The Making of Modern Fantasy in the Visual Arts of England, c. 1850-1920

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Abstract

There has been much investigation of fantasy as a literary genre, but little scrutiny of the subject as a visual art mode. The primary purpose of this thesis is to expose the significant and underreported effect of late Victorian visual art on the nascent mode of modern fantasy. This study begins by examining how the fantasy mode can be discerned through attention to configurations of space and time in artworks which attempt to create Secondary Worlds. It argues that the presence of the fantasy "chronotopes" of enclosure, density, distortion, and temporal dislocation in English art c. 1850-1920 constituted a novel art mode that developed in concurrence with fantasy literature. Thus, while past scholarship has located the genesis of fantasy in the novels of George MacDonald (1824-1905) and William Morris (1834-1896), an understanding of the prevalence of the fantasy mode in the Victorian visual arts helps to elevate the hitherto unrecognised significance of Dante Gabriel Rossetti's (1828-1882) work within the history of modern fantasy. Analysis of the compositional aspects of Rossetti's Secondary Worldbuilding reveals him as the progenitor of ideas that would significantly influence modern fantasy art and literature. The impact of this branch of Pre-Raphaelitism on fantasy art is then traced through the proliferation of the fantasy chronotopes in the work of Rossetti's peers William Burges (1827-1881), George Frederic Watts (1817-1904), Sir Edward Coley Burne-Jones (1833-1898), and Morris, whose series works serve as early examples of Secondary World Building in cultural artefacts. The study concludes with an examination of fantasy art made by a forgotten generation of artists who emerged after Rossetti's death in 1882. Case studies drawn from the work of Thomas Cooper Gotch (1854-1931), Thomas Sturge Moore (1870-1944), Gerald Moira (1867-1959), and Bernard Sleigh (1872-1954) highlight the prevalence of this mode within turn of the century English art in a way that unequivocally recognises the significance of the mode and these artists to the production of subsequent art and literature. In this manner, fantasy is established as a pervasive art mode that permeated English culture in a profound and lasting way.

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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.

Fantasy as 'creative mythology':[1] an introduction to fantasy as an art mode

I wish it were possible to explain the impression made upon me as a young girl whose experience so far had been quite remote from art, by sudden and close intercourse with those to whom it was the breath of life. The only approach I can make to describing it is by saying that I felt in the presence of a new religion. Their love of beauty did not seem to me unbalanced, but as if it included the whole world and raised the point from which they regarded everything. Human beauty especially was in a way sacred to them, I thought.

- Georgiana Burne-Jones, *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones*, 1906.[2]

Scholars of fantasy have long viewed a proximity between Pre-Raphaelitism and the mode of modern fantasy.[3] Yet, whilst there have been inferences about the relationship between the Pre-Raphaelites and writers of fantasy, there has hitherto been no significant attempt to understand the proximity of their art practices. In this study, I revisit the supposition of that relationship with renewed vigour and a strong focus on the visual construction of fantasy. My primary purpose is to highlight the significant effect of late Victorian visual art on the mode of modern fantasy and, in doing so, to elevate the significance of fantasy artists within the history of British culture.

But what is fantasy and what resonances lead to the speculation of a relationship between it and art making in the late Victorian era? Consensus understanding dictates that fantasy is a mode in which elements that we know to be impossible persist yet are rationalised within the context of an imaginary world. This world is bound to replicate real-

[1] Joseph Campbell, *Creative Mythology: The Masks of God Volume IV* (New York: Penguin Group, 1991), 3.
[2] Georgiana Burne-Jones, *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones: Volume 1* (New York: MacMillan Co., 1906), 169.
[3] Works that draw a parallel between the work of the Pre-Raphaelites and modern fantasy literature include: George P. Landow, "And the World Became Strange: Realms of Literary Fantasy," *The Georgia Review* 33, no. 1 (Spring 1979); John Weeks, *The Dream Weavers: Tales of Fantasy by the Pre-Raphaelites* (Santa Barbara, California: Woodbridge Press Publishing Company, 1980); and Genevieve S. Gessert, "The Mirror Crack'd: Fractured Classicisms in the Pre-Raphaelites and Victorian Illustration" in *Classical Traditions in Modern Fantasy*, ed. Brett M. Rogers and Benjamin Eldon Stevens (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017). In his undergraduate essay "How has classical mythology in Magic: The Gathering been adapted to engage the audience of the game?" (University of Roehampton, 2017), James Wear established a link between Pre-Raphaelitism and the artwork of popular fantasy card game series "Magic: The Gathering", citing an interview that he conducted as part of this research in which MTG artist Chris Rahn acknowledged the Pre-Raphaelites as a primary influence.

world motifs to be perceived as credible, an analysis that mirrors the definition of fantasy set out by J.R.R. Tolkien in his essay "On Fairy Stories":[4]

> But in such "fantasy," as it is called, new form is made; Faerie begins; Man becomes a sub-creator. An essential power of Faerie is thus the power of making immediately effective by the will the visions of "fantasy." […] Fantasy has also an essential drawback: it is difficult to achieve. Fantasy may be, as I think, not less but more sub-creative; but at any rate it is found in practice that "the inner consistency of reality" is more difficult to produce, the more unlike are the images and the rearrangements of primary material to the actual arrangements of the Primary World.[5]

Central to Tolkien's view of fantasy was the position that it was characterised by the 'Secondary World' in which 'Secondary Belief' functions and is typified by 'arresting strangeness.'[6] Although Tolkien's idea of the mode was novel within the microcosm of fantasy studies, there is a significant precedent in commentary on late Victorian artists. For example, in the aftermath of her husband's death, Georgiana Burne-Jones described the moment that she was received into the coterie of the second "Pre-Raphaelite" generation by writing that 'the only approach I can make to describing it is by saying that I felt in the presence of a new religion.'[7] In juxtaposition with Tolkien's view that 'Secondary Belief' is a guiding aspect of Secondary Worldbuilding, Georgiana Burne-Jones's observation of 'new religion' in the work of her husband and his friends can be interpreted as highlighting the mythologising drive of their own adventures in worldbuilding. The following chapters, therefore, seek to uncover further resonances between Tolkien's view of fantasy as a genre that reflects the 'inner consistency of reality' and Georgiana Burne-Jones's projection of late "Pre-Raphaelitism" as a novel art mode that was constituted of 'the whole world.'

Another definition of fantasy can be found in psychoanalytical studies. In their seminal work *The Language of Psychoanalysis* (1967), Jean Laplanche (1924-2012) and

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[4] First given as the Andrew Lang Lecture in 1939 and later published as the essay "On Fairy Stories" (1947).
[5] J.R.R. Tolkien, "On Fairy Stories," in *Tree and Leaf* (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 2001), 23.
[6] ibid., 37-38 and 48. Secondary World and Secondary World Building have been capitalised to reflect Tolkien's grammatical inflection.
[7] Burne-Jones, *Memorials Vol. 1*, 169.

Jean-Bertrand Pontalis (1924-2013) gave an overview of the term's history in psychoanalytic theory, defining fantasy as an 'imaginary scene in which the subject is a protagonist, representing the fulfilment of a wish.'[8] Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) used the term phantasy to describe what he believed to be the unconscious process that accompanied all mental activity. According to Freud, unconscious phantasy, or phantasising, was the human mind's reflexive expression of biological impulses as well as defence mechanisms against those impulses. Laplanche and Pontalis described this theory of phantasy as daydreaming.[9] Melanie Klein (1882-1960) developed Freud's theory further, evidencing how phantasies are the product of both intuition as well as experience, and form the intellectual and emotional characteristics of an individual.[10] These definitions, though discipline specific, echo theoretical approaches to literary fantasy that emphasise the role of the imagination in the construction of Secondary Worlds. Later, I consider how antiquarians relied upon invention to fill in the gaps from insufficient historical data and explore the idea of antiquarianism as a precursor to modern fantasy. This is one example of how the process of constructing a fantasy world is like Freud's process of 'phantasising' in which invention and imagination play a primary role in the construction of scenarios that have not, do not, and (likely) will not take place in reality. Psychoanalytical theory contains rich definitions from which to draw in the pursuit of a discipline-specific rhetoric for the investigation of fantasy as a visual phenomenon, particularly given that Freud's work was contemporary with many of the artworks here discussed. It also offers an existing body of scholarship on the intersection

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[8] Jean Laplanche and Jean-Bertrand Pontalis, *The Language of Psychoanalysis* (London: Karnac Books, 1988), 314.

[9] ibid., 316.

[10] Elizabeth Bott Spillius, Jane Milton, Penelope Garvey, Cyril Couve, and Deborah Steiner, *The New Dictionary of Kleinian Thought* (London: Routledge, 2011), 3.

between fantasy, psychoanalysis, and art, which provide examples of the treatment of non-realistic subjects in visual works of art.[11]

Unlike the proposition that fantasy is deliberately non-realistic, the claim that fantasy belongs to the modern age is more contentious. However, it is central to the argument that fantasy was "made" in the art coteries of late Victorian England and is thus reliant on and in support of the "short" history of fantasy.[12] Tolkien and Georgiana Burne-Jones's quotes attest to this phenomenon. In their attribution of the term "new" to both fantasy ('new form') and Pre-Raphaelitism ('new religion'), Tolkien and Georgiana Burne-Jones sought to illustrate the perceived novelty of the fantasy mode and the Pre-Raphaelite vision respectively, and it is significant that such "newness" has been recognised by scholars as a hallmark of fantasy art and literature more widely. As Rosemary Jackson described in *Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion* (1981), fantasy is achieved by 'inverting elements of this world, re-combining its constitutive features in new relations to produce something strange, unfamiliar and apparently 'new', absolutely 'other' and different.'[13]

Like Tolkien's definition of the genre, Jackson's attribution of newness to fantasy has significantly influenced the notion of fantasy set out in this study, specifically because this language also permeated late nineteenth-century cultural criticism. In his survey of the 1890s, the cultural commentator Holbrook Jackson acknowledged various and widespread

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[11] See Danielle Knafo, *Dancing with the Unconscious: the Art of Psychoanalysis and the Psychoanalysis of Art* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2012); Lois Oppenheim, *Imagination from Fantasy to Delusion* (London: Routledge, 2013); Laurie Schneider Adams, *Art and Psychoanalysis* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2018); Ethel S. Person, Peter Fonagy, Servulo Augusto Figuera, eds., *On Freud's Creative Writers and Day-dreaming* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2018); Ludovica Lumer and Lois Oppenheim, *For Want of Ambiguity: Order and Chaos in Art, Psychoanalysis, and Neuroscience* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019).

[12] Proponents of the short history include Ursula Le Guin (see *The Language of the Night: Essays on Fantasy and Science Fiction* (London: The Women's Press, 1989)); Charles William Sullivan, "High Fantasy (Part II: Forms and Genres)" in *International Companion Encyclopaedia of Children's Literature* (Abingdon: Routledge, Taylor & Francis, 2004); Stephen Prickett (see *Victorian Fantasy* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2005)); and Gary K. Wolfe (see "Fantasy from Dryden to Dunsany" in *The Cambridge Companion to Fantasy Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012)). For a comprehensive account of the debate see Dimitra Fimi, "Tolkien and the Fantasy Tradition" in *Critical Insights: The Fantastic*, ed. Claire Whitehead (Ipswich, Mass.: Salem Press, 2013), 50-51.

