

EDWARD BURNE-JONES, G. E. STREET,
AND THE AMERICAN CHURCH IN ROME:
REVIVALISM, RELIGION, AND IDENTITY

BY

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VITA

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ABSTRACT

In the 1870s, in Rome, the Americans built a church to accommodate the Protestant community there. With the fall of Papal Rome in 1870, the possibility of building a non-Catholic church arose and the artists as well as intellectuals, who had already established colonies, came together to raise money for an appropriate structure that could compare to those elaborate temples of the Catholic Church that already stood out in the skyline. This church, Saint Paul's within-the-Walls, was carefully planned out and corresponded to the aesthetic and theological sensibilities of the nineteenth century revivalisms. Not only was this church built in the Italian Gothic Revivalist style, it was also decorated in accordance with the blossoming Pre-Raphaelite and Aesthetic Movements. Because of the unique position of these movements in the art world as well as in greater society, the design and decoration of these churches serves as an essential project for exploring the fullest lengths of the ideas of these intellectuals.

This thesis explores the artistic, political, and theological ideas which led up to the creation of the American Episcopal church in Rome, Saints Paul's-within-the-Walls. Approaching the topic from a post-secularist standpoint, I argue that the religious ideologies of the American Episcopal congregation are essential to the iconography and stylistic characteristics of the architecture and decoration of this building. Scholars, in the past twenty years, have been arguing that the architect and artists involved in the creation of St. Paul's were progressive and avant-garde. These scholars deny any genuine revivalist or religious motivations for these artists' work.

Instead, they argue that radical, socio-political ideologies guided the creation of the art of the Pre-Raphaelite artists and Neo-Medievalist architects. In doing so, the work of these artists with explicit religious connotations is cast aside in favor of the works that can be interpreted to promote socialist ideologies. The church of Saint Paul's-within-the-Walls, therefore, has been largely ignored by art historians, who do not see religion as an essential characteristic of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood or Neo-Medievalism. On the contrary, by arguing that religious ideas are fueling these movements and stylistic ideologies, I make the case that the design and decoration of St. Paul's is the essential culmination of these artistic and architectural movements. In doing so, I offer a post-secularist revision to the interpretation of the revivalist movements that shaped the American church of St. Paul's-within-the-Walls.

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Introduction

This thesis will explore the work of Edward Burne-Jones and George Edmund Street for the American Episcopal Church in Rome, known as Saint Paul's within-the-Walls. Built in the heart of new national Rome and consecrated in 1876, it was the first Protestant church to be constructed within the walls of the city after the fall of papal Rome to nationalist forces in 1870. Prior to having any permanent place of worship, the American congregation held services in various apartments near the Spanish Steps and along the Corso. While the papacy maintained control of Rome, the Protestant churches were not allowed to worship inside the city walls, unless they were in the confines of their national embassy to the Papal States.¹ For various reasons, the American embassy had a rather inconsistent and somewhat nomadic character during the period leading up to the fall of papal Rome. This left the Americans with a very inconsistent situation for establishing a permanent place of worship for a congregation of about two hundred to five hundred people on a regular basis.² Thus, when nationalist forces seized Rome in 1870, they quickly began planning the construction of Saint Paul's.

1. Judith Rice Millon, *St. Paul's Within-the-Walls, Rome* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Elefante, 2001), 19.

2. Robert Jenkins Nevin, *St. Paul's within the Walls: An Account of the American Chapel at Rome, Italy, Together with the Sermons Preached in Connection with Its Consecration, Feast of the Annunciation, March 25, 1876* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1878), 17 and 24.

The church was designed by G.E. Street, an English architect chosen for the commission by the pastor of the congregation, Robert Jenkins Nevin (figure 1). Nevin requested a church Gothic in style and monumental enough to stand out against the baroque churches of the city of Rome.³ Street was, throughout his career, very involved with the Ecclesiology Movement in England, which was a Cambridge society concerned with the proper architectural spaces and decorations for places of worship. It is in large part out of these conversations that Street developed his style of architectural design that acknowledges the practices of the church and its theological as well as political ideals. For Saint Paul's church, he carefully took into consideration the church's location on the Via Nazionale, in the heart of National Rome, as well as Nevin's desire for the church to stand out and compete with Saint Peter's and the Vatican.

Street was also responsible for enlisting Edward Burne-Jones to decorate the interior of the church with mosaic (figure 2). Nevin had hoped that the entire church would be covered in mosaic and requested that Street find an experienced mosaicist to assist him in the decorative project. Prior to this commission for Saint Paul's, Burne-Jones had never designed mosaics. He had, however, expressed his desire to do so to Street after a visit to Venice and Ravenna in which he saw the luminous capacities of glass mosaic.⁴ Thus, he drew up many designs for mosaics to decorate the apse, the counter-façade, and the façade of Saint Paul's. Unfortunately, Burne-

3. Ibid.

4. Stephen Wildman and John Christian, *Edward Burne-Jones: Victorian Artist-Dreamer* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1998), 207.

Jones died before all of his ideas could be executed. Only the apse was finished according to his designs and the lower register was only completed posthumously by his assistant, Thomas Rooke.

There are four sets of apse mosaics: those in the dome of the apse depicting *Christ Enthroned in the Heavenly Jerusalem* (figure 3), those on the lower register of the back wall showing *The Earthly Paradise* (figure 4), those decorating the first arch above the altar illustrating the *Tree of Life* (figure 5), and those of the second arch depicting the *Annunciation* (figure 6). Charles Caffin, in his brief *Harper's Weekly* article of 1899, refers to the mosaics as representing the “Scheme of Salvation.”⁵ Though he does not explicate what he means by this, we can see the summary of salvation history is laid before us upon entering the church and looking toward the apse. One first sees the angel Gabriel before the Virgin Mary, who has just set aside the pitcher she was filling at the spring to accept the announcement of the angel that she will bear the Savior. Behind this scene is the depiction of Christ triumphant over death—over his own personal death on the cross and over the death of Adam and Eve brought about by their first sin. On Christ’s left side, a female allegorical figure representing maternity, purity, and charity stands with her two children next to a lily stalk. On Christ’s right, a male allegorical figure representing work and faithfulness stands with hands folded in prayer next to a bushel of wheat. Beneath and beyond this arch, the apse mosaics display Christ in majesty surrounded by archangels and seraphs. At his feet flows the

5. Charles H. Caffin, “Mosaic in the American Church at Rome,” *Harper's Weekly* XLIII, no. 2 (7 Jan 1899), 10.

water dividing heaven from earth, where the earthly kingdom of saints and warriors awaits judgment and their salvation.

Both Burne-Jones and Street were working in a revivalist manner not only by creating works that stylistically and aesthetically appear like the mosaics and architecture of the late medieval and early Renaissance periods, but also by basing their revival in the ideological, religious, and spiritual foundations of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. However, because historians and art historians who study the nineteenth century tend to understand the period as progressive, and therefore increasingly secular, the religious foundations of their revivals tend to be overlooked and the art and architecture which most represents these ideologies is ignored.⁶

As a result, the design and decoration of Saint Paul's within-the-Walls has not been given much thought by art historians. For the most part, those who address Burne-Jones's mosaics mention them merely as an interesting revival of the medium of mosaic or as an anomaly in the artist's career.⁷ To my knowledge, there are only three art historians who discuss the mosaics of Burne-Jones in any detail: Richard Dorment, Alan Crawford, and Andrea Wolk Rager. The latter two scholars offer interpretations entirely divorced from the religious. Crawford analyzes the mosaics

6. By "progressive," I mean progressing toward a modern age that is seen as secular, enlightened, advanced, and rational. The next section, "Secularism and Post-Secularism," will further explicate this.

7. Although the mosaics of Saint Paul's have not received significant mention because of their religious context, it is important to note that recently Colette Crossman has made an important contribution to the study of religion in the work of Burne-Jones focusing on his altarpieces. Colette M. Crossman, *Art as Lived Religion: Edward Burne-Jones as Painter, Priest, Pilgrim, and Monk* (Ph.D. Diss., University of Maryland, 2007).

only in terms of their technological innovation and their significance as a decorative art.⁸ Rager takes an entirely progressive approach to the mosaics by interpreting them as representative of a radical socio-political ideology.⁹

Of the three, Dorment comes closest to acknowledging their religious and spiritual significance by thoroughly examining the iconography. Rather than arguing for any theological or religious interpretation of the mosaics, Dorment merely lays out all the sources—textual and visual—from which he believes Burne-Jones may have been drawing. In doing so, Dorment directs our attention to many biblical, theological, and religious texts from which Burne-Jones was developing his iconography. He does not, however, indicate that these sources have any spiritual significance for the Saint Paul's, Nevin, or Burne-Jones. Instead, Dorment concludes that Burne-Jones's appropriation of complex religious iconography is merely a demonstration of his vast literary proficiency and aesthetic interests.¹⁰ Understanding the mosaics' significance as a summary of Christian salvation history is, unfortunately, beyond the scope of Dorment's analysis.

Similarly, the interpretation of G. E. Street's architecture is, for the most part understood as an aesthetic revival of Italianate architecture of the late medieval, early

8. Alan Crawford, "Burne-Jones as a Decorative Artist," in *Edward Burne-Jones: Victorian Artist-Dreamer*, edited by Stephen Wildman and John Christian (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1998), 5 and 16.

