

**A Relief from Classicism: Frederic Leighton in the
Near East, 1857-1895**

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Abstract

This thesis evaluates the Near Eastern travels of the Victorian artist, Frederic, Lord Leighton (1830-1896) and their subsequent influences on his work. The project explores the numerous trips Leighton made throughout his career across parts of the Islamic world, most significantly the Ottoman Empire, and adds a new perspective to Leighton scholarship by examining the condition of his mobility across these territories and the production of images in the wake of his travelling. While previous scholarship has established Leighton as a cosmopolitan figure, my research demonstrates that the scope of his internationalism extends beyond European centres of artistic production and reveals the significance of his influential Orientalist networks.

My analysis attends to the theoretical commitments of post-Saidean Orientalist studies, which seeks to de-centre European imperial narratives by exploring Western figures within the context of Eastern empires. Leighton's paintings and drawings inspired by the region, and extensive collection of Ottoman and Syrian decorative art objects, represent an unprecedented interest by a leading British artist in Islamic material culture, challenging our understanding of a different British Orientalism and Aestheticism as largely focused on Japonisme and Chinoiserie.

The thesis focuses upon four case studies to reveal the versatility of Leighton's Orientalism. I argue for the centrality of Orientalism as a significant part of Leighton's artistic production and explore the political stakes of such a position during his lifetime. In reflecting on these varied aspects of Leighton's relationship with the Near East, the scholarship is significantly expanded to include considerations wider than his relationships to Classicism, the Renaissance, and modern art, but, importantly, how those genres interrelate with his Orientalism. While the thesis focuses on a single, canonical artist, it also demonstrates how British art history can move towards a more global position to study an expanded field of relations.

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Figure 171 Frederic Leighton, *Tracings for Figures in 'Captive Andromache'* (c. 1886-88) Black chalk on tracing paper, 23.8 x 17.2 cm. Royal Academy of Arts, London. Object number: 04/949.

Figure 172 Hamo Thornycroft, *Teucer* (1881) Bronze, 240.7 x 151.1 x 66 cm. Tate, London. Object number: N01751.

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Figure 176 Elisabeth Jericahu-Bauman. *Water Gatherers* (1875) Wood engraving in Elisabeth Jericahu-Bauman, *Motley Images of Travel* (Kjobenhavn: Thieles, 1881), opposite 40.

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Figure 178 Frederic Leighton, *Thumbnail Sketches of Figures* (1868) Pencil on cream laid paper, dimensions not given. Royal Academy of Arts. Object number: 06/1001.

Figure 179 Frederic Leighton, *Study for Hercules Wrestling with Death for the Body of Alcestis and Captive Andromache: Compositions, Male and Female Figures*. (1870) Black and white chalk on blue paper, 32.4 x 24.5 cm. Leighton House Museum. Accession number: LHO/D/0516.

Figure 180 Frederic Leighton, *Hercules Wrestling with Death for the Body of Alcestis* (1871) Oil on canvas, 153 x 269 cm. Wadsworth Athenaeum Museum of Art, Hartford.

Figure 181 Fred Rose West, *The Serio-Comic War Map for the Year 1877* (London: George Washington Baker & Co, 1877), 44 x 62 cm. Cornell University Library Digital Collections.

Figure 182 Frederic Leighton, *Captive Andromache* (detail of figure) (1888) Oil on canvas, 197 x 407 cm. Manchester Art Gallery. Accession number: 1889.2.

Figure 183 Frederic Leighton, *Clytie* (1895) Oil on canvas, 156 x 136 cm. Leighton House Museum. Accession number: LH3015.

Figure 184 Frederic Leighton, *A Courtyard, Algiers* (1895) Oil on canvas, 20.5 x 111 cm. Leighton House Museum. Accession number: LH/P/LTS/0402

Figure 185 Frederic Leighton, *Gateway, Algiers* (1895) Oil on board, 12 x 22.2 cm. Private collection.

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This thesis is dedicated to Michael – who helps me to see the brightest future.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

Introduction

I want to start with two images, one made at the earliest moment in Frederic Leighton's career and the other in the last months of his life. *The Persian Pedlar* (1852) (Fig. 1) is a full-length portrait of a man seated cross-legged in a dark interior. He clasps a long pipe between his hands, reminiscent of the type one could find in the Limehouse opium dens of nineteenth-century London. The painter does not describe his surroundings in great detail, but it appears to be a tastefully decorated room. On the walls are painted panels with gilt frames. The figure sits on at least two overlapping textiles and is propped up by a plush orange cushion. To his right is a piece of blue-and-white pottery, already by 1852 an established gesture in conjuring an Oriental scene. This setting appears somewhat at odds with this man's profession as a pedlar, a travelling salesman who deals in knick-knacks and small goods. It seems unlikely that the blue-and-white vase is part of his inventory, unless his position is on the ascendant from salesman to dealer.

The figure is wearing a grey silk dress, wrapped tightly across his chest, and a darker overcoat which hangs over the raised seat, demonstrative of the young Leighton's prowess for drapery. He also wears a deep red turban which sits snugly over dark curls that reach the nape of his neck. Although these clothes are sober in colour their texture reads as silk or a similar expensive material. Perhaps these are the garments of a wealthy merchant as seen in the Ottoman costume albums circulating around London and Paris at this time?¹ Again, it seems more likely that the pedlar is moving up in the world as Persia and its goods become increasingly fashionable to a mid-nineteenth-century global market.

Although the sitter is identified as Persian his 'race' seems amalgamated. Persian was often a euphemism for indeterminately Eastern, a romanticised designation that evoked *The Arabian Nights* and did not have any definitive correlation to the historical lands of the Persian Empire, which encompassed Iran and parts of Iraq, or the ruling Qajar dynasty. Leighton House Museum describes this figure as "almost certainly intended

¹ Elisabeth A. Fraser, 'The Colour of the Orient: On Ottoman Costume Albums, European Print Culture and Cross-Cultural Exchange' in Tara Zanardi and Lynda Klich (eds.) *Visual Typologies from the Early Modern to the Contemporary: Local Practices and Global Contexts* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 45-59.

to be Turkish.”² The pedlar’s facial features also read as strongly Semitic in a period where images of ‘The Wandering Jew’ often depicted bearded men with dark curls and large noses. Rumours of Leighton’s Jewishness, based on a physiognomical interpretation and veiled allusions to his mother’s ancestry, compounded the artist’s reputation as somehow ‘un-English’.³ Edgcumbe Staley called the painting “a humorous subject” and likened it to the work of Buonamico Buffalmacco, the prankster painter that appeared in Vasari’s *Lives of the Artists* (1550) and in the procession of artists in *Cimabue’s Celebrated Madonna is Carried in Procession through the Streets of Florence* (1853-55) (Fig. 2).⁴ To some eyes, then, the pedlar’s features were a source of mirth.

In this small work, a network of social and geographical relations is brought together: the Far and Near Easts, Muslim and Jewish, Persian and Turkish. This is a representation of a homogenous Orient drawn solely from secondary sources and the imagination. At this point, the 22-year-old Leighton had only travelled as far south as the Roman Campagna. Persia is his prevailing understanding of the Orient at this stage and the picture is littered with easily detectable reference points that extend the geographical network of this picture eastwards.

The second painting, *The Fair Persian* (1895) (Fig. 3), is unfinished and made some time in the months before Leighton died on 25 January 1896. Mary Roberts draws our attention to the fact that the painting was displayed opposite to Leighton’s coffin when he was lying in state at his studio-house (Fig. 4).⁵ *The Fair Persian* is a half-length portrait of a woman, most likely modelled by Mary Lloyd, a popular model amongst the Holland Park group of artists.⁶ The only record of the painting that exists today is

² ‘A Persian Pedlar’ *Leighton and the Middle East*, accessed 4 June 2019,

<https://www.rbkc.gov.uk/leightonarabhall/paintings/enlarge/p1.html#heading>.

³ “[George] Du Maurier, who took much interest in tracing indications of various racial distinctions in the remarkable people his time, was troubled on this point. He was convinced that in Leighton existed indications of foreign or Jewish blood, but was quite unable to discover any facts in support of this theory.” Mrs. Russell (Emilie) Barrington, *The Life, Letters and Works of Frederic Leighton* vol.1 (London: George Allen, 1906), 20.

⁴ Edgcumbe Staley, *Lord Leighton of Stretton*, PRA (London: Walter Scott Publishing Company, Ltd., 1906), 32.

⁵ Mary Roberts, “The Resistant Materiality of Frederic Leighton’s Arab Hall”, *British Art Studies* 9 (2018), <https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-09/mroberts>.

⁶ For more on the Holland Park Circle see, Caroline Dakers, *The Holland Park Circle: Artists and Victorian Society* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999) and *Artists at Home: The Holland Park Circle, 1850-1900* (Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea Libraries and Arts Services: Leighton House Museum, 1999).

a photogravure, but it is clear in its depiction of an aestheticized Leighton stunner with dark, loose curls adorned with a crown. A loose-fitting light underdress is cut to her sternum and she wears a darker overcoat on top. The colour of these garments is unknown. There is no discernible background to the painting but she looks confidently outward, heavy-lidded eyes and her chin pointed out. This Persian is at the height of her powers, regal in her presentation.

This painting comes at the end of a lifetime of continuous travels, down through the southern reaches of the Mediterranean, into the territories of the Ottoman Empire, and across North Africa. At the end of his life, Leighton is now in a much greater position of knowledge than he was when he made *A Persian Pedlar*. Yet, *The Fair Persian* does not show this. And, in fact, although Leighton was an experienced traveller by this point, he never visited Persia. Unlike many of the other artist-travellers of the period, he does not use a lifetime's worth of knowledge and experience to depict an authentic, studied scene of local custom or an identifiable member of the Qajar court. It is certainly a more aestheticized depiction than the earlier picture, reliant on a different set of supposed racial characteristics that distinguish the figure as Caucasian and therefore not a comical subject. But *The Fair Persian* is not demonstrably wiser about its titular subject or invested in teaching its viewer what a fair Persian might look like, act like, or where she might live. Between these two pictures, there is a connection to this other world, or at least a desire to be connected to it, but the exact nature of Leighton's relation is undoubtedly ambiguous and the artist does not seem to be able to resolve his position.

This thesis addresses the years between *A Persian Pedlar* and *The Fair Persian* and moves beyond this encounter with the Persian by tracing Leighton's Near Eastern travels and their subsequent influence on his work. By highlighting these two works, it is evident that constructs of the Orient were an overarching influence across his career but scholars have not yet clearly established the extent of this influence on his practice. I argue for a reassessment of Leighton's work that foregrounds the importance of his Ottoman and Orientalist networks to include considerations wider than his relationships to Classicism, the Renaissance, and modern art, but also how those genres interrelate with his Orientalism. The project explores the numerous trips Leighton made throughout his career to the Ottoman Empire and North Africa and

adds a new perspective to Leighton scholarship by examining the condition of his mobility across these territories and the production of images in the wake of his travelling.

While scholars such as Jongwoo Jeremy Kim⁷ and Karl Kilinski III⁸ have given attention to single trips Leighton made to the Near East, this thesis is the first sustained account of his travels across four decades of his career, from his early days in Paris through to his presidency of the Royal Academy and beyond. Our prevailing understanding of Leighton's Orientalism as a single project to furnish the Arab Hall is nuanced to reveal the extent of his collection beyond the Hall and other examples of the influence of travel across his drawings, oil and fresco painting. While current scholarship frequently acknowledges Leighton's status as a cosmopolitan and a traveller, my account delves into the unique circumstances of travelling to the Ottoman Empire and North Africa in this period. This study reveals the significant effect Near Eastern travels had on his art through his engagement with European Orientalism as well as Ottoman and North African sources.

Antiquity, Renaissance, Modernity – Orientalism?

Characterisations of Leighton have often been premised on a model of cosmopolitanism. Although born in Scarborough on 3 December 1830, the Leighton family began a series of moves across the Continent in the early 1840s. By the time, he began his formal arts training at the Städelsches Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt in 1846, the family had spent time in Germany, France, Switzerland, and Italy. This type of uprooted childhood furnished Leighton with a cosmopolitan identity which continued into early adulthood as he spent time living between Rome, Paris and London as an early career artist. Living and travelling from a young age between several European centres of artistic production, Leighton's art was perceived to be the “result of a cosmopolitan education”⁹ furnished with the spirit and knowledge of

⁷ Jongwoo Jeremy Kim, *Painted Men in Britain, 1868-1918: Royal Academicians and Masculinities* (London: Routledge, 2012), 13-56.

⁸ Karl Kilinski III, 'Leighton on the Nile' *The Burlington Magazine* 145, no. 1206 (September 2003), 646-648.

⁹ Philip Gilbert Hammerton, 'Etchings from Pictures by Contemporary Artists. XII – Sir Frederick [sic] Leighton, P.R.A, Portrait of Captain Burton Etched by Leopold Flameng', *The Portfolio: An Artistic Periodical* (London: Seeley, Jackson and Halliday, 1879), 2.

a traveller, a citizen of Western Europe. Several scholars since have sprinkled this cosmopolitanism onto stylistic assessments of Leighton's work. He was a "cosmopolitan aesthete"¹⁰, a "cosmopolitanism Neoclassicist"¹¹, and a purveyor of "cosmopolitan academicism"¹².

Understanding the role of the Near East in Leighton's life and art vacillates between the cosmopolitanism that has defined Leighton's career in relation to the internationally influenced, but nevertheless Western stylistic trends of Aestheticism, Neoclassicism and Orientalism. Lauren Goodlad highlights that "from a Victorian perspective, the world *cosmopolitan* was more likely to evoke the impersonal structures of capitalism and imperialism than an ethos of tolerance, world citizenship, or multiculturalism."¹³ Leighton's cosmopolitanism was complicated and fits Goodlad's nuanced definition, particularly regarding his chauvinism and prejudices which during his travels he explicitly directed towards Egyptian and Nubian people. More recent attempts to explore Victorian cosmopolitanism have incorporated the global turn in nineteenth-century studies and frame cosmopolitanism as a "juggling act, in which we must strive to close read the aesthetic qualities of texts with an increasingly complex and far-reaching historical and geographical frame."¹⁴ The thesis 'juggles' with Leighton's cosmopolitanism in such a way, expanding its borders to direct attention towards non-European centres of artistic production such as Istanbul, Bursa, Cairo, Damascus and Algiers while also testing the limits of the artist's global perspective. While the conditions of travel, mobility and transience appealed to Leighton and provided new directions for developing his Aestheticism and Neoclassicism it also reveals his commitment to models of Western beauty and racial hierarchies, which I explore in relation to his writing and the subsequent racial profile of his models.

¹⁰ Keren Hammerschlag, *Frederic Leighton: Death, Mortality, Resurrection* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2015), 19.

¹¹ Hammerschlag, *Frederic Leighton: Death, Mortality, Resurrection*, 5.

¹² Christopher Forbes, *The Royal Academy (1837-1901) Revisited: Victorian Paintings from the Forbes Magazine Collection* (Jersey City: Forbes, 1975), 90.

¹³ Lauren M.E. Goodlad, *The Victorian Geopolitical Aesthetic: Realism, Sovereignty and Transnational Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 12.

¹⁴ Tanya Agathocleous and Jason R. Rudy, 'Victorian Cosmopolitanisms: Introduction' *Victorian Literature and Culture* 38, no. 2 (2010), 393.

I offer a range of alternative positions for understanding Leighton's travelling beyond a Eurocentric notion of cosmopolitanism. I bring to the fore the importance of the Mediterranean, Ottoman and Islamic worlds as new models for understanding the geographical scope of his travels. Looking at a map of those travels, trips are dotted around the Mediterranean Sea and this perspective serves to highlight the proximity of other European destinations such as Italy, restaging Leighton's Venetian period as a nascent interest in the Byzantine world (Fig. 5).¹⁵ This approach raises the geography of his travels and considers the spatial contours of a vast Islamic world that extends from the Iberian Peninsula to parts of South East Asia. The Victorian understanding of these parts of the globe as the Orient, Levant, or Near East is what Martin Lewis and Kären Wigen consider a metageography or, "the set of spatial structures through which people order their knowledge of the world: the often unconscious frameworks that organise studies of history, sociology, anthropology, economics, political science or even natural history."¹⁶ My approach expands our understanding of Leighton's travels beyond the scope of an indeterminate Levant or Orient and instead, in a nod to regional studies, highlights the unique conditions of each place he visited.

The terminology I use to refer to the places Leighton travelled is based on a number of determining factors. The first chapter highlights that debates around such terminology and taxonomy were pervasive during Leighton's lifetime. The 'Middle' East would have been an unfamiliar term in the nineteenth century and therefore I find it unhelpful to use, except in the instances when it connects to our modern-day geopolitical understanding of the region. Similarly, the Orient and the Levant are both terms that are vague in their geographic location and laden with ethical baggage, which I unpack further momentarily. Additionally, notions of multiple Orients existed in the cultural imagination of the period, and Leighton's distinctions between multiple iterations of the 'East' is important to understanding his divergent stylistic approaches. While visitors to Leighton House Museum today might be more familiar with the notion of the Arab world and therefore, connect his travels to a space called

¹⁵ For more on Leighton in Venice see, Stephen Jones and Christopher Newall, et. al., *Frederic Leighton, 1830-1896* (London: Harry N. Abrams, 1996), 118+136 and Samantha Timm, 'The Venice Series: Frederic Leighton's Stylistic Renaissance, c. 1862-1871, (MA Thesis, University of York, 2017).

¹⁶ Martin W. Lewis and Kären Wigen, *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), xi.

the Arab Hall, it is interesting to note that journalists writing about the Hall just after it was completed noted the sources of tiles and other objects from Syria, Turkey and Egypt. The shifting linguistic power of naming places has in this instance “inscribed themselves onto the surface design of the interiors.”¹⁷ Leighton House Museum still refers to Leighton spending time in the ‘Middle’ East, an interpretation which focuses attention on the Arabian Peninsula, which he never visited. As a corrective to this, I shift focus back to the Ottoman contexts of his travels and the studio-house interiors.

I describe the full chronology of Leighton’s travels as his trips to the Near East. The Near East was in common usage during Leighton’s lifetime, and as Arthur Cotterell argues can be used to describe long eras of Arab, Persian and Ottoman rule as well as the cradles of Judaism, Christianity and Islam.¹⁸ With the understanding that this is still a somewhat homogenising approach, I am also careful to name cities, countries and places whenever I can be specific. My use of the Near East also gestures towards Leighton’s continual proximity and comparatively easy access to this part of the world, a significant factor in the first British mass tourism movement. This is a different position to the one I, as a white, Jewish woman, contend with. Because of current geopolitical circumstances, my contact with this part of the world remains frustratingly limited. At present, the Foreign Office advises against all travel to Syria, all but essential travel to most Western parts of Egypt, and any part of Turkey that shares a border with Syria.¹⁹ Ten days after I returned from one of my only site visits, to Istanbul and Bursa, the journalist Jamal Khashoggi was murdered at the Saudi Arabian consulate in Ankara.²⁰ As I finish this project, Turkish forces are moving into the Kurdish areas of Syria, such as the town Leighton visited when he painted *View of Richard and Isabel Burton’s House* (1873) (Fig. 6), displacing thousands and causing another humanitarian crisis in the region.

¹⁷ John Potvin, ‘Inside Orientalism’ in John Potvin (ed.) *Oriental Interiors: Design, Identity, Space* (London: Bloomsbury: 2015), 2.

¹⁸ Arthur Cotterell, *The Near East: A Cultural History* (London: Hurst & Co., 2017).

¹⁹ UK Government, ‘Foreign Travel Advice’, accessed 17 December 2018, <https://www.gov.uk/foreign-travel-advice>. Information correct as of December 2018.

²⁰ Megan Specia, “Jamal Khashoggi’s Killing: Here’s What We Know”, *The New York Times*, (19 October 2018), accessed 1 January 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/19/world/middleeast/jamal-khashoggi-case-facts.html>.

That said, the world that Leighton travelled through was not without its share of sectarian violence, revolts against Ottoman imperial rule, and more general dangers that might befall a traveller. However, according to his own accounts Leighton travelled entirely unmolested and was often received warmly by local Ottoman elites, diplomats and officials. Throughout the thesis, I demonstrate that Leighton's connections with the British monarchy and local consular networks were instrumental to the facilitation of his travels.

At the outset of the twentieth century, the styles that had been attached to Leighton's cosmopolitanism - academicism, Neoclassicism and Aestheticism - fell out of fashion along with Leighton's reputation as the head of the London art world. Graeme Smart tracks this trajectory through press articles and scholarly criticism and established that in the first three-quarters of the twentieth century, Leighton's reputation was at its nadir.²¹ Tim Barringer recounts his encounter with *Lachrymae* (1895) (Fig. 7) in 1990 which he found in the "remotest and most dimly lit room in the Metropolitan Museum's nineteenth-century painting galleries."²² A similar decline can be seen in the popularity of Orientalist painting, which began around the same time in the first decade of the twentieth century and endured until exhibitions such as *Orientalism: The Near East in French Painting, 1800-1880* in 1982 at the University of Rochester's Memorial Art Gallery and *The Orientalists, Delacroix to Matisse: European Painters in North Africa and the Near East* in 1984 at the Royal Academy reinvigorated art historical inquiries in to Orientalism in the wake of the Said moment.²³

However, Leighton was one of the first Victorian artists in whom scholarly interest was revived in the closing decades of the twentieth century as Victorian studies flourished. First, by Richard and Leonée Ormond in their meticulously researched monograph on the artist which laid out the chronology of Leighton's travels to the Near East and importantly, charted the exhibition history of his Egyptian, Greek,

²¹ Graeme Smart, 'The Recovery of Frederic Leighton: The Social and Historical Construction of an Artistic Reputation' (PhD Thesis, University of Keele, 2007).

²² Tim Barringer, 'Rethinking Delaroche/Recovering Leighton' *Victorian Studies* 44, no. 1 (Autumn 2001), 9.

²³ For more, see the exhibition catalogues Donald A. Rosenthal, *Orientalism: the Near East in French Painting, 1800-1880* (Rochester: Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester, 1982) and MaryAnne Stevens, *The Orientalists, Delacroix to Matisse: European Painters in North Africa and the Near East* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1984).

Turkish and North African landscapes outside the Royal Academy.²⁴ Previous to this, contemporary biographies by authors such as Alice Corkran and Emilie Barrington had incorrectly dated Leighton's trips or altogether excluded some, creating an unclear biographical picture of Leighton's time in the Near East.²⁵ Alfred Lys Baldry, for example, vaguely summarised his travels as trips to, "Spain, Damascus, Egypt and other parts of the East."²⁶ In some ways, then, this thesis writes a different sort of biography to the ones written by Corkran, Barrington and Baldry in the decades following Leighton's death. My biography chronicles Leighton's time away from London, far from his network of friends and the duties of the Royal Academy. However, it also vacillates between Leighton's time in different countries and his memory and response to those experiences back in the studio. In that respect, the thesis is divided into two halves. The first two chapters examine the condition of his mobility during his travels across the Ottoman Empire. The third and fourth chapter contend with his reformulation of those travelling experiences and their frequent, and at times unexpected, appearance in his late-career paintings.²⁷

At the centenary of Leighton's death in 1996, the Royal Academy staged a retrospective exhibition with an accompanying catalogue by Christopher Newall and Stephen Jones. The exhibition featured many of Leighton's Orientalist paintings in public and private collections including several Nile landscapes, *Old Damascus: Jew's Quarter* (1873) (Fig. 8), *Courtyard of a Mosque at Broussa* (1867) (Fig. 9), and *The Music Lesson* (1877) (Fig. 10), all of which would also appear at the Tate Britain exhibition, *The Lure of the East* in 2008. Leighton's role within British Orientalism was first acknowledged by his inclusion in the latter exhibition. Curator Nicholas Tromans traced a network of relations which for the first time brought Leighton into consideration with other Orientalist practitioners such as John Frederick Lewis, David Roberts and William Holman Hunt.²⁸ The paintings were used to address themes of domesticity and British artists' encounter with Islam and

²⁴ Richard and Leonée Ormond, *Lord Leighton* (New Haven and London: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art London by Yale University Press, 1975).

²⁵ For example, Barrington dates Leighton's trip to Egypt as 1878, not 1868 (vol. 2, 133) and Corkran claims Leighton travelled to Jerusalem in 1888, although there is no supporting evidence that trip happened.

²⁶ Alfred Lys Baldry, *Leighton* (London: TC & EC Jack, 1908), 36.

²⁷ The structure follows James Thompson, *The East: Imagined, Experienced, Remembered: Orientalist Nineteenth Century Painting* (Dublin: National Gallery of Ireland, 1988).

²⁸ Nicholas Tromans, 'Introduction: British Orientalist Painting' in *The Lure of the East: British Orientalist Painting* (ed.) Nicholas Tromans (London: Tate, 2008), 18-19.

further cemented the readings of Leighton's Orientalism that Newall and Jones had established. I respond to similar themes, especially Leighton's encounters with Islam, but draw from a larger sample of examples and move into significant new themes that neither exhibition addressed.

In 1999, Barringer and Liz Prettejohn published their edited volume, *Frederic Leighton: Antiquity, Renaissance, Modernity*. While the Royal Academy exhibition had elicited the type of criticisms from the modern-day press that had marginalised Leighton in the decades before, Barringer and Prettejohn interrogated accusations of effeminacy, foreignness, academicism, and licked surfaces head on. Their new approach to Leighton's work brought together a group of scholars who provided vital new frameworks for understanding the artist's "unstable and multi-layered" eclecticism through his relationship to the Classical canon, the Renaissance and modernism.²⁹ In a nod to this foundational work which established a new wave of interest in Leighton, this thesis adds 'Orientalism' to their list and seeks to provide a similar revitalising approach to a canonical figure by highlighting his relevance across key issues surrounding global, imperial and Orientalist issues in nineteenth-century British art history. In so doing, the thesis seeks both to push past the dominant current conception of Leighton as solely a Classicist or Aesthete, and to emphasise the broader Islamic Mediterranean that provided the matrix for his life and work. A central concern of this thesis is to interrogate how Leighton's Orientalism interrelates with his Neoclassicism, Aestheticism and modernism. Critics such as Joseph Hatton recognised Leighton's ability to meld these stylistic positions. "His mind is large enough to take in the eclecticism of Greek art, the devotionism of the Medieval and the warmth of Orientalism."³⁰ This thesis explores the extent of these interrelationships in several case studies. For example, chapter 2 explores the ways in which Leighton's Nile landscapes were experiments in depicting a newly aestheticized idiom for Egypt in the moments before the Suez Canal opened whilst chapter 4 brings Classicism and Orientalism together through a close reading of

²⁹ Tim Barringer and Liz Prettejohn, 'Introduction' in *Frederic Leighton: Antiquity, Renaissance, Modernity*, (eds.) Tim Barringer and Liz Prettejohn (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), xxii.

³⁰ Joseph Hatton, 'Some Glimpses of Artistic London' *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 67 (November 1883), 828.

Captive Andromache (1888) (Fig. 11) and the Homeric legacy in sovereign territories of the Ottoman Empire.

Subsequent Victorian art historical studies have figured Leighton as a central figure to understanding the London art world from the 1860s onwards. Studies such as Dakers' sweeping survey of the Holland Park Circle³¹ and Allen Staley's account of painting in the 1860s³² demonstrate the ways in which Leighton was a tastemaker and leader of the artist studio-house neighbourhood in West London. However, such studies localise Leighton in a way that obscures the amount of time he spent abroad. In fact, Leighton House was typically unoccupied three months of every year while its owner travelled. While Dakers and Staley network Leighton amongst a group of London-based, albeit international, artists and cultural figures, I expand his influential networks to include his Orientalist and Ottoman connections. Similarly, the house itself is resituated amongst a museological network of national institutions and private collections who were bringing Islamic art from the Ottoman Empire to Britain at the time. I also demonstrate how the artist's complex restaging of the odalisque in his oil painting brings together three of the period's most important institutions, the Royal Academy, the Salon and the South Kensington Museum alongside their approaches to the Orient in fine and decorative arts. Martina Droth acknowledges the relationship between Leighton's collection and the South Kensington project highlighting, "the conceptual affinity between the values alluded to in his home and those of the Museum".³³

Aestheticism's links to Orientalism have primarily been connected to the influence of Japan. Amongst Aestheticist practitioners, James McNeill Whistler was, according to Lionel Lambourne, "the principal catalyst of the cult of Japan and the Aesthetic movement"³⁴ and engaged with Japanese art-making practices such as *ukiyo-e* and used decorative props such as kimono, Japanese fans, and blue-and-white porcelain in his paintings.³⁵ Albert Moore later developed a similar interest in Japonisme, by

³¹ Dakers, *The Holland Park Circle: Artists and Victorian Society*, 188-205.

³² Allen Staley, *The New Painting of the 1860s* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011).

³³ Martina Droth, 'Leighton's House: Art in and Beyond the Studio' *Journal of Design History* 24, no. 4 (2011), 344.

³⁴ Lionel Lambourne, *The Aesthetic Movement* (London: Phaidon, 1996), 34-35.

³⁵ See Ayako Ono, *Japonisme in Britain: Whistler, Menpes, Henry, Hornel and Nineteenth-Century Japan* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 41-86.

this time a fashion craze spreading across bohemian London, which he hybridised in his paintings with Classical motifs.³⁶ The critic Sidney Colvin later grouped Whistler, Moore and Leighton under the category of ‘beauty without realism’ which had the unintended consequence of crediting Japonisme as an influence in Leighton’s work, although there is little evidence of an interest as deep as that of Whistler and Moore.³⁷ During his lifetime, Leighton was perceived as a “bachelor Japanist”, a nod to Christopher Reed’s formulation of Western interest in Japanese culture and its intersection with masculinity and sexuality - and was portrayed in a *Punch* cartoon dressed in kimono sketching a geisha (1888) (Fig. 12).³⁸ However, Leighton’s connections to the art and influence of Japan are limited, despite Anne Anderson’s assertion that he was a member of the Cult of Old Blue.³⁹ Rather, as Diana Maltz argues in the case of John Singer Sargent, “As much as these aesthetes famously treasured their blue-and-white china and Japanese fans and screens, they cultivated a separate strand of Aestheticism marked by the signifiers of the Near East: small, octagonal inlaid tables, rich textiles, intricately tiled courtyards and ornate interior fountains.”⁴⁰ While Maltz’s work focuses on Sargent’s work in Tangiers I work from a similar premise to argue that Leighton’s Aestheticism was more closely modelled on the Near, rather than Far, East and in doing so, invokes tensions between these two amorphous geographies. I answer Barringer’s call to study “the links between Orientalism and Aestheticism” more closely and in doing so, reveal how multiple notions of multiple Easts are at play across Aestheticist agendas, which also included India to which I return intermittently.⁴¹

My reading also pulls the poetics of Aestheticism into the realm of the political, and by extension, imperial. According to Thomas Beebee, British artists mediated their responses to Japan by metaphorically removing it from the geopolitical sphere,

³⁶ See Robyn Aselson, *Albert Moore* (London: Phaidon, 2000), 85-94.

³⁷ Sidney Colvin, ‘English Painting and Painters in 1867’ *Fortnightly Review* (October 1867), 464-76.

³⁸ Christopher Reed, *Bachelor Japanists: Japanese Aesthetics and Western Masculinities* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017), 8.

³⁹ Anne Anderson, ‘Coming Out of the China Closet? Performance, Identity and Sexuality in the House Beautiful’ in John Potvin (ed.) *Oriental Interiors: Design Identity and Space* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 128.

⁴⁰ Diana Maltz, “‘Baffling Arrangements’: Vernon Lee and John Singer Sargent in Queer Tangier’ in Jason Edwards and Imogen Hart (eds.) *Rethinking the Interior c. 1867-1896: Aestheticism and Arts and Crafts* (London: Routledge, 2010), 185.

⁴¹ Tim Barringer, ‘Orientalism and Aestheticism’ in *The Poetics and Politics of Place: Ottoman Istanbul and British Orientalism*, (eds.) Zeynep Inankur, Reina Lewis and Mary Roberts (Istanbul: Pera Museum, 2011), 244.

unlike the Near East which was “open to colonization and dismemberment.”⁴² As Prettejohn has demonstrated, art for art’s sake was not immune to worldly or serious concerns.⁴³ Previous readings of Leighton’s Aestheticism have contended that orientalisering elements were in service to a harmonising, beautiful whole. However, this marginalises the political potency that such elements bring, even if it is unintended. For example, on the website *Freaking News*, which holds contests where users Photoshop images including paintings, users adapted a variety of Leighton’s best-known works in honour of his birthday.⁴⁴ User midian uploaded their version of *The Music Lesson* (Fig. 13). S/he replaced Syrian guitar with a rocket launcher and obscured the figure’s faces with jihadi-style red balaclavas. While the memeification of this image is intended to show off the user’s Photoshop skills, it is also clear that, for them, Leighton’s evocation of the medieval Islamic world is connected to contemporary associations with terrorism. As a result, this study takes on board the fast-changing political and economic dimensions of the inter-imperial relationship between the British and Ottoman Empires, the status of Islam in the Victorian world and the turn towards our modern day understanding of the Arab world and the Middle East across this period.

Eastern Questions: Orientalism After Said

At the methodological heart of most studies of Western figures in Eastern contexts is Edward Said’s landmark publication, *Orientalism* (1978), and the generation of thinkers it subsequently inspired. Said famously redefined the notion of Orientalism, transforming its definition in the academy from the nineteenth-century university chairs who studied the linguistics and geography of Oriental peoples and countries⁴⁵ to the dominant ideology by which European intellectuals experienced, formed and transmitted knowledge of a supposedly homogeneous East.⁴⁶ For a thesis written forty years after *Orientalism*’s publication, its legacy continues to loom large,

⁴² Thomas O. Beebee, *The Ideology of Genre: A Comparative Study of Generic Instability* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 115-16.

⁴³ Elizabeth Prettejohn, *After the Pre-Raphaelites: Art and Aestheticism in Victorian England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 4-6.

⁴⁴ ‘Frederic Leighton Paintings’ *Freaking News*, accessed 1 January 2019, <http://www.freakingnews.com/Frederic-Leighton-Paintings-Pictures--1238.asp>.

⁴⁵ Ian Brown, *The School of Oriental and African Studies: Imperial Training and the Expansion of Learning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 8.

⁴⁶ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2003), 39-40.

especially in light of Leighton's position and status in Victorian England and through his connections to many of the figures Said analysed. Richard Burton is one such example whose relationship with Leighton I develop and discuss in detail in relation to collecting, Leighton's paintings of Damascus and the portrait, *Sir Richard Francis Burton* (1875) (Fig. 14). Burton is an archetypal Orientalist figure for Said, "exemplified by the struggle between individualism and a strong feeling of national identification with Europe (specifically England) as an imperial power in the East."⁴⁷ This antagonistic duality is also central to understanding the relationship between the Aesthete and the adventurer and how it underpins the formation of Leighton's collection.

Indeed, the thesis reveals how Leighton was situated at the centre of many of the Victorian institutional networks, such as the British Museum, diplomatic administrators, and monarchy which Said established as the structural entities which maintained and enforced the ideologies of Orientalism. Nebahat Avcioglu and Finbarr Barry Flood highlight the role that "privileged individuals" played in facilitating the wider cultural consumption of the Orient.⁴⁸ I argue that the Royal Academy is a relatively overlooked institution in this matrix of Orientalist discourse and bring to the fore the informal networks of Royal Academicians and associates who travelled to the Near East, which differed radically from the Society of Orientalists at the Salon, but, nevertheless, together influenced perceptions of the Near East along the walls of Burlington House.

An important legacy of *Orientalism* is the advent of postcolonial studies such as Homi Bhaba's *Location of Culture* (1994), which introduced notions of hybridity and cross-cultural power dynamics. The thesis looks to this work for understanding the cross-cultural dynamics of the British and the Ottoman Empires, during a period of high cultural exchange, but also the hybridisation of material culture within the Ottoman Empire, an empire of varied peoples and art making practices. This is exemplified in the variety of objects in Leighton's collection including Iznik pottery, Syrian ceramics, Persian and Indian carpets, and Moorish woodwork.

⁴⁷ Said, *Orientalism*, 195.

⁴⁸ Nebahat Avcioglu and Finbarr Barry Flood, 'Introduction: Globalising Cultures: Art and Mobility in the Eighteenth Century' *Ars Orientalis* 39 (2010), 20.

Other postcolonial readers such as Barringer and Flynn's *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum* (1998) centred the art historical applications of Said's work on the intersections of empire and race predominantly in South East Asia. *Colonialism and the Object* focused on the South Kensington project and examined the museum's Indian, Chinese, West Indian, Belgian, Maori, and Congolese collections in relation to the British imperial project. Like Barringer, I foreground the importance of Leighton's role in the South Kensington Museum and demonstrate the intersection of the artist's collecting habits and the museum's Ottoman, Persian, and Mughal collections. Leighton was keenly aware of the debates going on within design reform circles about the role of Islamic art in British art and design and I bring attention to the way in which his odalisque paintings interrelates with these subjects and his own mediation between the 'decorative' and 'fine' arts distinctions. Furthermore, I reveal how he restaged one of odalisque paintings in his fresco for the museum, *The Arts of Industry As Applied to Peace* (Fig. 15).

Many of the studies which affirm the efficacy of *Orientalism* also acknowledge many of the criticisms levelled against it. For the purposes of art history, Said's literary study is famously limited in its applications to Orientalist visual culture. Linda Nochlin's *The Imaginary Orient* (1989) bridged the gap between literature and art history and brought about new critical studies of Orientalist artists and visual culture. However, MacKenzie's *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (1995) raised important questions as to the rigour and historical accuracy of Said's polemic across a study of the arts. MacKenzie also draws out the unique elements of studying Orientalism in relation to the visual arts, as a style and a theme, which "passed through a variety of phases, phases that can be demarcated by subject-matter, style ideology, and national affiliation."⁴⁹

By far, the largest shift I call for in reframing our understanding of Leighton's Orientalism is to read his encounter with Orientalism as mediated through his travels to the Ottoman Empire. Once again, this moves away from the East-West Saidean

⁴⁹ John MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 44.

binary and instead studies the histories and material culture of one of the most significant global empires in the world. M. Sukru Hanioğlu describes the extent of Ottoman Empire at the turn of the nineteenth century as stretching from, “Algeria to Yemen, Bosnia to the Caucasus, and Eritrea to Basra, encompassing a vast area inhabited by some 30 million people.”⁵⁰

The chronological framework of the thesis follows some of the most important historical events between British and Ottoman diplomatic relations and demonstrates how Leighton’s access to the region was highly dependent on open channels of communication between monarchies and governments. In the wider context, and in addition to technological and communication innovations, these positive relations led to the first mass tourism movement to the Ottoman Empire and Egypt, which functioned as a semi-autonomous state in the period. Leighton’s travels are contextualised by popular interest in the Near East. Often, artist-travellers were used as a template for middle-class visitors, who used their art as a method of planning and then reflecting on their own journeys.⁵¹

A focus on the Ottoman Empire also situates Leighton in an altogether different imperial context, echoing Elizabeth A. Fraser’s call to “decentre European imperial narratives by exploring Western figures within the context of Eastern empires.”⁵² Similarly, in a nod to Faroqhi’s *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It* (2004), I shift focus onto Leighton’s time outside of London and furthermore, away from the metropole of Istanbul into the further reaches of the Ottoman territories.⁵³

Ottoman studies has flourished in the disciplines of history and travel studies, however, it has remained largely absent from art history, despite a more global turn in the discipline at the turn of the century. Roberts’ work is the single most important art historical contribution to this field and has transformed understanding of nineteenth-century Orientalism and its intersection with Ottoman visual and material

⁵⁰ M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 7.

⁵¹ See Debra N. Mancoff, *David Roberts: Travels in Egypt and the Holy Land* (San Francisco: Pomegranate, 1999), 9.

⁵² Elizabeth A. Fraser, *Mediterranean Encounters* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), 3.

⁵³ Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It* (London: IB Tauris, 2004).

culture. I develop Roberts' reading of "networked objects" to track the conditions of mobility between the Ottoman and British Empires with regards to Leighton's collecting.⁵⁴ I build on her study of the resistant materiality of the Arab Hall by moving in a different direction, beyond the Hall and into the rest of the house, to explore the Ottoman material histories of other parts of Leighton's collection.⁵⁵ Similarly, Roberts offers an innovative way of understanding Orientalism by examining cross-cultural networks of artistic practice.⁵⁶ Large parts of the thesis' methodological framework are indebted to her scholarship and this study would look remarkably different without her work. My study differs from Roberts' work by studying Leighton's position within British Orientalism – through his British Orientalist networks at the Royal Academy, his connections to the diplomat class and the monarchy – and how he resolved that position through his engagement with European Orientalism.

Juxtaposing Leighton amongst other British Orientalists also highlights some of the unique aspects of his travelling. Most notably, unlike Hunt or Roberts, Leighton never made a trip to the Holy Lands, a key motivator for many British travellers in the period. This has put Leighton's Biblical paintings beyond the scope of this thesis, but nevertheless his religious painting in relation to the Protestant strand of British Orientalism that Hunt promulgated remains open for further study.

Throughout the thesis, Lewis is an important counterfoil for Leighton's Orientalism.⁵⁷ Roughly a generation apart, Lewis had already returned from his ten-year residency in Cairo by the time Leighton debuted at the Royal Academy. The pioneering study by Emily M. Weeks, *Cultures Crossed: John Frederick Lewis and the Art of Orientalism* (2015) demonstrated the dynamic and largely post-Saidean ways a British artist could be studied in the context of their Eastern travels.⁵⁸

However, Weeks' book along with earlier research by Briony Llewellyn and Roberts has weighted Lewis as the predominant figure of critical interest for British

⁵⁴ Mary Roberts, 'Networked Objects' *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 45 (2013), 570.

⁵⁵ Mary Roberts, 'The Resistant Materiality of Frederic Leighton's Arab Hall' in *British Art Studies* 9 (2018), accessed 9 August 2018, <https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-09/mroberts/000>.

⁵⁶ Roberts, *Istanbul Exchanges*, 2.

⁵⁷ Barringer, 'Orientalism and Aestheticism', 243-257.

⁵⁸ Emily M. Weeks, *Cultures Crossed: John Frederick Lewis and the Art of Orientalism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015).

Orientalism.⁵⁹ This study differs by focusing on an equally dynamic artist for whom Orientalism was a part of a wide range of stylistic tendencies that he could draw upon.

Another position on Orientalism is also fast emerging, facilitated by the global art market and the concentration of economic power in certain Middle Eastern countries. Many of the best-known Orientalist works of the nineteenth century have been bought by people of Arabic and Levantine descent, the very same people Said purported are not authentically represented by these images. For example, Leighton's paintings are now represented in collections in Abu Dhabi, Qatar and India. These collectors and institutions call for a reevaluation of Orientalism which moves away from the Saidean framework that has informed studies over the past forty years. Syed Mokhtar Albukhary, chairman of the Albukhary Foundation, which recently opened a new set of Islamic galleries in the British Museum and collaborated on the exhibition, *Inspired by the East: How the Islamic World Influenced Western Art*, calls for audiences to "put aside the prejudices that come with terms like 'Orientalist' and try to see the world as these artists saw it [...] it is our greatest hope that this should also be the start of a more equitable world."⁶⁰ Another example of British Orientalism in Middle Eastern collections is the work of Lewis now in the Shafik Gabr collection.⁶¹ In his catalogue, Gabr proposes a redefinition of Orientalism as: "The art of face to face engagement between East and West, of listening, looking and learning with the objective of understanding cultural, religious and ideological differences to allow for a better world by constructing bridges of understanding between all the peoples of this Earth."⁶² While Gabr is a collector and not a scholar, his and Albukhary's perspectives represent an important aspect of "speaking back" to the dominant Western scholarship on Orientalist painting.⁶³ My study answers Gabr's call to listen, look and learn about Orientalism differently to previous studies

⁵⁹ See Briony Llewellyn, *John Frederick Lewis: Facing Fame* (Compton: Watts Gallery Publishing, 2019) and Roberts, *Intimate Outsiders*, 17-56.

⁶⁰ William Greenwood and Lucien de Guise, *Inspired by the East: How the Islamic World Influenced Western Art* (London: British Museum Publishing), 7.

⁶¹ Shafik Gabr has an extensive Orientalist painting collection. For more see, Gerald M. Ackerman and Shafik Gabr, *Masterpieces of Orientalist Art: The Shafik Gabr Collection* (Paris: ACR Editions, 2012).

⁶² Briony Llewellyn, *The Art of John Frederick Lewis from the Shafik Gabr Collection* (London: The Shafik Gabr Collection, 2018), 8.

⁶³ Zeynep Çelik, 'Speaking Back to Orientalist Discourse' in *Orientalism's Interlocutors: Painting, Architecture and Photography*, (eds.) Jill Beaulieu and Mary Roberts (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 21-22.

and uses Leighton as a dynamic, complicated figure in order to explore artist-travellers and Orientalists.

Chapter 1

Beyond the Arab Hall: Acquisition, Curation, Displays

A number of articles in the popular press, including weeklies such as the *Pall Mall Budget* and *The Building News* published stories in early 1881 which shared the “Arab magnificence”⁶⁴ of the Leighton’s newest addition to his Holland Park home, the Arab Hall. Leighton retained his architect, George Aitchison for the project which began in 1878 with a large extension to the existing house connected by a short corridor known as the Narcissus Hall (Fig. 16). Already a notable studio-house in fashionable Holland Park, Leighton’s design and decoration of the Arab Hall elevated the reputation of the house even further as an architectural space that synthesized ideals of the House Beautiful held amongst Aestheticist circles and the Arts and Crafts movement.⁶⁵

However, when Mary Elizabeth Haweis, the interior decoration doyenne, came to visit the studio-house as part of her series on artist’s homes for *The Queen Magazine*, descriptions of the Arab Hall paled in comparison to other elements of Leighton’s Islamic art collection she found elsewhere in the house.⁶⁶ In her article, Haweis noted with regularity the objects she encountered beyond the Arab Hall. “The deep shades of the corners are filled with *tarsia* work⁶⁷ and porcelain...an Egyptian jug red copper, marks the balance of form and accentuates the angles.”⁶⁸ On the walls there were “shelves of Persian plates [...]”⁶⁹ In the dining room she found, “perpendicular rows of Persian plates [...] and on either side of the mantel piece stand a pair of curious old Arab Chairs.”⁷⁰ Even upstairs in the studio, there were more objects to behold (Fig. 17). “The studio is a great room [;] an Eastern carpet cuts the arch between into two sections.”⁷¹ In her effort to communicate to her readers the visual

⁶⁴ Maurice B. Adams, ‘Artists’ Homes, No. 8 - Sir Frederick Leighton’s House and Studio’ *The Building News* (1 Oct. 1880), 384.

⁶⁵ Dakers, *The Holland Park Circle: Artists and Victorian Society*, 118.

⁶⁶ For more on Haweis, see Bea Howe, *Arbiter of Elegance* (London: The Harvill Press, 1967).

⁶⁷ A type of wood inlaying, developed in the Middle East in the ninth and tenth centuries, using ivory, silver and other precious metals. Most likely she is referring to the two Moorish caskets in the collection.

⁶⁸ Mary Eliza Haweis, *Beautiful Houses: Being a Description of Certain Well-Known Artistic Houses*. (London: Printed by S. Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1882), 3.

⁶⁹ Haweis, *Beautiful Houses*, 4.

⁷⁰ *ibid.*

⁷¹ Haweis, *Beautiful Houses*, 9.

richness of her visit to the studio-house, Haweis felt compelled to note the sheer dominance of Near Eastern objects and her language vacillates between several distinctions: Persian, Arab, Egyptian, each with a different set of Orientalist associations.

It is clear from her description that Persian, Arab and Egyptian wares were not confined to the Arab Hall but seemed to be displayed throughout out the house, serving individual functions in each of the rooms. During Leighton's lifetime, visitors of at all levels of society - journalists like Haweis, literary writers like Vernon Lee, and fellow artists were all caught up in the "remarkable museum" of Islamic art objects that were on display.⁷² However, this relish for the abundance of Islamic objects is lost in more recent writing on Leighton House and an emphasis on his Western and contemporary art collection has taken to the fore.⁷³ Considerations of the house's international contexts have also skewed towards European centres for example in Campbell's analysis, its links with Renaissance and Parisian studio-house counterparts.⁷⁴

A survey of the contemporary scholarship on Leighton House reveals a weighted emphasis on the Arab Hall as the singular area for considering Leighton's collection of Islamic art objects, collected across the decades of his travel to the Near East. The Arab Hall has always shone as the beacon of Leighton's Orientalism, a "little world of its own"⁷⁵ where East is transplanted to West and "where the visitor could study Orientalism" and become "'infused" with the best influences of Eastern art in decoration".⁷⁶ This bias is especially notable when compared to broader accounts by Haweis, Maurice B. Adams, Harry How and photographs of the studio-house that

⁷² Maurice B. Adams, *Artist's Homes: A Portfolio of Drawings Including the Houses and Studios of Several Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects*. (London: B.T. Batsford, 1883), 5.

⁷³ At the 2016 National Gallery exhibition, *Painter's Paintings* Leighton's Corot paintings were described as a tool to convey the artist's "power and prestige" and that paintings were incorporated into the architectural scheme of the house, "and held pride of place in the ground-floor drawing room, alerting his visitors to his refined taste and cosmopolitan background" Accessed 4 August 2016, <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/whats-on/past/painters-paintings/painters-paintings-in-the-collection>.

⁷⁴ Louise Campbell, 'Decoration, Display, Disguise: Leighton House Reconsidered' in *Frederic Leighton, Antiquity, Renaissance, Modernity*, (eds.) Tim Barringer and Elizabeth Prettejohn (New Haven & London, 1999), 267-293.

⁷⁵ Harry How, 'No. XIV - Sir Frederic Leighton, PRA' *The Strand Magazine: An Illustrated Monthly* 4 (July-December 1892): 126.

⁷⁶ Droth, 'Leighton's House: Art in the Studio and Beyond', 344.

survive which reveal the full extent of the collection across multiple rooms in the house and pushes back at Campbell's suggestion that areas of orientalist décor were "peripheral to both the main working and living spaces."⁷⁷

The scholarship on Leighton House largely confines the Near Eastern presence in Leighton House only to the surfaces of the Arab Hall. When the collection is referred to, the blue-and-green 'Damascus' tiles of Syrian and De Morgan origin take precedence as the noteworthy objects. Roberts' recent article on the Arab Hall tiles explored the ways in which to connect these objects back to their original Ottoman makers and I extend her interest in Ottoman material history by attending to other, similarly produced objects in the house.⁷⁸ Following the restoration of Leighton House in 2010, the tiles in the Arab Hall have become the curatorial focal point for transmitting information about Leighton's travels to the Near East.⁷⁹ Equally, scholarship that has focused on De Morgan's role in the construction of the Hall have shifted focus from Leighton's collecting programme to De Morgan's practice as the crucible for debates about the function of tiles and mosaics within the decorative arts.⁸⁰

However, what is lost in the preoccupation with the Arab Hall's tiles as the mainstay of Leighton's collection is the hundreds of different types of art objects he bought travelling through the Ottoman Empire. Previous investigations into the Arab Hall often attempt to prove a "statement of Leighton's aims and identity" by discovering insights through a single interior and have not considered these external objects, most of which were not tiles.⁸¹ This approach has created a central debate about the porous boundaries of Leighton House in relation to his public and private life as seen in Edwards' study on the erotics of Leighton House⁸² and Stephenson's analysis of

⁷⁷ Campbell, 'Decoration, Display, Disguise: Leighton House Reconsidered', 286.

⁷⁸ Roberts, 'The Resistant Materiality of Frederic Leighton's Arab Hall'.

⁷⁹ See Cllr. Nicholas Paget-Brown, *Closer to Home: The Restoration of Leighton House Catalogue of the Reopening Displays, 2010* (Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea: Leighton House Museum, 2010).

⁸⁰ For more on De Morgan, see Rob Higgins and Christopher Stolbert Robinson, *William De Morgan: Arts and Crafts Potter* (Oxford: Shire, 2010), J.M.R. Greenwood, *The Designs of William De Morgan: A Catalogue* (Ilminster: Richard Dennis and William E. Wiltshire III, 1989) and Jon Catleugh, Elizabeth Aslin and Alan Calger-Smith, *William De Morgan Tiles* (Somerset: Richard Dennis, 1991).

⁸¹ Campbell, 'Decoration, Display, Disguise: Leighton House Reconsidered', 267.

⁸² Jason Edwards, 'The Lessons of Leighton House: Aesthetics, Politics, Erotics' in *Rethinking the Interiors, c. 1867-1896* (eds.) Jason Edwards and Imogen Hart (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), 88.

Leighton's cultivation of a public, masculine artistic identity.⁸³ My approach instead argues for the inextricable connection between Leighton's travels and his collection with a focus on objects and displays outside the Arab Hall. I move beyond the Arab Hall in three distinct contexts: first, into the other rooms of Leighton House, then, onto Damascus and through Leighton's partnership with Burton and finally, into the Islamic art collections of museums and exhibitions in London.

Rather than relying on European dealers to furnish his home, Leighton played multiple roles in the development of his collection by travelling across the Ottoman Empire, the Aegean Islands and North Africa to acquire objects himself. He also relied on a few select men, educated and experienced travelers like himself, who supplemented purchases for him. The simple act of taking stock of the objects amassed on his travels constitutes a reevaluation of these trips as artistic endeavors like his painting on the Nile, the subject of the next chapter. His display and dissemination of these objects around Leighton House integrates them as a curated artistic project and brings his identity as a collector, thus far largely discussed only in relation to European painting, to the fore.⁸⁴

As Droth problematizes, there is an inherent challenge to taking stock of the contents of Leighton House and its ability to act as a reliable document in its present incarnation as a restored museum.⁸⁵ The majority of the original collection was sold off after Leighton's death in January 1896 and much of the inventory is now untraced. The resulting loss of this collection has obscured the fact Leighton was a prodigious collector and a key visual element to Leighton House has been lost by not being able to see this multitude of objects in situ.⁸⁶ Writing about these objects today necessitates an imaginative approach to the remaining source material. Following Leighton's death, the executrices of his will, his sisters Mrs. Sutherland Orr and Mrs. Matthews along with close friend and biographer Mrs. Barrington, organised an

⁸³ Andrew Stephenson, 'Leighton and the Shifting Repertoires of 'Masculine' Artistic Identity in the Late Victorian Period' in *Frederic Leighton: Antiquity, Renaissance, Modernity*, (eds.) Tim Barringer and Liz Pettejohn (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 221-246.

⁸⁴ See Pola Durjaska, 'The Artistic Economy of the House': Frederic Leighton as a Collector of Contemporary Art.' (MA Thesis, University of Glasgow, 2016).

⁸⁵ Droth, 'Art in and Beyond the Studio', 341.

⁸⁶ Anne Anderson, 'Lost Treasures, Lost Histories, Lost Memories: Reconstructing the Interiors of Lord Frederic Leighton's Studio-House' *Interiors* 2, no. 1 (2011): 70.

auction of Leighton's possessions to raise funds to open the house as a museum.⁸⁷ Auctioneers Christie, Manson and Woods produced a catalogue for the sale which took place in July 1896.⁸⁸ I utilise this archival source in order to 'reimagine' the collection. By using the descriptions of objects in the catalogue, my strategy is to visualize the objects from their descriptions and then imaginatively interpret those that have been lost. I also compare Leighton's collection to other, similar collections that were being formed in Britain at the same time. This method pivots from positioning Leighton House in the context of local artistic networks and other studio-homes in studies such as Gere and Dakers to see how his collection is situated in a museological context.⁸⁹

The objects displayed across the rest of the house have typically not been considered a cohesive collection, bifurcated from the Arab Hall's contents, and instead framed as interior decoration or, in a term seemingly intended to disparage, as souvenirs.⁹⁰ Even taken as souvenirs, however, they are ones that are active in communicating the significance of collecting Islamic art in the period. In the context of the Near East, according to Renato Rosaldo, the souvenir has the potential to invoke an "Imperialist nostalgia"⁹¹, as an object that "interiorizes the Other, arrests time and appropriates space."⁹², akin to Nochlin's account of Orientalist painting.⁹³ However, Nochlin's seminal thinking only examines the genre of painting. A three-dimensional and material approach considers how these Imperial souvenirs are housed in a purpose-built space as a curated collection. This goes further than just reflecting Leighton's sustained interest in the Near East and opens these objects to a museological interpretation, under the direction of Leighton as curator and owner.

⁸⁷ Mrs. Russell Barrington, 'Lord Leighton's House and What It Contains' *Magazine of Art* (October 1899), 529-34.

⁸⁸ Christie, Manson and Woods, *The Studio Sale of Frederic, Lord Leighton, PRA (1830-1896)* (London: Christie's, 1996).

⁸⁹ Charlotte Gere, *Artistic Circles: Design and Decoration in the Aesthetic Movement*. (London: V&A Publishing, 2010).

⁹⁰ Anderson, 'Lost Treasures, Lost Histories, Lost Memories', 77.

⁹¹ Renato Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis*. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992), 70.

⁹² John Goss, 'The Souvenir and Sacrifice in the Tourist Mode of Consumption' in Carolyn Cartier and Alan Lew, *Seductions of Place: Geographical Perspectives on Globalisation and Touristed Landscapes*. (London: Routledge, 2004), 56.

⁹³ Nochlin, 'The Imaginary Orient', 39.

The three sections of this chapter which each move beyond the Arab Hall in a different location and context, develop a new methodology to study Leighton's collecting practice, themed around issues of acquisition, partnerships and display. The first section delves into parts of the collection other than tiles, namely ceramics and carpets, to reveal how the collection engaged in key contemporary debates on Ottoman material culture. These objects are closely connected with narratives emerging in the nineteenth century formulated by imperial, Ottoman circles about the empire's own history. Leighton travelled directly to key Ottoman centres of production and began collecting notable objects of importance to the Ottomans. Mainly and importantly, the bulk of these objects were not tiles, but blue-and-white Iznik ceramics. These objects on display in Leighton House made direct reference to these production centres such as Bursa, synthesising interior design and the memories of travel alongside a previously unattributed engagement with the history of the Ottoman Empire. The second largest part of the collection beyond the Hall are carpets and prayer rugs, of Ottoman, Persian and Indian origin. The carpets were displayed predominantly across the first floor of the house and created a "draped universe"⁹⁴ which prioritized their status as antique objects and decontextualized the prayer rugs' religious function. I bring Morris' Persian carpet collecting and designs for Morris & Co. into dialogue with Leighton's carpets to explore the status of the Persian carpet in Aestheticist and Arts & Crafts circles.

The second section brings issues of acquisition and collecting partnerships to the fore. By questioning the way in which these objects got to Holland Park, Leighton is implicated in issues of Empire and pillaging, an ethical quandary that previous scholars have allowed him to escape relatively unscathed. Leighton's collecting comes in tandem with archaeological discoveries across the Mediterranean and the Ottoman Empire, excavations that Leighton was aware of and made contributions to and I return to in the last chapter in more depth. Many of the objects in the collection come from straightforward transactions, although the overarching legitimacy of these purchases should be questioned as well as the ethics of their removal from their countries of origin. By utilising his connections within the British consular system,

⁹⁴ Lisa Golombek, 'The Draped Universe of Islam' in *Content and Context of Visual Arts in Islam*, (ed.) Priscilla P. Soucek (University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 25-34.

Leighton was also able to use agents connected with consulates to act on his behalf such as Burton to acquire pieces. The method of acquisition deserves attention not only for its implications that Leighton was complicit in the acts of Imperial pillaging but also for understanding how his travelling differed from a tourist or the artist-travellers that came before him. Leighton went to great lengths to acquire these objects to furnish his home. I develop and deepen understanding of Leighton's relationship with Burton, who Said posits as a central figure in *Orientalism*, and do so through an analysis of Leighton's paintings of houses in Damascus. This reading of the Damascus pictures raises the importance of Burton to Leighton's collecting, including but then moving beyond the acquisition of tiles for the Arab Hall. Burton's influence on Leighton's collecting transposes the identity of the solidier-adventurer onto that of the London Aesthete connoisseur.

I read the material surface area of Leighton House as a multi-nationally relevant yet private collection of Ottoman and Persian art objects, growing in tandem with other private and national British collections of Islamic art. Thus, the final section explores how the objects in Leighton's collection were exhibited and in what ways they intersected with and broadened the discourses on Islamic art in Britain. To do so, I use the 1885 *Persian and Arab Art* exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club as a case study. Leighton loaned over forty pieces to the exhibition that included pieces from other leading collectors such as C.D.E. Fortnum⁹⁵, Augustus Wollaston Franks⁹⁶, and George Salting⁹⁷. By exploring these objects on display and alongside one another Leighton's divergent interests in Islamic art will emerge, highlighting the importance of Leighton House as a curated space for these objects, resistant to the terminology that was emerging amongst collector-scholars such as Fortnum and the exhibition's curator, Henry Wallis.

⁹⁵ For more on Fortnum see, Ben Thomas and Timothy Wilson, *C.D.E. Fortnum and the Collecting and Study of Applied Arts and Sculpture in Victorian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

⁹⁶ For more on Franks see, Marjorie Caygill and John F. Cherry, *A.W. Franks: Nineteenth Century Collecting and the British Museum* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1997).

⁹⁷ For more on Salting see, Konstanze Amelie Knittler, *Motivations and Patterns of Collecting: George Salting, William G. Gulland and William Lever as Collectors of Chinese Porcelain*. (PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2011).

Ceramics: Conflicting Cases of Blue-and-White

Following Haweis' writing as if it were a guidebook or a ground plan of the house, one might consider specific rooms and spaces of Leighton House as 'galleries' of Islamic art; moving around the ground floor from the Narcissus Hall into the dining room⁹⁸, then onto the staircase heading upstairs towards the zenana screen, and finally into the studio.⁹⁹ Following this route, the Islamic objects a visitor would encounter most frequently were ceramics, tiles and carpets. The ubiquity of ceramics and other tiles across the rest of the house makes a direct link with the Arab Hall, suggesting the house is, in fact, an extension of the Hall rather than the Hall being an extension of the house. Auguste Choisy, the French architectural historian, made a similar observation when he visited the house commenting "the harmony is so perfect that one asks oneself if the architecture has been conceived for the enamels or the enamels for the Hall."¹⁰⁰ However, the ceramics and tiles found across the rest of the house reveal a much different set of concerns than those previously highlighted in the Hall. The ceramics and tiles in each of these alternative spaces engage with a number of debates that the Hall does not. Firstly, the cosmopolitan, cross-cultural status of ceramics in the period and also the Ottoman origins of Leighton's design scheme.

The single origin point for most of these ceramics, whose diverse names such as 'Rhodian' 'Iznik' 'Persian' and 'Damascus-ware' reveal the complex and long-tread trade routes across the Ottoman Empire, were found in a small city in northeast Turkey: Iznik. Nurhan Atasoy and Julian Raby's study on Iznik pottery reveals that the height of ceramic production in Iznik came around the fifteenth century when the route from Istanbul became more accessible, which resulted in increased patronage from the Sultan's court.¹⁰¹ The city's economy operated on a network of kilns and workshops producing these domestic wares designed by Ottoman court artists known

⁹⁸ During Leighton's lifetime, the main entrance to the house was where the library is in the present day. Therefore, a visitor would cross over the threshold into the Narcissus Hall.

⁹⁹ Guidebooks for museums and attractions were commonplace in the period. For example, see the variety of guidebooks written for the Crystal Palace at Sydenham which helped to navigate visitors through a series of courts designed to tell a history of the world's art and design, including the Alhambra Court, Owen Jones' vision of the Islamic world and altogether different from the Islamic art found in Leighton House.

¹⁰⁰ Barrington, 'Lord Leighton's House and What It Contains', 531.

¹⁰¹ Nurhan Atasoy and Julian Raby, *Iznik: The Pottery of Ottoman Turkey* (London: Alexandria Press and Laurence King, 1994), 14.

as *nakkas*. The colours of these works varied greatly but their most famous iterations which British collectors sought most fervently were blue-and-white with highlights of greens and turquoise, purple and black, produced from around 1520 to 1545.

These prized blue-and-white ceramics appeared in Leighton's collection and are typically referred to in the Christie's catalogue as Rhodian or Iznik wares, terminology which I return to later in my analysis. Moving into the dining room, a selection of Leighton's ceramics including bowls, jugs, plates and ewers were displayed on a sideboard against the south-facing wall designed by Aitchison and built by the firm Gillows of Lancaster (Fig. 18).¹⁰² Alongside these Ottoman objects, Haweis describes the sideboard as holding "a crowd of china on the shelves, blue Nankeen, Iznik ware, and old English, which tell pale, and by a pretty little silver coffee service of Turkish work."¹⁰³ She continued "On either side [of] the mantelpiece stand a pair of curious old Arab chairs, wide and square, and too high in the seat that a footstool forms part of the construction. They are made of open cane work, and panels of looking-glass are affixed upon the backs and arms – fit to reflect back the rows of jewels and broidery [sic] that might have adorned the shoulders of their fair first owners."¹⁰⁴ The ebonized sideboard and cane work chairs recall the Japanist furniture of designer, Edward William Godwin.¹⁰⁵ In 1878, Godwin and Whistler collaborated on *The Butterfly Cabinet* (1878) (Fig. 19), a mahogany cabinet with panels painted by Whistler.¹⁰⁶ While there was no pottery exhibited in the cabinet at the 1878 Universal Exhibition in Paris the collaborative nature of the piece between artist and architect and its Far Eastern aesthetic is comparable to the Aitchison sideboard. The description of Leighton's Arab chairs also sounds similar to the Egyptian-style chairs which Hunt commissioned from J.G. Crace in 1875 which were "inlaid with ivory and ebony."¹⁰⁷ Similar to Hunt's commission, Leighton was

¹⁰² The Aitchison sideboard was sold in 1896 Christie's auction and sadly remains untraced. In September 2016, Leighton House Museum commissioned the furniture designer, Luke Hughes to recreate the piece and it is now on display where the original sideboard was placed in the dining room. See 'Leighton House Museum Hand-Crafting the Victorians: New Commission by Luke Hughes & Leighton House Museum Unveiled' *The London Design Festival* 22 September 2016, accessed 5 November 2016, <http://www.londondesignfestival.com/events/victorian-design-commission-21st-century>

¹⁰³ Haweis, *Beautiful Houses*, 9.