[13] Rosemary Jackson, *Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 8.

applications of the term 'new' as indicating 'extreme modernity.'[14] Moreover, from the 'new religion' described by Georgiana Burne-Jones to the 'new school' of Dante Gabriel Rossetti observed by contemporary critic Walter Pater, "newness" was a quality that the Victorians observed as belonging to the Pre-Raphaelite world in particular. Thus, the theme of newness unites late Victorian art cultures and mid-twentieth century fantasy literature. This study will evidence that, rather than being similar in this regard, the Pre-Raphaelites and mid-twentieth century fantasy authors were working in the same mode. The attribution of the term "new" by contemporary criticism and subsequent scholarship to their work was, therefore, not only a recognition of the relative novelty of their design within the context of art and literary history, but also a recognition of the way that the fantasy mode functions in its reconstitution of familiar forms in new and unfamiliar ways.

While the purpose of this thesis is certainly to affirm the relationship of modern fantasy to the Victorian age, its significant departure from past scholarship on fantasy can be recognised in the choice of cultural material selected for analysis. The research presented here is the first attempt to understand the relationship of Victorian and Edwardian visual art to the emergence of the modern fantasy genre in a sustained, as opposed to cursory, manner. By building upon the established position that the fantasy genre originated in the literary works of George MacDonald (1824-1905) and William Morris (1834-1898),[15] this work extends the history of fantasy to include the important role played by painters and designers

[14] Holbrook Jackson, *The Eighteen Nineties* (London: Grant Richards LTD., 1922), 21. See "English fantasy and the newness of the 1890s," 203-206 for further commentary.
[15] Scholarship that has positioned Morris and MacDonald as the forefathers of fantasy includes: Lin Carter, "The Fresh, Scrubbed, Morning World of William Morris," in William Morris, *The Wood Beyond the World* (London and New York: Ballantine Books Limited, 1971) and *Imaginary Worlds: the art of fantasy (*New York: Ballantine, 1973), and Fimi, "Tolkien and the Fantasy Tradition", 57. In a recent blog post, Fimi extended this position, writing that 'William Morris is often considered one the "grandfathers" of modern fantasy, in the sense that Tolkien is (nearly) universally recognised as the father,' Dimitra Fimi, "The Raw and the Cooked: William Morris' Dwarf in *The Wood Beyond the World*, and J.R.R. Tolkien's Gollum," Dr Dimitra Fimi: Academic and Writer (blog), 26 Oct, 2020, accessed 27 Oct, 2020, http://dimitrafimi.com/2020/10/26/the-raw-and-the-cooked-william-morriss-dwarf-in-the-wood-beyond-the-world-and-j-r-r-tolkiens-gollum/?fbclid=IwAR1d-KsB6qBeKQJvHt_iql5jM7NhXstGgh8MpygyjUzWx5ht8otykunPqWY.

in developing aesthetic devices for works of the imagination, evidencing how the fantasy mode affects visual works of art as much as literary ones.

This research represents a significant departure from established theories of fantasy as a cultural phenomenon, which have hitherto been confined almost exclusively to literary and film studies to the exclusion of other visual art forms like painting, the decorative arts, interior design, and architecture. Indeed, in his seminal work on the genre, *Introduction à la littérature fantastique* (1970), Tzvetan Todorov declared that 'the fantastic can subsist only within fiction'[16] and whilst revisionist scholarship has sought to redress many of the pitfalls in Todorov's definition of fantasy, the fact remains that hitherto little scholarly attention has been paid to fantasy as a visual mode.[17] Rejecting the position of past scholars such as Todorov, this study provides evidence that shows how the fantasy mode influenced Victorian visual artists as much as it did authors. That being said, analysis of fantasy literature has not been excluded from this study. Many of the artists here discussed were also fantasy authors and because the majority of theoretical work on fantasy has been done in literary studies, juxtaposition of the study of the fantasy mode in both visual and literary art helps to provide answers to the question of how and in what ways the fantasy mode affects visual works of art. However, this methodology is meant to supplement, rather than supersede, the position that visual works of fantasy allowed for the dissemination, influence, and growth of the fantasy mode in England between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

There are three critical approaches in this study. Firstly, the work is built on scholarship on late Victorian art and literature and more widely on general intellectual

[16] Tzvetan Todorov, *The Fantastic: A Structural Approach to a Literary Genre* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1975), 60.
[17] Key revisionist texts include: Jackson, *Fantasy*; Peter Cerowsky, "Allegory and the Fantastic in Literature. Poe's *The Masque of Red Death* and Alfred Kubin's *The Other Side*." *Sprachkunst* 13 (1982), Heft I, 141-150; Brian Attebery, *Strategies of Fantasy*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992; Lucie Armitt, *Theorising the Fantastic*. London: Arnold, 1996; and Farah Mendlesohn, *Rhetorics of Fantasy*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2008.

history. It is couched in relationship to the work of my supervisor Elizabeth Prettejohn and others, including John Christian, Tim Barringer, Jason Rosenfeld, Andrew Wilton, and Stephen Bann,[18] as well as the critical commentary of nineteenth-century scholars such as John Ruskin, Pater, and A.L. Baldry. Secondly, there is engagement with critical discourses on fantasy and the fantastic, prominently by Tzvetan Todorov, Rosemary Jackson, Farah Mendlesohn, Edward James, John Clute, John Grant, and Dimitra Fimi.[19] Thirdly, attention is paid to the non-fiction writing of nineteenth- and twentieth-century fantasy authors as a means of establishing central tenets of the emergent genre. The work of Tolkien is of particular importance, echoes of which are felt in the works of other writers such as MacDonald, C.S. Lewis, and Ursula Le Guin.[20] Through the synthesis of disparate disciplinary processes and methodologies, this study will observe the emergence of modern fantasy as a cultural phenomenon. "Chapter One: Chronotopic Sub-creation," does, however, consider the limitations of a wholly interdisciplinary methodology.[21]

In sum, the following work considers the relationship of mid-Victorian visual art cultures to the history of fantasy literature, arguing that the characteristics of modern fantasy which Tolkien discerned in the mid-twentieth century were the product of transformation and

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[18] See Elizabeth Prettejohn, *Beauty and Art 1750-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) and *Modern Painters, Old Masters* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017); John Christian, *The Last Romantics: the Romantic Tradition in British Art, Burne-Jones to Stanley Spencer* (London: Lund Humphries, 1989); Tim Barringer, *Reading the Pre-Raphaelites* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Tim Barringer and Joseph Rosenfeld, eds., *Pre-Raphaelites: Victorian Avant-Garde* (Tate: London, 2012); Tim Barringer, Victoria Osbourne, and Martin Ellis, *Victorian Radicals: From the Pre-Raphaelites to the Arts & Crafts Movement* (London: Prestel Publishing, 2018); Andrew Wilton and Robert Upstone, *The Age of Rossetti, Burne-Jones and Watts: Symbolism in Britain, 1860-1910* (London: Tate Gallery, 1997); and Stephen Bann, *Romanticism and the Rise of History* (New York: Twayne Publishers Inc., 1995).

[19] See Todorov, *The Fantastic*; Jackson, *Fantasy;* Mendlesohn, *Rhetorics*; Farah Mendlesohn and Edward James, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Fantasy Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); John Clute and John Grant, *The Encyclopaedia of Fantasy* (London: Orbit, 1999); and Fimi, "Tolkien and the Fantasy Tradition", 40-60.

[20] See Tolkien, "On Fairy Stories", 1-83; George MacDonald, *A Dish of Orts: Chiefly Papers on the Imagination and on Shakespeare* (Marston: S.Low, 1895); C.S. Lewis, *Of Other Worlds: Essays and Stories* (London: Bles, 1966); Le Guin, *From Elfland to Poughkeepsie* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1975), *A Multitude of Visions*, C. Chauvin ed. (Baltimore: T.K. Graphics, 1975), *The Language of the Night*, "The Critics, the Monsters, and the Fantasists," *Wordsworth Circle* 38, no. 1/2 (2007), 83-87 and *No Time to Spare: thinking about what matters* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2017).

[21] See "The limitations of applying literary theories of spacetime to visual works of art, specifically with regard to fantasy," 64-68.

exchange in the visual art world of late Victorian and Edwardian England. Yet while there have been countless attempts to delineate modern fantasy according to a set of principles, including the "fuzzy sets" proposed by Brian Attebery and Farah Mendlesohn, there is still no agreement on an overriding principle of design.[22] Perhaps, therefore, a better definition for the fantasy mode can be found outside of the insular scholarship of fantasy studies. With this task in mind, this project has drawn upon Victorian and Edwardian visual, critical, and biographical material to formulate a suitable definition for fantasy, both as a visual phenomenon and as an aesthetic mode more widely. Through engaging in such an interdisciplinary study, the profound role that visual artists played in the formation of modern fantasy will become evident and, by contending with the problems that surround a definition of fantasy via the art-historical material of the past, it will become clear that there are certain qualities inherent in modern fantasy that can be isolated and explained by an understanding of its development in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century.

Given the breadth of artworks that this topic and time period cover, I made the decision to limit this study to English art. However, I wish to acknowledge that there was cultural production going on in the wider British Isles that is of relevance to this narrative. The Celtic Revival, which was a movement, or set of movements, that took place across Britain and Ireland during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, is of particular significance to the study of non-realistic art during that period. The Irish Literary Revival, or which W.B. Yeats was an integral part, was also important, and allied with Celticity in the nineteenth century. Yeats appears in Chapter Four of this thesis, in relation to artist friends based in England. Another event of interest to the short history of fantasy's development in Britain is Lady Charlotte Guest's (1812-1895) publication of the first full collection of *The Mabinogion* (originally compiled in Middle Welsh c. 1350-1410) between 1838 and 1845,

[22] See Attebery, *Strategies of Fantasy* and Mendlesohn, *Rhetorics*.

which is emblematic of a wider revival of interest in folklore in Britain at this time. The decision to focus this study on England was, therefore, principally a practical one. It also recognises the importance of Colin Manlove's book *The Fantasy Literature of England* (1999) to the formation of the research project in its estimation of the fantasy of England as having 'first claim to our attention.'[23]

> England has been uniquely, while often contemptuously, hospitable to fantasy – has indeed been the home and origin of much of it. It is the English who gave us the Gothic novel in the eighteenth century, who developed the tradition of the ghost story in the nineteenth and who created much of the secondary world fantasy in the twentieth. It is the English who, from Beckford's *Vathek* to Carroll's *Alice*, and from Anstey to Milne and Pratchett, have transformed the sub-genre of comic fantasy; England too which originated and developed children's fantasy and produced most of its major figures.[24]

Though Manlove's study had yet to consider the roles that empire, patriarchy, and access to education (among other disabling forces) played in the formation of this canon, it does highlight some of the cultural contexts that were foundational to the formation of modern fantasy. Here, he alludes to the Gothic novel. An extension of this phenomenon was the wider Gothic Revival of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries which, like the medieval fantasy itself, drew heavily from the signification of the past to create something new. So, whilst there are larger stories to tell about British fantasy, and fantasy beyond the British Isles, this study aims to provide a concentrated look at the visual contexts that accompanied the dramatic rise of modern fantasy out of the art cultures of Victorian England into the work of authors like Tolkien and Lewis.

Led by an ambition to review the relevance of late-Victorian visual art to the history of fantasy, the following study also has ramifications for the wider influence and trajectory of English art created between the years 1850 and 1920. Examination of the work of subsequent fantasy makers such as Tolkien, Lewis, and Le Guin in terms of both their fictional output

[23] Colin Manlove, *The Fantasy Literature of England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), 1.
[24] ibid.

and their theoretical work, shows that a significant precedent for many of the forms, themes, and motifs of such literature can be found in the visual art of late Victorian and Edwardian England. By this means, it becomes clear that Secondary Worlds of the imagination, in which enchantment is elevated, were systematically constructed in the visual arts of England at this time and provided a blueprint for future generations of fantasy creators. So much so that the lasting significance of the work of the artists here discussed is unequivocally recognised.

