predecessor: Lilith

The subject of Adam's mythological first wife, Lilith, occurred at least as many times as certain types of Eve subject, and, with the exception of *Lady Lilith*, 1864-8, by Rossetti [Fig. 15], this was a late nineteenth-century subject; being exhibited at least four times during the 1880s. Those works exhibited were: *Lady Lilith*, 1864-8, by Rossetti, exhibited in 1883, *Lilith*, 1887, by John Collier [Fig. 87], exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery the same year, *Lilith*, a statuette by Albert Toft, and *Lilith leaving the Garden of Eden*, a sculpture by W. Calder Marshall, both exhibited at the RA 1889.³⁴⁸

Characterized by a threatening sexuality, Lilith could be loosely cast as a prototype for Eve, and she would appear to have functioned in the same, misogynistic way, as a *femme fatale* of the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century, when a type of sensuous or sexualized morbidity characterized art and literature, particularly about women. This is

³⁴⁸ *Lady Lilith* was exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, not among the venues selected for primary discussion in this dissertation, but clearly worth inclusion here, see: BFAC Cat., 1883, no. 4, GG Cat., 1887, RA Cat., 1889, no. 2112, accompanied by the text: "O bright snake, the death worm of Adam, wreath my neck with my hair's bright tether, And wear my gold and thy gold together." and no. 2194, accompanied by the text: "Lilith, Adam's first wife, jealous of Eve, by aid of the serpent tempts her, then leaves the garden with the serpent. She afterwards becomes the mother of the demons. -Legend of the Rabbins."

addressed in, for example, *Symbolists and Decadents*, published in 1971, by John Milner, which describes writers and artists of the late-nineteenth-century having been 'impelled by their distrust of the growing materialism of their age towards a search for truths that were of personal and universal significance,' and endeavoring to represent their inner experiences through 'art that would give body and form to emotions and dreams' which included preoccupations of the *fin-de-siècle* such as 'death and frustration, union and conflict of the sexes, cruel or superfluous beauty, the fatal woman, the siren and the sphinx' as well as other mythological *femme fatale* figures including the Vampire, Salome, Lilith and Eve, as well as the common, contemporary prostitute or entertainer.³⁴⁹

***Lilith* in the Latter Half of the Nineteenth Century by Rossetti and Collier**

Hold thou thy heart against her shining hair,
If, by thy fate, she spread it once for thee;
For, when she nets a young man in that snare,
So twines she him he may never be free.³⁵⁰

The poem *Lilith*, written by Rossetti in 1866, demonstrates that Lilith was invested with a negative sensuality similar to that associated with Eve. Watts referred to Eve's 'wealth of golden hair' in the text of the New Gallery exhibition catalogue of 1891-

2.³⁵¹ This reference to a woman's hair in Victorian literature and art demonstrates the

³⁴⁹ See: Milner, John, *Symbolists and Decadents*, London & New York: Studio Vista Limited & E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1971, Preface.

³⁵⁰ *Lilith*. From *Goethe* by Dante Gabriel Rossetti: 'composed in 1866, published posthumously (1886). The text is important for the relation it bears to Rossetti's various treatments of the figure and myth of Lilith. It translates a brief section of the famous Brocken scene in *Faust*.' See Mc Gann, J. (ed.) *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: Collected Poetry and Prose*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2003, pp. 304, 409.

³⁵¹ See Appendix of Victorian texts for complete poem: 'Eve, repentant, buries her face against the trunk of a tree in an agony of remorse and shame; her back is towards the spectator, and her body is partly concealed by her wealth of golden hair.' Thus, although described as abundant and luxuriant, Eve's hair, in this instance, shields her nakedness from full view.

sensuousness with which it was invested and the sinister potential of that sensuous feature. Rossetti's poem refers to the capacity of Lilith's hair to entwine, thus recalling the action of a serpent, which also entwines its prey. Collier's painting of Lilith, discussed in more detail later in this chapter, also uses her hair to effect a formal, compositional, and, thereby, a symbolic connection between Lilith and the snake, also common to the symbolism and iconography of Eve. Historically Eve has come to represent disobedience and sinfulness: the original *femme fatale*, preceded only by the somewhat lesser-known myth of Lilith. Artistically, Victorians were also engaged by the legend of Lilith, who, according to the Talmudic myth, 'was the first wife of Adam, who abandoned her partner after he denied her equality, and as a demon, vowed vengeance on her successor Eve.'³⁵² Interest in Lilith could be said to represent an Orientalist curiosity on the part of Victorians, whereby the obscure exoticism of ancient Eastern myth was invested with a sinister composite personality, Lilith, upon whom fearful feelings about sensuality, disobedience, and destruction were projected. Myths about Lilith developed over time from a variety of sources including Assyrian myth, the Talmud, and the Old Testament.³⁵³