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ For more on Godwin see, Susan Weber Soros, *E.W. Godwin: Aesthetic Movement Architect and Designer* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999).

¹⁰⁶ Lambourne, *The Aesthetic Movement*, 64.

¹⁰⁷ Richard Ormond, 'Holman Hunt's Egyptian Chairs' *Apollo* 82 (1965), 55-58.

exacting in his details to Aitchison “about shape, size, and decoration of the [sideboard]”¹⁰⁸.

Like De Morgan’s complimentary pieces to the Syrian tiles in the Arab Hall, authentic and reconstructed pieces are displayed alongside one another to create a cohesive, aestheticized whole. However, in Haweis’ description, the contents of the dining room are delineated by nationality: Iznik, Chinese, English, Turkish and Arab. The sideboard was a purpose-built space for display, like the Arab Hall, but functioned differently from the unifying category of the ‘Arab’. Instead of displaying these objects in isolation, Leighton used the interconnectedness of two types of British Orientalism – that of the Near and Far Easts - to broaden the global scope of the Aestheticist decorative scheme, and to challenge the values surrounding the cult of Old Blue and Aestheticism’s championing of a singular Far East Asian aesthetic.

Anderson identifies Leighton as a member of the cult of Old Blue, competitively buying up sixteenth-and-seventeenth examples of Chinese porcelain alongside other notable artist-collectors such as Rossetti, Whistler, and William Morris.¹⁰⁹ The blue-and-white craze has been identified by Lionel Lambourne as a key component of Aestheticism’s interest in the decorative arts and traced primarily to Chinese and Japanese examples.¹¹⁰ Such wares embodied the perception of the exotic nature of Oriental design but also signalled to the long lineage of Chinese porcelain in the eighteenth-century British interior. Through artists such as Whistler, Rossetti and Moore blue-and-white porcelain began to appear as props in paintings, an example of which is Moore’s *A Venus* (1869) (Fig. 20), supporting the argument that these were the ceramics of Aestheticism.

Anderson is ultimately only able to trace “one set of six fluted Chinese porcelain plates” (Lot 353) and “one fluted bowl with flowering asters” (Lot 337) through the

¹⁰⁸ Staley, *Lord Leighton*, 69-70.

¹⁰⁹ For more on the Cult of Old Blue see, Stacey Pierson, *Collectors, Collections and Museums: The Field of Chinese Ceramics in Britain, 1560-1960* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007), 62-71. For more on Rossetti’s blue-and-white see, Laurence Roussillon-Constanty, ‘From the *House of Life* to the *Decorative Arts*: Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Ceramics’ *Miranda* 7 (2012). DOI : 10.4000/miranda.4436. For more on Whistler’s blue-and-white see, Daniel E. Sutherland, *Whistler: A Life for Art’s Sake* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 71-84. For more on Morris’ blue-and-white see, Linda Parry, *William Morris* (London: V&A Publishing, 1996), 183-184.

¹¹⁰ Lambourne, *The Aesthetic Movement*, 49-60.

auction catalogue. Upstairs, behind the studio, several broken Chinese porcelain pieces, depicting courtesans, were inlaid in the fireplace where models would change. On the other hand, the Rhodian wares alone number nearly forty lots at the auction, in addition to another twenty-two Iznik pieces. This suggests that the Chinese Old Blues were intended to compliment the far greater number of Ottoman examples rather than a cultish obsession with former. In this choice, Leighton confronts a widely-held belief in Aestheticist circles that Chinese and Japanese ceramics are the superior blue-and-white.¹¹¹ His blue-and-white Iznik pottery framed within Leighton House's interior, considered to be a leading example amongst Aesthetic interiors, shifts the blue-and-white perspective from the Chinese and Japanese examples of Whistler and Rossetti to Ottoman wares and reframes our understanding of the associations between Aestheticism and Orientalism.

While Iznik tiles became a staple in the Orientalist painting of artists such as Gérôme, Iznik ceramics rarely, if ever, appeared in Aestheticist painting, with the exception of *A Persian Pedlar* as an early example by Leighton. Iznik ceramics were perceived as the newer and perhaps, for Leighton, more avant-garde choice to collect and display, different from his fellow artist-collectors. Returning to the dining room, the ebonised sideboard becomes a contact zone between interrelated but distinct sets of blue-and-white pottery.¹¹² The visual debate between these three sets of blue-and-white stage an encounter with overlapping, iterations of the decorative East and the reception of those aesthetics in British design in the case of the Old English wares. Leighton's collecting project incorporated a much broader sense of the Orient, both Near and Far, with ceramics as the unifying craft tradition between them. While he Arab Hall demonstrates the elevation of Ottoman objects over other craft traditions, a judgement based in part on his substantial travels to the Ottoman lands where they were produced, the dining room display poses new possibilities for understanding Leighton House as a set of interiors engaged with different iterations of the decorative East.

¹¹¹ Anderson, 'Coming out of the China Closet', 133.

¹¹² Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 1-12.

By 1880, Leighton had collected over a thousand tiles, the most recognisable part of the collection as a result of their installation in the Arab Hall.¹¹³ Moving from the dining room and onto the staircase leading to the first floor, however, one encounters a wall inlaid with several sets of tiles (Fig. 21). A Moorish casket has been converted into a comfortable seat, with embroidered upholstery by Gertrude Jekyll, to sit and view the wall. It is an unusual viewing spot, in the middle of a staircase, but the placement of the seat suggests it is an important one that should be viewed for an extended period of time.

Since its owner's lifetime, the Near Eastern influence of Leighton House has conjured comparisons to *The Arabian Nights*, a text that had become central by this point in Victorian receptions of the Orient.¹¹⁴ Even one of the eventual contributors to the Arab Hall, Walter Crane, published an illustrated edition of *Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves* in 1873, presenting a pictorial inventory of the world of the *Nights*. The captain of the Forty Thieves plots revenge in a warehouse that could be mistaken for an overcrowded Leighton House (Fig. 22). He is surrounded by a multitude of objects: pots, carpets, swords, sabres, jewels, lanterns, furniture, and gold. *The Arabian Nights*, though a potent fantasy in the British imagination at the time, remains an unsatisfactory comparison when compared with Leighton's actual travels across the Ottoman Empire, whose territories extended well beyond the imaginary borders of the story's fabled kingdom. The tiled wall on the staircase provides a different context with which to tie together the sources of the collection, based on the architecture of an Ottoman city. Unlike the Arab Hall where tiles are drawn from multiple origin points, the tiles on the staircase all originate from one city in Turkey: Bursa. In November 1867, Leighton visited Bursa, a former capital of the Ottoman Empire and in the nineteenth century, the centre of a series of historicizing reforms by Ottoman officials.

The rich cultural heritage of the city, its buildings covered with Iznik tiles (a neighbouring city), was highly valued by a number of European and Turkish artists.

¹¹³ Daniel Robbins and Reena Suleman, *Leighton House Museum: Holland Park Road, Kensington*. (Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea: Leighton House Museum, 2005), 24.

¹¹⁴ For more see, Saree Makdisi and, Felicity Nussbaum, *The Arabian Nights in Historical Context: Between East and West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

The Yeşil Camii mosque in the heart of the city became a focal point for artists, translating ideas of Ottoman national heritage transnationally. By tracing Leighton's travels a far more concrete route can be established to his collection, further embedding the interior design of Leighton House with references to Ottoman visual culture. This analysis focuses the sources of the collection in a way that has not been done before, while still accounting for the eclecticism that forms a vital part of its Anglo-Ottoman identity.

In July 1867, 350 medals were struck and presented at a party at the Guildhall in London¹¹⁵. The medals represented on one side, the bust of Abdülaziz, the Sultan of Turkey, and on the other, the allegorical figures Londonia and Turkey holding hands, behind them the smoking chimneys of industry flanked by St. Paul's Cathedral on the left and Hagia Sofia on the right (Fig. 23). The medals were created by J.S. and A.B. Wyon to commemorate Sultan's visit to London in 1867. This was the first time an Ottoman Sultan visited the British Imperial capital and he was received by Queen Victoria as a fellow head of state on the world stage. As Roberts notes, when the Sultan's photograph was taken at Buckingham Palace by the royal photographer, W&D Downey he presented himself as a modern man (Fig. 24), in opposition to the image of the despotic ruler that had come to characterise previous Turkish sultans, seen for example in Gentile Bellini's *The Sultan Mehmet II* (1480) (Fig. 25), at that time in the collection of Austen Henry Layard.¹¹⁶ The Sultan's visit was a public relations exercise on a grand scale, which he engineered to highlight the success of the Tanzimat reforms. These administrative reforms began in 1839 starting the irrevocable process towards a Westernised and industrialised Ottoman Empire.¹¹⁷ During the Sultan's visit the message was clear: the Ottomans were a changed empire led by a modern man, who was keen to be a player in European politics in the wake of the Crimean War. At the same time as the Sultan was exporting this new image of his country to Britain in July, Leighton was preparing to travel across Turkey in October, collecting a Tanzimat-influenced vision of the Ottoman Empire.

¹¹⁵ Anon. 'The Sultan in England' *The Illustrated London News*, 20 July 1867, 54.

¹¹⁶ Mary Roberts. *Istanbul Exchanges: Ottomans, Orientalists, and Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015), 49.

¹¹⁷ See M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).

Leighton's trip to Turkey in 1867 incorporated a visit to all three historical Ottoman capitals: Bursa, Erdine and Constantinople. The city of Bursa was the first capital of the Ottoman Empire from 1335 to 1363.¹¹⁸ Its proximity to Iznik meant its buildings, both civic and religious, were decorated with examples of fifteenth-century Iznik tiles, the exact kind Leighton collected. Following the departure of the Ottoman court, the most important site in the city became the Yeşil Camii Mosque, commonly known as the Green Mosque (Fig. 26). Commissioned in 1419 by Mehmet I (in which he was interred in 1421) the aesthetic and technical mastery of the mosque rivalled mosques across the Empire, a site of grandeur outside the modern capital, Constantinople. Importantly, this city and the Green Mosque were also cultivated by the Ottomans as examples of the development of Ottoman history in Turkey. As Ahmet Ersoy lays out, at the same time as Abdülaziz was projecting modernity and reform to Londoners, he was also fashioning a cultural lineage with gelled with the Western Imperial concepts of progress and an advance of civilisation.¹¹⁹ One of the paintings Leighton produced during his trip to Bursa, *Courtyard of a Mosque at Broussa* [sic] (1867) (Fig. 9) is in fact not a mosque but a school in the Muradiye Complex where the Green Mosque is also located.¹²⁰ These schools, built at the same time as the Green Mosque, now taught a secular curriculum that prioritised a new Ottoman history; incorporating teaching that fifteenth-century architecture in Bursa was a revival in Ottoman art akin to the Italian Renaissance.¹²¹ The Green Mosque was a unique example of technical and decorative craftsmanship that was “dissociated from the less specific category of the ‘Oriental’ and distinguished as a complete and elaborate stylistic entity in its own right.”¹²² Indeed, the “first true masterpiece of Ottoman architecture” was celebrated and studied by both European and Ottoman artists alike.¹²³

¹¹⁸ See Stotz, Carl Louis. *The Bursa Region of Turkey*. (New York: American Geographical Society, 1939) for a more complete history.

¹¹⁹ Ahmet Ersoy. ‘Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins in the Tanzimat Period’ *Maqarnas* 24: *History of Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the “Lands of Rum”* (Nov. 2007), 128. See also Ahmet Ersoy, *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary: Reconfiguring the Architectural Past in a Modernising Empire* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2015), 185-240.

¹²⁰ Tromans, *Lure of the East*, 135.

¹²¹ Incidentally, while Leighton chose to depict the courtyard fountain, the interior of the school does feature Iznik tiles.

¹²² Ersoy, ‘Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins in the Tanzimat Period’, 128.

¹²³ *ibid.*

Lewis had been an early British traveller to the Green Mosque, visiting in or around November 1841 just before he left for Egypt.¹²⁴ His watercolour, *Interior of the Tomb of Mehmet I* (1841) (Fig. 27) highlights its unique colourful setting. The tomb itself, vermillion and blue is flanked by walls of blue tiles which appear opaque in Lewis' quick rendering.

Gérôme also visited Bursa in June 1875 in the company of two students, the Polish painter Stanislaw Chlebowski and the Ottoman artist, Osman Hamdi Bey. The twelve-day tour produced a "rich harvest of studies" that included the tiled interiors of the Green Mosque.¹²⁵ From this harvest, ten years later, Gérôme would produce his largest and arguably best-known bathing scene, *The Great Bath at Bursa* (1885) (Fig. 28).¹²⁶ Although the interior is based on the Yeni Kaplica baths, another important architectural site, the city left an indelible impact on the famous French Orientalist. Hamdi Bey, who had trained with Gérôme in Paris and was working in Constantinople in 1875, returned to the Green Mosque in the 1880s to paint *Prayer in the Green Tomb* (1881) (Fig. 29).¹²⁷ Hamdi Bey's depiction of the Green Mosque, as Roberts explores, is connected to a sense of Ottoman national politics and the rise of 'Ottomanism'.¹²⁸

An undated sketchbook of Leighton's posthumously titled *Views in the Middle East and Costume Studies* contains a drawing of the tomb room (Fig. 30). It shows a more encompassing view than Lewis sketches and includes seven colourful, elevated caskets (filled with members of the Sultan's family) and a more detailed version of the portal directly behind Mehmet I's casket. The sketch is also similar to Thomas Allom's watercolour *The Mausoleum of Sultan Mahomed, Brusa* [sic] (1838) (Fig. 31), which was published as an engraving in *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor* (1838). Leighton's sketches of the Mosque and his subsequent use of tiles across the house create a tension around the location of

¹²⁴ 'Interior of the Tomb of Sultan Mehmet I, Bursa' *V&A*, accessed 14 December 2016, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O158369/interior-of-the-tomb-of-watercolour-lewis-john-frederick/>.

¹²⁵ *The Levant Herald*, 2 June 1875, 189.

¹²⁶ For more on this painting see, Gerald Ackerman, 'Gérôme's Oriental Paintings and the Western Genre Tradition' *Arts Magazine* 60 (March 1986), 75-80.

¹²⁷ Bey's work, however, resonates with Leighton's own developing Aestheticism in the 1880s. I will return to the implication of the similarity between Leighton's *The Music Lesson* (1877) and Bey's *Two Musician Girls* (1880) in a later chapter.

¹²⁸ Roberts, *Istanbul Exchanges*, 122.

Ottoman national identity. At the exact moment the Sultan, Abdülaziz was projecting a modern and Europeanised Turkey to Britain, Leighton was importing the new national symbol of Ottoman artistic culture: the Iznik tile from its most important cultural centre, Bursa. Though rich in a cultural heritage that was being retroactively established by the Ottoman government, Leighton reinforced what he perceived to be an aesthetically superior past, the Iznik tiles of the Green Mosque, created in the fifteenth century, suggesting the 'march of progress' the Ottomans were seeking to establish. The tiles from Bursa on the staircase play into both Turkish national politics and Anglo-Turkish relations. Tensions are played out between traditional and modern, Oriental and Ottoman. Once again, theatrics and expectation are at play in this space and the tiles work as an authenticating surface - confirming expectations of a 'typical' Orientalist interior but inviting you to move further within the space to then confront the individuated material history of Bursa and Iznik tile work. Leighton relied on real sources like the Green Mosque to selectively iterate his version of Ottoman architecture, reflecting how his travels to Bursa directly influenced his collecting and methods of display.

Moving up the stairs, nine examples of sixteenth-century Syrian hexagonal tiles are surrounded by a sea of turquoise De Morgan tiles on the wall (Fig. 32).¹²⁹ Arriving upstairs on the first floor, before the studio, is a wooden seating area with latticed windows looking out onto the Arab Hall. This is the zenana screen and the final display space I consider with its unique position staging it both beyond and within the Hall (Fig. 33). The zenana, or harem-screen, is an eighteenth-century example Leighton bought in Cairo in 1868. Inside of it, five panels, including both Iznik examples and a set of six calligraphic tiles cover the ceiling that occupies both the Silk Room and the upper story of the Arab Hall (Figs. 34 and 35). Edwards describes the embodied experience of the zenana as an opportunity for visitors to "run their fingers along and against the warp and weft of the zenana screen; push their fingers, hands, fists, faces and heads through the larger, window-like apertures that open within it."¹³⁰ The placement of the zenana screen tiles present a myriad of looking opportunities and its interior is reminiscent of the intimate setting in *The Persian*

¹²⁹ Robbins and Suleman, *Leighton House Museum*, 46.

¹³⁰ Edwards, 'The Lessons of Leighton House: Aesthetics, Politics, Erotics', 90.

Pedlar. One can look outwards to the Arab Hall through a number of the small windows of various sizes framing a new view of the Hall from above (Fig. 36). One gets a more detailed view of the gold dome, stained glass windows and Crane mosaics which are difficult to view when standing in the Arab Hall and looking up. Or one could look within the space behind the screen, upwards decorated with cushions and elevated from the floor with three small steps. Orientalist theatricality is at play - the opium den is invoked in the cushions one would lie on to look upwards at the tiles; the harem too which suggests a private and enclosed space sealed off from interlopers.¹³¹ In chapter 3, I consider the implications of reading the zenana and the Arab Hall as a harem in relation to Leighton's odalisque painting. Looking out beyond the screen in the opposite direction of the Hall is a return the West. Leighton's copy of Michelangelo's *Animation of Adam* is visible over the staircase, an instantly recognisable image from the Western canon. The microcosmic looking in the zenana screen views, through both its windows and within its own space, rewards looking closely at the tiles through a corporeal as well as visual experience, highlighting their function as both architectural and decorative objects.

Through these three spaces beyond the Arab Hall: the dining room, the Bursa wall, and the zenana screen I pose new contexts to think about the role of Ottoman tiles and ceramics in the house. By highlighting previously unaccounted areas of Near Eastern influence of the interiors I have opened a greater number of surfaces and revealed the ways in which they correspond to Leighton's travel and collecting. In this next section, I move onto the second largest part of the collection, carpets and prayer rugs and to another area of the house, the studio.

Persian Carpets: Antiques and Industrialisation

While there is a significant shift in material and function from ceramics, these textiles are an equally important part of the collection and represent the same interest in Ottoman and also Persian and Indian material culture. Leighton owned 48 Persian and Turkish carpets and 14 Persian and Indian prayer rugs. From early descriptions of the house there were large carpets in the dining and drawings room as well as the

¹³¹ For more on Orientalism in the theatre see MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts*, 176-207.

first floor.¹³² In 1883, on a visit to the studio, Hatton noted “the rich rugs that lie here and there, excellent keys for colour.”¹³³ In comparison to the tiled and ceramic surface area, the soft “draped universe” on the walls and floors remains largely unnoticed in the histories of the house.¹³⁴ However, carpets were crucial to the aesthetics of British Orientalist interiors and debates about the production of Near Eastern objects within Arts & Crafts circles.

In a photograph of Leighton’s last works that were sent to the 1896 Royal Academy summer exhibition at least four carpets are laid out on the floor in the studio, intersecting and overlapping just underneath the paintings on display (Fig. 37).¹³⁵ Two carpets are hung on the right-hand side of the room, blocking several of the Nile landscapes on the wall just behind them. The idea of putting carpets on top and in close proximity to one another, not allowing any particular carpet to become the focal point on the floor creates an opportunity for thinking about ‘overlapping’ in an Orientalist context. Victorian catalogues on Eastern carpets are meticulous in their delineation of the minutiae of carpet design and their iconography.¹³⁶ Differences between techniques such as weft, knot, dye and pile were indicators of a carpet’s origins, even specific enough to indicate the exact loom where the carpet was woven. In the auction catalogue, differences in design are noted with the same certainty as the ‘Rhodian’, ‘Iznik’ and ‘Damascus’ ceramics. Included in the Christie’s auction catalogue are “Old Persian prayer rugs”, “Turkish velvets”, “silk rugs”, “Turkey rugs”, “pile rugs” and “A curious tooled gilt leather rug”. When carpets were overlapped and came in contact with one another in the studio, they traversed not only stylistic borders but national ones as well. Large, floor coverings for secular, domestic use are placed next to smaller, personal prayer rugs of Ottoman, Mughal, Safavid or Persian origin. The display of these carpets decontextualises them from their local origin and from the viewers and users, including Leighton, who did not understand their original contexts and functions. However, Leighton’s overlapping

¹³² Dakers, *The Holland Park Circle: Artists and Victorian Society*, 62.

¹³³ Joseph Hatton, ‘Some Glimpses of Artistic London’ *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* 67 (November 1883), 828-50.

¹³⁴ Golombek, ‘The Draped Universe of Islam’ 25.

¹³⁵ For more on Leighton’s final summer exhibition see, Liz Prettejohn, ‘Leighton’s Last Academy’ in Catherine Blake, *Flaming June: The Making of An Icon* (Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea: Leighton House Museum, 2017), 36-49.

¹³⁶ See Walter Hawley, *Oriental Rugs: Antique and Modern*. (London: Constable and Co, 1913).

carpet borders also represents a recontextualisation of these pieces as decorative, hand-crafted art objects within the space of Leighton House, a space for British design experimentation.

The carpets in the studio photograph, hung up to be displayed as a carpet wall, echo Gottfried Semper's ideas on woven fabric as the original iteration of creating space in *Style in the Technical and Tectonic Arts* (1860), an original German copy of which Leighton had in his library.¹³⁷ In the studio, carpets hung on the walls as an alternative surface to the tiles of the Arab Hall downstairs; a variety of textures that lined the walls of the house revealing the diverse material histories of Islamic art through surfaces.

The idea of hanging carpets as a style of tapestry or drapery in a British interior was also taken up by leading Arts and Crafts designer, William Morris.¹³⁸ Morris developed an interest in Near Eastern carpets in the 1860s. His most valuable carpet was a seventeenth-century Safavid example which hung in the dining room of Kelmscott House (Fig. 38). Imogen Hart notes that "the room was dominated by the carpet [...] Rather than fitting architectonically into predetermined spaces, the carpet imposes its own rules."¹³⁹ Like several pieces from Leighton's collection, Morris' Safavid carpet was bought by the South Kensington Museum after his death.

Morris believed that hanging carpets was a solution to "its use as a floor cloth [which] degrades it especially in northern and western countries where people come out of the muddy street into rooms without taking their shoes off."¹⁴⁰ The Muslim etiquette to remove one's shoes before entering a home was more decorous to Morris who saw handwoven carpets as individual art works. Morris brought the influence of Safavid and Persian medallion carpets to bear considerably upon his Hammersmith carpet designs for his Morris & Co in the late 1870s.¹⁴¹ In 1881, the same year the

¹³⁷ Gottfried Semper, *Style in Technical and Tectonic Arts, or Practical Aesthetics*. (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2004), 254.

¹³⁸ Linda Parry, *William Morris Textiles* (London: V&A Publishing, 2013), 104.

¹³⁹ Imogen Hart, 'An 'Enchanted Interior': William Morris at Kelmscott House' in *Rethinking the Interior, c. 1867-1896*, (eds.) Jason Edwards and Imogen Hart (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), 77.

¹⁴⁰ William Morris, 'Textiles', Arts and Crafts Lecture. (op. cit. Parry, *William Morris Textiles*, 105.)

¹⁴¹ Charles Harvey and Jon Press, *William Morris: Design and Enterprise in Victorian Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), 107.

Arab Hall was completed, at 1 Holland Park Road, Morris was installing his medallion *Swan House* carpet (Fig. 39) for the Ionides family. The *Swan House* carpet was directly influenced by the Persian medallion carpets in Morris' collection.

The romantic ideal of a handwoven textile created by a native craftsman appealed to the most famous and politically motivated of the Arts and Crafts designers. However, he acknowledged that he was “a Western man and a picture lover” who was attempting to emulate Eastern design.¹⁴² Morris' romantic ideals on Persian carpets were hinged on the idea that they were made in an Orient that was pre-industrial and immune to technological innovations – a parallel to the European medieval period from which he also derived a great deal of inspiration. From the 1880s onwards, however, the provenance of the Persian carpets circulating in Britain changed dramatically - from handcrafted works to mass produced machine woven carpets reflecting the main point of tension between the Arts and Crafts movement and the industrialisation of craft by institutions such as the South Kensington Museum. Leighton and Morris' carpet collecting fits into this dichotomy and reveals their allegiances to the antique in Islamic art and design.

In 1883, an Anglo-Swiss firm, Ziegler and Co. invested in a small carpet factory in Sultanabad, in an area now known as the birthplace of the Industrial Revolution in Iran.¹⁴³ Capitalising on the interest sparked by Morris' designs and popularity of Persian carpets amongst collectors, Ziegler and Co. began to expand the local industry to accommodate large scale production. By the 1880s there were thousands of active looms and approximately four thousand carpets exported to Europe per annum.¹⁴⁴ Leighton and Morris' collecting of antique carpets (the recurring phrase “Old Persian” listed in the Christie's catalogue indicates most of Leighton's carpets were pre-nineteenth-century, or, presented as such) represents a rejection of the new, industrialised carpets that were flooding the European markets. It also demonstrates the importance of their wealth and connections that enabled them to continue to acquire antique examples.

¹⁴² William Morris, *Some Hints on Pattern Designing: A Lecture Delivered by William Morris at the Working Men's College, London* (10 December 1881).

¹⁴³ Cailah Jackson, 'Persian Carpets and the South Kensington Museum: Design, Scholarship and Collecting in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain' *Journal of Design History* 29, no. 3 (September 2016), 8.

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*

Leighton and Morris connected directly over the preference for antique carpets in their roles as Art Referees for the South Kensington Museum.¹⁴⁵ In their roles as referees, acting as consultants for acquisitions, Leighton and Morris emphatically endorsed the purchase of the Ardabil Carpet in 1893. Inspecting the carpet in Manchester at the Ziegler and Co factory Morris declared it, “singular perfection ... logically and consistently beautiful”¹⁴⁶. Leighton concurred and along with several others contributed £250 to ensure its purchase.¹⁴⁷ Antique carpets resist the contemporary influences of the market, instead collected in opposition to industrially produced carpets. This, of course, was also a rejection of modernity’s presence in the Near East; supposedly a construct that could redeem and progress Western art but heralded the end of Islamic art entirely.¹⁴⁸ Leighton’s carpets function as historical and rare works, worthy of the museum (where they along with Morris’ carpets would end up after their respective deaths) and endorsed as a moral antidote for British design by the Arts & Crafts movement’s leading proponent.

These ideas are exemplified in *Mother and Child (Cherries)* (1865) (Fig. 40), a scene of maternal relations and female domesticity is played out on a Persian carpet. The daughter’s feet are bare in keeping with Eastern etiquette and befitting the preservation of an antique. Newall notes that in the background of the painting there is a Japanese style screen, examples of which were first seen in Paris around 1862.¹⁴⁹ This screen was in the collection from 1864 and listed in the Christie’s catalogue as “A six-fold Japanese screen, painted with storks on a gold ground”, purchased by Alma-Tadema. Leighton inserts a statement about the politics of authenticity of art works and art objects as well as invoking the tension between ‘Near’ and ‘Far’ East hierarchies within the Arts and Crafts and Aestheticism movements as I explored in the dining room. The decorative richness of the painting is directly tied to ideas of an aesthetic programme that prioritises rarity and authenticity through an antique carpet

¹⁴⁵ ‘Art Referees’ *Victoria and Albert Museum, Study Resources*. Accessed 15 October 2016, http://www.vam.ac.uk/data/assets/pdf_file/0006/259917/Art-referees.pdf

¹⁴⁶ William Morris, *The Collected Letters of William Morris, Volume IV: 1893-1896* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 23-24.

¹⁴⁷ Rexford Stead, *The Ardabil Carpets*. (New York: Getty Publications, 1974), 32.

¹⁴⁸ Finbarr Barry Flood, ‘From the Prophet to Postmodernism?: New World Orders and the End of Islamic Art’ in *Making Art History: A Changing Discipline and its Institutions*, (ed.) Elizabeth C. Mansfield (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), 34.

¹⁴⁹ Jones, Newall et. al., *Frederic Leighton*, 137.

and a Japanese lacquered screen. Exoticism is at play here through the carpet and screen on display but the notion of the objects' 'otherness' is tied to the pre-industrial fantasy of the East and the iteration of that fantasy in nineteenth-century British interiors.¹⁵⁰

So far, this chapter has complicated the narrative that has come to underpin Leighton's collection of Near Eastern objects. The original narrative puts forward the idea that Leighton's collecting was simply a means to end for filling the Arab Hall and that those objects stayed confined to the Arab Hall. This approach relegates understanding the whole of Leighton House as a space that conveyed Leighton's travelling to the Near East, connected with specific sites across the Ottoman Empire and in the knowledge of key contemporary debates surrounding Ottoman material and culture histories. My arguments have given due consideration to these connections and pushed back at a number of assumptions about Leighton's design tastes and the status of the collection within Leighton House. Iznik tiles and pottery usurp the place of the Cult of Old Blue in relation to ceramics and Aestheticism. An exploration of Bursa, a key Ottoman artistic production centre which Leighton visited in 1867 has brought new sources to light on the origin and inspiration of the collection and reframed Leighton's engagement with Anglo-Turkish politics and the 'Ottoman' national style. His deliberate choice in collecting pre-nineteenth-century carpets is a reaction to debates being played out in Morris' Arts and Crafts designs, attempting to co-opt a romantic emulation of a pre-industrialised carpet production. My exploration establishes the extended histories of these objects while also restituting their status as travelling objects - from Turkey and Syria to Britain, in and around Leighton House as loose pieces of tile or carpets taken from floor to wall, and as the latter part of this chapter will explore, around London in truncated form exhibited alongside other Islamic art collections.

¹⁵⁰ See also Samantha Timm's reading of the Venetian contexts of *Mother and Child (Cherries)* in 'Textiles, Textures and Cherries' *Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery*, accessed 1 March 2019. <https://blackburnmuseum.org.uk/blog/textiles-textures-and-cherries-frederic-leightons-venetian-aestheticism-in-sumptuous-terms-by-samantha-timm/>

In Damascus: The Burton Partnership

Unlike many collectors of Islamic art in the period, Leighton had little if anything to say in his personal correspondence or Academy addresses about the practice of collecting. Descriptions of the objects are abundant in the ‘at home’ interviews that Leighton conducted with Haweis and others as well as in the illustrations and photographs that accompanied such articles, but there is little in the way of understanding how Leighton conducted transactions while abroad. The most direct comment available from the artist is a letter to his father, Frederic Septimus, in November 1867 after his trip to Turkey, Greece and the Aegean Islands. He wrote,

“Through the assistance of Mr. Bileith (our consul) I had an opportunity, which could never present itself again, of buying a number of beautiful specimens of old Persian faience (Lindos ware), chiefly plates, which will make a delightful addition to my collection of Eastern china and pottery. I know that you, personally, care little for such things, and have small sympathy with purchases of that nature; you will, therefore, be glad to hear that though I spent a considerable sum, knowing that such a chance would never again be given to me, I could, any day, part with the whole lot for at least double - probably treble - what I gave.”¹⁵¹

As the only piece of correspondence that directly references collecting, it highlights several important characteristics to inform our understanding of Leighton’s collecting habits. Firstly, Lindos was an early, important moment in the formation of the collection. A small painting called *Interior of a House at Lindos* (1867) (Fig. 41) corroborates Leighton’s interest in buying plates and pottery on the island.¹⁵² Even at this early stage, only having moved into his house in 1866, he connects these objects and their possible display in a domestic interior. Hallmarks of his later collecting habits are included in the picture – plates, jugs and textiles, further demonstrating his interests were not just constrained to tiles.

¹⁵¹ Barrington, *Life, Letters, and Works* vol. 2, 129.

¹⁵² This setting later reappeared in *Cleobolos Instructing His Daughter Cleoboline* (1871) as the Egyptian home of the Greek philosopher and his prodigy-daughter. Anon. ‘Exhibition of the Royal Academy’ *Illustrated London News* 48 (6 May 1871), 447.

The other aspect of this letter to highlight the role of Mr. Bileith, the consul, played in arranging this purchase. Bileith and consuls across the Mediterranean were connecting buyers with opportunities to purchase archaeological artefacts and art objects.¹⁵³ Many consuls were motivated to supplement their income through trade with local dealers and on behalf of clients in Britain. The market growth and museological interest in Antiquities gave the British consular service a new purview in the late nineteenth century. Charles Newton, curator at the British Museum, worked with the Foreign Office to add language to the official duties of a Consul that included “directing one’s attention” to objects that might be of interest to the British or South Kensington Museums.¹⁵⁴ This period of activity is often understood through the Greek and Roman antiquities that were exported to Britain.¹⁵⁵ However, for consuls in the Islamic world, there was an equally strong imperative to acquire examples of Islamic art and antiquities.

While the scope of this research does not consider their integral role in the export of Antiquities to Britain’s national collections, I am concerned with how the Consular service supported Leighton with the majority of opportunities for acquiring pieces for his collection. Though Leighton’s letter to his father was a personal account of the Lindos ware purchase, the rest of the archival evidence on his collecting habits are written by a wide-ranging network of intermediaries, who share a direct or indirect relationship with the Consular service across the Ottoman Empire. These intermediaries either set Leighton up with sellers or made purchases on his behalf. These transactions are distinct from the way in which other Islamic art collectors acquired and bought pieces. Rather than working through a network of art dealers in Europe, Leighton often relied on long term residents of Ottoman cities, such as the Presbyterian missionary, Reverend William Wright (not to be confused with the Cambridge Arabic professor of the same name) who lived in Damascus for nearly fifteen years. More often, Leighton utilised seasoned travellers with connections to the local Consulate and networks of Ottoman dealers.

¹⁵³ For more see Lucia Patrizio Gunning, *The British Consular Service in the Aegean and the Collection of Antiquities for the British Museum* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2009).

¹⁵⁴ Gunning, *The British Consular Service in the Aegean and the Collection of Antiquities for the British Museum*, 188-189.

¹⁵⁵ For more on this aspect see, Liz Prettejohn, *The Modernity of Ancient Sculpture: Greek Sculpture and Modern Art from Winckelmann to Picasso* (London: IB Tauris, 2012).

Most significant to Leighton's collecting was his relationship with Burton. The relationship between Leighton and Burton has been examined in previous studies by Dakers and more recently, Kim.¹⁵⁶ Both studies trace the relationship between the artist and the writer-explorer from a transactional agreement for Burton to acquire tiles for the Arab Hall in 1869 to a more personal and familiar relationship that resulted in *Portrait of Captain Richard Burton* (Fig. 14) that remained in the house until Leighton's death when it was gifted to the nation. Kim accurately describes the scholarship on the pair as lacking in substance, especially in light of the potential it holds for understanding Leighton the Orientalist.¹⁵⁷

My analysis of the two moves beyond our dominant understanding of tile-hunting for the Hall and the portrait and towards the importance of Burton's legacy on Leighton's trip to Damascus in 1873. This realigns our understanding of Burton as not only a figure that influences Leighton's collecting but also his painting. I explore the Burton-Leighton relationship to its longevity in between periods of tile-hunting and show how the Damascus paintings explored notions of living an Orientalist life in a Near Eastern home.

Leighton's friendship with Burton is remarkable because of its very existence, given their divergent reputations as public figures, and even more compelling in light of this study of Leighton's Orientalism. Dane Kennedy writes of Burton "this famous – and in some circles infamous – Victorian is such an over-sized figure that he seems at first sight almost *sui generis*."¹⁵⁸ His early career was dominated with his achievements as an explorer of the Near East and Central Africa. As the hero of his own tales: he falsely boasted to be the first European man to enter Mecca,¹⁵⁹ survive a Berber raid on his camp,¹⁶⁰ and bring geographers one step closer to discovering

¹⁵⁶ See Dakers, *The Holland Park Circle: Artists and Victorian Society*, 188-206 and Kim, *Painted Men in Britain, 1868-1918: Royal Academicians and Masculinities*, 13-88.

¹⁵⁷ Kim, *Painted Men in Britain*, 45.

¹⁵⁸ Dane Kennedy, *The Highly Civilised Man: Richard Burton and the Victorian World* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2009), 2.

¹⁵⁹ Richard Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1855).

¹⁶⁰ Richard Burton, *First Footsteps in East Africa; Or, An Explanation of Harar*, (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1856).

the source of the Nile,¹⁶¹ encounters with the colonial world were filtered through his entertaining and opinionated prose.

Said characterised this individualism as a rebellion against European systems that attempted to structure knowledge about the Orient.¹⁶² His opinions extended beyond the scholarly and into the realm of Oriental erotica towards the end of his career, though his interest in it began in the earliest days during his service in the East India Company army. His work with fellow Orientalist, Arbuthnot Foster Fitzgerald, whose wife's portrait Leighton painted in 1865 when she was still married to James Guthrie, produced translations of *The Kama Sutra* (1883) *Arabian Nights* (1885), and *The Perfumed Garden* (1886). His reputation in London by this point at its nadir and he was considered a failed Consul and the author of obscenities. After his death in 1890, his wife and lifelong collaborator, Isabel pruned his correspondence and more explicit erotica manuscripts and worked towards reestablishing his reputation as one of the foremost scholarly Orientalists. Leighton's library, while containing multiple sources about the Near East including Edward William Lane's *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (1836), John Gardner Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (1837) and volumes of Baedeker guides to the Near East, does not contain a single Burton title (Fig. 42). This is a fact, I suspect, is tied to these posthumous acts of censorship rather than indicative of a more casual relationship. Being an admirer of Burton, so much so as to have his celebrated portrait displayed in the studio, Leighton surely would have been familiar with Burton's texts, as both a prodigious reader and fellow traveller to the East.

Leighton and Burton first met in Vichy in 1869. Leighton has possibly heard Burton speak on his pilgrimage to Mecca at the Royal Geographical Society in 1859 but from the way Vichy is framed as their first meeting in personal accounts, it seems they had not been formally introduced on that occasion. Leighton was accompanying Mrs. Sartoris on a holiday having spent the previous winter on the Nile. Burton was in Vichy on what can only be described as a drinking holiday with companion Algernon Swinburne, the poet who had recently publicly praised the practice of

¹⁶¹ Richard Burton, *The Lake Regions of Central Africa, A Picture of Exploration* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1860).

¹⁶² Said, *Orientalism*, 190.

sadomasochism and flagellation with direct reference to Burton in *Poems and Ballads* (1866), the second series of which was dedicated to Burton. According to Isabel, Leighton and Burton took to each other immediately. “They were happy days. We made excursions in the day and in the evenings, the conversation, I need not say was brilliant [...] Swinburne recited poetry, Mrs. Sartoris sang to us.”¹⁶³

At Vichy, Leighton and Burton initially discussed purchasing tiles for the Arab Hall.¹⁶⁴ Vichy was, in fact, a stop for Burton on his way to his new post in Damascus. In 1869, Burton was appointed as Head Consul at Damascus, a prestigious post he had been vying for since his first explorations of the Near East in 1845.¹⁶⁵ The full-time duties of the Damascus consulate did not seem to stop Burton from taking on extra-curricular activities such as tile hunting. After August 1871, he no longer received a salary from the Foreign Office therefore profit as well as admiration for his new friend’s collection may have been his motivation in the project to obtain tiles for the Arab Hall.¹⁶⁶

From Vichy, Burton headed onwards to Damascus and Leighton returned to London in early September 1869. In May 1872, on his return from Damascus, Burton sat for the first of four sittings for a portrait.¹⁶⁷ Leighton reserved portraits for “men and women of whom he was fond and with who he felt at ease.”¹⁶⁸ The house, already filled with an amassing collection from trips between 1858 and 1868 to Algiers, Egypt and Rhodes must have been a prime topic of conversation. Given his background as a linguist and geographer, Burton’s perspective on these objects would have come from an ethnographic and historical perspective. One rare digression into art commentary came in Burton’s review of the 1873 Vienna Exhibition. The Oriental pavilion, which featured a mosque and Shinto shrine facing

¹⁶³ Isabel Burton, *The Life of Sir Richard F. Burton* vol. 1 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1893), 459.

¹⁶⁴ Richard Burton, letter to Frederic Leighton, 22 March 1871. Leighton House Museum, LH/1/1/5/B30.

¹⁶⁵ Mary S. Lovell, *A Rage to Live: A Biography of Richard and Isabel Burton* (New York; London: W.W. Norton, 1998), 503.

¹⁶⁶ Lovell, *A Rage to Live*, 502.

¹⁶⁷ Marsh, ‘Portrait of Capt. Sir Richard Burton.’

¹⁶⁸ *ibid.*

one another, Burton described as “theoretically excellent and practically despised” (Fig. 43).¹⁶⁹

Before the portrait, Leighton chose to commemorate the Burtons’ time in Damascus with a small picture of the couple’s house, solidifying their relationship in a period in which Burton had not yet made any purchases on Leighton's behalf. *Richard and Isobel Burton's House in Damascus* (1873) (Fig. 6) was painted during Leighton’s trip to Damascus in October of that year, some years after the Burtons had moved on to a new post at the Austrian port of Trieste. This painting fits into a series of dwelling pictures Leighton made during his time in the city. Two other pictures of Damascene dwellings, *Damascus (Moonlight)* (1873) (Fig. 44) and *A Street in Damascus* (1873) (Fig. 45) along with *Richard and Isobel Burton’s House* represent unique studies by the artist. As opposed to later works based on the trip such as *Old Damascus: Jews Quarter* painted after his return to Holland Park, these paintings were made *en plein air*, something Prettejohn characterises as uncommon in the artist’s practice.¹⁷⁰ These *en plein air* deviations, however, prove common in Leighton’s work in the Near East as the next chapter will explore with regards to Leighton’s Nile landscapes. They portray a *flaneur* style of experience on the streets of the Ottoman Syrian city taking vantage points from within the city streets. However, unlike the former two paintings whose titles denote studies of cityscapes rather than specific places, *Richard and Isobel’s House* holds significance to Leighton as the former residence of his friend. Furthermore, at a time when house-building and home-making were central in Leighton’s mind as ideas for the display of his collection within Leighton House were percolating in his mind. This painting offers an alternative perspective of British people making homes in the Ottoman Empire.

The Burtons were a nomadic couple - they occupied nearly a dozen homes by the end of Richard’s career. Burton noted on his arrival into Damascus “House hunting was a

¹⁶⁹ Richard Burton, ‘The Vienna Exhibition’ *The Athenaeum*, no. 2376 (10 May 1873), 598-99. For more on the Oriental Pavillion at the Vienna Exhibition see, Ahmet Ersoy, *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary*, 29-90.

¹⁷⁰ Elizabeth Prettejohn, ‘Painting Indoors: Leighton and His Studio’, in *Lord Leighton and Leighton House: A Centenary Celebration*, (ed.) Robin Simon (London: Apollo, 1996), 20.

serious matter.”¹⁷¹ Isabel recounted in Richard’s biography that the house they eventually chose was selected purposefully outside of the city walls in a small Kurdish village “just beyond the desert sand, and in the background [there was] a saffron-hued mountain known as Camomile Mountain.”¹⁷² The house itself was situated in a busy part of town. A mosque and a *hammam* (bathing house) were on either side of the house and, to the rear, flowed the Barada River which the couple regularly swam in.¹⁷³ Leighton’s picture captures all of these distinguishing features. Camomile Mountain is painted in rounded strokes against a stark blue sky and the pointed peak of the mosque’s minaret can be seen behind the main structure in the centre ground. Lush vegetation from the riverbank spills over the buildings and into the picture space in what is otherwise an arid atmosphere. But while Isabel’s description, written nearly twenty years after this picture was made, creates the sense of an active neighbourhood, this painting withholds the people of Salahiyeh from the viewer as we will see again in the Nile landscapes. Situated literally in between a mosque and a *hammam* this area of the town would have been active with a steady stream of both men and women in either building. The Burtons’ absence is what is keenly felt in this painting. The town, regardless of its population of nearly 15,000 inhabitants, appears deserted without them.¹⁷⁴ Though they hadn’t occupied this house since January 1871 when Burton was recalled from Damascus by the Foreign Secretary, Lord Granville, to Leighton the house is still under their ownership and imbued with their presence and an even stronger sense of their absence.

Bringing *A Street in Damascus* into comparison with *Richard and Isobel Burton’s House* begins to reveal the extent to which Leighton saw Burton’s influence over the entire city of Damascus - not just in thinking on houses and house building but some of the more salacious aspects of Burton’s writing on Islamic cultures. Burton is inextricably tied to the queer contexts of the Near East through his own admission and active writing.¹⁷⁵ In 1886, for his services to the Consulate, Burton was knighted by Queen Victoria. This was also the same year in which his translation of *The*

¹⁷¹ Richard Burton, ‘Chapters from Travel - No. 1 Damascus’ *Cassell’s Magazine New Series*, Vol. 5 (1872): 197-8.

¹⁷² Burton, *Life* vol. 1, 468.

¹⁷³ Lovell, *A Rage to Live*, 508-9.

¹⁷⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ For example, queer theorist Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick references Burton in her poem *The Warm Decembers* (1994).

Perfumed Garden, a Tunisian sex manual was privately printed by the Kama Shastra Society. Oriental pornography had been an interest to Burton since his earliest exploits in India as a young soldier. His own sexual adventures provided much of the basis for his commentary, obscured within the texts by being written in Latin (a language, however, his Catholic wife Isabel could all too easily translate). His ‘discovery’ of the Sotadic Zone, a region which “covers the whole of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia now occupied by the ‘unspeakable Turk’, a race of born pederasts”¹⁷⁶ was a key argument in his most famous sexual treatise, *Terminal Essay* in his translation of *Arabian Nights* (1885-88). His argument was that climate and culture induced homosexual tendencies in most men and women and travellers were susceptible too. The outdoor setting of *Richard and Isabel Burton’s House* give the impression of the arid temperature where “physical temperament effected by [...] climate”¹⁷⁷ could supposedly take hold over a person’s sexual predilections. In a similar work, *A Street in Damascus*, the sun’s eastern position provide small areas of shade close to the house.

A donkey hugs tightly to the shady spot by the wall. From a short distance we look at the backside of the animal. A bright red saddle cover is thrown over the animal’s back, long enough so we can only see the donkey’s lower and back half. Dominic Janes points to several British paintings of Near Eastern asses facing the viewer.¹⁷⁸ Hunt’s *Scapegoat* (1854-56) (Fig. 46), painted on the site in Palestine that Louis de Saulcy identified as the ancient city of Sodom presents its ass to us as its let loose in the desert, a personification of collective sin.¹⁷⁹ The comparison is more salient in *The Lantern Maker’s Courtship* (1854-60) (Fig. 47). Behind the heteronormative contact in the foreground of the painting, a European man on a donkey is riding away from the scene, beating Arabs out of the road in crowded Cairene streets as was common custom for Europeans at the time.¹⁸⁰ This trope can also be seen in Sargent’s *Saddle Horse, Palestine* (1905) (Fig. 48) The bazaar setting in *The Lantern Maker’s Courtship* exemplifies the idea of the Orient as marketplace where sexual

¹⁷⁶ Richard Burton, *Arabian Nights* vol. 10 (London: Privately Printed for the Burton Club, 1885-8), 201.

¹⁷⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁸ Dominic Janes, *Picturing the Closet: Male Secrecy and Homosexual Visibility in Britain*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 87.

¹⁷⁹ Janes, *Picturing the Closet*, 89.

¹⁸⁰ Judith Bronkhurst, *William Holman Hunt: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 186.

tourism was another popular facet for European travellers. Burton frequently reported on the prostitutes of Oriental cities - noting it was more common to see young male prostitutes in African cities and older, experienced women in the city of Cairo.¹⁸¹ In *A Street Scene in Damascus* and *Richard Isabel Burton's House* the sexual contexts of the Orient, depicted by Hunt and described by Burton, figures as a part of the lens through which Leighton saw the city. *The Lantern Maker's Courtship* was exhibited at the Academy in 1861, almost certainly seen by Leighton in his first year living full time in London.

Burton's writings, particularly those that predate *The Perfumed Garden* and *Arabian Nights*, were well known in society circles. During the 1860s the infamous Cannibal Club, founded by Burton and James Hunt, helped to circulate Burton's publications through symposia on bestiality and sodomy as a common practice of native peoples.¹⁸² At the centre of London society from the early 1860s onwards Leighton could not have remained oblivious to the sexual preoccupations of his friend Captain Burton. However, it seems that regardless of Burton's growing infamy, Leighton was proactive in starting a correspondence and friendship with Burton, a fact that pushes back at the 'closeted' anxieties scholars have foisted upon Leighton thus far.¹⁸³ Their connection goes beyond the acquisition of tiles, evidenced in the endurance relationship between 1869-1876 when no purchases were made and in fact, new paintings by Leighton were produced instead.

After painting *Richard and Isobel Burton's house* in 1873, Leighton presented it to the couple as a gift. A reporter for the *World* magazine visited the Burtons in 1877 and noted, "the rooms, opening in to one another, are bright with Oriental hangings, with trays and dished of gold and silver...and all kinds of Eastern treasures mingled with family souvenirs. There is no carpet but a Bedouin rug occupies the middle of the floor and views in brilliancy of cool with Persian enamels and bits of good old china. Near this hangs a picture of the Damascus home of the Burtons, by Frederick Leighton [sic]."¹⁸⁴ Tying this new interpretation of Leighton and Burton's

¹⁸¹ Richard Burton, *Wanderings in West Africa, From Liverpool to Fernando Po.* (London: Tinsley, 1863).

¹⁸² John Wallen, 'The Cannibal Club and the Origins of 19th Century Racism and Pornography' *The Victorian* 1, no.1 (August 2013), 4.

¹⁸³ Christopher Reed, *Art and Homosexuality: A History of Ideas.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 84.

¹⁸⁴ 'Captain Richard F. Burton at Trieste', *The World* (1877). (reprinted in Burton, *Life* vol. 2, 5).

relationship back to ideas of consular influence in the acquisition of Islamic art objects, it seems each individual's perception of the Near East exerted influence on the other, in Burton's own choice of interior decoration and the depiction of the urban landscape in *A Street in Damascus*. Through a different understanding of Leighton and Burton's relationship, between periods when they were collecting tiles for the Arab Hall and an examination of the Damascus paintings, we are better able to understand Leighton's relationship to a central British Orientalist of the period. Burton's influence is not only felt in his contributions to the Hall but also in the directions he influenced Leighton's explorations in Damascus as he was considering how to display the growing collection within an interior.

The Persian and Arab Art Exhibition, 1885: Terminology, Mythology and Leighton's Loans

In this final section, I discuss how Leighton's collection moved across London in 1885, in a truncated form, to the Burlington Fine Arts Club exhibition, *Persian and Arab Art*. Leighton loaned over forty pieces from his collection to this exhibition for a private member's organisation that catered to collectors. The mobility of these selected pieces once again characterises the collection as a series of travelling objects. These travelling objects reiterate the porous boundaries of the Ottoman Empire and its material cultures, as evident in the range of media and examples that we have seen so far from Turkey, Syria and Egypt, and their appearance at *Persian and Arab Art*. As they travelled from the private, domestic space and into the public sphere of exhibition, they were displayed alongside other prominent collections of Islamic art. This exhibition further highlights the ways in which Leighton's collection was networked between national museums and private collections and reveals how Leighton's collecting habits scanned with current trends. Indeed, this exhibition also foreshadows the splitting up of Leighton's collection following his death by the South Kensington and British Museums, as well as to private collectors, and their absorption into various British collections of Islamic art.

The *Persian and Arab Art* exhibition fits into a series of Islamic art exhibitions that had taken place in London in the preceding decades. However, the Burlington Fine Arts Club was a distinct venue: a private member's club that functioned as a space

for collectors to compare each other's collections as well as provide their own, often conflicting, interpretation of their objects. The collectors used the exhibition's catalogue, compiled by Wallis, to debate the language of Islamic art. Terms such as 'Persian', 'Rhodian' 'Islamic' and 'Arab' are played with and dissected and the catalogue opens discussion about the subjectivity of these words as opposed to offering conclusive taxonomy. Within Leighton House, as we might expect in the context of a domestic interior, these objects resist this type of museological classification altogether. However, in the 'List of Works Exhibited', Leighton's 42 loans are grouped and termed within the confines of conventional Orientalist scholarship.

Islamic art and architecture's presence in British exhibition culture began in earnest at the Great Exhibition of 1851. At the exhibition in Hyde Park, Ottoman textiles, tiles and carpets proved to be popular items and a significant number of them entered the initial collections of the South Kensington Museum. On the other hand, in the Egyptian Court, objects were split between "manufactures" and "raw materials" (Fig. 49).¹⁸⁵ Industrial objects, including mechanised farm equipment and was derided by Jones as a "debased" form of Islamic technology.¹⁸⁶ His curation of the Alhambra Court at the Crystal Palace, the long-term successor of the Great Exhibition in Sydenham which opened in 1854, galvanized the conversation surrounding Islamic design in a way that completely eschewed such considerations of the Islamic world and industrialisation. Hugh Owen's photographs from the Great Exhibition of Egyptian farm equipment - a hand plough, two millstones, jugs and an animal skin - emphasised that primitive and pre-industrial were what was expected of Oriental industry (Fig. 43).

Following the Great Exhibition, Henry Cole and Jones were allocated a grant to form the 'Eastern exhibits' for the South Kensington Museum and purchased nearly £1500 worth of metalwork and £450 of textiles, later used by the first students at the

¹⁸⁵ The Royal Commission, *The Official Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of 1851* (London: Spicer Brothers, 1851), 316-318.

¹⁸⁶ Francesca Vanke, 'Degrees of Otherness: The Ottoman Empire and China at the Great Exhibition of 1851' in *Britain, the Empire, and the World at the Great Exhibition*, (ed.) Jeffrey A. Auerbach (London: Routledge, 2016), 199.

Government Schools of Design.¹⁸⁷ In 1862, parts of the South Kensington's Eastern collections were brought together for the *Special Exhibition of Works of Art of the Medieval, Renaissance, and More Recent Periods*, curated by the museum's first Superintendent of Art, John Charles Robinson.¹⁸⁸

Fortnum was a key contributor to the Special Exhibition, loaning Iznik ceramics and Italian majolica. Following another Special Exhibition in 1873, Fortnum was commissioned to write a catalogue on the Museum's majolica and Islamic wares. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Majolica, Hispano-Moresco, Persian, Damascus, and Rhodian Wares in the South Kensington Museum* (1873) was - as the title suggests - a litany of terminology and hypotheses on how to categorise Islamic art objects now circulating in significant numbers around Britain. Fortnum's influence on the historiography of Islamic ceramics dominated the rest of the nineteenth century and held sway well into the twentieth. His own collection, now held at the Ashmolean and British Museums, directed conversations about ceramics and became the barometer for what constituted connoisseurship in Islamic art collecting.

There was one final Islamic art exhibition at the South Kensington Museum before 1885, Robert Murdoch Smith's *Persian Art* which was held in 1876. Murdoch, a former Consul and agent in Tehran, utilised his connections to begin buying wares in Iran as early as 1860. On behalf of the South Kensington Museum, he bought the bulk of a tile collection from a long-term French resident in Tehran, Monsieur Richard. From there, he spent South Kensington's money across Iran, acquiring tiles, armour, textiles, wood carvings, manuscripts, jewellery and musical instruments, sent straight from Tehran into the collection. In the exhibition catalogue for *Persian Art*, like Jones, Smith prioritised the pre-contact 'purity' of the objects on display, most of which were made between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries. He concluded the catalogue, "When Eastern countries are brought into communication and therefore competition with the west it requires more patience, sagacity, and perseverance, than any of them have shown, to prevent their suffering in many respects by the contact;

¹⁸⁷ John Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession: Islamic Inspiration in British and American Art and Architecture, 1500-1920*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 170-1.

¹⁸⁸ For more on Robinson as a collector see, Charlotte Drew, 'The Colourful Career of Sir John Charles Robinson: Collecting and Curating at the early South Kensington Museum' *Journal of Art Historiography* 18 (June 2018), 1-16.

and Persia, as yet, forms no exception to the general rule.”¹⁸⁹ The terminology in his catalogue relies largely on the precedents set by Robinson and Fortnum, mixed with knowledge as an agent of the both the Foreign Service and Government Schools of Design alongside his own strong political views on the industrialisation of the Persian Empire.

These are the key exhibitions that facilitated the contexts for the *Persian and Arab Art* exhibition, which, as I reveal, functioned differently to these precursors. Their exhibition catalogues, circulated most widely amongst those involved with the South Kensington Museum and private collectors of Islamic wares, established ongoing narratives about the terminology surrounding ceramics, tiles, and carpets and the origins of these objects. And so, it is into this long history that Leighton is inserted when he agreed to loan part of his collection to the Burlington Fine Arts Club.

The Burlington Fine Arts Club, or BFAC, was founded in 1866 by Robinson as the successor to an earlier group he established known as the Collector’s Club.¹⁹⁰ Leighton was a member of the Collector’s Club, who met and held discussion evenings in South Kensington, in its final years between 1864-65.¹⁹¹ He joined BFAC in 1867 along with fellow inaugural members including Rossetti, Salting, Ruskin, and Franks.¹⁹² Robinson’s club was unique in that it serviced the gentleman art collector. Additionally, it also became a tool for Robinson to help to develop the South Kensington Museum collections. Through BFAC he was able to secure the Salting Bequest, a large collection of Continental porcelain.¹⁹³ Eventually, with the help of Wallis, he was also able to obtain the Islamic art collection of Frederick Du Cane Godman’s, the first collection of Islamic art objects to be shared between the South Kensington and British Museum.¹⁹⁴ Through spaces like the BFAC, collecting,

¹⁸⁹ Robert Murdoch Smith, *Persian Art* (London: Published for the Committee of Council on Education by Chapman and Hall, 1876), 84.

¹⁹⁰ Editorial, ‘The Burlington Fine Arts Club’ *The Burlington Magazine* 94, no. 589 (April 1952), 97.

¹⁹¹ This was not the only instance when Leighton expressed an interest in collector’s organisations. In 1886, he was appointed to the Prince of Wales’ Imperial Institute commission, later known as the Commonwealth Institute.¹⁹¹ The Institute’s original mission was to exhibit objects and manufactures from private collections across the Empire.

¹⁹² Stacey J. Pierson. *Private Collecting, Exhibitions, and the Shaping of Art History in London: The Burlington Fine Arts Club* (Oxford: Routledge, 2017), 15.

¹⁹³ Pierson, *Private Collecting, Exhibitions, and the Shaping of Art History in London*, 67.

¹⁹⁴ J.M. Rogers, ‘The Godman Bequest of Islamic Pottery’, *Apollo* (July 1984), 44.

curating and dealing became enmeshed and individuals often took up these roles simultaneously. The club's premises, in the heart of London club land on Saville Row, allowed for members to congregate, dine, and socialise but also provided exhibition opportunities. It was, as one commentator summarised, "a gentleman's club in form, art club in practice"¹⁹⁵. Central to the club's activities as a diverse social space were the annual member's exhibitions.

According to his Coutts bank account records, Leighton paid an initial annual membership of £5.5 in 1867, but then took an absence from the society, rejoining in 1874 and then remaining a member until his death.¹⁹⁶ From 1874, he is listed as an 'active' member in the BFAC records. However, he only exhibited objects from his collection once for *Persian and Arab Art*. Leighton loaned over forty objects, the majority of which were ceramics but also included a pen and ink drawing identified as a *Persian Prince* (untraced) and a silk carpet, supposedly made by Persian artists in Poland. Leighton's objects were shown alongside forty-one other BFAC members including Aitchison, Hunt, Morris, Fortnum, and Franks.¹⁹⁷ In lieu of photographs of the exhibition, the catalogue is an invaluable source to understand an early, temporary exhibition of Islamic art comprised of objects from private collections.¹⁹⁸ Furthermore, the language Wallis uses to classify and describe Leighton's and the other collector's objects in the catalogue is of itself of great importance to understanding the way in which private collections shaped scholarship on Islamic art in the late nineteenth century. With regards to Leighton's objects, Wallis cultivates and develops two key narratives. Firstly, the Rhodian myth as the origins of his Iznik ceramics. And secondly, by referring repeatedly to Leighton's objects as having been "directly obtained" from Syria, Turkey and Egypt. Leighton is singled out as the only member who "directly obtains" and I explore how this distinction differentiates Leighton's collection from the other exhibitors.

¹⁹⁵ Christopher Read, 'George Salting' *The Burlington Magazine* 16, no. 83 (February 1910), 250-51.

¹⁹⁶ 'Leighton's Bank Account at Coutts Bank, 1859-1896', *Leighton House Museum*, LH/1/2/6.

¹⁹⁷ Burlington Fine Arts Club, *An Exhibition of Persian and Arab Art* (London, 1885), A2.

¹⁹⁸ Another example of the Burlington Fine Arts Club being a leader in non-Western exhibitions is the 1931 *Art of India* exhibition. For more see, Brinda Kumar, 'Exciting a Wider Interest in the Art of India: The 1931 Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition' *British Art Studies* 13 (2019) DOI: <https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-13/bkumar/Abstract>.

Wallis is best known as an artist loosely associated with the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood whose most famous painting, *Chatterton* (1856) (Fig. 50) depicts the suicide of the Romantic poet, Thomas Chatterton. The majority of his later career, however, was taken up by a profound interest in the Near East, from both an archaeological and art historical perspective. Wallis began to visit Egypt around the same time as Leighton and his drawings show his interest in the landscape and rural parts of the country (Fig. 51). Following *Persian and Arab Art* and a later exhibition, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* at BFAC in 1886, Wallis served as Honorary Secretary for The Society for the Preservation of the Monuments of Ancient Egypt (SPMAE). Leighton made several donations to the Society which also counted Alma-Tadema and Poytner as members.¹⁹⁹ He travelled to Egypt regularly to buy antiquities to sell back in England. Wallis initially proposed *Persian and Arab Art* in April 1884 to the BFAC committee who scheduled the exhibition to opening the following year in March 1885. Wallis' subsequent work bringing together the collectors and their objects is representative of the main network of Islamic art collectors and exemplifies their close connections through this exhibiting society.

In the introduction to the catalogue, Wallis prioritises the collector who travels. “The collector of to-day is no longer alone content with the acquisition of rare or precious objects; he seeks to comprehend their artistic intention and to become acquainted with their relations and affinities[...]The localities where the special arts were cultivated are visited and explore, and even the very earth is excavated and sifted.”²⁰⁰ In light of Murdoch Smith's exhibition, which displayed thousands of objects all obtained directly from Iran, Wallis signals to the authenticity of the collector in his physical pursuit of Islamic art and therefore the legitimacy of the objects in the exhibition. Wallis refers to Murdoch Smith's exhibition directly, in fact, using the catalogue as an opportunity to critique the South Kensington Museum's curatorial choices. “[Murdoch Smith's collection was] Purchased in 1876, it has not yet been fairly displayed. It is a singular illustration of the irony of fate which has relegated the art of the land of the sun to rooms where the direct light of day never enters, and

¹⁹⁹ For more on SPMAE see, Jason Thompson, *Wonderful Things: A History of Egyptology* vol. 1 (Cairo and New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2015), 255.

²⁰⁰ Burlington Fine Arts Club, *An Exhibition of Persian and Arab Art*, vi.

where the brilliant lustre tiles and vases reflect the muddy tints of dull brick wall.”²⁰¹ Referring to the sun and the access to ‘direct’ light alludes to the object’s exotic origins - an Orientalising reference to the tile’s function as an architectural facade in a region where the sun would be constantly both direct and intense. BFAC’s exhibiting gallery was a large and open space which faced an eastern window, although, according to Stacey Pierson, it was “traditional and very much reflective of the period room phenomenon.”²⁰² The exhibition was organised into thirteen cabinets across the gallery with Persian carpets laid between them and tiles hung on the wall behind them. The cabinets were organised as follows:

- Cabinet No. 1 - Persian Pottery
- No. 2 - Persian Pottery
- No. 3 - Persian Pottery Under Chinese Influence
- No. 4 - Chiefly Metal Work
- No. 5 - Metal Work and Persian Pottery
- No. 6 - Glass
- No. 7 - Chiefly Anatolian and So-Called Gamboon Ware
- No. 8 - Damascus Ware
- No. 9 - Rhodian Ware
- No. 10 - Rhodian Ware
- No. 11 - Persian Lustred Ware
- No. 12 - Persian and Damascus Ware
- No. 13 - Damascus and Rhodian Ware

Leighton’s objects were found in Cabinets 1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13. The distribution reveals not only the breadth of his collecting and the extent of his presence at the exhibition but also his preference for ceramics and, more broadly, the predominance of ceramics in the exhibition and in British collections as a whole. However, while his collection is spread across the exhibition, Leighton’s objects were best represented in Cabinets 9 and 10 - the Rhodian Ware.