9. Andrea Wolk Rager, *'Art and Revolt': The Work of Edward Burne-Jones* (PhD Diss., Yale University, 2009), 3-4.

10. Richard Dorment, *Burne-Jones and the Decoration of St. Paul's American Church, Rome* (Ph.D. Diss., Columbia University, 1975), 117–18.

modern period. Though scholarship on Street's architecture has acknowledged its religious foundations to a greater extent than the writings on the art of the period do,¹¹ Street's most well known building is the *Royal Courts of Justice* in London, a secular structure (figure 7). In so far as G. E. Street's design for Saint Paul's has been examined, it has been seen as merely representing Street's own aesthetic project. Both Henry A. Millon and Carroll L. V. Meeks offer good examples of this of argument. They both make the case that Saint Paul's provided the perfect opportunity for Street to create a church in the Italian Gothic style, with which he had fallen in love during his travels in Italy because of the beautiful, decorative stonework and monumental bell towers of the late medieval churches there.¹²

When the work of G. E. Street and Edward Burne-Jones for the church of Saint Paul's within-the-Walls are examined together in this progressive narrative, the church becomes merely a decorative and aesthetic project. In other words, Saint Paul's can only be understood as an art for art's sake monument. If, however, we acknowledge the specific context of the Saint Paul's in late nineteenth-century Rome

11. E.g. Michael Hall, "What Do Victorian Churches Mean? Symbolism and Sacramentalism in Anglican Church Architecture, 1850–1870," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 59, no. 1 (Mar 2000), 78–95. C.f. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, "G. E. Street in the 1850s," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 19, no. 4 (Dec 1960), 145-171 and David Bruce Brownlee, *The Law Courts. The Architecture of George Edmund Street* (Cambridge: The Architectural History Foundation/ MIT Press, 1984).

12. Henry A. Millon, "G.E. Street and the Church of St. Paul's in Rome," *In Search of Modern Architecture: A Tribute to Henry-Russell Hitchcock*, edited by Helen Searing (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1982), 85-101; Carroll L. V. Meeks, "Churches by Street on the Via Nazionale and the Via del Babuino," *The Art Quarterly* 16, no. 3 (1953), 222-228.

and as a structure for the American Episcopal Church, this work of Street and Burne-Jones must be understood to have a primarily religious character.

Secularism and Post-Secularism

In order to explain the significance of the design and decoration of Saint Paul's within-the Walls, I will approach the topic from a post-secularist perspective. To do so, we must first understand the secularization theory against which I formulate my argument. Sally Promey, in her article on "The 'Return' of Religion in the Scholarship of American Art," summarizes the narrative: "secularization theory contends that modernization necessarily leads to religion's decline, that the secular and the religious will not coexist in the modern world, that religion represents a premodern vestige of superstition."¹³ Essentially, secularization theory conflates modernity with the secular, the rational, and the mature. By extension, the sacred is related to the premodern, the irrational, the immature, and the unenlightened.

Hegelian and Comtean progressivism demands that, as society matures into modern, advanced civilization, secular rationalism replaces supernatural religious belief.¹⁴ In other words, a society that is increasingly urban, enlightened, and educated replaces a rural, uneducated, and superstitious society. Both G. W. F. Hegel and Auguste Comte point to the nineteenth century—the century in which they lived—as

13. Sally M. Promey, "The 'Return' of Religion in the Scholarship of American Art," in *The Art Bulletin* 85, no. 3 (Sept 2003), 584.

14. *Ibid.*

the period in which society is rapidly transforming into an industrialized and enlightened civilization. Because Marxist theory appropriates the linear progressivism of both Hegelian and Positivist theory, and is heavily relied upon by many historians in their conceptualization of the progression of art through time, the nineteenth century has largely been understood as markedly secular and incompatible with religion. Hegel, Comte, and Marx are the precursors to what is referred to as secularization theory. They all extrapolate from observation of the modern world's increasing reliance on reason over superstition that modernity's enlightenment is necessarily accompanied by a decline in religious belief.¹⁵ For art history, this means that the intelligent, mature, and enlightened art of the modern period is typically presumed to be secular. Because society is secular, the art that speaks to that society is also secular. Thus, the sacred or religious art of the period is often seen as backward and regressive, at best an anomaly.¹⁶

Some historians have begun to maintain that such a uniform vision of the progression of society and culture cannot adequately explain the multi-faceted and

15. C.f. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, ed. Frederick Engels (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company, 1906), 43–44; G. W. F. Hegel, *Philosophy of History*, trans. J. Sibree (New York: American Dome Library Company, 1902); Auguste Comte, *The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte*, trans. Harriet Martineau, vol. 2 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, & Co., Ltd., 1893), 372–74.

16. C.f. Alastair Grieve's argument that Rossetti's religious artworks were secondary to his *art for art's sake* aesthetics, "Rossetti and the Scandal of Art for Art's Sake in the Early 1860s," in *After the Pre-Raphaelites: Art and Aestheticism in Victorian England*, ed. Elizabeth Prettejohn (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1999), 17–35; Colin Cruise's article denying the religious content of Aesthetic representations of the Annunciation, "Versions of the Annunciation: Wilde's Aestheticism and the Message of Beauty," in *After the Pre-Raphaelites*, 167–87.

complex nature of history since the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century.¹⁷ Talal Asad begins his monograph, *Formations of the Secular*, with the claim that the strictly linear progression of history according to secularist theory has been challenged in recent years. He writes, “The question of secularism has emerged as an object of academic argument and of practical dispute. If anything is agreed upon, it is that a straightforward narrative of progress from the religious to the secular is no longer acceptable.”¹⁸ With this statement, he is proposing an understanding of history much more varied than what a single uniform and linear theory can encompass and explain. Moreover, he claims that modernity (which in secularization theory is equated with secularism) “is a project—or rather a series of interlinked projects—that certain people in power seek to achieve.”¹⁹ He continues by arguing that one of the primary projects of secularism is to associate modernity with a “stripping away of myth, magic, and the sacred,” implying that modernity is a period of disenchantment as a

17. Art historians of American Art have also begun to recognize that the strictly progressive narrative of modernity cannot fully explain the nature of art after the Enlightenment. Examples of such scholarship are Sally M. Promey, “The ‘Return’ of Religion in the Scholarship of American Art,” in *The Art Bulletin* 85, no. 3 (Sept 2003), 581–603; Kathleen Curran, “The Romanesque Revival, Mural Painting, and Protestant Patronage in America,” *The Art Bulletin* 81, no. 4 (Dec 1999), 693–722; and Kristin Schwain, *Signs of Grace: Religion and American Art in the Gilded Age* (Cornell University Press, 2008). For further information on this shift in scholarship, c.f. Colette M. Crossman, “Intro,” *Art as Lived Religion*.

18. Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, and Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 1.

19. Asad, *Formations of the Secular*, 13.

socio-political project.²⁰ Essentially, Asad is claiming that this narrative of modernity is a myth of political propaganda.²¹ Borrowing Benedict Anderson's language, he understands modernity and, by extension, secularism as an *imagined community* propagated by social history.²² When one steps back from this narrative of progression, however, the diversity present in modern societies and civilizations is clear. In this post-secularist view, Asad separates the equation of modernity with the secular by breaking down the project/s of modernity. In doing so, he acknowledges the secular in modernity, but opens up the possibility for the continued presence of the sacred in "advanced" society.

How do medievalism and the Gothic Revival fit into this conversation on secularism and modernity? Because art history in the twentieth century has upheld the progressive narrative of secularization, strictly speaking a movement that does not move/look toward a more advanced, enlightened, and secular form of art does not fit into that narrative. In this way, those who do study British or American art during the period have felt compelled to somehow show that that art either fits into that narrative of art history or fits into a lesser, liminal narrative.

20. Ibid., 13-14.

21. Ibid., 14.

22. Ibid., 16. Benedict Anderson's monograph, *Imagined Communities*, is a discussion of nations and "nation-ness" as cultural artifacts, or imagined communities, that have gotten in the way of Marxist progression towards modernity as a nationless/global world. Asad's argument turns this conception of an *imagined community* on its head by implicitly arguing that Anderson's conception of modernity is itself an *imagined community*. C.f. Benedict Anderson, "Introduction," in *Imagined Communities* (Brooklyn, NY: Verso, 2006), 1-7.

For many years, this is how the Gothic Revival and medievalism have been dealt with art historically. Either they have been interpreted as avant-garde or they have been interpreted as unique to the development of modern art in Great Britain. To say that they fit into a different narrative particular to Great Britain is to say that the art of Great Britain is insular and developing apart from the art of the Continent. Janson's *A Basic History of Western Art* takes this approach in discussing art of the second half of the nineteenth century in Britain. The section begins with the claim that the painting of France could not compare with what was going on in England because of Britain's unique socio-political, economic, and religious situation. The text proceeds to discuss the art in isolation from what is occurring on the Continent.²³ Essentially, they claim that the art of medievalism appears backward when compared with what is going on in France because Britain has not modernized (i.e. secularized) yet.²⁴

Another more poignant example of the insular narrative can be found in Andrew Graham Dixon's *A History of British Art*. He states, "Ever since the Reformation art in Britain has been out of step with art elsewhere in the West. Usually, it has lagged behind or loitered apart, lost in its own idiosyncratic

23. H.W. Janson and Anthony F. Janson, eds., "Realism and Impressionism," in *A Basic History of Western Art*, 7th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2006), 498–501.

24. *Ibid.*, 499.

concerns.”²⁵ In addition, he frequently writes of the “Britishness of British art.”²⁶

Graham Dixon is arguing that Britain’s break from their religious ties to the Continent also separated the island from the art and culture of France and Italy. Therefore, the art produced in Britain becomes peculiar to Britain and distinct from the art produced elsewhere.