The subject of Lilith captured the imaginations of well-known Victorian painters. Rossetti's *Lady Lilith*, 1864-8, was exhibited in 1883.³⁵⁴ Collier's *Lilith* was accompanied

³⁵² *Exposed: The Victorian Nude*. Exhibition catalogue by Alison Smith et al., London: Tate, 2001, p. 215.

³⁵³ The 'conception that (Lilith) was Adam's first wife appears to have been spread through Buxtorf's *Lexicon Talmudicum*' (Basle, 1639, Leipzig 1869-1875), reprinted during the latter half of the nineteenth century. See: 'Lilith', *The Jewish Encyclopedia* [online] <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/view.jsp?artid=421&letter=L> [24th April, 2006]. See also Tate Britain entry for *Lilith* (exhibited 1916), by Dame Ethel Walker (1861-1951) [Online] <http://www.tate.org.uk/servlet/ViewWork?cgroupid=99999961&workid=15802&searchid=8122&tabview=text> [6th May 2006]

³⁵⁴ BFAC Cat. 1883, no. 4. See: 'Pictures, drawings, designs and studies by the late Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Born 1828; died 1882.' Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1883. Biographical notice of Rossetti by H. Virtue Tebbs (Henry Virtue).

by the opening lines of Rossetti's poem, a testament to its enduring influence and recognizability.³⁵⁵ Collier's version was exhibited within four years of Rossetti's version, shown a year after his death, and the subject in the work of the latter may well have been inspired by that of the former, with the accompanying text honoring Rossetti. The painting included verse on the frame that relates to *Eden Bower* (published in 1870):

Of Adam's first wife, Lilith, it is told (the witch he loved before the gift of Eve)
That, ere the snake's, her sweet tongue could deceive, And her enchanted hair was
the first gold.³⁵⁶

Both Rossetti and Collier represented Lilith anachronistically; not 'historically', as a woman of Biblical mythology, but rather as a contemporary, nineteenth-century woman. Rossetti's Lilith is representative of Rossetti's work during the 1860s; these 'poetic visions' are characterized by 'underlying references to the exotic, the erotic and a fascination with death' and which were painted 'in a decade that was crucial for British art as a whole, marking a reaction against the narrative painting of the previous fifty years.'³⁵⁷ Lilith, therefore, functioned much the same way Eve did at this time, as an Aesthetic or Symbolist *femme fatale* figure invested with a sensual yet sinister identity. Spencer-Longhurst describes this 'new, more escapist art' as one that appealed to a decade when 'the religious, historical and social certainties of early Victorian society were being challenged.'³⁵⁸ Rossetti's Lilith, is represented as a luxurious woman seated at her toilet, and appears to be indebted to models such as Titian's *Woman with a Mirror*,

³⁵⁵ Accompanied by the following text in the GG cat., 1887 (from *Eden Bower* by D.G. Rossetti): 'It was Lilith, the wife of Adam: (Eden's bower in flower.) Not a drop of her blood was human, But she was made like a soft sweet woman.'

³⁵⁶ Poetic text by Rossetti observed on the frame cited in Spencer-Longhurst, P. *The Blue Bower: Rossetti in the 1860s*, The Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham & The Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown Massachusetts, 2000, p. 46. For the complete text of the poem *Eden Bower* by Dante Gabriel Rossetti, see Appendix.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 4, 2000.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4, 2000.