The problem of fantasy: a summary of key areas for further research on fantasy

In 1979 the American literary scholar George P. Landow published "And the World Became Strange: Realms of Literary Fantasy," which was afterwards included in the 1982 collection *The Aesthetics of Fantasy Literature and Art*. This essay outlined some of the hurdles that art historians must overcome in their pursuit of an understanding of fantasy art:

> Something, whether the reactions of a character within a literary work or some other device, must signal us that we are to take certain elements as fantastic. Whereas literature possesses several such devices, they are far harder to employ in painting and book illustration – a fact which creates problems and fascinations for the student of fantasy in the visual arts.[25]

The particular problem that scholars of fantasy art have encountered is the absence of a language for distinguishing fantasy and its operations in visual works of art. On the one hand, it is difficult to talk about something that is inherently to do with the hidden, the imaginary, and the make-believe. On the other hand, the profusion of supernatural and non-real subject matter in the arts is so vast that it is often challenging to discern what is meant to be taken as fantasy and what is not. For example, Landow drew special attention to the resonances between fantasy art and religious art, yet 'one does not perceive as fantasy a *sacra conversazione* because it contains saints who lived in different ages.'[26] The pursuit of a

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[25] Landow, "And the World Became Strange", 9.
[26] ibid.

lexicon of the fantastic, to service a study of both the visual and the literary arts, must, therefore, take contemporary belief systems into account. To understand the fantasy of a given age, we must understand what is meant to be taken as fantastic.

Other scholars of fantasy have, however, identified the emphasis on contextualising information as a further hurdle to identifying a work as fantasy. In Witold Ostrowski's 1966 essay "The Fantastic and the Realistic in Literature," he lamented:

> So far, attempts to define the fantastic in literature have not been satisfactory. One of the main difficulties springs from differing conceptions of reality. Differing outlooks, philosophies, and religions shape differing ideas of what is and what is not objectively, ontologically real. For an occultist like W.B. Yeats the existence of bodiless spirits with whom he can make contact by means of some psychophysical practices (like ritual magic) is a fact; for a materialist – it is a delusion.[27]

The challenges that Ostrowski discerned in 1966 have not yet been overcome. Moreover, as Landow described, many of the problems facing literary scholars of fantasy are amplified when considering fantasy as a visual phenomenon. How, and in what ways, does a visual artist establish that a work is meant to be interpreted as fantasy? As in the case of Yeats, if an artist has a differing conception of reality to a viewer, can their work be categorised as fantasy?

The problem of fantasy is bound with its inherent inexpressibility. What is it? How do we speak about it? Since scholarship on fantasy began in the late 1960s, these have been the leading questions. Yet the lack of a rhetorical framework for discussing the fantastic has always been an aspect of imaginative art. 'I wish it were possible to explain the impression,' Georgiana wrote of the work of her husband and his friends. Elsewhere in his essay, Tolkien explained that:

> The definition of a fairy-story—what it is, or what it should be—does not, then, depend on any definition or historical account of elf or fairy, but upon the nature of Faërie: the Perilous Realm itself, and the air that blows in that country. I will not attempt to define that, nor to describe it directly. It cannot be done. Faërie cannot be

[27] Witold Ostrowski, "The Fantastic and the Realistic in Literature," *Zagadnieniach Rodzajów Literackich* IX, no. 1 (16) (1966), 54.

> caught in a net of words; for it is one of its qualities to be indescribable, though not imperceptible. It has many ingredients, but analysis will not necessarily discover the secret of the whole.'[28]

Indeed, those synonyms that have been used to imply fantasy, such as supernatural, speculative, surreal, otherworldly, and imaginary or imaginative, point towards the phantasmatic, incorporeal, illusory space that fantasy occupies. How then, do we discern something that is so ostensibly indiscernible? This study is the first attempt to provide the study of fantasy as a visual phenomenon with a discourse-specific rhetoric.

The history of scholarship on fantasy

Prior to the development of a way of talking about this kind of literature in academic writing, many of the most prolific fantasy authors made attempts to define the genre. Such efforts include George MacDonald's "The Fantastic Imagination" (1893), later published in *A Dish of Orts*, Tolkien's "On Fairy-Stories" (written 1939, first published 1947), and C.S. Lewis's *Of Other Worlds* (1966).[29] These essays exhibit the clear self-consciousness of these authors, who acknowledged, through their theoretical reflections, that their literature was distinctive.

In the 1960s fantasy was granted the "seriousness" of academic attention and scholars began treating it as a discrete art category. The first full-length academic work in English concerned with defining fantasy was Robert Scholes's *The Fabulators*.[30] Published in 1967, this is an early example of the kind of writing that would make up the new field of study into the fantastic in literature.[31] Simultaneously, Ballantine Books helped to establish the idea of

[28] Tolkien, "On Fairy Stories", 10.
[29] Lewis's collection was published by the executors of his estate as a posthumous celebration of the author's essays on the marvellous.
[30] References to 'the fantastic', 'fantasy', and other variants occur in earlier critical texts. For an overview of their occurrence in Western critical literature see Gary K. Wolfe, "Fantasy from Dryden to Dunsany" in Mendlesohn, *The Cambridge Companion to Fantasy Literature*.
[31] Other scholars working on the fantasy art prior to 1970 include: Pierre-Georges Castex, *Anthologie Du Conte Fantastique Francais* (Paris: Librairie José Corti, 1947), and *Le Conte Fantastique en France de Nodier à Maupassant* (Paris: Librarie José Corti, 1951), Louis Vax, *L'art et la Littérature Fantastiques* (Paris: Universitaires de France, 1960); Roger Callois (*Au Couer du Fantastique*. Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1965), and Ostrowski. "The Fantastic and the Realistic", 54-72.

fantasy literature as a distinctive genre with identifiable qualities through the publication of a series of now-canonical fantasy texts.[32] As acknowledged by Jamie Williamson, amongst others, fantasy as a 'differentiated genre' had 'its form and contours most strongly shaped by Ballantine Books and its crucially influential "Adult Fantasy Series" (1969-74).'[33] Under the direction of editor Lin Carter, the Ballantine Adult Fantasy Series published a selection of sixty-five demonstrably non-realistic works of literature penned almost exclusively by British and North American authors,[34] which included (as number fifty-eight) Carter's own *Imaginary Worlds*, a reflection on the genre that explained:

> Oddly enough, no one has ever written a book on fantasy before. The neighbouring provinces of imaginative literature have not suffered the same neglect, for excellent surveys of science fiction and supernatural literature continue to appear. It is fantasy alone – the source from which both sister genres sprang – which has so curiously and so persistently been ignored by the historians of literature.[35]

The same lack of scholarship on fantasy in literary studies observed by Carter in 1973 plagues the study of fantasy in the visual arts today. Despite surveys of fantasy art similar to Ballantine's curated offering of Anglo-American fantasy literature having been compiled by art historians and enthusiasts,[36] it remains the case that art history lacks a rhetorical and methodological framework for identifying and exploring visual works of fantasy.

In 1970, Todorov published *Introduction à la Littérature Fantastique*, a monograph that was developed during his postdoctoral years following completion of a thesis under the

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[32] The publication of the Ballantine Adult Fantasy Series (1969-74) marked a period of intense fascination with fantasy literature and, specifically, Tolkien's Middle Earth. Other significant contributions to the Tolkien-mania of the late 60s and 70s include Henry Beard and Douglas Kenney's novella *Bored of the Rings* (1969) and Gary Gygax and Dave Arneson's tabletop role-playing game *Dungeons & Dragons* (1974), the core "races" of which were derived from Tolkien's work and included orcs and halflings.

[33] Jamie Williamson, *The Evolution of Modern Fantasy: from antiquarianism to the Ballantyne adult fantasy series* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 1-2: 'By the early 1980s, fantasy had grown to a full-fledged sibling, rather than an offshoot, of science fiction and horror … in 1960, there was no commercial fantasy genre, and when the term was used to designate a literary type, it did not usually connote the kind of material that came to typify the genre when it coalesced, particularly in the Ballantine Adult Fantasy Series.'

[34] The exception being Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1516-1532).

[35] Carter, *Imaginary Worlds*, 3.

[36] Such as Alfred H. Barr Jr. and Georges Hugnet, eds., *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1936); David Larkin, *Fantastic Art* (New York: Ballantine, 1973); Simon Watney, *Fantastic Painters* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1977); Walter Schurian, *Fantastic Art* (London: Taschen, 2005). See "Fantasy as an art-historical term in Western art," 32-43.

supervision of Roland Barthes. This text was subsequently translated into English as *The Fantastic: A Structural Approach to a Literary Genre* (1973) and remains one of the most elevated and contested scholarly theories of fantasy.[37] In this text, Todorov put forward the idea that the fantastic could be broken down into perceivable structural elements:

1. The created 'world' must be convincing and have qualities which prompt the reader to hesitate between a natural and supernatural explanation of events.
2. This hesitation must be mirrored by a character.
3. The reader must reject allegorical or poetic interpretations. The fantasy way of reading is unique.[38]

According to this theory, the central function of a work of fantasy is the moment of hesitation during which the reader hovers between believing that the supernatural occurrences is the product of real-world (the uncanny) or otherworldly (the marvellous) forces.[39] Many scholars now view Todorov's conception of the "marvellous" to be closer to our communal understanding of fantasy than his fantastic.[40] However, though this work has been critiqued by subsequent scholarship, it remains an important marker in the conceptualisation of modern fantasy. For if, as Tolkien wrote, 'arresting strangeness' is the abundant signifier of the fantastic, Todorov's 'moment of hesitation' in the reader is an apt tool for distinguishing how a work has been received by a given age.

Beginning in 1975 with a study entitled *Modern Fantasy: Five Studies*, Manlove began to develop a theory of fantasy that placed it firmly within the English literary tradition. Manlove's work emphasized the pivotal role played by fantasy figureheads such as Tolkien, Lewis, MacDonald, Mervyn Peake, and Charles Kingsley in the development of the genre. Manlove's nascent interest in fantasy studies marked a wider explosion of academic publications dedicated to the subject of fantasy, amongst which were Bruno Bettelheim's *The*

[37] Translation completed by Richard Howard.
[38] Todorov, *The Fantastic*, 33.
[39] ibid., 25.
[40] 'the class of narratives that are presented as fantastic and that end with an acceptance of the supernatural. These are the narratives closest to the pure fantastic, for the latter, by the very fact that it remains unexplained, unrationalised, suggests the existence of the supernatural.' ibid., 52.