²⁰¹ Burlington Fine Arts Club, *An Exhibition of Persian and Arab Art*, viii.

²⁰² Pierson, *Private Collecting, Exhibitions, and the Shaping of Art History in London*, 7.

The origin of Rhodian ceramics in British histories of Islamic art is one of the most telling accounts of how persistently inaccurate scholarship superseded material and aesthetic interests. The Rhodian myth is a key narrative in Leighton's collection. It is a story tied to many of this chapter's themes thus far: the role of consuls in the acquisition of art and objects, the parallel activities of archaeology and art collecting in this period, and how Islamic art objects were tied to conflicting national histories. Raby lays out the evolving history of the Rhodian myth most clearly. In the nineteenth century's successive attempts to locate the provenance of these 'Persian', 'Damascus' and 'Kütahya' ceramic wares, the theory that they originated from Rhodes on the island of Lindos emerged. This was due in large part to the Musée de Cluny who had acquired 532 ceramics works from the French Consul to Rhodes, Auguste Salzmann between 1865 and 1878. These pieces did not fit the archetypal blue-green colour scheme, but were in fact red and orange. The Musée de Cluny's collection represented the first comprehensive European collection of Iznik pottery but what the museum proposed at the time to be the horde of a Rhodian ceramic production centre. It was the Musée de Cluny's collection that inspired the French ceramicist, Theodore Deck, whose own Iznik inspired dishes entered Leighton's collection in the late 1870s (Fig. 52). Salzmann excavated the Rhodes site based on an oral account that in the fourteenth century the Knights of St. John had captured a Turkish boat with Turkish potters on board. They installed those potters in Rhodes and they set up kilns and gathered enough suitable sand to fire from the beaches of the island. However, as Raby, points out "no material evidence has ever been published that proves fritwares were produced on Rhodes in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries" and as soon as the story emerged there were doubts as to its validity. The real story of the Rhodian pottery, uncovered in the twentieth-century through contributions by Turkish scholars, attributes the presence of Iznik pottery to the complicated and far reaching trade routes of the Ottoman Empire. The wares Salzmann dug up were produced in Turkey were transported by ship at some point, as most of the ceramics found across the Empire had been. At the BFAC, the Rhodian myth reigned as truth and Leighton's own trip to the island of Lindos in 1867 was used to validate it.

In November 1867, Leighton travelled to Lindos on the island of Rhodes and purchased "a number of beautiful specimens of old Persian faience (Lindos

ware)”.²⁰³ As one of the earliest records of purchasing for the collection, these wares go on to inform the later acquisitions Leighton made in Bursa, Constantinople, Cairo and in Damascus. While there is a suggestion in the letter Leighton was already collecting by 1867, we might consider these the origin of the ceramics in the collection. Leighton’s ‘Rhodian ware’ was given a special signifier in the *Persian and Arab Art* catalogue. Following the description of each of Leighton’s objects in Cabinets 9 and 10, there is an epithet: “Obtained directly in Rhodes”. Leighton’s objects are the only instance in the entire catalogue in which the means of acquisition are made explicit. Wallis made his appreciation for travelling collectors clear writing “Trustworthy information regarding the history of the ceramic and other arts of Persia can only be obtained by investigation made in the country itself.”²⁰⁴ However, “obtained directly” singles out Leighton and his travelling as a descriptive element in relation to his ceramics. As I have established, Leighton’s travelling and collection was not tied to furthering scholarship on Islamic art. However, in this exhibition, his direct travel to Lindos has been co-opted in support of an argument regarding the terms of classification in this specific scholarship. Rhodian ware is Rhodian with certainty because Leighton, a British collector, was on that island and removed those objects to Britain.

Fortnum’s role in propagating the Rhodian myth goes some way in contextualising the usage of Rhodian ware as a classification at *Persian and Arab Art*. Fortnum was one of the foremost British collectors and had written for the South Kensington’s Museum on majolica and Rhodian and Damascus wares. His essays were the leading scholarship in the development of terminology in British accounts of Islamic art history. His texts used the term ‘Persian ware’ for non-Persian objects, first used to refer to the eight pieces he lent to the 1862 South Kensington Special Loans exhibition. Fortnum consistently used terms interchangeably. In one essay on his acquisition of a sixteenth-century lamp made for the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, his writing jumps between “Persian”, “Damas”, and “Turkish” all to refer to the single object.²⁰⁵ In the exhibition catalogue, Wallis refers to Fortnum’s contribution to Islamic art historiography as “remarkable” as well as featuring an analysis of

²⁰³ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 2, 129.

²⁰⁴ Burlington Fine Arts Club, *An Exhibition of Persian and Arab Art*, xv.

²⁰⁵ See C.D.E. Fortnum, ‘On a Lamp of Persian Ware’ *Archaeologica* 42 (1869), 387-97.

several of his loans to the exhibition.²⁰⁶ One of Wallis' previous books on Italian majolica had been dedicated to Fortnum, in a nod to his prominence in the field of ceramics.²⁰⁷ This exhibition was staged to highlight the connoisseurship of BFAC collectors, not to question or interrogate it. While museological and private scholarship often worked effectively in tandem in this period, as evidenced by Robinson's relationship with many private collectors, at BFAC Fortnum's own research is given priority in Wallis' catalogue. This form of scholarship is transferred to Leighton's objects, which up until this point remained undefined beyond their presentation in Leighton House.

This case study has been utilised in order to show how Leighton's objects moved beyond Leighton House and to highlight the contrast between British collector's involvement in Islamic art scholarship and Leighton's emphatic resistance to it. The ubiquity of Leighton's objects across the collection demonstrate how Leighton did in fact follow trends in what objects he chose: prioritising ceramics, objects that were produced between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, and that followed the Iznik colour scheme. Leighton's deviation from these trends comes at the point at which they are displayed in Leighton House. The domestic interior of Leighton House, in the Arab Hall and beyond it, became an alternative mode of display that eschewed labels and interpretation, from both collector and museological scholarship. At BFAC, the categories of 'Rhodian' and 'Persian' wares were transposed onto Leighton's objects during the exhibition by Wallis through the scholarship Fortnum and the objects of other private collectors.

At the close of *Persian and Arab Art* in May 1885, nearly 6,000 people had attended the BFAC show.²⁰⁸ A review praised the exhibition's contributor's "aesthetic patronage" for elevating objects that previously "would have been regarded as of merely ethnological interest".²⁰⁹ Following on from this exhibition, the BFAC began to regularly exhibit objects and drawings from the Near and Far East and at the turn of the twentieth-century, moved towards staging primitive art exhibitions. Although

²⁰⁶ Burlington Fine Arts Club, *An Exhibition of Persian and Arab Art*, 1.

²⁰⁷ Timothy Wilson, 'A Victorian Artist as Ceramic Collector: The Letters of Henry Wallis, Part 1' *Journal of the History of Collection* 14, no. 1 (2002), 140.

²⁰⁸ Pierson, *Private Collecting, Exhibitions, and the Shaping of Art History in London*, Appendix B.

²⁰⁹ Anon, 'Exhibition Reviews' *The Times* (13 March 1885).

Leighton's membership continued until his death, he never made any further loans or contributions to the society. The objects returned to Leighton House and did not leave again until July 1896 when his possessions were auctioned to friends, colleagues, admirers, and of course, museums and dealers.

The Islamic art collection at Leighton House is one of the forgotten treasures of Leighton's trips to the Near East. The impossibility of a full restoration presents a unique challenge to scholars to fully grasp Leighton's interest in the decorative arts of the Ottoman Empire. However, as this chapter has shown, an engagement with the material history of the collection is possible through archival sources such as the Christie's auction catalogue and understanding the significance of Leighton's early trips to Lindos and across Turkey. My analysis revealed that the centre of the collection was not in fact the tiles of the Arab Hall but displays of Iznik ceramics and carpets across the house, both of which extend our understanding of the way in which Leighton participated in debates surrounding the decorative and the antique through the use of Islamic art objects. Travelling is the distinguishing component in the formation of this collection. Unlike other collectors, such as the blue-and-white crazed Aesthetes, who purchased items in Britain that had already been imported by dealers, Leighton 'directly obtained' thousands of objects that filled the house. When he did rely on an intermediary, he did so through the interconnected, elite British consular system, who he could trust to have local, political and religious knowledge of the region. This strategy mirrored the collecting practices of the South Kensington Museum and other national collections of Islamic art that grew in tandem. Leighton's collecting choices, Iznik pottery in particular, reflect the way in which he fitted in with popular trends in Islamic art collecting. However, his display of these objects, within the domestic interior and in the purpose built Arab Hall deviate from the national trends of collecting, classifying and interpreting these works. When brought together for exhibition, Leighton allowed for his labelled to be defined by other private collectors. However, these labels did not stick when the objects returned to Leighton House.

This first chapter has broached the most salient point of contact with which we understand Leighton and the Near East – through the house and its interiors. At the collection's centre is the idea of travel and without it, it can surely be argued this

“dwelling of a travelled man” would never have been designed to intersect with the vast and deep, still not fully realised, material history of the Ottoman Empire.²¹⁰ The visual field has been enlarged, covering the whole of the house and moving further, nationally and internationally, to encompass where and how these objects travelled.

²¹⁰ Hatton, ‘Glimpses of Artistic London’, 834.

Chapter 2

Harmony in Purple and Brown: Aestheticism on the Nile, 1868

Roberts' *Suez (General View)* (Fig. 53) is an image made at a moment of rest during a long journey. Roberts' formative, eleven-month trip to Egypt in 1842 was the crucible for his most famous series of lithographs, the pithily titled, *Views of the Holy Land, Syria, Idumea, Arabia, Egypt and Nubia*. In this view, the artist's Bedouin escort congregate and rest on the shores of the Gulf of Suez – the town of Port Said is a gleaming white group of low-level buildings across the water. Debra Mancoff writes that, "Roberts sought to capture the striking contrast of the arid landscape and vivid atmospheric effects that characterised the region. Later, in the studio, the image of his first view across the gulf to the city provided a memory of the 'picturesque' companion's resting on the water's shore after the first arduous leg of their journey."²¹¹ The picturesque quality of this image is deployed through the way in which Roberts has arranged the scene - costumed figures and camels, calm waters, a distant mountain range and a rainbow- staples of an the exotic and timeless Orient, the elements of which Roberts played a key role in codifying. In just under thirty years, however, the Gulf of Suez and its surrounding towns were to be dug up and developed into one of the largest engineering projects of the modern world, the Suez Canal. Justin Kozlowski's photographs of the Gulf of Suez and its newly dug channel, in late 1868 and early 1869, show how far the scene Roberts had captured only decades before had changed. In an album of Kozlowski's only identified work, these new landscapes are captured in the emerging medium of photography. In a photograph from the upper banks of the canal, the earth has been engineered by machines (Fig. 54). The slopes on the far bank have been artificially flattened and are now perilously steep to allow the waterway to flow smoothly from the opening of the Mediterranean in the north to the Gulf of Suez to the south (Fig. 55). The Suez Canal Company's famous dredging machine, that replaced nearly forty thousand manual

²¹¹ Debra N. Mancoff, *David Roberts: Travels in Egypt and the Holy Land*. (San Francisco and Maiden, Essex: Pomegranate, 1999), 84.

labourers, can be seen on the water, removing thousands of metric tons of earth to deepen the waterway for naval and merchant vessels.²¹²

When Leighton travelled through Port Said to take a cruise of the Nile in October 1868, he was doing so in a moment when Egypt's waters were undeniably political. This trip, exactly a year before the inauguration of the Suez Canal is historically and politically potent, the extent of which has not been unpacked in other brief accounts of Leighton's time in Egypt.²¹³ More practically, however, the trip was also an opportunity for Leighton to tour the Nile himself, a journey depicted by several British artists already, and develop his own depiction through landscape painting, a genre he had found conducive on his previous travels.

The Suez Canal was Napoleon's vision at the beginning of the century, but surveys from the French expedition determined the plan was not then viable. From 1854, a renewed interest in the project led to revised plans by the French engineer, Ferdinand de Lesseps, and Said Pasha's private Suez Canal Company started work on the canal which would be completed in November 1869.²¹⁴ It was intended as the successor to the Overland Route from Britain and India that significantly reduced the journey time. The buildings in the far-right distance of Kozłowski's photograph, a white highlight in the arid atmosphere similar to Roberts, resembles a factory complex rather than a town. The ships that would use the canal transported goods, food products, information, and technology back and forth from Europe, the Near East and South East Asia. The signs of life that do survive on the canal, the occasional human figure or small sailing boat, are miniscule and marginal compared with the industrial scale of the works taking place in Egypt's northernmost corner. As Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby summarises, this was Egypt's greatest engineering feat since the Pyramids.²¹⁵

²¹² Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, *Colossal. Engineering the Suez Canal, Statue of Liberty, Eiffel Tower and Panama Canal. Transcontinental Ambition in France and the United States in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Pittsburgh, PA: Periscope Publishing, 2012), 42.

²¹³ See Kim, *Painted Men in Britain, 1886-1918: Royal Academicians and Masculinities* and Kilinski, 'Leighton on the Nile', 646-648.

²¹⁴ For an overview of the construction of the canal, see Ferdinand de Lesseps, *The History of the Suez Canal: A Personal Narrative* (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood and Sons, 1876) and Zachary Karabell, *Parting the Desert: The Creation of the Suez Canal* (New York: Knopf Doubleday, 2009).

²¹⁵ Grigsby, *Colossal*, 43.

Egypt's bodies of water have been famous throughout history. Most notably, the Nile's cultural significance spans the Book of Exodus to Burton's quest to discover its source in 1854. However, in the 1860s, the Suez Canal became an equally potent symbol to the extent that it pulled focus from the Nile in the Western imagination. Egypt's status as one of the ancient and great civilisations, an idea that Leighton himself endorsed when he referred to Egypt as the "old, original cradle of Western art", was pulled into the present and to the centre of Imperial interests.²¹⁶ The canal was crucial to British strategic interests in the region following the Indian Mutiny of 1857 and the Gladstone and Disraeli governments invested heavily in the Suez Canal Company in order to control the waterway to India. The schisms caused by this level of financial and political involvement would eventually lead to occupations of Cyprus in 1878 and Egypt in 1882, two events which irreversibly undermined the Ottoman Empire and shifted its relationship with Britain, events that bookend Leighton's final trip to Egypt in 1882.

This chapter discusses a series of landscapes Leighton produced while travelling by boat on the Nile between October and November 1868. These small-scale images, considered marginal in the artist's oeuvre, represent rich engagements with the landscape genre and reveal an avant-garde agenda which resisted the precedent of British artists painting in Egypt and instead turned towards an altogether more modern representation. Rather than treat his trip to Egypt as time 'off', Leighton committed himself to painting each day and significantly did much of his work from the boat. In Romita Roy's study on the British picturesque in India, she describes river scenes as a frontier with which to view the exotic landscape at a safe distance.²¹⁷ She argues that taking in the view from a boat initiates an "exploratory gaze" that is mobile and from a higher vantage point, creating a more complex optical experience than conventional landscape scenes.²¹⁸

The literal experience of travel is deployed through scenes made on the various stops down the Nile cataracts, including views of the river to reinforce the idea of

²¹⁶ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 1, 302.

²¹⁷ Romita Roy, *Under the Banyan Tree: Relocating the Picturesque in British India* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013), 44.

²¹⁸ *ibid.*

movement. In these landscapes, Leighton's gaze was mobilised and transient – subject to tides, turbulence, diversions and dams. As he painted, he also produced a written account of his journey, an unpublished travel diary titled, *Up the Nile to Phylae*. Accompanying these images is a written document that shares a relationship with the paintings, but one that does not directly corroborate the scenes. *Up the Nile to Phylae* works as a text that discloses background information about the journey itself. I unpack this written record to reflect on Leighton's anxieties, frustrations, desires and his interactions with people which provide revealing insights into these seemingly depopulated landscapes, similar to the depopulated scenes we have already encountered in Damascus.

Despite Barrington's claim that, "Happily, Leighton lost sight of everyone for nearly two months," during the trip he interacted with British consuls, members of the Pasha and Sultan's court, Nubian slaves, Egyptian dancing girls, *fellahin* (field labourers) as well as his ship's crew made up of Egyptian, Arab, French, Italian and British men.²¹⁹ Therefore, his exclusion of people from the paintings are again notable, especially in light of Nile-landscape precedents by artists such as Roberts, Lewis and Edward Lear where native people and the diplomat class feature frequently. In addition, the volume of people travelling to Egypt grew even more in the late 1860s in what has come to be known as the first mass tourism moment.²²⁰ In the year following Leighton's trip, the first Thomas Cook package holiday would arrive in Cairo opening Egypt up as a middle-class destination made affordable by innovations in technology and transportation.²²¹ Just two weeks ahead of the Cook excursion were the Prince and Princess of Wales, on a tour of the Nile on one of Ismail Pasha's royal yachts, anticipating the 'golden age' of glamorous cruises down the Nile by the British upper classes.²²² Leighton's cruise comes at a high point of British people accessing Egypt by and through its waters for a variety of reasons, warranting attention to the painting's characteristics for this model of tourism.

²¹⁹ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 2, 133.

²²⁰ Michael Haldrup and Jonas Larsen, *Tourism Performance and the Everyday: Consuming the Orient* (London: Routledge, 2010) and Jason Thompson, *A History of Egypt* (New York: Anchor Books, 2008), 241-243.

²²¹ During the final weeks of finishing this thesis, Thomas Cook went into administration after operating for 178 years.

²²² See Andrew Humphrey, *On the Nile in the Golden Age of Travel*. (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2015).

Leighton's Egyptian landscapes have not yet been read in a way that takes on board the political and social tensions that were primarily played out on the water in this moment, nor the challenge to use that water to craft a new aestheticized depiction of Egypt.²²³ Given the precedent of Nile imagery and the popularity of published traveller's accounts, it is even more notable that Leighton turns away from these established Orientalist modes in favour of alternative expression. Newall writes that Leighton's painting from the 1860s onwards "must be seen as a manifestation of a nascent avant-garde rather than part of an artistic mainstream."²²⁴ In Egypt, Leighton was removed from the London art world and Royal Academy circles, which resulted in contact with different people and avenues of influence. The new readings that this chapter proposes call for a serious reconsideration of these works to better understand Leighton's artistic response to tourist oriented imagery and photographic depictions of Egypt. I account for the ways in which Leighton abrogated the picturesque and photographic gazes of others in favour of an Aestheticist depiction of the landscape. These were early experiments in a landscape that delivered a distinct experience of land and water, akin to Whistler's more famous work from the same period. Leighton and Whistler were experimenting with similar compositions in 1868 and I connect these works as early, important examples that solidified Leighton's Aestheticist agenda. His landscapes, which I map from the 1850s through to the 1880s, demonstrate an engagement with a genre that he found malleable to his experimentations with, in his words, "form, colour, and contrasts of light and shade."²²⁵ The Egyptian landscapes are small and personal studies that were, on the whole, never intended as exhibited works.²²⁶ Unlike Leighton's Aegean landscapes, they are never repurposed in later paintings, suggesting that his experiments on the Nile were more useful to him as unaltered reference points in the studio. I read these images closely in order to make the case that the influence of an open-air and

²²³ Although much later than this set of images, Rossetti's poem, *Tiber, Nile and Thames* (1881) critiques the political implications of the erection of Cleopatra's Needle on the Thames Embankment using rivers as a metaphor. For more on this see, Eleonora Sasso, *The Pre-Raphaelites and Orientalism*, 20-21.

²²⁴ Jones, *Frederic Leighton: Eminent Victorian Artist*, 117.

²²⁵ Frederic Leighton, *Lord Leighton's Addresses* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Ltd, 1896), 56.

²²⁶ Three landscapes were exhibited at the Royal Society of British Artists in 1870, *View of Assiout* (sic), *Sunrise at Longsor* (sic), and *View of the Red Mountains Near Cairo*. Rhys also records that he exhibited *Study of a Donkey, Egypt* in 1879 at the Grosvenor Gallery, but this is most likely *A Street in Damascus* (1873), referred to in Chapter 1. Rhys, *Frederic Lord Leighton*, 125.

mobilised perspective while on the Nile in a moment of national transition influenced the form that his aestheticised landscapes took.

“That floating palace”²²⁷

When Leighton arrived in Cairo, via Alexandria, sometime in the first week of October 1868 he had not yet made arrangements for his trip on the Nile. Rather than planning ahead for his arrival, the artist relied on an influential contact to make headway once he landed. He reported in a letter to his father, “I find that the Prince [of Wales] asked [Colonel Stanton] in the said letter to introduce me as a personal friend of his to the Viceroy, adding that he would be obliged by anything he could do for me.”²²⁸ The Prince of Wales, who along with his mother would eventually visit Leighton at his studio in March 1869 to see the work he had produced in Egypt, arranged an audience between Leighton and Ismail Pasha at his palace in Abassia.²²⁹ The private audience between Leighton and the Khedive, described by Leighton in the same letter, is described as a conventional social encounter exchanging pleasantries with the Khedive enquiring about the artist’s latest projects. In parlaying with the monarch, Leighton managed to get the Khedive’s personal yacht at his disposal for the journey. “Would you not rather have a steamer to go in? It is the same to me and you will be more comfortable.”²³⁰ Leighton’s ability to charm monarchs of multiple nations saved him nearly £1,000 – the cost of a steamer on a similar scale.²³¹

Travelling by steamer affected Leighton’s tour of the Nile in several ways. Firstly, the mechanised vessel would enable the artist to finish the journey in about half the time as he would have with only sails.²³² A journey that could last up to four months was cut down to just forty-six days. The weight of the boat as well as the even keel of the engine meant that turbulence was not felt as strongly on the deck. The

²²⁷ Emmeline Lott, *The Grand Pacha’s Cruise on the Nile in the Viceroy of Egypt’s Yacht* vol. 1, (London: T. Cautley Newby, 1869), 4.

²²⁸ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 2, 131.

²²⁹ Delia Miller, *The Victorian Watercolours and Drawings in the Collection of her Majesty the Queen*, vol. 1 (London: Phillip Wilson, 1995), 542.

²³⁰ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 2, 132.

²³¹ Philip Scranton and Janet F. Davidson, *The Business of Tourism: Place, Faith and History*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 19.

²³² *ibid.*

calmness of Leighton's position on the boat is felt in his landscapes. The paintings are not rough sketches but instead made on the deck of the steamer with a steady hand. The yacht was also much larger than the conventional *dabiyeah*, the sailing boat that most Western travellers used on the Nile. These new vessels, built by British shipping yards such as the Samuda Brothers, were a mixture of military ship and pleasure barge. For example, the Khedive's main yacht, *El-Mahrousa* (The Protected) was 411-feet long, five stories tall and filled with luxurious amenities.²³³ The English governess, Emmeline Lott, who travelled to Egypt to become tutor to Ismail Pasha's children published this description of another of the Khedive's steamers in 1869. "On reaching the deck of that floating palace I found it completely screened in with a crimson awning, with small glass windows[...]The deck was covered with several thick Turkey carpets, divans were scattered about in various directions, silk cushions lay upon the carpet."²³⁴ Although there are no photographs, of Leighton's steamer, the *Sheberkhyet*, if it had the opulence of the Khedive's other steamers it would have distinguished Leighton's experience on the Nile from nearly all of the artists who came before him. The on-board interiors may have also provided the impetus to continue growing his budding collection that I explored in chapter 1. Furthermore, the extra space afforded Leighton the ability to take a large quantity of canvases, at least forty, and oil painting equipment. Most artists were limited to more portable materials such as paper and watercolour resulting in the predominance of the medium in Orientalist works. A journey that had been arduous, dangerous (shipwrecks at the cataracts were common) and slow going, had been streamlined for Leighton by a generous accommodation from the ruler of the country, whose favour opened avenues in the country that might have otherwise been unavailable to a Westerner. The *Sheberkhyet* was staffed with a full crew, of international backgrounds. However, the vessel also afforded Leighton his privacy. On his return to Cairo, he summarily concludes in his travel journal, "I have been indeed fortunate, as I now see more clearly than ever, in a *dabiyeah* I could not have achieved a third of the journey, and in a passenger steamer I could not have done a stroke of work. Every study I take home I owe entirely to the viceroy's munificent

²³³ Zeinab El-Gundy, 'El-Mahrousa Yacht: A History Entwined with the Suez Canal' *Ahram Online*, 6 August 2015, accessed 1 July 2017 <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/136969/Egypt/Politics-/ElMahrousa-yacht-A-history-entwined-with-the-Suez-.aspx>.

²³⁴ Lott, *The Grand Pacha's Cruise on the Nile in the Viceroy of Egypt's Yacht*, 4-5.

kindness.”²³⁵ Therefore, Leighton’s avant-garde experimentations on the Nile are directly indebted to the support, and eventual patronage, of the British and Egyptian monarchies.

As Leighton left Cairo on 14 October, southbound for the tour of the cities, monuments and sites of the Nile, he remained dutiful to recording his trip through written and visual accounts. The writing and paintings from his trip are divergent records that reflect Leighton’s belief in the fundamental differences between the literary and visual, through the lens of Orientalist discourses. Through a close reading of the travel diary, I will be able to contextualise the practical circumstances of Leighton’s Nile journey and dissect parts of the personal narrative he constructed and its relationship to the subsequent landscapes.

Up the Nile to Phylae: Textual Dissonance

The travel diary *Up the Nile to Phylae* was published in full in the *Life, Letters and Works of Frederic Leighton* and represents a unique record of Leighton’s travels to the Near East.²³⁶ There is no equivalent record in the archival material which contains such a detailed first-person account spanning a sustained period of weeks. He warned his family that he would be unable to write letters due to the method of travel on the Nile and we might therefore assume the diary was intended to be read by family and friends upon his return to London.²³⁷ However, while the diary may have circulated amongst this close circle, it remained unpublished until 1906.

Publishing travel diaries from excursions to Egypt and the Holy Lands became an increasingly popular form of post-travel account for British tourists in the period, a mode of Orientalism positioned between travel literature and popular culture. Publications ranged in scale from a few private editions for friends and patrons to widely published books. Sections of Hunt’s private diary from his 1855 trip to Egypt was one of the first accounts published by an artist which serve as a compendium to

²³⁵ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 2, 187.

²³⁶ I believe we can safely assume it was published in full by Barrington because there is an entry for every calendar day of the trip and no fragmentary entries, a regular occurrence in other sections of Leighton’s published correspondence.

²³⁷ Barrington, *Life Letters and Works* vol. 2, 132-3.

exhibited works such as *The Scapegoat* (Fig. 46). Following his own successful Eastern account, *Notes on a Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo* (1846), Thackeray asks, “Has not everybody written an Eastern book?”²³⁸ Leighton’s choice to keep *Up the Nile to Phylae* unpublished and in the realm of just a few family members positions the volume as a private account. Similarly, his paintings from the trip were also personal records, though not totally closed off from public view.

Like Kim, I believe this volume is vital in detailing Leighton’s motivations for visiting the East.²³⁹ Kim reads the diary in relation to Leighton’s formulation of gender and sexuality in his later Neo-Classical and Biblical paintings. However, my approach will take both the diary and the Nile landscapes and posit that their limited circulation offers a new opportunity for this research to read Leighton’s unpolished thoughts, altogether different from his comments on Egyptian art in his Academy addresses, and experimental canvases in tandem to explore his motivations for travelling as an opportunity to pursue non-Western avenues of artistic engagement.

Marcia Pointon argues that his Hunt’s travel diary from his trip to Egypt functioned to legitimise the subsequent paintings.²⁴⁰ However, in examining Leighton’s travel diary and paintings as concurrent records dissonance and divergence emerges. The painted Nile scenes give us a fixed view of a depopulated Egyptian landscape. The travel diary regales the reader with active days, accounts of the ship’s crew, excursions, dinners with diplomats, and encounters with native people. This itinerary corresponds to an iconography of Orientalist subjects typically selected by authors and artists but largely ignored in Leighton’s paintings. Given the unique record Leighton provides alongside his Nile paintings, it is essential to examine the two to understand what Leighton includes in his writing, omits in his paintings, and to understand the motivations behind those selections. Firstly, I discuss the lack of people in Leighton’s Nile landscapes and their reappearance in his written account and later sketches. Through this, I begin to explore Leighton’s experimentations with

²³⁸ W.M. Thackeray, *The Christmas Books of Mr M.A. Titmarsh* (London: Smith, Elder, 1868), 68. See also, WM Thackeray (writing as Michelangelo Titmarsh) *Notes of a Journey From Cornhill to Grand Cairo* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1846), 290-291.

²³⁹ Kim, *Painted Men in Britain*, 13.

²⁴⁰ Marcia Pointon, ‘The Artist as Ethnographer: Holman Hunt and the Holy Land’ in *The Pre-Raphaelites Re-viewed*, (ed.) Marcia Pointon (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), 22-44.

genre between portraiture and landscape on the trip and the different modes of Orientalist record he utilised. Secondly, I will ask the same question of the lack of monuments, or the ‘greatest hits’ of the Nile tour such as the Pyramids or sphinxes, in his paintings and Leighton’s record of those monumental and architectural encounters in the travel diary. This, I argue, is Leighton’s resistant response to a bourgeoisie tourist’s view of Egypt, established by artists such as Roberts and capitalised on by travel companies like Thomas Cook. This anti-touristic viewpoint is also compounded by an anti-photographic impulse, which I discuss later in the chapter.

Despite the assertion that Leighton happily lost sight of everyone during the duration of the Nile tour, his daily record of activity counter the claim immediately. Here, is an exhaustive yet instructive list of the people he recorded having met and interacted with. I have organised these people into groups, along their national and working identities, also noting where people have been identified but not named.

International –

The Sterlings (British)
 Lady Duff-Gordon (British)
 Auguste Mariette (French)
 American Consul-General Hale
 Consul for France (unnamed)
 Consul for Prussia (unnamed)
 Consul for Spain Mr. Wonista
 Anglo-Coptic teacher (unnamed)
 Scottish clergyman (unnamed)

Ship’s Crew -

Captain (unnamed)
 Captain’s Secretary (unnamed)
 Otilio (waiter)
 French cook (unnamed)
 Dragoman (unnamed)
 Hosseyn
 Reis Ali (steerman)
 Engineer (unnamed)
 Pilots (number unspecified)
 (unnamed)

Egyptian –

Government doctor (unnamed)
 Local doctor (unnamed)
 Sheykh Selim
 Fatma

Turkish –

Mustafa Aga (HBM Consular Agent), his son Said
 Son of Mustafa Aga’s servant
 Abdallah

Egyptian consuls (unnamed)	Mustafa Aga's gardener who he sketched (unnamed)
Zehneb, a dancer	
Slave girls	Hassan Effendi (Turkish Governor)
Children at villages	Governors of the Provinces of Esne, Assouan, Mudir and Abdyos
Dancing girls	
Dervishes	Chief Magistrate (unnamed)
One eyed man who he sketched (unnamed)	
Artists at a pottery near Keneh	
Si Syed Achmet and his family (British agent for Keneh and Khossayr plus son, nephews and cousins)	

Sudanese –

Nubian slaves (unspecified number)
(unnamed)

Leighton entertained guests on the *Sherberkhyet*, observed the working day of the ship's crew, visited the homes of Consuls, walked through villages with locals – an itinerary not dissimilar to his increasingly public role as an Academician nor for the typical Nile tour. A key element of the tour, developed by companies like Thomas Cook were encounters with native people.²⁴¹ These people figure heavily in Leighton's written account with some relationships developing deeper than others. The ship's angler, Hosseyn, looms large, with frequent conversations and anecdotes recounted with a paternalistic, condescending warmth that demonstrates their relationship went beyond a straightforward gentleman-servant dynamic. Hosseyn appears to have spoken the most English of the ship's crew and served as interpreter for Leighton during the litany of consular dinners.²⁴² Of the many Egyptians that Leighton met while on excursions, a young girl called Fatma was also a favourite. Leighton wrote, "A frequent companion in my work is my friend, little Fatma, a

²⁴¹ F. Robert Hunter, 'Tourism and Empire: The Thomas Cook & Son Enterprise on the Nile, 1868-1914' *Middle Eastern Studies* 40, no. 5 (2004), 28-54.

²⁴² Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 2, 174.

sweet, small child of about five, with a bright face and two rows of the whitest teeth ever seen[...]the little Turks were not so nice as Fatma, the little Arab.” Fatma eventually became *Little Fatima*, exhibited in 1875 (Fig. 56) who the *Art Journal* called “a little oriental fairy of the most witching grace” and I return to the subject of her ‘little’ Orientalism in the next chapter.²⁴³

Many of Leighton’s frustrations are bound up in the overwhelming societal obligations of travelling the Nile. Meetings with diplomats were, at times, congenial. Leighton reports dining with Mustafa Aga, a local official who he found “a very courteous old gentleman, with half a nose, and much respected by all who know him.”²⁴⁴ He also records meeting his family and touring Luxor, Asyut and Thebes with his sons on horseback.²⁴⁵ At other times, however, Leighton used his diary to vent private frustrations. On Sunday the 18th, he ends his entry after a day in Asyut, “This evening more visitors on board – lemonade and cigars – *pour changer*; Consuls, &c &c. – tedious.”²⁴⁶ Although elucidating on only a small number from the list of people Leighton met, one can immediately gain a sense that he was not isolated on the *Sherberkhyet* nor did he avoid speaking with people of multinational and ethnic backgrounds, even deploying his limited knowledge of Turkish during a conversation with the Governor of Esne and the chief magistrate.²⁴⁷

While at moments representing an engaging and cosmopolitan record of his trip, troubling passages run through *Up the Nile to Phylae*, which compel us, as modern readers, to confront the artist’s views on ethnicity and race. In the diary, Leighton is, for example, frequently racist and misogynist, particularly towards Egyptian and Nubian women calling them “ill-favoured [;] far worse than apes” and “green monkeys”.²⁴⁸ Even when his taxonomic record of skin colour is intended as complimentary to “the most beautiful foil to the bronze-brown nearly naked *fellahin*”, Leighton’s prose reads as voyeuristic and leering as he judges shirtless native bodies from a distance on board his ship. His frustration towards nightly

²⁴³ Charles E. Pascoe, ‘The Paintings in the Royal Academy, Second Paper’ *The Art Journal* (1875), 219.

²⁴⁴ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 2, 143 and 172.

²⁴⁵ *ibid.*

²⁴⁶ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 2, 140.

²⁴⁷ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 2, 147.

²⁴⁸ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 2, 150 and 154.

consular dinners is also channelled into further racist characterisations. “I was not sorry when [dinner] was over, for I had gone through all the sensations of a sea voyage. I observe that Arabs make a point of eating with as much noise and smacking of lips as possible...”²⁴⁹ Modern life and people are written about in *Up the Nile to Phylae* in a way that possibly accounts more for Leighton’s complicated feelings about travelling and sightseeing as opposed to an accurate record of the people he encountered. In two landscapes, the tension between Leighton’s emotive viewpoint and the lived reality of Egyptians becomes clear, as he negotiates the status of his own written narrative alongside the goal of his non-narrative landscape painting.

In *View on the Nile at Asyut* (1868) (Fig. 57), the town in view appears abandoned. In the diary, Leighton notes the aesthetic pleasure he derived from the architecture. “The village [El Hamza] at which we have landed is very picturesque. The mud and brick architecture is here carried out with some care and is entirely delightful. The walls are mostly crowned with an openwork finish made by a simple arrangement of the bricks which is most effective.”²⁵⁰ However, a single, microscopic figure peers over the openwork brick wall, difficult to discern against the architecture, landscape and the ever-present Nile water (Fig. 58). With this single figure, Leighton minimises the presence of the local people by representing them in an abstract, rather than portrait, form. The figure is comprised of no more than three or four strokes of red, blue and white paint creating the impression of a robed person wearing a fez or turban. A bridge and town wall run across the centre of the painting like a band. There are a small group of buildings including a mosque whose minaret can be seen reaching the same height as the palm trees. The grassy bank at the foreground of the brick wall remains unworked and thick vegetation grows upon it. The application of paint in thick layers of green, grey, and brown create a blending effect dematerialising the architecture as part of the landscape – as Leighton stated a “most effective” aesthetic view. This technique suppresses the viewer’s urge to question where and who the rest of the population are by conflating the conventions of long distance landscape with the signs of architecture, religion, labour practices, and the

²⁴⁹ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 2, 174.

²⁵⁰ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 2, 138.

people who fulfil those functions. Leighton writes repeatedly in the diary that he has no time to paint people and that sketching figures was “out of the question”.²⁵¹ However, the presence of the figure in primary colours projects forward from the atmospheric, aesthetic blending technique, stands resistant to the artist’s attempts to entirely depopulate the scene.

Leighton’s aesthetic project is also infiltrated by his Egyptian crew in *On the Nile* (1868) (Fig. 59). A structure in disrepair juts out into the water, possibly a pier or former dock. The structure is surrounded by lush vegetation on its right and on the other side of the bank. On the far bank, painted just above the furthest point of the ruined pier are several figures and a boat moored on the beach (Fig. 60). They appear to be walking towards a gap in the trees to a small settlement with houses, some of which can be seen on the top of hills in the background. This already small painting (26.8 x 41.2 cm) again keeps this populated scene in the background largely hidden and off to one side, instead offering the picturesque ruin and lush trees as a focal point. Like a Dutch miniature landscape painting, which often commissioned by men who were away from their families on boats, or the microscopic details in a Pre-Raphaelite painting, the presence of these figures offers a brief glimpse into the trip and the labour of native people that facilitated the production of these landscapes. As Marsh notes, “Victorian art owes its existence to those who are relatively absent from its images.”²⁵² While it’s unclear if these are men from the crew of the *Sherberkhyet*, typically, when Leighton left the boat to dine with diplomats and local officials, he was usually accompanied by several of the ship’s crew, who acted as a forward party.²⁵³

Although Leighton came to Egypt to paint “skies” and not people, these paintings demonstrate that Egyptians were not altogether excised from their own landscape. Of the nearly forty works that Leighton returned to England with, several oil and pencil sketches of figures do exist. These sketches, *Head of an Elderly Arab* (1868) (Fig. 61) and *Head of an Egyptian* (1868) (Fig. 62), most likely taken from a study of

²⁵¹ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 2, 159 and 162.

²⁵² Jan Marsh, “The Black Presence in British Art 1800-1900: Introduction and Overview” in *Black Victorians: Black People in British Art, 1800-1900*, (ed.) Jan Marsh (Aldershot: Lund Humphries, 2005), 12.

²⁵³ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 2, 176.

Mustafa Aga's gardener who sat in Thebes for two shillings and the ship's angler, Hosseyn.²⁵⁴ The portrait captures in lost profile of the sitter against a plain background, focusing predominantly on facial features and the layers of turban.²⁵⁵ In March 1869, when Queen Victoria and the Prince of Wales visited Leighton House to see the sketches, the Prince of Wales selected the two studies of Hosseyn after seeing "a quantity of sketches in pencils and oils, just taken by [Leighton] on the Nile, which were very interesting."²⁵⁶ The Queen and Prince's choice of the two portrait studies fits in with the Royal Collection's growing acquisition of paintings of exotic and native peoples from across the reaches of the Empire.

Leighton's work prefigured a similar series commissioned by the Queen in 1886 for Rudolf Swoboda to depict "the various types of the different nationalities", which included several Egyptian figures (Fig. 63).²⁵⁷ However, Leighton's studies do not quite comfortably fit the conventions of ethnographic type portraiture or the racial distinctions classified in the popular pseudo-science of phrenology. They are individualistic, personalised portrait studies similar to those he made of his male studio models such as Angelo Colarossi. However, these studies also invoke the tension between the racist way in which he describes these people in the travel diary and the more sensitive portrayal they are given in his art.

Equally interesting are three figurative paintings made in the years after the trip and exhibited at the Royal Academy. *Little Fatima*, *A Nile Woman* (1870) (Fig. 64), and *An Eastern Slinger* (1875) (Fig. 65) all draw on the trip to Egypt but under radically different production circumstances back at the studio-house in London. While each of the paintings interrelate with Egypt as a source of inspiration, in the scope of this thesis they fit into alternative discussions of Leighton's Orientalism. I return to *Little Fatima* in chapter 3 in relation to Leighton's use of adolescent girls in his odalisque paintings. *Eastern Slinger and A Nile Woman* are discussed in chapter 4 in relation to Leighton's intersecting and overlapping Orientalism and Neoclassicism. I omit them

²⁵⁴ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 2, 170.

²⁵⁵ I will return to a discussion of *Head of an Elderly Arab* in relation to the painting *Hercules Wrestling Death for the Body of Alcestis* (1869-71) in chapter 4.

²⁵⁶ Royal Archive, Queen Victoria's Journal, 12 March 1869. Royal Archives, Windsor.

²⁵⁷ Oliver Millar, *The Victorian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, vol. 2. (Cambridge: Cambridge: University Press), 679. For more on Swoboda's portraits see, Saloni Mathur, *An Indian Encounter: Portraits for Queen Victoria* (London: National Gallery, 2002).

here in order to give focus to the understudied sources from the trip to Egypt, the travel diary, sketches and landscapes.

Leighton's paintings of Egypt are, then, a selective part of a whole trip, especially in light of the fact he provides a written account that describes parts of the trip completely excised in the painting. *Up the Nile to Phylae* is a personal narrative that makes its author the protagonist and central figure in a journey through a foreign land with exotic, native people. The distant, miniscule figures in *View at Asyut* and *On the Nile* show how marginal native people were in the Leighton's overall scheme for visualising the Egyptian landscape, enacting a fantasy of cosmopolitan travel done solo. However, their enduring presence, along with the few figure studies that he was able to complete testify to the fact that this was a journey that could not have been completed without a local guide. By most measures, *Up the Nile to Phylae* is a standard tourist's account of a Nile journey. However, paired with the visual record, it dispels Leighton's claims of always travelling alone and illuminates the way in which he interacted with people across national, racial and class boundaries, and the limits of his cosmopolitanism with regards to race and gender. An understanding of this written record also helps to focus and highlight the difference strategies and results of the visual record. In the next section, I examine Leighton's use of landscape up until 1868 alongside the precedent of British artists on the Nile.

Leighton's Landscape

Leighton's interest in Mediterranean landscape became a staple of his travels from his earliest trips while still a young artist in Rome and he produced nearly two hundred landscape oil paintings over the course of his career. Leighton's sketching holidays with fellow artist Giovanni Costa in the Campagna were foundational for the techniques he developed and were stylistically indebted to the Etruscan School, which Costa had founded.²⁵⁸ Towards the end of his residency in Italy in 1859, he took a five-week tour of Capri to visit "all the spots about which artists rave."²⁵⁹

²⁵⁸ Christopher Newall, *The Etruscans: Painters of Italian Landscape, 1850-1900* (Stoke-On-Trent: Stoke on Trent Museum and Art Gallery, 1989), 36.

²⁵⁹ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 1, 172.

His views of the area around his hotel, the Albergo Pagano, depict a lush vegetative island overflowing with bright flowers which sprinkle his views of Capri, *Garden of a House at Capri* (Fig. 66) and *Garden of an Inn, Capri* (Fig. 67) (both 1859).²⁶⁰

These views are a horticulturist's landscape, manicured and confined within the built environment. Leighton's love of white architecture and the island's botanic beauty again intermingle in these images but the scale of these views is limited – roofs cut the sky to a small sliver at the uppermost vertical of the paintings. The Albergo Pagano was at the centre of the artistic community in Capri and these images signal the European bohemian and urban quality of that experience. Rather than solitary days out walking or sailing, Leighton was reconnecting with German artists from his student days and held court with young, cosmopolitan travellers from across Europe.²⁶¹

His landscapes from Spain are more indicative of the supposedly solitary nature of Leighton's travels abroad and the distances he traversed in order to select landscape scenes. The change in atmosphere and geography from lush Capri is clear in his views of the Iberian peninsula, in the Moorish south of Spain near Gibraltar. In *Mountains near Ronda – Puerta de los Vientos* (1866) (Fig. 68) hot air evaporates clouds, the vegetation is thin and the colour of the earth is a flat green and brown. Though there is evidence of a town and a building set into the middle distance, the wide sky and chain of mountains overtakes this scene, their comparative scale dwarfs the buildings and city walls. Compared with his later views of the mountains near the medieval Moorish city of Granada, we can see the artist transition from cityscape to a fully rusticated landscape. *Ruined Moorish Arch at Ronda, Spain* (1866) (Fig. 69) is a picturesque image in the vein of William Gilpin's writings on the style in the eighteenth century – ruined, depopulated, architecture subjected to the ravages of time and nature. He took a similar approach to the picturesque while in Greece in the following year, painting *Athens with the Genoese Tower: Phynx in Foreground* (1867) (Fig. 70), isolating the ancient ruin amongst a mountainous landscape.

²⁶⁰ I am grateful to George Field for providing information on the Albergo Pagano and the artistic community in Capri at the time Leighton visited.

²⁶¹ James Money, *Capri: Island of Pleasure* (Faber and Faber, 2012).

Contrastingly, Owen Jones who had visited Spain in 1834 and 1860 brought back colourful images of Islamic Mediterranean design, the basis for *The Grammar of Ornament* (1856) and the Alhambra Court at the Crystal Palace.²⁶² Although Leighton's painted ruin alludes to the shape of the distinctive Moorish keyhole arch, it does not translate any pattern or elements of design which might be transferable to a British design context, already demonstrating an avant-garde disinterest in the conventions other contemporary British artists set while working abroad. Although Leighton's Orientalism intersects with design reform and Jones in other stimulating ways that I explore in the next chapter, in this instance, Leighton's eschews Jones' bright, primary colour palette and emphasise on architectural design.²⁶³

Less than a year later, in the autumn of 1867, Leighton arrived from to the islands of the Aegean Sea via Istanbul. After travelling by land through the interior of Turkey and Anatolia for nearly six weeks, the sea is celebrated in the foreground of these island landscapes. These images are the most crystalline landscape views Leighton had produced thus far. The light, air and water are filtered clearly and sharply and stand in a stark contrast to the mountain ranges in the distance. There are subtle differences in palette in the blues of each painting, evidence of a Whistlerian commitment to tonality and composition which reveal the depth of the water as in *Coast of Asia Minor seen from Rhodes* (1867) (Fig. 71), the time of day the scene was painted as in *Bay Scene, Island of Rhodes* (1867) (Fig. 72) and the weather conditions' effect on the water's surface as in *Distant View of Mountains in the Aegean Sea* (1867) (Fig. 73). At Rhodes, Lindos and Chios, Leighton started to use the longer, rectangular canvases that he would later employ in his Egyptian landscapes. This choice is justified in the horizontality of the paintings, most notable in the *Coast of Asia Minor* views that are oriented eastwards in the direction of Turkey and Syria with ranges of mountains and the expanse of the sea.

In the wider scheme of Leighton's oeuvre, these landscapes became most notable for their redeployment after 1867 as the background and scenery of new paintings.

²⁶² See Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament, Illustrated by Examples of Various Styles of Ornament*. (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1868) and *The Alhambra Court in the Crystal Palace* (London: The Crystal Palace Library, 1854).

²⁶³ For more on Jones' Spanish trip see, Mariam Rosser-Owen, *Islamic Arts From Spain* (London: V&A Publishing, 2010), 125-127.

Ormond and Newall have already identified many of the Aegean landscapes which are redeployed in later paintings.²⁶⁴ Amalgamated compositions of *The Coast of Asia Minor* and *Bay Scene, Island of Rhodes* (1867) were first repurposed in *Daedalus and Icarus* (1869) (Fig. 74). Leighton wrote to a friend, “I am assailed by pleasant memories of Rhodes”²⁶⁵, and the sensorial impression of the island is reconjured by the artist in mythological as well as atmospheric terms, referencing the sun god Helios whose union with Rhodos created the island of Rhodes.²⁶⁶ Those same two Rhodian landscapes were reconfigured again in *Ariadne Abandoned by Theseus* (1868) (Fig. 75), *Greek Girls Picking Up Pebbles by the Sea* (1871) (Fig. 76) and in a late work nearly thirty years after this trip in *Perseus on Pegasus Hastening to the Rescue of Andromeda* (1895-6) (Fig. 77). The platform on which the *Greek Girls Playing Ball* (1899) (Fig. 78) stand is adapted from the roofs seen in *Lindos, Rhodes* and a similar platform is created in *Winding the Skein* (1878) (Fig. 79) from the *Bay Scene, Island of Rhodes*.

However, the reworking of the Aegean landscapes also pushes back against some of strongest criticism of Leighton’s mythological paintings including the recurrent criticism that Barringer and Prettejohn discuss,²⁶⁷ Leighton’s apparent, “intensely artificial taste” that he reserved for dramatic scenes, often resulting in a frozen effect of the human figures.²⁶⁸ Against the very idea of artificiality, Leighton placed his figures in a physical environment that he had experienced. They exist in a real geographical space which has been populated by fictitious scenes of Antiquity but nevertheless appear to be subject to the same atmosphere, environment, and climate as our world. In *Daedalus and Icarus*, Daedalus’ skin is tanned from the Rhodian sun, the intensity of which Leighton had complained of in letters to his mother.²⁶⁹ While the drapery in *Winding the Skein* and *Greek Girls Playing Ball* may appear frozen in an academic flourish, there is still the sense of the existence of the coastal breeze whipping them up into the air.

²⁶⁴ Jones, Newall et al, *Frederic Leighton: 1830-1896*, 41-45.

²⁶⁵ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 2, 148.

²⁶⁶ Jennifer R. March, *Dictionary of Classical Mythology* (London: Penguin, 1998), 287.

²⁶⁷ Barringer and Prettejohn, ‘Introduction’, xvii-xix.

²⁶⁸ *The Illustrated London News* (9 May 1857), 444.

²⁶⁹ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 1, 101.

Considering the development of Leighton's Mediterranean landscape paintings and their afterlife in paintings throughout the rest of his career, the Nile landscapes of 1868 remained unadapted, left depopulated and demythologised. There is no discernible link between any of the landscapes made in Egypt in 1868 and a later painting.²⁷⁰ Unlike the Aegean landscapes, they appear to be at the very least finished works in the sense that they are not open-ended for future reference or amalgamation. This could lead to one of two conclusions: that the Nile paintings are less important than Leighton's other landscapes or they are more significant than previously accounted for. In this chapter I argue for the latter. The Nile landscapes refuse to become a background to another painting. The subject they depict, the Nile and its banks, remain foregrounded and central to the image. That is not to say that previous trips and landscapes become merely tools in the artist's arsenal. Many of the techniques Leighton developed in Capri, Spain and the Aegean are brought to bear while on the Nile: more importantly, *en plein air* painting and an interest in the interplay between water and landscape. As we have seen, photographs of Leighton's studio from the 1895 (Fig. 37) show the Nile landscapes are placed prominently along with an array of carpets, visible to the public and other artists who would visit the house. This would suggest that there are readings to these paintings that Leighton intended, but the scholarship has not yet acknowledged. Understanding what it meant to be on the Nile in 1868 will help to unlock those meanings and the significance of utilising the landscape genre.

Precedents on the Nile: The Tourist and the Photographer

Visual depictions of Egypt by visiting Europeans started with the retinue of artists that accompanied the French expedition in 1801. The *Description de L'Egypte* published in volumes between 1809 and 1829 stimulated the emergence of a market for commercial images of the country's ancient monuments and architecture and, increasingly, journeys on the Nile. Considering nearly seventy years of artistic precedent, Leighton's trip fits into what was, at this point, a legacy of artists using

²⁷⁰ There is, however, a definite likeness and link between *Nile Woman* and a female figure in *Captive Andromache* which I will return to discuss later in chapter 4.

travel to Egypt to generate new landscapes, topographies, Biblical and genre paintings.

As a military backed venture, the purpose of the *Description* engravings were primarily taxonomic and strategic – to map towns and cities as well as make an inventory of valuable antiquities.²⁷¹ As one of the first British artists to travel through Egypt in 1838, David Roberts adapted the serial style and commercial posture of the *Description* and imbued it with more artistic concerns. Llewellyn notes that, “Roberts’ *Egypt and Nubia* was certainly not the first large illustrated publication devoted to that country, but it represented an attitude to its subject that differed from that of its predecessors.”²⁷² Roberts had already produced volumes of engravings from sketching holidays and illustrating the novels of Walter Scott and Edward Bulwer-Lytton. Therefore, he knew how to recreate scenes from his Eastern tour that appealed to a commercial audience and utilised his knowledge of the eighteenth-century British landscape and picturesque traditions. *Views of The Holy Land, Syria, Idumea, Arabia, Egypt & Nubia* (1842-49) was published in three volumes and featured 247 lithographs. The scenes which Ruskin credited as “faithful and laborious”, ranged from minarets in Cairo to temples in Dendara, and sweeping vistas of the Valley of the Kings. Copies were bought for the Royal Academy schools and the lithographs firmly set the visual itinerary for travel through Egypt. James Hicks’ recent thesis also underscores the importance of the *Views* depiction of the imperial picturesque; mediating a vision of Egypt as an unmodern and undeveloped country and therefore putting it in a category that let artists define the country through their depictions.²⁷³

The influence of *Views of the Holy Land* can be seen in the next generation of artist-travellers in Egypt. Lear, who travelled to Egypt first in 1849 and then in 1854 with the Pre-Raphaelite artist, Thomas Seddon, exhibited works from his travels in Egypt at the Royal Academy summer show in 1856.²⁷⁴ His reputation as an artist-traveller

²⁷¹ Peter A. Clayton, *The Rediscovery of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1982), 26

²⁷² Briony Llewellyn, ‘The Victorian Vision of Egypt’ in *The Inspiration of Egypt*, (ed.) Patrick Connor (Croydon: Croydon Printing Company, 1983), 115.

²⁷³ James Hicks, ‘David Roberts’ *Egypt and Nubia* as Imperial Picturesque Landscape’ (PhD thesis, University of Hertfordshire, 2010), ii.

²⁷⁴ Vivien Noakes, *The Painter Edward Lear* (London: David and Charles, 1991), 31.

and landscape painter had been well established at this point having worked under Hunt who was fifteen years his junior. His paintings of Egypt reinforced the Robertsian itinerary with paintings of places such as Philae in *Approach to Philae* (1854) (Fig. 80), Asyut, and titles that always included being ‘On the Nile’. Lear’s poem about Philae from *Book of Nonsense* (1846) predated his trip but already tied his reputation with the country.

“There was an Old Person of Philae,
Whose conduct was scroobious and wily;
He rushed up a Palm,
When the weather was calm,
And observed all the ruins of Philae.”

Leighton visited Philae in early November at the furthest point of his journey, an island which at the time was above the cataracts in Aswan.²⁷⁵ While I argue that Leighton was predominantly uninterested in portraying the show stopper sites of the Nile journey, *Temple at Philae* (1868) (Fig. 81) is an exception to this but, at the same time, an example that sheds light on his aversion to such depictions. Lear’s *Approach to Philae* reveals the appeal of the island, which he described as a “fairy-island” for artist-travellers.²⁷⁶ The vast temple complex included the remarkably intact Temple of Isis, covered in hieroglyphs along with several other Ptolemaic temples and kiosks. Philae had all of the staples the Egyptian tour itinerary.

However, when Leighton arrived he was decidedly disappointed. “The scenery about Phylae has been spoken of as Paradise; I never saw anything less like my notion of Paradise, and so far, therefore I am disappointed.”²⁷⁷ He has little to say about the temples and his focus immediately shifts to the skyline and the mountains of Wady Halfa in the distance. In stark contrast, in his Academy Address in 1883, his views on the monuments had evolved significantly. “Those whose fortune it has been to stand by the base of the Great Pyramid of Khoofoo [sic] and look up at its far summit flaming in the violet sky, or to gaze on the wreck of that solemn watcher of the rising

²⁷⁵ The original island was flooded by the British during the Aswan Dam Project in 1902. The temple complex was moved to its current location on Agilkia Island.

²⁷⁶ Peter Levi, *Edward Lear: A Life* (London: IB Tauris, 1995), 145.

²⁷⁷ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 2, 151.

sun, the giant Sphinx of Gizeh, erect, still, after sixty centuries in the desert's slowly rising tide; or who have rested in the shade of the huge shafts which tell of the pomp and splendour of hundred-gated Thebes; must, I think, have received impressions of majesty and of enduring strength which will not fade within their memory.”²⁷⁸

Leighton includes reference to the “violet sky” the source of his true admiration during the trip, but otherwise prioritises the Robertsian agenda of accessing artistic inspiration through Pharonic monuments and sites.

As a painting, *Temple at Philae* corroborates this earlier statement made in *Up the Nile to Phylae*. The architecture, sketched from the just beyond the colonnaded court of the Temple of Isis, is pushed to the extreme sides of the canvas, acting instead as scenic dressing for the landscape and river which take up the centre foreground of the canvas. He later wrote that he disliked “the ugliness of the rocks” which appear as a torrent of brown brushstrokes, layered in such a way that the ground becomes unmoored and un-manoeuvrable.²⁷⁹ The columns of the colonnade are plain and uncarved with a simplified lotus capital, a choice seemingly based on “the wearing monotony of the hieroglyphs” inside the temple.²⁸⁰ The features that beguiled Leighton’s fellow artist-travellers are the very same qualities he rejects in his depiction of Philae. In *Temple at Philae*, the island is made anonymous and he strips the temple of its Egyptological resonance, particularly strong at the time as its hieroglyphs were used to help decode the Rosetta Stone.²⁸¹ Instead, as in the rest of the Nile landscapes, Leighton gives attention over to the skyline and view of the Nile. The image can be read as an outright rejection of the precedent of such scenes, using one of the most famous landmarks in Egypt.

What Roberts, Lear and Hunt share in their depictions of Egypt was a claim of accurate realism and experiential viewing. This type of armchair tourism has strong ties to painting in the age of British Imperial expansion from Captain Cook’s voyages to the Daniells in India.²⁸² From the 1860s, however, the natural successor to these touristic and topographical views was photography. Ali Behdad and Luke

²⁷⁸ Leighton, *Addresses Delivered to the Student of the Royal Academy*, 76.

²⁷⁹ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 2, 154.

²⁸⁰ *ibid.*

²⁸¹ See Samuel Sharpe, *The Rosetta Stone: In Hieroglyphics and Greek* (London: John Russell Smith, 1871).

²⁸² See Bernard Smith, *Imagining the Pacific* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

Gartlan consider the role of photography “key to the evolution and maintenance of Europe’s distinctly Orientalist vision of the Middle East”²⁸³ As the technologies of photography moved into to the commercial realm, studios were quickly set up in Cairo, Alexandria and Port Said by French practitioners such as Felice Beato and Hippolyte Arnoux as well as British photographers such as Francis Frith.²⁸⁴ As early as 1862, Queen Victoria chose a photographer, Francis Bedford, rather than a painter to accompany the Prince of Wales on his first trip to Egypt.²⁸⁵ Beyond the Anglo-French photographers, Egyptian and Turkish practitioners also played a vital role in disrupting and reshaping Orientalist constructions through photography.²⁸⁶ Increasingly, debates over the content of Orientalist visual culture were being projected through the medium of photography, reflecting the wider challenges it posed to painting and representation. Sophia Lane-Poole, sister of Edward Lane, the author of *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* wrote that “The value of the photograph – its principal charm at least – is its infallible truthfulness. We may have long revelled in the poetry of the East; but this work enables us to look, at it were, upon the realities.”²⁸⁷

In the context of these developments and the work being produced by contemporaries in the late 1860s, Leighton’s work by comparison rejects the photographic packaging of the landscape and monuments as touristic commodity.²⁸⁸ Leighton’s own feelings on photography were ambiguous. He had photographs taken of his paintings which were circulated amongst friends and prospective patrons. There are dozens of official Leighton portraits. As a sitter, he is a calm and unperturbed photographic subject, evident in his soft-eyed gaze directly at camera in David Wilkie Wynfield’s 1864

²⁸³ Ali Behdad and Luke Gartlan, ‘Introduction’ in *Photography’s Orientalism: New Essays on Colonial Representation*, (eds.) Ali Behdad and Luke Gartlan (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2013), 1.

²⁸⁴ For more on Beato see, Anne Lacoste, *Felice Beato: A Photographer on an Eastern Road* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2010). For more on Arnoux see, Nissan Perez, *Focus East: Early Photography in the Near East (1839-1885)* (New York: Abrams, 1988), 111 + 127. For more on Frith see, Douglas Nickel, *Francis Frith in Egypt and Palestine: A Victorian Photographer Abroad* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).

²⁸⁵ Sophie Gordon, *Cairo to Constantinople: Francis Bedford’s Photography in the Middle East*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

²⁸⁶ See Nancy Micklewright, ‘Alternative Histories of Photography in the Ottoman Middle East’ *Photography’s Orientalism: New Essays on Colonial Representation*, (eds.) Ali Behdad and Luke Gartlan (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2013), 75-92.

²⁸⁷ Sophia Lane Poole quoted in Julia Van Haften, *Egypt and the Holy Land in Historic Photographs: 77 Views by Francis Frith* (New York: Dover, 1980), xvii.

²⁸⁸ W.J.T. Mitchell, *Landscape and Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 15.

portrait (Fig. 82).²⁸⁹ Barrington also accounts one failed experiment Leighton made with art photography. “He took a Kodak with him once on his travels but the results were amusingly negative. ‘From the moment, an artist relies on photography he does no good’ was a statement I heard him make”.²⁹⁰ This is perhaps in reference to his 1877 trip to Tangiers and four photographs produced during that trip are attributed to the artist. In one case, the ‘amusingly negative’ results of these photographs are self-evident. *Figures in Doorway, Tangiers, Morocco* (1877) (Fig. 83) is an unfinished product. The top half remains completely undeveloped, most likely due to an error in the wet collodion process. When Leighton visits Tangiers again in 1895, he does not repeat the same experiments and instead returns to painting.

Aestheticism on the Nile

Michael Foucault, in his writing on heterotopias, identifies the boat as the site of dreams and adventures, “the greatest reserve of the imagination”.²⁹¹ Travelling down the Nile in a moment when Egypt’s waters were repurposed for British and French imperial interests called for a new approach for depicting the country to be dreamed up. In 1868, this approach was aligned with developments back in London where new ideas about narrative, beauty, and the purpose of art were beginning to take hold amongst some of the leading art world figures and critics. These ideas were the nascent stages of the burgeoning Aestheticism movement and in this next section, I argue that Leighton used his Nile landscapes to test the early tenets of the movement and to refine his personal Aestheticism by experimenting with palette, composition and the representation of the environment. Having largely defined these paintings against what they are not, to now consider them in line with the philosophy that would characterise Leighton’s work for the next decade brings out their originality and the extent to which Leighton laboured and experimented in Egypt, rather than using the trip as leisure time.

²⁸⁹ For more on David Wilkie Wynfield see, Juliet Hacking, *Princes of Victorian Bohemia* (Munich: Prestel, 2000).

²⁹⁰ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 1, 206.

²⁹¹ Michael Foucault (trans. Jay Miskowiec) “Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias” *Architecture/Mouvement/Continuité* (October 1984), 9.

There are several passages in *Up the Nile to Phylae* of Leighton consistently dissecting the landscape, rendering the real world into palette choices and colour composition. The result of these experiments has implications for both Leighton's practice going forward and for other artists, often friends and colleagues of his, painting in Egypt after 1868. The arguments in this chapter also begin to open up the arguments in the third and fourth chapters, which engage primarily with painting after the 1870s, and argue that Leighton's Near Eastern trips were further opportunities for experimentation and to pursue new avenues of artistic engagement outside European centres of influence.

Prettejohn highlights the difficulty in identifying the exact moment when Aestheticism emerged in British art.²⁹² Unlike previous movements, there was no fully formed 'Aesthetic' brotherhood or the emphatic publication of a manifesto which declared the movement's aims.²⁹³ As she also notes, philosophies of aesthetics in the arts had been diffused through German and French writing since the early nineteenth century.²⁹⁴ In fact, by 1868, Leighton had already utilised stylistic motifs such as the peacock feather in paintings such as *Pavonia* (1859) (Fig. 84) which were becoming associated with Aestheticism. However, 1868 is a useful date to begin delving into the key writings and paintings that began to probe notions of aesthetic experience.²⁹⁵ As Leighton departed for Cairo, the term 'Art for Art's Sake' was already circulating in publications. Pater's unsigned review of Morris' poetry appeared in the *Westminster Review* in October 1868, followed by a second edition of Swinburne's writing on William Blake in November 1868, both of which used the term.²⁹⁶ Importantly in the year before, Sidney Colvin had already identified Leighton in and amongst a new group of English painters who encapsulated "beauty without realism" in painting (although he did not name them as Aestheticists), alongside Moore,

²⁹² Elizabeth Prettejohn, *Art for Art's Sake: Aestheticism in Victorian Painting* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 2.

²⁹³ Elizabeth Prettejohn, 'Introduction' in *After the Pre-Raphaelites: Art and Aestheticism in Victorian England*, (ed.) Elizabeth Prettejohn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 2.

²⁹⁴ Prettejohn, *Art for Art's Sake*, 4.

²⁹⁵ Prettejohn, *Art for Art's Sake*, 55.

²⁹⁶ Walter Pater, 'Poems of William Morris', in *William Morris: The Critical Heritage*, (ed.) Peter Faulkner (London: Routledge, 1973), 79-92 and Algernon Charles Swinburne, *William Blake: A Critical Essay* (London: John Camden Hotten, 1868).