1512-15. *Lady Lilith* is among those paintings 'rooted in his knowledge of the Old Masters, especially the Venetians.'³⁵⁹ Rossetti would have seen Titian when visiting the Louvre in 1849 with Holman Hunt, and his visit to the Louvre inspired poetic works about Old Master paintings, including 'For a Venetian Pastoral by Giorgione (In the Louvre).'³⁶⁰

Collier's painting *Lilith* is indistinguishable from the iconographic norm of representing Eve. Although represented as a standing nude, apparently outside of Eden, and lovingly entwined with the serpent, she appears distinctly contemporary in facial features, hair, and body type. The relationship between Lilith and the serpent is traditionally characterized as one of complicity, like Eve, and is underlined by the Collier's choice of similar colouring for both serpent's markings and Lilith's hair. A connection is also underlined by composition: the serpent's head emerges at Lilith's shoulder, where it is difficult to distinguish between her hair and the serpent's own markings. During the latter half of the nineteenth century 'the relationship of flowing tresses to aggressive female sexuality became commonplace among Symbolist painters', a loosely defined categorization characterized by themes more than style, and to which Rossetti is associated.³⁶¹ Other nineteenth-century works which convey the transgressive sensuality, danger and morbidity associated with Lilith and Eve include: *Venus Verticordia*, 1864-68, by Rossetti [Fig. 88], *Evil*, date unknown, by Collier [Fig. 89], two versions of *Sin* by Franz von Stuck, 1893 [Fig. 90] and 1899 [Fig. 91], *Nuda Veritas*, 1899, by Gustav Klimt [Fig. 92], and, paradoxically, the *Madonna*, 1894-95, by Munch

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 4, 2000.

³⁶⁰ Mc Gann, p. 390, 2003. The former refers to the *Fête Champêtre*, now attributed to Titian, and the latter refers to *Mars et Vénus dit le Parnasse*. Both poems were published in the *Germ*, no. 4 (30 April 1850).

³⁶¹ Spencer-Longhurst, p. 13, 2000.

[Fig. 11]. Munch's 1895 lithograph of the Madonna has been described as 'a post-Darwinian interpretation' of the German Romanticism of Runge 'in the attempt to symbolize the...concept of human fertility in a biological context,' using the Madonna, traditionally emblematic of sanctified motherhood, rather than Eve, who is often referred to as the mother of mankind.³⁶²

The pictorial relationship between the serpent's evil and woman's complicity has been codified in western iconography since the middle ages when the serpent began to be represented with the head of a woman, usually identical to that of Eve; an iconographic tradition which began in the art of the Middle Ages, including the *Trés Riches Hours of the Duc de Berry* [Fig. 93], for example, and continued throughout the Renaissance. This tradition can be observed the fresco of the *Temptation of Adam and Eve*, Brancacci Chapel, S. Maria del Carmine, Florence, c.1425, by Masolino [Fig. 94], *The Fall of Man*, c. 1470, by Hugo van der Goes [Fig. 95], and Michelangelo's fresco of *The Fall of Man and Expulsion from the Garden of Eden*, 1510 [Fig. 96], for example. In *Eden Bower* Rossetti identified Eve's predecessor, Lilith, as a subject supplanting, or synonymous with, the role traditionally assigned to the serpent, thus reinforcing the association of woman-kind with evil: 'Eve bends to the breath of Lilith...Eve bends to the words of Lilith...Then Eve shall eat and give unto Adam'. Eve and Lilith were clearly demonized women, and represent anti-feminist characterizations of female sexuality. Although it might appear that the Madonna, invested with sanctified maternity, was, conversely, a feminist archetype, particularly in Jameson's view, one might argue that idealized femininity which is not integrated with humanity (such as sexuality) is also potentially

³⁶² Rosenblum, R. *Modern Painting and the Northern Romantic Tradition: Friedrich to Rothko*, New York: Harper & Row, 1975, p. 110.

anti-feminist. One has only to think of Ruskin's anti-feminist *Sesame and Lilies* (1865), a statement on the duties of men and women, to recall the damaging and paradoxical doormat-pedestal paradigm, whereby both the criticism and the idealization of women can be equally problematic in terms of effecting cultural limitations; from psychological to social and economic.

Eve in Genesis: 'your eyes shall be opened' ³⁶³

Subsequent to the biblical story of the Fall, Eve has historically been interpreted by church fathers such as St. Augustine as an archetype of transgressive feminine identity; but this identity is also characterized by a polarization, reflecting what Dijkstra, in *Idols of Perversity*, referred to as the 'dualistic sensibility of most nineteenth-century intellectuals.'³⁶⁴ Eve was alternately described in Victorian poetry as 'the Ideal Woman...Fair as she was in Eden ere the Fall,' in *After Paradise*, 1887, by Owen Meredith, pseudonym for Edward Robert, First Earl of Lytton, and 'sad mother of all who must live,' in *Eve*, by Christina Rossetti, from *The Prince's Progress and Other Poems*, 1866). Eve, therefore, was characterized by virtue and idealism before the Fall and corruption, transgression and culpability after the Fall.