Uses of Enchantment (1976) and Rosemary Jackson's *Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion* (1982).[41] In 1999, Manlove revisited themes of the fantastic in *The Fantasy Literature of England*, a book to which this thesis owes a great deal. This study posited that analysis of English fantasy reveals a particular 'hospitality' to the fantastic and, for this reason, Manlove argued that England occupied a central role in the development of the genre at the end of the nineteenth century.[42]

Recent attempts to write about fantasy tend to emphasise particular characteristics that appear in sub-genres, sub-sets, and tangent genres. Published in 2012, *The Cambridge Companion to Fantasy Literature* began with the assertion that 'the study of fantasy [...] has only just moved on from attempting to define the form.'[43] Such works include John Clute and John Grant's titanic *Encyclopaedia of Fantasy* (originally published 1997), which focused on the semantic qualities of fantasy (symbols, themes and motifs), rather than seeking to define the genre as a whole.[44] The MLitt in Fantasy at Glasgow University, established in 2015, takes a similarly inclusive approach to defining the genre. As their website advises, a work of fantasy might be defined according to the following criteria: 'that you know what you're

[41] Also: Eric Rabkin's *The Fantastic in Literature* (1976) and *Fantastic Worlds: Myths, Tales and Stories* (1979); L. Sprague de Campe's *Literary Swordsmen and Sorcerers: The Makers of Heroic Fantasy* (1976); Michael Moorcock's essay "Epic Pooh" (1978) in *Wizardry and Wild Romance* (1987); Manlove's *Literature and Reality 1600-1800* (1978), *The Impulse of Fantasy Literature* (1982) and *Christian Fantasy: From 1200 to the Present* (1992); Scholes's *Fabulation and Metafiction* (1979); Christine Brooke-Rose's *A Rhetoric of the Unreal* (1981); T.E. Apter's *Fantasy Literature: An Approach to Reality* (1982); Tobin Siebers' *The Mirror of Medusa* (1983) and *The Romantic Fantastic* (1984); Kathryn Hume's *Fantasy and Mimesis* (1984); Derek Jarret's *The Sleep of Reason* (1988); Neil Cornwell's *The Literary Fantastic* (1990); Olena H. Saciuk's edited collection *The Shape of Fantastic* (1990); Nancy Traill's essay "Fictional Worlds of the Fantastic" (1991) and *Possible Worlds of the Fantastic* (1996); Neil Cornwell's *The Literary Fantastic* (1991); Attebery's *Strategies of Fantasy* (1992); Armitt's *Theorising the Fantastic* (1996); and Richard Mathew's *Fantasy: The Liberation of the Imagination* (1997).
[42] Manlove, *The Fantasy Literature of England*, 1.
[43] Mendlesohn, *The Cambridge Companion to Fantasy Literature*, 2.
[44] Other works which mark a shift away from an umbrella definition towards typologies of fantasy include Marina Warner's *From the Beast to the Blonde: on fairytales and their tellers* (1994) and *Fantastic Metamorphoses, Other Worlds: ways of telling the self* (2002); Armitt's *Theorising the Fantastic* (1996) and *Fantasy Fiction: an introduction* (2005); and Iain Zaczek's *Fairy Art: artists & inspirations* (2005), *Angels & Fairies* (2005), and *Angels: artists & inspirations* (2005). A notable exception to the general shift away from structuralist scholarship on fantasy is the work of Denis Mellier and Uwe Durst, whose structuralist-bent has heavily influenced the contemporary research group Gesellschaft für Fantastikforschung (Association for Research in the Fantastic) at the University of Hamburg.

reading doesn't happen now, could never happen now and could never really happen in the future.'[45]

But whilst recent scholarship on fantasy tends to emphasise variations as opposed to unities within the fantasy genre, there is still an overarching sense of the mode's distinctive qualities that are present in all of its manifestations. Dimitra Fimi's 2013 article "Tolkien and the Fantasy Tradition" provides the most comprehensive and up-to-date analysis of the present state of fantasy scholarship. In it Fimi navigated key distinctions between the terms "fantasy" and "the fantastic", "high" and "low" fantasy, and the "long" and "short" history of fantasy, which remain some of the most controversial areas within the field.[46] At the centre of her argument, Fimi emphasised the importance of worldbuilding to our collective understanding of fantasy, citing Clute and Grant's definition of fantasy as a self-coherent narrative which 'when set in this world, it tells a story which is impossible in the world as we perceive it; when set in an otherworld, that otherworld will be impossible, though stories set there may be possible in its terms.'[47] The evocation of a consistent Secondary World setting continues to be expressed by fantasy scholars to be one of the defining features of the genre, which Fimi viewed as a direct derivation from Tolkien's essay "On Fairy Stories":

> Tolkien's terms "Primary" and "Secondary World" underpin Clute and Grant's definition […]. Clute and Grant prefer the more general "this world" and "otherworld," but Tolkien's terminology is often reproduced by critics and is clearly related to the religious overtones of the term "sub-creator," which Tolkien uses to refer to the figure of the fantasy writer.[48]

This thesis therefore takes "Secondary World" as a key critical term. As Ostrowski wrote, 'the key word in determining whether a work belongs or does not belong to fantastic fiction is "the world". A story is fantastic when the fantastic elements in it constitute or condition the

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[45] Teddy Jamieson, "Glasgow embarks on the world's first fantasy literature degree," *The Scottish Herald*, Jun 27, 2015, accessed Sep 18, 2020, https://www.heraldscotland.com/arts_ents/13414603.glasgow-embarks-on-the-worlds-first-fantasy-literature-degree/.
[46] Fimi, "Tolkien and the Fantasy Tradition", 40-41, 42, and 50-51.
[47] John Clute and John Grant quoted in Fimi, "Tolkien and the Fantasy Tradition", 41.
[48] Fimi, "Tolkien and the Fantasy Tradition", 45.

imaginary world as a whole.'[49] Building on the idea established by Tolkien, Ostrowski, Clute and Grant, and Fimi, this study establishes how and in what ways visual works of fantasy have attempted to create impossible otherworlds.

Fantasy as an art-historical term in Western art

Despite the fact that there has been no study dedicated to fantasy as a visual mode, the term "fantasy" has been used as an art critical term since the Victoria era. However, it has undeniably been used without proclivity. "Fantasy" is not a term that is widely used to describe visual artworks; it is unlikely to appear on an undergraduate syllabus or in popular literature on the history of art.[50] Instead, works of fantasy have often been coupled with the language of art movements that commonly use non-realistic forms by art historians attempting to rationalise or categorise the production of strange art in the wider narratives of art history.[51] This section provides an overview of how the term "fantasy" has been used to describe visual works of art as a starting point for understanding the wealth of applications that the term has to visual material.

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[49] Ostrowski, "The Fantastic and the Realistic", 64.

[50] This mirrors Kathryn Hume's observations about the role of fantasy in the canon of English literature c. 1984: 'to many academics … "fantasy" is a subliterature in lurid covers sold in drugstores; or it is a morbid manifestation of the romantic spirit found in the works of Hoffmann, Poe, and less reputable gothic writers. Or, fantasy means Tolkien and his ilk – nineteenth- and twentieth-century authors whose *oeuvre* are not part of traditional literature courses.' See Kathryn Hume, *Fantasy and Mimesis: responses to reality in western literature* (London: Methuen, 1984), 3.

[51] Modern art movements that have used non-realistic forms of expression include Surrealism, Dada, Futurism, Symbolism, Decadence, Primitivism, and Modernism. This thesis builds on many of the observations made about late nineteenth-century British art by Andrew Wilton and Robert Upstone in their 1997 Tate exhibition *The Age of Rossetti, Burne-Jones and Watts: Symbolism in Britain 1860-1910*, which viewed this period as particularly important to the generation of new modes of painting non-real subject matter. Their mission was 'to identify significant aspects of the Symbolist movement as originating specifically in Britain [, allotting] certain British artists and writers leading roles in the movement, while trying to demonstrate that, in Britain at least, Symbolism evolved a distinct tone and technical style which give it a unity more difficult to discern in the European scene as a whole.' Wilton, *The Age of Rossetti, Burne-Jones & Watts*, 13. Whereas Wilton and Upstone's exhibition sought to enrich our understanding of art of late nineteenth-century British art by couching it in the critical language of contemporary continental Europe, this thesis uses the methodologies and disciplinary rhetoric associated with fantasy literature to provide English art with an alternative narrative.

One of the most noteworthy Victorian usages of the term 'fantastic' in the context of visual art cultures can be found in Volume III of John Ruskin's (1819-1900) *The Stones of Venice* (published in 1853). In this text, Ruskin provided a series of reflections on the "Grotesque Renaissance", which he foregrounded by asserting his primary task to be 'to distinguish between this base grotesqueness, and that magnificent condition of fantastic imagination, […] one of the chief elements of the Northern Gothic mind.'[52] The link between the grotesque and fantasy has continued to grow within scholarship on the fantastic, which further elucidates the purpose of Ruskin's meaning. Jackson emphasised this link in her seminal text on fantasy, *Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion*, with reference to John Addington Symonds's 1888 essay "Caricature, the Fantastic, the Grotesque," which stated that 'the fantastic […] invariably implies a certain exaggeration or distortion of nature. What we call the fantastic in art results from an exercise of the capricious fancy, playing with things which it combines into arbitrary, non-existent forms.'[53] A connection can also be made between this proposal and Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of "grotesque realism" as a means by which authors reposition or contort the body to exaggerate states widely held to be degraded, through which a socio-political commentary is made.[54] Indeed, the idea that the grotesque is defined by the repositioning of familiar features in unfamiliar ways is shared by fantasy. But

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[52] John Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice Volume III: The Fall* (New York: Cosimo, 2007), 121. Ruskin uses the terms ignoble/terrible and noble/sportive interchangeably. The current dictionary definition of the grotesque as 'a style of decorative art characterized by fanciful or fantastic human and animal forms often interwoven with foliage or similar figures that may distort the natural into absurdity, ugliness, or caricature' characterises Ruskin's meaning of the word. (*Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, s.v. "grotesque," accessed May 11, 2020, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/grotesque.) In conjuncture with other of Ruskin's dialectics, particularly those to do with the relationship between an aesthetic and moral language, his assertion of a binary between the base and the fantastic imagination mirrors the binary of the base and the virtuous. See "Victorian aesthetic theory and Secondary World Building: the house as a miniature world," 47-50. See also Colin Trodd, Paul Barlow, and David Amigoni, eds., *Victorian Culture and the Idea of the Grotesque* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), in which the editors describe the grotesque as 'this most mutant of cultural forms' (2). There is further parity between the presentation of modern fantasy set out here and the description of the grotesque provided by these essays.

[53] John Addington Symonds, "Caricature, the Fantastic, the Grotesque," in *The Fortnightly Review* 49 (1888), 519.

[54] This ideation was developed concurrently with Bakhtin's theory of the 'carnivalesque'. Mikhail Bakhtin, trans. Hélène Iswolsky, *Rabelais and His World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993).

whilst there is already an established connection between the grotesque and fantasy, the link between fantasy scholarship and Ruskin's theories has not yet been acknowledged.

It was not until the late Victorian era that the term fantasy came to be used as an art category in British art criticism, first in the cultural commentary of Alfred Lys Baldry (1858-1939). In his summary of "The Collection of George McCulloch Esq." for the 1897 *Art Journal*, the art critic used the term "phantasy" to describe the nature of Marianne Stokes's painting *The Queen and the Page* (Figure 1):

> We are taken at one step from fact to fiction, from a world of realism to another where fancy reigns. The Page, this second canvas, in no way pretends to record any phase of the life about us. It is purely imaginative, a pretty phantasy treated in the spirit of medieval romance and in feeling and manner akin to the quaint tapestry designs, with the execution of which in bygone centuries great dames occupied their many hours of leisure. This technical character is the outcome of the convention which the artist has adopted in dealing with her subject, a convention based chiefly upon decorative essentials, and disregarding almost entirely the possibilities of realism.[55]

Baldry's use of the term phantasy connoted a type of painting that was demonstrably unrealistic. His interpretation of the background and the figures was the basis for his argument, in which he suggested that composition, tone, and narrative were of paramount importance to the designation of a work as either fantastical or realistic. In this excerpt, he set up binaries between fact and fiction, realism and fancy, the world of sensory perception and the purely imaginative, and described how Stokes achieved a sense of alterity through use of the medieval and the decorative.[56] As it was for Ruskin, Baldry appears to have assumed a link between fantasy and the Gothic, the medieval, and the Pre-Raphaelite. Though such usage of the term phantasy was by no means typical, Baldry's application of the word points towards a growing communal attachment to the term as a means of describing art that was not realistic in some way.

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[55] A.L. Baldry, "The Collection of George McCulloch Esq," *The Art Journal*, no. 85 (1897), 218.