On the other hand, scholars more recently have been associating the medievalist movements of Great Britain with the avant-garde. Depending on how they define the avant-garde, there are two ways in which they make this association. The first is by associating the artists of the period with radical socialist political movements. The second way that medievalism is associated with the avant-garde is by defining it as “art-for-art’s-sake.” The broad category of “art-for-art’s-sake” art is typically associated with the avant-garde because it denies the larger didactic function of art promoted by the academic tradition. Therefore, some artists in Britain that are fundamentally medievalists come to be referred to as part of the Aesthetic Movement or the Arts and Crafts Movement, and they become interpreted as primarily interested in the decorative and aesthetic qualities of art. Tim Barringer and Jason Rosenfeld’s essay, “Victorian Avant-Garde” is a perfect example of such an interpretation.²⁷

25. Andrew Graham Dixon, *A History of British Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 126.

26. *Ibid.*, 10.

27. Tim Barringer and Jason Rosenfeld, “Victorian Avant-Garde,” in *Pre-Raphaelites: Victorian Art and Design* (London: Tate, 2012), 9–17. C.f. also Gail-Nina

In this way, the Gothic Revival and medievalism have been absorbed into the secularist interpretation of art history either by reducing them to merely aesthetic movements or by modernizing them and forcing them into the category of the avant-garde. In both cases, they are stripped of their revivalist content. They have been allowed to maintain their revivalist form, in that scholars recognize their use of certain media—tapestry, mosaic, tempera, etc.—as reviving crafts/techniques from a more primitive past. However, that form is not considered to follow the same ideological content of the artists and architects of the Middle Ages. If the art and architecture of the medievalist movements is to be seen as modern according to secularist theory, it must be founded on modern (and therefore secular, enlightened, and progressive) ideologies.

If, however, we break down that narrative of modernity, the possibility of accepting revivalist art as having ideological content that is also revivalist and still pertinent to the nineteenth century/to modernity emerges. To be more specific, the religious content of the art and architecture of the Medieval Revival, in a post-secularist perspective, is important to understanding that art and its significance to the society for which and in which it was created. In the case of Saint Paul's within-the-Walls, the content of the architecture and decoration is specific to the American Episcopal church in Rome and relates back, very specifically, to the content of the late medieval and early Renaissance models and media which it revives. In this way,

Anderson and Joanne Wright, *Heaven on Earth: The Religion of Beauty in Late Victorian Art*. Exh. Cat. (Djanogly Art Gallery, University of Nottingham Arts Centre. London: Lund Humphries, 1994), 8–28.

the artists and architects, working along with the patrons of the church, revive both the material form and religious content of Medieval art and architecture. Moreover, there are specific political, ideological, and religious motivations for doing so.

Anglo-Americans and Rome in the Nineteenth Century

The nineteenth century was a period of change for the Roman Catholic Church and the authority of the Pope. In 1870, the doctrine of papal infallibility was issued at the conclusion of the First Vatican Council. This served to strengthen the authority of the Pope on theological and doctrinal matters, firmly re-establishing the hierarchy of the Church, which had been consistently called into question by Protestant Christians and those outside the Roman Catholic Church.

While the Pope did manage to secure his theological authority within the Church, the papacy struggled to maintain control of the secular city of Rome. Throughout Western Europe, the old aristocracies were being called into question and overthrown by “enlightened” governments. Nations were emerging out of the old empires and kingdoms of Europe. The Italian peninsula, still divided into various city-states, began to form into the nation of Italy. Pro-Nationalist factions began to form in the various cities of Northern Italy, and much of the Italian peninsula began to combine politically into one nation. In 1849, the nationalist forces tried unsuccessfully to take Rome from the Pope and incorporate the city into the nation of Italy.

Because of the support of France, papal Rome was able to hold off nationalist forces for nearly twenty-five years. However, in 1870, French support moved north to fight their own battle, leaving the papacy nearly defenseless against Giuseppe Garibaldi's troops. Thus, papal Rome fell to national Italy in September of 1870. This marked a significant turning point for the city of Rome. It opened up the possibility of "modernizing" Rome through large public works projects, like the expansion of streets and industrialization. It also meant that Rome would become the new capital of the nation of Italy. Most significantly, for the purposes of this study, it allowed religious "toleration" for the Protestant and Jewish visitors to and citizens of Rome. This was especially significant for the large Anglo-American community of tourists and expatriates for whom Italy—Rome and Florence, in particular—was a second home. It is out of this political situation that the American Episcopal congregation slowly began to emerge.

History of the American Episcopal Community in Rome

According to Rev. R. J. Nevin, the first time that an American Episcopal service was held in Rome was in 1859.²⁸ It was held in the residence of Joseph

28. Robert Jenkins Nevin, *St. Paul's within the Walls: An Account of the American Chapel at Rome, Italy, Together with the Sermons Preached in Connection with Its Consecration, Feast of the Annunciation, March 25, 1876* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1878), 9. Judith Rice Millon dates this first celebration to 1851, but it is clear from her further remark, that it was a period of nine years from the first celebration to the leasing of a permanent chapel outside the walls, that this is an error; Judith Rice Millon, *St. Paul's Within-the-Walls in Rome: a building history and guide, 1870-2000* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Elefante, 2001), 21-22.

Mozier, an American sculptor, on the Piazza Trinita de' Monti, an area densely populated by Americans and Englishmen during this period.²⁹ Towards the end of that year, a congregation was formally organized and a room in the American Legation was set aside as a chapel for this community. They formed under the name of Grace Church, Rome and the first public service was held on November 20 in the Legation, housed in the Palazzo Ruspoli on the Corso.³⁰ During the formal organization of the church, they elected eight vestrymen, who would essentially serve as a board for the congregation, and, in December, they elected Rev. Dr. William Chauncey Langdon as the rector of Grace Church.³¹

During the nine years between the founding of Grace Church in 1859 and the establishment of their first permanent chapel at the start of 1868, the nomadic nature of the church and their dependency on the American Legation led to a very unstable mode of worship. Not only were many of the members of the congregation merely seasonal visitors or tourists, contributing to the nomadic quality of the church, but their place of worship in Rome was rarely in the same apartment for more than a couple of months and at times was a different venue every weekend. This is not to say that they did not have fairly large turn-outs for their services. Nevin reports that, by 1863, attendance was often two hundred people.³² By the time they moved into

29. Nevin, *St. Paul's*, 9.

30. *Ibid.*, 10-11.

31. *Ibid.*, 13.

32. *Ibid.*, 17.

their permanent chapel *fuori la mura*, more than five hundred consistently attended services.³³ This meant that they needed a large and more consistent place of worship for their congregation's well-being.

In the thirteen years leading up to the purchase of land where the church of St. Paul's now stands, the vestry sought out the prospect of obtaining or constructing a permanent chapel and rectory. They knew that establishing themselves within the walls of Rome but outside the confines of the American Legation was not a possibility so long as the Papacy controlled Rome. So, at first, they sought property outside the walls where the English church had long been permitted to worship. In early 1864, they investigated obtaining a room in the building adjoining the English chapel and arranged to lease the large space for five years. But, before they had the opportunity to move in, the government intervened and forbid the building's owner to rent to the church.³⁴ During the winter of 1866-67, a plan was being formulated to build a chapel at Serny's Hotel in the Piazza di Spagna in their gardens.³⁵ This never came to fruition because they were forced to move outside the walls (to the building they had previously planned to lease) in 1867.³⁶

Though they were pleased to have been allowed to lease a space on their own and set up a permanent chapel, the room adjoining the English chapel was less than

33. Ibid., 24.

34. Ibid., 17-18.

35. Ibid., 20.

36. Ibid., 19-20.

ideal. The American minister, David Maitland Armstrong, describes the space as an “upper room...always well filled and in the season thronged with Americans.”³⁷

Relating the space to a secretive *upper room* like the early Christians would have worshipped in before they were allowed to build churches in Rome, Armstrong and many others seek to describe the space in terms of their persecution. Other accounts, including that of Helen Haseltine Plowden, complain of the poor ventilation of the old granary and the ramp, once used for mules, that inconveniently wound through the space.³⁸

However, the American congregation knew that as long as the Roman Catholic Church maintained control of Rome, they would not be able to construct their own, more suitable space within or without the walls of the city. But the rise of national Italy was well under way and nationalist forces took Rome on the twentieth of September 1870. This meant the end for papal Rome, and it was only a few more months before the city was fully integrated into the Kingdom of Italy. Nevin quickly saw this as his opportunity to form a more solid foundation for his congregation emerging with the fall of papal Rome. Immediately a committee formed to assess the possibilities of constructing or repurposing a church within the walls of Rome. In

37. David Maitland Armstrong, *Day Before Yesterday*, edited by Margaret Armstrong (New York: Scribner, 1920), 182.

38. Helen Haseltine Plowden, *William Stanley Haseltine: Sea and Landscape Painter* (London: F. Muller, 1947), 101-02.

fact, according to Judith Rice Millon's account, Nevin and his vestry had firmly resolved to move the church within the walls on October 1, 1870.³⁹

It is worth taking a moment, at this point, to talk about religious worship in nationalist Italy. Because the movement toward a nationalist Italy was part of a series of revolts in 1848 against the aristocracies of Europe by working-class radicals, it was first and foremost a movement to take down the hierarchical class structure of Italy as it was related to the aristocracy of the Italian peninsula, which in part was established over the centuries by loyalty to the Roman Catholic Church. Thus, the power of the Catholic Church and the Papacy was understood by nationalists as rooted both in the secular political authority it held in the city of Rome and in the loyalty of its supporters. Therefore, in order to truly secularize and nationalize the Italian peninsula, both elements of the Church's authority must be undermined.

When Republican-Nationalist forces finally breached the walls of Rome, they successfully ended secular Papal authority over Rome and established the Kingdom of Italy. Included in the laws of the nationalist Italy was a code of religious toleration. More an attempt to undermine the authority of the Roman Catholic Church in spiritual matters than an enlightened law of toleration, the code opened up the opportunity for religious traditions other than Roman Catholicism to worship in Rome and paved the way for the establishment of a state-sponsored Union church. It also allowed the very eager American congregation to begin plans to construct a church in the city of Rome.