Whistler, Rossetti, Burne-Jones, Solomon, Watts, Arthur Hughes, and George Heming Mason.²⁹⁷

Across the spheres of literature and painting in 1868, the early tenets of Aestheticism were already resonating with artists. At odds with these exciting works which proffered a new style emphasising formal considerations over narrative, Leighton's own contribution to the 1868 Academy summer exhibition, in the year he also became a full Academician and was appointed to the hanging committee, was the Biblical scene *Jonathan's Token to David* (Fig. 85). In contrast to Colvin's endorsement that positioned Leighton as the leader of the new English painters, this painting aligns him with a more traditional academic, Classicising style, albeit with a subject whose queer resonances was apparent to contemporary viewers and to modern scholars since.²⁹⁸ Perhaps this was a response to both his election and his own developing formulation of what 'academic painting' should look like. But between 1868 and 1869, Leighton underwent significant change as an artist and in the following year, when he contributed *Daedalus and Icarus* to the summer exhibition and submitted *St. Jerome* (1869) (Fig. 86) as his diploma work, critics immediately noticed the effect of his travels on his palette, frequently noting in their reviews that he had been across the Mediterranean and beyond.²⁹⁹ Annette Wickham notes that the intense sun radiating behind the prostrate saint was the first of many examples going forward where Leighton used light and heat as a powerful, life giving force.³⁰⁰ Leighton would have left for Egypt with the fresh impressions of Rossetti, Moore and Whistler's work. More importantly, were the ideas behind those paintings, which would activate Leighton's articulation of the Egyptian landscape.

Of the emerging Aesthetes of the late 1860s, Whistler's early landscapes warrant consideration alongside Leighton's Nile work. The connection between Leighton and Whistler has been a compelling one for modern scholars and has tended to focus

²⁹⁷ Colvin, 'English Painters and Painting in 1867', 464-76.

²⁹⁸ See Jason Edwards, *Alfred Gilbert's Aestheticism: Gilbert Amongst Whistler, Wilde, Leighton, Pater and Burne-Jones* (London: Routledge, 2006).

²⁹⁹ Rhys, *Sir Frederic Leighton*, 10.

³⁰⁰ Robin Simon, Mary Anne Stevens, et. al., *The Royal Academy of Arts: History and Collections* (New Haven and London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, in association with the Royal Academy of Arts, 2018), 95.

around the pair's shared but distinctive conceptions of 'Art for Art's Sake'.³⁰¹ These analyses have focused on the pair's work post-1870, highlighting the differences between Whistler's *Nocturne* series and Leighton's return to a Classicising exploration of the human figure. However, my consideration will attend to a crucial moment in 1868 when both Whistler and Leighton were working through the genre of landscape and experimenting with components of a shared Aestheticist theory. Though evidence of a close personal relationship between the two is minimal after they both moved to London from Paris in 1859, the results of their individual experiments in exotic climates demonstrate there was a level of parallel thinking.³⁰² This mutual theory put in practice revolved around the distribution of a muted palette, layered in sequential bands, which registered the changes in atmosphere of the newfound climates in which they were situated. In 1886, after the two had reconnected, Leighton expressed a moment of tender professional fidelity to Whistler in a letter: "I don't know whether you're aware that I am one of your flock".³⁰³ The pair were working far more in tandem decades earlier than previously accounted for, with far reaching implications for the core theories of each's Aestheticism.

Leighton was not the only artist influenced by his travels or the impact travelling had on his art practice. For Whistler, a fundamental shift took place during a trip to Chile in 1866, the motivations for which have remained shrouded in compelling art historical mystery.³⁰⁴ In January of that year Whistler travelled from Southampton via the isthmus of Panama (construction on their canal would not begin until 1881) and arrived in the Chilean port town of Valparaiso where he stayed until November.³⁰⁵ Like Leighton, Whistler did not write to friends or family while he was away, but instead kept a journal which also remained unpublished when he returned.

³⁰¹ See Elizabeth Prettejohn, 'James McNeill Whistler' in *Art for Art's Sake: Aestheticism in Victorian Painting* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 164-199 and David Peters Corbett, "Aestheticism and Unmediation: Moore Leighton, Watts, and Whistler" in *The World in Paint: Modern Art and Visuality in England, 1848-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 83-129.

³⁰² There is also scope to make a case, but unfortunately not the space in this chapter, that the city of Venice was similarly important in the early careers of both Leighton and Whistler as a site of avant-garde resistance to a touristic style of painting.

³⁰³ Frederic Leighton to Whistler, June 1886 *Whistler Correspondence: Online Edition* rec. no. 02510, accessed 8 April 2018.

³⁰⁴ For the most recent account of Whistler's time in Valparaiso, see Daniel E. Sutherland, 'James McNeill Whistler in Chile: Portrait of the Artist as Arms Dealer' *American Nineteenth Century History* 9, no. 1 (2008), 61-73.

³⁰⁵ Elizabeth Robins and Joseph Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler* vol. 1 (London: William Heinemann, 1908), 134.

His justification for the trip, given to his biographers after he returned, was loosely based around political sympathies towards the Chileans in their fight for independence from the Spanish.³⁰⁶

During his visit, however, he remained a comfortable distance from the fighting and instead took to sketching and painting the view from his portside window where the ships from the French, American and Spanish fleets were moored. Under his tutor, Robert Weir, Whistler had studied map making and topography at the military academy, West Point. Patricia de Montfort argues that Whistler's vision of nature was heavily influenced by military strategies of depicting the physical landscape.³⁰⁷ However, topographical accuracy gave way to a new set of criteria which prioritised the poetics of composition and the marginal spaces in the natural landscape.

Of the paintings from Valparaiso, *Crepuscule in Flesh Colour and Green* (1866) (Fig. 87) is one of three surviving works. Contrasted with Whistler's beach scenes from Trouville the year before, painted under the influence of Courbet, this painting approaches harbour, rather than seascape, painting with an altogether different effect. Travel and a new view of the Chilean coast, rather than well-known France, had activated a new element in Whistler's painting. The sea and the sky become the site of colour with the tall grey ships and unfurled sails used to contrast the keynotes of 'flesh colour' and green; the complimentary relationship between the two becoming the focus of the painting. Unlike Trouville, and Leighton's landscapes, the beach is not visible, requiring the artist to modulate instead blue and green to convey the depth of the water. Registering the light effects of twilight over the water and the clouds are also a central concern of the painting and Pevsner calls attention to the fact that in 1866, *Crepuscule* predated the Impressionist water-based scenes of Renoir, Degas, Manet and Monet.³⁰⁸

While Whistler's foundational place within Impressionism should be affirmed, I believe this painting demonstrates the ways in which Whistler was more concerned

³⁰⁶ Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler* vol. 1, 95.

³⁰⁷ Patricia de Montfort and Clare A.P. Willsdon, *Whistler and Nature* (London: Compton Verney and the Hunterian, University of Glasgow in association with Paul Holberton Publishing, 2018), 18.

³⁰⁸ Nikolaus Pevsner, 'Whistler's Valparaiso Harbour at the Tate Gallery' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 79, no. 463 (October 1941), 116.

with principles more closely correlated with Aestheticism. In its origins, Impressionism primarily sought to represent the local French landscape. *Crepuscule* is a response to a lower-tropical, Pacific atmosphere with a climate much different to Europe. The *Nocturnes*, Whistler's next landscape series and direct descendants of the Valparaiso paintings, represent the same time of day with a similar view towards water, but the effect of the British, urban landscape is entirely different. London fog smothers any crystalline air quality and paintings such as *Nocturne Grey and Gold – Piccadilly* (1881-83) (Fig. 88) use fog to dematerialise the urban landscape beneath.³⁰⁹ Unlike Whistler, Leighton never painted London. Travelling and an alternative climate are the factors which activate Leighton's landscape painting. As I have explored they served multiple, overlapping functions for the artist but most importantly, it seems, were scenes that would transport the viewer somewhere else.

Aestheticism, more broadly, which tended towards Southern Mediterranean, South East and Far East Asian settings, as seen in multiple examples by Colvin's grouping, sought instead to utilise specifically non-European climates because of the range of colour, air quality, and the effect of temperature on the landscape. Whistler's Chilean paintings extend this geography towards South America, a hitherto unexamined point of contact in Aestheticism's global matrix and a salient cross-cultural comparison with Leighton's Nilescares.

The shared experiences between Whistler in Chile and Leighton in Egypt could be extrapolated to make the case that habits of travelling were fundamental to the development of Aestheticism and tropical locales. Theophile Gautier, one of the progenitors of the Art for Art's sake philosophy, wrote that art "runs forward in all directions on wings of steam; new lands, unexplored climates, unfamiliar human types, original races offer themselves to art from every angle."³¹⁰ Central to this statement on the progression of art in 1857 is the notion that artists should directly experience, in other words travel, and continually seek out places beyond their home nation.³¹¹ One of this thesis' central points is to make a distinction between British

³⁰⁹ Christine L. Corton, *London Fog: The Biography* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015), 179.

³¹⁰ Théophile Gautier, "Salon de 1857. I." *L'Artiste* 14 June 1857, 190. Gautier was a seasoned traveller, visiting Spain, Algiers, Turkey, and Egypt amongst other places over the course of his career.

³¹¹ Peter Benson Miller, "Gérôme and Ethnographic Realism at the Salon of 1857" in (eds.) Scott Allan and Mary Morton, *Reconsidering Gérôme* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2010), 109.

artists' conceptions of Far and Near East Orientalisms. However, here might be a shared point of contact through Aestheticism, whereby real and imagined travels to these Easts directly impacted the style's evocation of 'Art for Art's Sake' and particularly, as we have seen in chapter 1, the House Beautiful. *Crepuscule in Flesh Colour and Green* was shown at the French Gallery, an important exhibition venue for painters of North African landscapes, in London in January 1867, directly following Leighton's trip to Spain and as he prepared to travel to Turkey and the Aegean. Whistler's ability to adapt landscape painting to modernist experimentation is a cornerstone of the art historical narrative concerning Aestheticism's development into the next two decades. However, to consider this earlier moment for Whistler's landscapes alongside Leighton's Nile work highlights the modern bent of Leighton's pictures while also introducing an alternative reading from our standard account of the output from Victorian artist-travellers in Egypt.

Like Whistler in Chile, Leighton was similarly motivated by the colour of the land and water. Here, there is a clear cross over between his travel diary and paintings with frequent ekphrastic passages on the colours and tones he recorded looking from the boat. On the second day he opined, "The keynote of this landscape is a soft, variant, fawn-coloured brown, than which nothing could take more gratefully the warm glow of sunlight or the cool purple mystery of shadow...the broad coffee-coloured sweep of the river is bordered on either side by a fillet of green of the most extraordinary vivacity."³¹² As he travelled, he noted the "fawn coloured glimmering sands", the "amethyst and sapphire" of the morning horizon and the "pale golden sun" casting a "faint violet flush over [the mountains] dark-brown ridges".³¹³ The river was transformed by the light into an "opal mirror"³¹⁴ and the fertile plains of the Nile banks were like an "immense jewel"³¹⁵ all of which had a transformative effect on Leighton's painting as he steamed southwards.

These descriptions cover a rich, secondary colour palette, in particular, using jewel tones that evoke Walter Pater's "gem-like" language in *The Renaissance* (1873).³¹⁶

³¹² Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 2, 134.

³¹³ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 2, 162.

³¹⁴ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 2, 171.

³¹⁵ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 2, 182.

³¹⁶ Walter Pater, *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1873).

However, two colours become Leighton's focus and are referenced several times throughout the trip: brown and purple. Leighton uses highly poetical language to describe both colours: fawn-coloured, coffee, bronze, dusky brown, pale dun, mysterious purple, deep, uncertain gloomy, and tremulous violet. Within these descriptions, he refers specifically to the brown of the earth and the purple of the sky – either at dawn or twilight, when Leighton preferred to paint under cooler conditions. Brown has already been a refrain in this chapter. It has already come up in reference to Leighton's written descriptions of skin tone and also the desert aesthetic other British artists in Egypt had exploited and made exotic in their own work. As a reference point for both the narrative travel diary and non-narrative landscapes it becomes the dominant keynote colour of the whole trip to Egypt, tying the two records together. Brown and purple work in tandem, however, always referenced in relation to one another in both Leighton's written descriptions and their appearance in the palette of his landscapes. In Manfalut, Leighton records the experience of looking over an entire sunset and how closely brown and purple followed one another as the light faded. "It was enchanting to watch the subtle gradations by which the tawny orange trees that glowed like embers in the west, passed through strange golden browns to uncertain gloomy violet, and finally to the hot indigo of the eastern sky where some lingering after-glow still flushed the dusky hills."³¹⁷

It is relevant, once again, to tie these works to Whistler who distilled his own colour experimentations to a dualism of two complimentary colours. In Chile across three paintings, flesh colour (meaning a Caucasian shade of flesh) and green, blue and gold, and grey and green were the binaries within which Whistler explored the technical relationship between the two tones.³¹⁸ The results in these seascapes are a play between tone, gradation, and subtle transitions between colours – engaging the eye in a non-narrative sensory experience.³¹⁹ This was Whistler's ultimate goal which he then returned to later in the *Nocturnes*. In Leighton's landscapes, his

³¹⁷ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 2, 136.

³¹⁸ Whistler produced up to six paintings from his trip to Chile, but only three survive today: *Crepuscule in Flesh Colour and Green* (1866, Tate), *Symphony in Grey and Green: The Ocean* (1866, The Frick) and *Nocturne in Blue and Gold: Valparaiso Bay* (1866, Freer Gallery of Art)

³¹⁹ See Tim Barringer, 'Art, Music, and the Emotions in the Aesthetic Movement' *19 Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 23 (2016) DOI: <http://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.784>.

‘harmony’ in purple and brown and the same sort of tonal interplay is most evident in *Temple on the Nile* (Fig. 89). Unlike other scenes made from the steamer looking on to the water, this scene is painted from the land looking downwards towards the river, a similar perspective to *Temple at Philae*.

In *Temple on the Nile*, paint is applied thinly across the canvas resulting in the grain, a sand-like effect, coming through visibly to the surface. Unlike the “uniformly smooth and finished surface” that critics were beginning to chastise the painter for producing, this canvas has texture, a much more expressive material surface.³²⁰ A temple flanks either side of a beach, functioning as a repoussior and leading the eye to the river and across to the far bank dotted with a tree line and pinkish sandy mountain. Within the scene, Leighton has deployed a varied palette that includes: green, pink, white, black, brown, and purple but it is the last two that become the dominant keynotes of the landscape. Brown and purple are softly modulated, often overlapping with one another as in the water of the Nile which is a deep, rich mixture of tones. The stand on their own as well, operating as sequential bands of layered colours, akin to Whistler in both *Chile* and *Trouville*. This harmonises with the composition of landscape as the eye perceives it: bands of sky, horizon, water, and land. As Corbett writes, Leighton has used paint to make, “medium and subject are imagined as a singularity, a melding of the image and the world.”³²¹

Brown is variegated across the canvas: fawn, golden, coffee, and dark. These tonalities are spread across the canvas so each constituent element is still distinguishable. The mud brown temple structure on the right-hand side of the composition is highlighted with white around the doorway and underneath the window. The application of paint is too thick to create the appearance of a reflective surface which is also supported if we read the structure as mudbrick rather than a smoother surface. However, the intensity of the sun and its effects across the scene can be felt through the use of the other keynote of the scene, purple.

³²⁰ Corbett, ‘Aestheticism and Unmediation’, 94.

³²¹ Corbett, ‘Aestheticism and Unmediation’, 96.

The violet hue of the sky, painted with brushstrokes that seem to radiate from the distant mountains upwards, convey the atmospheric conditions of the scene, a sense of still air and lingering heat of the day. Although the sun is not visible in the painting, either yet to rise or already having set behind the mountains, its power on the desert landscape is palpable. Purple was already becoming closely associated with heat in scientific communities with the discovery of ultraviolet rays at the turn of the century, causing sunburn and light sensitivity in humans.³²² Here, Leighton scatters that ultraviolet heat across the cloudless sky and reflected in the water. Exposure to the heat is an aestheticised experience, with abundant colour and light. One might also think of Leighton's best known depiction of heat, made three decades after his trip to Egypt, in *Flaming June* (1895) (Fig. 90).³²³ Tangerine and golden sunlight bathes the female figure in repose and this type of heat is more conducive to slumber and relaxing under a light canopy. The desert heat in *Temple on the Nile* poses more risk, a threat to our eyes and our skin if overexposed. This also evokes the opening lines of Pater's Conclusion in *The Renaissance*. "Let us begin with that which is without – our physical life. Fix upon it in one of its more exquisite intervals, the moment, for instance, of delicious recoil from the flood of water in summer heat. What is the whole physical life in that moment but a combination of natural elements to which science gives their names?"³²⁴ Even while painting *en plein air*, the artist remained underneath a protective band of shadow, evident at the foot of the extreme foreground.

Temple on the Nile demonstrates the ways in which Leighton was experimenting with the emerging popularity of the Aestheticist style amongst his avant-garde peers in London in his own practice and in turn putting forward a new depiction of Egypt. It is not the only example of Leighton's work that employs this new style on the trip. Most of the other landscapes that have been discussed in this chapter work towards the same idiom. Other examples such as *Pasture, Egypt* (1868) (Fig. 91) is particularly indicative of the success Leighton had with the use of sequential bands of colour. A broader palette is used, deviating from Whistler's colour dualism, and

³²² Philip E. Hockberger, "A History of Ultraviolet Photobiology for Humans, Animals and Microorganisms" *Photochemistry and Photobiology* 76, no. 6 (2002), 561.

³²³ For more see, Catherine Blake, *Flaming June: The Making of an Icon* (Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea: Leighton House Museum, 2016).

³²⁴ Pater, *The Renaissance*, 233.

the use of long, rectangular canvases adds to this effect by giving a mobilised, elongated impression of sailing down the Nile. Developments in French Orientalism also cleaved to this new idiom of painting in the Orient. Gustave Guillaumet's *The Sahara* (1867) (Fig. 92) creates a desolate, deathly landscape through a similar building horizontal bands of muted colour which meet at a flat horizon, "where earth and sky merge visually".³²⁵ In this example, further analysed by Roger Benjamin, we can see the links between Impressionism and Orientalism coalesce in the same period.³²⁶ Aestheticism and its Orientalist links, as made evident in Leighton's work, share a common interest in both light and colour.

Rather than a reductive sense of 'Art for Art's Sake' devoid of content or meaning, Leighton followed Whistler's methodology to unlock new meanings in landscape by exploring the visuality of image making. *Temple on the Nile* deliberately calls to the precedent of the touristic style by including a 'temple' in the image, but it is pushed to the extreme edges of the canvas, unidentifiable to even an experienced traveller. Instead, the view is attuned to the atmospheric sunlight and its physically intense effects on the land and water. Rather than convey these elements with the travel writer's approach, which would be to just replace temples and monuments with a geographer's account of the land, these atmospheric conditions are conveyed through a palette of newfound colouristic intensity. This approach goes beyond the touristic and photographic approaches to depicting Egypt by evoking a sensorial depiction of the temperature, the limpidity of the air, light intensity, and the textures of the land. This painting allows its viewers to experience Egypt with colours that transmit sensations analogous to the bodily senses.

The colours of the Egyptian landscape were the breakthrough for Leighton during October and November 1868. Just over a hundred years later, in 1979, Bridget Riley would make a similar journey and return to England with her 'Egyptian palette'. Inspired by the colours of the everyday life, rather than use pattern books or museological material, she relied on memories of her Nile journey to produce the

³²⁵ Roger Benjamin, *Orientalist Aesthetics: Art, Colonialism, and French North Africa, 1880-1930*. (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), 53.

³²⁶ For another reading, see also, John Zarobell, 'Abstracting Space: Remaking the Landscape of Colonial Algeria in Second-Empire France' in ed. Vojtěch Jirat-Wasiutyński and Anne Dymond, *Modern Art and the Idea of the Mediterranean* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 65-67.

palette.³²⁷ These Op Art works such as *Achæan* (1981) (Fig. 93) are the epitome of the late twentieth-century conceptual art movement. However, Riley's works resonate with the same material ends as Leighton: responding to the political circumstances, during Gamal Abdel Nasser's rise to power and the 1967 Six-Day War, of being in the country and yet attuning that response to the formal elements of composition and colour, creating an expression utterly different to the depictions of the Egyptian landscape that had come before.

Sailing down the Nile in pursuit of "the old, original cradle of Western art" Leighton took references from the scenes directly before him but also remained keenly aware of the social and political contexts of the country he was visiting and the phenomenological present of his encounter as well as the artistic precedents and developments at home.³²⁸ At this key moment in Egyptian history in the months before the opening of the Suez Canal the country negotiated its changing role in relation to both the British and Ottoman Empire. This negotiation affected the European visual culture surrounding Egypt and necessitated a change in artist's depictions which had previously cleaved to trends that emulated the country's ancient glories. Leighton's Nile landscapes aestheticized the realities of Egypt as a country, by in large excising the people who inhabited it and the political realities that facilitated his presence there. However, this formal approach to the landscape was his aim and the influence of Aestheticism on these paintings have enabled this study to unlock the motivations and underlying meanings of these works. His Aestheticist interpretation of the Nile journey reimagined the aesthetics of a European tourist staple, turning away from the 'show stopper' pyramids and monuments and the documentary style of the photograph. This chapter attributes more responsibility to an Orientalist subject matter, for innovating the style of Leighton's Aestheticism in addition to previously established European philosophies and Classical aesthetics. The importance of the trip to Egypt has been asserted within that mix of influence for the first time and delineated the ways in which it was important to the artist's developing Aestheticism. Having established the significance

³²⁷ Martin Myrone, *Representing Britain, 1500-2000: 100 Works from the Tate Collections* (London: Tate Publishing, 2000), 19.

³²⁸ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 1, 302.

of one of Orientalism's most important locales, Egypt, I now move on to discussing Leighton's relationship with one of its most important subjects, the odalisque.

Chapter 3

Leighton's Odalisques: The Seraglios in Burlington House, the Salon, South Kensington, and Holland Park

In 2010, Guler Ates held an artist's residency at Leighton House Museum. The fruits of her project were a series of photographs of a lone veiled woman wandering through different rooms in the studio-house. The figure, covered in a variety of colourful textiles in each photograph, invokes notions of modesty and veiling, the subject of much politicised debate about the status of Islam in the twenty first century.³²⁹ However, Ates' work is site specific, venues are chosen for their historical significance, and similar projects at the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Royal Academy reveal her interest in the tensions invoked between nineteenth-century British institutions and non-Western corporeality. Curator Josephine Rout notes that Ates' veiled figure functions to reclaim women's bodies through the same Orientalist iconography that originally made Eastern bodies the site of the "aesthetic indulgences of erotic desire."³³⁰

In *Garment of Desire* (2010) (Fig. 94) the spectral figure glides through the dining room at Leighton House cloaked in a deep red that echoes the damask wall paper. Behind her on the walls as we have seen are examples of Iznik plates and jugs that form part of the Islamic art collection beyond the Arab Hall. Surprisingly, Ates does not photograph her figure in the Hall which seems an obvious site for the contact zone between Eastern tradition and Western interpretation. Instead, photographs titled *There Remains but Emptiness* (2010) (Fig. 95) and *Purged of Sensuality* (2010) (Fig. 96) staged upstairs in the famous single bedroom suggest a more biographical reading of Leighton's relationship with women, asking intimate questions of where women, veiled or otherwise, belong in this house.

³²⁹ For more on the veiled body and the politics of modest dressing see, Reina Lewis, *Muslim Fashion: Contemporary Style Cultures* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015).

³³⁰ Josephine Rout, 'Artists' Statement' *Guler Ates* (December 2013), accessed 1 January 2019. <http://www.gulerates.co.uk/Images%20for%20the%20website%2009/Guler%20Ates-Text.pdf>.

Leighton's relationship with and towards women has always been a contested area of scholarship. Such considerations have tended to revolve around salacious gossip about an illegitimate child³³¹ or secret affairs with models, in the vein of the Pre-Raphaelite 'Desperate Romantic' lore.³³² As Barringer and Prettejohn note, there has also been a "persistent tendency" to frame Leighton's work as feminine or effeminate.³³³ The critical discussion surrounding Leighton's female subjects have focused on concurrent debates about the nude and the naked female body in nineteenth-century art history.³³⁴ In the case of Nead's study on *The Fisherman and the Syren* (1856-58) (Fig. 97) male and female nudes are used as a comparative exercise in understanding Leighton's overall skill for painting nude bodies.³³⁵

The case studies in this chapter deal with an archetypal art historical character that is typically nude; however, Leighton's odalisques are mostly clothed. Their clothed bodies and items of clothing become important components in Leighton's odalisque iconography, representative of Eastern femininity and the role of the decorative in his easel painting. In the wake of Barringer and Prettejohn's study, scholarly attention by Edwards, Kim, and Stephenson shifted to discussions of Leighton's masculinity and the homoerotics of his work, in line with the developments in the field of queer theory.³³⁶ Hammerschlag addresses the wider social contexts of Leighton's painted women by highlighting the motif of sleep as a way of simulating death.³³⁷ O'Neill's work on the caryatid addresses a different and much needed dimension of Leighton's approach to the female body arguing for a closer reading of the interrelationship between sculpture and architecture in his female figures.³³⁸ However, in her

³³¹ Caroline Dakers, 'Leighton's Secret Life' *The Independent* (20 February 1996), accessed 1 January 2019, <https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/leightons-secret-life-1319912.html>.

³³² Lucy Davies, 'Dorothy Dene: Lord Leighton's Secret Lover?' *The Telegraph* (19 November 2014), accessed 1 January 2019, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/art/11236508/Dorothy-Dene-Lord-Leightons-secret-lover.html>

³³³ Barringer and Prettejohn, 'Introduction', xv.

³³⁴ See Alison Smith, 'Nature Transformed: Leighton, the Nude and the Model' in *Frederic Leighton Antiquity, Renaissance, Modernity* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), 19-48 and Alison Smith, *The Victorian Nude: Sexuality, Morality and Art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996) and Hammerschlag, *Frederic Leighton: Death, Mortality, Resurrection*, 115-146.

³³⁵ Lynda Nead, 'Frederic Leighton's *The Fisherman and the Syren*' *Women: A Cultural Review* 12, no. 1 (2002), 70-72.

³³⁶ Stephenson, 'Leighton and the Shifting Repertoires of 'Masculine' Artistic Identity in the Late Victorian Period', 221-246, Edwards, 'The Lessons of Leighton House', 85-110, Kim, *Painted Men in Britain*.

³³⁷ Keren Hammerschlag, 'The Deathly Sleep of Frederic Leighton's Painted Women' *Women: A Review* 23, no. 2 (2012), 201-215.

³³⁸ Ciarán Rua O'Neill, 'Column Bodies: The Caryatid and Frederic Leighton's Royal Academy Sketchbooks' *The Sculpture Journal* 25 no. 3 (September 2016), 421-432.

photographs, Ates pulls at a thread that has yet to be addressed fully in relation to Leighton's work: how did Leighton approach femininity and the subject of womanhood in his Orientalist painting?

This chapter reads three Orientalist genre paintings, *Odalisque* (1862) (Fig. 98), *Study at a Reading Desk* (1877) (Fig. 99) and *Light of the Harem* (1880) (Fig. 100), defined as paintings made in between trips in the studio using models, that explore the complex restaging of one of the most enduring motifs of Orientalist iconography, the odalisque. As one of the most common tropes in the Orientalist lexicon and the lodestone for the first wave of critical discussion on European painters in the Orient, this is an area with which Leighton has not typically been associated. For example, in The Tate exhibition, *The Lure of the East*, two paintings were included in a display of paintings themed 'Harem and Home', *The Music Lesson* and *Old Damascus: Jew's Quarter*. However, in both instances, rather than focus on the figure's significance, the curators devoted attention to how these paintings elicited a domestic atmosphere that emphasised architecture and decoration which was interpreted as more convivial for Victorian audiences than the titillating harems depicted by French counterparts.³³⁹ I contend that Leighton's depiction of the odalisque, and the deeply interrelated setting of the harem, are rich with the same issues of gender and race that have been more consistently read in French imagery.³⁴⁰ These examples contain valuable ways of reading a late Victorian Orientalist perspective on desire, sexuality, and traditions of marriage. Typically, this insightful perspective has been given over exclusively to Lewis for whom Thackeray coyly suggested "a numerous brood of hens" and the "black eyes in the balcony" – a reference to Lewis' Nubian female cook - might be his motivation for staying in Cairo so long.³⁴¹ After his conversion from watercolour to oil painting at the behest of Ruskin in the 1860s, Lewis became the established interlocutor of the Near East at the Royal Academy and specialised in

³³⁹ Tromans, *Lure of the East*, 44 and 135.

³⁴⁰ For more on French Orientalist painting and discussions of the odalisque trope see, Inge E. Boer, *Disorienting Vision: Rereading Stereotypes in French Orientalist Texts and Images* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004) and H el ene Gill, *The Language of French Orientalist Painting* (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2003) and Christine Peltre, *Orientalism in Art* (New York and London: Abbeville Press, 1998) and Lynne Thornton, *Women as Portrayed in Orientalist Painting* (Paris: ACR Pouche Couleur, 1994) and Donald A. Rosenthal, *Orientalism: the Near East in French Painting* (Rochester: Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester, 1982) and Philippe Jullian, *The Orientalists: European Painters of Eastern Scenes* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1977).

³⁴¹ Thackeray, *Notes of a Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo*, 282-291.

depictions of the odalisque and harem.³⁴² This chapter explores the ways in which Lewis was an important referent for Leighton's odalisques. I scrutinise their contact through the Royal Academy summer exhibitions to make a case for the subject of the odalisque as an area of mutuality in their work, exerting influence in both directions in several instances. However, I also explore the wider cosmopolitan, albeit mostly Western, sources Leighton employed in his odalisque images.

This chapter looks at a selection of Leighton's exhibited paintings that straddle the iconographies of British and French Orientalism and, in doing so, establishes Leighton's unique legacy within nineteenth-century Orientalist visual culture. I address the two sides of Leighton's allegiances: the French painters to whom he owed his early development as an artist, in particular Delacroix and Ingres, and the British academy where he would stake his career. I follow Lisa Lowe's reading of European Orientalism as an inconsistent discourse and the predominant "non-equivalence of various orientalisms in French and British culture."³⁴³ I argue that Leighton's work can be used similarly to disrupt the idea of a stable 'European Orientalism' and instead to reveal the heterogeneity of the odalisque figure across the different national schools, created by an artist who was frequently associated with an evolving definition of cosmopolitanism. Issues of national identity, of course, consistently pervaded assessments of Leighton's career. Steven Kendall has identified a pattern of early career reviews, published in relation to paintings such as *Odalisque*, wrapped up in questions around his national identity that questioned his 'Englishness' in relation to his use of Continental styles.³⁴⁴ This chapter takes such debates around national identity, national schools and its relationship to artistic style and extends it to consider how Leighton's odalisque paintings were brought to bear on those anxieties.

These examples also allow me to probe Leighton's use of white models and, in particular, adolescent girls in a wide selection of paintings with Orientalist elements.

³⁴² See Weeks, *Cultures Crossed: John Frederick Lewis and the Art of Orientalism*, Llewellyn, *John Frederick Lewis: Facing Fame* and Caroline Williams, 'John Frederick Lewis: 'Reflections of Reality'' *Muqarnas* 18 (2001), 227-243.

³⁴³ Lisa Lowe, *Critical Terrains*, 5.

³⁴⁴ Steven Kendall, 'From Gothicism to Classicism: Transnationalism and the Early Art of Frederic Leighton' (PhD Thesis, University of California Santa Barbara, 2011).

Unlike many of his Orientalist counterparts, Leighton continually eschewed including people of local ethnic origin in his painting, as have already seen in Egypt. Perhaps the most famous example of Oriental adolescence in European painting which Roberts credits as the “visual shorthand for the Orientalism debate”³⁴⁵ is Gérôme’s *The Snake Charmer* (1879) (Fig. 101). At the centre of the painting is a young nude boy with the titular snake wrapped around his slim torso. Though there are tantalising iconographical similarities between the snake charmer’s assistant and the entangled *An Athlete Wrestling a Python* (1877) (Fig. 102), which was exhibited in Paris in 1878, and might suggest honorary foreign Academician Gérôme borrowed a pose from the newly made President, their approaches to ethnography in painting are wholly divergent. Gérôme populates the rest of *The Snake Charmer* with a cloying ethnographic realism of dark-skinned male figures that would appeal to the taste for exoticism amongst European audiences.³⁴⁶ Leighton instead relied on an aesthetically driven model of whiteness in his odalisque paintings which simultaneously chimed with wider social discourses on white Circassian women in Ottoman harems; women central to the debate about the Eastern Question in the period.

I broaden the scope of the odalisque theme, however, to bring a larger network of single female subject works and address another element of Leighton’s most popular paintings, pictures of little girls, that have received little scholarly attention.³⁴⁷ Returning to these works has the potential to pull Leighton into the uncomfortable territory that has surrounded modern critical discussions of Victorian gentleman and underage girls. At the forefront of those psychosexual studies of such figures is Lewis Carroll whose *Florence Terry as a Turk* (1875) (Fig. 103) reveals a similar interest in dressing girls in Oriental garb.³⁴⁸ However, Leighton’s paintings are by no means as explicit, or in some respects, as troubling as Carroll’s photographs. On the

³⁴⁵ Mary Roberts, ‘Ottoman Art, Empire and the Orientalism Debate’ in *The Routledge History of Western Empires* ed. Robert Aldrich and Kirsten McKenzie (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), 364.

³⁴⁶ See also Joseph A. Boone, *The Homoerotics of Orientalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 341-343.

³⁴⁷ One exception is Malcolm Warner, *Friendship and Loss in the Victorian Portrait: May Sartoris by Frederic Leighton* (Fort Worth: Kimbell Art Museum, 2009) although this discussion skews focus towards the relationship between Leighton and Adelaide Sartoris.

³⁴⁸ The ground-breaking study that deals with Carroll and the scholarly debate on his paedophilia is Carol Mavor, ‘Lewis Carroll’s Photographs of Little Girls’ in *Pleasures Taken: Performances of Sexuality and Loss in Victorian Photographs* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 7-42.

other hand, these little girls of Orientalism are worth studying precisely because of their potential to be uncomfortable as images where a young girl is presented in a space such as the harem, typically reserved for the newest inductees into an eroticised representation of polygamy.

Leighton's odalisque pictures are as informative of the wider discourse on Orientalist visual culture as canonical works such as Delacroix's *Women of Algiers in Their Apartment* (1834) (Fig. 104) because of their ambiguous position existing "on the borders between Orientalist fantasy and undoing it."³⁴⁹ Like the curtain the black maid opens in *Women of Algiers in Their Apartment* and the parted white blouse in *Odalisque*, this imagery is inherently bound up in acts of revealing and concealment. Leighton's odalisques challenge the conventions of harem painting, differently to Ingres, Delacroix and Lewis. This adds a new perspective to our understanding of the European Orientalist harem and odalisque paintings, and in turn, reveals more about Leighton's relationship to gender and Oriental womanhood.

Odalisque (1862): Ingres, Lewis and Leighton

The International Exhibition of 1862 was one of Leighton's first experience of London's exhibition culture as a resident of the city. The exhibition was held in the gardens of the Horticultural Society in South Kensington. However, it was precipitated by larger, sombre events: the death of Prince Albert in December 1861, which had already delayed the exhibition's opening, and the ongoing Civil War in America, which meant non-participation from the country in addition to the war's repercussions for the British economy. Additionally, with stiff competition from the Crystal Palace, the private enterprise just down the road in Sydenham which Leighton visited with Aitchison in 1860,³⁵⁰ the exhibition was eventually written off in the press as a weak successor to the events of 1851.³⁵¹

³⁴⁹ Mary J. Harper, 'The Poetics and Politics of Delacroix's Representation of the Harem in *Women of Algiers in Their Apartment*' in *Picturing the Middle East: A Hundred Years of European Orientalism*, (ed.) Henry Krawitz (New York: Dahesh Museum, 1996), 53.

³⁵⁰ Corkran, *Frederic Leighton*, 45.

³⁵¹ W.J. Allen, *The Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue of the International Exhibition, 1862* (London and New York: James S. Virtue, 1863), 17.

The Fine Arts department, however, staved off the harshest criticisms and became the unmitigated success of the exhibition. Running concurrently with the Royal Academy summer exhibition, it provided a counterfoil with which to compare the latest art from the Continent alongside British painting. Of the 250 exhibited French paintings, ten percent had Orientalist themes and featured scenes from Egypt, Syria, Turkey, the Holy Lands, and Algeria, a French colony since 1830. The French Gallery also featured three paintings by Ingres, although they were portraits of Western subjects. However, Ingres' Orientalist work had been seen by British audiences at Ernest Gambart's French Gallery, which held a contemporary show every spring since 1854 and became an important venue for exhibiting work from Algeria by artists such as Barbara Bodichon.³⁵² This was a unique moment when British and French Orientalism were in close geographic contact through the increasingly internationalised exhibition circuit. At the Royal Academy, there was *The Return of a Pilgrim from Mecca* by Frederick Goodall (372) (untraced) featuring an inscription from Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, scenes from Edward William Cooke's travels to Morocco and Spain (589, 653, 659) (untraced), Lewis' *A Street in Cairo* (797) (untraced), *Egyptian Servant* (812) (untraced) and *Bazaar, Cairo* (815) (untraced). Amongst those, and appropriately hung in the East Room, was Leighton's *Odalisque*, its title belying an unexpectedly strong connection with those French paintings in South Kensington.

Odalisque was produced in the earliest moment of Leighton's career at the Academy and in the chronology of his travels. In contrast to his monumental debut, *Cimabue's Celebrated Madonna*, *Odalisque* is a much more intimate painting, in what Leighton termed as a move from "multiplicity to simplicity."³⁵³ The painting depicts a female figure stood in a walled garden facing a preening swan. It was immediately identified by critics for its Eastern connotation as "an idyll for Lotus-eaters"³⁵⁴, identifying it with Alfred Tennyson's poem, *The Lotos Eaters* (1832) and Thackeray's description of Lewis as, "a languid Lotus-eater [living] a dreamy, hazy, lazy, tobaccified life."³⁵⁵

³⁵² See Pamela Fletcher, 'Creating the French Gallery: Ernest Gambart and the Rise of the Commercial Art Gallery in Mid-Victorian London' *Nineteenth Century Art Worldwide* 6, no. 1 (Spring 2007), accessed 21 August 2019, <http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/spring07/143-creating-the-french-gallery-ernest-gambart-and-the-rise-of-the-commercial-art-gallery-in-mid-victorian-london>. Gambart bought *Odalisque* in 1876.

³⁵³ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 2, 118.

³⁵⁴ *The Times* (3 May 1862), 14.

³⁵⁵ Thackeray, *Notes on a Journey from Cornhill to Cairo*, 146.

The painting's explicit reference to its subject, the odalisque, networks it within an established body of French practitioners who had been working with the same subject for at least a generation. Therefore, the importance of Leighton's French influences and the painting's clear connection to the archetypal French Orientalist subject is at the centre of this analysis. Jones' reading of the painting also brings Leighton's development alongside Whistler to the fore, as I have done reading their Aestheticist experimentations with landscape in the last chapter.³⁵⁶ Contextualising Leighton amongst his contemporaries is an important point of departure for understanding *Odalisque*. However, this chapter also brings into consideration his divergent approach to the odalisque as a genre across multiple examples. Characteristically, Leighton plays with precedent and sources and the painting's mix of intertextual French, British, Italiane and mythological referents invigorate the work with overlapping meanings.

Leighton's encounter with French Orientalism was marked by "the great diversity of artistic stimuli" during his Parisian residencies, the first in 1849 and then between 1855-57.³⁵⁷ Key historical and military victories such as Napoleon's Egyptian campaign and the expansion into Algeria by Louis Phillippe I in the 1830s established imperial contact across North Africa. During this time, the Salon became a de facto showcase for such victories and established Orientalism in the French academy by the 1830s and 1840s, a much earlier period than in Britain and, by the time Leighton lived in Paris, a staple of the Salon.³⁵⁸ The golden age of French Orientalism had reigned in the 1830s and 1840s, but the students of those original practitioners such as Horace Vernet and Charles Gleyre were still producing Orientalist works in the 1850s - now informed by actual travels to Turkey and North Africa which had been less common during the July monarchy when their teachers were working. By 1876, just as Orientalist subjects were finding widespread popularity in London, the French critic Jules-Antoine Castagnary, by way of condemning Gérôme and the Neo-Grecs, pronounced the subject dead.³⁵⁹ However, Castagnary's assessment may have been

³⁵⁶ Jones, 'Lord Leighton's *Odalisque*', 35.

³⁵⁷ Jones, 'Lord Leighton's *Odalisque*', 36.

³⁵⁸ Rosenthal, *Orientalism*, 27.

³⁵⁹ Jules-Antoine Castagnary, 'Année 1876' *Salons* 2, 1872-1879 (Paris: Charpentier et Fasquelle, 1892), 348.

premature and while Leighton lived in Paris, the subject was still thriving amongst the leading painters of the Salon.

Leighton lived at 21 rue Pigalle in a neighbourhood known for its studio-houses.³⁶⁰

Newall lists the various luminaries that Leighton encountered at the Salon and ateliers and most famously, Gérôme in 1853 and Delacroix and Ingres in 1855.³⁶¹

Leighton wrote of his visit to Ingres' studio: "I have further made the acquaintance of Ingres, who, though sometimes bearish beyond measure, was by a piece of luck exceedingly courteous the day I was presented to him. He has just finished a beautiful figure of Nymph, which I was able to admire loudly and sincerely."³⁶² The painting to which he referred was most likely *La Source* (1856) (Fig. 105) which had an immediate impact on the young artist seen in his voluptuous, serpentine figure in *Venus and Cupid* (1856) (Fig. 106). However, while these practitioners loom large over Leighton's subsequent work, the meetings themselves were brief and, by all accounts, unremarkable. Connections with the younger generation including artist-travellers such as Eugène Fromentin, who exhibited Algerian scenes from his recent travels at Leighton's first Salon in 1849, were the type where Leighton made regular and more frequent social connections.

Leighton's time in France in the company of other young artists training in Parisian ateliers is almost certainly the reason he chose Algeria as the destination for his first Eastern sojourn in 1857. In the 1850s such journeys were self-funded or funded through commissions, but later the Society of Orientalists offered scholarships to young artists to travel to Algeria to discover a new exotic aesthetic as well as experience the influence of North African light and colour.³⁶³ Artistically, Leighton was situated amongst this programme of younger French artists. It is fundamental then to contextualise his first experience of the Near East as an extension of his time in France, coloured by French colonial presence in North Africa from 1830. In letters home, he located Algeria simultaneously in Africa and in France reflecting the aftermath of the Algerian conquest in 1843 which had killed nearly three thousand

³⁶⁰ Campbell, 'Decoration, Display, Disguise: Leighton House Reconsidered', 270-274.

³⁶¹ Newall, *The Art of Lord Leighton*, 45.

³⁶² Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 1, 245.

³⁶³ Benjamin, *Orientalist Aesthetics*, 58.

Algerians and established formal colonial control in the country. His hotel in Algiers was preserved in the “African element” but the waterside where it was situated was “completely Europeanized[...]you might fancy you were at Havre or any other French seaport town.”³⁶⁴ While he marvelled at the diversity of the city where different ethnic and religious communities cohabited, he also complained that “the price of living here is the same as Paris.”³⁶⁵ The novelty of the exotic was tempered by the realities of colonial expansion as metropole and colony are collapsed in Leighton’s articulation of Algiers.³⁶⁶

By 1862, Algeria was the only trip that Leighton could draw on while painting *Odalisque*. There is also no evidence in his personal library or correspondence that he relied on written accounts of the harem by British or French women as source material.³⁶⁷ Therefore, in order to mitigate his lack of direct experience, Leighton’s knowledge of French art meant that *Odalisque* drew on a large corpus of European visual material more than personal experiences. Beyond nineteenth-century Orientalist visual culture, the odalisque figure can be traced through to the modern day and an evolving set of inquiries about race, gender and sexuality. The odalisque is inextricably tied to Orientalist iconography to the extent that it has become the “signifier of Orientalism”³⁶⁸ and a “stock figure”³⁶⁹ in paintings over the last two hundred years, or as Benjamin brackets, from Delacroix to Klee.³⁷⁰ Its pervasiveness is such that its legacies in the present day are as diverse as the political art of the Guerrilla Girls collective (Fig. 107) to erotic thrillers self-published on Amazon.³⁷¹

Derived from the Turkish word, *oda* which translates as chambermaid, the *odalik* was a slave member of the Ottoman harem social hierarchy who functioned as an attendant to the wives, but in contradiction to the European narrative of the

³⁶⁴ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 1, 298.

³⁶⁵ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 1, 299.

³⁶⁶ For more on British artists in Algiers, see Deborah Cherry, *Beyond the Frame: Feminism and Visual Culture, Britain 1850-1900* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), 75-100.

³⁶⁷ For examples of artists who used such accounts in their depictions, see Roberts, *Intimate Outsiders*, 109-149.

³⁶⁸ Hollis Clayson, ‘Henri Regnault’s Wartime Orientalism’ in ed. Jill Beaulieu and Mary Roberts, *Orientalism’s Interlocutors: Painting, Architecture and Photography* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002), 149.

³⁶⁹ Clayson, ‘Henri Regnault’s Wartime Orientalism’, 152.

³⁷⁰ Benjamin, *Orientalism from Delacroix to Klee*.

³⁷¹ A random sample of examples includes Fleur Reynolds, *Odalisque: Tales of Black Lace* (Amazon self-published e-book, 2008) and Josie Litton, *Tales of the Odalisque* (Amazon self-published e-book, 2018).

odalisque, was not a wife herself.³⁷² Joan DelPlato charts the changing meaning of the word through the eighteenth century and the advent of European artists' interest in the secluded realm of the seraglio.³⁷³ Through successive pictures, the chambermaid became the concubine, recumbent and typically nude surrounded by accoutrements such as peacock feather fans, instruments, jewels, fine furnishings, furs, and textiles.

The serialisation of the odalisque reached its apex with Ingres' *La Grand Odalisque* (1814) (Fig. 108). Ingres' most famous nude, if not one of the most famous nudes in art history, is drawn from exclusively Western sources – Classical sculpture, Renaissance painting, and the style of Ingres' contemporaries such as Jacques-Louis David. Ingres was and remains the most famous Orientalist painter to have never travelled to the East and that detail in itself exemplifies how fiction was the ultimate source for odalisque painting. As Codell and DelPlato highlight, “Europeans orientalist filled that lack [of knowledge] surrounding ‘the harem woman’ with representations that drew upon conventional notions, intertextuality, wishful thinking.”³⁷⁴

In Leighton's *Odalisque*, his sources are based on similarly multifaceted Orientalist and Western visual cultures. The title is a pointed signifier to French precedents and to Ingres' body of work and, to a lesser extent, also Delacroix whose *Women of Algiers in Their Apartment* he had seen at the Exposition Universelle in 1855 and, *Odalisque* (1857) (Fig. 109) which he had seen at that year's Salon. Leighton also owned Delacroix's sketch for *Peace Descends to Earth* (1852) (Fig. 110), an allegorical painting for the Salon de la Paix ceiling (Ingres had been commissioned to paint the south salon).³⁷⁵ While Leighton appreciated Delacroix's rich colourism, his odalisque fits Ingres' model of Orientalism which engages in eclectic historical

³⁷² Gülru Necipolglu. *Architecture, Ceremony, and Power: The Topkapi Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992), 180.

³⁷³ DelPlato, *Multiple Wives, Multiple Pleasures*, 9.

³⁷⁴ Julie F. Codell and Joan DelPlato, 'Introduction: Rethinking Orientalism, Eroticism, and Cross-Cultural Visuality' in *Orientalism, Eroticism and Modern Visuality in Global Cultures*, (ed.) Julie F. Codell and Joan DelPlato (London and New York, Routledge, 2016), 9.

³⁷⁵ Gilles Néret, *Delacroix 1798-1863: The Prince of Romanticism* (Köln: Taschen, 2004), 76-78.

precedent without the same on-the-ground experiences that informed much of Delacroix's Moroccan work.³⁷⁶

In previous scholarship, there has been some reticence to link Ingres and Leighton closely.³⁷⁷ In principle, I agree with the Ormonds' assessment that if Leighton did look to Ingres, "he was also aware that the French painter represented an outmoded tradition."³⁷⁸ However, an analysis of the two artist's respective odalisque paintings offers a new angle with which to understand Leighton's developing style through Ingres' hybridised Neoclassicism and Orientalism. While for Leighton, both of these styles, and their interrelatedness which I examine in the next chapter, develop in much different directions from Ingres, *Odalisque* is a case study where Leighton most clearly negotiates between French and British iconographies.

In Ingres' second version of *Odalisque with Slave*, (1842) (Fig. 111) the harem is brought outside into the garden.³⁷⁹ Excerpts in Ingres' sketches for the painting from Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's embassy letters reference the extensive gardens of the harem she visited, "inclosed (sic) with very high walls. There are none of our parterres in them; but they are planted with high trees, which give an agreeable shade, and to my fancy, a pleasing view."³⁸⁰ Increasing levels of security – an attendant and eunuch, an inner railing, and a tall outer wall - enhance the idea of seclusion as the eye is drawn into the recessional spaces of the painting. Leighton purchased a sketch for this painting in 1867, which postdates *Odalisque*, but Ingres' overwhelming influence on the subject could mean that Leighton was likely solidifying an appreciation for the artist he already held.³⁸¹ *Odalisque* is cropped to a full-length portrait style rather than a landscape that would suit its outdoor setting. Because of this truncated view, the only details of the garden are the perimeter wall and the flora beyond it, a dark leafed tree and budding rose bushes. Beyond these, there are two domed buildings which suggest the garden is an urban area. The domes

³⁷⁶ Rosenthal, *Orientalism*, 32. See also Albert Boime, *Art in an Age of Counterrevolution 1815-1848* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 379-412.

³⁷⁷ Richard and Leonée Ormond, 'Leighton in Paris' *Apollo* 97 (February 1973), 13.

³⁷⁸ *ibid.*

³⁷⁹ The most sustained reading of *Odalisque with Slave* is Norman Bryson, *Tradition and Desire: From David to Delacroix* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

³⁸⁰ Montagu, *Turkish Embassy Letters*, Letter XX. 'To the Lady –' (1 January 1717).

³⁸¹ Fellow Holland Park resident Constantine Ionides purchased Ingres' *A Sleeping Odalisque* (c. 1810-1830) in 1881 and it was later sketched by Alphonse Legros (both in the V&A).

are reminiscent of the mosques of Istanbul, although Leighton would not have seen these yet in person. Their distance suggests that while the odalisque is proximate to the modern world she is nevertheless concealed from it.

The walled garden serves as another type of enclosed setting for the odalisque and makes a clear link from Ingres to Leighton's paintings. While the overwhelming majority of harem imagery was set indoors, the walled garden served as an alternative setting which maintained the fantasy of restricted access and seclusion. Its tall walls and sun trapped beds of flowers evoke the convent garden in British contexts, as seen in Charles Alston Collins' *Convent Thoughts* (1850-51) (Fig. 112). As DelPlato has noted, the organised and tended setting of a garden evoked cross-cultural notions of kept femininity which resonated with contemporary gender politics in London and Istanbul.³⁸² At the time Leighton painted *Odalisque* there was also a robust body of knowledge about the Ottoman and Islamic contexts of enclosed gardens. In 1840, Thomas Carlyle laid out the Qur'anic description of the afterlife in his lecture, 'The Hero as Prophet'. He described Paradise as a garden with a large central fountain tended to by houri, women who accompanied the faithful into the afterlife. This description was frequently attached to European images of the gardens at the Topkapi Palace, which had been opened for tourists after it ceased to be a royal residence in 1853.³⁸³ The language of the garden became a frequent metaphor for Oriental, specifically Ottoman and Mughal, spaces which functioned to justify European intervention for its maintenance and growth. In the Napoleonic *Description*, Egyptian territory is referred to as "a vast garden suited to receive and conserve the richest products of the universe[;]precious seeds of a new prosperity [which] would develop rapidly if they were assisted by the genius of Europe and the blessings of a wise and powerful government."³⁸⁴

While the garden setting enhances the cross-cultural conventions of odalisque painting, the verticality of the painting is a distinctive feature of Leighton's

³⁸² DelPlato, *Multiple Wives, Multiple Pleasures*, 205.

³⁸³ See Gürsan Ergil, 'The Interpretation of Ottoman Garden Culture Through Miniatures' in ed. Ines Aščerić-Todd, Sabina Knees, Janet and Paul Starkey. *Travellers in Ottoman Lands: The Botanical Legacy* (Oxford: Archaeopress Publishing Ltd, 2018), 289-298.

³⁸⁴ Jean-Baptiste Joseph Fourier, 'Preface Historique' in (eds.) Edme-Francois Jomard, *Description De L'Egypte* vol. 1 (Paris: C.L.F. Panckoucke, 1821-30), liii-liv.

conception of the odalisque. Firstly, it pushes back at the some of the overt Ingrean associations with the painting. Ingres' odalisques were typically recumbent, presciently evident in his *Turkish Bath* (1862) (Fig. 113) made in the same year as *Odalisque*. Typically, in the context of harem painting, the landscape composition and languid pose of the odalisque figure represented the dreamwork of the Imperial picturesque, as described by W.J.T. Mitchell, "unfolding its own movement in time and space from a central point of origin, and folding back on itself to disclose both utopian fantasies of the perfected imperial prospect and fractured images of unresolved ambivalence and unsuppressed resistance."³⁸⁵ The uprightiness of this portrait invites a reading of the sitter's subjectivity rather than the 'master-of-all-I-survey' objectivity of the coded odalisque character.³⁸⁶ Leighton introduces this compositional device to nuance his work and reinvigorate a subject laden with precedent, but another artist had already been developing this technique, albeit in watercolour painting. Lewis, the artist who would eventually become Leighton's fellow Academician, had been 'turning' his harem scenes throughout the 1850s after his return from Egypt in order to broaden the social and domestic readings of the harem for British audiences.³⁸⁷ As Roberts argues, the compositional contrast and visual shift of Lewis' paintings inserted elements of the everyday into the harem space and shifted attention away from the erotic onto representations of female sociability, creating a salient connection between British viewers and the women of the harem.³⁸⁸

The titles of Lewis' paintings never used the word odalisque but repeatedly used the term harem, raising the importance of single-sex social spaces over the female-male sexual relationship. Lewis' singularly pioneering conception of the harem is of deep significance to Leighton's *Odalisque* and the subsequent development of his Orientalism. Here, I introduce Lewis' 'pull' to Ingres' 'push', between French and British Orientalism, on Leighton's style in a painting where he pays homage to Ingres' subject defining of the French encounter with the Near East and then shapes his depiction in accordance with Lewis' genre breaking technical changes and

³⁸⁵ W.J.T. Mitchell. *Landscape and Power*, 10.

³⁸⁶ Boime, *Art in an Age of Counterrevolution*, 358.

³⁸⁷ Weeks, *Cultures Crossed*, 7.

³⁸⁸ Roberts, *Intimate Outsiders*, 40.

detailed compositions. In some ways, this push and pull echoes Griselda Pollock's gambit, a strategy she relates to the Parisian avant-garde whereby artists' "relate your work to what's going on, defer to the existing leader of the work or project which represented the latest move, the last word, or what was considered the definitive statement, and finally establishing a difference which had to be both legible in terms of current aesthetics and criticism[,]a definite advance on that current position."³⁸⁹ While *Odalisque* was made decades before the Impressionists began to make such wagers, Leighton stages a transnational version of deference and difference, marking the poles of Orientalism across the national academies.

In the same year as Leighton's successful arrival at the Royal Academy with *Cimabue's Celebrated Madonna*, Lewis debuted his first painting in oil, *An Armenian Lady in Cairo* (1859) (Fig. 114). Previously, Lewis had worked exclusively in watercolours and served as the President of the Old Watercolour Society between 1855 and 1858. Elements that appeared in his more conventional and horizontal *The Hhareem* (1849) (Fig. 115) are transposed to the *An Armenian Lady* including the latticed window and the floral couch covering demonstrating how Lewis was experimenting with an established world drawn from his possessions brought back from Cairo and importantly, his wife Marian who he married in Cairo in 1847 and served as his primary model.³⁹⁰

Leighton would adopt a similar approach by repeatedly drawing on the same objects and women across multiple paintings. Each of the paintings in this chapter are tied together not only by genre but also by shared objects, models or textiles. Ruskin called *An Armenian Lady* "exquisitely, ineffably right"³⁹¹ but was quick to note that the harem was a subject "devoid of interest."³⁹² The interesting elements may have simply eluded Ruskin as many viewers read the work as a sympathetic portrait of an Armenian, Christian refugee of the Crimean War.³⁹³ Before returning to the

³⁸⁹ Griselda Pollock, *Avant-Garde Gambits, 1888-1893: Gender and the Colour of Art History* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1992).

³⁹⁰ Williams, "John Frederick Lewis: 'Reflections of Reality'", 230.

³⁹¹ John Ruskin, *Notes on Some of the Principal Pictures* vol. 5 (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1855), 13.

³⁹² *ibid.*

³⁹³ DelPlato, *Multiple Wives, Multiple Pleasures*, 43. Leighton was familiar with the Armenian community in Egypt. In 1873, he wrote a letter of introduction to Hekekyan Bey, an Armenian Catholic civil engineer who had once been the director of the polytechnic school of Cairo, on behalf of the religious scholar, Emmanuel Deutsch.

Continent in 1855, Leighton was able to see Lewis' harem pictures that did not engage with explicit nudity or titillation. In the years between 1855 and *Odalisque* being exhibited in 1862, Leighton's visits to the summer exhibition would have been peppered with opportunities to view Lewis' oil paintings, many of which he had reworked from previous watercolour versions. These included *A Syrian Sheikh, Egypt* (1856) (Fig. 116), *An Eastern Girl Carrying a Tray* (1859) (Fig. 117), *Bezenstein, El Khan Khalil (The Carpet Seller)* (1860) (Fig. 118) – all of which were portraits which offered a comparatively diversified view of Egyptian life to the Salon offerings.³⁹⁴

Lewis also made frequent associations with the garden in his harem paintings, often including vases with flowers in his interiors and later setting his scenes in abundantly floral gardens. *In the Bey's Garden, Asia Minor* (1865) Fig. 119), is one such example that includes a single female figure, richly dressed in a lush garden. DelPlato describes the painting as a “phenomenological encounter with an elegant harem woman” in contrast to French odalisque painting.³⁹⁵ In a moment where Lewis possibly looked to Leighton, reflecting the networks of Orientalists that were emerging through the Royal Academy by the 1860s, a dead butterfly at her feet makes a link to *Odalisque* which features two butterflies resting on the garden wall. In Victorian culture, butterflies were often read in relation to their use as scientific specimens; caught, killed, pinned and displayed in natural history collections.³⁹⁶ In Orientalist visual culture, however, they can also be read as a natural example of rich, decorative pattern, which both artists were interested in emulating in their works. In Lewis' painting the butterfly is a bright spot of periwinkle, a decorative momento mori. This naturalistic detail marks the divergent point for British and French Orientalism, the realist fantasy of British artists such as Lewis which revels in the details. DelPlato characterises the British evocation of the harem, as exemplified by Lewis, as open air, often outdoors, featuring flora and fauna and therefore a more

³⁹⁴ See Briony Llwellyn's reading of the male subjects as self-portraits in *John Frederick Lewis: Facing Fame* (Compton: Watts Gallery Publishing, 2019) and Weeks, 'The Politics of Transculturation: The Life and Art of John Frederick Lewis (1804-1876) in (ed.) Julie F. Codell, *Transculturation in British Art, 1770-1930* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), 59-60.

³⁹⁵ DelPlato, 'Dressed and Undressed', 278.

³⁹⁶ See Peter Marren, *Rainbow Dust: Three Centuries of Butterfly Delight* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016).

scientific presentation.³⁹⁷ Further studies of Lewis make similar distinctions, comparing the fully clothed respectability of his Turkish and Egyptian figures compared to their typically nude French counterparts. In his conception of the odalisque, Leighton shares a similar “ideological distance”³⁹⁸ towards erotic Orientalism as Lewis does by presenting *Odalisque* outdoors, clothed and in nature.

However, in both examples there is still a sexualised undertone, which Lewis scholars have often been quick to gloss over in order to emphasise the transcultural domestic readings of his paintings. Irvin Cemil Schick, however, argues that the contexts of marriage, polygamy and sex dominate all representations of the harem as a gendered subspace, regardless of whether men are present in the picture space.³⁹⁹ In *In The Bey's Garden* and *Odalisque*, the odalisque occupies the bey's garden, situating her in relation to space owned by her husband. Weeks similarly reads the pair of mysterious yellow slippers that appear in Lewis' *Hhareem Life, Constantinople* (1857) (Fig. 120) as a potential intrusion by the husband or a eunuch into the harem space without actually seeing him.⁴⁰⁰ These intrusions serve as a disruptive moment in what, at first, appear to be tranquil, languid single-sex scenes. Leighton uses a similar device in *Odalisque*; a stark transspecies juxtaposition that reveals the ways in which his approach to the odalisque diverged from both British and French models.

The tranquility of *Odalisque* is interrupted by a confrontation, staged between the female figure and the swan at her feet. Animals were a typical component of odalisque compositions, including swans. Ingres' *Odalisque with Slave* includes two swans gliding on the garden pool in the background. Leighton's figure rests her arm behind her head which reads as wing like. Lewis included cats, gazelles, and birds in his paintings as a nod to his origins as an animalier and close friend of Edwin Landseer. However, the role that this waterfowl plays reasserts a different set of iconographies and stages the odalisque as the site of consideration for multiple, overlapping stylistic binaries. The swan's antagonistic posturing, feathers unfurled

³⁹⁷ DelPlato, *Multiple Wives, Multiple Pleasure*, 155.

³⁹⁸ Weeks, *Cultures Crossed*, 8.

³⁹⁹ Irvin Cemil Schick, “The Harem as Gendered Space and the Spatial Reproduction of Gender” in ed. Marilyn Booth, *Harem Histories: Envisioning Places and Living Spaces* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 73.

⁴⁰⁰ Weeks, *Cultures Crossed*, 36.

and its neck reaching upwards towards the odalisque, warrants comparison to the imagery associated with Leda and the Swan, a staple of the Neoclassical lexicon. Leonée Ormond also connects Leighton's interest in the Leda story to *Venus and Cupid* which she argues is based on Leonardo's lost, but frequently reproduced, version of *Leda and the Swan* (c.1503-1510) (Fig. 121).⁴⁰¹ This inserts an iconographical reference that disrupts the reading of this painting as a solely Orientalist subject and pulls it towards the Neoclassical and Renaissance styles that scholars have associated with Leighton. Instead, Leighton recontextualises the mythology of the Leda and the Swan within the realm of the harem. Zeus' rape of Leda can be extended to a metaphor for the bey and the viewer as a dominating masculine presence representing men, both Eastern and Western, trespassing within women's spaces. In the story of Leda and the Swan, the rape produced two sets of twins, Castor and Pollux, and Helen and Clytemnestra. Both daughters would become subjects for Leighton and, in the next chapter, I explore the metageography of the Classical world and the Orient through Helen, *Captive Andromache*, and *The Iliad*. The winsome expression of the odalisque does not bely a sense of panic or fear though nor the desire that some representations of the Leda story include. However, beyond intertextual readings of the painting, the odalisque and the swan also represent some of the stylistic binaries Leighton was working amongst, returning us once again to the push and pull of Ingres and Lewis.

At eye level with the swan the odalisque loosely holds by the end of her finger a peacock feather fan. The fan was already a regular prop in Leighton's studio rotation by 1862 seen first in the paintings of Nanna Risi, framing her face in *Pavonia* (Fig. 84) and *Nanna (Pavonia)* (Fig. 122) (both 1859). Edwards reads the peacock feathers in the Nanna paintings as strong signal from Leighton towards his burgeoning Aestheticism.⁴⁰² In *Odalisque*, however, their presence also signals to an exotic decadence and to the frequent use of peacock feather fans as harem props. Whereas in Ingres, feathers are an accessory and for Lewis they suggest "movement and spontaneity"⁴⁰³ in already bustling compositions, for Leighton, birds convey a number of stylistic statements wrapped around identifications of femininity. *Nanna*

⁴⁰¹ Newall, Jones et al., *Frederic Lord Leighton*, 109.

⁴⁰² Edwards, *Alfred Gilbert's Aestheticism*, 21.

⁴⁰³ Weeks, *Cultures Crossed*, 66.

(*Pavonia*) has a companion piece, *Bianca* (1862) (Fig. 123), a fair skinned portrait of another Italian model, painted in the same year as *Odalisque*. If Nanna is an olive-skinned Italianate beauty framed by a decadent plumage of peacock feathers then Bianca is her opposite. Her name translates from the Italian for ‘white’ and she sits contemplatively in front of two white doves. Therefore, this pair of paintings explores the beauty of darkness and whiteness through birds and as a further continuation on the theme, *Odalisque* stages a similar confrontation between the styles of lightness and darkness. The feathers of a live bird, unfurled and in motion, are contrasted against the feathers of a dead bird, used as a decorative prop lying inert by the odalisque’s side.

The warm browns of the peacock feathers and splashes of blue and black in the eyespots mirror the tone and patterns of the textile the odalisque wears wrapped around her waist. The richly patterned fabric, which appears again in *Light of the Harem*, is contrasted against the gauzy white drapery that covers the odalisque’s top. Typically, this type of academic drapery is not worn by the odalisque, but rather discarded somewhere else in the scene to heighten the erotic frisson. In *La Grande Odalisque*, a white chemise lies crumpled underneath the odalisque and is almost hidden from view by her body and the more colourful, plush blue and yellow divan fabrics.⁴⁰⁴ In *Odalisque* these two contrasting fabrics are worn next to each other on the body, juxtaposing material and their stylistic presentation in oil painting. This type of mediation between body and textile is also evident in the other two case studies in this chapter and reveals a tension between the two dominant modes of Orientalism: the decorative pattern of Islamic art, championed by Jones and other design reformers, and the figurative fantasy of the odalisque and harem, as seen at the Royal Academy and the Salon.