[56] Another artist that Baldry attached such epithets to was Thomas Cooper Gotch, whose fantasy paintings form an integral part of Chapter Four of this thesis. See "Gotch and the fantasy world of Phyllis Cooper Gotch," 209-219.

In the twentieth century, discussions surrounding fantasy in the visual arts began to emerge in literature on Surrealism. In André Breton's (1896-1966) *Manifesto of Surrealism* (1924), the artist explored the relationship between the terms the marvellous and the fantastic as a means of juxtaposing ideas about their structure.[57] Describing Matthew Lewis's *The Monk* (1796), Breton wrote that 'what is admirable about the fantastic is that there is no longer anything fantastic: there is only the real.'[58] Conversely, he noted that:

> the marvellous is not the same in every period of history: it partakes in some obscure way of a sort of general revelation only the fragments of which come down to us: they are the romantic ruins, the modern mannequin, or any other symbol capable of affecting the human sensibility for a period of time.[59]

Though Todorov would later distinguish between 'the uncanny', 'the marvellous' and 'the fantastic' in his foregrounding enquiry, Breton's *Manifesto* illustrates that prior to Todorov those terms were used with greater flexibility, even within the microcosm of French language studies of culture.[60] That being said, Breton's definition of the marvellous perhaps more closely resembles the idea of modern fantasy as a hybrid genre that partakes of vast and disparate clusters of signification, which, in Jackson's words, invert 'elements of this world, re-combining its constitutive features in new relations to produce something strange, unfamiliar and apparently 'new', absolutely 'other' and different.'[61]

In the decade following publication of Breton's *Manifesto*, art-historical scholarship subsumed the term into their public outputs, first apparent in the Museum of Modern Art's 1936 exhibition titled *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism*.[62] The impetus of this exhibition was

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[57] Breton also provided a preface for Pierre Mabille's *Le Miroir du Merveilleux* (1940). Todorov relied upon Mabille's text for his own definition of the marvellous (Todorov, *The Fantastic*, 57).
[58] André Breton, *Manifestoes of Surrealism*, trans. Richard Seaver and Helen R. Lane (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1969), 15.
[59] ibid., 16.
[60] Throughout his text, Todorov also alludes to the 'uncertain' frontiers between what he terms the fantastic and the marvellous. For example, see Todorov, *The Fantastic,* 52: 'the frontier between the two will therefore be uncertain; nonetheless, the presence or absence of certain details will always allow us to decide.'
[61] Jackson, *Fantasy,* 8.
[62] Accompanied by a publication that was edited by the director, Alfred H. Barr, Jr., *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism*.

to contribute to a series that would 'present in an objective and historical manner the principal movements of modern art,'[63] and was second in that series only to *Cubism and Abstract Art* (1936), which perhaps emphasises the importance of this area of study to the curatorial staff of the museum at that time. In his preface to the exhibition catalogue, Alfred Barr Jr. explained that 'the fantastic and the marvellous in European and American art of the past five centuries is represented in a rather cursory way.'[64] Whilst the exhibition and catalogue did go some way to discerning a typology of the fantastic in visual works of art, the principal purpose of the exhibition was to illustrate the origins of Dada and Surrealism through an overview of strange and 'fantastic' art that preceded those movements, which included three sub-series on the 15th and 16th centuries, the 17th and 18th centuries, and art of the French Revolution to the Great War.[65]

In 1949, Graham Hough offered reflections on the neo-medieval so called 'romantic' art and literature of the British fin-de-siècle in his book *The Last Romantics*. Many of his observations about the extension of the Pre-Raphaelite style can be mapped onto the narrative of the research undertaken by this study. Through the following chapters, Hough's work is used as a reference point for an early example of scholarship on the phenomenon here observed and many of his descriptions provide reference points for conceiving of the fantasy mode:

> The eager search for new sensation is one pole of romantic literature; but the other pole is this huge nostalgia for a timeless and unchanging order. It is this pervasive emotion that attaches itself to most nineteenth-century medievalising, and unless we

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[63] ibid., 7.
[64] ibid., 7.
[65] Artists included in the French Revolution to the Great War section, which corresponds with the chronological bracket of this thesis, were, in order of presentation: William Blake (British, 1757-1827), Wilhelm Busch (German, 1832-1908), Joseph Boggs Beale (American, 1841-1926), Lewis Carroll (British, 1832-1898), Eugène Delacroix (French, 1798-1863), Thomas Cole (American, 1801-1848), James Ensor (Belgian, 1860-1949), Henry Fuseli (Swiss, 1741-1825), Bernard Gaillot (French, 1780-1847), Francisco Goya (Spanish, 1746-1828), Jean Ignace Isidor Gérard Grandville (French, 1803-1847), Victor Marie Hugo (French, 1829-1883), Edward Lear (British, 1812-1888), Edward Verrall Lucas (British, 1865-1938), George Morrow (British, 1869-1955), Charles Meryon (French, 1821-1868), Odilon Redon (French, 1840-1916), and Henri-Julien Rosseau (French, 1844-1910).

> realise it, this large body of poetry is bound to seem mere aimless and rootless fantasy.[66]

Hough's designation of fantasy as a pejorative term speaks volumes about its treatment in scholarship. However, the thing that he identified, citing, for example, "Hyperion" (1820) by John Keats as a prototype, is the cultural impulse whose ultimate extension is what we now widely call modern fantasy. The two features of this strain of cultural production: sensationalism and nostalgia, together form the major stimuli behind fantasy. Beyond the cloak of the medieval, fantasy became rooted in a desire to both entertain and reflect on the world as it was and is.

In 1946, various Austrian artists, including Rudolf Hausner (1914-1995), Wolfgang Hutter (1928-2014), Arik Brauer (1929-), Anton Lehmden (1929-2018), and Ernst Fuchs (1930-2015) established themselves as a collective of artists who were later given the group name of the *Wiener Schule des Phantastischen Realismus* (Vienna School of Fantastic Realism) in 1974.[67] Influenced by Gothicism, the early Italian and Northern Renaissance, and modern artists such as Giorgio de Chirico (1888-1978) and Salvador Dali (1904-1989), these artists became interested in representing what the Vienna School's teacher, Albert Paris Gütersloh (1887-1973), described as the *Innerer Erdteil* (the Inner Universe).[68] The Vienna School's blend of historical art modes with designs drawn from the imagination developed a unique and distinctive style that had its origins in the projects of the Nazarenes and Pre-Raphaelites before them, described by Muschik in the following manner:

> These painters are Realists in their attention to detail, yet fantastic in their juxtaposition of scene. One cannot call them Surrealists, though they evolved out of Surrealism, because their work is missing the absurd, and a disposition towards paranoia, trance, and hallucination.[69]

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[66] Graham Hough, *The Last Romantics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 119.
[67] By the art historian Johann Muschik (1911-1979). Prior to this, the group did not identify themselves as or with a particular movement.
[68] The language of the *Innerer Erdteil* was supposedly a composite of poetic and visual languages.
[69] My translation of Johann Muschik, *Die Wiener Schule des Phantastischen Realismus* (Berlin: Bertelsmann, 1974), 64.

In 1967 the Anthony d'Offay Fine Art gallery exhibited a collection of works under the umbrella title of *Dream and Fantasy in English Painting 1830-1910* (1967). The accompanying catalogue, edited by Paul Grinke, described the trajectory of this phenomenon as being characterised by the Pre-Raphaelites and made famous by the literary work and illustrations of Charles Dodgson (1832-1898) and Edward Lear (1812-1888), which is the same narrative that this study supports.[70] In his catalogue, Grinke wrote that 'with the closing years of the Victorian age fantasy painting had a definite public role', highlighting such artists as Arthur Rackham, Atkinson Grimshaw, and the Doyle brothers as exemplifying this new style.[71] This text is a singular example of how scholarship has grappled with the concurrent histories of modern fantasy and late Victorian art and through his descriptions, Grinke set out many of the themes, motifs, and other stylistic attributes that widely characterised this cultural phenomenon:

> The underworld of Celtic legend, the land of hobgoblins, fairies and sprites, impish creatures who must be constantly placated by suitable offerings, begins to take a definite aspect in the painting of the period. Medieval costume, thanks to the strictures of the Pre-Raphaelites, is *de rigueur*, and the stage props of earlier fantasists like Bosch reappear in Victorian guise. The heroic gestures of Fuselli [sic.] or Martin are replaced by intimate almost domestic scenes with a whimsical flavour of the nursery. An irrational, petulant other world begins to take shape, a land where Alice's silly questions receive even sillier answers and where animals personify human traits and characteristics. Crabs dance on the seashore, the birds gather to mourn Cock Robin and under the sea, a favourite venue, a mermaid plays a grand piano to an audience of complacent fish.[72]

This 'irrational, petulant other world' was, as Grinke suggested, the product of mid-century art trends. The 'magnificent flowering of Victorian fantasy' in the work of Golden Age illustrators, that the exhibition purported to be the high point of this moment, was but one iteration of the culmination of modern fantasy in British visual arts during the Victorian

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[70] Paul Grinke, ed., *Dream and Fantasy in English Painting 1830-1910* (London: Anthony D'Offay Fine Art, 1967), 3.
[71] ibid., 4.
[72] ibid.

period. For, as this study will evidence, the impact of this nascent mode on the arts in Britain and beyond was widespread and long-lasting.

A year prior to the publication of Muschik's book on the Vienna School, Ballantine Books published a special edition on *Fantastic Art* (1973), edited by David Larkin. This book, intended for popular consumption, included a very brief description of the mode:

> What is fantasy? You might as well try to define truth, or, failing that, have a go at reality. Fantasy is the beautiful, the sublime, the fragile; it is the grotesque and the horrible, it is that which encompasses the real and overtakes it, it is supra-real. It is some strange formulation of an equally bizarre inner statement, which when externalized, comes to mean something quite uniquely important to all men. Fantasy is, well, art.[73]

Like other fantasy art theorists, Larkin focused his attention on the relationship of fantasy to the real, which he explored through allusion to a collection of high-quality prints by artists ranging from Hieronymus Bosch (c. 1450-1516) to the Scottish artist John Holmes (1935-2011).

Similar in tone and style to Larkin's book, Simon Watney opened his 1977 work *Fantastical Painters* with the line 'fantastic painting is one of those cultural rag-bag terms that can be used to describe almost any work of art that appears surprising or unusual.'[74] Through this preface, the author acknowledged that there are few 'direct or historical connections' between the works included in his discussion. However, it was this chronological inconstancy that gave way to his assertion that:

> At first sight fantastic painting looks like all of these categories, a territory, as it were, that comes to us complete with its own specific history and conventions. But there is no evidence to justify our treating fantastic painting as such an autonomous area. In other words, the term does not refer to a particular 'movement' in art, but rather to a system of taste based upon certain selective principles.[75]

Watney's assertion that 'there is no evidence to justify' fantasy art as an autonomous category is misleading. Whilst it is true that the term was not the product of an artistic

[73] Larkin, *Fantastic Art*, 1.
[74] Watney, *Fantastical Painting*, 1.
[75] ibid.

movement, artists and critics have evidently identified the fantasy mode as unique throughout the modern age. However, other aspects of Watney's analysis provide a firm jumping-off point for some of the research conducted here. Watney concluded his essay with the idea that 'fantasy, like all myth-making, is only one way of describing experience,'[76] a feature of his argument that reflects the argument that fantasy is approximate to the conception of 'creative mythology.'[77]

Landow's aforementioned essay (1979) explored many of the limitations to conceptualising of fantasy in the visual arts, acknowledging that:

> fantastic art, art which is created to be perceived as fantastic, works under the great difficulty of employing conventions relied upon by nonfantastic art and yet it must in some crucial way appear as improbable or bizarre – in other words, as unconventional.[78]

Just as Breton had suggested that the marvellous shifts from age to age, subsuming into its corpus the fragments of disparate cultural lexicons, Landow's study recognised the importance of context to a scholarly discussion of fantasy. Whereas Tolkien's 1939 definition of modern fantasy put forward the idea that this art type must be characterised, first and foremost, by 'arresting strangeness,' Landow identified words that we might more readily apply to visual works, such as 'improbable,' 'bizarre,' and 'unconventional.'