39. *Ibid.*, 24.

Street and the Design of Saint Paul's within-the-Walls

In March of 1872, the vestry examined designs for the church building by three different architects—G. E. Street, Thomas J. Smith, and Luigi Eynard. Carroll Meeks speculates that Street earned the commission as much because of his established position as because the Americans could not conceive that an American architect could do the job as well as a British one could.⁴⁰ This seems unlikely. Both Grace Church (figure 8) and Trinity Church (figure 9) in New York City, which Nevin would have known, would have been completed by this time and both architects of these Episcopal churches went on to widely successful careers. Richard Upjohn, in particular, became well known for his Episcopal Church designs, including the rather Italianate Saint Peter's Episcopal Church in Albany, New York (figure 10). Judith Rice Millon's more convincing explanation is that the consideration of designs by Smith and Eynard was merely a formality and that Street's experience made him an obvious choice for the project.⁴¹ It is important to note that Street not only had a reputation as the architect for the Anglican community abroad, having constructed the English churches in Paris, Constantinople, and Genoa, but also was

40. Carroll L. V. Meeks, "Churches by Street on the Via Nazionale and the Via del Babuino," *The Art Quarterly* 16, no. 3 (1953), 216.

41. Millon, *St. Paul's*, 30.

known for reviving a distinctly Italian Gothic architectural style.⁴² The significance of the later characteristic deserves closer examination.

The first point of its significance is obvious: Street was working in an Italianate style in Italy. Not only does that mean that his sources of inspiration are nearby, but it also indicates that his style conformed to the tastes of the congregation, who were living in Rome primarily for aesthetic reasons. As I have already mentioned, the pastoral, medieval, and artistic atmosphere of Italy is in large part what drew the Americans to Rome and Florence. William Vance, in his article on nineteenth-century Americans' responses to Rome, explicates the romanticized (and imagined) vision of Rome popular in the nineteenth century that ignored the presence of baroque art and architecture throughout the city.⁴³ He writes, "Baroque art was recognized and rejected as the dangerously declamatory and self-celebratory instrument of the Counter-Reformation, of a living Catholic Church despised for both political and religious reasons.... American worship of nature further encouraged devaluation of an artificially created urban world. The baroque in Rome is a celebration of the man-made environment."⁴⁴ These political, religious, and aesthetic reasons motivated Americans, who loved Rome in spite of its profoundly Counter-Reformation style, to idealize the pastoral and medieval nature of the countryside

42. Ibid.

43. William Vance, "The Sidelong Glance: Victorian Americans and Baroque Rome," *The New England Quarterly* 58, no. 4 (Dec 1985), 502.

44. Ibid., 507.

surrounding Rome, ignoring baroque design throughout the city. Charles Eliot Norton's 1857 description of his pastoral vision of Rome is a perfect example of this idealization: "I love Rome more and more, and it becomes more and more a part of myself. There is...no city where nature holds her rights so firmly and asserts them so clearly, in spite of Berninis and Borrominis, of priests and *forestieri*."⁴⁵ Essentially, Norton and his Anglo-American contemporaries wished that Rome were less baroque and more like Florence and the hill towns of Tuscany—less representative of the elaborate and popish Catholic *mores* and more characteristic of medieval Christian piety. Commissioning Street to design an Italianate Gothic Revival church in the heart of National Rome, they were hoping to enhance this medieval vision of the city.

The second significant point about Street's Italian Gothic revivalism is that both Street and the patrons of the church strongly believed that the High Anglican and the American Episcopal churches were reviving, theologically and morally, what was good about the medieval Roman Catholic Church. That is, they very much understood themselves as the "reformed" successors to the medieval Church that built the structures Street was inspired by. His architecture was, therefore, seen as symbolic of their spiritual heritage. This sort of morally symbolic interpretation of Gothic style comes out of the ideas of the "founder" of the Gothic Revival, Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin. According to Pugin, the Gothic was representative of pious medieval Catholic society. Pugin felt that to truly revive the Gothic was to revive the

45. Quoted in Vance, "The Sidelong Glance," 502–03.

mores of Catholic culture before the Reformation.⁴⁶ Street and Nevin were very much successors to Pugin's moralization of the Gothic. However, both having been strongly influenced by the Oxford and Ecclesiology Movements, they recognized the Reformation as only the beginning, rather than the downfall, of the restoration of medieval *mores*.⁴⁷

The Oxford and Ecclesiology Movements began at Oxford and Cambridge respectively, as societies dedicated to the propagation of medieval artistic style and liturgy. They embraced the notion that the Gothic Revival helped to restore the medieval piety of the Catholic Church through its use in the reformed church.⁴⁸ In other words, these movements sought to promote specific doctrines of medieval Christianity and to reinforce the Anglican church's understanding of their role in the succession of the Christian Church. They aimed to restore the rich liturgical traditions of the early medieval Church, which had been lost in the Reformation, through

46. Pugin's view that the Reformation marked the decline of architectural style and morality led him to convert to Catholicism in 1834. He explained the conversion thus: "I feel perfectly convinced that the Roman Catholic Church is the only true one, and the only one in which the grand and sublime style of Church architecture can ever be restored." Quoted in Calder Loth and Julius Trousdale Sadler, Jr., *The Only Proper Style: Gothic Architecture in America* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1975), 57–58.

47. For a more nuanced understanding of the role of the Reformation in the identity of Anglican and Anglo-American churches, c.f. Carol Engelhardt Herring, *Victorians and the Virgin Mary: Religion and Gender in England, 1830–85* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), 18–19.

48. Loth and Sadler, *The Only Proper Style*, 60–61.

artistic and architectural revival, in order to claim authority over the Roman Catholic Church.⁴⁹

Through their writings and, in particular, through the Ecclesiological Society's journal, *The Ecclesiologist*, standards were set for the building, decoration, and restoration of churches.⁵⁰ Street contributed to *The Ecclesiologist* throughout his career and was one of the most influential critics associated with the Gothic Revival.⁵¹ His main contribution to the aesthetics and ideologies of the architectural society at Cambridge was the addition of Continental Gothic styles, especially the Italianate Gothic, to the list of acceptable sources of inspiration. His frequent travels in Italy, France, Germany, and Spain influenced his ideals of design significantly and his contemporaries frequently called attention to it in their reviews of his work.⁵² It is likely that Nevin's awareness of Street's ideological formation as part of the Oxford and Ecclesiology Movements further supports his reasons for choosing Street to design a church building to represent the congregation's beliefs.

Saint Paul's within-the-Walls is very much the result of these theological and aesthetic arguments. The aesthetic characteristics of Street's structure that are

49. Michael Hall, "What Do Victorian Churches Mean? Symbolism and Sacramentalism in Anglican Church Architecture, 1850–1870," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 59, no. 1 (Mar 2000), 78.

50. *Ibid.*, 78–95.

51. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, "G. E. Street in the 1850s," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 19, no. 4 (Dec 1960), 148.

52. *Ibid.*, 148–49.

revivalistic are fairly obvious. The church is constructed according to a basic longitudinal, basilican plan with a nave and side aisles ending in a rounded apse. The side aisles consist of seven bays marked by ribbed groin vaults. These are all characteristics that marked the style of an Italian church of the middle ages. The church is lit primarily through the windows of a clerestory, though small stained-glass windows penetrate the exterior walls along the side aisles as well. The simple façade of the church is marked by a single portal beneath a central rose window and triangular pediment. At the south end, a large, Italianate bell tower, about twice as tall as the nave of the church, is attached to the façade. Although Street had originally planned the tower to be set forward from the front of the church by more than a foot, it had to be built flush with the façade for structural reasons.⁵³ The result is that it dominates the viewer's impression of the exterior of Saint Paul's.

As Meeks points out in her article, the Italian Gothic San Zeno Maggiore (figures 11 and 12) in Verona served as a source of design for Saint Paul's.⁵⁴ Street himself wrote of his love of San Zeno in his document of one of his tours of Northern Italy.⁵⁵ Rev. Dr. Walter Lowrie, Nevin's successor, expands on this, explaining, "In that church [i.e. San Zeno] there were already signs of a gothic spirit, and this note Street accentuated by using pointed arches everywhere and groined

53. Millon, *St. Paul's*, 41.

54. Meeks, "Churches by Street," 216.

55. George Edmund Street, *Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages: Notes of a Tour in the North of Italy* (London: John Murray, 1855), 97–102.

vaults in the aisles. Nothing was clearly copied from S. Zeno except the very unusual ceiling.”⁵⁶ This wooden ceiling was built in such a way that it would conceal and limit the need of additional support (figure 13). It consists of three overlapping barrel vaults—two smaller, flattened vaults flanking a larger, central vault—that span the length of the church. Originally, it was left unpainted and just darkly stained adding a somber or ominous effect.⁵⁷ However, both Nevin and Lowrie desperately wanted to decorate the ceiling. Nevin intended to gild it, so that it would feel as heavenly as thirteenth-century altarpieces with gold backgrounds surrounding the figures.⁵⁸ And, Lowrie, “no gold having been found,” painted the ceiling himself in imitation of San Zeno, as he had imagined Street would have wanted and as he interpreted the colors to have appeared in the thirteenth century.⁵⁹

Though not entirely “copied,” there are other characteristics that Street could have been appropriating from San Zeno in his design of Saint Paul’s. The most visually striking characteristic of the exterior and interior of the building, the coral-colored brick and white travertine stripes, can also be seen in the design of San Zeno

56. Walter Lowrie, *Fifty Years of St. Paul’s American Church, Rome: some historical notes and descriptions by the Rector* (Rome, 1926), 22.