Indeed, distinct, dualistic characterizations inspiring two different veins of art are identifiable: Eve as a 'cautionary emblem' of the consequences of transgression, and Eve as the ideal first woman, partner, and mother of mankind.³⁶⁵ The ideal expressed by Owen Meredith is in the minority of pictorial tradition; outnumbered by the representation of Eve as the epitome of disobedience, sin and sorrowful consequences, all gendered

³⁶³ Genesis 3:5.

³⁶⁴ Dijkstra, B. *Idols of Perversity*, New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1986, p. 4.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 313.

feminine, and representing the polar opposite of those qualities associated with the Madonna. Although Eve is almost always demonized through the representation of her complicit relationship to the serpent, she is also sexualized. Artistically, Eve was an opportunity to represent a sensual nude woman, who was, however, "necessarily" demonized. Conversely, the Madonna was an artistic opportunity to represent a woman emblematic of maternity, obedience and piety; the antidote to Eve, and, therefore, the theological "Second Eve".

Eve and the Madonna: Transgression and Redemption

Eve's primary cultural identity arguably lies in that of temptress and transgressor.

Quoting Augustine, Jameson obliquely referred to Eve in the introduction to *Legends of the Madonna*:

'Christ...was born of a woman only, and had no earthly father, that neither sex might despair; 'for he had been born a man (which was necessary), yet not born of woman, the women might have despaired of themselves, recollecting the first offence, the first man having been deceived by a woman.'³⁶⁶

The implication in Jameson's introduction clearly points to a burden borne by womankind whereby they apparently inherit some degree of Eve's 'offence' and subsequent disgrace. The redemptive value of the virtuous Madonna is explicit:

'Therefore, we are to suppose that, for the exaltation of the male sex, Christ appeared on Earth as a man; and for the *consolation* of womenkind, he was born of a woman only.'³⁶⁷

A feminist issue can be identified in Jameson, therefore, who appears to have participated in the polarization of these female identities, representing a contrast between Eve the

³⁶⁶ Augustine, Opera Supt. 238, Serm. 63., in Jameson, A. *Legends of the Madonna as Represented in the Fine Arts*, Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin and Company, Cambridge, The Riverside Press, 1899, p. 23.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 23. My italics in the text by Jameson.

femme fatale and the chaste idealism of the Madonna; eschewing any revision of the former and extolling the virtues of the latter, who is described as a vehicle of 'consolation' for womankind after the negative legacy that resulted from the Fall precipitated the actions of the former.

Jameson identified and defined eight attributes that have traditionally been represented in pictures of the Madonna. The first three of the eight attributes of the Madonna refer to the Fall for which Eve is held responsible: the globe, the serpent, and the apple. Jameson wrote of the globe: 'when the globe is under the feet of the Madonna, and encircled by a serpent...it figures our Redemption; her triumph over a fallen world-fallen through sin.'³⁶⁸ Jameson identified the serpent as 'the general emblem of Sin or Satan': an attribute shared with Eve.³⁶⁹ Thirdly, Jameson wrote of the apple: 'which of all attributes is the most common, signifies the fall of man, which made Redemption necessary. It is sometimes placed in the hand of the Child; but when in the hand of the Mother, she is then designated as the *second Eve*.'³⁷⁰

The meaning implicit in the reference to the Madonna as the 'second Eve' is, in fact, the *good* Eve; the *good* version of woman. Identifying the serpent as 'Sin' or 'Satan', Jameson can be understood to hold Eve as the agent or vehicle of Sin, but not necessarily the very embodiment of it. In either case, that of Eve or the Madonna, therefore, women are characterized as polar opposite: vehicles of sin and redemption, or, evil and goodness or virtue, yet they are only imbued with the power to be either through powers of evil and good, Satan and God respectively, which are gendered male. In *Eve: The History of an Idea*, John A. Phillips writes: 'The Old Testament concept of god

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 57. My *italics* in the text by Jameson.