J. Mordaunt Crook's seminal work on William Burges (1981) included a chapter on the "Fantastic", and it is this work which perhaps gets closest to the essence of the visual fantastic in its description of the manifold 'simulacrum of medieval art' in Burges's designs.[79] Crook wrote that 'enjoying Burges – like enjoying Tennyson or Rossetti – involves a willing suspension of disbelief, a readiness to share the Pre-Raphaelite vision.'[80] Observations such as these, about the relationship of the medieval to Burges's enterprise of

[76] ibid., 5.
[77] See "Fantasy as a form of creative mythology," 50-55.
[78] Landow, "And the World Became Strange", 10.
[79] Joseph Mordaunt Crook, *William Burges and the High Victorian Dream* (London: John Murray, 1981), 286.
[80] ibid., 285.

the imagination, foreground many of the assertions of this study and complement contemporary ideas of fantasy as a unique genre, predisposed towards the suprasensory.

Paul Barlow's chapter "Pre-Raphaelitism and Post-Raphaelitism: the Articulation of Fantasy and the Problem of Pictorial Space", in Marcia Pointon's 1989 edited collection *Pre-Raphaelites Re-Viewed*, introduced the concept of fantasy to an interpretation of William Holman Hunt's *The Eve of St. Agnes* (Figure 2). In this essay, Barlow argued that Hunt's painting 'stresses the borders of artifice at the point at which the contradictions between fantasy and reality are negotiated.'[81] This argument was significant in its positioning of fantasy as an opposite mode to realism,[82] and in its relation of the fantasy mode to Pre-Raphaelitism. Moreover, unlike other usages, which have tended to assume fantasy to be an aesthetic label only, Barlow set "fantasy" up as a mode or device that has structural, contextual, and interpretative connotations within a visual work of art.

In *Fantastic Art* (2005), the Austrian scholar Walter Schurian developed a typology of the fantastic in visual art that was informed by the author's scholarly education in psychology, sociology, and anthropology.[83] He asserted that:

> The "fantastic" […] is, from the point of view of content, usually associated with an explicit and implicit image of man; in other words, in its formal and pictorial language, it focuses in particular on the human being as a recognizable yet mysterious individual, subject to the caprices of nature, with his or her individual behaviour and actions, dreams, yearnings and unceasing desire. The "fantastic" is consequently much less a matter of art theory than of anthropology.[84]

According to Schurian, the pursuit of a definition of the fantastic must be interdisciplinary in approach. If 'in the visual arts too, the fantastic is more a particular manifestation of the real,

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[81] Paul Barlow, "Pre-Raphaelitism and Post-Raphaelitism: the Articulation of Fantasy and the Problem of Pictorial Space" in *Pre-Raphaelites Re-Viewed*, ed. Marcia Pointon (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), 75.
[82] See his description of the 'fantasies of access to the body of Madeleine' verses 'the sprawling porter [who] implicitly asserts the potential deceptions of fantasy.' Barlow, "Pre-Raphaelitism and Post-Raphaelitism", 75.
[83] "Walter Schurian", Taschen Biography, accessed April 8, 2020, https://www.taschen.com/pages/en/search/walter-schurian.
[84] Schurian, *Fantastic Art*, 14.

and not its opposite,'[85] an understanding of the context in which a work of fantasy is created is of paramount importance to identifying its nature. As Ostrowski and Landow argued in their treatises on the subject,[86] Schurian believed that to take account of a work of fantasy, scholarship must consider the social, cultural, religious, and biographical contexts of its production. Schurian argued that though we can observe consistencies across works of fantasy that contribute to a theory of its operation, a work of fantasy is first and foremost obedient to the age in which it is made, as opposed to generic convention.

Most recently, Lucie Armitt published *Fantasy* (2020), in which she provided an overview of the many mediums that this mode affects.[87] Like other literary scholars who have attempted to include fantasy within their theorisation, Armitt's attention to visual subjects was not dedicated to uncovering the precise and medium-specific aspects of the visual presentation of fantasy.[88] Rather, it used visual material to examine what narratives that use fantastical symbols, forms, and motifs say about human experience. Conversely, this study examines prevalent art styles, forms and motifs to examine how fantasy is constructed in visual works of art. In doing so, it evidences that fantasy is a fundamentally visual genre that relies upon visual material for the construction of the all-important Secondary World.

While it is clear that the term fantasy has been used to describe demonstrably non-realistic art since the nineteenth century, the history of 'fantasy' as an art-historical term is disjointed and scant. The few exhibitions that have been dedicated to fantastic art have approached the theme from a more flexible position than has been the case in literary disciplines and though some scholars have pointed to the relative ambiguity of the term, which makes it difficult to define, there has been no great effort on the part of twentieth- and twenty-first-century thinkers to excavate the nineteenth-century attitude towards fantasy and

[85] ibid., 8.
[86] See "The problem of fantasy: a summary of key areas for further research on fantasy," 25-27.
[87] Lucie Armitt, *Fantasy (The New Critical Idiom)* (Oxford: Routledge, 2020).
[88] For example, *Toy Story 3*, Kate Greenaway's illustrations, HBO's *Game of Thrones* adaptation.

the fantastic. Thus, these works often appear to exist in a vacuum and do not follow on from one another, resulting in fragmented and relatively poor scholarship on fantasy art.

That being said, fantasy is evidently already a part of the lexicon of art history, having been used to describe strange art more widely and English art of the late Victorian and Edwardian age more specifically. This thesis aims to collect the disparate instances of its usage and move towards a more considered theory of the development of fantasy in the visual arts. This unprecedented account of the art of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century England will show how the visual arts had an impact on the literary genre of modern fantasy and will argue for a revisionist history of English art at this time, in which the art of the supernatural, the otherworldly, the symbolic, and the strange is acknowledged as being of primary importance to an understanding of the English cultural imagination then and now.

Three new theories of fantasy

In his entry on "high fantasy" for the *International Companion Encyclopaedia of Children's Literature* (1998) C.W. Sullivan espoused the view that 'it was, in fact, the interest of the English Romantics in the medieval which led directly to the writing of high fantasy.'[89] Positioning the late nineteenth-century emergence of fantasy in the context of the 'scientific' impulses of the seventeenth-century, Sullivan suggested that Romanticism became a counterweight, 'rejecting or bypassing the rational orientation of the previous centuries', and that modern fantasy was the ultimate extension of this impulse.[90] Likewise, in her overview

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[89] Sullivan, "High Fantasy," accessed May 12, 2020 https://search.proquest.com/docview/2137949741/7DBC093995334E5EPQ/41?accountid=9851.

[90] ibid. On the relationship between Romanticism and fantasy, see Prickett, *Victorian Fantasy*, 12-13: 'out of a confluence of intermingled currents and eddies of thought we can, perhaps, select a number of streams which were to feed the reservoirs of Romanticism at the turn of the century. One is the idea of the *Gothick*; another is a revival of religious mysticism and renewed feeling for the numinous – the irrational and mysterious elements in religious experience; a third is the purely human revulsion against the squalid and degrading conditions of the early industrial revolution. In all three we can trace that curious ambivalence between imagination and fantasy that was to so haunt the Victorian consciousness, and turn it inwards towards the creation of dreamworlds. Coming to terms with this ambivalence in art, in literature, and in religion was the greatest self-critical act of the age.'

of the debates surrounding the long versus the short history of fantasy, Fimi wrote that proponents of the latter date 'its origins to the nineteenth century as a reaction against the dominance of the realist novel […] both fantasy and "the fantastic" […] come from a time when realistic representation had been elevated to the most important element in literature and the arts.'[91] Such a view of fantasy fits neatly with the overriding tendency of scholarship to view the Pre-Raphaelites as self-consciously radical.[92]

These observations reflect the synchronicity that exists between the perceived newness of fantasy and the newness identified as belonging to late nineteenth-century artists by contemporary art criticism. Having established how fantasy has been conceived of in literary studies and in art history, I now propose three ways of conceiving of fantasy that have been developed from an analysis of art historical materials and trends during the period covered by this dissertation. They serve to consolidate the argument that the modern fantasy mode originated in nineteenth-century England and highlight the significance of the Secondary World to an understanding of fantasy. Firstly, I examine the idea of history and fantasy as structurally similar modern devices that both devolved from medieval antiquarianism. Secondly, I consider the fascination of late Victorian artists with the house and house design as sub-creation. Thirdly, I look at folklorist Joseph Campbell's idea of 'creative mythology' as being equivalent to the notion of modern fantasy. In this way, the idea of modern fantasy as being rooted in the visual cultures of the past comes to the fore.

Modern fantasy as an extension of medieval antiquarianism

The emergence of fantasy in the late Victorian period synchronised not only with the trajectory of Romanticism out of the eighteenth century, but also the Romantic conceptualisation of history itself. Like Sullivan, Bann, in his monograph *Romanticism and*

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[91] Fimi, "Tolkien and the Fantasy Tradition", 50-51.
[92] See Barringer, *Pre-Raphaelites: Victorian Avant-Garde*.

the Rise of History (1995), contended that modern historical consciousness was a product of Romanticism, when 'for the first time historical data became meaningful not only to a small band of passionately committed 'antiquarians' but to a mass reading public.'[93] The generation of historical identities at a time when new technology was rapidly advancing the widespread receipt of historical data meant that 'we can trace the emergence of this novel and irresistible capacity for multiplying and diversifying the representations of the past in such a way that a new code – or even a new language – was learned.'[94] This has profound ramifications for our understanding of modern fantasy, for though it is a cultural category that is demonstrably ahistorical in its push towards alterity, it shares the defining features of history that Bann observed: a desire to categorise according to a new code or language and a reliance on the forms of the past. As Jackson suggested, this code operates by 'inverting elements of this world [and] re-combining its constitutive feature in new relations.'[95]

Pre-Romantic antiquarianism is the shared root to which both the origins of modern fantasy and our modern conception of history can be traced.[96] What once had been a pastime characterised by the fascination with, fantasising about, and fetishizing of the historical artefact was gradually giving way to two fields; history, on the one hand, that sought to determine how things actually were, and fantasy, on the other.[97] This premise can be

[93] Bann, *Romanticism*, 5.
[94] ibid., 6.
[95] Jackson, *Fantasy,* 8.
[96] According to Alicia Marchant, during the sixteenth and seventeenth century antiquarians were regularly characterised in pejorative terms. Marchant quoted Sir Thomas Palmer who, writing in 1606, described antiques as 'a fantasticall attracter, and a glutton-feeder of the appetite, rather than of necessarie knowledge. Whereas antiquarianism had been the preserve of the 'fantasticall' in the late medieval and early modern period, 'the result of improving technique' during the nineteenth century established the discipline of history with a kind of seriousness. Simultaneously, the Victorians developed an outlet for the kind of 'fantasticall imaginings' that often impassioned the work of antiquarians. See Alicia Marchant, "A Landscape of Ruins: Decay and Emotion in Late Medieval and Early Modern Antiquarian Narratives," in *Gender and Emotions in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Destroying Order, Structuring Disorder* (London: Routledge, 2015), Chapter 6.
[97] The phrase 'wie es eigentlich gewesen ist' was popularised by Enlightenment historian, Leopold van Ranke. Fritz Stern, "The Ideal of Universal History: Ranke" in *The Varieties of History from Voltaire to the Present* (London: Palgrave, 1970), 57.

illustrated by the view of antiquarianism expressed by Burges in his *Art Applied to Industry* lecture series (given as lectures in 1864, published in 1865):

> One of [the uses of antiquarian studies] is to enable us to conjure up as if by the magician's wand the dress, furniture, architecture, &c., of past ages, so that we can live, as it were, in many centuries at almost the same moment. [98]

Thus, like the temporally dislocated medieval fantasy,[99] pre-modern antiquarian studies appear to have been more concerned with representing the past as it was wished to be rather than as it was, making it closer to fantasy-making than the modern, historical process.