57. *Ibid.*

58. Nevin died in Mexico while investigating the gold mine he had acquired for the purpose of decorating the ceiling. Frank Dabell, “The Reverend Doctor Robert Jenkins Nevin, collector of Medieval and Renaissance Art,” in *Spellbound by Rome: The Anglo-American Community in Rome (1890-1914) and the Founding of the Keats-Shelley House*, edited by Christina Huemer (Rome: Palombi and Partner, 2005), 84.

59. *Op. cit.*, 23.

(figure 14).⁶⁰ In his own description of the medieval church, Street takes note of this brick and marble work. He writes,

The colour of the whole church is very striking, the walls being built in alternate and very irregular courses of red brick and stone...

...the exterior, which—with the exception of the west end, which is of stone and marble—is entirely of red brick and very warm-coloured stone. The courses of stone are, as a general rule, of about the same height, whilst those of brick are very varied, some only of one course, others of four or five. ...

It is in this use of red brick, and in the bold and successful way in which brick and stone are shown in the interior, that this church is so full of instruction to an English eye; and I could not see such a work without regretting bitterly the insane prejudice in which most people indulge against anything but the cold, dreary, chilling respectability of our English plastered walls.⁶¹

This passage sheds light on Street's interest in both the colored brick and marble decoration of medieval Italian churches as well as his particular interest in the Veronese use of "red brick and very warm-coloured stone." This brickwork is not unique to San Zeno; however, the attention he pays to its description in the above

60. Street mentions, in particular, his admiration of the colored brickwork of San Zeno as an example of how subtle, yet grand an effect can be created by these means; Cited in Neil Jackson, "The Un-Englishness of G. E. Street's Church of St. James-the-Less," *Architectural History* 23 (1980), 91.

61. Street, *Brick and Marble*, 100–102.

quotation and the irregularity of the red bands of colored brick is convincing evidence that Street is at least aware that he echoed this same style of stonework in Saint Paul's.

The pointed arch that divides the nave from the apse and the faux arcade on the façade are other features that Street may have borrowed from San Zeno. Each of these characteristics, however, can be more broadly described as early Italian Gothic and are found on other Italian churches from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as well. This reiterates Street's desire not to deliberately copy medieval churches but take pieces of their design to create a church to fit the needs and spirituality of the commissioning congregation.⁶²

The simplified nature of the layout of Saint Paul's within-the-Walls, as well as the subtle, decorative character of its design, like its Italian Gothic predecessors, streamlines the focus toward the spiritual and theological emphasis of the church, instead of the strictly aesthetic. In other words, the aesthetic becomes secondary to the religious. By stripping away the radiating side chapels, ambulatory, and transept from the plan of the great French Gothic cathedrals, the visitor's attention is focused toward the simple central altar and pulpits. The massive piers needed to support the height of the French Gothic Cathedrals are also removed, opening up the space of the central nave for large congregations and returning to a more Italianate Gothic architectural space.

62. Hitchcock, "G. E. Street in the 1850s," 148. For more information on the controversy of strict copyism, c. f. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), 605–07.

This space is designed with very specific spiritual needs of the American Episcopal congregation in mind. A space that would accommodate a large congregation was at the top of the patron's list of specifications. Regularly drawing in five hundred worshippers for services outside the walls of Rome, Nevin requested a church large enough to hold at least seven hundred.⁶³ This was both a practical concern as well as a spiritually significant one. Those who came to worship at Saint Paul's were not pilgrims. They did not need the lofty grandeur that a French Gothic style building, with its tremendous verticality and overwhelming power, could provide. Instead, they needed a comfortable space in which they could come together as a *congregation*—as a flock—and witness to their faith. Street's design provided a space where they could convene to hear scriptural readings, sermons, and the words of the mass as the Reformed Catholic Church of America, as they preferred to refer to themselves.⁶⁴ By convening together in this space, the congregation of Saint Paul's within-the-Walls came to symbolically represent the continuation of the early medieval Christian Church, as Burne-Jones will emphasize with his mosaic decoration of the apse.

In this way too, Street's choice of a simple Italian Gothic style quickly relates the congregation to those who would have worshipped in the early Christian basilican plan churches of Rome. Like early medieval Christians, Saint Paul's congregation was just beginning to experience tolerance for their religion in Rome. Both groups, in

63. Nevin, *St. Paul's*, 43.

64. Lowrie, *Fifty Years*, 18.

their own time, had been persecuted for centuries and prevented from worshipping publically having to resort to gathering in small “upper rooms” or house churches. Once they were given the opportunity to worship publically, they thought of providing, first, a large enough space to worship and, later, art that would offer spiritual and theological content.

Another important specification of the commission was the desire that the church stand out in the city of Rome as representative of the true continuation of Christianity. In presenting his reasons for building a new structure in the heart of new Rome, Nevin writes,

To people like the Italians—all eye and ear—the very stones, the spire and chimes, of a distinctive church-building, will teach more of the strength and reality of our Christianity than any amount of writings that might be distributed among them; and will be, as well, a constant visible witness to them that religious liberty, and the rights of the human conscience, have at last found a home in the city of the Popes and the Caesars.⁶⁵

As this quotation indicates, Nevin thought that the building should stand out as a little “city upon a hill” to witness to Rome, to Italy, to the Roman Catholic Church that this American church is the true continuation of the spiritual and moral traditions of Christianity. In particular, Nevin wanted Saint Paul’s to stand out against Saint Peter’s, and he pushed for the campanile to be tall enough to be seen from the

65. Nevin, *St. Paul’s*, 40-41.

Vatican.⁶⁶ Street gladly obliged. For not only did he believe that the medieval Italian architects aimed for a feeling of massiveness with the height and stability of a campanile, but he also believed that his building should stand out as a representation of the tradition of Christianity in Italy.⁶⁷ For Street and Nevin, however, these architectural elements needed to be accompanied by an aesthetic spirituality. That is, in order for this structure to truly embody a revival of the Italian Gothic, the interior must also be imbued with a sense of spirituality through its decoration.

Burne-Jones and the Apsidal Mosaics

When Edward Burne-Jones (1833–98) received the commission for the interior decoration of Saint Paul’s, he had at least twenty years of artistic experience behind him. As his *Memorials* indicate, he was involved in decorative projects as early as 1857, when he joined forces with Dante Gabriel Rossetti, William Morris, and John Roddam Spencer Stanhope to decorate the walls of the Oxford Union.⁶⁸ By 1876, he was a well-established decorative artist known for his work for Morris and Co. Burne-Jones was the decorative firm’s chief figural designer, and was involved in the conception many of the tapestries and much of the stained glass produced by this

66. Dabell, “Nevin,” 84.

67. Cited in Jackson, “Un-Englishness,” 88.

68. Georgiana Burne-Jones, *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones*, vol. 1 (London: Lund-Humphries, 1993), 158–59.

firm.⁶⁹ Because of this reputation as a figural decorative artist, he became one of the most popular ecclesiastical decorators of the later nineteenth century and an obvious choice for G. E. Street, with whom he had worked previously.⁷⁰

Though Burne-Jones had worked on decorative projects for churches in the past, he had never worked on a project on so large a scale as that of the apsidal mosaics for Saint Paul's within-the-Walls. More strikingly, he had never before worked in the medium of mosaic.⁷¹ Street, nevertheless, aware of Burne-Jones's fondness for medieval and Byzantine mosaic, enlisted him to decorate the apse.⁷² Over the years, as money came in, Nevin expanded the decorative scheme of mosaics and Burne-Jones gladly accepted the broadening of the commission.⁷³ Burne-Jones's wife explains, on more than one occasion in her *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones*, that he desired to work on a large-scale public project at the time Street approached him with the commission and it was too irresistible to turn down.⁷⁴ He was tired of presenting work to the critics and wished to just create something for the masses to

69. Alison Smith, Tim Barringer, and Jason Rosenfeld, *Pre-Raphaelites: Victorian Art and Design* (London: Tate, 2012), 179.

70. For more information on Burne-Jones's relationship with Street, c.f. Dorment, *Burne-Jones and the Decoration of St. Paul's*, 12–14.

71. Wildman and Christian, *Artist-Dreamer*, 207.

72. Georgiana Burne-Jones, *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones*, vol. 2 (London: Lund-Humphries, 1993), 114.

73. Dorment, *Burne-Jones and the Decoration of St. Paul's*, 15–16.

74. Op. cit., 13 and 114.

see and be struck with awe.⁷⁵ These mosaics were just the project for which he was longing.

Shortly after he returned from seeing the mosaics of Venice, Torcello, and Ravenna, Burne-Jones wrote to Ruskin begging him to fund his plan to decorate a “divine barn” with enlightening mosaics.⁷⁶ Nothing was ever realized from these half-serious plans, but Burne-Jones continued to long to work in mosaic. Even though the process of designing mosaics from England to be created for a church in Rome proved to be exceedingly difficult, Burne-Jones never gave up on the project, which ended up being his last work.⁷⁷

Richard Dorment, in his dissertation, goes into great detail on the tedious process Burne-Jones used to design and manufacture the mosaics, reiterating Georgiana Burne-Jones’s characterization of the procedure. Because the actual mosaics for Saint Paul’s were constructed in Venice after the designs of the artist, Burne-Jones needed a way to effectively convey the details and colors of his designs to the Italian studio and craftsmen. So, he had the studio send him samples of all the colors of glass tesserae available for the mosaic. Then, he and his studio assistant, Thomas Rooke, created a key using numbers and letters to correspond to different colored tesserae, which he used to indicate on his designs precisely what tesserae he

75. Ibid., 13.

76. Richard Dorment, “Burne-Jones’s Roman Mosaics,” *Burlington Magazine* 120 (February 1978), 72.

77. Op. cit., 114-15.

wanted used where in the mosaic, leaving nothing to chance.⁷⁸ And, so that he could ensure that the artisans had a sense for the lines of his design as they translated it into mosaic, Burne-Jones also had the studio create a small sample of the mosaic from his design to be shipped to London (Burne-Jones never went to Venice or to Saint Paul's) for him to inspect before they continued with the project. When he was not pleased with the resulting sample, he sent his assistant to Venice to oversee production and ensure that the studio was properly following Burne-Jones's designs.⁷⁹

Burne-Jones and his wife both indicate, in his *Memorials*, that this method was unforgiving and extremely tiresome. In November of 1883, he wrote,

I have been busy over my Roman mosaic chiefly, an unthankful task that no one will ever care for, but for the sake of many ancient loves I am doing it; for love of Venice and Ravenna and the seven impenetrable centuries between them, and for my love of many old studies and odds and ends of things I like—Talmud and Aquinas, and I don't know what. All this has eaten up much time.⁸⁰

Not only does this passage indicate that Burne-Jones had a loftier goal in creating the mosaics than just the completion of the commission to the tastes of the patron, but it also speaks to the wide variety of sources from which he drew for their design.