Both representations of fabric are deftly handled by the artist. The white academic drapery flows in increasingly deeper folds cascading down the odalisque’s arms, recalling Leighton’s meticulous academic drapery studies. The whiteness of the fabric also highlights the whiteness of the odalisque’s exposed breast. The patterned

⁴⁰⁴ See discussions of Ingres’ handling of dress and drapery in Anne Hollander, *Fabric of Vision: Dress and Drapery in Painting*, 111 + 124.

textile is detailed, painted to show the thickness of the fabric in contrast to the gauzy white drapery, and worn tightly around the odalisque's midriff. The textile has a type of pattern similar to paisley with an undulating abstract pattern shown in a variety of colours.⁴⁰⁵ For Lewis, who used a range of colourful textiles sourced from Egypt and India fabric was an opportunity to layer fields of colour and blend pattern across the female body. For Leighton, on the other hand, single garments or textiles are used to highlight contrast and provide an opportunity to read the differences in surface.

A second example of this can be seen in the feathers and fabric that are tied together in their Orientalist associations and resemble each other in appearance, representing the type of richly depicted decorative surface pattern that made Lewis' harem paintings so decidedly 'British'. Their presentation against the swan feathers makes for a faceoff between Orientalism and Neoclassicism, two dominating influences in Leighton's stylistic development. The feathers act as a comparative exercise between the marble-like white, smoothness of Neoclassicism and the highly decorated and detailed feathers and fabric of the Orient, a stark contrast that throws up the contrasting poles of Leighton's stylistic identity.

Viewed through this prism, *Odalisque* is an image that mediates polarity as Leighton engages with a subject laden with divided and contrasting stylistic precedents. Binaries are abundant throughout this picture: human and animal, figuration and pattern, the Orient and the Classical world, French and British academic style. At this point, Leighton's Orientalism is clearly already stylistically non-conforming and contests any single national reading, posing further new ways of understanding his cosmopolitanism. The tensions between these sets of binaries are articulated through the body of the odalisque and her confrontation with the swan. *Odalisque* is informative as an image that took place before the majority of Leighton's travels that is still steeped in the French contexts of his early academic career and introduction to Ingres. It also inserts the importance of Lewis as a stylistic referent for Leighton's

⁴⁰⁵ For more on paisley in the context of Orientalism see, Linda K. Hughes, 'Paisley/Kashmir: Mapping the Imitation-Indian Shawl' in Julie Codell and Linda K. Hughes (eds.) *Replication in the Long Nineteenth Century: Re-makings and Reproductions* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 122-143 and Anandi Ramamurthy, 'Orientalism and the 'Paisley' Pattern', in Mary Schoeser and Christine Boydell (eds.), *Disentangling Textiles: Techniques for the Study of Designed Objects* (London: Middlesex University Press, 2002), 121-133.

Orientalism and the differentiating qualities Lewis' British model brought to the odalisque subject. Bendiner has also connected Lewis as an important precedent for Moore,⁴⁰⁶ but my analysis now foregrounds him as a key forbearer across Aestheticism and its clear links with Orientalism, as highlighted by Barringer.⁴⁰⁷ *Odalisque* reveals the ways in which Leighton was working with the complexities of the odalisque idiom, inserting elements of specificity into this ambiguous image through its title and clear stylistic references to Lewis and Ingres. In the next section, I highlight another aspect of Leighton's innovation on the subject as his style and career became more established and the role that another British institution, the South Kensington Museum played in his formulation of the Islamic world.

Study at a Reading Desk (1877): The Little Girls of Orientalism

So delighted was Ruskin by one of Leighton's exhibits at the 1875 Royal Academy summer exhibition, *Little Fatima* (1875) (Fig. 56) that he was moved to write his first *Academy Notes* since 1859, his acerbic reviews of the principal works from the exhibition.⁴⁰⁸ Although he found the three-quarter length portrait of a young girl wrapped in purple and gold beautiful, he reserved some criticism for the painter. "English maids, I repeat, by an English painter: that is all that an English Academy can produce of the loveliest. There's another beautiful little one, by Mr. Leighton, with a purple drapery thrown over her, that she may be called Fatima (215, and 345), who would have been quite infinitely daintier in a print frock, and called Patty."⁴⁰⁹ Ruskin extended his critique to all painters depicting subjects outside of England including other British Orientalists such as Lewis and Hunt.⁴¹⁰ In *Little Fatima*, he identified the trimmings of Orientalism in this picture: the Arabic name, Fatima and the opulent purple drapery. To swap them for their British equivalents, the name Patty and a printed dress, would enhance the sitter's 'daintiness' which is framed as a

⁴⁰⁶ Kenneth Bendiner, 'Albert Moore and John Frederick Lewis' *Arts Magazine* 5 (February 1980), 76–79.

⁴⁰⁷ Barringer, 'Orientalism and Aestheticism', 243.

⁴⁰⁸ For more on Ruskin and the 1875 *Academy Notes* see, Kristine Ottesen Garrigan, "'The Splendidest May Number of the Graphic': John Ruskin and the Royal Academy Exhibition of 1875" *Victorian Periodicals Review* 24, no. 1 (Spring 1991): 22–33.

⁴⁰⁹ John Ruskin, *Some Notes on the Principal Pictures Exhibited in the Rooms of the Royal Academy: 1875* (Orpington: George Allen, 1875), 38.

⁴¹⁰ "...Lewis loses his animal power among the arabesques of Cairo; Turner, his Yorkshire honesty at Rome; and Holman Hunt – painting *The Light of the World* in an English orchard – paints the gaslight of Bond Street in the Holy Land."

superior type of English girlhood. This argument, which exerts an extreme nationalism over the products of the national school, crystallises many of the same issues of race and gender that this chapter contends with. Despite Ruskin's criticisms, this chapter raises the importance of white, adolescent girls in Leighton's work, the subject of many of his most beloved and praised paintings during his lifetime.

Pivoting from the academic and Salon conventions of *Odalisque*, this section considers the innovating elements of *Study at a Reading Desk* which used the adolescent girl as a cipher for Eastern femininity. An odalisque, while typically presented as youthful is beyond girlhood, usually marked by visible breasts and shapely hips, which suggests she is into late puberty and has reached the child-bearing aged required of wives. The girl in *Study at a Reading Desk* is pre-pubescent, small featured and nimble, un-self-conscious as she sits cross-legged on a rug.⁴¹¹ How, then, does she fit into a categorisation of 'odalisque'? I justify considering *Study at a Reading Desk* an odalisque picture because of the significant number of Leighton's paintings that have an intersecting interest in girls and Orientalist details. In these images of girls, details such as the ones Ruskin picks out in his review emerge repeatedly: Arabic names for the girl subjects such as *Yasmeenah* (1880) (Fig. 124) and *Gulnihal* (1886) (Fig. 125), beautiful patterned textiles such as the rich purple robe and leopard skin in *Kittens* (1880) (Fig. 126) and *The Music Lesson* or settings in Eastern cities such as *Old Damascus: Jew's Quarter* (Fig. 8) or *The Moorish Garden: A Dream of Grenada* (1874) (Fig. 127). *The Moorish Garden: A Dream of Grenada* also elicits several parallels to *Odalisque* such as the walled garden, the contrast of academic drapery and patterned textiles, and peacocks (though these are live examples). It also includes a more descriptive rendering of the domed architecture seen in the distance of the earlier painting, based on Leighton's travels to Spain.

Scholars such as Robbins and Barbara Bryant have identified these girlhood images as fancy pictures, a subject with origins in the eighteenth-century paintings of Joshua

⁴¹¹ The cross-legged pose is similar to Pierre-Auguste Renoir's *The Little Algerian Girl* (1881) (Private collection).

Reynolds.⁴¹² Jeff Rosen defines these paintings as “inherently sentimental, often theatrical, and always containing a narrative element”, “they could be sugary, nostalgic, or erotic. By the mid-1850s, the ‘fancy picture’ became a catchall term for paintings that framed isolated subjects in momentary suspension of activity, capturing quiet contemplation, religious devotion or sentimental feelings.”⁴¹³ Jones attributes Leighton’s paintings of girls as a “passion for youth and beauty”, “it was the freshness and grace of the innocent that moved him most profoundly.”⁴¹⁴ However, this reading fails to account for choices beyond the selection of models and a prescriptive understanding of girlhood as ‘innocent’ and ‘fresh’, both allusions to a virgin status. Leighton’s paintings fit this definition, but often their categorisation as fancy pictures has relegated them beyond the pale, even though audiences and critics took these works seriously, as evidenced by Ruskin’s extended critique. The *Art Journal* declared *Study at a Reading Desk* “the most striking bit of Artwork in the whole Exhibition.”⁴¹⁵ I take these fancy pictures and emphasise the unique way in which they deconstruct the odalisque genre, putting them in relation to a subject that has typically held a higher status in art history. In these paintings, both girlhood and orientalist details are used as othering constructs putting significant psychological and physical distance between the subject and a presumably white, male European viewer, just as the swan does in *Odalisque*.

However, Catherine Robson draws our attention to the fact that girlhood was often perceived by Victorians as an early developmental stage that men experienced and desired to be reconnected with.⁴¹⁶ In Edwards’ reading of Edward Onslow Ford’s *The Singer* (1889) (Fig. 128), he suggests that the use of ancient Egyptian iconography, which resonated with a similar cultural significance to Orientalist iconography, was an attempt on the part of the artist “to displace his artistic investment in adolescent eroticism onto ancient Egypt, rather than late-Victorian

⁴¹² Leighton House Museum, ‘The Moorish Garden; A Dream of Grenada’ *Leighton and the Middle East*, accessed 1 January 2019, <https://www.rbkc.gov.uk/leightonarabhall/paintings/enlarge/p12.html>. Barbara Bryant, ‘Yasmeenah’ *ArtUK*, accessed 1 January 2019, <https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/yasmeenah-183351>.

⁴¹³ Jeff Rosen, *Julia Margaret Cameron’s ‘Fancy Subjects’: Photographic Allegories of Victorian Identity and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

⁴¹⁴ Newall, Jones, et al, *Frederic, Lord Leighton*, 147.

⁴¹⁵ Anon. ‘Notes on the London Royal Academy Exhibition’ *The Art Journal*, 1 June 1877, 223.

⁴¹⁶ Catherine Robson, *Men in Wonderland: The Lost Girlhood of the Victorian Gentleman* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 3-4.

culture.”⁴¹⁷ Through a reading of the objects that populate the painting, I shift attention back to Leighton’s Islamic art collection and argue that *Study at a Reading Desk* is a painting with which Leighton could be personally identified. This identification with an adolescent girl, which differs radically from a position of desiring the odalisque, in an interior reminiscent of the Arab Hall that was being constructed in the same year, offers a reading of Leighton’s masculinity that incorporates an investment into the construct of Eastern girlhood that differs entirely from the Burtonian artist-as-adventurer persona he adopted in the pursuit of his collection and in the portrait hung upstairs. Giovanni Costa praised Leighton’s paintings of children as “the most delicious and spontaneous work ever done by him in painting.”⁴¹⁸ This analysis renews our attention towards this significant part of Leighton’s oeuvre and reads issues of race, age and gender through the idiom of the odalisque.

Connie Gilchrist served as the model first for *Little Fatima* in 1875 and subsequently *Study at a Reading Desk* and *The Music Lesson*, Leighton’s other offering to the summer exhibition in 1877. Gilchrist was a variety performer well-known on the London stage for her skipping-rope routine, captured by Whistler in *Harmony in Yellow and Gold: The Gold Girl – Connie Gilchrist (1876-77)* (Fig. 129), in yet another parallel between the two artists. In 1880, she would play the role of Abdallah in *The Forty Thieves*, a casting decision perhaps inspired by her Orientalist character in Leighton’s paintings.⁴¹⁹ Gilchrist was admired by a number of Victorian gentlemen, including Carroll who took her to the summer exhibition in July 1877. He wrote in his diary, “I took Connie with me to the RA which she seemed to enjoy (particularly seeing Mr. Leighton’s pictures of herself)”⁴²⁰ The gaze here is reversed, from the distant, yearning male viewer that Robson describes to the young female model able to assess Leighton’s work and his depiction of her.

⁴¹⁷ Jason Edwards, ‘The Adolescent Female Body’, in *In Focus: The Singer exhibited 1889 and Applause 1893* by Edward Onslow Ford, (ed.) Jason Edwards, *Tate Research Publication* (2015), accessed 17 September 2019, <https://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/in-focus/the-singer-and-applause-edward-onslow-ford/the-adolescent-female-body>.

⁴¹⁸ Giovanni Costa, ‘Notes on Lord Leighton’ *Cornhill Magazine*, (March 1897), 1.

⁴¹⁹ For more on Connie’s stage career, see Anne Varty, *Children and Theatre in Victorian Britain: All Work and No Play* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 66-69.

⁴²⁰ Lewis Carroll and Edward Wakeling, *Lewis Carroll’s Diaries* vol. 7 (London: The Lewis Carroll Society), 46.

Gilchrist is, therefore, in many ways at the centre of the Victorian cult of girlhood that scholars such as Carol Mavor and James Kincaid have highlighted.⁴²¹ Anthony Synnott also draws attention to the way in which Victorian depictions of children often raise questions of how to touch them appropriately.⁴²² The qualities of Gilchrist's girlhood are important to the overall painting, however, her exact age is difficult to determine by just looking at the figure. She sits in a seated, cross-legged position that highlights the smallness of her body in an un-self-conscious pose. Her crouched position accentuates the curve of her back but the pose also serves to draw the rest of her body inwards such that we cannot make out her figure. But her bare foot tucked underneath her with toes and sole facing outwards play into the contradictory 'reveal/conceal' tension in odalisque imagery. Her head and face, then, are the most detailed aspects of her person, bringing this painting in line with conventions of portraiture, a similar approach to *Odalisque*. Like *Little Fatima*, a single ear is highlighted with her hair neatly tucked behind it. Gilchrist's hairstyle and copper coloured hair, gathered on top of her head with a fringe, becomes the model's calling card. The distinctive hairstyle can be seen in all of Leighton's paintings in which she appears and is deliberately done to evoke the body of Orientalist images she posed for, which I will explore further in this analysis.⁴²³ The style itself is more typical of an older girl or woman – tied up rather than worn loose or at the nape of her neck as in Whistler's painting. Gilchrist's features are nimble and Caucasian: rosy cheeks, heavy lidded eyes and a small pointed nose. H.C. Horsley made an appraisal of the picture, similar to Ruskin's thoughts on *Little Fatima* commenting, "A little Turkish girl sitting on a carpet, and peeping into the Koran, another charming study of Eastern life, although we are fain to suspect that this tiny Khanoum was born much nearer to Brompton than to Broussa or Bagdad [sic]." The other senior Academician painter of girls, Millais, would use similar facial features for his *Cherry Ripe* (1879) (Fig. 130), painted two years after *Study at a Reading Desk*. An ideal of white girlhood is mapped onto an Eastern idiom to create the artist's blended vision of exotic beauty or, in the words of Eleanora Sasso,

⁴²¹ James Kincaid, 'Producing Erotic Children', in Steven Bruhm and Natasha Hurley, *Curiouser: On the Queerness of Children* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 3-17.

⁴²² Anthony Synnott, 'Handling Children: To Touch or Not to Touch?' in *The Book of Touch* ed. Constance Classen (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2005), 41-48.

⁴²³ This is also the hairstyle for the figure in *Needless Alarms* (1886), Leighton's final sculpture and also the least critically attended to – perhaps because of its pre-pubescent subject.

“blending Western female beauty with Eastern symbology.”⁴²⁴ While *Study at a Reading Desk* steps away from many of the conventions of odalisque imagery it also keeps the key elements of eroticised female space at play.

Thus, the painting tells us about Leighton’s determinations about the intersection between age, gender and race. It also reveals a key moment in his formulation of the Near East as a source for the decorative. The painting’s highly decorated interior reflects the interrelationship between the mediation of the Islamic world as a source for decoration in both British interiors and oil painting which was being championed by figures such as Jones at the moment that the vision for the Arab Hall was taking shape. As we have seen, culturally potent objects such as peacock feather fans are frequently deployed in odalisque painting to further tie the figure to a broad Islamic world geography. As Leighton was breaking ground on the Arab Hall, furnished Eastern interiors were an ongoing artistic project for the artist and it is therefore unsurprising such considerations appear in his oil painting. This evocation of a decorated domestic interior identifies the artist as the young girl at the centre of the room, surrounded by a rug and Qu’ranic book stand, both objects he owned. This identification with the adolescent female occupying an Orientalist interior acts as a female avatar for Leighton in opposition to Burton’s masculine presence in the studio-house, which I discussed in the first chapter.

The objects that furnish the interior of *Study at a Reading Desk* create a multi-sensory display. Multiple senses are embodied in this space through the viewer’s observations and the girl’s direct points of contact.⁴²⁵ Feet touch soft carpet, a hand fingers the silk overcoat, eyes read the contents of the book. Textures range from soft textiles to knotted carpet to the wood-grain surface of the bookstand, the cool tiles on the wall, and the warm glow of the gold medallion next to her. There are two objects the figure directly interacts with – the bookstand from which she reads and the carpet on which she sits. Both objects were a part of Leighton’s collection; the book stand is described in the Christie’s auction catalogue as “A Folding Book-Stand of tortoiseshell, overlaid with pierced scrolls in ivory, panel of looking glass” and the

⁴²⁴ Sasso, *The Pre-Raphaelites and Orientalism*, 5.

⁴²⁵ See Constance Classen on touch and cultural phenomenology in the nineteenth century, *The Deepest Sense: A Cultural History of Touch* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2012).

carpet as “An Old Persian Rug, the crimson centre decorated with lions, tigers, mythical beasts and stags”. The carpet was exhibited at the 1885 *Persian and Arab Art* exhibition, discussed in chapter 1, and was previously owned by David Wilkie, an important predecessor for Royal Academician artist-travellers to the Near East (Fig. 131).⁴²⁶ The carpet, described as ‘Persian’ was, in fact, an example of Safavid design. Such hunting scenes were also common in Mughal miniature scenes, many of which were held in British collections, such as the *Akbarmama* (c. 1590-95) (Fig. 132) and carpet design such as the Yerkes-Remarque Mughal Hunting Carpet (c. 1650) (Fig. 133). Like *Mother and Child (Cherries)*, Leighton juxtaposes several iterations of the East in this painting but rather than a Near and Far East distinction it instead moves between two empires: the Near Eastern, Safavid and South East Asian, Mughal. The book stand, then, pulls the scene towards a third East and the youngest Empire in the region: the Ottoman, which was also the rival empire that displaced the Safavids.

A similar book stand, most likely modelled from the same example, also appears in *Portions of the Interior of the Grand Mosque of Damascus* being read from by a seated man directly behind the restaged *Little Fatima* and a second girl. Such reading desks were becoming shorthand for the intersection between the Islamic faith and the increasingly secular Ottoman Empire, the tensions of which are most clearly exemplified in Hamdi Bey’s work. Hamdi Bey’s paintings of women sat at reading desks such as *Young Woman Reading* (1880) (Fig. 134) were widely recognised for their hybridised Ottoman Orientalism and were seen by European audiences in Paris, where Hamdi Bey exhibited regularly.⁴²⁷ The act of reading serves to liberate the female figure from the anti-intellectual confinements of being an odalisque and I argue later that Leighton offers one option to each of the girls in *Study at a Reading Desk* and *Light of the Harem*. Hamdi Bey weaves such complexities within the framework of Orientalist iconography, catering to European audiences’ expectations and his own unique position as an Ottoman artist. This painting, in particular, poses

⁴²⁶ Anne Anderson, ‘Bric-à-Brac Hunting for the Palace of Art’ in Leighton House Museum (ed.) Cllr. Nicholas Paget-Brown, *Closer to Home: The Restoration of Leighton House and Catalogue of the Reopening Displays 2010* (Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea: Leighton House Museum, 2010), 19.

⁴²⁷ Mary Roberts, ‘Osman Hamdi Bey and Ottoman Aestheticism’ in (eds.) Hollis Clayson and André Dombrowski, *Is Paris Still the Capital of the Nineteenth Century?* (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2016), 131-152.

tantalising stylistic connections to Leighton, although Hamdi Bey scholar, Edhem Eldem states that there are no concrete links that suggest the two ever met.⁴²⁸ However, Hamdi Bey may well have seen a reproduction of *Study at a Reading Desk* through Lefèvre and Sons, who held the copyright of the image from 1897.⁴²⁹ This is another instance, like Lewis' *In the Bey's Garden*, when a more established Orientalist looked to Leighton for stylistic inspiration. However, the grounds for that link are much more to do with palette and composition rather than an authority on the religion, which we have seen in Leighton's previous complicated encounters with Islam.

Another perspective with which to read the painting is as a Jonesian spectacle of Islamic pattern, as chronicled in *The Grammar of Ornament* (1856) and his colouring and decoration for the Alhambra Court at the Crystal Palace.⁴³⁰ The patterned elements in the painting follow the abstracted and geometric floral design that Jones' outlined as the most significant attribute of Islamic design. The silk overcoat has a delicate golden flower motif, the bookstand is lined with a pattern reminiscent of ivy, and at the meeting point of the tiles on the walls, flecks of gold have transformed these contact points into abstract flowers. Yet, *Study at a Reading Desk* also mediates the Islamic decorative world through the central female adolescent body and the character of the odalisque. So far, this chapter has contrasted two institutional approaches to the odalisque, the Salon and the Royal Academy. In *Study at a Reading Desk* and as I move into an analysis of *Light of the Harem*, the South Kensington Museum and the Crystal Palace become venues in which we can also situate Leighton's approach to the odalisque. Semper's four elements of architecture which were foundational to the South Kensington philosophy can all be seen in the painting: weaving (carpet), metallurgy (medallion), carpentry (bookstand and carved

⁴²⁸ See Edhem Eldem, 'Making Sense of Osman Hamdi Bey and His Paintings' *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Cultures of the Islamic World* 29 (2011), 339-383.

⁴²⁹ Emily M. Weeks and Edhem Eldem, 'Osman Hamdi Bey (Turkish, 1842-1910): Young Woman Reading' *Bonhams*, <https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/25444/lot/62/>. The painting sold at auction for £6,690,362 in September 2019, a new record for Hamdi Bey's work.

⁴³⁰ For more on Jones and Islamic design see, Abraham Thomas, 'Owen Jones and the Islamic World' in Gerald MacLean (ed.), *Britain and the Muslim World: Historical Perspectives* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), 143-163 and Kathryn Ferry, *Owen Jones and the Alhambra Court at the Crystal Palace* in Glaire D. Anderson and Mariam Rosser-Owen (eds.), *Revisiting Al-Andalus: Perspectives on the Material Culture of Islamic Iberia and Beyond* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 227-246.

hexagonal panels), and ceramics (wall tiles).⁴³¹ Crucial debates about the function of Islam in the fine and decorative arts were being played out through Semper's writing and Jones' curation. Mark Crinson writes, "This was, then not only a debate about the best method of educating craftsmen and designers but an articulation of a broader attitude towards cultural identity and colonial power."⁴³² However, the Royal Academy's role in this debate has been disconnected from the central discussion.

Study at a Reading Desk is a painting that shares a strong connection with the decorative arts and craft of the Islamic world. Edward Burne-Jones' dual role as a designer and painter is a compelling parallel in this instance. Stephen Wildman and John Christian write that Burne-Jones expressed a "readiness to blur the boundaries between easel painting and decorative design."⁴³³ I transpose this reading to address Leighton's readiness to blur boundaries between Western easel painting and Islamic design. Leighton's knowledge of both the Islamic decorative arts in his collection and the South Kensington Museum's philosophies on design allowed him to expand an oil painting to encompass such considerations between fine and decorative arts.

By including objects from his personal collection in a space reminiscent of the newly constructed Arab Hall, Leighton creates an autobiographical and certainly intimate space for this young odalisque which Robbins connects to Alma-Tadema's *In My Studio* (1893) (Fig. 135), a gift for Leighton which hung in the Silk Room.⁴³⁴ However, unlike *In My Studio*, *Study at a Reading Desk* is not a direct translation of the Arab Hall. Jean Baudrillard wrote that "Man never comes so close to being the sultan of a secret seraglio as when he is surrounded by his objects."⁴³⁵ To follow Baudrillard's thesis on collecting, this would stage Leighton as the sultan, a collector of objects, women and spaces. However, such a reading must also account for the possibility that the young girl at the centre of the picture is an avatar for the artist, living in his house and playing with his objects. This reading is more compatible

⁴³¹ Thank you to Nicholas Shaddick for many lively discussions on his reading of Semper in Moore's *Pomegranates* (1866).

⁴³² Mark Crinson, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture* (London: Routledge, 1996), 61.

⁴³³ Stephen Wildman and John Christian, *Edward Burne-Jones: Victorian Artist-Dreamer* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 146.

⁴³⁴ Daniel Robbins, 'Picturing Places: Frederic Leighton and Lawrence Alma-Tadema' in Liz Prettejohn and Peter Trippi (eds.) *Lawrence Alma-Tadema: At Home in Antiquity* (Munich: Prestel, 2017), 151.

⁴³⁵ Jean Baudrillard trans. James Benedict, *The System of Objects* (London: Verso, 1996), 10.

with Robson's ideas of the feminine stage of adolescent development and a later nostalgia to relive it. On his travels, Leighton collected in the Burtonian mode by directly obtaining objects and liaising with the male-dominated diplomat class to source the rest. But back in Britain, in the comfort of this purpose-built space for a single man, a palace of aesthetic pleasures, living with the objects happened in an odalisque mode. This thesis has already shifted perceptions away from comparing the Arab Hall to a direct translation of a harem space instead favouring the historical sites of the Ottoman Empire such as Bursa. *Study at a Reading Desk*, however, does suggest that there is room for a type of female occupancy within Leighton House. This also poses new ways of understanding an effeminate or female identified Leighton. Furthermore, a reidentification from adult male to adolescent female resonates with Jack Halberstam's idea of the transgender body in art as a "reorientation of the body in space and time".⁴³⁶ Similarly, this chapter has argued that Leighton deliberately used the odalisque body to reorient notions of Orientalist harem space and time. As the next section demonstrates, Leighton's identification within the harem space as a young girl is an unthreatening position. Rather than infiltrating the space as an aggressive swan or a sexually motivated sultan, the artist adopts a sympathetic position, a unique category within the odalisque genre.

***Light of the Harem (1880): 'Well, and the women?'*⁴³⁷**

In many ways, the final painting that this chapter considers, *Light of the Harem*, synthesises the motifs and thematic elements of the two other examples. Like *Odalisque* this painting's title explicitly links it to French and British Orientalist examples and reengages with Ingres and Lewis as key practitioners of the secluded, single gendered space. The use of the titular harem as a referent as opposed to odalisque suggests a space occupied by multiple women. Therefore, this painting moves beyond the single figured *Odalisque* and *Study at a Reading Desk* by presenting a gendered space inhabited by multiple women. Like *Study at a Reading*

⁴³⁶ Jack Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives* (New York: New York University Press, 2005), 107.

⁴³⁷ In his travel account *Constantinople*, Theophile Gautier claimed that "The first question invariably addressed to every traveller on his return from the East, is 'Well, and the women?' To which each responds by a smile, more or less mysterious according to the degree of his fatuity, implying, however, a fair amount of romantic adventures." Theophile Gautier, *Constantinople* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1857), 195.

Desk, a young girl is at the centre of this painting but accompanied by another older woman which raises questions about their relationship and the young girl's role in the harem social hierarchy. Also like *Study at a Reading Desk*, the harem interior juxtaposes depictions of the decorative and the figurative. Previous studies have not reflected on the interrelationship between these three paintings and the thesis they present on the odalisque. Therefore, this final section brings *Light of the Harem* into dialogue with *Odalisque* and *Study at a Reading Desk*, revealing an iconography across Leighton's odalisque pictures and a final meditation on the theme in which the lessons of Lewis, Ingres, Jones, and the girl model are brought to bear.

In the same year as *Light of the Harem* was exhibited, Leighton also sent his self-portrait to the Uffizi (1880) (Fig. 136), seemingly affirming his reputation as a Classicist and centring his artistic genealogy within the Classical world by including a section of the Parthenon Frieze.⁴³⁸ However, *Light of the Harem* clearly pushes back at the established chronology that leaves Leighton's Orientalism and the influence of his early career in France in the 1870s. This painting disrupts the idea of a linear progression towards a Classical aesthetic and nuances Leighton's Classicism with his Orientalism, which I explore in depth in the next chapter. The links between Classicism and Orientalism are particularly salient in *Light of the Harem*. In the second of his V&A frescoes, *The Arts of Industry As Applied to Peace* (1886) (Fig. 15) Leighton stages a similar encounter between a young girl holding up a mirror for an older woman, at the right-hand side of the central group of figures. While younger girl is veiled in a style reminiscent of Eastern custom this scene is set firmly in Classical Athens and her colourful outfit is contrasted with the older woman's diaphanous white drapery. The repetition of this pair across these two works also triangulates Leighton's odalisques between three key sites of artistic production: the Royal Academy, the Salon and the South Kensington Museum.

Additionally, the 1880 summer exhibition was an important moment for the debut of Leighton's newest favoured models: Dorothy Dene and her younger sister, Lena Pullen. Dorothy serves as the model in all five of the exhibited works – *Sister's Kiss* (Fig. 137), *Psamanthe* (Fig. 138), *Crenaia, the Nymph of Dargle* (Fig. 139),

⁴³⁸ Prettejohn, 'Morality Versus Aesthetics in Critical Interpretations of Frederic Leighton', 79-86.

Iostephane (untraced), and *Light of the Harem* while Lena modelled for *Light of the Harem* and *Sister's Kiss*. While Dene and Leighton's partnership (and speculation on their relationship) has received a great deal of attention, as I have explored in relation to *Study at a Reading Desk*, Leighton's relationship with his younger models was often of equal or even greater importance to him.⁴³⁹ As Connie Gilchrist entered her teens in 1879, the six-year-old Lena was an ideally aged replacement. This pairing, however, was inflected by the unique aspect of their relationship as sisters. Around this time, sisters were a popular motif in art and literature. Lady Clementina Hawarden frequently photographed her two daughters together in their home which overlooked the South Kensington Museum. Often her portraits of Isabella Grace and Clementina Maude evoked harem spaces and their costumes, blue striped skirts (which resemble Hunt's blue striped robe in his Uffizi self-portrait), open blouses and sashes referenced the eighteenth-century fashion for *a la turque* fancy dress (Fig. 140).⁴⁴⁰ Christina Rossetti also commemorated the relationship between sisters in her poem, *Goblin Market* (1862),

“For there is no friend like a sister
 In calm or stormy weather;
 To cheer one on the tedious way,
 To fetch one if one goes astray,
 To lift one if one totters down,
 To strengthen whilst one stands.”⁴⁴¹

The Pullen's relationship would have been convenient for Leighton from a practical standpoint, but it might also be deliberate in the context of the harem space the title evokes. European harem imagery frequently distorted the familial networks of female relationships. Turkish harems were typically domiciles for large networks of women who had distinct and sometimes overlapping relationships to one another. When Harriet Martineau visited two harems in Cairo and Damascus in the 1840s, for example, she recorded the complex hierarchies that the harem organised its women

⁴³⁹ Evidence of this enduring interest can be seen in very recent publications such as Eilat Negev and Yehuda Koren, *Flaming Dene* (Hove: Psychology News Press Ltd., 2019).

⁴⁴⁰ Virginia Dodier, *Clementina, Lady Hawarden: Studies from Life 1857-1864* (London: V&A Publishing, 1999), 50-78.

⁴⁴¹ Christina Rossetti, *Goblin Market* (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 2010), 10.

into. Martineau was met by the “chief wife” and was later introduced to the “husband’s mother”, Nubian, Abyssinian and Circassian handmaids, the newest wives (lower than the chief wife and mother-in-law in status), and the daughters of these women.⁴⁴² Ultimately, Martineau described her harem experiences in order to make a damning case against the practice of polygamy and the language she uses to characterise these women centres on their relationship to the bey of the house: mother, wife, slave, daughter. However, underlying her polemic are the numerous ways in which the women of the harem relate to one another; the bey is absent during Martineau’s visits and the harem clearly operates in large part without his direct involvement.

European harem imagery places the emphasis on the wives of the harem, particularly the younger ones as the odalisques, simplifying and eroticising the kinship structures of the Ottoman household. In line with Martineau’s argument for monogamy, the image of the odalisque is an interaction between one woman and one man. In *Odalisque*, I argue that this is achieved through the Zeus-as-bey swan and in *Study at a Reading Desk* Leighton’s own identification with the girl as odalisque, offering a complicated but nevertheless single, opposite gendered pairings.

Contrastingly, Lewis brought a sociological and domestic emphasis through the use of two or more female figures in his scenes. Paintings such as *An Armenian Lady, Cairo* or *Hhareem Life, Constantinople* are works where the bey is absent and there is a focused articulation of single-sex relationships amongst multiple women as seen in previous examples. *Hhareem Life, Constantinople* remains one of Lewis’ most ambiguous works precisely because of the unexplained relationship between the two women depicted. Weeks’ reads these pictures as weaving, “between European models, and presumed Oriental models, of domestic life to create a kind of visual hybrid that is finally irreducible to any ‘position’ or opinion other than an apparent delight in showing us so much but refusing, in the end, to tell us anything for certain.”⁴⁴³ Like the actual relationship between Dorothy and Lena, the network of

⁴⁴² Martineau, Harriet, *Eastern Life Present and Past* (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1848), 259-269.

⁴⁴³ Weeks, *Cultures Crossed*, 134.

connection in *Hhareem Life, Constantinople* is made even more complex by the fact that Marian, Lewis' wife, posed for both figures.

Using a similar strategy to reinvigorate the way in which the women of the harem are viewed, *Light of the Harem* plays with that same sticky web of female relations and poses four possible relations: mother and daughter, sisters, sister-wives or mistress and slave. Each of these connections frames the painting in a different light and offers different, and in some cases contrasting, attitudes towards the harem and Eastern female subject. Leighton leaves these possibilities open-ended which invigorates the odalisque and the harem as genres with contested, ambiguous and ultimately more interesting meanings like Weeks' idea of the visual hybrid that mediate between eroticised and social historical approaches.

Initially, the age difference between the two figures seems the obvious way to distinguish them. Unlike Lewis, whose female figures typically appear to be above the age of consent in the UK, which the Offence Against the Person Act raised to 13 in 1875, the figure on the left in *Light of the Harem* is clearly a pre-pubescent girl like the girl in *Study at a Reading Desk*. This is also evident in comparison to her companion, whose more developed figure can be seen through an opening in her robes as the mark of her maturity. An initial reading, then, might be to see them as mother and daughter. There was a fourteen-year age gap between Dorothy (b. 1859) and Lena (b. 1873), so this is plausible, given the age of consent laws in place at the time. However, unlike *The Music Lesson*, which depicts mother teaching her daughter to play a Syrian guitar or *Mother and Child (Cherries)*, the two figures in *Light of the Harem* lack the former paintings' sense of tender, intimate connection. Although the young girl looks up in awe at the woman wrapping her head, the woman remains in a moment of self-absorption staring at herself in the mirror, disrupting the sensory connection of touch or sight that Leighton included as signifiers of a mother-daughter relation as in *The Music Lesson* or *Mother and Child (Cherries)*. Roberts reads *Light of the Harem* as an image of female narcissism, "directed towards a masculine fantasy of the harem."⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴⁴ Roberts, *Intimate Outsiders*, 90.

The young girl holds up the mirror then possibly as an act of service, reshaping our perception of their connection as one formed through indentured labour. Martineau's account and other travelogues that recorded harem experiences frequently referred to the young female attendants in the harem. These young women were most likely slaves, a practice which remained legal in the Ottoman Empire until the early twentieth century.⁴⁴⁵ Circassian girls, from the further reaches of the Ottoman Empire in Central Europe, modern day Georgia, were prized as handmaids to the most senior wives and in some cases were elevated to become wives themselves.⁴⁴⁶ The issues of white slavery was another campaign Martineau and other British travellers selectively undertook to expose the practices of Ottomans who enslaved these white, often Christian women, hence the sympathetic reading of images such as Lewis' *An Armenian Lady in Cairo*.⁴⁴⁷ The cause was already buoyed by the debates surrounding Hiram Powers' *Greek Slave* (1847) (Fig. 141) which depicted a white, Christian woman sold into Ottoman captivity.⁴⁴⁸ Later, W.T. Stead's exposé *The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon* (1885) would bring the issue of white child sex slavery within the borders of Britain.⁴⁴⁹ Therefore this image traverses and invites readings of the two of the most potent social issues of the time: white slavery and child sex trafficking.

The whiteness of European harem imagery did not go unnoticed in the critical press and often figures were identified, as if to explain away their racial inauthenticity, as Circassian rather than European. This reasoning was frequently used to explain the whiteness of Lewis' models, before Marian's role in his paintings was widely known. It was also believed that Lewis had Circassian slaves in his Cairene household, although Thackeray's account of his visit to see the "languid lotus eater" in Cairo hints at a sexual relationship between the artist and a black slave.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴⁵ See Madeline Zilfi, *Women and Slavery in the Late Ottoman Empire: The Design of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

⁴⁴⁶ Llewellyn, 'Observations and Interpretations: Travelling Artists in Egypt', 38.

⁴⁴⁷ DelPlato, *Multiple Wives, Multiple Pleasures*, 65.

⁴⁴⁸ Michael Hatt and Martina Droth, 'The Greek Slave by Hiram Powers: A Transatlantic Object' *Nineteenth Century Art Worldwide* 15, no. 2 (Summer 2016), accessed 18 March 2019 <http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/summer16/droth-hatt-intro-to-the-greek-slave-by-hiram-powers-a-transatlantic-object>.

⁴⁴⁹ See William T. Stead 'The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon' *Pall Mall Gazette* (6-10 July 1885) and Deborah Gorham, "'The Maiden Tribute of Babylon' Re-Examined: Child Prostitution and the Idea of Childhood in Late-Victorian England" *Victorian Studies* 21, no. 3 (Spring 1978), 353-379.

⁴⁵⁰ Thackeray, *Notes on a Journey From Cornhill to Cairo*, 146.

Slaves, while subordinate to the odalisque, frequently feature in representations of the harem. Ingres' 1839 version of *Odalisque with Slave* includes not only a white, female attendant playing music for her mistress but a black, eunuch guarding access to the single-sex interior divan chamber demarcated by a marble railing. Delacroix's second version of the *Women of Algiers in their Apartment* stages the black attendant as a more active expression of service, closing the curtain to hide the women therein. Leighton's young attendant holds up a mirror for her mistress so she can wrap her hair in a richly decorated scarf, the same arabesque and paisley pattern as seen in *Odalisque* wrapped around the figure's midriff. The hair covering, an act of concealment, contrasts with the attendant's visible hair which is neatly plaited and wrapped around her shoulder, mirroring the scarf's placement. It is clear that the older woman concentrates the erotic power in this image. Fabric plays an important role in articulating this idea, pivoting from Barringer and Prettejohn's thesis that "the central act" of Leighton's practice was the body.⁴⁵¹ While bodies model these clothes, the effort of his draughtsmanship, what Roberts terms "field of patterned paint",⁴⁵² is given to the patterns, colours and textures of fabrics to highlight their individuality rather than subsume them to the status of a prop.

While, in some ways, this painting moves away from the collecting strategies based around the collection explored in chapter 1, we are in an enclosed interior reminiscent of the space in *Study at a Reading Desk* and therefore an Arab Hall fantasy, prototype or alternative. Therefore, we should still consider this painting an exploration of Leighton's collection and how it is presented. In contemporary images and descriptions, textiles are notably absent from the Arab Hall. We do, however, know from Reverend Wright and the Christie's auction catalogue that Leighton owned textiles in similar quantities to the carpets and tiles.⁴⁵³ While textiles may not have played a role in the reflective, tiled interior of the Arab Hall, pattern is still a crucial element of Leighton's overall formulation of Islamic art and the figurative odalisque as we have already seen in *Odalisque* and *Study at a Reading Desk*.

⁴⁵¹ Barringer and Prettejohn, 'Introduction', xix.

⁴⁵² Roberts, 'The Resistant Materiality of Frederic Leighton's Arab Hall' para 4.

⁴⁵³ See Wright 'Lord Leighton at Damascus and After', 183-5.

Asides from her unadorned head, the young attendant is completely covered in a long blue overcoat, with a gold printed pattern, reminiscent of the coat in *Study at a Reading Desk*. The older woman's clothes are markedly less effective in their concealment of skin. Toes peek out from under the dress which DelPlato suggests is an erotically charged staple of harem imagery.⁴⁵⁴ The opening of her dress, the same dress worn in *Old Damascus: Jew's Quarter*, cuts down to her sternum in a sharp V, highlighting the simple wrapping around her waist, as opposed to a tightly laced corset. In the period of dress reform, artists such as Leighton, Whistler and Morris utilised Ottoman and Japanese styles of dress to suggest aesthetic alternatives for women eschewing 'lacing up'.⁴⁵⁵ The finely cut oda lace that runs up the sides of the overcoat and along the sleeves are a playful hint at fabric that is present and absent and another example of abstracted geometric pattern.

However, there remains a final possibility to explain the pair's relationship to one another, that the two are sister-wives and the young girl is the newest inductee into the seraglio. Looking up at the older woman might be an expression of admiration, but possibly also learning the requirements of a life she will have to lead soon. The mirror then functions as a prognostic device – does the older woman look back at her past self?⁴⁵⁶ Or does the girl look forward into her future? Both possibilities are plausible in an image that emphasises multiple subject positions from which to look. Contrastingly, as an odalisque image, *Study at a Reading Desk* gives an alternative future for the girl outside of the harem, as suggested in Hamdi Bey's *Young Woman Reading*. Studying from a book is an emancipatory action that would free her from the limited circumstances of living as a wife, closed off from the rest of the world. However, the girl in *Light of the Harem* has a more established trajectory which elicits more difficult questions about her role. Roberts calls the picture a closed circuit through acts of looking: girl to woman, woman to mirror.⁴⁵⁷ There is no room for the girl to break free of these intense gazes.

⁴⁵⁴ DelPlato, *Multiple Wives, Multiple Pleasures*, 143.

⁴⁵⁵ For more, see Kimberly Wahl, *Dressed as in a Painting: Women and British Aestheticism in an Age of Reform* (Durham, New Hampshire: University of New Hampshire Press, 2013).

⁴⁵⁶ For another perspective on the mirror in Victorian painting, see Alison Smith, Susan Foister, and Anna Koopstra, *Reflections: Van Eyck and the Pre-Raphaelites* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017).

⁴⁵⁷ Roberts, *Intimate Outsiders*, 91.

Ideas of familial connection and the eroticism of the harem subject in European painting sit at odds in *Light of the Harem*. Unlike *The Music Lesson* or *Mother and Child (Cherries)* the relationship between woman and girl is unclear and the potent erotic contexts of their setting pulls our reading of the painting towards an understanding that both figures are involved in the sexual aspects of the harem, either through polygamous marriage or slavery. However, like Lewis' harem paintings, this intimate encounter suggests there are readings we, as Western viewers, are not privy to. Leighton withholds a damning judgement of the harem akin to Martineau's writings but also resists an orgiastic Ingrean harem or bathers scene which would make the girl's role explicit.

Returning to Ates' photographs, the veiled figure wanders around Leighton House like a spectre, a permanent presence but one that remains unseen. The 'ghost' of Leighton House is not the artist, but a veiled woman wandering the carefully curated interiors. Kimberly Lamm writes, "Haunting is a way to account for the unconscious: the dimensions of selves, institutions and histories that unhinge from conscious will and acquire agency of their own."⁴⁵⁸ I am also reminded of the empty marriage chest, turned into a seat on the staircase facing the Bursa tile wall in Leighton House, that Edwards highlights as a queer spectre to further understand the erotics and place of women in the house.⁴⁵⁹ As this chapter has demonstrated, Leighton's treatment of the odalisque subject was entangled in the web of European Orientalist imagery. The self, history, and agency of the real women in Turkish harems remains elusive in Leighton's odalisque paintings; the ghost is what is not in these paintings.

In the three examples the chapter explored, I examined Leighton's debt to French and British precedents and the ways in which he acknowledged and differed from those sources. I highlighted the way in which these three examples are linked to one another, a shared universe of models, objects and spaces, which tracks the trajectory of the artist's formulation of this subject. Leighton's odalisque imagery presents a new model for reading the British Orientalist odalisque which shifts our

⁴⁵⁸ Kimberly Lamm, 'Gestures of Inclusion, Bodily Damage and the Hauntings of Exploitation in *Global Feminisms* (2007)' in eds. Victoria Horne and Lara Perry, *Feminism and Art History Now: Radical Critiques of Theory and Practice* (London and New York: IB Tauris, 2017), 252.

⁴⁵⁹ Edwards, 'The Lessons of Leighton House', 103.

understanding of Lewis as the dominant practitioner of that subject within the Royal Academy. Leighton's paintings of young girls also have an intimate connection to his Orientalism. My reading has revived these subjects from their relegation in Leighton scholarship and also networked them between three institutional approaches to Orientalism: the Royal Academy, the Salon and the South Kensington Museum. They show the ways in which Leighton articulated the concerns of the South Kensington philosophy, design reform and the role of Islamic art in British decorative circles was disseminated to the fine arts world through the figurative subject of the odalisque. Ates' other Leighton series, *Leighton and She* (2008) (Fig. 142), staged in front of the V&A frescoes, demonstrates that I am not the only one to have made such a connection. This chapter is important for understanding the ways in which Leighton's travels and the wider contexts of Orientalist imagery intersected, pivoting from the first two chapters, which explored Leighton encounters whilst abroad, to the more public concerns of his academic pictures.

Chapter 4

Captive Andromache and the Islamic Mediterranean

“Are you on the side of Troy, or on the side of the Greeks?”

Ten people shout in unison, “Troy!”

“Are you on the side of Achilles or Hector?”

Fingers are raised in the air: “Hector, Hector, Hector...” and on the deck of the ship

Uçan

is filled with laughter.⁴⁶⁰

When Azra Erhat translated *The Iliad* into Turkish in 1962, the Turkish Republic was still in its adolescence. For a young country trying to move quickly beyond the shadow of its Ottoman imperial past, the classical canon was a refuge from more recent histories. But rather than reconnecting directly with Greece - where the colonial legacy of the Greek War of Independence was still a potent motivator for nationalists - or another decadent, cosmopolitan empire like Rome, Erhat reinvigorated the “Anatolian spirit”⁴⁶¹ of the classical canon, popularising texts that took place within the borders of the newfound republic. Erhat’s translations of *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey* (1970) reidentified the texts with Turkish heritage and local Anatolian traditions which developed an understanding of the land as, Yasmin Seale argues, “generative of culture regardless of who inhabited it.”⁴⁶² Through her translations and travel memoir, *Mavi Yolculuk* (1973), Erhat bridged the cultural gap between Turkey and Greece, demonstrating their shared ancient history, challenging Eurocentric histories of the Western canon. The Blue Cruise movement, founded by Erhat and others in the Turkish academic community, emphasised the Arcadian, Mediterranean delights of the charming beach town of Bodrum (known in Antiquity as Halicarnassus), and was influential in liberal avant-garde circles, while political theories such as Hellenoturkism, which proposed the reunification of Turkey and

⁴⁶⁰ Azra Erhat, trans. Kenan Behzat Sharpe. *Mavi Yolculuk* (Istanbul: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1973), 117.

⁴⁶¹ Agnes Sebestyan and Thomas Dittelbach. *Light Colour Line: Perceiving the Mediterranean: Conflicting Narratives and Ritual Dynamics*. (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2017).

⁴⁶² Yasmine Seale, “Millefeuille of Civilizations” *Times Literary Supplement*, 15 Oct. 2018, accessed 5 June 2019, <https://www.the-tls.co.uk/articles/public/anatolia-homer-in-turkey/>.

Greece, took hold on the right.⁴⁶³ Both argued that Turkey's centrality in the Western classical canon had been fundamentally overlooked.

The nineteenth century marked a paradigm shift for classical receptions during a dynamic period in which multiple, eclectic antiquities from Mesopotamia to Assyria, Egypt and Greece were discovered. At the same time, Ancient Greece held a powerful place in contemporary British culture, in the words of Simon Goldhill, "a deeply privileged and deeply contested arena for cultural (self-)expression."⁴⁶⁴ Parallel to this was the contemporary geopolitical relationship with Greece, formerly under the dominion of the Ottoman Empire, and this in turn, raised questions about Turkey's place in such classical histories.⁴⁶⁵

"[W]hatever may be said on behalf of Steinle or the other masters of Leighton, who owed more or less to Greece, no other painter of our time has turned to the art of that country with such fidelity, and adapted it to his own practice with anything like such felicity as Leighton."⁴⁶⁶ Rhys' elegiac praise of Leighton's Hellenism affirms one of the most concrete and lasting legacies of the artist: the success of his late-career Classicism, characterised as Greek, and its dominating effect on assessments of his work. At the apex of a cultural moment of Hellenism in Victorian Britain,⁴⁶⁷ Leighton was perceived as the head of the Olympian art world, an adherent in a cult of Greek infatuation.

Leighton's interest in, and emulation of, ancient Greek culture is well documented in his biographies and in the subsequent scholarship, which I turn to discuss momentarily. However, this Hellenism – both for Leighton personally and in the

⁴⁶³ See Kypraios, Christos Ch. *The Ideology of Hellenoturkism: From George of Trebizond to Dimitri Kitsikis*, MA Thesis, Bilgi University, 2015.

⁴⁶⁴ Simon Goldhill, *Victorian Culture and Classical Antiquity: Opera, Fiction and the Proclamation of Modernity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 1.

⁴⁶⁵ For more on the changing position of modern-day Greece in the British imagination see, Debbie Challis, 'Modern to Ancient: Greece at the Great Exhibition and the Crystal Palace' in (eds.) Jeffrey A. Auerbach and Peter H. Hoffenberg, *Britain, the Empire and the World at the Great Exhibition of 1851* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2008), 173-190.

⁴⁶⁶ Rhys, *Sir Frederic Leighton*, xxii.

⁴⁶⁷ For more on Hellenism in Victorian Britain, Christopher Wood. *Olympian Dreamers: Victorian Classical Painters, 1860-1914* (London: Constable, 1983), Frank M. Turner *The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984) and Richard Jenkyns *The Victorians and Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980) and Evangelista, Stefano-Maria *British Aestheticism and Ancient Greece* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

wider culture – was never far from the Classical Orient, revealing the longstanding ideological motivations for such a separation between ‘Greece’ and ‘the Orient’ in the first place. Echoing many of the wider cultural touch points of Hellenism in Victorian culture, Leighton was a member of the Society of Dilletanti, which during his membership funded scholarships for artists to travel to Greece and Italy and for archaeological excavations to take place in Greece and Turkey.⁴⁶⁸ During his Presidency, he was also an ex-officio Trustee of the British Museum, the national repository for Greek and Roman antiquities as well as Assyrian, Persian, Phoenician, and Egyptian artefacts found in adjacent regions. Personal letters document his “passion for the true Hellenic art”⁴⁶⁹ that ran so deep he was ascribed a Greekness in character, simultaneously an orientalisising and classicising identification in a period where modern-day Greek nationalists were as well-known as figures from ancient history. A widely-held belief at the time, summarised by the German Hellenist, Jakob Phillip Fallmerayer, was that “not a single drop of undiluted Hellenic blood flows in the veins of the Christian population of present-day Greece.”⁴⁷⁰ Barrington claimed Leighton was, “essentially English as well as Greek-like”,⁴⁷¹ and dated this trope back to the earliest moments of his career when, “Leighton, no less as a man than as an artist, was more Greek than is any typical Parisian.”⁴⁷² This chapter demonstrates that while scholars have rightly emphasised his classicising characteristics, inherent to those were less acknowledged orientalisising elements. Leighton’s self-fashioning and reputation as an Olympian within Royal Academy circles, especially during the years of his Presidency, have established his Anglo-Mediterranean links through Italy and classical Greece. As this chapter demonstrates, however, Leighton’s Mediterranean extended further south and eastwards and was much broader in geographical and cultural scope. To make this claim, I read a single work, *Captive Andromache* (1888) (Fig. 11) and propose a new understanding of Leighton’s Classicism as one that is routed physically through the Ottoman, as well as the Anglo, Mediterranean world.

⁴⁶⁸ See Jason M. Kelly. *The Society of Dilettanti: Archaeology and Identity in the British Enlightenment* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press and the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2009).

⁴⁶⁹ Wood, *Olympian Dreamers*, 25.

⁴⁷⁰ Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer, *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea* vol. 1 (Stuttgart: J.G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung, 1830), iii-iv.

⁴⁷¹ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 1, 25.

⁴⁷² Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 1, 240.

Captive Andromache presents a scene from *The Iliad*, the epic poem by Homer which recounts the events of the Trojan War with which the chapter began. It depicts Hector's premonition that, following his death and the Trojans' defeat, his wife Andromache will become a prisoner of the Greeks, separated from their son, and forced to fetch water for her captors. Leighton's Hellenic credentials are on full display as Andromache and her fellow water-gatherers are robed in a vibrant array of colourful, rippling classicising drapery. They process towards the well with a variety of vessels, drawn with details reminiscent of Attic and kalpis vases.⁴⁷³ The processional format lends itself to the spectacle of the Homeric golden age as it was imagined by many of the poet's English translators in the nineteenth century, including politicians such as William Ewart Gladstone and poets such as Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Matthew Arnold.⁴⁷⁴ However, Leighton's telling of the story does not cleave to the established sense of Homer's world that these translations conjured, seen in the laurels and scrolls of examples such as Alma-Tadema's *A Reading From Homer* (1885) (Fig. 143).⁴⁷⁵ Instead, Leighton was drawing from the remnants of a Classical world that was becoming increasingly visible and closely tied to the places he had visited.

The substance of Leighton's Hellenic style is most clearly elucidated in the first section of *Frederic Leighton: Antiquity, Renaissance, Modernity*. In identifying three ingredients from which Leighton's creativity sprung, Barringer and Prettejohn mark his interest in Greek antiquity as "a creative rather than reconstructive art".⁴⁷⁶ These essays, along with Jenkins account of the Greek vases in *Captive Andromache*, argue

⁴⁷³ Ian Jenkins, 'Lord Leighton and Greek Vases' *The Burlington Magazine* 125 no. 967 (Oct. 1983), 596-603+605.

⁴⁷⁴ See W.E. Gladstone, *Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1858) and Matthew Arnold, *On Translating Homer: Three Lectures Given at Oxford* (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1861). For more on Arnold see Liz Prettejohn, 'Between Homer and Ovid: Metamorphoses of the "Grand Style"' in *Representations of G.F. Watts: Art Making in Victorian Culture*, edited by Colin Trodd and Stephanie Brown. (Surrey: Ashgate, 2004), 49-64.

⁴⁷⁵ On his 1857 trip to Algeria, Leighton reported in a letter to his sister: "*A propos* of chanting, I saw a very striking thing one day in Algiers, in the shape of a Rhapsodist, who recited, with an uncouth instrumental accompaniment, a long string of strophes describing (I am told) the life and deeds of some her; it was exactly what a recital of Homeric poems must have been like amongst the early Greeks. The Homer stood up in the midst of a motley and most picturesque group of breathless listeners, and chanted, with a sort of animated monotony, verses of about two lines each, heightening the colour of his tale by gesticulations." Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 1, 303.

⁴⁷⁶ Barringer and Prettejohn, 'Introduction', xxiv.

that Leighton's reputation as a neo-classicist was not based on the careful, literal copying of artefacts as was the case in Alma-Tadema and Edwin Long's work. Instead, his creative process included consulting authentic primary or secondary sources, such as objects in the British Museum or his personal library filled with books on Antiquity, and then modifying and transforming them into "academically correct" details for his paintings.⁴⁷⁷ Leighton's Classicism, therefore, was modelled on an ahistorical series of reference points and a blended iteration of the Classical world through Aestheticist motifs, a philosophy of synthesis that Prettejohn explores further in relation to his history painting.⁴⁷⁸ I use *Captive Andromache* as an important case study to demonstrate the ways in which Leighton *further* synthesised his aestheticized sense of history painting with his travel and Hellenism to create an Islamic Mediterranean through this monumental processional painting. In locating the Classical world – territories in modern day Turkey, Greece, Syria and North Africa - Leighton was also engaging with the Ottoman and Islamic worlds of his experience, staging them as much closer to Greece than other Classicists accounted for. For Leighton, I argue a Classical subject such as *Captive Andromache* had to accommodate a geographical reality that was becoming increasingly apparent as the Classical world was being excavated within the borders of the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁷⁹

Barringer and Prettejohn identify the complex make up of Leighton's Classicism as a seemingly endless range of influences, sources and references.⁴⁸⁰ Following their argument, this would absorb any Ottoman or Mediterranean sources in and amongst the many layers of his eclecticism. However, this chapter argues that there is a clear relationship between Leighton's Hellenism and Orientalism and that he deliberately brought those two historicising and regionalising nodes of artistic practice into dialogue with one another. While Barringer and Prettejohn's project infuses Leighton's eclecticism with a complexity through which to read the entire body of Victorian art anew, it also glosses and blends together individual cultural contexts

⁴⁷⁷ Jenkins, 'Lord Leighton and Greek Vases', 602.

⁴⁷⁸ Liz Prettejohn, 'Aestheticising History Painting' in *Frederic Leighton: Antiquity, Renaissance, Modernity*, (eds.) Barringer and Prettejohn (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1999), 89-110.

⁴⁷⁹ For more on archaeology in the Ottoman Empire see Debbie Challis, *From the Harpy Tomb to the Wonders of Ephesus: British Archaeologists in the Ottoman Empire, 1840-1880*. (London: Bloomsbury, 2008) and Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik and Edhem Eldem (eds.) *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914* (Istanbul: Salt, 2011).

⁴⁸⁰ Barringer and Prettejohn, 'Introduction', xxii.

into an indistinguishable whole, often leading to the obfuscation of non-Western sources. This chapter problematizes the way in which we have read Leighton's Hellenism and Orientalism separately thus far and unpacks the ways in which these strands are deeply interrelated. I locate the blended and eclectic tendencies of his Hellenism as symptomatic of, and produced by, the Islamic Mediterranean world of his travels - a dynamic cultural hub that encompasses the Eurasian and African territories that border the Mediterranean with historical ties to Islamic peoples and cultures. The modern Anglo-Mediterranean cultural encounter is a far more understood relationship and developed area of scholarship.⁴⁸¹ Previously, as a result of the Grand Tour routes, British movement in the Mediterranean has been conceived as a European project. In these accounts, the exclusion of the Near East and Ottoman world is, according to Robert Holland, a sign of how "oriental influences percolating in Britain were more often than not mediated through the classic European South, and not anywhere truly 'Eastern' at all."⁴⁸² However, the 'oriental' world was often the only practical means by which one could access and interact with much of the Mediterranean world in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, particularly in the case of Greece.

This brings the identification of Leighton's Classicism as Hellenist to the fore.⁴⁸³ If Leighton's engagement with Antiquity was specifically Greek in character, then it was located at the intersection of key cultural debates about East and West. A serious consideration of his Hellenism must also take into account a Greece that was perceived as a liminal space between the European and Islamic worlds.

Captive Andromache's chronological place in the last decade of Leighton's life and nearing the end of his travels also allows me to reflect on the shift in Anglo-Ottoman relations during this period. Key events such as the 1876 Great Eastern Crisis, the 1882 invasion of Egypt by British forces, and the Gordon Crisis in Sudan in 1885 fundamentally altered British cultural perceptions of the Ottoman and Islamic

⁴⁸¹ See Robert Holland, *Blue-Water Empire: The British in the Mediterranean Since 1800* (London: Penguin, 2012) and John Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion: Victorians and Edwardians in the South* (London: Faber and Faber, 2009).

⁴⁸² Holland, *The Warm South*, 16.

⁴⁸³ Elizabeth Prettejohn, 'Leighton's Last Academy' in *Flaming June: The Making of an Icon* ed. Catherine Blake (Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea: Leighton House Museum, 2016), 40.

worlds. Tellingly, this corresponds to a period when Leighton seemed to have stopped travelling to the region and started to explore new more proximal localities such as Scotland, Ireland, and the north of England. Underpinning these political events was the legacy of the Greek War of Independence, an earlier moment in which artists and other cultural figures identified themselves as anti-Ottoman. In the later decades of the nineteenth century, this was debate played out under the banner of ‘The Eastern Question’, a foreign policy debate in which artists were deeply involved in discussions and depictions from the outset.⁴⁸⁴ My reading of *Captive Andromache* argues that the painting responds to the fraught political moment and my analysis questions the impact of those events for an artist who had been deeply invested in the Ottoman world for decades.

In addition, my reading engages with Pater’s idea of cultural reception as a cumulative model of history. In his book, *Greek Studies* (1895) Pater proposed that a Victorian understanding of Greece must simultaneously hold its subsequent Classical, Byzantine and Ottoman histories.⁴⁸⁵ If we are to look to the past, he argues, these periods cannot be studied in isolation. In his engagements with academic Hellenism, Leighton frequently consulted Pater’s writings on Greece and particularly his exploration of pagan ritual.⁴⁸⁶ Pater’s novel, *Marius the Epicurean* (1885), was published three years before *Captive Andromache* and uses the Classical processional as a motif for exploring the notion of compressed time and historiographical layering.⁴⁸⁷ While Lene Østermark-Johansen has drawn parallels between the Paterian processional and the paintings of Moore and Alma-Tadema, I argue that *Captive Andromache* offers a further compelling comparison between Pater and Leighton’s Classical temporalities. Through Leighton’s reading of Pater we can “redraw the outlines of mutually dependent Hellenism and Orientalism.”⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁴ Gérard-Georges Lemaire, *The Orient in Western Art* (Berlin: H.F Ullmann, 2000), 146-153.

⁴⁸⁵ Evangelista, *British Aestheticism and Ancient Greece*, 3.

⁴⁸⁶ Anne-Florence Gillard-Estrada, ‘Between the Olympian and the Dionysian: Pagan Energy in Paintings by Frederic Leighton and Lawrence Alma-Tadema’, *Cahiers Victoriens et Édouardiens* vol. 80 (Autumn 2014), accessed 15 May 2019. DOI : 10.4000/cve.1507.

⁴⁸⁷ Lene Østermark-Johansen, ‘Frieze: Getting Beneath the Surface of the Past in Aestheticist Painting and Writing’ *Victorian Studies* 51, no. 1 (Autumn 2009), 20-30.

⁴⁸⁸ Gonda Van Steen, *Liberating Hellenism from the Ottoman Empire: Comte de Marcellus and the Last of the Classics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2010), 2.

Marden Fitzpatrick Nichols has pointed to “the flexibility of Leighton’s relationship to the Classical world” and its elasticity towards the Mediterranean through the example of *Greek Girl Dancing* (1867) (Fig. 144) which had originally been titled *Spanish Dancing-Girl: Cadiz in Olden Times*.⁴⁸⁹ The painting is reminiscent of a similar work by Moore, *A Musician* (1867) (Fig. 145). Both Moore and Leighton sought to blend their evocations of classical Greece with Orientalist aesthetics. For Moore, this was through the inclusion of decorative Japanese fans along the dado behind the figures whereas for Leighton, Cadiz and Greece are transposed as anthropologically similar spaces.⁴⁹⁰

While Nichols’ reads the title swap as a sign that setting was an “afterthought” for Leighton, I propose that he originally used Cadiz in recognition of its layered history – the ‘olden’ times - and its transposition to *Greek Girl Dancing* as a further statement on how he perceived the interconnectedness of the Mediterranean world, exemplified by a port city. Cadiz, one of the oldest port cities along the Andalusian coast of Spain, which Leighton had visited during his trip to Spain in 1867, was well-known for its Phoenician, Roman, Moorish and Spanish occupations across more than a millennium. Leighton was not the only artist to make such links between the shared Islamic history of the Iberian and Ottoman worlds. In one of Lewis’ harem paintings, *The Siesta* (1876) (Fig. 146), the artist suggests an affinity between Spanish and Ottoman cultures which share the practice of a languid, late afternoon sleep.⁴⁹¹

The mural Leighton produced for The Royal Exchange, an international trading house, *Phoenicians Bartering with Ancient Britons* (1894-5) (Fig. 147) shows a similar thematic attention to Mediterranean trade as *Spanish/Greek Girl Dancing*.⁴⁹² Phoenician merchants, who travelled via the Strait of Gibraltar from the ancient cities

⁴⁸⁹ Marden Fitzpatrick Nichols, ‘Leighton’s Drawings and the Classical World’, *Lord Leighton’s Drawings* (2007), accessed 1 May 2019, <https://www.rbkc.gov.uk/lordleightonsdrawings/ldessays/essay4.asp>.

⁴⁹⁰ For more on Moore and Japonisme, see Mariko Hirabayashi, ‘Albert Moore and Ukiyo-e: Aesthetic Japonisme in Britain in the Late Nineteenth Century’ (MA Thesis, University of York, 2017).