Both modern fantasy and Pre-Raphaelitism, therefore, emerged in the curious borderland that existed between these two impulses. Posing the question of 'why should this happen at just this time?', Hough wrote of the mid-Victorian vogue for depicting quasi-medieval worlds that:

> we may suspect something deeper than a mere change of fashion. The pursuit of the neglected past was not all of the same kind; some of it was scholarly and archaeological, the result of improving technique in antiquarian investigation […], much that looks like mere fantasy or romance to-day was actually inspired by this motive.[100]

According to Hough, the worldbuilding tendency of antiquarianism was primarily driven by the need to 'fill in the gaps' caused by insufficient historical data in scholarly work. In this vein, the predisposition of fantasy towards the Secondary World can be viewed as an antiquarian activity: a desire to imagine new histories that were characterised by the fancies of individual artists.

Therefore, the cultural category of modern fantasy and the discipline of history can both be seen as emerging from antiquarianism on different trajectories that were relatedly characterised by their desire to articulate an historicised world. The early Romantic

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[98] William Burges, *Art Applied to Industry* (Oxford and London: John Henry and James Parker, 1865), 13 as quoted in Nicholas Roquet, "Life in Costume: the Architectural Fictions and Anachronisms of William Burges," (PhD diss., McGill University, 2011), 242.
[99] See "The fantasy chronotope of temporal dislocation: the medieval as palimpsest," 90-96.
[100] Hough, *The Last Romantics*, 117.

conceptualisation of history, the worldbuilding activities of the mid- to late-Victorians, and the late-Victorian, early-Edwardian zeal for folkloric studies all evidence how the nineteenth century presents a pattern of understanding and articulating ideas about the relationship of the self to story. The emergence of both modern fantasy and modern history at this time thus represented efforts to construct an idea of the past under the auspices of both the fanciful and the factual.

Victorian aesthetic theory and Secondary World Building: the house as a miniature world

Late-Victorian emphasis on the conflation of the moral and the aesthetic within the perception of art mirrors Tolkien's position that in order for a Secondary World to be perceived as credible, the visual language of the aesthetic must be harmonised with compelling Secondary Belief structures. In *The Last Romantics*, Hough described how Ruskin's critical language emphasised the view that emotional perception of beauty as being the primary tool by which the moral condition of man could be gauged, writing that:

> He means in the first place that the perception of beauty is not isolated from the rest of human life, secondly that it is not an affair of the intellect or purely of the senses, but of the emotions. The extent to which we are capable of receiving impressions of beauty depends on the quality of our emotional life in general; and the quality of the emotional life is to Ruskin, as indeed I do not see how it can help being to anyone, a moral concern.[101]

However disparate their approach to the subject matter, Hough believed that Ruskin and the Aesthetes were united in their belief that the perception of beauty, in art and in nature, was an integral part of the everyday: 'they are essentially of the same party as Ruskin, and the real opposition is between them and those who regard beauty as the province of a special aesthetic sense, unrelated to the rest of human experience.'[102]

[101] ibid., 18.
[102] ibid.

The idea that aesthetic appreciation was homogenous with lived experience was therefore characterised by the titanic opinions of not one but two prominent art scholars in the late nineteenth century, both of whom sought to identify the relationship between the perception of beauty in art and the human condition. The practical extension of this attitude was embodied in the oft-quipped aphorism of the latter-day Pre-Raphaelite Morris, first used in his 1880 lecture titled "The Beauty of Life": 'have nothing in your houses that you do not know to be useful, or believe to be beautiful.'[103] This was later refashioned by Oscar Wilde for his lecture titled "House Beautiful" (1882): 'have nothing in your house that is not useful or beautiful.'[104] In this way, these artists, who championed the Arts and Crafts and Aesthetic modes respectively, illustrated a unity of opinion in their belief that beauty performed an important function within the everyday.

The project of defining beauty in both physical as well as moral terms, and of seeing it as a bridge between those two planes of existence, is a likely source for modern fantasy's unique disposition towards Secondary World Building. Through the interpretation of the home as a miniature world in these artistic schemes, it is evident that both Morris and Wilde viewed the domestic interior as a microcosm for the organised, created world. According to both, that which is useful and that which is beautiful combined to reflect what Hough identified as the homogenous design of 'human experience.'[105] This notion is reflected in the idea of Secondary World sub-creation, which was defined by Clute as 'an autonomous world or venue which is not bound to mundane reality, which is impossible according to common sense and which is self-coherent as a venue for story.'[106] Citing Tolkien's essay "On Fairy

[103] William Morris, "The Beauty of Life," in *Hopes and Fears for Art: Five Lectures Delivered in Birmingham, London, and Nottingham, 1878-1881* (London: Ellis & White, 1882), 108.
[104] Oscar Wilde, "House Beautiful," in *Complete Works of Oscar Wilde* (London: Collins, 2003), 914. The text reprinted in this edition was reconstructed from contemporary newspaper reports by Kevin H. F. O'Brien, who first published this text as '"The House Beautiful": A Reconstruction of Oscar Wilde's American Lecture', Victorian Studies, 17.4 (June 1974), 395–418.
[105] Hough, *The Last Romantics*, 18.
[106] Clute, *The Encyclopaedia of Fantasy*, 847.

Stories" as originating the term Secondary World, Clute viewed the ideas expressed in this essay as underpinning our subsequent understanding of its operation:

> Probably every writer making a secondary world, a fantasy, every sub-creator, wishes in some measure to be a real maker, or hopes that he is drawing on reality; hopes that the peculiar quality of this secondary world (if not all the details) are derived from Reality, or are flowing into it.[107]

Like Clute, Tolkien viewed fantasy as a coordinated and convincing reflection of a reality, in which 'magic produces, or pretends to produce, an alteration in the Primary World.'[108] The defining feature of fantasy, according to Tolkien, should therefore be viewed as the success of the Secondary World in achieving a consistency approximate to the normative consistency of reality, but a consistency that nevertheless takes enchantment or magic to be a coherent and convincing feature of the total world.

There are further ways in which the idea of the House Beautiful can be viewed as a foregrounding experiment in worldbuilding. In his evocation of the idea of the House Beautiful, Wilde was also referring to Pater's conception, which has been summarised by Wolfgang Iser as the ultimate conglomeration of human experience:

> The 'House Beautiful' is conceived as an almost total identification of art and history. There is no operation principle of selection; instead it blends together all contrasting movements into a totality of life that continues to expand indefinitely. Individual situations and the changeability of history are equally preserved and rendered contemporaneous. Perfection is constantly snatched from the passing stream of time, and accumulative additions result in rearrangements and new cultural configurations.[109]

Iser's identification of Pater's House Beautiful as a kind of anachronic palimpsest meets with the proposal of fantasy set forth by Jackson,[110] which is foundational to the arguments of this study. Indeed, further to this definition, Iser noted an approximation between this view of the House Beautiful and the idea of the musée imaginaire (imaginary museum) created by André

[107] Tolkien, "On Fairy Stories", 70-71.
[108] ibid., 53.
[109] Wolfgang Iser, trans. David Henry Wilson, *Walter Pater: The Aesthetic Movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 82.
[110] Jackson, *Fantasy,* 8.

Malraux in his book *Le Musée Imaginaire de la Sculpture Mondiale* (1954), which helps to cement the relationship between the late Victorian conception of the House Beautiful and modern fantasy's predisposition towards Secondary World Building.[111] What the House Beautiful, the imaginary museum, and modern fantasy all share is the tendency to subsume the material of the past, in an anachronic manner, into the framework of an invented history in which time exists, but not as a reflection of the temporal reality of the Primary World. Thus, these spaces occupy, in Iser's words, 'a realm of blessed detachment which, nevertheless, is in and of this world.'[112]

As Tolkien wrote, 'enchantment produces a Secondary World into which both designer and spectator can enter, to the satisfaction of their senses while they are inside.'[114] Like the sensorial nature of Tolkien's description of the Secondary World, which is the product of a 'maker' or 'designer', the decorated interior is a sensory space which a person enters into. Juxtaposition of Tolkien's views about the nature of fantasy and Victorian ideas to do with the decorated space, therefore, reveals a clear proximity between the design of a fantasy space and the decorated space of the house. Like the House Beautiful, the Secondary World must contain both that which is useful to the story and that which expresses the beauty of the imagined universe in order for the reader or viewer to take the created world as 'self-coherent' and for an adequate impression of "world" to be achieved.[115]

Fantasy as a form of creative mythology

Modern fantasy, with its associated generic conventions, themes and motifs, and structural modes, can be understood as a mythic structure that emerged in response to widespread secularisation. The modern fantasies of the Victorian painters and writers here discussed were

[111] ibid.
[112] ibid.
[114] Tolkien, "On Fairy Stories", 53.
[115] Clute, *The Encyclopaedia of Fantasy*, 847.

the product of what folklorist Joseph Campbell described as creative mythology, in which 'this individual has had an experience of his own – of order, horror, beauty, or even mere exhilaration – which he seeks to communicate through signs.'[116] This kind of mythology was, according to Campbell, novel to the modern age and distinguishable from traditional or living mythology, which requires the individual to observe and agree with socially maintained norms.

This study asserts a clear link between Campbell's conception of the creative mythology, which, though hitherto unobserved, finds a precedent in existing theories of fantasy. For example, Attebery's claim 'that fantasy, as a literary form, is a way of reconnecting to traditional myths and the worlds they generate,' is an articulation of Campbell's earlier opinion and mirrored by his conception of the mythopoeic fantasy.[117] Furthermore, Fimi identified that:

> myth is an imaginative, but also economical, way of thinking about the world and fundamental questions of human existence […] to explore and understand reality via a symbolic, metaphorical way of thinking […] fantasy addresses this need directly: it can be seen as a "mythical form" of engaging with reality.[118]

This thesis builds on such scholarship to posit fantasy to be one of the primary myth-making structures of the modern age, by which means a new method for examining the symbolic, or "mythic", structures of this art category is developed.

However, the project of comparing a form of myth to fantasy is complicated by the fact that the word "myth" suffers from a plethora of definitions. In his chapter "Myth, An Attempt to Define the Indefinable" (2014), James W. Menzies began by stating that 'myth, fantasy, and allegory are terms that identify a genre familiar to many in the reading public.'[119]

[116] Campbell, *Creative Mythology*, 4.
[117] Brian Attebery, *Stories About Stories: Fantasy and the Remaking of Myth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 9 and 9-31.
[118] Fimi, "Tolkien and the Fantasy Tradition", 58.
[119] James W. Menzies, *True Myth: C.S. Lewis and Joseph Campbell on the Veracity of Christianity* (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2015), 22.