78. Dorment, *Burne-Jones and the Decoration of St. Paul's*, 19–20.

79. *Ibid.*, 20–25.

80. Cited in Georgiana Burne-Jones, *Memorials*, vol. 2, 134.

Dorment's dissertation sought primarily to draw out these various visual and textual sources of the mosaics' design. Unfortunately, he never recognized the significance of Burne-Jones's depth and breadth of sources beyond their demonstration of the artist's vast learning. Dorment notes the "variety of religious traditions...included in his sphere of interest," but does not recognize that, by incorporating imagery from all these different traditions, Burne-Jones is emphasizing what the multiplicity of traditions has in common.⁸¹ These sources are significant because they demonstrate the theological, spiritual, and historical tradition in which the church of Saint Paul's rests. Burne-Jones's obsession with these mosaics and his iconographical scheme indicate that he was mindful of this tradition and its various roots that Nevin understood as connecting back to the Early Christian tradition. Perhaps, he felt that he was even more aware of the American Church's connection to the Roman Catholic Church than Nevin, for he wrote in 1890 that he hoped their completion would "influence the mind of Dr. Nevin to give the church to the Pope."⁸² In other words, he wished that his iconographical narrative would help the Anglo-American congregation to recognize what they have in common with the Catholic Church. Because the congregation understands themselves as the Reformed Catholic Church, this certainly would have resonated with their emphasis on their role as successors of the medieval Church.

81. Op. cit., 118.

82. Ibid., 211-212.

As explained above, the mosaic cycle consists of four parts of a narrative of salvation history. It begins with the *Annunciation*, in which, according to biblical accounts, the Virgin Mary accepts the words of the angel Gabriel, conceiving the Christ Child by the Holy Spirit and marking the moment of the revelation of the Incarnate Christ. The following scene, the *Tree of Life*, explains the significance of the Incarnation in Christian theology: because Adam and Eve fell to temptation by partaking of the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, God must become man to partake in humanity's guilt and sacrifice himself on the cross to redeem man. As Christ sits in judgment, in the mosaic of the apse, those who witnessed to and defended the Christian faith could be saved, as represented in the final mosaic, *The Earthly Paradise*.

The Annunciation is one of the most often represented subject in late medieval and early modern art. It is neither an unfamiliar nor an unusual subject for apse decoration. Furthermore, it is a subject depicted previously by several Pre-Raphaelite artists, including Dante Gabriel Rossetti (figure 15) and Burne-Jones himself, who painted six versions and represented it frequently in stained glass.⁸³ Carol Engelhardt Herringer explains in her monograph that, although Victorian Protestants were hesitant to give the Virgin Mary too conspicuous a role in salvation because of their emphasis on the individual relationships between a believer and God, they most positively viewed the Virgin in her role at the Annunciation as a humble, passive, and

83. Dormant, *Burne-Jones and the Decoration of St. Paul's*, 118. For more information on Aestheticist representations of the Annunciation, c.f. Cruise, "Versions of the Annunciation," 167–87.

obedient instrument for God.⁸⁴ Burne-Jones seems to play off the Protestant acceptance of representations of the Annunciation to develop the role of Mary in this moment of salvation history in his own depictions of the subject.

The most famous of Burne-Jones's painted representations of this subject is his depiction of the Virgin greeted by an angel in an Italianate courtyard, which was created between 1876–79 (figure 16).⁸⁵ In this *Annunciation*, Mary is shown next to a well from which she has just or is about to draw water and beneath a relief of Adam and Eve's expulsion from the Garden of Eden. Such iconography draws on the early Christian tradition for interpreting the significance of Mary's role in humanity's salvation and emphasizes her active, rather than passive, function as Virgin Annunciate. It is this iconography that Burne-Jones further draws out in his mosaic *Annunciation* for Saint Paul's.

The Annunciation covers the second arch before the apse of Saint Paul's within-the-Walls. Burne-Jones depicts the Virgin Mary and the angel Gabriel in a rather barren, desert landscape. Behind the figures are scattered blue-grey mountains partially impeding our view of a fiery sunrise or sunset. At the lower left of the composition is a pelican before a stream of water feeding a young pelican with the

84. Herringer, *Victorians and the Virgin Mary*, 78–79. Herringer makes the case that because the various Protestant denominations in the nineteenth century held fairly uniform views on the Virgin Mary, it is not necessary to distinguish between the Methodists' and the Anglicans' understandings of her role. However, it is worth noting that the congregation of Saint Paul's, as an American Episcopal congregation, would have been slightly more accepting of Mary's role than many other Protestant communities.

85. Op. cit.

blood of its breast. At the right, beside the Virgin rests a green pitcher near a stream and three springs. The Virgin, clothed in a white, neo-medieval robe, clasps her hands together at her breast, bowing humbly and reservedly toward the angel. Around her head, Burne-Jones depicts a golden halo rimmed with a band of red. The angel Gabriel, hovering above the ground and facing Mary, likewise wears a white robe. He also has his hands raised up in a gesture of prayerful entreaty. His head is adorned with a blue halo, which in turn is surrounded by Gabriel's blue and purple wings, which create a sort of nimbus around his body.

Like in Burne-Jones's painting of the Annunciation, the occurrence takes place outdoors beside a spring or well. This iconography stems in part from the apocryphal writing of the second century, *Protoevangelium of James*, which states, "And she took the pitcher, and went out to fill it with water. And, behold, a voice saying: Hail, you who hast received grace; the Lord is with you; blessed are you among women!"⁸⁶ This textual reference to the Virgin filling a pitcher with water at the moment of the Annunciation has also been reinforced throughout time by the shrine and church marking the spring-fed well at which Mary is believed to have received the Angel's message in Nazareth. As late as the fourth century, a Byzantine shrine church, known as the Basilica of the Annunciation, had been built over the well to commemorate the location of the Incarnation. By the fourteenth century, Franciscans had taken charge

86. Alexander Walker, trans., "Protoevangelium of James," in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 8, edited by Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1886).

of the site and still remain there today.⁸⁷ By using this iconography—which is unusual in the West—of the Virgin Annunciate beside the spring, Burne-Jones is connecting the spiritual tradition of Saint Paul’s to this early Christian and Byzantine veneration of the spring in Nazareth, helping to advance the church’s desire to promote their authority as spiritual successors to the early Church.

Furthermore, as Dorment and Caffin point out, this exterior setting is more typical of Eastern rather than Western iconography.⁸⁸ In the West, the Virgin is typically depicted seated, or in front of a chair, in some sort of interior setting. Certainly in Italy, by the middle of the fifteenth century, this iconography became prominent as a result of Fra Angelico’s proliferation of Annunciation scenes that take place in some sort of contrived architectural space (figure 17). Eastern representations, however, are not as iconographically consistent and more often include the Virgin Mary beside some sort of water supply. The example with which Burne-Jones would have been familiar is from the Byzantine mosaics of Saint Mark’s in Venice (figure 18).⁸⁹ The mosaic from Saint Mark’s is compositionally very different from the *Annunciation* mosaic of Saint Paul’s; however, Burne-Jones’s use of

87. Barnabas Meistermann, “Nazareth,” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia: An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline, and History of the Catholic Church*, vol. 10, edited by Charles George Herbermann et al. (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912), 725–26.

88. Dorment, *Burne-Jones and the Decoration of St. Paul’s*, 115–17 and Caffin, “American Church,” 10.

89. Dorment, *Burne-Jones and the Decoration of St. Paul’s*, 116.

this Byzantine iconography further emphasizes the connection with the tradition of the Eastern Church.

Although Dorment does not acknowledge this, Burne-Jones's connection with the tradition of the early Christian Church through this mosaic does not just stem from his adoption of an earlier iconography of the Annunciation. He also uses the spring as a reference to another important piece of the narrative of salvation history for the church of Saint Paul's. In the mosaic, next to the Virgin, Burne-Jones depicts three distinct springs bubbling up out of the desert. It is likely that these springs symbolically refer to the three "fountains" that mark the places at which Saint Paul's decapitated head bounced as it fell to the ground. This allusion to Saint Paul at the Annunciation intimately connects the early Christian apostle and martyr to the plan of salvation from the moment of the coming of Christ. Therefore, the American Episcopal congregation, which has taken Saint Paul as their patron and the predecessor of their spirituality, also becomes thoroughly linked to the plan of redemption for Christianity.