⁴⁹¹ Lewis, like many Orientalists, started his career with a trip to Spain and earned the nickname ‘Spanish Lewis’. See John Frederick Lewis, *Lewis’ Sketches of Spain and Spanish Character* (London: FG Moon, 1836).

⁴⁹² For more on Leighton’s output c. 1894 including *Phoenicians* see Daniel Robbins, ‘No Weakness or Wavering’: Leighton at Work, 1894-1895’ in *Flaming June: Making of an Icon*, ed. Catherine Blake (Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea: Leighton House Museum, 2016).

of Tyre and Sidon (in the nineteenth century, in Lebanon under Ottoman control), scoff at the furs the ancient Britons offer in exchange for their pottery, jewels and textiles. The Phoenician wares echo the type of objects Leighton purchased through Ottoman trade networks. In *The Iliad*, the Phoenicians are presented as superior artisans with a cosmopolitan range of textiles and metalwork from across the ancient world far more sophisticated and valuable than the pre-Christian Briton's wares. A signal to Leighton's preferences towards the decorative arts of the Mediterranean world, this also alludes to the mission of the South Kensington Museum and design schools to elevate British craft and design through contact through global trade.

In his volume on the Mediterranean in visual culture, Jirat-Wasiutynski argues that the "representation of the Mediterranean in the modern period was dominated by two tropes, classicism and Orientalism."⁴⁹³ Mediterranean theory is a field of thinking that has attempted to move beyond the binary structure of Said's *Orientalism* and provides a potential new avenue with which to read Leighton's time in the Near East.⁴⁹⁴ The liquidity of the Mediterranean as a network, based around water and not land, differs from Said by revealing a more fluid network of relations, often independent of European relations with the East. For an artist such as Leighton, who excelled at synthesising sources, this nodal approach to figuratively mapping the Near East in his painting becomes a much more exploratory and open way of depicting the region, moving further away from Orientalising tropes which, with the exception of the odalisque paintings, he avoided. Throughout the nineteenth century, the Mediterranean remained a body of water where British naval power was not dominant. Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, French, and Italian interests were at play in the region and Britain's colonial holdings in the region were politically insecure.⁴⁹⁵ While Gibraltar, Malta and Cyprus (from 1878) remained important island, naval outposts to which the British fleet were deployed, the Palmerston government were forced to cede control of the Aegean Islands including Corfu in 1864. But these dynamics shifted again suddenly in 1882 when British forces occupied Egypt, in part, to maintain control of the Suez Canal, the ramifications of which I go on to explore.

⁴⁹³ Jirat-Wasiutynski, 'Modern Art and the Mediterranean', 8.

⁴⁹⁴ For example, see also, Jean-Claude Izzo and Thierry Fabre, *The French Mediterranean* (Paris: Maisonneuve and Larose, 2000) and Monique O'Connell and Eric R Dursteler, *The Mediterranean World: From the Fall of Rome to the Rise of Napoleon* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016).

⁴⁹⁵ See Holland, *Blue-Water Empire: The British in the Mediterranean Since 1800*.

This title of this thesis refers to ‘a relief from Classicism’, a phrase which stages Leighton’s Orientalism as an alternative and perhaps equally exciting proposition as the Classicism which has come to characterise ‘Lord Leighton’. It is also a pun that invokes the relief sculptures, most importantly in this instance the Parthenon Frieze, that Leighton referenced in the processional paintings, murals, and Uffizi self-portrait. As Østermark Johansen notes, relief sculpture and friezes “[engage] in notions of compressed space, in the tension between the flat ground and the protruding points, and invites contemplation on the relationship between stasis and movement.”⁴⁹⁶ This chapter considers Leighton’s engagement with the Classical as a method by which to ‘move’ the Orient into modernity through a prism of archaeology and the discovery of multiple, overlapping, eclectic, ancient histories. Tromans proposes that Orientalism offered Classicism “quite simply, [an art historical] future.”⁴⁹⁷ However, rather than treat Orientalism as the background relief to a foregrounded Classicism, this chapter brings those two onto the same plane and argues they can be read alongside each other through the mutual space of the Mediterranean.

Processional Paintings: Marching Eastwards

Captive Andromache is one of Leighton’s so-called processional paintings, a group of four works made across his career categorised by their large size and the compositional arrangement where figures process from one side of the canvas towards the other. *Captive Andromache* is the last of the group, exhibited in 1888 and bought by Manchester Art Gallery the following year.⁴⁹⁸ The first processional was *Cimabue’s Celebrated Madonna* (Fig. 2), the painting that launched Leighton’s career in London.

Nine years later came *The Syracusan Bride* (1866) (Fig. 148) which depicts a group of women from the Sicilian city of Syracuse processing with wild animals towards

⁴⁹⁶ Østermark-Johansen, ‘Frieze: Getting Beneath the Surface of the Past in Aestheticist Painting and Writing’, 20.

⁴⁹⁷ Tromans, *The Lure of the East*, 20.

⁴⁹⁸ Ormond, *Lord Leighton*, 102.

the Temple of Diana on the eve of the central figure's wedding. The third processional is *The Daphnephoria* (1874-6) (Fig. 149), depicting a group of Apollonian-worshipping-Thebans commemorating their victory over the Aeolians. These works, then, are the closest thing to a discernible 'Leighton painting' and their semi-regular, sequential appearance, roughly once every ten years, suggests that the artist was aware of the probability of their success. Their ambitious scale and detail almost certainly led to the South Kensington Museum's commission for Leighton to paint the *Arts Applied to Industry* frescoes, to which I return later in the chapter.⁴⁹⁹

These, however, were not the commercially-driven potboilers about which Leighton anxiously wrote to his mother.⁵⁰⁰ They are monumental works which served as creative sites for Leighton to explore ideas of foreignness and exoticism through scenes of ritual practice. In a painting such as *Captive Andromache*, the question of Near Eastern influence let alone Orientalism might seem quite elusive. However, the processions were the predominant subject for Leighton to stage encounters with the unfamiliar.⁵⁰¹ In a period when the most famous Islamic processional, the pilgrimage to Mecca, was reported to British audiences in books such as Burton's *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah* (1855-6), and paintings such as Goodall's *On the Road to Mecca* (1881) (untraced), an Orientalist processional is a more logical direction for Leighton than at first glance. Furthermore, each of the processional paintings' subjects emphasise travelling and movement as a meditation on culture and identity. The paintings' size, typically several metres long and wide, allowed the artist to develop a deeply considered thesis on the subject of the exotic drawing on aspects of landscape, figurative studies, wild animals, dance, music, craft, and design to depict difference. Using *Captive Andromache* as a case study once again pushes back at the idea that Leighton's Orientalism was marginal to the

⁴⁹⁹ For more on the frescoes, see Richard Ormond, *Leighton's Frescoes in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: V&A Publishing, 1975) and Tim Barringer, 'Leighton Gallery at the V&A: The Context, Conservation and Redisplay of the South Kensington Frescoes'; *Apollo* 143, no. 408 (February 1996), 'Leighton in Albertopolis: Monumental Art and Objects of Desire' in (eds.) Tim Barringer and Elizabeth Prettejohn, *Frederic Leighton: Antiquity, Renaissance, Modernity* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 135-168, and Stephen Rickerby, 'Conservation of Lord Leighton's Spirit Frescoes "War" and "Peace"', *V&A Conservation Journal* 17, (Autumn 1995).

⁵⁰⁰ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 2, 66.

⁵⁰¹ Rita Wright, 'Painted Processions: The Victorian Fascination with Christian and Pagan Ritual' in (ed.) Herman du Toit, *Pageants and Processions: Images and Idiom as Spectacle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 57.

artist's oeuvre, reserved for small scale works that remained in the confines of the house. The processional works are some of the best known, critically acclaimed and studied works by Leighton and hang in public collections in London, Manchester, and Liverpool. A rereading of such a canonical work which incorporates Leighton's travels and is evidence of his thinking on the interaction between Classicism and Orientalism shifts the overall scholarship on the artist towards a more holistic reading that includes his global influences.

While *Captive Andromache* does not conform to the other processional paintings' emphasis on religion, it does fit into a schema of periodisation, which he increasingly discussed in his Academy Addresses. *Cimabue's Celebrated Madonna* is an evocation of early Christian art, in deference to several teachers: Leighton's Nazarene-aligned master Steinle and thirteenth-century painters such as Giotto, Cimabue, Pisano and the poet, Dante. Although a seemingly straightforward religious painting, Leighton later commented in his 1887 Royal Academy Address that the thirteenth century was a pivotal moment in the development of Tuscan art where the shift between ancient Greek paganism to Medieval Christianity took place.⁵⁰² Leighton's presentation of the artists parading through the streets of Florence with an icon of the Virgin Mary and Jesus is intended to strike the viewer as a custom far removed from Protestant worship in Britain and more Catholic, and therefore foreign, in its loud public ritual. The next two processional works, *The Syracusan Bride* and *The Daphnephoria*, depict scenes of pagan ritual worship and marks Leighton's move backwards in his own stated chronology. However, the settings reflect the shift from Leighton's interest in the Gothic and medievalism towards an aestheticized Classicism and reflects formal aspects of his art which had since developed including Aestheticism.

To modern eyes, the compositional device of the processional, a horizontal stretch of canvas, is filmic in its effect.⁵⁰³ Through composition, Jenkyns argues, Leighton is most faithful to Hellenic friezes by arranging the figures across strong horizontals,

⁵⁰² Leighton, *Addresses Delivered to the Students of the Royal Academy*, 143.

⁵⁰³ For more on twentieth century film's debt to these paintings, see Ivo Blom, 'The Second Life of Alma-Tadema' in *Lawrence Alma-Tadema: At Home in Antiquity*, in (eds.) Elizabeth Prettejohn and Peter Trippi (London: Prestel, 2016), 186-199.

also recalling the idea of a stage or tableau.⁵⁰⁴ Hammerschlag argues that the paintings conform to the format of Victorian funeral processions, positioning viewers as mourners watching in a crowd.⁵⁰⁵ But the religious connotations of the rituals in the processional paintings are more nebulous than such a specific reading of Christian funerals and death would accommodate. Furthermore, and out of step with the rest of the group, *Captive Andromache* does not depict any sort of religious event, pagan or otherwise, in its narrative. But Hammerschlag's point about the spectacle and viewing opportunities a procession provides have interesting implications for how Leighton staged an encounter with the exotic in these works. Although the premise of a processional painting implies people are moving, the characters in these scenes are, of course, permanently static. The viewer is the one that is required to perambulate by walking along the canvas, enacting the movement depicted in order to experience the full processional scene. In *Captive Andromache* the painting is divided into two levels by a long horizontal platform which runs across the composition. Several figures 'below the line' view the scene above on Andromache's level at a remove similar to a theatrical viewing experience.⁵⁰⁶ The figures who look at the scene are focused on Andromache, but their line of sight cuts across the scene also taking in the water gatherers at the well. Our experience viewing the picture is similarly relational – we watch below the line and Leighton identifies our viewing position with that of noticeably darker skinned male figures, to whom I return to later in the chapter.

There are several important distinctions between *Captive Andromache* and the rest of the processional paintings, most notably that the narrative is drawn from Homeric source material. But the processional, monumental format was ideal for Leighton to elicit the links to the Orient. This intermingling of composition and subject matter was utilised by other artists in the period too. Leighton was one of the first painters in Britain to champion the work of the French mural painter, Puvis de Chavannes and there is clear link between the artists' similar use of flat compositions to display the

⁵⁰⁴ Jenkyns, *The Victorians and Ancient Greece*, 307.

⁵⁰⁵ Hammerschlag, *Frederic Leighton: Death, Mortality, Resurrection*, 15-46.

⁵⁰⁶ See Joseph Litvack, *Caught in the Act: Theatricality in the Nineteenth-Century English Novel* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

interaction between East and West.⁵⁰⁷ Chavannes' murals for the city of Marseille, the European port city where many Eastern journey began, *Marseille: Colonie Greque* (Fig. 150) (1869) and *Marseille: Porte de L'Orient* (Fig. 151) (1869) both highlight the porous boundaries between the Classical world and the Orient and its historical relations to Western European countries that border the Mediterranean, whose waters provide the focal point for both. Having now laid out the context of the processions, in this next section, I delve into the significance of the Andromache story and its centrality in a reading of the Islamic Mediterranean world, against the backdrop of archaeological encounters with the Classical world.

**“Seeing the East with Classical eyes”: Schliemann, Troy, and excavating
*Andromache*⁵⁰⁸**

Captive Andromache was exhibited with a quotation from Barrett Browning's translation of *The Iliad*:

“Some standing by,
Marking thy tears fall, shall say ‘This is she,
The wife of that same Hector that fought best
Of all the Trojans when all fought for Troy.”⁵⁰⁹

The year of this translation is not given in the summer exhibition catalogue, but the poet had maintained a lifelong interest in Homer, translating his works for pleasure and adapting narratives from *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey* into her own poetry.⁵¹⁰ In 1865, her husband Robert saw Leighton's *Helen of Troy* (1865) (Fig. 152) on a visit to the studio and commented that it was a “delicious”, “lovely, dream like picture.”⁵¹¹ Elizabeth and Robert had met Leighton in Florence at their home, Casa Guidi, where

⁵⁰⁷ Leighton references his work in Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 2, 209. For more on Puvis de Chavannes, see Jennifer Laurie Shaw, *Dream States: Puvis de Chavannes, Modernism and the Fantasy of France* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002).

⁵⁰⁸ Toner, *Homer's Turk*, 10.

⁵⁰⁹ Royal Academy of Arts, *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy, 1888. The 120th* (London: William Clowes and Sons, Ltd., 1888), 11.

⁵¹⁰ Dorothy Mermin, *Elizabeth Barrett Browning: The Origins of a New Poetry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 21-28.

⁵¹¹ John Woolford, Daniel Karlin, and Joseph Phelan, *The Poems of Browning: Volume Four: 1862-1871*, (Surrey: Routledge, 2014), 318.

their mutual admiration for the Greek poet would have most likely been discussed. Florence, one of the centres of the eighteenth-century Grand Tour and Anglo-Mediterranean travels, was now, like Marseille, a stopping point for many travellers on the way further south into the Near East and North Africa. These travellers, for whom a love of Homer was a staple of British identity, rediscovered the poet in these further southern reaches through encountering the sites of the poet's epics.⁵¹² These "Homeric pilgrims" were interested in identifying the real sites of *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*, most located in present-day Turkey and Greece.⁵¹³ Barrett Browning commented on this new empirical turn in Britain's love of Homer. In *Aurora Leigh* (1857), she pinpoints the disruptive role *The Iliad* played in fierce debates where archaeology was pitted against the spiritual space Homer had held in the public imagination for centuries:

"Wolff's an atheist;
And if *The Iliad* fell out, as he says,
By mere fortuitous concourse of old songs,
We'll guess as much, too, for the universe."⁵¹⁴

Mapping the physical sites of the Homeric canon chimed with a similar fervour to the biblical geography that had led Hunt to seek out de Saulcy and the supposed site of Sodom and Gomorrah for *The Scapegoat*. As we have seen, Leighton was largely ambivalent to the type of religious Orientalism Hunt was engaged in and therefore it makes sense that he would turn to the lands of Troy, the site of the Trojan War in *The Iliad*, as an important place to identify and excavate for proof of the poet and poem's existence. According to Gange and Bryant-Davies, "Troy was in the same imaginative landscape as Jerusalem."⁵¹⁵

⁵¹² The cult of Homer was a potent subsection of British Hellenism. Since the poet's work was embedded into the education of nearly every public school child, the poetry had applications in nearly every corner of civic society – political, religious and cultural. For more see, Turner, *The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain*, 135-186.

⁵¹³ R.C. Jebb, 'A Visit to the Site of Troy', *Gentleman's Magazine* (March 1868), 320.

⁵¹⁴ Elizabeth Barret Browning, *Aurora Leigh* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1857), 226.

⁵¹⁵ David Gange and Rachel Bryant Davies, 'Troy' in *Cities of God: The Bible and Archaeology in Nineteenth Century Britain*, (eds.) Michael Ledger-Lomas and David Gange, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 41.

The British archaeological programme to uncover Troy taking place in Turkey during the 1870s is a key context for unlocking the Islamic Mediterranean in *Captive Andromache*. However, as we have seen, scholars have continually pushed back against a strong reading of Leighton's archaeological literalism arguing that none of his Classical works aspired to direct translations. Asleson has convincingly brought to the fore the 'limits' of Leighton's translations of Homer and reinforces Jenkins' claim that Leighton's Classicism was largely a project of amalgamating authentic sources with his personal aesthetic choices.⁵¹⁶ I do not disagree with either scholar, or contest their knowledge of this area, but my reading of *Captive Andromache* does invoke the culture of excavation and the removal of Antiquities from predominantly Ottoman territories in this period, a fact which fundamentally brings Antiquity and the Orient into relation with one another through this painting. This reading recentres our understanding of British encounters with antiquity as almost entirely mediated through Ottoman sovereignty. Rather than arguing outright for an archaeological re-reading of every vase, bowl and decorated wall that appears in Leighton's paintings, I highlight *Captive Andromache* for the archaeological contexts with which it engages. As we have already seen in the first chapter, Leighton was an artist who immersed himself in the act of 'digging up treasures' from the bazaars and dealers for his personal collection. After 1869, the Ottoman government imposed restrictions on the export of antiquities, but these rules were routinely ignored and circumvented. Similarly, archaeologists at Ephesus, Troy, and other sites continued to export valuable artefacts for exhibition in Britain in pockets, suitcases, and sealed diplomatic bags.

As Prettejohn notes, a key facet of Leighton's Classicism was engaged in "thinking through basic problems about how to present classical scenes to modern audiences".⁵¹⁷ In some respects, archaeology offered a material, authentic solution to this problem. Hammerschlag similarly reads Leighton's late-career work through a prism of excavation, in her reading of *And the Sea Gave Up the Dead Which Were In It* (1892) (Fig. 153), a painting which aspires to resurrect "the Classical past in the

⁵¹⁶ Asleson, 'On Translating Homer: Prehistory and the Limits of Classicism', 76.

⁵¹⁷ Prettejohn, *Art for Art's Sake: Aestheticism in Victorian Painting*, 134.

Victorian present.”⁵¹⁸ This approach also presented an opportunity to meld seamlessly the Classical past with more contemporary ideas of the Orient. *Captive Andromache* is a painting drawn from a famous excerpt in *The Iliad* in a moment when locating and bringing up the past of the poet and its subject were of potent cultural significance for modern audiences, akin to authenticating the Bible.

I read *Captive Andromache* as an archaeologically motivated painting in several ways. The first is through the series of controversial excavations of Hisarlik conducted by Heinrich Schliemann that he claimed as the location of ancient Troy. For a Hellenist like Leighton who had already used Homeric texts in his painting, first in *Helen of Troy* and then *Electra at the Tomb of Agamemnon* (1869) (Fig. 154), the subsequent excavations conducted between 1871 and 1888 were of great interest to a monumental telling of Hector’s premonition. This is relevant to a reading of Andromache’s story and represents the most salient, physical contact point between the Classical and Ottoman worlds. The second way I read *Captive Andromache* archaeologically is through its extensive preparatory sketches, tracings and underpainting. These studies are all indicative of Leighton’s meticulous working methods but similarly allow me to dig through layers of the painting to see the process by which Leighton located and visualised Andromache’s Islamic Mediterranean world. These excavations show the points of contact where the Homeric world and the Orient are brought together in the painting along with Leighton’s formulation of how those two modes interact.

As I have just noted, before *Captive Andromache*, Leighton had twice used *The Iliad* as a source. In *Helen of Troy* and *Electra at the Tomb of Agamemnon*, as well as in *Captive Andromache*, his interest lies in the psychological isolation of Homer’s female protagonists.⁵¹⁹ Their settings reflect the states of isolation they experience in the poem. In *Helen of Troy*, the woman who launched a thousand ships stands on the parapet of Priam’s castle, on the eve of battle between the Greeks and the Trojans. She is separated from the other women behind her and clutches nervously at her

⁵¹⁸ Hammerschlag, *Frederic Leighton: Death, Mortality, Resurrection*, 194. Hammerschlag also makes a brief connection to Schliemann’s excavations.

⁵¹⁹ The novelist Pat Barker acknowledges this as an important perspective which informed her retelling of *The Iliad*, *The Silence of the Girls* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 2018).

dress. Unlike other popular images of Helen by Leighton's contemporaries such as Rossetti's *Helen of Troy* (1863) (Fig. 155) and Frederick Sandys' *Helen of Troy* (1866) (Fig. 156), which revel in crafting Helen's beauty, Leighton's gives the figure a relatively simple appearance and a vacant expression which looks out from the picture space. In *Electra at the Tomb of Agamemnon*, a daughter grieves for her father alone, her hands grabbing her hair in a pose of lamentation. The narrow vertical composition of the painting reinforces her solitude. Andromache is similarly separated from the group of water-gatherers surrounding her through the use of the landscape as a framing device. However, in contrast with *Helen of Troy* and *Electra*, *Captive Andromache* offers a considerably larger narrative and a more detailed iconography that suggest readings beyond female isolation.⁵²⁰ Andromache's fate is the inverse of *The Iliad's* central story of Helen choosing to join Paris in Troy – Andromache is taken prisoner back to Greece at the end of the Trojan War. Therefore, while the painting visualises a single moment from Hektor's premonition, it also reflects on the wider contexts of the Trojan War and its applicable modern reading as a conflict between Turkey and Greece and 'kidnapping' of their property (in this case, women).

Helen and *Electra* were painted in a period when *The Iliad* was culturally important text in Britain, but before Troy had a material and archaeological significance, at the intersection of the British imagination and scientific advancement. In 1871, Schliemann, a German importer turned archaeologist, claimed to have located Troy not in Burnarbashi where European geographers had previously identified the site, but in the nearby city of Hisarlik and immediately sought permission from the Ottoman authorities to dig for Priam's city. In doing so, he dislodged nearly seventy years of prevailing wisdom on the Burnabashi theory and polarised both the imaginative and material landscape of Homer's epics. From that point, as Schliemann excavated the site at Hisarlik between 1871 and 1888, debates about the discovery of Troy and the ongoing excavations were no longer confined to the armchair society class. The emerging technologies associated with archaeology, photography and the faster turn-around getting information from the site to the press,

⁵²⁰ Here I have read *Electra* as a pre-Schliemann Homeric image. While *Electra* cannot possibly register Schliemann's discoveries in Mycenae in 1876 which included Agamemnon's tomb and mask, Leighton does include the Lion's Gate, the entrance to Mycenae, which was never buried in the top right corner of the painting.

meant that a large portion of society was able to invest in Schliemann's activities, in a way that hadn't occurred with earlier digs that took place in the Ottoman territories. As Schliemann continued to pull treasures from the ground and found further evidence of a burnt city, the look of Homer's world came into clearer focus and brought its material culture to the forefront of Classical reception in Victorian Britain. *Captive Andromache* is a painting activated by the visuality of practising archaeology in the Ottoman Empire.⁵²¹

As I discussed, the processional format was a venue for Leighton to explore foreign ritual. In *Captive Andromache*, the practice of transporting ancient vessels is ritualised and enacted across the canvas, as the water-gatherers process with versions of kalpis and Attic vases, alluding to the export of such items back to Britain and into the collection of the British Museum where Leighton sketched such pots. This reading is even more revealing with the context that, in preparatory sketches, he used a water jar he had purchased in Egypt in 1868 as the stand-in for the Greek vases.⁵²² In *Style of the Technical and Tectonic Arts*, Semper argued that the hydria, carried by some of the water gatherers, was designed for water gathering in mountainous regions. The functionality of the Greek hydria differed from that of the Egyptian; the handles allowed for catching water from a spring with a centre of gravity that allowed it to be carried on the head over uneven ground.⁵²³ Moving beyond Jenkins and Asleson's reading of the ceramics as the only point of archaeological significance in *Captive Andromache*, I explore the indelible impact of the post-Schliemann moment on this depiction of *The Iliad*.

Behind the melee of figures in the foreground of the painting is an extensive landscape scene. The distinct landscape, which frames Andromache and therefore is also the focal point of the composition, is mountainous and recedes for miles into the distance. Streaks of white highlight along the plains of the valley below the mountain

⁵²¹ Leighton owned a number of books on archaeology and famous excavations including Sir W. Hamilton, *Etruscan, Greek and Roman Vases*, vol. 1 and 2 (1776), Smith and Porcher, *History of the Discoveries at Cyrene* (1860 and 1864) CT Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant* (2 vols.) (1865), G. Wallis, *Catalogue of Classical Antiquities from Nemi*, John Turtle Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (1877), Karl Otfried, *Handbuch der Archaeologie der Kunst* (1878), Murray, *Handbook of Greek Archaeology* (1892), Dilettanti Society, *Antiques of Iona*, 4 vols (1797-1881) and *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture* vol. 2 (1835).

⁵²² Jenkins, 'Frederic Leighton and Greek Vases', 601.

⁵²³ Semper, *Style in the Technical and Tectonic Arts, Or, Practical Aesthetics*, 36.

range suggest buildings, perhaps a settlement or another fortified Greek town such as Argos where Andromache was imprisoned.

Lush green trees along the immediate outskirts of the scene stretch to the height of the composition, extending upwards and echoing the plumage of clouds that register the climate as temperate, but not desert like. The climate and natural features read as distinctly Mediterranean, perhaps more similar to Leighton's landscapes in Spain or the Campagna, and more specifically, reminiscent of the area around the Troad, the peninsula which encompassed the Schliemann excavations. Topographical studies of the region made in the early nineteenth century by William Gell and Gerald Acland depict the similarly lush and hilly landscape of Western Turkey (Fig. 157).⁵²⁴ As Schliemann sent increasingly detailed dispatches on his progress, frequent illustrated studies of the excavations appeared in newspapers and periodicals such as *The Graphic* in 1874 (Fig. 158). The landscape in *Captive Andromache* evokes the key features of such topographical studies and simultaneously situates the painting in the Greek town of Argos and the excavation site at Hisalrik. Here, the climate and landscape are unifying factors rather than distinctive – Greek landscape looks like Turkish landscape which also looks like Algerian, Spanish or Aegean landscape, in other words, Mediterranean. In *Greek Studies*, Pater describes the Mediterranean as a “bond of union” connecting Greece and to “all sorts of impalpable Asiatic influences.”⁵²⁵ This, in some ways, is an extension of the argument I made in the second chapter about the ways in which climate and water activated Leighton's conception of an aestheticist Egyptian landscape. The landscape in *Captive Andromache* can be understood through the prevailing notions about the connection between ethnic and geographic spaces, what Foucault termed as heterotopia.⁵²⁶

This reading of *Captive Andromache*'s background centres the importance of Homer's material landscape as a concern for Leighton in the conception of the painting. Rather than a documentarian mode which is not compatible with Leighton's Orientalism as I have demonstrated thus far, the landscape is an evocative gesture

⁵²⁴ For more on panorama and empire, see Tim Barringer, 'Landscape Then and Now' *British Art Studies*, Issue 10 (Nov. 2018), accessed 1 June 2019, <https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-10/tbarringer>.

⁵²⁵ Pater, *Greek Studies*, 228.

⁵²⁶ Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things* (New York: Vintage Books, 1971).

towards the newfound importance of finding the land of *The Iliad* and its discovery in Turkey. This would also put another of Leighton's landscapes, *The Isle of Chios* (1867) (Fig. 159) in a new light. Chios was the reputed birthplace of Homer but took on a new significance in 1822 as the site of a massacre carried out by the Ottomans during the Greek War of Independence, commemorated famously in Delacroix's *The Massacre at Chios* (1824) (Fig. 160). Leighton's view of Chios is one of calm and if the artist is aware of the political significance of the site, he does not allude to it in any detail in the painting. As Nina Athanassoglou-Kallmyer argues Leighton's ambivalence is indicative and symbolic of "the two poles of European attraction to Mediterranean geographies, cultural heritage and physical territory."⁵²⁷ Later in 1873, he took the same depoliticised approach in his images of Damascus where a massacre of Christians had taken place in 1860 by instead depicting religious spaces such as the Umayyad Mosque in *Interior of the Grand Mosque* and the courtyard of a Jewish residence in *Old Damascus: Jew's Quarter* as tranquil, highly decorated spaces devoid of sectarian violence.⁵²⁸ Like many of his Mediterranean landscapes, in *The Isle of Chios* water is at the centre of the composition, both as an anchor to explore the interplay of colour between modulated blues and the lavender mountains in the distance, and also to emphasise the sea which facilitated travel to and from Chios. The view, made from the island, either looks north towards the island of Lesbos, another of the Aegean islands to produce a famous Classical poet, Sappho, or east towards the Anatolian coast of the Ottoman Empire, who still controlled Chios in 1867 when Leighton visited.⁵²⁹

Along with the distinct Mediterranean climate of Western Turkey where Schliemann's excavations were taking place, newspaper and periodical images from excavations would often include Orientalist motifs such as camels or native workers in local dress (Fig. 161). Debbie Challis identifies this trend as a desire to locate classical archaeological digs in the distinct realm of the Islamic East.⁵³⁰ This is not the case in *Captive Andromache* and this type of 'local colour' is at odds with

⁵²⁷ Nina Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, 'Classicism and Resistance in Late Nineteenth-Century European Art: The Case of Greece', 166-167.

⁵²⁸ For more on the massacre see Leila Tarazi Farwaz, *An Occasion for War: Civil Conflict in Lebanon and Damascus in 1860* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

⁵²⁹ For more see, Yopie Prins, *Victorian Sappho* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

⁵³⁰ Challis, *From the Harpy Tomb to the Wonders of Ephesus*, 11.

Leighton's Orientalism as this thesis has explored thus far. However, Leighton does locate the painting in his version of the Islamic world where he travelled and his landscape painting while in country. This is also discernible in the architecture of the scene, an amalgam of architectural styles which, taken together, present a profile of Leighton's Mediterranean.

Architecture structures the scene into a compressed tableau of the central figures. While there is a view of a distant mountain range, the middle ground is dominated by a portico. This portico and particularly the columns are reminiscent of the architectural remains at Philae, the only monument in Egypt Leighton deigned to depict in his landscapes, and his closest contact with the architecture of the Classical Orient. In his 1885 Address to the Royal Academy, in which he framed his exploration of ancient arts around the "land[s] washed by the Mediterranean Sea",⁵³¹ he briefly noted the harmony between Egyptian architecture and its surrounding scenery.⁵³² The columns in *Captive Andromache* are simplified lotus flower capitals and have been left uncoloured. Alma-Tadema's sketches of the columns at Philae (1902) (Fig. 162) show a similar shape and structure and Roberts' *Grand Portico of the Temple of Philae* (Fig. 163) reveal again a similar structure albeit on a much grander, coloured scale. If we are to interpret Leighton's portico as Egyptian in origin, then the landscape is designed around the same principles of harmonious composition.

Above the portico a staircase leads to a series of white buildings which creates a strong oblique line down the right hand side. These bright, smooth surfaced structures shift our geographical associations. Once while I was leading a seminar on Leighton's Algerian pictures, I prompted students to tell me what the painting reminded them of and one commented, "The white architecture – that's so Mediterranean!" And indeed, by that point they had seen white architecture in paintings by Leighton in Capri, Rhodes, Damascus, and Algeria. Leighton uses the whiteness of these buildings as a synecdoche for contemporary Mediterranean spaces. On the opposite side of the painting, a large gate, from which the water

⁵³¹ Leighton, *Addresses Delivered to the Students of the Royal Academy*, 123.

⁵³² Leighton, *Addresses Delivered to the Students of the Royal Academy*, 76.

gatherers appear to have entered, forms the second oblique. Jenkyns has identified this as a Mycenaean gate from the second millennium BC.⁵³³ Here, a more straightforward evocation of ancient Greece is inserted. Homer was the first Classical source to mention Mycenae as one of the great powers of the ancient world. The gate in *Captive Andromache* is an imposing structure. Over the doorway, three darker components form a triangle with a circle in the centre, an abstracted version of the Lion Gate that also appears in *Electra at the Tomb of Agamemnon*. Although Schliemann was involved in the Mycenae excavations from 1874, the Lion's Gate was never buried and remained continuously out in the open for visitors and subject to reproductions. From this evidence, it is clear that Greece still plays an important role in Leighton's conception of the Mediterranean. The Lion's Gate represents a type of encounter with Antiquity that is monumental and sculptural, but at the same time not quite archaeological. Greece acts as a barrier here, a wall, between the Classical and the Islamic world.

Beyond the reports that filtered through London's print media, societies and Schliemann's own publication on the digs, *Troy and Its Remains* (1875), British audiences could also have a more direct encounter with the material from Hissarlik. In 1877, Schliemann curated a temporary exhibition, *Priam's Treasures*, for the South Court at the South Kensington Museum.⁵³⁴ He had originally approached the British Museum, but was refused on the grounds that there was no space for a temporary exhibition. A review in the *Archaeological Journal* describes thirty cases filled with ceramics, jewellery, tools, and ornaments, an estimated twentieth of the hoard.⁵³⁵ This selection fit the South Kensington Museum's design remit, and furthermore, in a post-Pompeiiian moment in archaeology when domestic and decorative wares were desirable museum objects.

At the centre of the exhibition, in two large glass cases, were "two diadems, severally identified by Mr. Gladstone, such as Homer describes Andromache to have worn. Either of them may possibly be the very one which she tore from her head in her

⁵³³ Jenkyns, *The Victorians and Ancient Greece*, 211.

⁵³⁴ Donald F. Easton, 'Priam's Gold: The Fully Story' *Anatolian Studies* 44 (1994), 231-232.

⁵³⁵ The Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, *The Archaeological Journal* vol. 34 (1877), 291-296.

grief at the death of Hector.”⁵³⁶ These crowns were singled out in reviews as the highlight of the exhibition.⁵³⁷ Other Academicians, such as Poynter, visited the exhibition and incorporated other jewels on display into his version of *Helen* (1881) (Fig. 164). He later found that the Schliemann pieces weren’t “heroic” enough for his painting and instead based the necklace Helen wears on a Gujarati source.⁵³⁸ Andromache, modelled by Dorothy Dene, was described as having “a very beautiful throat”⁵³⁹, but is conspicuously unadorned in *Captive Andromache* and Michelangelesque necks without jewels and heads without crowns are bared by the figures. There is no evidence in Leighton’s correspondence that he visited the Schliemann exhibition, but the interest shown by other academicians and owing to his frequent collaboration with the South Kensington Museum it seems likely he would have been aware of the show.

The exhibition also opened at the same time, in winter 1877, that Leighton broke ground on the Arab Hall. As we have seen in previous chapters, the Arab Hall was an architectural project based around a collection of Ottoman objects and deeply interrelated to the South Kensington museum project. The Schliemann exhibition parallels the Arab Hall collection as a venue for a collection of Trojan objects that had been removed from Ottoman sovereign ground. The parallels here invoke Roberts’ idea of networked objects which I discussed in the first chapter and offer another case study for the links between museological practices and Leighton’s personal trove. As a travelling exhibition, *Priam’s Treasure* simultaneously represented an archaeological dig in Western Turkey where excavations were still ongoing -Schliemann even added new finds to the show in 1878 - and a set of museum objects circulating around Europe. A large part of the exhibition was a display of ceramics that “closely resemble the wares which are made at the present day Chanak Kalessi, the seaport town, about fourteen miles from the site of Homer’s Troy” which chimes with the interest in Ottoman ceramics in this period.⁵⁴⁰ In some senses, Priam’s Treasures were Schliemann’s personal collection and he treated them

⁵³⁶ The Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, *The Archaeological Journal*, 292.

⁵³⁷ *The Builder* 35, no. 1817 (1 December 1877), 1206.

⁵³⁸ Charlotte Gere and Geoffrey C. Munn, *Artist’s Jewellery: Pre-Raphaelite to Arts and Crafts* (London: Antique Collectors’ Club, 1989), 82.

⁵³⁹ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 2, 272.

⁵⁴⁰ The Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, *The Archaeological Journal*, 294

as such. The most infamous element surrounding the exhibition was a publicity photograph Schliemann took and circulated of his wife Sofia wearing Helen's jewels (Fig. 165). This real-life circuit of export, collection and display from the excavations to the South Kensington Museum, and eventually on to Berlin, mirrors the procession of pots in *Captive Andromache*, a mutual ethos between archaeologist and painter on the treatment and movement of exported antiquities.

Turning back to Leighton House and the collection, there are more links to demonstrate the interconnectedness of the Classical world and the Orient through the Mediterranean. De Morgan's turquoise tiles are typically read as harmonising pieces which synthesise the range of glazes from the Ottoman ceramics. However, viewers following the blue-green tiles from the Narcissus Hall to the entrance hall and up the staircase we could also imagine these tiles as the shimmering watery surface of the Mediterranean. Here, several Mediterranean locales are interconnected and the space can be read like a map. The Narcissus Hall mediates movement from the Orient to the Classical world with De Morgan's tiles connecting the two spaces through a harmonising palette. The Arab Hall is the Near East while the Narcissus Hall is Pompeii with the floor covered in mosaics, intended to evoke the floors of the Pompeian villas, the most important archaeological site in Italy in the decades leading up to the construction of the Hall.⁵⁴¹ The ground floor thus navigates a movement east from Classical to Orient. As one ascends the staircase, past a final panel of De Morgan tiles with a hexagonal Syrian example inlaid at the centre, via the large copy of Michelangelo's *Animation of Adam* and the zenana screen, the interior transforms into a bright, airy contemporary space dubbed the Silk Room, akin to the European studio-houses of Leighton's early career. Through this reading of *Captive Andromache*, I have uncovered layers in the stratigraphic profile of this picture and their relationship to the archaeological developments of the period that were directly related to the painting's narrative. As each layer is pulled into focus, different contexts are discovered thus adjusting our understanding of the whole. In the next section, I explore more literal layers of the painting to reveal the ways in which Leighton developed a pictorial representation of the Mediterranean world.

⁵⁴¹ Campbell, 'Decoration, Display, Disguise: Leighton House Reconsidered', 276.

Excavating Leighton's Process

Much of the preparatory material for *Captive Andromache* including sketches and tracings survive today and reveal the extent of Leighton's meticulous working methods.⁵⁴² These materials are a rich interpretive source that allows me to dig into the layers of the painting, an archaeological metaphor for reading this painting that I want to extend from the literal contexts discussed in the previous section. Critical readings of Leighton's work made in the early twentieth century criticised the 'licked surface' of his canvases, paintings that supposedly withhold the performativity of the artist's technique.⁵⁴³ Corbett has since tackled the premise of the licked surface to reread the 'Art for Art's Sake' maxim and find layers of meaning through Leighton's Aestheticist principles.⁵⁴⁴ Prettejohn has also read Leighton's sketches and working procedures and in particular, the preparatory materials from *Captive Andromache*, to argue for the centrality of Leighton's indoor painting practices in his refinement of the beautiful.⁵⁴⁵ I pivot from Corbett's position to read multiple surfaces – sketches, tracings, and underpainting – all of which form the final surface of *Captive Andromache*. Here, I extend the archaeological metaphor of digging through layers to reveal distinct moments in the painting's conception. In doing so, I reveal how Leighton's working methods were an evolving process, not a prescriptive set of steps. In the context of *Captive Andromache*, this perspective reveals how Leighton was engaging in, and working through, the complexities of presenting the Classical world through an experienced Islamic Mediterranean.

Throughout his career, Leighton had a reputation for deeply considered working processes. At a meeting of the Royal Academy Council in March 1876, he introduced a form to accompany all accepted summer exhibition entries. The forms, to be filled in by artists, would detail working methods such as type of canvas, varnish and pigments used.⁵⁴⁶ The forms were organised alphabetically and used as a

⁵⁴² For more on Leighton's working methods, see Prettejohn, 'Painting Indoors: Leighton and His Studio', 17-21.

⁵⁴³ See Charles Rosen and Henri Zerner, 'The Ideology of the Licked Surface: Official Art', in (eds.) Charles Rosen and Henri Zerner, *Romanticism and Realism: The Mythology of Nineteenth Century Art* (London: Faber, 1984), 205-232.

⁵⁴⁴ Corbett, *The World in Paint*, 92-93.

⁵⁴⁵ Prettejohn, 'Painting Indoors: Leighton and His Studio', 17-21.

⁵⁴⁶ Royal Academy Archive, RAA/PC/1/15 (1876), 25.

statistical repository to track the methods of working British artists. Entries were collected between 1876 and 1888 and Leighton pursued it vigorously during his Presidency soliciting forms from Armitage, Lewis, and George Frederic Watts amongst others.⁵⁴⁷ Leighton completed his own entries for several of his paintings and, interestingly, those with an emphasis on Orientalist connections including *Portrait of Captain Richard Burton*, *The Music Lesson*, and *Light of the Harem*.⁵⁴⁸

In addition to these autobiographical records held at the Academy, Leighton allowed the critic, Marion H. Spielmann to observe his process in the studio for an article in *Magazine of Art* in 1889.⁵⁴⁹ According to the article, Leighton imagined the completed picture in his mind's eye, traced a study in black and white chalk, then brought in models for individual studies. He then pulled those sketches together to create a proportional, squared off, full sketch. A separate, smaller oil sketch was painted to devise the palette and colour story of the picture. Finally, the composition with line was applied to the primed canvas and then colour was added in a separate sitting. For *Captive Andromache*, there is existing archival material that corresponds with each of the steps that Spielmann describes. However, these preparatory materials also throw up contradictions to Leighton and Spielmann's description. A close analysis of the tracings and sketches reveals Leighton working through two issues. The first issue, which is examined in relation to the tracings, is how to reconcile a Hellenist vision of Classical Greece within the geography of the Ottoman Empire and the revelations of the Schliemann excavations. The second, explored through an analysis of sketches and underpainting, is how to imbue the Classical Orient with the experiences and memories of personal travel and the ways in which these are woven into the narrative through representations of gender and age.

Spielmann reported, "Like Mr. Watts, Sir Frederic Leighton thinks out the whole picture before he puts brush to canvas, or chalk to paper; but, unlike Mr. Watts, once he is decided upon his scheme of colour, the arrangement of line, the disposition of the folds, down to the minutest details, he seldom, if ever, alters a single line."⁵⁵⁰

⁵⁴⁷ Thanks to Briony Llewellyn for sharing these entries.

⁵⁴⁸ Royal Academy Archive, 'Notes on his System of Painting by Lord Leighton' RAA/SEC/1/95 (1937).

⁵⁴⁹ Marion H. Spielmann, 'Current Art' *Magazine of Art* (May 1889).

⁵⁵⁰ *ibid.*

This determination, to picture a painting in its entirety in the ‘mind’s eye’, symbolises the virtuosic quality of the artist. After this first step, Leighton moves on to a series of practical and workmanlike procedures, things that could mostly likely be replicated by a student or amateur. But Spielmann distinguishes Watts and Leighton’s practice through a single moment of brilliance, in Leighton’s case, where the entire painting is held in the artist’s mind. Like Hektor’s vision of Andromache’s captivity, the painting is characterised as a premonition, inevitable as a manifestation in the material world.

Spielmann reinforced this idea further in a direct comparison between *The Sibyl* (1889) (Fig. 166) and *Captive Andromache*. “The labour entailed by such a system as this is, of course, enormous, more especially when the composition to be worked out is of so complex a character as the *Captive Andromache* [sic] of last year. The inspiration stage was practically passed when he took the crayon in his hand; and to this circumstance probably is to be assigned the absence of realism which arrests the attention of the beholder.”⁵⁵¹ However, when Leighton took crayon to hand during the third step in the process, the tracing stage, the archival material reveals that he was still working out fundamental elements of the painting. Kim makes a similar observation in his analysis of the *And the Sea Gave Up the Dead That Were in It* which supports my argument that Leighton’s thought process was not as linear as initially suggested and more responsive to the artist’s experiences and memories.⁵⁵²

Of the tracings that are extant, tracing number 47 (Fig. 167) shows Andromache in a much different setting to the rural, mountainous Mediterranean scene in the final painting. Instead she looks towards a walled city, with a Classical pediment and columns rising above the parapet to signal that we are firmly in a scene set in antiquity. There is no Mycenaean gate or central Philae portico which centres Classical Greek architecture as the singular style of the painting. Similarly, in tracing 119 (Fig. 168) all signs of architecture are removed including the white buildings above the well. This scene appears to be taking place out in nature in a setting that ties it more closely to *The Daphnephoria*. The lion fountain head above the well is

⁵⁵¹ *ibid.*

⁵⁵² Kim, *Painted Men in Britain*, 40.

more prominent than in the finished painting, a feature which extends the painting's geographical and chronological scope to Roman antiquity. Such fountain heads were still common in Florence and Rome at the time Leighton was living in Italy.⁵⁵³ This also directly ties *Captive Andromache* to a much earlier work, *Lieder Ohne Worte* (1860) (Fig. 169), another scene of semi-ritualised water-gathering which also includes the lion head fountain.

Although Prettejohn argues that discrepancies between tracings were often incidental, “simplifying and clarifying the design”⁵⁵⁴, in tracing 47, the figures are also significantly altered. Two male figures, placed in the left-hand group of water-gatherers, are included in this composition. One is seated and looks towards the women and the other is stood above arms raised and possibly playing a flute or another wind instrument. These men, bearded and appearing older than the female figures, have replaced the younger, muscular men ‘below the line’ in the finished painting. There are no onlookers in this tracing, but more water-gatherers have been added and carry a wider variety of vessels, and the family with child have been pushed to the background of the picture.

How does this tracing inform an understanding of the finished version? Tracing 119 presents a singular world for *Captive Andromache* that is firmly in the realm of Classical Greece. Andromache stands side on, mid-step and looks towards Classical Greek architecture. In the final painting, she is framed within an amorphous Mediterranean climate scape. Similarly, in this tracing the two male figures reinforce a Classical model of civic masculinity.⁵⁵⁵ The men's features are evocative, most notably by their facial hair and Classical dress, of portrait busts or full-length sculptures of ancient Greek politicians or philosophers. An example of such a bust is the Roman copy of Homer which was held in the Townley Collection from 1786.⁵⁵⁶ Famously, Homer's bust was depicted in Rembrandt's *Artistotle with the Bust of Homer* (1653) (Fig. 170) which had been exhibited in London in 1815 at the British

⁵⁵³ My thanks to Melissa Gustin for showing me several Florentine examples.

⁵⁵⁴ Prettejohn, ‘Painting Indoors: Leighton and His Studio’, 20.

⁵⁵⁵ For more on Classical masculinities see, Thomas Van Nortwick, *Imagining Men: Ideals of Masculinity in Ancient Greek Culture* (Newport, Conn.: ABC-CLIO, 2008) and Laura Eastlake, *Masculinity and Ancient Rome in the Victorian Cultural Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

⁵⁵⁶ Vicky Coltman, *Classical Sculpture and the Culture of Collecting in Britain since 1760* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 245.

Gallery in Pall Mall.⁵⁵⁷ These men could be a cipher for Homer but also representative of the wider ideals of Athenian masculinity in antiquity. As I explore in the next section, the presentation of the athletic, labouring male in the figures below the line in the finished version shifts the painting towards ideas about Eastern masculinity.

The differences between these tracings for *Captive Andromache* and the finished painting demonstrate that issues of setting and the role of Classical Greece were not fixed determinations in Leighton's conception of Andromache's story. The evidence that he deviated from a more holistic presentation of Classical Greece supports the argument that he intended for the painting to be imbued with a wider sense of the Mediterranean as a series of overlapping worlds and successive antiquities, and that the Andromache story and evidence of Homer's material world played into these complexities rather than reduced them.

Returning to Spielmann's article, and shifting focus to the preparatory studies for the painting, once an initial black and white chalk sketch has been made, "the model is called in, and is posed as nearly as possible in the attitude desired. As nearly as possible I say, for, as no two faces are exactly alike, no two models ever entirely resemble one another in body or muscular action, and cannot, therefore, pose in such a manner as exactly to correspond with either another model or another figure—no matter how correctly the latter may be drawn."⁵⁵⁸ The poses in *Captive Andromache* are dynamic. Women stretch their arms around their vessels, carry pots on their heads, chests and hips (Fig. 171). The poses are comparable to the male figures lifting and carrying pots in *The Arts of Industry As Applied to Peace*. This is not the only similarity between the two as both images are set in ancient Greece directly following war. As discussed in the last chapter, the scene from *Light of the Harem* where a young girl holds up a mirror for a woman is restaged amongst the central group of figures, another example of the collapsed boundaries between Leighton's Orientalist and Neoclassical imagery. The male figure directly below Andromache stands contrapposto with his muscular arms lifted and stretched recalling the taut

⁵⁵⁷ Theodore Rousseau, 'Aristotle Contemplating the Bust of Homer' *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 20, no. 5 (1962), 149–156.

⁵⁵⁸ Spielmann, 'Current Art'.

New Sculpture poses of *Athlete Wrestling with a Python* and Thornycroft's *Teucer* (1881) (Fig. 172), the latter a champion archer in *The Iliad*.⁵⁵⁹ Extensive archival material documents these modelling sessions in the studio. But once again, Leighton's process deviates from Spielmann's profile. Sketches and drawings made from trips to Egypt and Algeria are explicitly referenced through the models in *Captive Andromache* as the artist invokes a circuit of iconography in the painting dating back thirty years. Gere notes that it was not unusual for Leighton to refer to previous sketches in later paintings.⁵⁶⁰ But what is of interest in this case is the choice of sketches and the layers of geography, memory and meaning that they add to the work.

Said proposed that memory is used as a tool in the creation of Orientalist imagery. It functions by storing as many experiences and senses during Eastern travels to then be decontextualized and redeployed with new meanings back home.⁵⁶¹ Leighton ruminated on these subjects over years and was drawn to aspects of these figures and their utility to a subject such as the Andromache story. This strategy of memory is employed in *Captive Andromache* by creating a circuit of imagery incorporating decades of travel within a single picture space.

The figures of interest are confined to the lower left-hand side of the painting, lending itself to a cartographic reading of the painting where different areas of the painting represent different regions of the Mediterranean and are represented by different groups of figures or architecture. While many of the sketches used in the composition of *Captive Andromache* remained in Leighton's personal and private sketch books, two characters in the painting would have been recognisable to regular Royal Academy summer exhibition attendees. A tall woman, wrapped in a light blue drapery with a tangerine underskirt holds her arms behind her head on which rests a kalpis vessel with Corinthian style decorations.⁵⁶² She stands in high relief to the

⁵⁵⁹ For more on *Teucer* see, Edwards, *Alfred Gilbert's Aestheticism*, 119 and Benedict Read, *Victorian Sculpture* (New Haven and London: Published for Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1982), 292.

⁵⁶⁰ Charlotte Gere, 'Study for *Captive Andromache*: Drapery for Seated Female Figure, c. 1887, in *A Victorian Master: Drawings by Frederic, Lord Leighton*, 95.

⁵⁶¹ Said, *Orientalism*, 183 and 'Invention, Memory and Place' *Critical Inquiry* 26, no. 2 (Winter 2000), 175-192.

⁵⁶² Jenkins, *Frederic Lord Leighton and Greek Vases*, 598.

women behind her dressed in darker colours, the white vessel functioning as a spotlight. She is recognisable as *A Nile Woman* (Fig. 64), the only painting Leighton exhibited at the summer exhibition in 1870 based on his 1868 trip on the Nile. By the time, he painted *Captive Andromache* it was most likely in the Prince of Wales' collection, gifted by the artist.⁵⁶³

A Nile Woman strikes a somewhat different pose than the figure in *Andromache* with only one hand balancing the pot on her head and the other clutching at her shoulder. But from Leighton's Nile sketchbook (Fig. 173) we can see that he recorded both poses as he watched Egyptian women from the deck of his boat. He also recorded the event in his travel diary: "My delight, in the evening, is to watch the processions of women and girls coming down to the Nile to fetch water. The brown figures, clad in brown, coming, in long rows, along the brown bank in all the glow and glory of sunset, look very grand[;]the full pitchers now erect on their heads (when empty they carry them horizontally)."⁵⁶⁴ The small size in the sketchbook renders the figures anonymous and malleable to later adaptation but their movements are closely studied. Leighton writes of their utility as modelling subjects: "They are neither handsome individually nor particularly well made, but their movements are good, and the repetition of the same 'motive' many times in succession makes the whole scene impressive and stately."⁵⁶⁵

In addition to the recurring Nile woman, however, *Captive Andromache* is filled with recognisable models that Leighton and the Holland Park group frequently used including Dene, Pullen, and Gaetano Valvona. As I explored in Leighton's odalisque paintings, this is a deliberate choice to substitute white models that conform to Aestheticist standards of beauty for the local, especially female, Egyptian and Nubian population Leighton repeatedly expressed disgust with. Kim refers to this transformation as Occidentalization.⁵⁶⁶ Like the process by which Leighton aesthetised and harmonised the vessels in *Captive Andromache*, so too does he

⁵⁶³ 'Frederic Leighton – A Nile Woman', accessed 8 July 2019, <https://www.sothebys.com/en/buy/auction/2019/victorian-pre-raphaelite-and-british-impressionist-art/frederic-lord-leighton-p-r-a-w-s-a-nile-woman>.

⁵⁶⁴ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 2, 169. Here we also have confirmation that Leighton was aware of the differences between vessels that Semper highlights.

⁵⁶⁵ *ibid.*

⁵⁶⁶ Kim, *Painted Men in Britain*, 20.

whiten and Classicise the water gatherers. It is notable then that the older woman who is seated with her spun wool, another reference to Hektor's premonition - "I see you there in Argos, toiling for some other woman at the loom"⁵⁶⁷ has the same darker brown skin tone as the two men to her right. The second figure that is recognisable is Lena Pullen as the young water gatherer wearing an off-the-shoulder red drapery. As we have seen in the last chapter, Lena frequently appeared in Leighton's Orientalist genre paintings after 1879. Her distinctive hair, strawberry blonde and worn up, with a fringe, was recognisable to critics.⁵⁶⁸ While her appearance in *Captive Andromache* may be suggestive of Leighton's preference for a small coterie of models, her distinctive characteristics and previous appearance in a number of Orientalist works invokes that style and subject in this painting.

However, *Captive Andromache* is not a painting of exclusively white, European figures. The Nile woman stands out as a distinctly local type and Leighton was not the only artist to make use of this trope. The fellahin, or native labourer, was a common depiction of an Eastern woman and distinct from her odalisque or slave counterparts. Kim argues that Leighton's use of the draped fellahin for *A Nile Woman*, when compared to his nude depiction of *An Eastern Slinger*, demonstrates the artist's inability to delineate Eastern female nudes.⁵⁶⁹

The fellahin figure in *A Nile Woman* and *Captive Andromache* is wrapped in drapery, revealing another tension between the Classical world of plain drapery as opposed to the decorative patterned textiles of the Islamic as we have seen in Leighton's odalisque paintings. However, in the underpainting for *Captive Andromache*, another layer to excavate in this series, which was photographed while it was still in the studio, the figure is rendered nude before drapery and colour is applied, as per Spielmann's description. Here, Leighton's Classical training is mapped on to Eastern gender difference. In Lane's *Manners and Customs* the fellahin are described as, "Agriculturalists" and the largest population in the country, numbering 1.75 million in 1836, who predominantly live outside of the cities.⁵⁷⁰ Similar illustrated

⁵⁶⁷ Emile Victor Rieu, *The Iliad* (London: Penguin, 1974), 129.

⁵⁶⁸ Gere, *A Victorian Master: Drawings by Frederic, Lord Leighton*, 85.

⁵⁶⁹ Kim, *Painted Men in Britain*, 30.

⁵⁷⁰ Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* vol. 1, 27, 243, 247.

guidebooks such as Pris D’Avennes’ *The Oriental Album* (1848) (Fig. 174) also included wood engravings of women with water vessels on their head, often fully veiled in contrast to Leighton’s Nile woman.⁵⁷¹

Hunt became interested in the idea of fellahin figure as an Eastern parallel to the working-class women he had painted before his travels. *The Afterglow in Egypt* (1861) (Fig. 175) depicts the common elements of the fellahin: on the banks of the Nile, transporting goods including a water pitcher and livestock, and ethnically Eastern. Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann, who exhibited at the Royal Academy from 1861, also depicted fellahin as water gatherers after her trip to Egypt in 1870 (Fig. 176).⁵⁷² In a further echo of this chapter’s exploration of the interconnected locales, in 1868 the French sculptor, Auguste Bartholdi had proposed a colossal sculpture for the entrance to the Suez Canal at Port Said depicting a fellahin carrying a torch, titled *Egypt Carrying the Light to Asia*.⁵⁷³ A revised version of this idea would eventually materialise as the Statue of Liberty.⁵⁷⁴ Therefore, the figure of the fellahin colours our understanding not only the figure in *Captive Andromache* that resembles *A Nile Woman* but all of the water gatherers in the painting. Their position in front of the Egyptian portico brings evocations of ancient and modern Egyptian culture into the painting, replicating the move between ancient and modern European artists, such as Leighton, made during their trips.

Were it not for the men below the line, *Captive Andromache* could be considered another harem space - an image of women sequestered together and the newest addition to the group, Andromache, singled out at the centre of the picture as if she were an odalisque. Andromache’s fate after her capture, living as the concubine of Neoptolemus, reinforce the air of Eastern despotism and underlying harem narrative. These resonances did not go unnoticed by suffragettes who attacked the painting, along with others, at Manchester Art Gallery in April 1913.⁵⁷⁵ As the tracings for the

⁵⁷¹ Another depiction of the water carrying fellahin in *The Oriental Album* gives an erotic treatment of the subject. As the woman carries water away from the Nile, the sides of her dress are opening revealing her naked body, posing the fellahin as a type of odalisque.

⁵⁷² For more on Jerichau-Baumann’s fellahin images see, Julia Kuehn, ‘Introduction: Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann, ‘Egypt: 1870’ *Victorian Literature and Culture* 38 (2010), 257-266.

⁵⁷³ Pierre Provoyeur and June Ellen Hargrove, *Liberty: The French-American Statue in Art and History* (New York: Perennial Library, 1986), 85.

⁵⁷⁴ Karabell, *Parting the Desert*, 243.

⁵⁷⁵ *Manchester Guardian*, ‘Manchester Gallery Outrage’ (4 April 1913), 9.

painting revealed, these four men were not originally a part of the composition, which begs the question of why Leighton eventually included them. Kim has eruditely probed notions of Oriental masculinity in relation to Leighton's trip to Egypt and its deployment in several later Biblical and mythological paintings.⁵⁷⁶ My argument answers his call to understand the Orient's central role in his Classical pictorial narratives. Expanding on this in a new direction from Kim's reading of Eastern masculinity as a projection of sexual anxiety and desire, my analysis of *Captive Andromache* reveals that the men staged below the line insert racial and class ambiguities into the Homeric source material and through brown, male bodies further inviting us to consider the layered geographies of the Classical world.

Like the fellahin's white vessel, the first man below the line that the eye is drawn to is the figure in the red fez, an item that insists on another contemporary, Mediterranean world association. The fez was the sartorial symbol of the modernising Ottoman Empire and an undeniable referent to the modern day, having only been adopted in the 1830s during the Tanzimat era of reforms. This figure seems to signal towards the Ottoman world, here gendered as male. The figure's gesture, a pointed thumb towards Andromache, once again alludes to a theatrical, processional presentation with onlookers and performers. To his left and right are two other men. The figure to his left is wrapped in the same dark brown cloak while the figure to his right is nude. These dull coloured cloaks stand in contrast to the vibrant pastel palette of the drapery that adorns the figures above the line and recall Leighton's description of the Egyptian fellahin as "the brown figures, clad in brown"⁵⁷⁷. The pair have wooden staffs, held aloft as if they are pausing from their labour, warranting another comparison with the New Sculpture and specifically, Thornycroft's *The Mower* (1884) (Fig. 177), drawn from a figure the writer, Edmund Gosse and Thornycroft observed while a boat, in another parallel to Leighton's Nile journey.⁵⁷⁸ Similar staffs appear in Leighton's Egyptian sketch books (Fig. 178), further suggesting these men are of a lower-class status than those above the line.

⁵⁷⁶ Kim, *Painted Men in Britain*, 13.

⁵⁷⁷ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works*, vol. 2, 169.

⁵⁷⁸ Michael Hatt, 'Near and Far: Homoeroticism, Labour and Hamo Thornycroft's *Mower*' *Art History* 26, no. 1 (December 2003), 29.

Compositional studies of *Captive Andromache* and *Hercules Wrestling with Death for the Body of Alcestis* (1870) (Fig. 179) are shown together in one of Leighton's sketchbooks. The study shows the similarities between the two works and the ways in which similar characters appear across the two images. Although *Hercules* (Fig. 180) is not a processional, there are compositional similarities in the framing of the central figures flanked by a group of onlookers. The titular moment takes place on the right: a nude Hercules lunging towards a Burne-Jonesian spectre, Thanatos, to knock him off balance. However, at the centre of the painting is Admetus, Alcestis' husband, who watches the fight as the young woman he holds looks away in despair. Admetus stands in the same isolated position as Andromache in relation to the rest of the figures, framed by a deep blue stormy seascape, closely modelled on one of the Rhodian landscapes. While Admetus' sinewy body would have been posed for and sketched in the studio, the head is drawn from the oil sketch made in Egypt, *Head of An Elderly Arab* (Fig. 61). The inert, wizened figure is juxtaposed with Hercules' action and strength, as in the case of the father and son in *Daedalus and Icarus* (Fig. 74).⁵⁷⁹ Daedalus is darker skinned than his son and Kilinski suggests their contrasting skin tones established "a social and intellectual hierarchy associated with Aryanism in England" in opposition to perceived Levantine racial genealogies that sought to distinguish between ancient and modern Greeks.⁵⁸⁰ Hercules and Admetus have similar skin tones, but the scene's action has the same implication. Daedalus and Admetus are racialised onlookers and homoerotic voyeurs of action the younger figures take part in.

In *Captive Andromache*, this inter-generational relationship is through two women: Andromache and the woman seated with her spinning. In all three, the beauty of the Occidental ideal, Hercules, Andromache and Icarus are contrasted with by the racial difference of the Orient.⁵⁸¹ The power imbalance is inversed as Andromache is supposedly to 'toil' for this woman, Andromache's action would be in service to the spinner. But the differentiation through skin tone is consistent with the other two

⁵⁷⁹ See Liz Prettejohn, *The Modernity of Ancient Sculpture: Greek Sculpture and Modern Art from Winckelmann to Picasso* (London: IB Tauris, 2012), 167-169.

⁵⁸⁰ Kilinski III, Karl. 'Leighton's *Daedalus and Icarus*: Antiquity, Topography and Idealised Enlightenment' *The Burlington Magazine* 148, no. 1237 (April 2006), 262.

⁵⁸¹ See Martin Bernal, *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilisation Volume One: The Fabrication of Ancient Greece, 1785-1985* (New York: Random House, 2012).

paintings. As we have seen in *Light of the Harem*, this pairing is suggestive of the comparatively underexplored Sapphic Orient.⁵⁸² The contrast of racial difference in these pairs is further reinforced and highlighted by the gender difference to Leighton's other paintings that deal with this subject. In distinction to Kim's argument that the Eastern female held no anxiety nor desire for Leighton, this similar intergenerational, mixed race relationship might contradict that position, similar to the age and sexual dynamics of the young girl and older woman in *Light of the Harem*.

The group of figures on the right-hand side of the painting mount another challenge to the sexual dynamics of the Orient and the Mediterranean. A mother, father and child appear wrapped up in their own world, a closed circuit of heteronormative familial relation, and seem to take no notice of the scene around them. They hold Andromache's gaze, perhaps causing her to reflect on the recent loss of her husband and child but also a premonition within a premonition of Andromache's future marriage and descendants which include Alexander the Great. The mother and child sit on the platform more closely tied to the water gatherers' world. The mother's pale blue head scarf, lemon skirt and the child's orange pick up on the colour palette of the processional figures. The father is bare chested and wearing a brown fabric which visually aligns him with the other men, is firmly footed below the line but leans forward into the mother's shoulder creating a pyramidal, tectonic unit within the composition and securing the family unit. However, the father occupies both spaces, leaning into the water gatherers Sapphic space from a position below the line with the homoerotic male figures. This is a union between a Classical, Grecian mother and an Ottoman, fellahin father, a blending of traditions which literally suggests Fallmerayer's theories on racial dilution but also Pater's mode of looking through a continuum of history. While Pater acknowledged the historical developments of the Classical world through the nineteenth century, Islam and the advent of the Ottoman Empire is a conspicuous omission in *Greek Studies*. However, the model he proposed incorporates just that history, represented in *Captive Andromache* by the child, the issue of the Classical and Islamic worlds.

⁵⁸² Reina Lewis, 'Sapphism and the Seraglio: Reflections on the Queer Female Gaze and Orientalism' in *Orientalism, Eroticism and Modern Visuality in Global Cultures*, (eds.) Julie F. Codell and Joan DelPlato (London: Routledge, 2016), 163-180.

Through a revaluation of a major processional painting, I demonstrate the long-term significance of the Islamic Mediterranean as a matrix for Leighton's work. Reading *Captive Andromache* through a prism of archaeology and excavation one can see under the painting's many layers how travel and experiences across the Near East imparted their effects on his formulation of Andromache's world. For Leighton, Homeric sources being discovered in Ottoman sovereign territory was influential in visualising a Mediterranean world that was Islamic as well as ancient Greek.