'deifies' sexism by giving religious authenticity to a (patriarchal) sociopolitical system.'³⁷¹

Types of Eve in Victorian Art

The primary Eve subjects derived from Genesis include the birth or Creation of Eve, Adam and Eve, Eve Tempted, the Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Eden, and representations of Adam and Eve as parents, after the Fall. The majority of these subjects were represented in equal number at the Victorian exhibition venues studied. However, the Creation or Birth of Eve occurred at nearly twice the number of the other subjects. Art works simply titled Eve, however, outnumber all of these categories in the life of Adam and Eve. Eve, like the Madonna, was a broadly recognizable icon. Similarly, of all the subjects representing the Virgin Mary, those simply entitled Madonna, occurred in the greatest number: each woman outnumbered scenes from her life when represented as icons, in this new, arguably later nineteenth-century sense rather than in the traditional, narrative or didactic manner. Examples of two art works simply entitled *Eve* include: a marble *Eve*, 1900 by Thomas Brock, RA [Fig. 85], and *Eve*, 1897, an etching after a painting exhibited at the RA in 1885, by Anna Lea Merritt [Fig. 97].³⁷² Although simply titled *Eve*, the statue by Brock and, of course, the painting by Merritt arguably represent Eve after the Fall; as she remains naked but demure, hand over her breast and head down in the work of Brock, and crumpled on the ground, mourning, in the work of Merritt.

The following illustrations of Eve relate to the Genesis story: *The Days of Creation (The Sixth Day)* by Burne-Jones, exhibited 1877 at the Grosvenor Gallery [Fig.

³⁷¹ Phillips, J.A. *Eve: The History of an Idea* San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1984, p. 10. My parenthetical text.

³⁷² RA Cat., 1885, no. 126.

98], *The First Awakening of Eve*, 1889, exhibited at the RA, by Valentine Cameron Prinsep, RA, [Fig. 99], Watts' *The Birth of Eve* [Fig. 100] and *She shall be called woman* [Fig. 1], both 1891-2, *Eve Tempted* by Spencer Stanhope, 1877, [Fig. 14] and *Eve Tempted*, 1891-2, by Watts [Fig. 101], *The Expulsion*, 1853, by John Tenniel [Fig. 84], inspired specifically by Milton, *The Expulsion*, marble statue, 1859, by William Calder Marshall, and *The Expulsion*, 1900, by Spencer Stanhope [Fig. 86].³⁷³ Finally, Eve is represented after the Fall, as a mother, in *Eve's Second Paradise*, 1885, by Philip Richard Morris [Fig. 102], exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery. Two scenes that represent life in Eden before the Fall include: *The Garden of Eden*, 1888, by F. Hamilton Jackson [Fig. 103], and *Paradise*, c.1895, by William Strang [Fig. 104].³⁷⁴

The Creation of Eve: 'the majesty of unconsciousness'³⁷⁵

The first group of art works I am going to examine relates to the Creation of Eve: Burne-Jones' 'Sixth Day', Prinsep's *The First Awakening of Eve*, Watts' 'She shall be called woman,' and (the Awakening of) *Eve* by Solomon Joseph Solomon. According to Genesis, the Creation of Eve was effected by God and, in part, through the body of man: Eve is derived from Adam by the power of God. Iconographic tradition represents God the Father ushering forth the body of Eve, which rises from the reclining figure of Adam,

³⁷³ It is clear in the 1853 RA exhibition catalogue that Tenniel's *Expulsion* relates to Milton; the following text from the last stanza of *Paradise Lost* accompanies the title: 'The world was all before them, where to choose their place of rest.'

Fundamentally, the iconography represents the pictorial norm in the representation of the Genesis version of the Expulsion as well. GG Cat., 1877, no. ?, RA Cat. 1889, no. 204, NG Cat., 1891-2, no.'s 153 and 152, GG Cat., 1877, no. ?, NG Cat., 1891-2, no. 154, RA Cat., 1853, no. 1227, RA Cat., 1859, no. 1249, NG Cat., 1900, no. 58.

³⁷⁴ RA Cat., 1888, no. 364.

³⁷⁵ *The New Gallery Winter Exhibition 1891-2: Exhibition of the works of G.F. Watts*, Preface.