Moreover, by overlooking this symbolism, Dorment misses a significant allusion to the context of Saint Paul's within-the-Walls in the city of Rome. The Church of San Paolo alle Tre Fontane, which marks the site of Saint Paul's martyrdom and the three springs, is one of two churches dedicated to Saint Paul on the outskirts of Rome (the other being San Paolo fuori la Mura). Until Saint Paul's within-the-Walls was constructed in the 1870s, however, no church consecrated to this saint existed within the walls of Rome. Nevin makes it clear that the congregation

was aware of this omission, and Burne-Jones inclusion of the three springs in the *Annunciation* helps to draw out that significance of the American Episcopal community's adoption of Paul as their patron.⁹⁰

The iconography of the exterior scene and the springs helps us to understand how different pieces of Christian tradition are unified in this important narrative moment of the Annunciation. The inclusion of the pelican, however, reveals the significance of the moment itself as the instance in which God becomes human. The pelican refers to Christ, or the Church, feeding the young with the blood of his, or her, own breast as pelicans were thought to do according to ancient legend. This image of the *pie pelicane* came down to the nineteenth century through the sixth verse of Saint Thomas Aquinas's hymn for the Feast of Corpus Christi, *Adoro Te Devote*:

Pie pelicane Iesu Domine,
Me immundum munda tuo Sanguine:
Cuius una stila salvum facere
Totum mundum quit ab omni scelere.⁹¹

This verse relates the pelican's merciful sacrifice to Jesus's bodily sacrifice for the sake of communal salvation through the Church as the body of Christ and as the loving

90. Nevin, *St. Paul's*, 54.

91. "O Loving Pelican! O Jesu, Lord! / Unclean I am, but cleanse me in Thy Blood; / Of which a single drop, for sinners spilt, / Is ransom for a world's entire guilt." E. Caswall, trans. "Adoro Te Devote," accessed 11 April 2013, <http://www.ewtn.com/library/prayer/adorote.txt>.

Mother.⁹² In this way, the pelican represents simultaneously the significance of Christ's sacrifice to redeem humanity and the importance of Christian unity for that salvation through the unified body of Christ. Burne-Jones unites the congregation of Saint Paul's, by the symbol of the pelican, to the unified Christian tradition in their acceptance of Christ's sacrifice to overcome the sin of man.

Through this symbolism, the mosaic of the *Annunciation* directs us toward Burne-Jones's mosaic on the first arch before the apse, *The Tree of Life*. This mosaic moves us both forward in the narrative of salvation history and backward to the beginning. At the center of the mosaic is the figure of Christ, who with outstretched arms appears like a corpus on a crucifix. His head is adorned with a purple halo, and he wears only a golden loincloth and a crown of thorns. Yet, there is no cross behind him. Rather, he appears to be united to a lush, living tree with outstretched branches that fill the upper half of the arch. At the left of the composition, stands a classical-looking man, facing Christ, beside a sheaf of wheat. He is draped in a neutral colored cloth, belted at the waist. His hands are held together and raised in prayer. Opposite the man, on the right of the composition, is a woman with two small children—one held up to her shoulder and one clinging to her leg. The children are nude and the woman is clothed in a white gown. Whereas the man looks directly at Christ, the

92. In the early twentieth century, Henry Adams explicates the significance of this verse from the *Adoro Te Devote* in terms of the loss of unity after the fall of medieval Christianity. Certainly, Burne-Jones is attempting to draw out this same sense of unity in the image of the *pie pelicane*. C.f. Susan Hanssen, " 'Shall We Go to Rome?'—The Last Days of Henry Adams," *New England Quarterly* 86, no. 1 (March 2013), 15–16.

woman has her head bowed in his direction with her eyes closed. Beside her grows a stalk of lilies. Unlike the landscape of the *Annunciation*, the scenery in this mosaic is characterized by richly verdant grass and the vibrantly green Tree of Life.

This scene alludes to two parts of the narrative of salvation history: the fall and the redemption of man. Neither of these moments, however, appear in the mosaic through traditional iconography. Rather than depicting the fall by showing Adam and Eve eating from the tree or being expelled from the garden, Burne-Jones depicts the first parents in their new post-fall roles standing beside the forbidden tree, which has taken on the role of the Tree of Life. Though this notion that the tree after the fall is also redeemed later in salvation history existed in the writings of the Church Fathers and in the great medieval monastics, it is further developed and propagated through Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*.⁹³ There, the Tree of Life plays a role in the Legend of the True Cross, for it is from this tree that the cross on which Christ was crucified was crafted.⁹⁴

Burne-Jones is very much playing with the iconography established through the narrative of the late medieval and early Renaissance *Golden Legend*. By referring to both the starting point of the role of the tree in salvation history and the final exaltation of the tree as cross, Burne-Jones extends a timeline in which the *Annunciation* fits and, when expanded to include the apse mosaic of the *Last Judgment*,

93. For an explanation of the sources from which the *Golden Legend* draws and a list of medieval sources Burne-Jones could have been using to develop his iconography, c.f. *Dormant, Burne-Jones and the Decoration of St. Paul's*, 81–90.

94. *Ibid.*, 83.

into which the congregation of Saint Paul's wants to insert itself.⁹⁵ Burne-Jones, in describing the mosaic, seems to see it as the summary of the role of humanity in salvation. He describes the wheat beside Adam as a call to labor, the children clinging to Eve as representations of mankind, and the lily as symbolic of the Annunciation and the new covenant for man.⁹⁶ Both Adam and Eve take on the new roles of man and woman after the fall—man having to toil in labor and woman responsible for forming human beings and raising a family.

In the minds of the American congregation, this would relate to their understanding of the importance of their Protestant work ethic of an individual to strive toward salvation and the fulfillment of the new promise that arises with the Incarnation of Christ. Furthermore, through this connection to the Annunciation, the mosaic links the congregation of Saint Paul's into this scheme of salvation with their acceptance of the conditions of the new covenant.⁹⁷ By placing these representations of virtuous men beside a triumphant Christ in the Tree of Life, Burne-Jones directs our attention toward his final expansion to the timeline of the history of redemption: the resurrected Christ enthroned in judgment.

The Earthly Paradise with Christ Enthroned in the Heavenly Jerusalem decorates the apse of Saint Paul's and represents the end of the history of Christian salvation. At the center, Christ, draped in a Byzantine-style white robe, sits frontally. On his left,

95. Lowrie, *Fifty Years*, 81–82 and Dorment, *Burne-Jones and the Decoration of St. Paul's*, 87.

96. Burne-Jones, *Memorials*, vol. 2, 159–60 and 349.

97. Dorment, *Burne-Jones and the Decoration of St. Paul's*, 84.

placed atop his knee, he holds the *orbis terrarum*, his right hand is raised in benediction. His head is adorned with a red halo and a golden halo. Surrounding him, forming a sort of mandorla, are seraphs. Above him, a choir of angels saturates the blue sky of the dome. Beneath his feet, a rainbow emanates in front of a sort of temple-like structure, which pours forth four streams of water that flow into the river that divides the heavenly realm from the earthly. Behind Christ, there is a crenelated gold wall punctured by six doorways. Archangels Uriel, Michael, Gabriel, Chemuel, and Zophiel stand in front of five of these doorways with their symbols of identification.⁹⁸ Immediately to Christ's right is an empty doorway symbolizing the place left by Lucifer in his rebellion.⁹⁹ Beneath the heavenly realm, Burne-Jones and Thomas Rooke chose to depict an earthly gathering of saints and martyrs, grouped according to their classification as virgins, martyrs, confessors, and crusaders.

The iconography of this mosaic is fairly straightforward. The saints depicted are primarily early Christian saints with whom the congregation of Saint Paul's wanted to associate themselves. So much so, Nevin commissioned Burne-Jones and Rooke to include portraits of friends, benefactors, and political figures associated with the congregation in the communion of saints. In fact, much of Rooke's involvement in the creation of this mosaic was in hunting down people and photographs to represent their portraits.¹⁰⁰ By depicting certain contemporary

98. Dorment, *Burne-Jones and the Decoration of St. Paul's*, 72.

99. *Ibid.*, 75–76.

100. *Ibid.*, 58–61.

persons, many of who were members of the congregation, as virtuous early Christians, Nevin and Burne-Jones were striving to further connect the congregation of Saint Paul's to the tradition of the early Christian Church and to point out the virtues of being defenders of a "Reformed Catholic Church."¹⁰¹ It unifies the congregation to the history of salvation according to Christ's judgment of their worthiness, rather than their participation in the Roman Catholic Church.

The variety of sources that Burne-Jones pulls from for the design of his mosaics constructs a complex and sophisticated ancestry for the beliefs of the American Episcopal Congregation, establishing a rich history for this Protestant church. Furthermore, the symbolism and the portraits that he includes, which relate specifically to Saint Paul's within-the-Walls, add an intimacy for the congregation with the tradition he is illustrating. Not only does Burne-Jones demonstrate their connection to the medieval Roman Catholic Church, he also establishes their inheritance from the Byzantine and Eastern Catholic churches. This rich spiritual history that Burne-Jones created through his mosaics would not have been lost on the highly educated Nevin or his successor, Lowrie.

101. A 1906 *New York Times* article notes the presence of portraits of many who contributed to the project, including King Humbert, J. S. Morgan as St. Athanasius, and Archbishop Tait as St. Ambrose; "Old Art Custom Revived: Portraits in the Mosaics for the American Church at Rome," *New York Times* (10 June 1906), 4. Dormant notes the inclusion of portraits of Abraham Lincoln, General U.S. Grant, Garibaldi, Nevin, and J. P. Morgan among others. For a greater explanation of the portraits and how they came to be included in the mosaic, c.f. Dormant, *Burne-Jones and the Decoration of St. Paul's*, 58–70.

Conclusion

G. E. Street's building together with Edward Burne-Jones's mosaics for Saint Paul's within-the-Walls visually established a spiritual heritage for the American Episcopal community in Rome. It was a heritage rooted in the traditions of the medieval Christian Church and especially relevant for Saint Paul's, which was the first Protestant Christian church to be constructed in the city of the Roman Catholic Church. By thinking of themselves as the Reformed Catholic Church, Nevin and the congregation of Saint Paul's very much understood themselves to be like the early Christians, who were first beginning to worship publically and witness to the faith. Saint Paul's within-the-Walls, with its prominent position in the heart of national Rome, stood as their public witness to their perceived role as successors to the medieval Catholic Church.