Coda: The Incoming Tide

So far, this chapter has argued for *Captive Andromache* to be read as an image that occupies a Mediterranean space because of its mediation between the Classical world and the Orient. However, an outstanding question remains: why is the Mediterranean a useful category for this particular painting? And how does *Captive Andromache* differ from other works that Leighton painted around the Mediterranean such as Capri, Egypt, Spain and Ottoman Syria? In this final section, by way of concluding this analysis, I explore the transformation of the Mediterranean as a category in the late nineteenth century. The last three decades of the nineteenth century were dominated by shifting perceptions about the Ottoman world, the realities of political instability and decline within the Ottoman Empire, and marked a period of transition towards the geopolitical landscape of the 'Arab world' we are likely far more familiar with today. A recent volume on the art of the 'Arab world' marked the advent of the 'Arab' period as 1882, while noting that many people in this world would not have identified themselves as Arabs at this point.⁵⁸³ Leighton's position at this moment, notably during a period in which he ceases to travel to the Ottoman Empire, is in line with these renewed anti-Ottoman sentiments. At a time when it appeared as if the Ottoman Empire has a limited future, the Mediterranean offered a viable, stable solution for engaging artistically with this part of the world.⁵⁸⁴

⁵⁸³ Anneka Lenssen, Sarah Lookofsky, Sarah Rodgers and Nada Shabout, *Modern Art in the Arab World: Primary Documents* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018).

⁵⁸⁴ We can see the popularity of the Mediterranean as an artistic geography in the work of many twentieth-century modernists including Pablo Picasso, Giorgio de Chirico and Paul Signac.

The political debates over Anglo-Ottoman relations, known as the Eastern Question, had preoccupied Britain foreign policy for nearly two generations. Its peaks were marked by two wars, the Greek War for Independence (1821-32) and the Crimean War (1852-55), the decades between which British foreign policy swung drastically from anti- to pro- Ottoman. The Eastern Crisis (1876-1880) marked another swing back to anti-Ottoman position as the Ottomans quelled insurrections in the Balkans through suppressions remarkably similar to the tactics employed by the British during the Indian Mutiny in 1857. However, these parallels did not inspire empathy for the Ottomans and instead, were received in much the same way as Armitage's version of the Mutiny, *Retribution* (1858) which depicts the slaughter of innocent white Christian women by a brown, male aggressor.⁵⁸⁵ The Balkan Atrocities, as they were known after reports emerged of brutal Ottoman tactics, became a rallying cry for the plight of white, Christian Circassian women by journalists such as W.T. Stead.⁵⁸⁶ This cause prioritised the white populations of the Ottoman Empire by a similar process of 'Occidentalization' which I described the water gatherers of *Captive Andromache* undergoing. From the archival evidence, which dates the earliest sketches for the painting at 1870, we can see that Leighton was conceptualising *Captive Andromache* through the Great Eastern Crisis period when white, Ottoman women were the only sympathetic figures it was possible to portray. This also casts the below the line figures in a more negative light, as an underclass of male, Turkish aggressors with murderous intentions towards the water gatherers and their small children.

The conclusion of the Great Eastern Crisis was the Russo-Turkish War which ended in defeat for the Ottomans in 1878. By this point, British public opinion had settled on the infamous 'Sick Man of Europe' moniker for Turkey. Fred West's serio-comic map (1877) (Fig. 181) illustrates these new positions and Britain's (anthropomorphised as John Bull) prime motivators: protecting access to India via the Suez Canal and collecting the debts that the Sultan and Khedive had incurred through the Suez Canal Company. The inter-imperial cultural exchange that had once

⁵⁸⁵ See Alison Smith, "Imperial Heroics," in *Artist and Empire*, (ed.) Alison Smith, David Blaney Brown and Carol Jacobi (London: Tate Publishing, 2016), 105.

⁵⁸⁶ Stephanie Prevost. 'W. T. Stead and the Eastern Question (1875-1911); or, How to Rouse England and Why?' *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 16 (2013), <http://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.654>.

characterised the relationship is entirely removed. However, West was not the only artist following the developments of the Eastern Question.

Since the Greek War of Independence, artists and other cultural figures were at the apex of current sentiment on the Ottoman Empire and deeply influential in swaying wider public opinion. While previous studies have acknowledged that artists were aware of current events, none have highlighted the integral role they played in the public nature on the issue.⁵⁸⁷ Leighton's close colleagues and collaborators such as Morris, Burne-Jones, Poynter, Rossetti, and de Morgan all spoke publicly on the issue, emphatically refuting the idea that these artists were only concerned with a depoliticised notion of 'Art for Art's sake'.⁵⁸⁸ The Eastern Question represented one of the first times that artists and other intellectual figures inserted themselves into a question of British foreign policy. Morris especially was at the head of these efforts, serving as the treasurer for the Eastern Question Association and organising a conference amongst the leading Eastern Question thinkers in December 1876.⁵⁸⁹ Beyond the realm of Morris' efforts, there was a shift in the art world away from the Near East and Ottoman worlds towards another version of the East amongst artists. In the same year as *Captive Andromache* was exhibited at the Royal Academy, the New Gallery on Regent Street opened, the successor of the Grosvenor Gallery. Under Sir Lindsay Coutts' stewardship at both galleries, the influence of Japan percolated amongst a group of artists that had either rejected or been rejected by the Royal Academy.⁵⁹⁰ A new type of Orientalism, Japonisme, was flourishing outside of the Academy with seemingly less complicated geopolitical stakes.

Leighton's position on the Eastern Question before 1876 appears self-evident, though ever the magnanimous figure, he never expressed an opinion that be traced through his archive. However, between his 1873 visit to Damascus and his final trip to Algiers in 1895 made on account of ill-health, there are no personal records that

⁵⁸⁷ For a full exploration of the key figures in British public life who dealt with the Eastern Question see, Alexander Lyon Macfie, *The Eastern Question, 1774-1923: Revised Edition* (London: Routledge, 1996).

⁵⁸⁸ For more, see Lucy Hartley, *Democratising Beauty in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Art and Politics of Public Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

⁵⁸⁹ E.P. Thompson, *William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary* (Pontypool: The Merlin Press Ltd, 2011), 208-210.

⁵⁹⁰ For more on the Grosvenor Gallery see Christopher Newall, *The Grosvenor Gallery Exhibitions: Change and Continuity in the Victorian Art World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Leighton travelled to any of the Ottoman territories. During this period he continued to travel frequently, during his usual winter timetable, to familiar European spots and new places such as Scotland and the Dolomites. Is this a reflection of his feelings on the unstable political circumstances between London and Istanbul? Overlapping with this timeline was the conception and execution of *Captive Andromache*, developed as the Great Eastern Question raged in public arenas.

Throughout the thesis, I have been able to utilise a number of archival sources to establish a concrete chronology of Leighton's travels: places he visited, people he met and artworks produced during or after those trips. However, one trip remains shrouded in art historical mystery. In 1882, Leighton was seen in Cairo and it was noted he was possibly on his way to Turkey. The tenuous source for this is from a colleague of the Duke of Connaught, Queen Victoria's third son. The Duke wrote to his wife, "Who do you imagine called here yesterday but Sir Frederick Leighton (sic). I wish I had seen him, I hear that he had come here not to paint but to see Cairo under the English occupation."⁵⁹¹ This is an extraordinary statement and although it was not a personal sighting by the Duke, who was in Egypt leading the Guards Brigade during the occupation, it is worth exploring as a claim as it brings Leighton's status as an imperialist to the fore. Unlike his previous motivations to travel to North Africa to learn about colour and light, this is an undeniably un-artistic intention.

An untraced study, *Tomb of the Muslim Saints* (1885) (untraced), exhibited at the Society of British Artists, made in Aswan suggests that Leighton may have made another Nile journey by boat.⁵⁹² However, the subject of this work suggests his focus was different, now engaged with Islam through funerary monument, similar to my suggestion of the Green Tomb at Bursa as a possible architectural source for the Arab Hall. However, like *Interior of the Grand Mosque, Damascus* any accuracy is belied by referring to the tomb as the resting place of Muslim 'saints'. While messengers of the Prophet are revered as Wali, there is no class of saints in Islamic theology. Depicting a Muslim tomb might also be a reference to the Mahdi's tomb in Omdurman, the burial place of the spiritual leader during the Mahdist War, who fell

⁵⁹¹ Royal Academy Archives, RA Add. A/15/7044.

⁵⁹² Rhys, *Frederic Lord Leighton*, 128.

in Khartoum in June 1885, six months after the death of General Gordon. Leighton followed the Gordon Crisis closely, as did many in the British press including Stead. In May 1892, he donated ten pounds and ten shillings to the Gordon's Boy's Home, set up in his memory.

The Egyptian campaign which culminated with the Gordon Crisis began to focus British politics on the idea of the 'Arab' world rather than the Ottoman or Turkish. *Orientalism* begins with Arthur James Balfour's speech to the Commons on the renewed political turmoil in Egypt, a synecdoche for this new attitude.⁵⁹³

The concept of the Mediterranean is not an anachronistic political balm to try and move away from the uncomfortable realities of Orientalism or more recent perceptions of the Middle East.⁵⁹⁴ Rather, the Mediterranean is a geocultural framework which encompasses a far greater range of Leighton's travels and presents a more regionalised way of understanding the motivations and products of Leighton's art abroad.

There is one final figure to look at in *Captive Andromache*. It is a single female figure who stands to the right of Andromache and just above the family. She leans over at the hips, beginning to fold in on herself, and lifts her leg in order to better support the vessel on her thigh (Fig. 182). Her heavy-lidded pose and dazzling tangerine robes tie her directly to one of Leighton's last and best-known paintings, *Flaming June*. Sitting on a marble seat below a glittering Rhodian seascape and framed by a spray of oleander which Leighton sketched in Turkey, *Flaming June* has frequently been held up as the embodiment of the "eternal Mediterranean" that holds together Leighton's late career work.⁵⁹⁵ However, this earlier counterpart in *Captive Andromache* suggests more pointed ways of how Leighton might have been thinking through a concept such as the Mediterranean. Harkening back to the original Latin root of the word Orient, which suggests the sun rising in the East, Leighton follows

⁵⁹³ Said, *Orientalism*, 31.

⁵⁹⁴ Lewis and Wigen, *The Myth of Continents*, 65-68.

⁵⁹⁵ See the exhibition, 'Frederic Leighton y el mediterráneo eterno', Museo de Arte de Ponce, Puerto Rico (17 September 2017 -15 January 2018)

the sun in this final work, an Apollonian adherent in the East, forever travelling across the sky.

Conclusion

Although there was a break of over a decade, Leighton returned to North Africa for one final trip in April 1895. On the recommendation of his doctor, to treat his worsening heart condition, he travelled first to Tangiers and then on to Algiers. The trip had the added benefit of giving the magnanimous President some distance from the current scandal brewing in London. The Oscar Wilde trial had begun at the Old Bailey the same week he departed.⁵⁹⁶

As ever, Leighton diligently worked whilst abroad and wrote to Watts that “[painting] is the most irresponsible restful thing I can do [and] fills time delightfully - (I have made a few very tidy little sketches, I think).”⁵⁹⁷ Whereas *Clytie* (1896) (Fig. 183) is often considered “Lord Leighton’s Last Picture”, as it was advertised by the Fine Art Society in their commemorative booklet, his work from Algiers also forms a part of his final year’s work, as well as *The Fair Persian* which I highlighted in the introduction.⁵⁹⁸ Bringing these works into consideration alongside *Clytie* and Leighton’s other submissions to the 1896 Royal Academy summer exhibition, which he did not live to attend, solidifies in one final example this thesis’ overarching claim. I have argued that Leighton’s legacy should be reframed to consider the Near East and North Africa as a central focus in his life and work and that a reconsideration of these works call attention to the importance of Orientalism to his overall oeuvre.

It is tempting to read *A Courtyard, Algiers* (1895) (Fig. 184) and *Gateway, Algiers* (1895) (Fig. 185) as premonitory images by an artist aware of his impending mortality. However, the sun and dry heat of North Africa were prescribed as a cure and there were points where Leighton thought he might be getting better. While he was suffering considerably, to the point of paralysis, from a series of “attacks” just before he left for Tangiers, he reported in letters that he subsequently had a period of

⁵⁹⁶ For more on the Wilde trials, see Metropolitan Police Courts, *The Trial of Oscar Wilde from the Shorthand Reports* (London: Privately Printed, 1906).

⁵⁹⁷ Letter to GF Watts, 2 June 1895. Leighton House Museum, LH/1/1/6/074.

⁵⁹⁸ Daniel Robbins, ‘Between Life and Death: Leighton and *Clytie*’ *Leighton House Museum* (October 2012), accessed 1 September 2019, <https://www.rbkc.gov.uk/pdf/Between%20Life%20and%20Death%20-%20Text%20and%20Images.pdf>

weeks where he had not suffered a single episode.⁵⁹⁹ Both paintings are set in urban landscapes looking through archways. Their composition and setting recall Leighton's failed photography experiments in Tangiers in 1877 (Fig. 83), however, these are bright and colourful oils whereas the photographs are black-and-white. Like some of the Nile landscapes, miniscule, abstracted figures, dressed in red, blue and brown can be seen in the background and indicate that Leighton did take notice of the local population but, once again, chose not to interact with them more personally. Asides from general reports in letters to his sisters, we do not have a record from this trip like the Nile diary which might have shed light on the people he encountered.

If we are to read the paintings as deathly premonitions it is in the dark, shadowy space of the covered walkways that marks the transition from where the painter sits to the other side. In *Gateway, Algiers* the other side leads on to the Mediterranean port and a boat can be seen in the distance. In *A Courtyard, Algiers* the street continues and there are two more figures before the street begins to curve out of view. In both paintings, a single figure stands in the doorway, a Charon-like figure to accompany him on the journey from this life to the next.

However, as images that do not harbour death Leighton engages with many of the same themes such as landscape, water, and the Islamic Mediterranean palette that have interested him across forty years of travel to this region. Rather than depicting the unknowable, Leighton is working with something that, at this point in his life, is quite familiar. Algiers was the destination of his first trip to the Near East in 1857, then steeped in the contexts of his fellow French artists in Paris, and became the impetus for his collecting and sustained travel across the region. After that first trip, he wrote "I have spent some weeks [in Algiers] in extreme pleasure and, I believe, not without great benefit."⁶⁰⁰ As we have seen across this thesis, these benefits expressed themselves in Leighton's work in a myriad of ways.

This study calls attention to the distinct and significant ways in which travel to the Near East has inflected Leighton's life and work. Leighton remains an enduring

⁵⁹⁹ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 2, 323.

⁶⁰⁰ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 1, 304.

figure for British art history because of the extent of his influence and networks that extend beyond Britain. I demonstrate how far these networks extend geographically, moving beyond our dominant understanding of Leighton's travels within Western Europe and into the Ottoman Empire and North Africa. I also establish some of Leighton's connections to India and call for a future study that would push our understanding of Leighton's global networks even further.

I offer two new perspectives for understanding Leighton's time in the Near East, moving away from hegemonic categories such as the Orient or the Levant. The first is a shift towards understanding Leighton's connections to the Ottoman Empire. These travels took place over a period of significant, fluctuating cultural and diplomatic relations between the Ottoman and British Empires. I attend to issues of soft power diplomacy and Ottoman imperial power as it was mediated through British visual culture. While the 'Arab' and 'Persian' have previously been categories to understand Leighton's reception of the Near East, I raise the importance of the Ottoman as a new perspective that highlights the political and imperial contexts of his travels and art.

The second perspective is the Islamic Mediterranean, which restages Leighton's Classicism through a broader geography than just Greece and Rome and instead encompasses the larger Islamic world from Spain to North Africa while also restaging Greece through its more recent history of Ottoman colonialism and the War of Independence. Landscape painting is a crucial component to this exploration and I chart Leighton's response to each locale he visited through various forms of landscape painting. Similarly, Leighton engages with a cumulative model of history that acknowledges the ancient and medieval Islamic world in his paintings in Grenada and Cadiz of Moorish Spain and of the Phoenicians.

I demonstrate that the previously undervalued travels afford a more comprehensive reading of Leighton's wider oeuvre and locate several of his other paintings such as *The Arts of Industry As Applied to Peace*, *Flaming June* and his little girl paintings within a spectrum of Orientalist influence. Importantly, I reveal how Leighton's Orientalism interrelates with the styles we more readily associate with him. I explore how his Nile cruise came at a crucial moment in his burgeoning Aestheticism and

how his landscapes from that trip were a response to the existing body of Nile imagery that instead crafted a new aestheticized depiction of the country in the months before the opening of the Suez Canal. I restage his academicism across the two national schools associated with Orientalism in the nineteenth century: the Royal Academy and the Salon and insert the importance of the South Kensington Museum as a third institutional influence demonstrating Leighton's awareness of debates within the museum on the function of Islamic art in the decorative arts. I bring Leighton's Classicism into relation with his Orientalism by raising the archaeological contexts of excavating the sites of Homer in Ottoman sovereign territory. *Captive Andromache* is a vision of Leighton's Classical world that is routed through the Ottoman, Islamic Mediterranean and references several of his trips to Egypt, Algiers and Spain within the canvas.

Throughout the study, I interrogate Leighton's position as an Orientalist from several, often overlapping, subject positions. I connect his collecting to Burton and deepen our understanding of their relationship through Leighton's paintings of the Burton house in Damascus. As a collector, Leighton's purchases ran parallel to the collections policies of the British and South Kensington Museums. However, he also included some of his collection in his odalisque and harem paintings transforming our understanding from Leighton on his travels, collecting in the Burtonian mode to back in Britain, in the comfort of his purpose-built studio-house, living with the objects in an odalisque mode. Significantly, I call attention to the underexplored role of the Royal Academy in Orientalist visual culture and the networks of British Orientalists that motivated generations of artist-travellers. While this study brought Leighton into relation with key Royal Academician Orientalist practitioners such as Lewis, Roberts, Hunt, Wilkie and Goodall, future scholars would benefit from a more comprehensive understanding of the interconnectedness of Royal Academy artist-travellers to the Near East.

This study is a timely call to re-examine Leighton's place within British Orientalist histories. In 2019, two exhibitions, *John Frederick Lewis: Facing Fame* (Watts Gallery-Artists' Village) and *Inspired by the East: How the Islamic World Influenced Western Art* (British Museum), marked a new moment in Orientalism's popularity

amongst the public and critical engagement with the paintings and artists.⁶⁰¹ Furthermore, in 2020, Leighton House Museum is closing to undergo a transformation from ‘Hidden Gem to National Treasure’, a £7.8 million Lottery funded refurbishment project.⁶⁰² New, expanded gallery space will be dedicated to exploring Leighton’s time in the Near East demonstrating how important this aspect of his life is to understanding his career and the potential for my research to inform those displays.

Leighton offered one piece of advice which has proved remarkably useful for this thesis’ exploration of his travels. In 1857, he wrote to his sister trying to express his impressions of Algeria. “To understand my sensations you must translate your own into a far brighter key.”⁶⁰³ To that end, I have attempted to translate, turn up the key and see the brightness of Leighton’s time in the Near East.

⁶⁰¹ See Briony Llewellyn, *John Frederick Lewis: Facing Fame* (Compton: Watts Gallery Publishing, 2019) and Greenwood and de Guise, *Inspired by the East: How the Islamic World Influenced Western Art*.

⁶⁰² ‘From Hidden Gem to National Treasure’ *Leighton House Museum* (2019), accessed 1 September 2019, <https://www.rbkc.gov.uk/subsites/museums/leightonhousemuseum/aboutus/news/phase3restorationproject.aspx>

⁶⁰³ Barrington, *Life, Letters and Works* vol. 1, 303.

Illustrations

Figure 1 Frederic Leighton, *A Persian Pedlar* (1852) Oil on canvas, 56.5 x 50.5 cm.
Leighton House Museum, LH0381.



Figure 2 Frederic Leighton, *Cimabue's Celebrated Madonna* (1855) Oil on canvas, 222 x 521 cm. National Gallery, on loan from Her Majesty the Queen. Accession number: RCIN 401478.



Figure 3 Frederic Leighton, *The Fair Persian*, unfinished (1896) Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. From *the Life, Letters and Work of Frederic Baron Leighton of Stretton* vol. 2 by Emilie Barrington (New York: Macmillan Company, 1906), between page 324 and 325.



Figure 4 Lance Calvin, 'The Late Lord Leighton Lying in State in his Studio in Holland Park Road', sketch in *The Graphic* (1 February 1896), 129.



Figure 5 Leighton House Museum, ‘1882, Empire and Leighton’s Travels’ *Leighton and the Middle East*, accessed 1 November 2019, https://www.rbkc.gov.uk/leightonarabhall/empires_map.html



Figure 6 Frederic Leighton, *Richard and Isabel Burton's House* (1873) Oil on canvas, 20 x 23 cm. Orleans House Gallery. Accession number: LDORL: 00553L.



Figure 7 Frederic Leighton, *Lachrymae* (1895) Oil on canvas, 157.5 x 62.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Accession number: 96.28.



Figure 8 Frederic Leighton, *Old Damascus: Jew's Quarter* (1873-1884). Oil on canvas, 129.5 x 104.1 cm. Private Collection.



Figure 9 Frederic Leighton, *Courtyard of a Mosque at Broussa* (1867) Oil on canvas, 36 x 26.5 cm. Cecil Higgins Art Gallery and Museum, Bedford.



Figure 10 Frederic Leighton, *The Music Lesson* (1877) Oil on canvas, 93 x 95 cm.
Guildhall Art Gallery, London. Accession number: 1039.



Figure 11 Frederic Leighton, *Captive Andromache* (1888) Oil on canvas, 197 x 407 cm. Manchester Art Gallery. Accession number: 1889.2.



Figure 12 Linley Sambourne, 'The Japanese School at the Royal Academy' *Punch* (25 January 1888).



**THE JAPANESE SCHOOL AT THE ROYAL
ACADEMY.**

"Japanese Art . . . is the only living Art in the world . . . In comparatively few years Japan will become the acknowledged centre and leader of the Fine Arts."—
Extract from Japanese Lecture on Japanese Art. Vide "Times," Jan. 25.

Figure 13 Midian, *Terrorists with Machine Gun* by Frederic Leighton
(Photoshopped version of *The Music Lesson*) *Freaking News* (December 2006),
accessed 1 November, <http://www.freakingnews.com/Terrorists-with-a-Machine-Gun-by-Frederic-Leighton-Pictures-30769.asp>



Figure 14 Frederic Leighton, *Portrait of Sir Richard Francis Burton* (1872-75) Oil on canvas, 61 x 51 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London. Museum Number: NPG 1070.



Figure 15 Frederic Leighton, *The Arts of Industry As Applied to Peace* (1886) Spirit fresco, 487.68 x 1066.8 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Museum number: SKM.20.



Figure 16 George Aitchison, *Presentation Drawing of the East Elevation of the Arab Hall Interior* (1879-1880) Watercolour on paper, dimensions unknown. RIBA Collections, London.



Figure 17 E.F.S. Pattison, *The Studio with Alcove (West)* (1882) in *Illustrated Biographies of Modern Artists*, ed. F.G. Dumas (Paris: Librairie D' Art Ludovic Baschet, 1882), 18.



Figure 18 *A Portion of the Dining Room*, in ‘The Homes of Our Artists: Sir Frederick Leighton’s House in Holland Park Road’ *Cassel’s Magazine of Art* 4 (1881). The British Library.

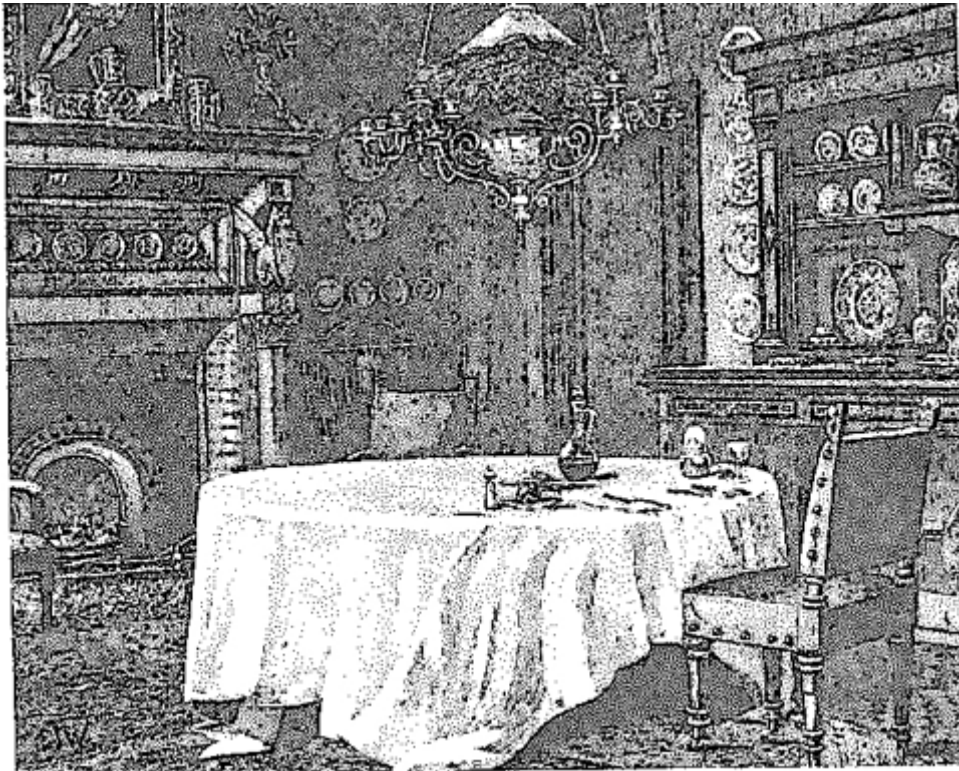


Figure 19 Edward William Godwin and James McNeill Whistler, *The Butterfly Cabinet* (1877-1878) Birds eye maple, brass and painted gold, 303 x 190 cm. The Hunterian, University of Glasgow. Accession number: GLAHA.46396.



Figure 20 Albert Moore, *A Venus* (1869) Oil on canvas, 160 x 72.6 cm. York Art Gallery. Accession number: YORAG: 698.

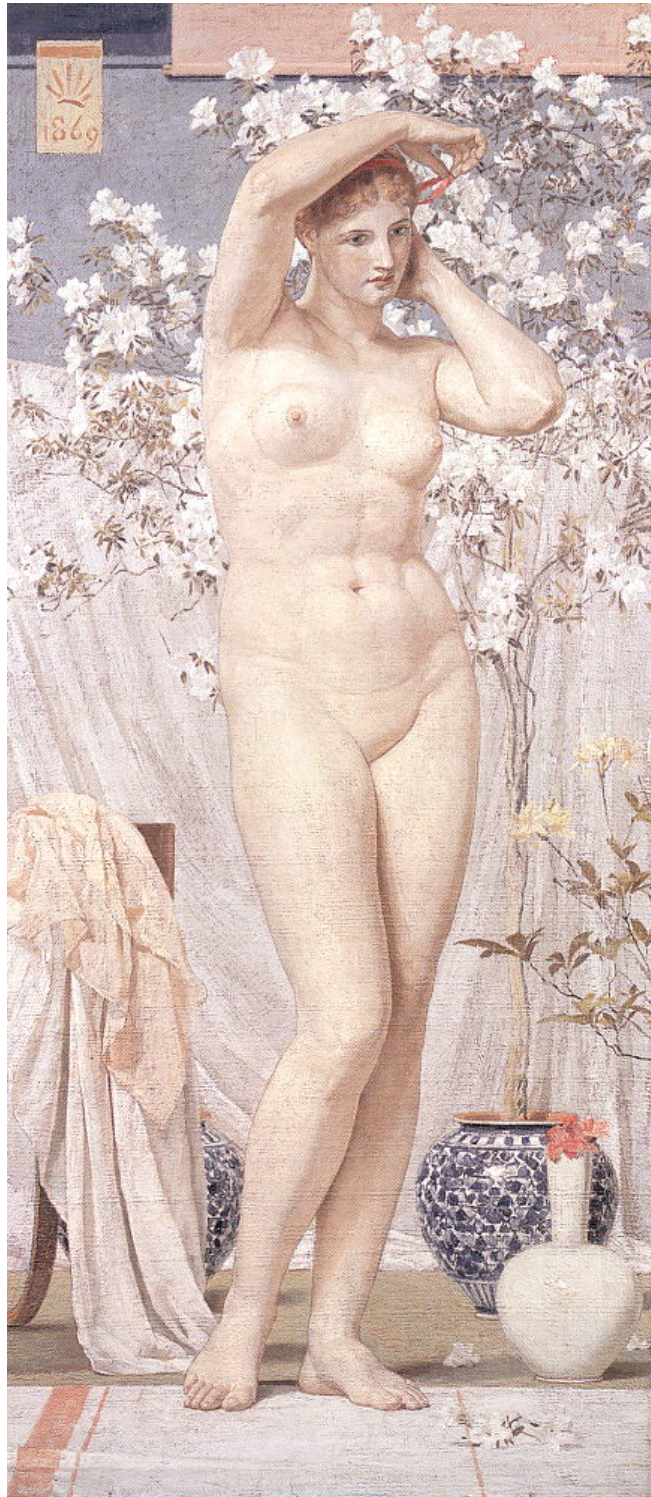


Figure 21 Unknown artist, 'The Staircase', illustration, dimensions unknown. From Leonora Lang, "Sir Frederick Leighton, PRA" in *The Life and Work of Sir Frederick Leighton, Bart. President of the Royal Academy, Sir John E. Millais, Bart., Royal Academician, L. Alma Tadema, Royal Academician.* (London: Art Journal Office, 1886), 26.



Figure 22 Walter Crane, *Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves* (George Routledge & Sons, 1873), 7. University of Florida's Baldwin Library of Historical Children's Literature.



then went to bed; and Morgiana happening to need oil, went to help herself out of the jars of the guest; she found, instead of oil, a man in every jar but one. Determined that they should not escape, and heating a quantity of oil, she poured some into each jar, killing the robber within. So when the captain gave the signal to his men, none of them appeared, and going to the jars he found them all dead; so he went his way full of rage and despair, and returned to the cave, and there formed a project of revenge. Next day he went into the town, and hiring a warehouse, which he furnished with rich goods, became acquainted with

Figure 23 J.S. and A.B. Wyon, *Victoria, Visit of Abdul Aziz, Sultan of Turkey, to London, rev. Londonia Welcomes Turkey* (1867) Bronze, 7.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Accession number: 08.53.10.



Figure 24 W&D Downey, *Abdul Aziz* (1867) Albumen carte de visite, 9.2 x 5.4 cm.
National Portrait Gallery, London. Museum number: NPG Ax11957.



Figure 25 Gentile Bellini, *The Sultan Mehmed II* (1480) Oil on canvas, perhaps transferred from wood, 69.9 x 52.1 cm. The Layard Bequest, The National Gallery, London. Accession number: NG3099.



Figure 26 Yahia Mokhtar, *Exterior of Green Mosque*. Photograph, dimensions unknown. Wikimedia.



Figure 27 John Frederick Lewis, *Interior of the Tomb of Sultan Mehmet I, Bursa* (c. 1841) Pencil and watercolour, 32.4 x 47 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Museum number: 718-1877.



Figure 28 Jean-Léon Gérôme, *The Great Bath at Bursa* (1885) Oil on canvas, 70 x 100.5. Private collection.



Figure 29 Osman Hamdi Bey, *Prayer at the Green Tomb*. (1881) Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Private collection.



AllPosters

Figure 30 Frederic Leighton, Sketchbook (c. 1867) Leighton House Museum
Archive: LH/D/0438. Author's photograph.



Figure 31 Thomas Allom, *The Mausoleum of Sultan Mahomed, Bursa* (1838)
Watercolour over pencil heightened with white, 21.2 x 30 cm. Victoria and Albert
Museum, London. Museum number: SD.30.



Figure 32 Matthew Hollow, *The Stairwell, Leighton House* (detail of hexagonal tiles). Leighton House Museum, London.

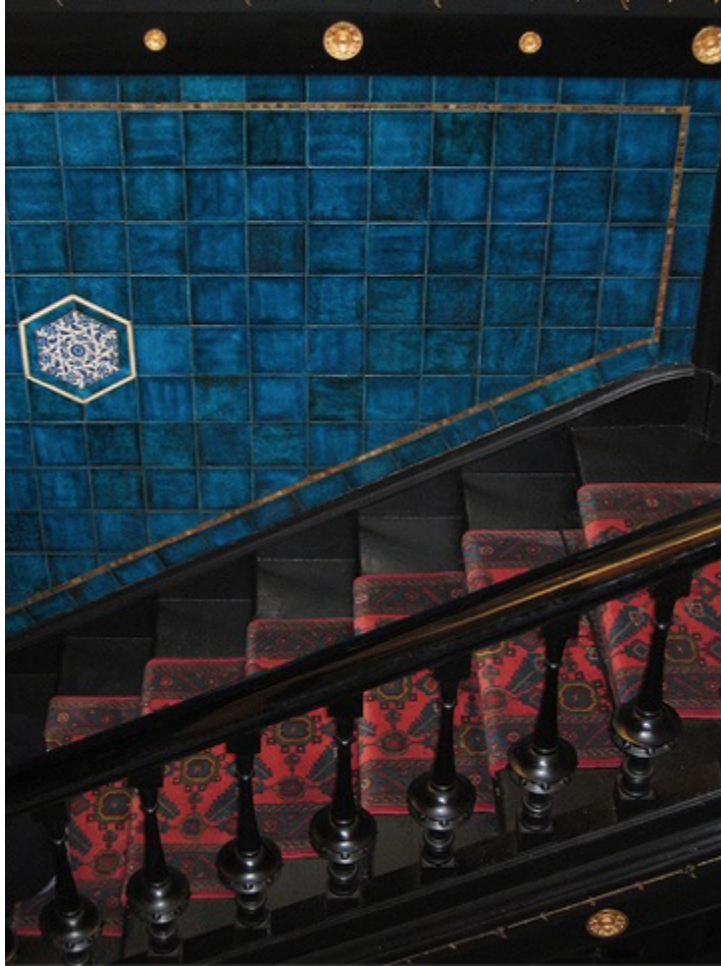


Figure 33 Tiles, right hand side of the zenana screen. Leighton House Museum, London. Author's photograph.



Figure 34 Tiles, left hand side of the zenana screen. Leighton House Museum, London. Author's photograph.



Figure 35 Tiles from the ceiling of the zenana screen. Leighton House Museum, London. Author's photograph.



Figure 36 Will Pryce, *Zenana Screen* (detail) Leighton House Museum, London.

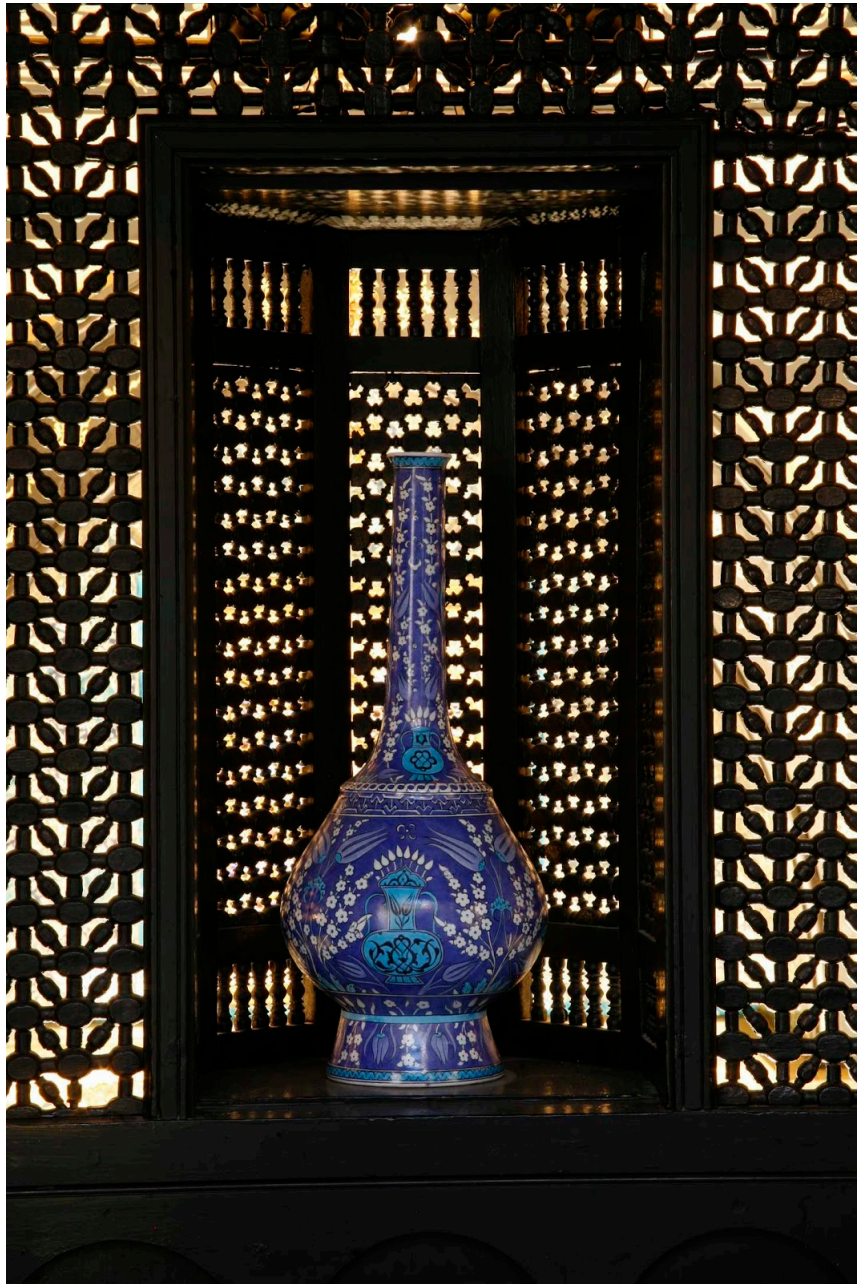


Figure 37 Adolphe Augustus Boucher, Bedford Lemere and Company. *Frederic Leighton's Studio, 1 April 1895* (1895) English Heritage.



Figure 38 Unknown, *Kelmscott House* (c. 1890) in Linda Parry, *William Morris Textiles* (2nd edition) (London: V&A Publishing, 2013), 85.



Figure 39 William Morris, *Swan House* design. (c. 1881) Bridgeman Art Library.



Figure 40 Frederic Leighton, *Mother and Child (Cherries)* (1865) Oil on canvas, 42 x 82 cm. Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery. Accession number: 127.



Figure 41 Frederic Leighton, *Interior of a House, Lindos* (1867) Oil on canvas, 26 x 37.2 cm. Private Collection. Christie's.



Figure 42 Leighton House Museum, 'The Library' (c. 1870) Photograph, dimensions and location unknown. Leighton House Museum.

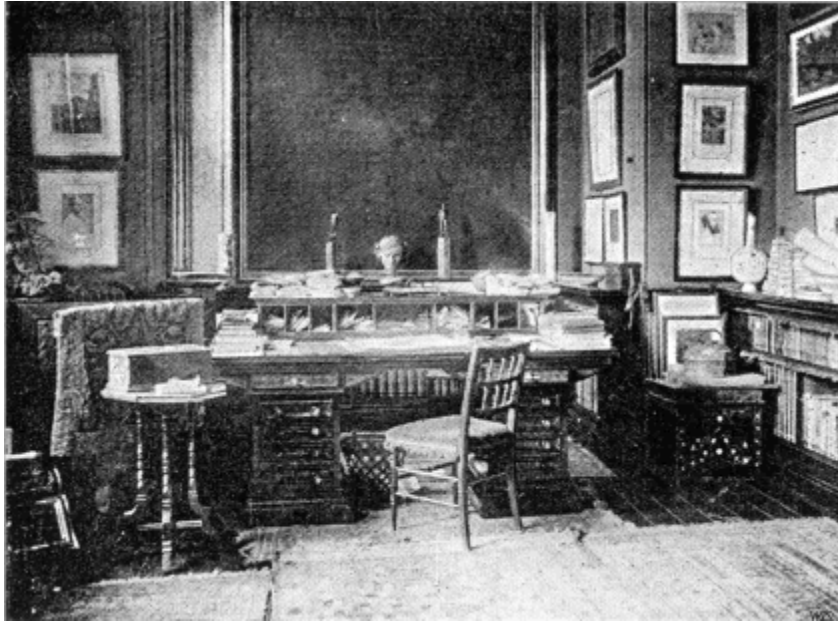


Figure 43 Fichot and Smeeton Tilly, *Egyptian Pavilion, Universal Exhibition in Vienna (1873)* in *Journal Universelle* 61, no. 1580, (7 June 1873). De Agostini Picture Library.



Figure 44 Frederic Leighton, *Damascus (Moonlight)*, (1873). Oil on canvas, 40 x 28 cm. Leighton House Museum, London. Accession number: LH0423.

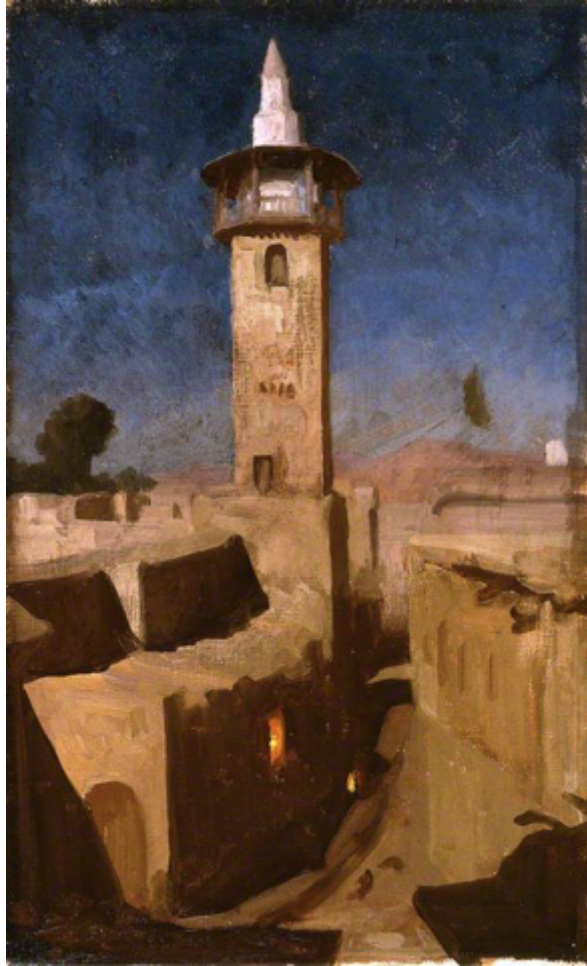


Figure 45 Frederic Leighton, *A Street in Damascus*, (1873). Oil on canvas, 38 x 37 cm. Leighton House Museum, London. Accession number: LH0421.

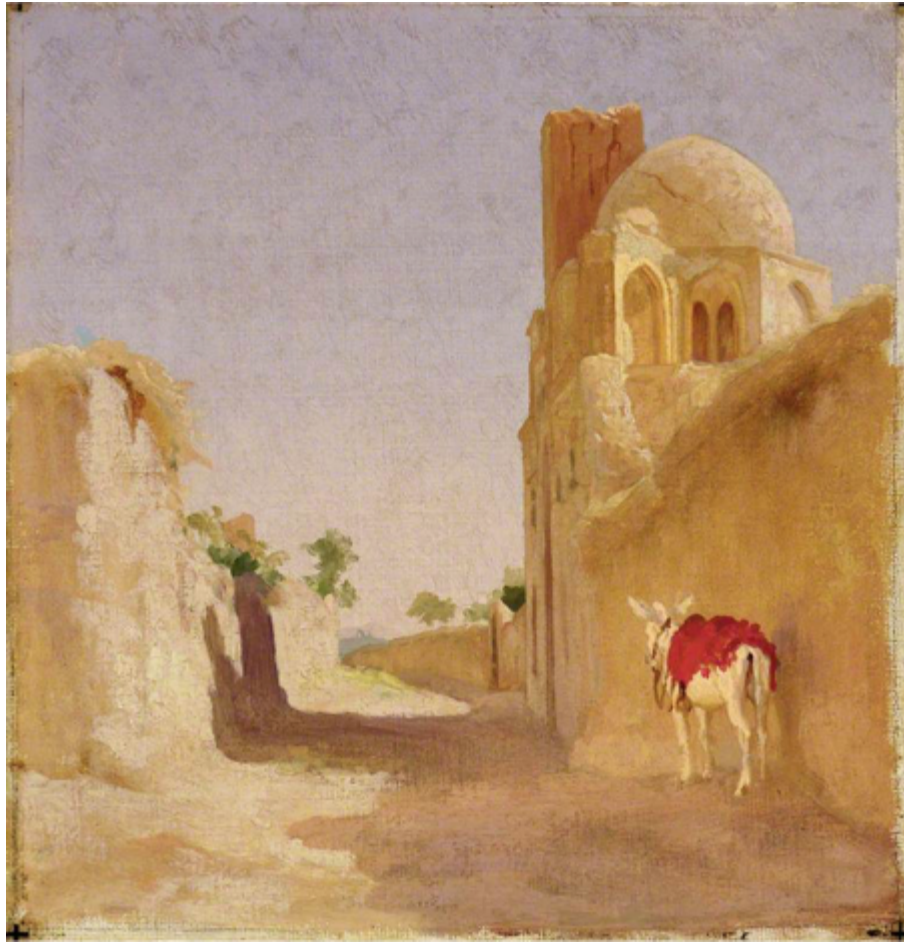


Figure 46 William Holman Hunt, *The Scapegoat* (1854-5) Oil on canvas, 116.8 x 169.8 cm. Liverpool Museums. Accession number: LL3623.



Figure 47 William Holman Hunt, *The Lantern Maker's Courtship* (1854-1861) Oil on canvas, 54.8 c 34.7 cm. Birmingham Museums Trust. Accession number: 1917.266.



Figure 48 John Singer Sargent, *Saddle Horse, Palestine* (1905) Watercolour on paper, 35.56 x 25.4 cm. Private collection.



Figure 49 Hugh Owen, *The Great Exhibition, 1851: Agricultural Implements from Egypt* (1851) Salted paper print, 15.0 x 20.4 cm. The Royal Collection. Accession number: RCIN 2800032.



Figure 50 Henry Wallis, *Chatterton*. (1856) Oil on canvas, 62.2 x 93.3 cm. Tate Britain, London. Reference: N01685



Figure 51 Henry Wallis, *Study for an Egyptian Village*. (c. 1880-1900) Chalk on paper, 38 x 58.5 cm. Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery.

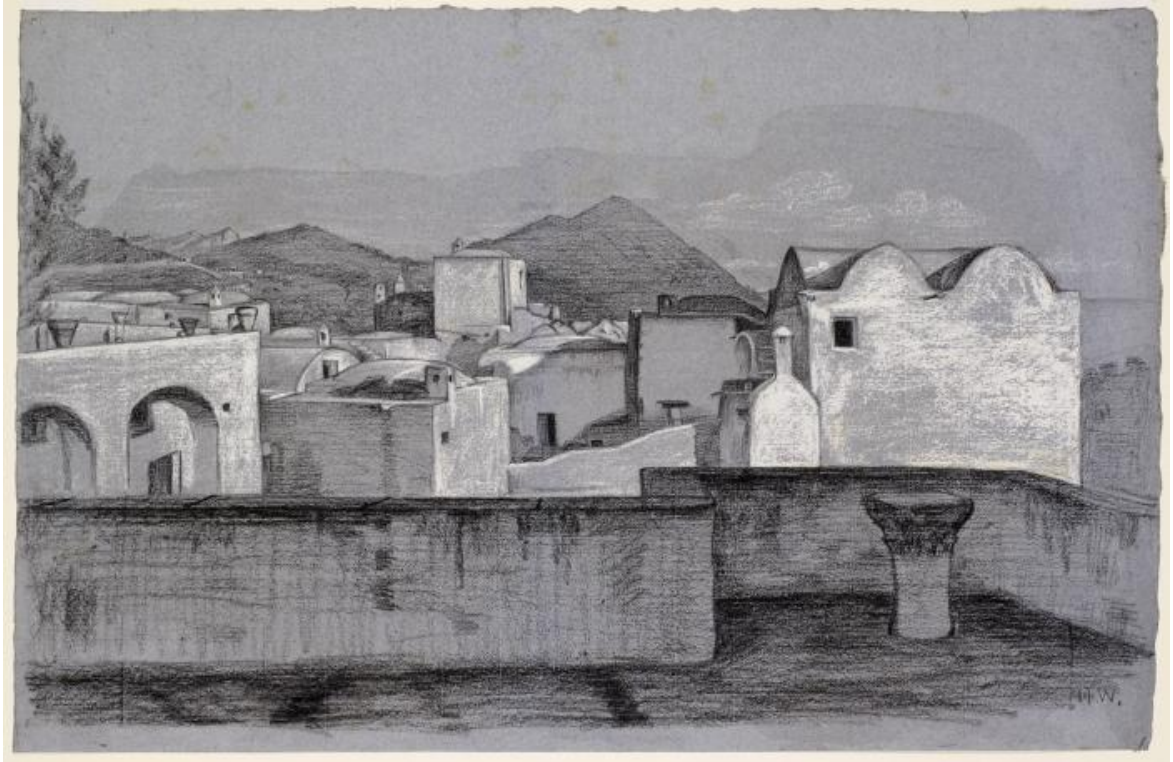


Figure 52 Theodore Deck, Dish (1865) Earthenware, polychrome underglaze, 40 cm.
Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Museum number: 226-1896.



Figure 53 David Roberts, *Suez (General View)* (1842) Lithograph. From *The Holy Land, Syria, Idemea, Arabia* (London: F.G. Moon, 1842) The British Library.



Figure 54 Justin Kozlowski, *Suez Canal*. (c. 1869) Albumen silver print, 19.2 x 26.4 cm. The J. Paul Getty Museum. Object number: 84.XP.1448.19.



Figure 55 Justin Kozlowski, *Suez Canal*. (c. 1869) Albumen silver print, 17.1 x 22.1 cm. The J. Paul Getty Museum. Object number: 84.XP.1448.21.



Figure 56 Frederic Leighton, *Little Fatima* (1875) Oil on paper laid on canvas. 39.5 x 24 cm. Private collection, Yorkshire. Bonham's.



Figure 57 Frederic Leighton, *View on the Nile at Asyut* (1868) Oil on canvas, 17 x 30 cm. The Loyd Collection.



Figure 58 Frederic Leighton, *View on the Nile at Asyut* (detail of figure) (1868) Oil on canvas, 17 x 30 cm. The Loyd Collection.



Figure 59 Frederic Leighton, *On the Nile* (1868) Oil on canvas, 26.8 x 41.2 cm. The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Object number: PD.5-1979.



Figure 60 Frederic Leighton, *On the Nile* (detail of figures) (1868) Oil on canvas, 26.8 x 41.2 cm. The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Object number: PD.5-1979.



Figure 61 Frederic Leighton, *Head of an Elderly Arab*. (1868) Oil on canvas, 17.8 x 13.8 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Accession number: SD.574.



Figure 62 Frederic Leighton, *Head of An Arab* (1865) Oil on canvas, 41.5 x 31.
Leighton House Museum, London. Accession number: LH0396.

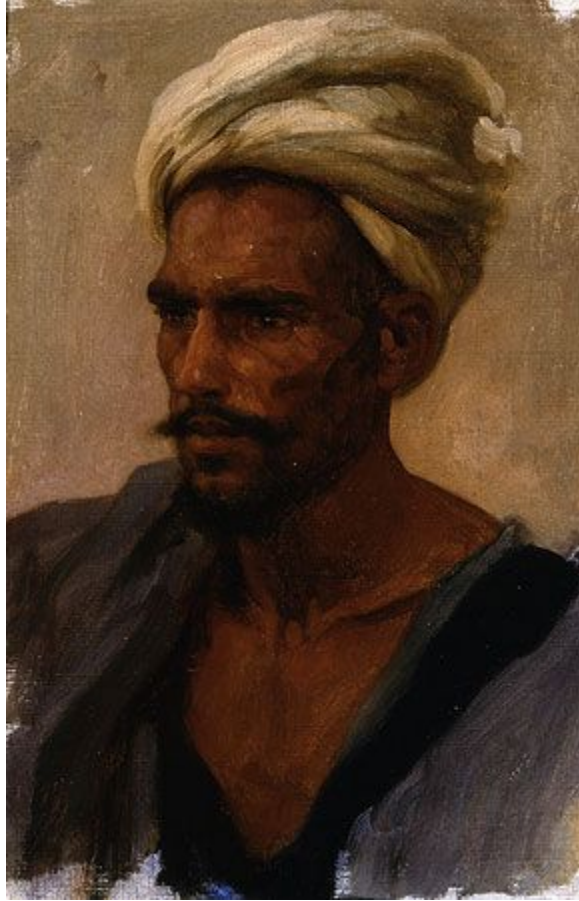


Figure 63 Rudolf Swoboda, *Bakshiram* (1886) Oil on panel, 26.0 x 15.6 cm. The Royal Collection Trust. Accession number: RCIN 403826.



Figure 64 Frederic Leighton, *A Nile Woman* (1870) Oil on canvas, 56 x 30.5 cm.
Private collection.



Figure 65 Frederic Leighton, *An Eastern Slinger* (1875) Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown, untraced. From Ernest Rhys, *Frederic, Lord Leighton: Late President of the Royal Academy of Arts, an Illustrated Record of his Life and Work* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1898), facing 112.



Figure 66 Frederic Leighton, *Garden of a House at Capri* (1859) Oil on canvas, 31.7 x 26 cm. The Loyd Collection.



Figure 67 Frederic Leighton, *Garden of an Inn, Capri* (1859) Oil on canvas, 26.7 x 40 cm. Private Collection.



Figure 68 Frederic Leighton, *Mountains Near Ronda - Puerta de los Vientos* (1886-9) Oil on canvas, 20.3 x 40.6 cm. Tate. Accession number: N04006.



Figure 69 Frederic Leighton, *Ruined Moorish Arch at Rona, Spain* (1866) Oil on canvas, 28 x 27 cm. Private collection.



Figure 70 Frederic Leighton, *Athens, with the Genoese Tower, Pnyx in the Foreground* (1867) Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown, untraced. From Ernest Rhys, *Frederic, Lord Leighton: Late President of the Royal Academy of Arts, an Illustrated Record of his Life and Work* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1898), 136.

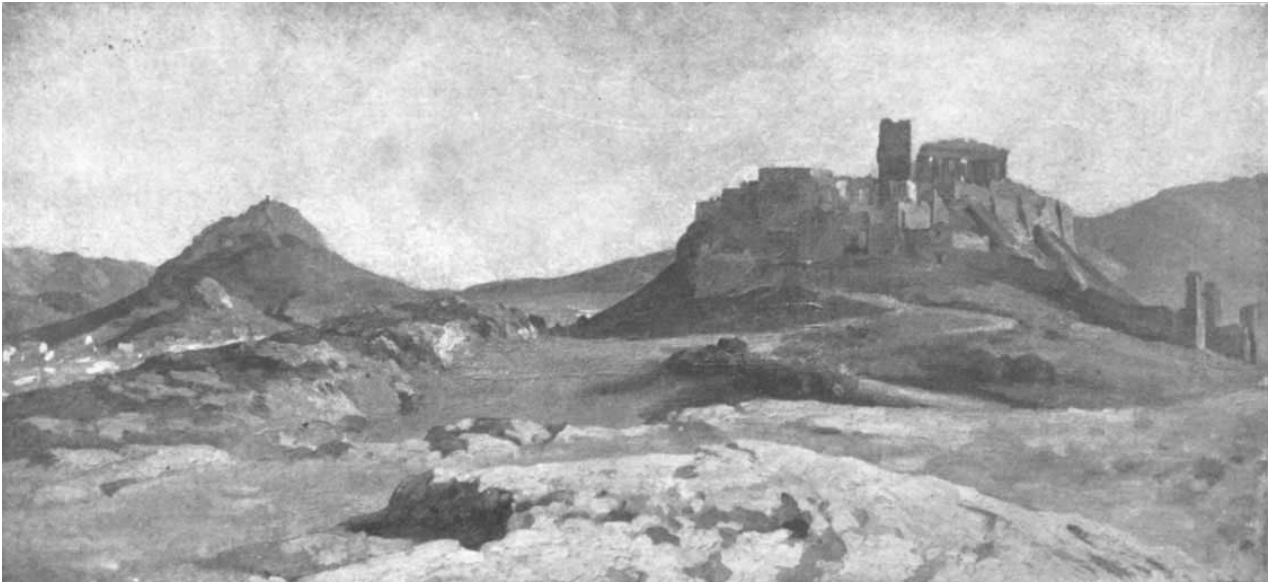


Figure 71 Frederic Leighton, *The Coast of Asia Minor Seen from Rhodes* (1867). Oil on canvas, 9.5 x 27.3 cm. Private collection.



Figure 72 Frederic Leighton, *Bay Scene, Island of Rhodes*. (1867) Oil on canvas, 37.5 x 57.8cm. Private collection.



Figure 73 Frederic Leighton, *Distant View of Mountains in the Aegean Sea*. (1867)
Oil on canvas, 9.5 x 27.3 cm. National Museum Wales. Accession number: NMW A
28346.



Figure 74 Frederic Leighton, *Daedalus and Icarus*. (1869) Oil on canvas, 138.2 x 106.5. Private Collection.



Figure 75 Frederic Leighton, *Ariadne Abandoned by Theseus: Ariadne Watches for His Return: Artemis Releases her by Death* (1868) Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Private collection.



Figure 76 Frederic Leighton, *Greek Girls Picking Up Pebbles by the Sea* (1871) Oil on canvas, 84 x 129.5. Private collection.



Figure 77 Frederic Leighton, *Perseus on Pegasus Hastening to the Rescue of Andromeda* (1895-6) Oil on canvas, 184 x 189.6 cm. Leicestershire Museum, Arts & Record Services. Accession number: L.F6.1902.0.0.



Figure 78 Frederic Leighton, *Greek Girls Playing Ball* (1888-9) Oil on canvas, 114 x 197 cm. Dick Institute, Kilmarnock. Accession number: FA/A132.



Figure 79 Frederic Leighton, *Winding the Skein* (c. 1878) Oil on canvas, 100.3 x 161.3 cm. Art Gallery New South Wales, Australia. Accession number: 1.1974.



Figure 80 Edward Lear, *Approach to Philae* (1854) Oil on canvas, 28.5 x 54 cm.
Private collection. Christie's.



Figure 81 Frederic Leighton, *The Temple of Philae* (1868) Oil on canvas, 18.7 x 29.3 cm. Manchester Art Gallery. Accession number: 1934.416.



Figure 82 David Wilkie Wynfield, *Frederic Leighton, Baron Leighton* (c. 1860s)
Albumen print, 197 x 161 mm. National Portrait Gallery, London. Museum number:
NPG P77.



Figure 83 Frederic Leighton, *Figures in a Doorway, Tangiers* (1877) Glossy collodion print on card, 8 x 6.7 cm. Fogg Museum, Harvard Art Museums. Object number: 1946.35.62.



Figure 84 Frederic Leighton, *Pavonia* (1859) Oil on canvas, 53.3 x 41.9 cm. Private collection. Christie's.



Figure 85 Frederic Leighton, *Jonathan's Token to David* (1868) Oil on canvas, 171.5 x 124.5. Minneapolis Institute of Arts. Accession number: 74.71



Figure 86 Frederic Leighton, *St. Jerome* (1869) Oil on canvas, 184.5 x 142 cm.
Royal Academy of Arts, London. Accession number: 03/1343.



Figure 87 James McNeill Whistler, *Crepuscule in Flesh Colour and Green* (1866)
Oil on canvas, 58.6 x 75.9 cm. Tate. Reference: N05065.



Figure 88 James McNeill Whistler, *Nocturne in Grey and Gold - Piccadilly* (1881-3)
Watercolour on paper, 22.2 x 29.2 cm. National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin. Object
number: NGL.2915.



Figure 89 Frederic Leighton, *A Temple on the Nile* (1868) Oil on canvas, 15.5 x 25.5 cm. Glynn Vivian Gallery, Swansea. Accession number: 70.



Figure 90 Frederic Leighton, *Flaming June* (1895) 120 x 120 cm. Museo de Arte de Ponce, Puerto Rico.



Figure 91 Frederic Leighton, *Pasture, Egypt* (1868) Oil on canvas, 11.2 x 36 cm.
Leighton House Museum, London. Accession number: LH0403.



Figure 92 Gustave Guillaumet, *The Sahara* (1867) Oil on canvas, 110 x 200 cm.
Musée d'Orsay, Paris. Accession number: RF 505.



Figure 93 Bridget Riley, *Achæan* (1981) Oil on canvas, 239 x 202.3 cm. Tate.
Reference: T03816.

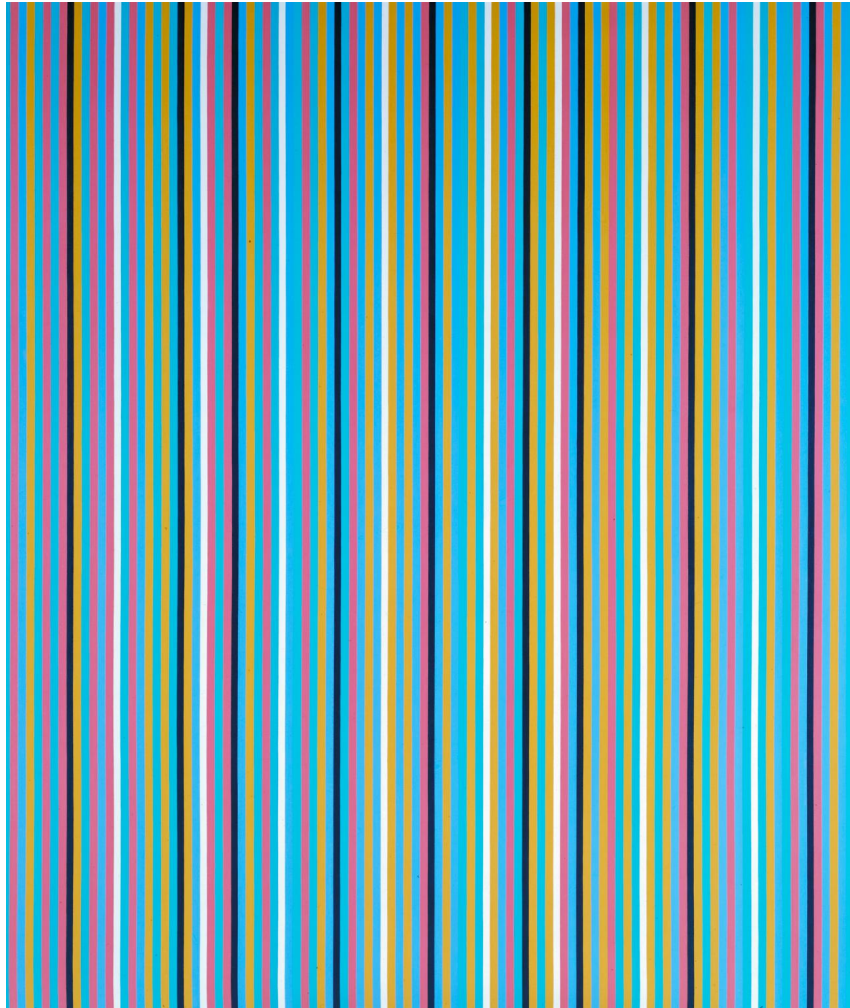


Figure 94 Guler Ates, *Garment of Desire* (2010) Archival Digital Print, 85 x 60 cm.
Courtesy of Guler Ates.



Figure 95 Guler Ates, *There Remains but Emptiness II* (2010) Archival Digital Print, 80 x 56 cm. Courtesy of Guler Ates.



Figure 96 Guler Ates, *Purged of Sensuality* (2010) Archival Digital Print, 62 x 80 cm. Courtesy of Guler Ates.



Figure 97 Frederic Leighton, *The Fisherman and the Syren* (1856-58) Oil on canvas, 66.4 x 48.9 cm. Bristol Museum and Art Gallery. Accession number: K1401.



Figure 98 Frederic Leighton, *Odalisque* (1862) Oil on canvas, 90.8 x 45.7 cm.
Private collection.