Street and Burne-Jones, in a sense, take the congregation back, aesthetically and spiritually, to give them the opportunity to stand out in the city of Rome and defend their faith deeply rooted in tradition. When we examine the visual and textual sources for Burne-Jones's and Street's designs for Saint Paul's with its historical and religious context in mind, this becomes obvious. Richard Dorment's work to draw out the multiplicity of iconographical sources was a good first step to acknowledging the significance of this religious context. Unfortunately, his scholarship merely notes that Burne-Jones's drawing from so many different texts and traditions makes his iconography innovative.

However, the more substantial implication of Burne-Jones's use of a wide

assortment of writings to develop his imagery is its compendious nature and the significance of that to the congregation of Saint Paul's. The artist, in bringing together imagery from a variety of Christian traditions, visually illustrates a narrative of salvation history into which the American Episcopal Church fits. When examined along with the visual traditions that Street used in his design of the church, Burne-Jones's mosaics position Nevin and his congregation as the rich successors to a long history of Christian traditions that begin with the biblical beginning of history—the creation of Adam who is seen as the first pre-figuration of Christ.

In understanding how the design and decoration of the church serves a specific religious function, we can see how significant religion is to the work of Burne-Jones and Street. And, we can recognize their other ecclesiastical commissions as part of a religious conversation that occurs in their work. Ignoring either the religious content of the art or the religious art altogether, scholars have not been able to recognize its real significance, brushing it off as insignificant to the artist's body of work and British art generally. They have failed to see that, as a revival of religious art of the past and the theological traditions that shaped it, such an architectural and decorative project can have any significance in the secularist narrative of art of the nineteenth century.

On the other hand, when we recognize that the narrative of art and of history is more complex than scholarship on the nineteenth century has traditionally allowed, the ability to recognize Saint Paul's as having a specific religious purpose and relevance to its particular historical context becomes a possibility. Acknowledging the

American Episcopal congregation's identity in late nineteenth-century Rome as the Reformed Catholic Church, we understand that the revivalist design and decoration of Saint Paul's within-the-Walls emphasizes their role as successors to the medieval Church finally reclaiming their place in the city of the Roman Catholic Church after its fall.



Figure 1
George Edmund Street, *Saint Paul's within-the-Walls*, Rome, façade, 1872-1876.
Photograph by David Carillet (2012), *Wild Retina*,
<http://www.wildretina.com/architecture/saint-pauls-within-the-walls.html>



Figure 2

Edward Burne-Jones and Thomas Rooke, *Apse mosaics: Annunciation, Tree of Life, and Christ Enthroned*, Saint Paul's within-the-Walls, Rome, 1885-1907.

Photograph by Nick Barber (2009),

<http://www.flickr.com/photos/efsb/3299015810/in/set-72157614194046569>



Figure 3
Edward Burne-Jones, *Christ Enthroned in the Heavenly Jerusalem*, 1885.
Photography by George P. Landow (2004), *Victorian Web*.



Figure 4

Edward Burne-Jones and Thomas Rooke, *The Earthly Paradise with Christ Enthroned*, unveiled 1907.

Photograph by Lawrence OP (2010),

<http://www.flickr.com/photos/paullew/5134619375/in/set-72157625338936185/>

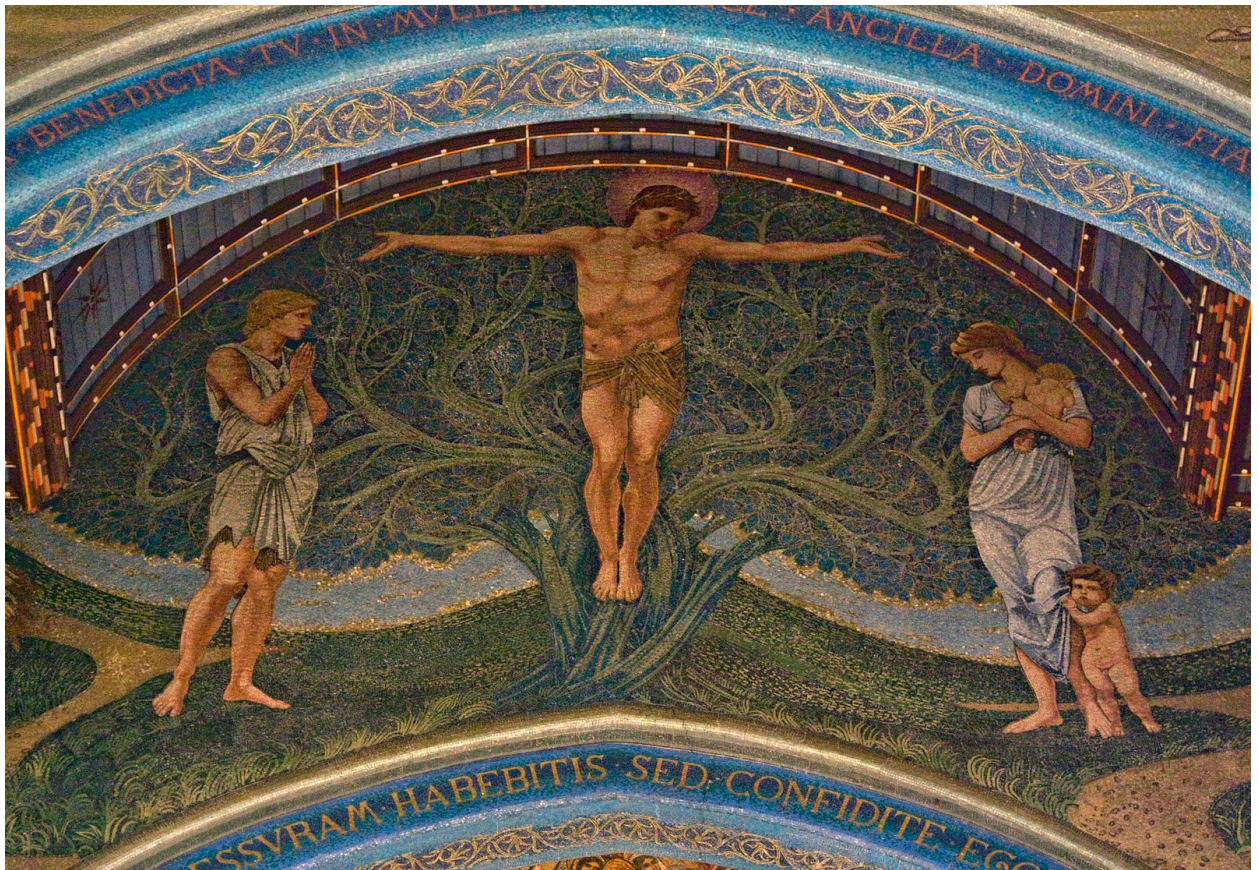


Figure 5
Edward Burne-Jones, *Tree of Life*, unveiled 1894.
Photograph by Lawrence OP (2010),
<http://www.flickr.com/photos/paullew/5147527915/>



Figure 6

Edward Burne-Jones, *Annunciation*, unveiled 1894.

Reproduced from Anita Mathias, "The Pre-Raphaelites in Italy, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford," *Dreaming Beneath the Spires* (blog), November 29, 2010, <http://anitamathias.com/blog/2010/11/29/the-pre-raphaelites-in-italy-ashmolean-museum-oxford/>



Figure 7
George Edmund Street, *Royal Courts of Justice*, London, 1873–82.
Reproduced from
http://inform.files.wordpress.com/2010/11/royal_courts_justice_nw030809_1.jpg



Figure 8
James Renwick Jr., *Grace Church*, New York, completed 1846.
Photograph by Emilio Guerra (2012),
http://www.flickr.com/photos/emilio_guerra/6992804708/



Figure 9
Richard Upjohn, *Trinity Church*, New York, completed 1846.
Photograph by Leo Sorel (2005),
http://svconline.com/mag/avinstall_spreading_word/



Figure 10
Richard Upjohn, *St. Peter's Episcopal Church*, Albany, NY, completed 1859.
Photography by Matt H. Wade (2011),
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:St_Peters_Church_2011.jpg



Figure 11

San Zeno Maggiore, Verona, Italy, c.967, restored and enlarged 1138, completed 1398.

Photograph by Iggi Falcon (2012),

<http://www.flickr.com/photos/bautisterias/7454261854/>



Figure 12

San Zeno Maggiore, Interior Nave, Verona, Italy, completed 1398.

Photograph by Tango7174 (2007),

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Verona_SZeno1_tango7174.jpg



Figure 13
George Edmund Street, *Nave Ceiling, St. Paul's within the Walls*, c. 1873.
Photograph by George P. Landow (2004), *Victorian Web*.



Figure 14
San Zeno Maggiore, Apse Exterior, Verona, Italy, completed 1398.
Photograph by Andy Marshall (2007),
<http://www.flickr.com/photos/fotofacade/659951888/>



Figure 15
Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Ecce Ancilla Domini (The Annunciation)*, c. 1849.
Oil on canvas, 1002 x 698 x 88 mm.
Tate, London.



Figure 16
Edward Burne-Jones, *The Annunciation*, 1876–79.
Oil on canvas.
Lady Lever Art Gallery, Liverpool.



Figure 17
Fra Angelico, *Annunciation*, 1424–26.
Gold and Tempera on panel, 194 x 194 cm.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.



Figure 18

Annunciation, c. 1220.

Mosaic.

San Marco, Venice, Italy.

Wolfgang Braunfels, *Die Verkündigung*, Düsseldorf 1949, image 4.

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