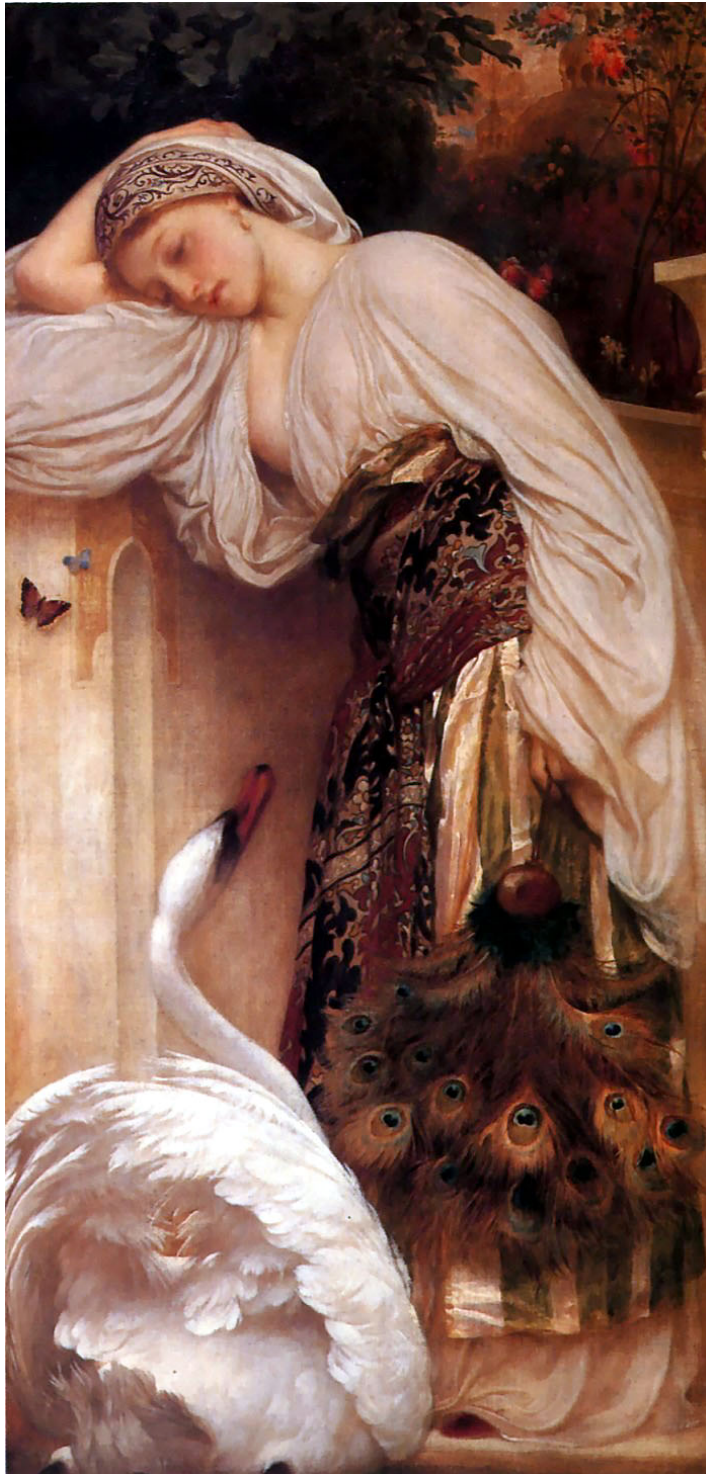


Figure 99 Frederic Leighton, *Study at a Reading Desk* (1877) Oil on canvas, 63.2 x 65.1 cm. Private Collection.



Figure 100 Frederic Leighton, *Light of the Harem* (1880) Oil on canvas, 152.4 x 83.8 cm. Private collection.



Figure 101 Jean-Léon Gérôme, *The Snake Charmer* (1879) Oil on canvas, 82.2 x 121 cm. Clark Institute, Massachusetts. Accession number: 1955.51



Figure 102 Frederic Leighton, *An Athlete Wrestling with a Python* (1877) Bronze, 174.6 x 98.4 x 109.9 cm. Tate, London. Reference: N01754.



Figure 103 Lewis Carroll, *Florence Terry as a Turk* (1875) *Lewis Carroll Catalogue Raisonne*, edited by Edward Wakeling (2001), 2371.



Figure 104 Eugene Delacroix, *Women of Algiers in their Apartment* (1834) Oil on canvas, 180 x 229 cm. The Louvre, Paris. Accession number: INV. 3824.



Figure 105 Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres, *La Source* (1856) Oil on canvas, 80 x 163 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. Accession number: RF 219.

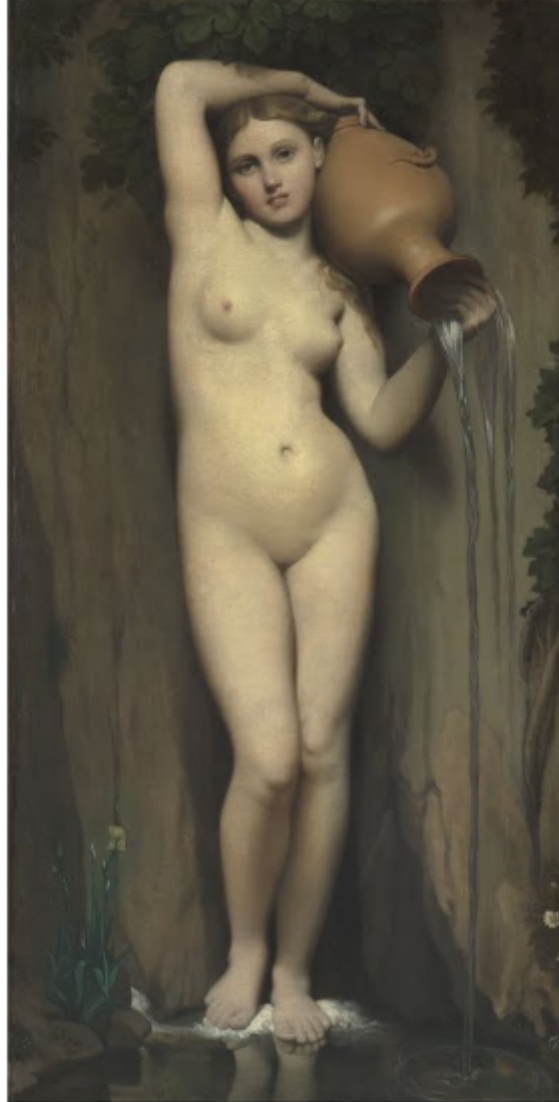


Figure 106 Frederic Leighton, *Venus and Cupid* (1856) Oil on canvas, 147.3 x 47.6 cm. Private collection.



Figure 107 The Guerrilla Girls, *Do Women Have to Be Naked to Get Into the Met Museum?* (1989) Screenprint on paper, 28 x 71 cm. Tate. Reference: P78793.



Figure 108 Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres, *La Grand Odalisque* (1814) Oil on canvas, 88.9 x 162.56 cm. The Louvre, Paris. Accession number: RF 1158.

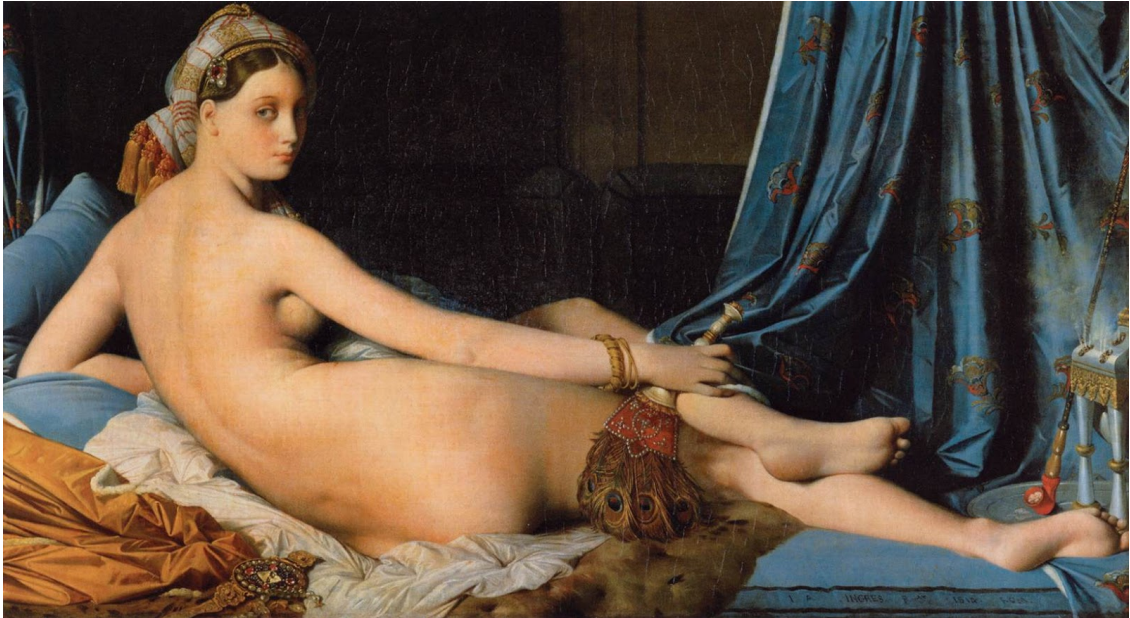


Figure 109 Eugène Delacroix, *Odalisque* (1857) Oil on wood, 35.5 x 30.5 cm
Private collection.



Figure 110 Eugene Delacroix, *Sketch for Peace Descends to Earth* (1852) Oil on canvas, 77.7 x 55.1 cm. Musée de Petit Palais, Paris.



Figure 111 Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres (finished by Jean-Paul Flandrin), *Odalisque with Slave* (1842) Oil on canvas, 76 x 105 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore. Accession number: 37.887.

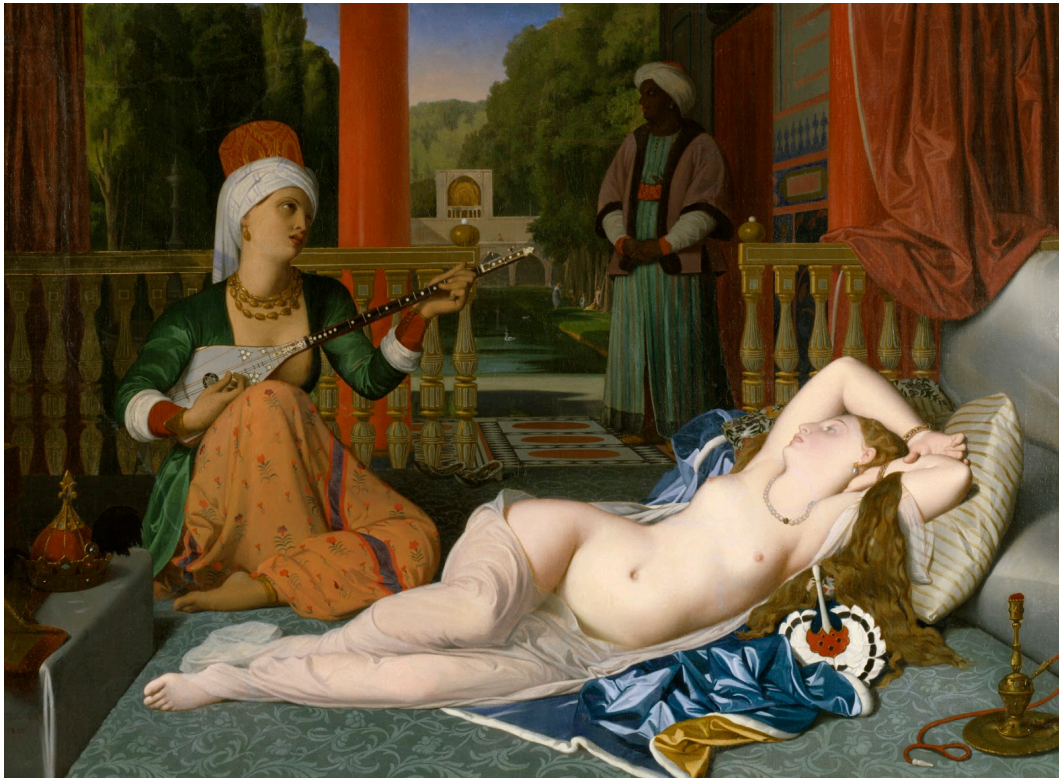


Figure 112 Charles Alston Collins, *Convent Thoughts* (1850-51) Oil on canvas, 84 x 59 cm. The Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Accession number: WA1894.10.



Figure 113 Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres, *The Turkish Bath* (1852-9, modified in 1862) Oil on canvas, 108 x 110. The Louvre, Paris. Accession number: RF34.

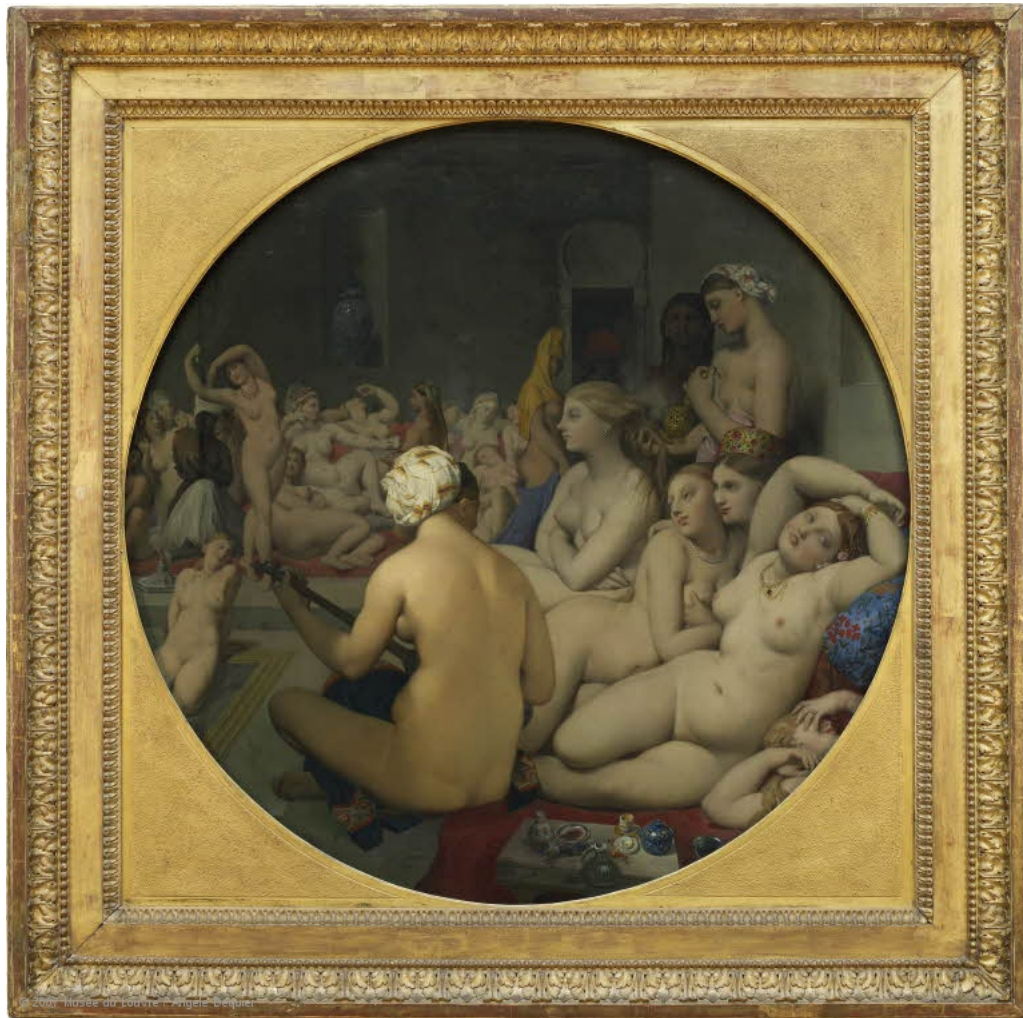


Figure 114 John Frederick Lewis, *An Armenian Lady, Cairo* (1855) Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Private collection.



Figure 115 John Frederick Lewis, *The Hhareem* (1849) Watercolour and body colour, dimensions unknown. Private collection.



Figure 116 John Frederick Lewis, *A Syrian Sheikh* (1856) Oil on panel, 43.1 x 30.4 cm. The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Accession number: 468.



Figure 117 John Frederick Lewis, *An Eastern Girl Carrying a Tray* (1859) Oil on canvas, 29.9 x 20.3 cm. Private collection.



Figure 118 John Frederick Lewis, *Bezenstein, El Khan Khalil (The Carpet Seller)* (1860), dimensions unknown. Private collection.



Figure 119 John Frederick Lewis, *In the Bey's Garden, Asia Minor* (1865) Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Harris Museum and Art Gallery, Preston. Accession number: PRSMG: P375.



Figure 120 John Frederick Lewis, *Hhareem Life, Constantinople* (1857)
Watercolour, bodycolour, pencil (heightened with gum arabic) 31.7 x 47.6 cm. Laing
Art Gallery, Newcastle. Accession number: B8032.

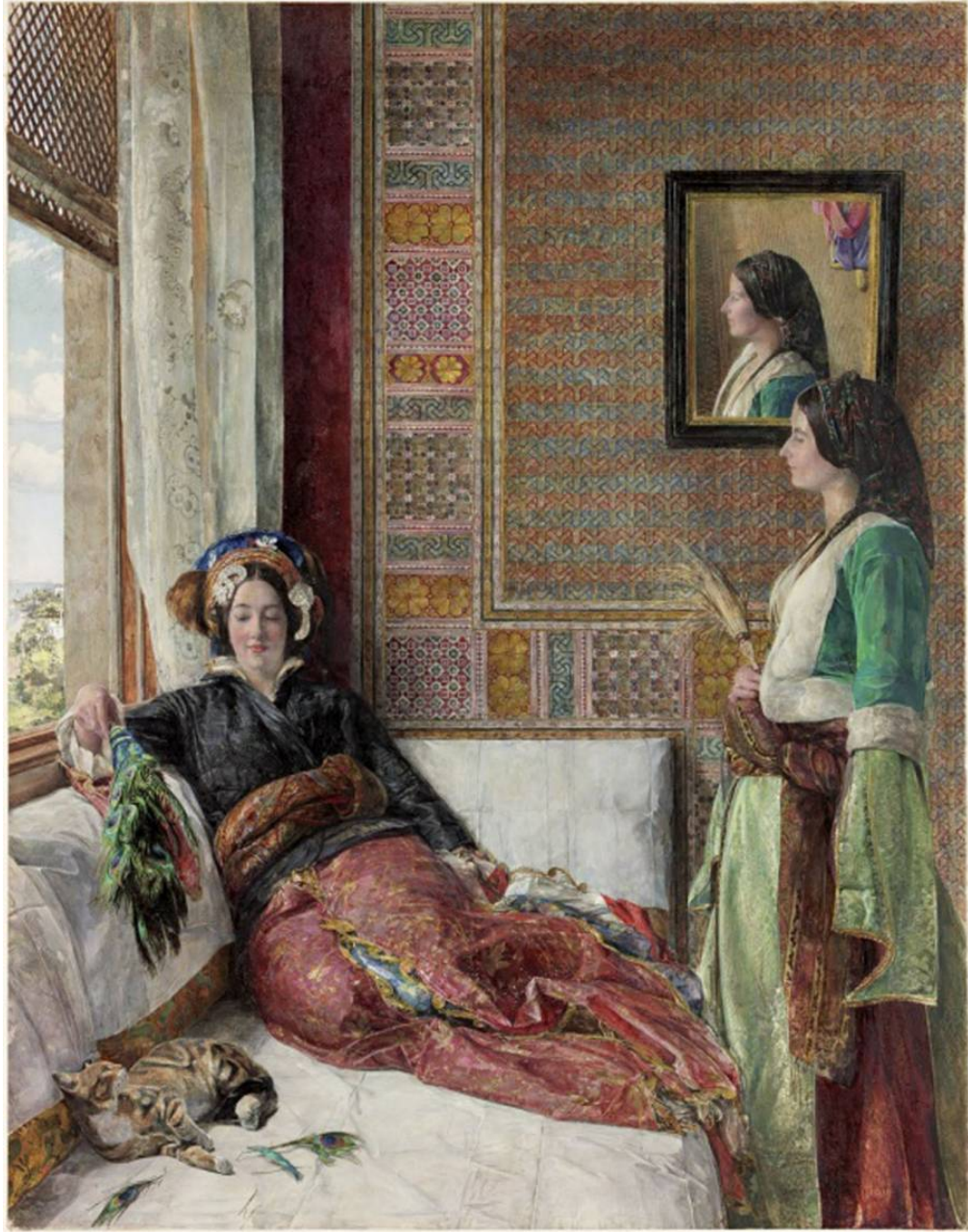


Figure 121 Leonardo da Vinci, *Drawing for Leda and the Swan* (c. 1505) Pen and brown ink over black chalk, 16 x 13.9 cm. Chatsworth.



Figure 122 Frederic Leighton, *Nanna (Pavonia)* (1859) Oil on canvas, 59.4 x 51.1 cm. Royal Collections Trust. Accession number: RCIN 404570.



Figure 123 Frederic Leighton, *Bianca* (1862) Oil on canvas, 59.1 x 51.1 cm. Royal Collections Trust. Accession number: RCIN 404569.

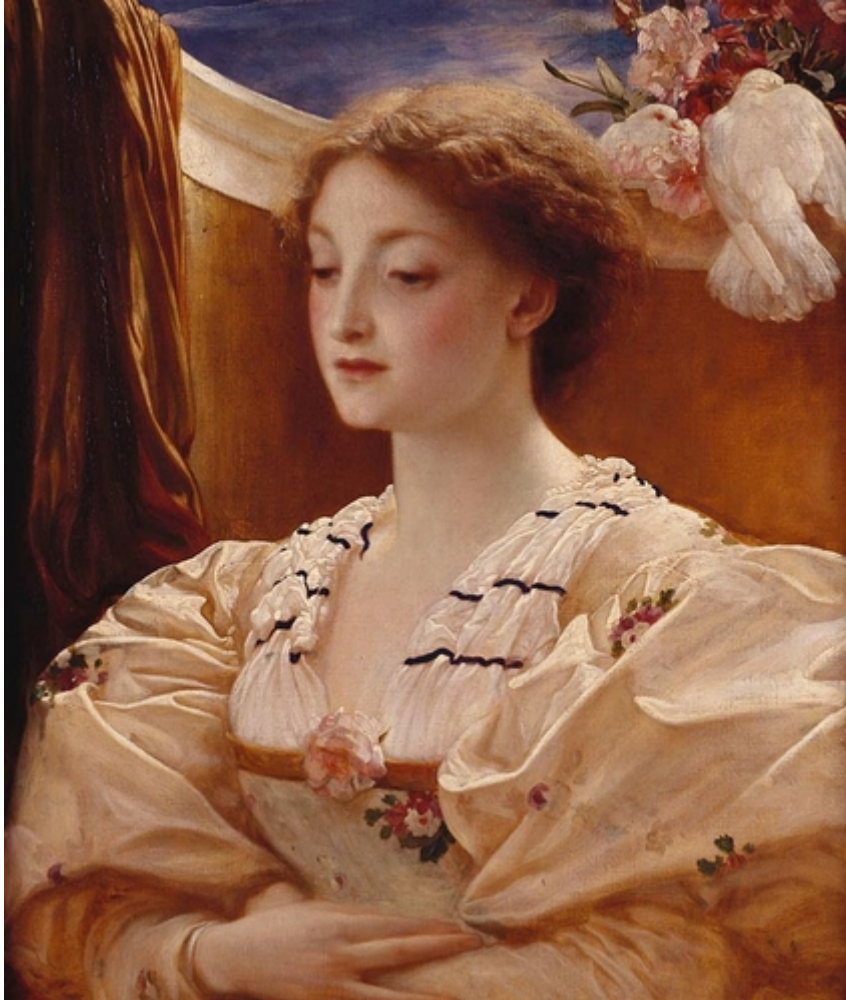


Figure 124 Frederic Leighton, *Yasmeenah* (1880) Oil on canvas, 78.3 x 57 cm.
McLean Museum and Art Gallery. Accession number: 1977.936.



Figure 125 Frederic Leighton, *Gulnihal* (1886) Oil on canvas, 56.5 x 43.5 cm.
Private collection.



Figure 126 Frederic Leighton, *Kittens* (1883) Oil on canvas, 119.4 x 78.8 cm.
Private collection.



Figure 127 Frederic Leighton, *A Moorish Garden: A Dream of Grenada* (1874) Oil on canvas, 101 x 101 cm. Private collection.



Figure 128 Edward Onslow Ford, *The Singer* (1889) Bronze, coloured resin paste and semi-precious stones, 902 x 216 x 432 cm. Tate. Reference: N01753.

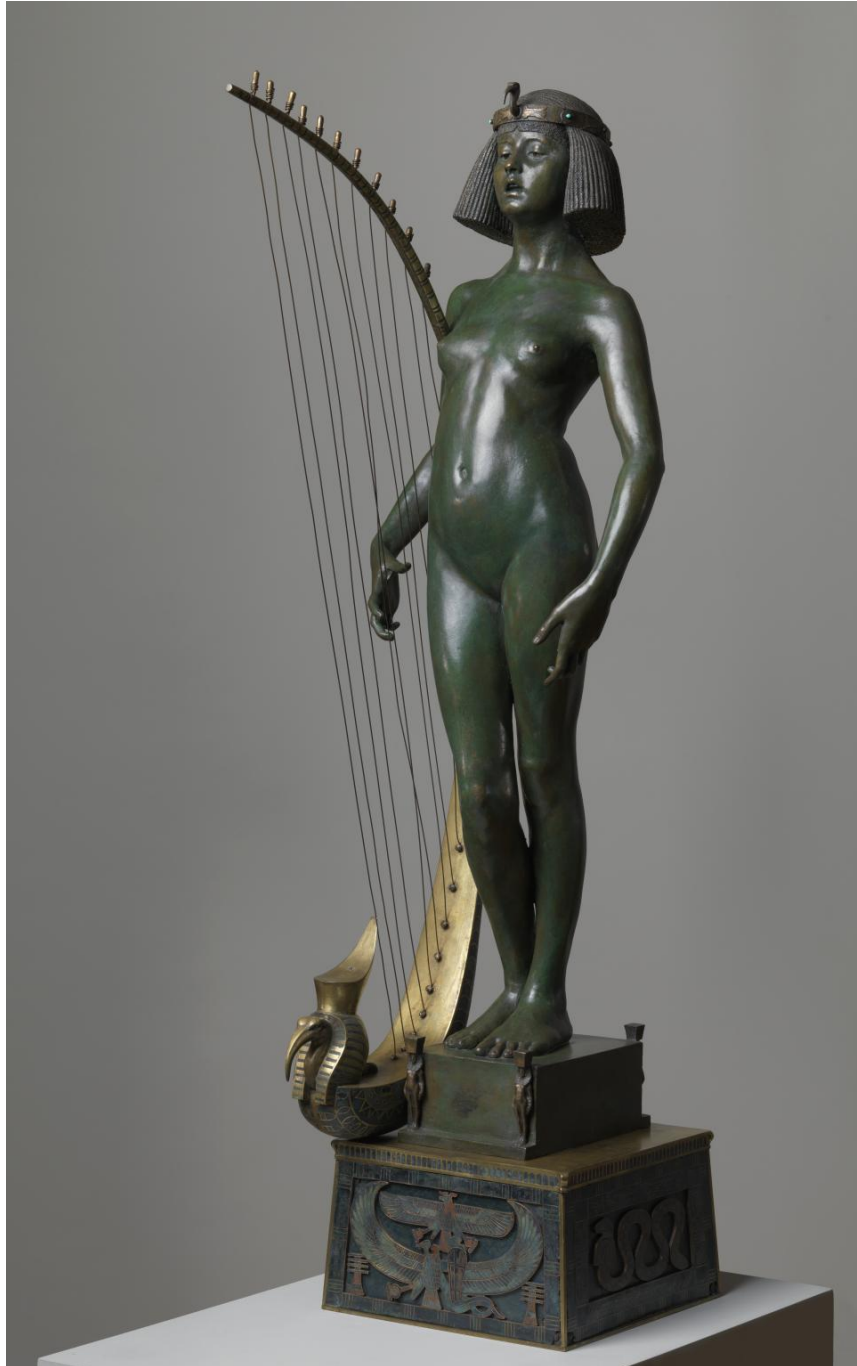


Figure 129 James McNeill Whistler, *Harmony in Yellow and Gold: The Gold Girl - Connie Gilchrist* (1876-77) Oil on canvas, 217.8 x 109.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Accession number: 11.32.



Figure 130 John Everett Millais, *Cherry Ripe* (1879) Oil on canvas, 134.5 x 89 cm.
Private collection.



Figure 131 Unrecorded craftsman, *Persian Carpet with Lion and Tiger Fighting, Leopard Pursuing Deer*. (date unknown) from *Closer to Home: The Restoration of Leighton House and Catalogue of the Reopening Displays*, Cllr. Nicholas Paget-Brown (Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea: Leighton House Museum, 2010), 19.



Figure 132 Mukund and Narayan, *Akbar Hunting at Palam* (c. 1590-5) Opaque watercolour and gold on paper, 38.1 x 22.4 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Museum number: IS.2:70-1896.



Figure 133 Unrecorded maker, *The Yerkes-Remarque Mughal Hunting Carpet* (c. 1600-1650) Textile, 473 x 200 cm. Private collection.



Figure 134 Osman Hamdi Bey, *Young Woman Reading* (1880) Oil on canvas, 41.1 x 51 cm. Private collection. Bonham's.



Figure 135 Lawrence Alma-Tadema, *In My Studio* (1893) Oil on canvas, 47 x 61.6 cm. Private Collection.



Figure 136 Frederic Leighton, *Self-Portrait* (1880) Oil on canvas, 76.5 x 64 cm.
Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, Italy. Bridgeman Images.



Figure 137 Frederic Leighton, *Sister's Kiss* (1880) Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Private collection.



Figure 138 Frederic Leighton, *Psamanthe* (1880) Oil on canvas, 85 x 66.5 cm. Lady Lever Art Gallery, Liverpool. Museum number: LL 3630.



Figure 139 Frederic Leighton, *Crenaia, Nymph of Dargle* (1880) Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Private collection.



Figure 140 Lady Clementina Hawarden, *Isabella Grace and Clementina Maude, 5 Princes Gardens* (c. 1863-4) Photograph, 23.1 x 25.2 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum. Museum number: 356-1947.



Figure 141 Hiram Powers, *The Greek Slave* (1846) Marble, 167.5 x 51.4 x 47 cm.
National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. Accession number: 2014.79.37.



Figure 142 Guler Ates, *Leighton and She I* (2008) Archival Digital Print, 67 x 90 cm. Courtesy of Guler Ates.



Figure 143 Lawrence Alma-Tadema, *A Reading from Homer* (1885) Oil on canvas, 183.5 x 91.7 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art: The George W. Elkins Collection, 1924. Accession number: E1924-4-1.

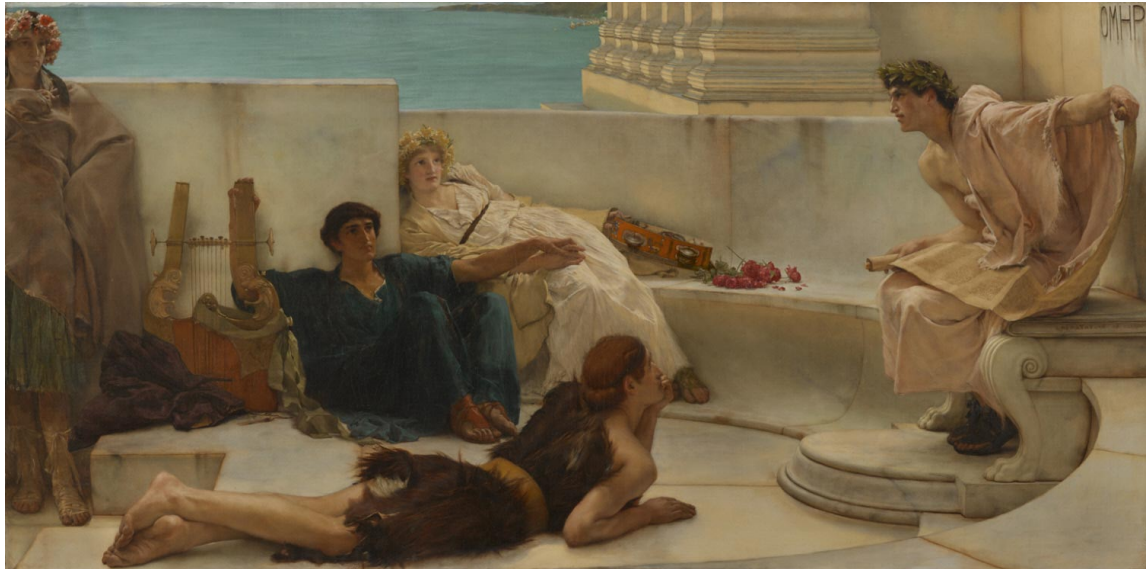


Figure 144 Frederic Leighton, *Greek Girl Dancing* (1867) Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Private collection.



Figure 145 Albert Moore, *A Musician* (1867) Oil on canvas, 47.6 x 57.8 cm. Yale Centre for British Art, New Haven. Accession number: B1980.7.



Figure 146 John Frederick Lewis, *The Siesta* (1876) Oil on canvas, 88.6 x 111.1 cm.
Tate, London. Reference: N03594.



Figure 147 Frederic Leighton, *Phoenicians Bartering with Ancient Britons* (1894-5)
Spirit fresco on canvas, 550 x 360 cm. Royal Exchange, London.

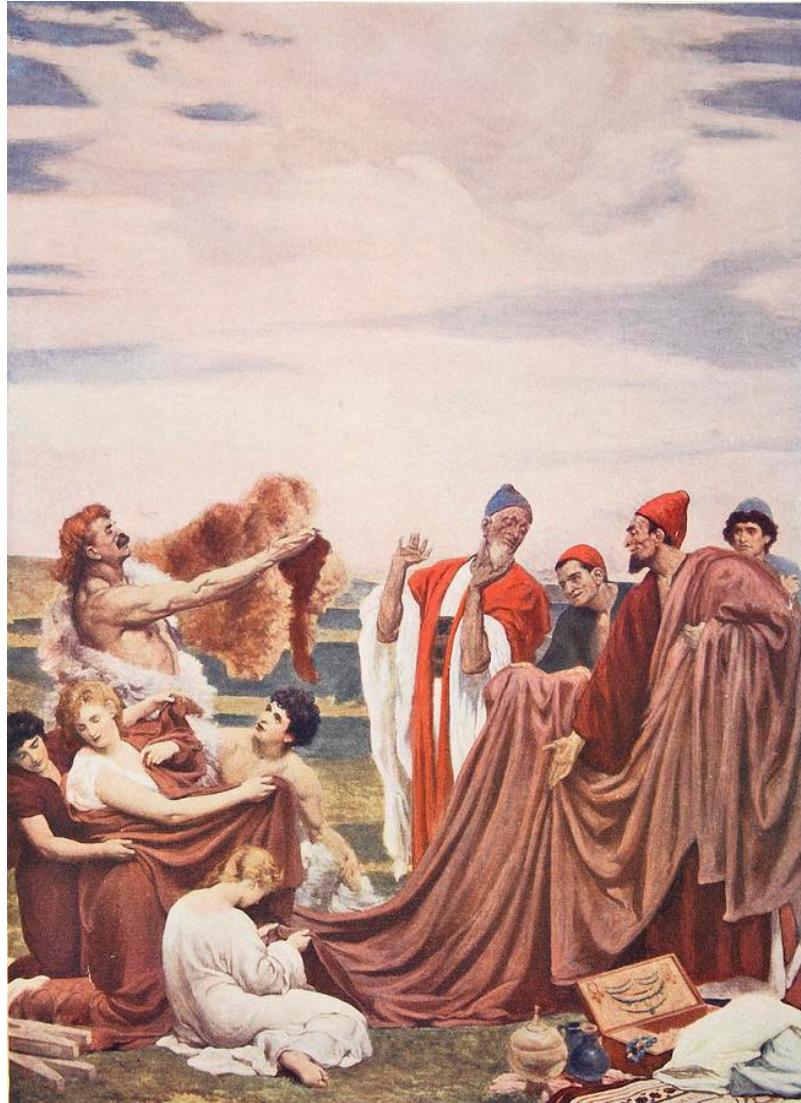


Figure 148 Frederic Leighton, *The Syracusan Bride Leading Wild Beasts in Procession the Temple of Diana* (1866) Oil on canvas, 133.5 x 434.3 cm. Private Collection.



Figure 149 Frederic Leighton, *The Daphnephoria* (1874-76) Oil on canvas, 231 x 525 cm. Lady Lever Art Gallery, Liverpool. Accession number: LL3632.



Figure 150 Puvis de Chavannes, *Marseille: Colonie Greque* (1869) Oil on canvas, 59.5 x 72.5 cm. Lady Beit, Russborough, Blessington, Ireland.



Figure 151 Puvis de Chavannes, *Marseille: Porte de L'Orient* (1869) Oil on canvas, 423 x 565cm. Musée de Marseille.



Figure 152 Frederic Leighton, *Helen of Troy* (1865), Oil on canvas, 205 x 147.5 cm. Private collection. From Ernest Rhys, *Frederic, Lord Leighton: Late President of the Royal Academy of Arts, an Illustrated Record of his Life and Work* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1898), 22.

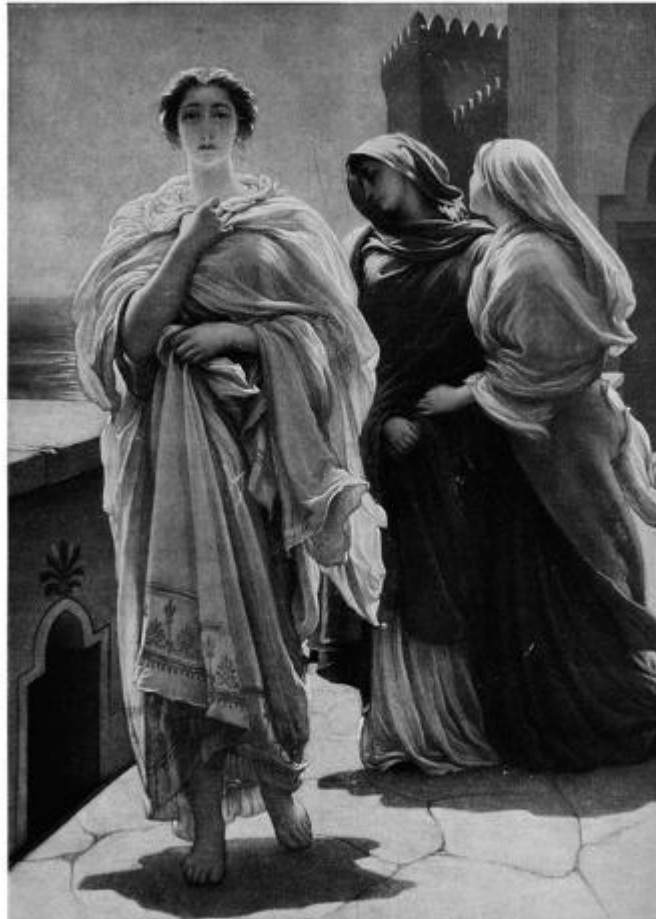


Figure 153 Frederic Leighton, *And the Sea Gave Up the Dead Which Were In It* (1892) 228.6 x 228.6 cm. Tate, London. Reference: N01511.



Figure 154 Frederic Leighton, *Electra at the Tomb of Agamemnon* (1869) Oil on canvas, 150 x 75.5 cm. Ferens Art Gallery, Hull. Accession number: KINCM:2005.5144.



Figure 155 Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Helen of Troy* (1863) Oil on panel, 31 x 71 cm.
Kunsthalle, Hamburg, Germany.



Figure 156 Frederick Sandys, *Helen of Troy* (1866) Oil on panel, 38.4 x 30.5 cm.
Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool. Accession number: WAG 2633.



Figure 157 Gerald Acland, *Burnabashi and the Source of the Scamander* (1839)
Wood engraving, dimensions unknown. The British Library.

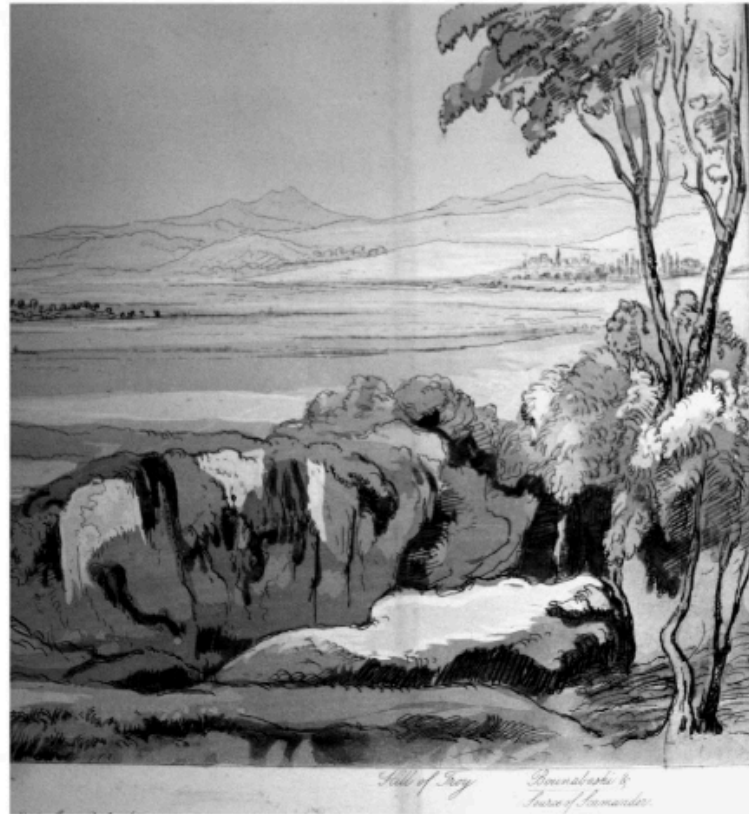


Figure 2.10 Bunarbashi and Source of the Scamander, detail from Acland's panoramic drawing (1839).

Figure 158 'Remains of a Palace, Alexandria Troas' in *Sketches in the Greek Archipelago and the Troad, The Graphic* (12 September 1874), 252.

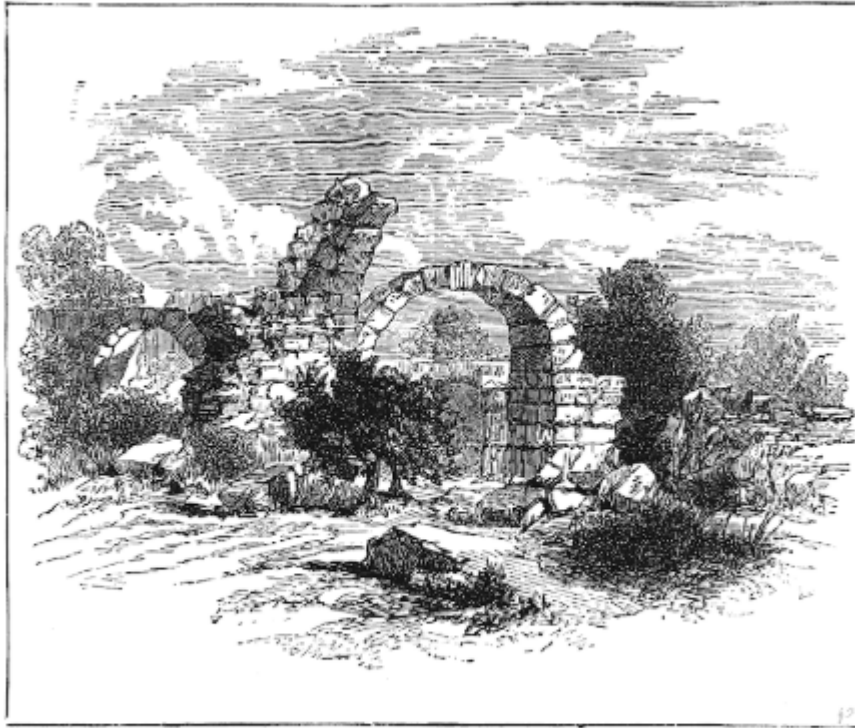


Figure 2.6 'Remains of a Palace, Alexandria Troas', in 'Sketches in the Greek Archipelago and the Troad', *The Graphic*, 12 September 1874, 252.

Figure 159 Frederic Leighton, *The Isle of Chios* (1867) Oil on canvas, 26.5 x 41.5 cm. Manchester Art Gallery. Accession number: 1932.32.



Figure 160 Eugene Delacroix, *The Massacre at Chios* (1824) Oil on canvas, 419 x 354 cm. The Louvre, Paris.



Figure 161 ‘Our Artist sketching the Entrance Gate of the Acropolis at Mycenae’
Illustrated London News, (3 February 1877).



Figure 162 Lawrence Alma Tadema, *Study of Columns at Philae* (1902) Oil on canvas, 22.2 x 35.6 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Museum number: P.41-1921.



Figure 163 David Roberts, *Grand Portico of the Temple of Philae* (1839). From *Egypt & Nubia* vol. 1, (London: FG Moon, 1846-49), pt. 40. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington D.C. Call number: Illus. in NE2454.B75.



Figure 164 Edward John Poynter, *Helen* (1881) Oil on canvas, 91.7 x 71.5 cm. Art Gallery of New South Wales, Australia. Accession number: OB2.1968.



Figure 165 Heinrich Schliemann, 'Sophia Schliemann wearing Priam's Treasure, excavated from Hisarlik by Heinrich Schliemann' (c. 1871). Wikimedia.



Figure 166 Frederic Leighton, *The Sibyl* (1889) Oil on canvas, 89 x 151 cm. Private collection.



Figure 167 Frederic Leighton, *Tracing for 'Captive Andromache'* (c. 1886-88)
Pencil on tracing paper, 14.1 x 39 cm. Royal Academy of Arts, London. Object
number: 04/1155.



Figure 168 Frederic Leighton, *Tracing for 'Captive Andromache'* (c. 1886-88)
Pencil on tracing paper, 19.8 x 39.1 cm. Royal Academy of Arts, London. Object
number: 04/1154.



Figure 169 Frederic Leighton, *Lieder Ohne Worte* (1861) Oil on canvas, 101.6 x 62.9 cm. Tate. Reference: T03053.

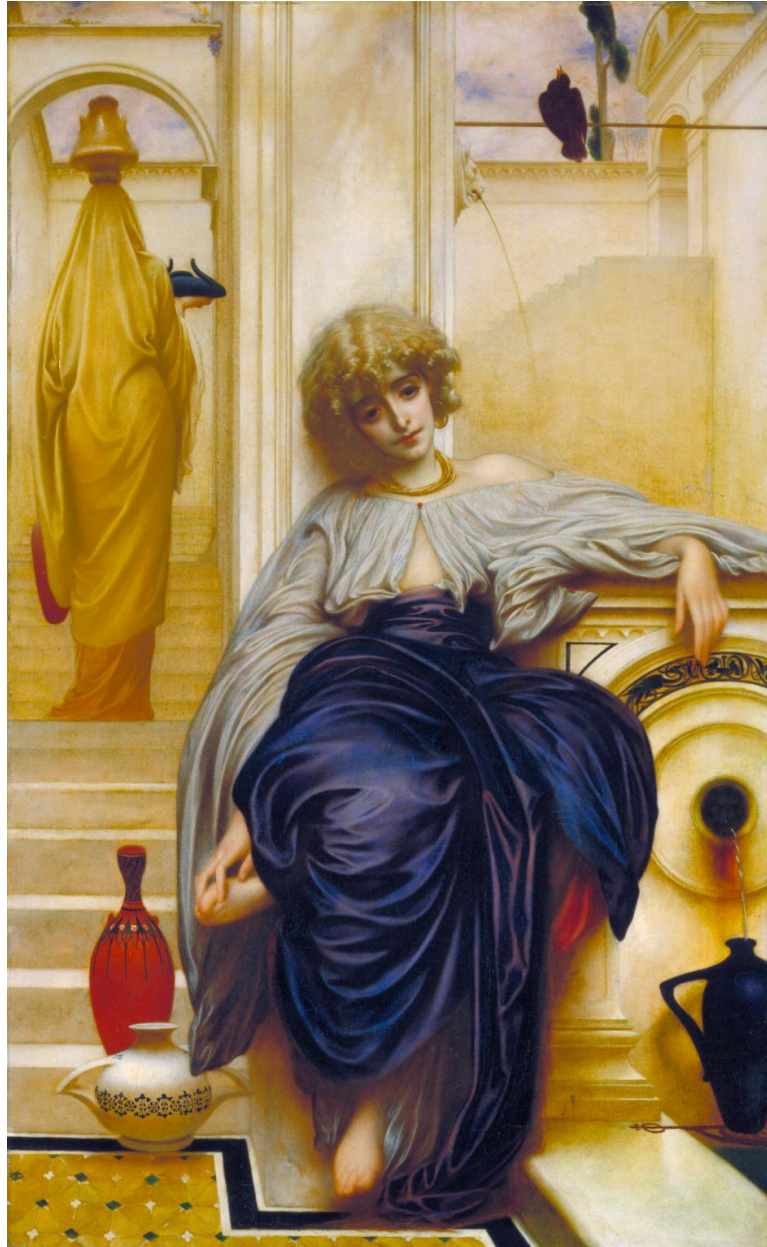


Figure 170 Rembrandt, *Aristotle Contemplating a Bust of Homer* (1653) Oil on canvas, 143.5 x 136.5 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Accession number: 437394.



Figure 171 Frederic Leighton, *Tracings for Figures in 'Captive Andromache'* (c. 1886-88) Black chalk on tracing paper, 23.8 x 17.2 cm. Royal Academy of Arts, London. Object number: 04/949.



Figure 172 Hamo Thornycroft, *Teucer* (1881) Bronze, 240.7 x 151.1 x 66 cm. Tate, London. Object number: N01751.



Figure 173 Frederic Leighton, *Thumbnail Sketches of Egyptian Figures* (1868)
Pencil on cream laid paper, dimensions not given. Royal Academy of Arts. Object
number: 06/1002.



Figure 174 Pris D'Avennes, 'Fellahin' in *The Oriental Album* (London: John Madden, 1848), pl. 4.

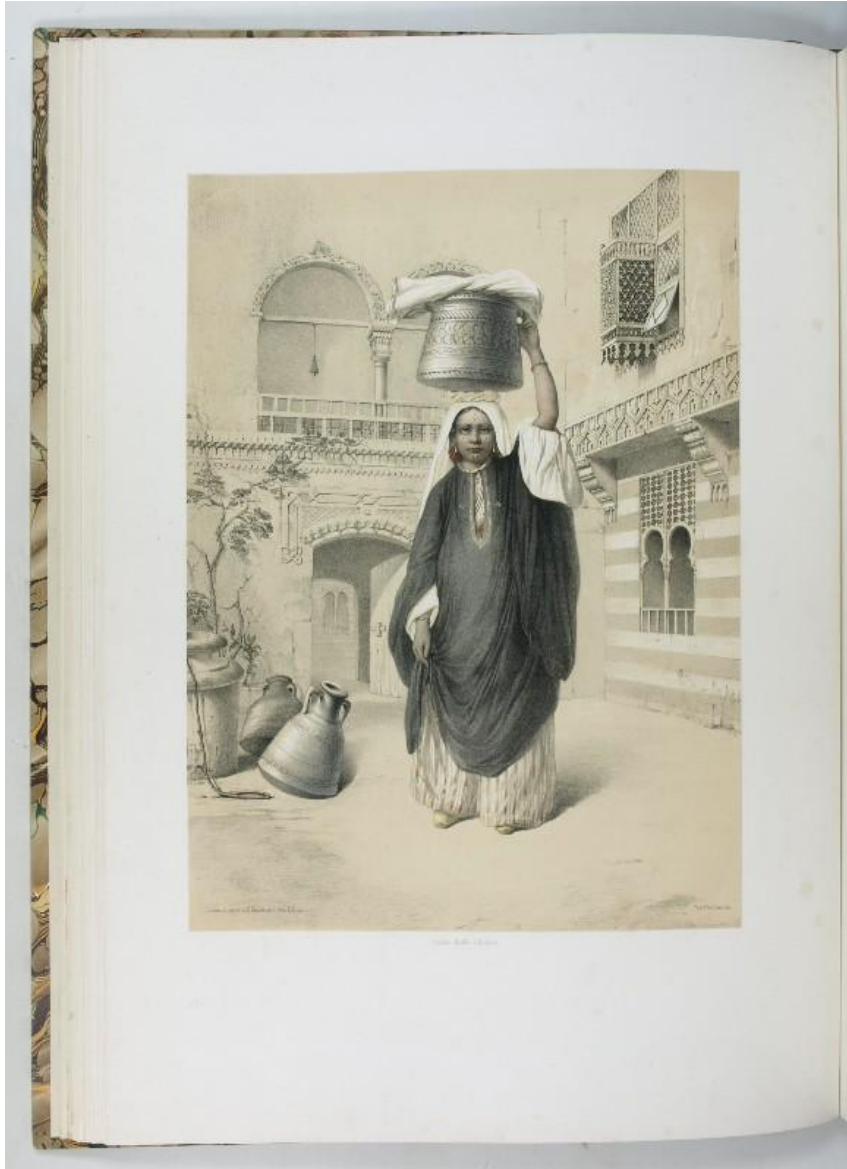


Figure 175 William Holman Hunt, *The Afterglow in Egypt* (1861) Oil on canvas, 82 x 37 cm. The Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology. Accession number: WA1894.3.



Figure 176 Elisabeth Jericahu-Bauman. *Water Gatherers* (1875) Wood engraving in Elisabeth Jericahu-Bauman, *Motley Images of Travel* (Kjobenhavn: Thieles, 1881), opposite 40.

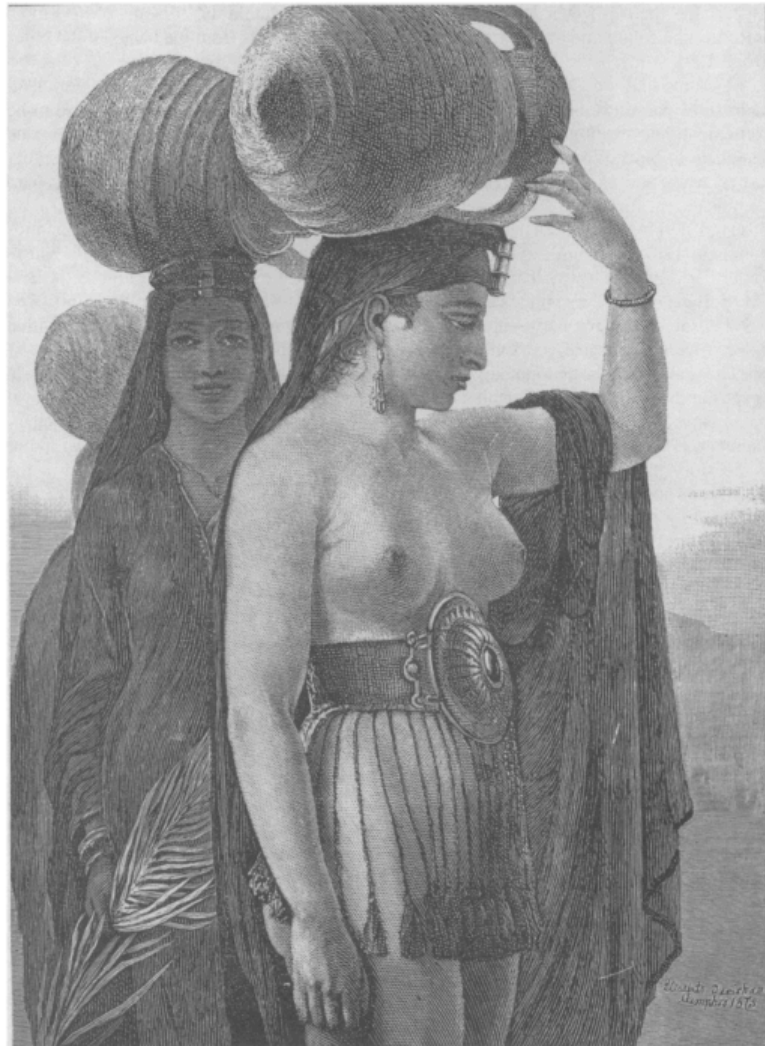


Figure 177 Hamo Thornycroft, *The Mower* (1888-90) Bronze, 58.5 x 33 x 18.5 cm.
Tate, London. Reference: T03963.



Figure 178 Frederic Leighton, *Thumbnail Sketches of Figures* (1868) Pencil on cream laid paper, dimensions not given. Royal Academy of Arts. Object number: 06/1001.



Figure 179 Frederic Leighton, *Study for Hercules Wrestling with Death for the Body of Alcestis and Captive Andromache: Compositions, Male and Female Figures.* (1870) Black and white chalk on blue paper, 32.4 x 24.5 cm. Leighton House Museum. Accession number: LHO/D/0516.



Figure 180 Frederic Leighton, *Hercules Wrestling with Death for the Body of Alcestis* (1871) Oil on canvas, 153 x 269 cm. Wadsworth Athenaeum Museum of Art, Hartford.



Figure 181 Fred Rose West, *The Serio-Comic War Map for the Year 1877* (London: George Washington Baker & Co, 1877), 44 x 62 cm. Cornell University Library Digital Collections.

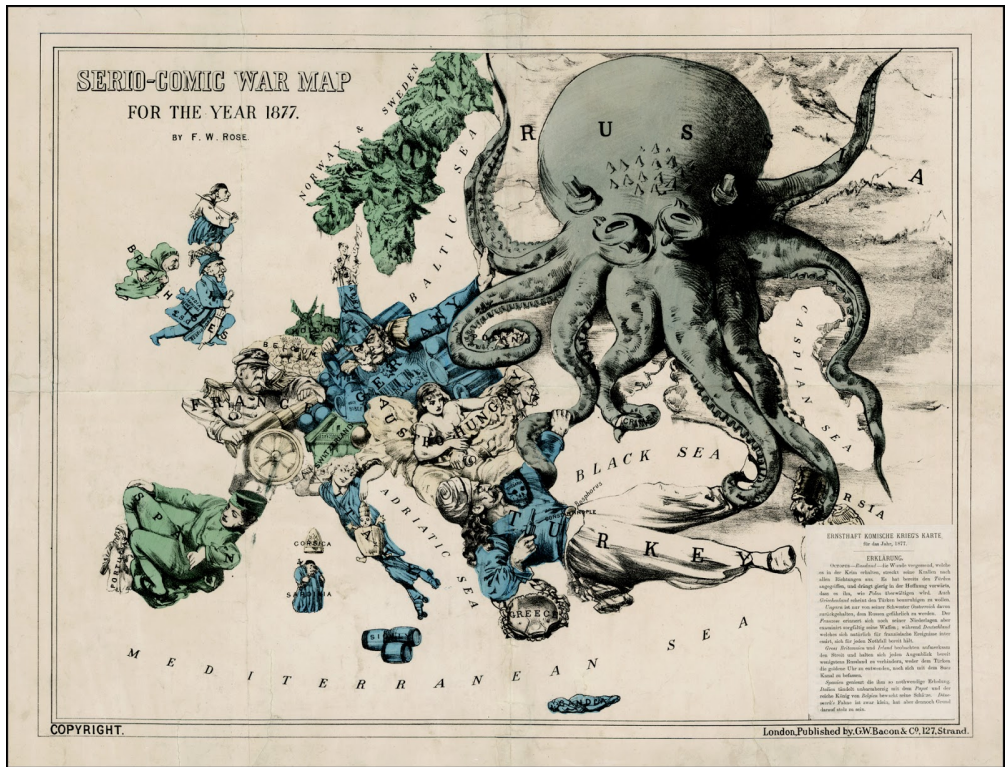


Figure 182 Frederic Leighton, *Captive Andromache* (detail of figure) (1888) Oil on canvas, 197 x 407 cm. Manchester Art Gallery. Accession number: 1889.2.



Figure 183 Frederic Leighton, *Clytie* (1895) Oil on canvas, 156 x 136 cm. Leighton House Museum. Accession number: LH3015.

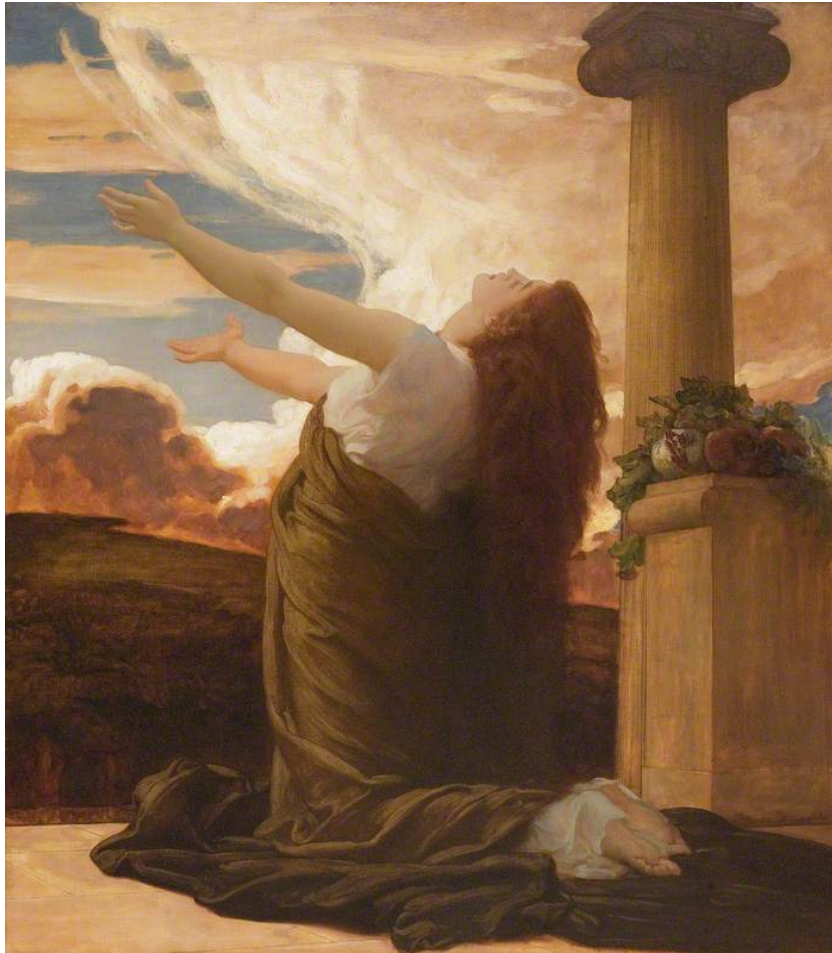


Figure 184 Frederic Leighton, *A Courtyard, Algiers* (1895) Oil on canvas, 20.5 x 111 cm. Leighton House Museum. Accession number: LH/P/LTS/0402

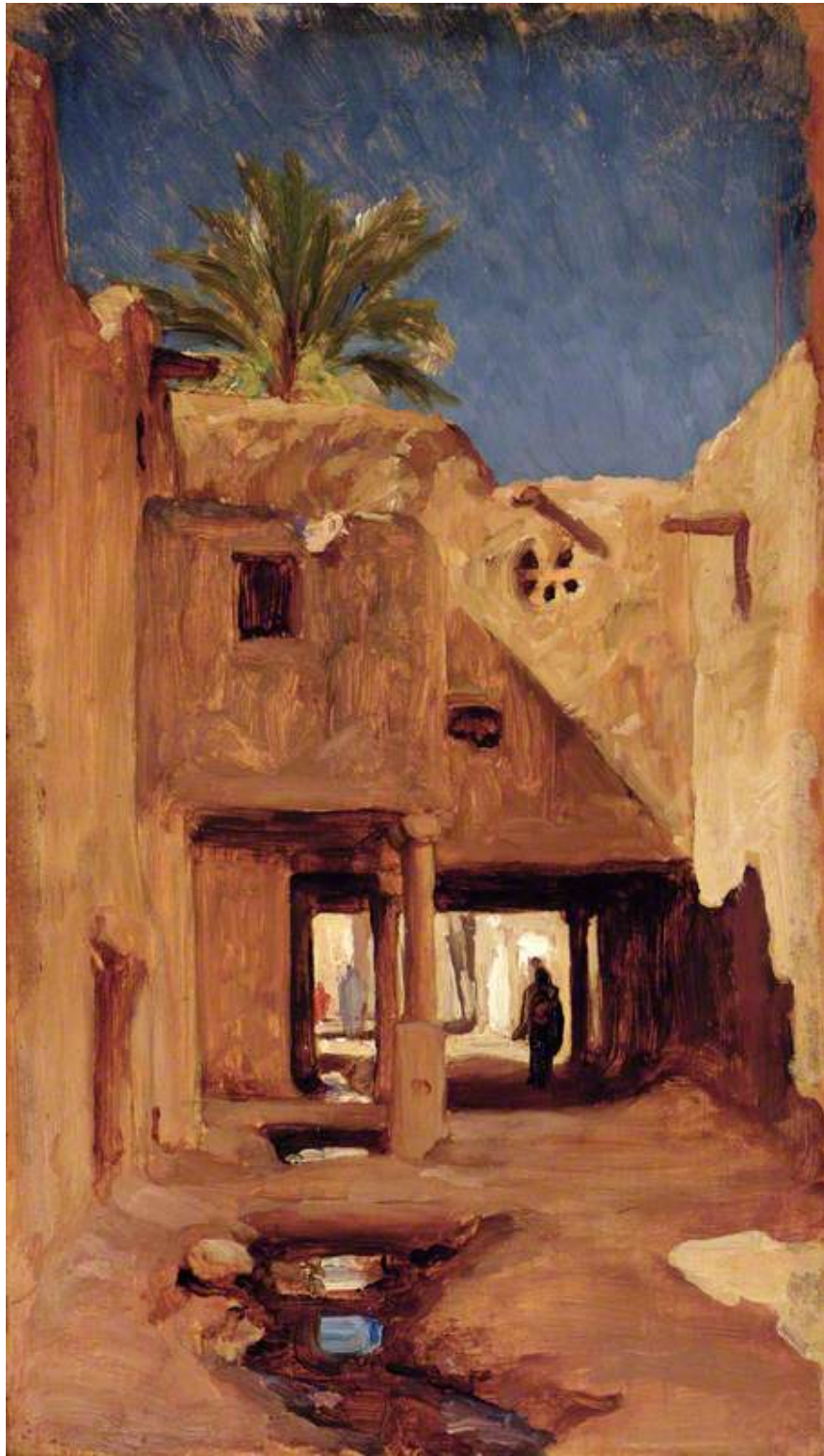


Figure 185 Frederic Leighton, *Gateway, Algiers* (1895) Oil on board, 12 x 22.2 cm.
Private collection.



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