These words are often conflated, made interchangeable, or misappropriated. However, Menzies offered a viable classification system that harmonizes with the assertion that fantasy and creative mythology are the same: *myth* deals with the relationship of the individual to the universe, *fantasy* deals with the lives of individuals, and *allegory* is concerned with the discrete symbol.[120] Thus, when juxtaposing Campbell's scheme with Menzies's, traditional mythology is the equivalent of myth, whereas the creative mythology, which positions the individual self at its centre, is the equivalent of fantasy.

The idea that fantasy is inextricably linked with and representative of individual experience was at the heart of the critical work of fantasy science fiction author Le Guin. In her essay "The View In", first published in 1971, Le Guin considered the nature of fantasy as being intrinsically introspective when contrasted with realist literature:

> I know that I am going to meet a personal variation on reality; a scene less real than the world around us, a partial view of reality. But I know that by that partiality, that independence, that distancing from the shared experience, it will be new: a revelation. It will be a vision, a more or less powerful or haunting dream. A view in, not out.[121]

Le Guin retained the central premise that fantasy was a reflection of the individual mind throughout her life,[122] later writing that 'written fantasy translates into verbal images and coherent narrative forms the intuitions and perceptions of the unconscious mind – bodylanguage, dreamstuff, primary process thinking.'[123]

For Le Guin, as for all proponents of the short history of fantasy, this feature of the mode was a product of the nineteenth century.[124] The Victorian propensity for myth-making and myth-awareness was the impetus behind scholarly works such as Thomas Bulfinch's *The Age of Fable, or Stories of Gods and Heroes* (1855), James Frazer's seminal work *The*

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[120] ibid., 39-40.
[121] Le Guin, *A Multitude of Visions*, 7.
[122] See Susan Wood, "Introduction," to Le Guin, *The Language of the Night*, 16: 'the Inner Lands. This reference to Dunsany points toward a major theme in her essays: the exploration of the inner world, and its embodiment in an envisioned world created both to delight an audience and to express a truth.'
[123] Le Guin, *The Language of the Night*, 5.
[124] Le Guin, *The Language of the Night*, 19.

Golden Bough: A Study in Comparative Religion (1890), and Jessie Weston's (1850-1928) work that would culminate in *From Ritual to Romance* (1920). According to James Kissane's revisionist essay on "Victorian Mythology", published in 1962, 'the main trend in Victorian discussions of mythology was towards open-minded inclusiveness rather than dogmatism.'[125] During the nineteenth century, an interest in myth, which had hitherto been the preserve of classicists and antiquaries, was broadening to include disparate cultural projects including novel scholarship, new forms of literature, as well as myth-making enterprises in the visual arts.

It is also relevant to think of this definitional nuance in the context of Charles Taylor's arguments about the shift in collective consciousness away from the 'porous self' and towards the 'buffered self.'[126] If fantasy, above other modes of strange art and literature, is predicated on the centrality of the individual self to the story, it makes sense that it emerged during the nineteenth century at the moment of a rapid transition in widespread attitudes about the nature of selfhood. To observe a work of fantasy as a work of the imagination rather than a reflection of reality, the reader or viewer must first agree that an understanding of reality is based on sensory perception, then they must suspend disbelief and assume the constituent elements of the proposed Secondary World to be true within the context of the work. As Prettejohn observed, the self is the primary arbiter of difference with regard to the sensory and the imaginary: 'the worlds of imagination and reality can change places only if we ignore the only thing that actually relates them to one another: that is, ourselves.'[127] In short, fantasy is reliant on a notional opposition to 'reality', as it is conceived of through the senses of the individual self.

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[125] James Kissane, "Victorian Mythology," *Victorian Studies*, no. 6 (1962), 7.
[126] See Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007); and Alan Jacobs, 'Fantasy and the Buffered Self,' *The New Atlantis*, Winter 2014, accessed Sep 20, 2020, https://www.thenewatlantis.com/publications/fantasy-and-the-buffered-self for further analysis of the relevancy of Taylor's ideas to fantasy studies.
[127] Prettejohn, *Modern Painters*, 86.

The proximity of Le Guin's belief that fantasy literature reflects a 'personal variation on reality' to Campbell's definition of creative mythology as 'an experience of his own […] which he seeks to communicate through signs' is significant and reveals a link between the work of twentieth-century mythographers, fantasy writers, fantasy critics and the nineteenth century. Both Campbell and Le Guin were of the belief that this art category, call it creative mythology or fantasy, was a product of the nineteenth century, during which the impulse behind creative engagement with the supernatural was increasingly divorced from 'the formidable orthodox tradition,'[128] giving rise to what Campbell called 'a galaxy of mythologies.'[129] From the parochial mythologies of the everyday to the complex, imaginary landscapes of modern fantasy, mythmaking became the habit of modernity. The degree to which the new myths of modern fantasy writers and artists were accepted is evidenced not only by their contemporary popularity, but also by their enduring appeal and appropriation of the same symbolic orders into subsequent art and literature.

It is increasingly clear that fantasy borrows from the symbolic languages and myths of past cultures to create something new, a feature of its unique modal tenor that was recorded in late-Victorian art criticism through the application of terms such as "new" and "newness" to fantastic visual art. The corpus of fantasy is indefinite principally because it can, as creative mythology, take on or engage with any and every kind of discourse. It is defined by what Ostrowski called the total 'freedom of association and form,'[130] a sentiment that is echoed by Jackson's seminal definition.[131] Identifying fantasy as a type of mythic, or semiological, structure, therefore helps to augment the relevancy of its structural properties to a debate about the constitution of the mode and leads to a number of research questions that have informed this study. On the signifiers: what symbols are being used in visual fantasy art

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[128] Campbell, *Creative Mythology*, 3.
[129] ibid., 3.
[130] Ostrowski, "The Fantastic and the Realistic", 70.
[131] Jackson, *Fantasy,* 8.

from 1850-1914? Where have these symbols originated from? What inspired them? What does this say about influence, inspiration, and fashion? On the signified: what do these works say about Victorian attitudes to belief? What is the intention of these works? What emotion do these works seek to convey? Where are they being installed and why? These questions may be *de rigeur* for a study of this kind. However, understanding fantasy as myth in the context of Campbell's idea of creative mythology helps to position it as an art mode that is not only connected with traditional or living myth, but also new and related specifically to the modern world.

Overview

This study builds upon the ideas set out by Brian Attebery in his book *Stories About Stories: Fantasy and the Remaking of Myth* (2012), in which he examined 'the way writers use fantasy to reframe myth: to construct new ways of looking at traditional stories and beliefs.'[132] Atterbery's proposal to examine 'new' means of presenting 'traditional stories and beliefs' relied upon the assertion that a work of literature can be observed as a pattern, form, or structure that is replicated and altered according to different contexts, to produce new effects. He proposed to go beyond examining modern fantasy at the symbolic level in order to understand wider story patterns and the relationship of fantasy to myth:

> The modern reuse will never be the same as the original performance. Most myths come down to us stripped of context. The voices, gestures, rituals, and social interactions that once guided interpretations are gone. Fantasy provides new contexts, and thus inevitably new meanings, for myth. Fantasy spins stories about stories.[133]

The next chapter of this thesis, "Chronotopic Sub-Creation", uses Mieke Bal's approach to narrative theory as a tool for considering the implications of linguistic and pictorial semiotics for studying visual works of fantasy. This type of analysis forms a precedent for developing

[132] Attebery, *Stories About Stories*, 2-3.
[133] ibid., 3.

literary theories of the fantastic and applying them to visual works of art. [134] Like Bal, Attebery used data about the structural components of cultural artefacts to identify key contextual information; this was also Jackson's principal point of departure from Todorov. This thesis follows in that vein to argue that there are certain structural elements and patterns to be found in English visual art during the late Victorian period that are like the structural elements and patterns that have been identified as belonging to modern fantasy literature. Identification and examination of the structures of fantasy art, along with an acknowledgement of their position in the context of the development of modern fantasy in literature, proves that this mode applies to visual art as much as it does literary art, and that the Victorian era can be thought of as an origin point for many of the themes and motifs that have subsequently become common to modern fantasy.

Even before publication of Todorov's seminal text, the word "fantasy" was allied with a type or genre of literature, as series like the Ballantine Adult Fantasy Series show. Prior to the Tolkien-mania of the 1960s and '70s, fantasy was being used as a descriptive term for art and literature that was unrealistic and otherworldly, as evidenced by excerpts from Ruskin and Baldry. However, the prevalence with which the term was used in the cultural commentary of late-Victorian Britain compared with current usage varies widely. When plotted against the important Romantic term "fancy", "fantasy" was used relatively little until its prevalence in English language texts ultimately overtook 'fancy' in 1972 (Figure 3).[135] Whilst there are limitations to the accuracy of this device, observations can be drawn from the data. Principally, that "fantasy" was not used as widely as "fancy" until a notable shift

[134] See Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

[135] Though they are not synonymous, both 'fancy' and 'fantasy' have been commonly used to mean that which is not realistic or rational. In his essay "Fantasy from Dryden to Dunsany" (2012), Wolfe, citing David Sandner, suggested that the early eighteenth-century Spectator critic Joseph Addison can be regarded as 'the first critic of the fantastic' with specific reference to Addison's use of terms like 'the poet's fancy'. Wolfe also highlighted the significance of the term 'fancy' to Romanticism. See Wolfe, "Fantasy from Dryden to Dunsany", 7. In the late nineteenth-century, Baldry would use the terms 'phantasy' and 'fancy' synonymously.

occurred during the 1970s. This supports the biographical evidence that during the late 1960s and early 1970s publishing houses and academic scholars began using the term to describe a particular kind of literature.

So, to term Victorian art and literature as fantasy is often a retrospective activity. However, this should not denigrate the validity of the term as an art category. As Attebery wrote, 'genre terms are both descriptive and constitutive.'[136] Given that fantasy has, since its inception as a scholarly term, been determined according to particular structural principles, it can be observed in art that was created prior to the lexical paradigm shift that took place during the 1960s and 70s. To assign something a particular genre is an arbitrary gesture, but one that nevertheless takes into account the defining features of a cultural artefact.

This dissertation is divided into four chapters. It will establish a method for examining the operation of the fantasy mode in visual works of art, loosely following Witold Ostrowski's three-part recommendation for observing fantasy as a literary mode:

1. Establish literary conventions
2. Determine how the fantasy world is constructed
3. Analyse the significance of this world, both (a) artistic and (b) social[137]

Chapter One will (1) establish pictorial conventions and (2) determine how visual worlds of fantasy are constructed through the employment and corruption of these conventions. Chapters Two, Three, and Four will analyse part (3) the (a) artistic and (b) social significance of modern fantasy art during the latter half of the Victorian era and the first two decades of the twentieth century. This methodology also serves to highlight the relevancy of Tolkien's assertions, made in "On Fairy Stories", about fantasy. Chapter One examines and sets forth ways in which 'arresting strangeness' can be achieved in visual works of art, with the

[136] Attebery, *Stories About Stories*, 3.
[137] Ostrowski, "The Fantastic and the Realistic", 70-71.

following Chapters serving to re-contextualise visual art within the notion of the 'Secondary World.'[138]

Chapter One, "Chronotopic Sub-Creation: space and time in fantasy art," establishes the role of space and time in fantasy by highlighting their associated themes and motifs in Victorian fantasy literature. It proceeds by investigating the applicability of literary theories of the fantastic to visual works of art in order to develop a language for discussing fantasy in the visual arts. This chapter sets up Bakhtin's idea of the chronotope as a means by which space and time and their interrelations can be observed in literature. It evidences how this same theory of spacetime can be applied to diverse cultural artefacts, including visual works of art. Finally, this chapter establishes a method for examining visual works of fantasy by identifying the fantasy chronotopes and evidencing their function, thus providing a methodology for discovering and identifying visual works of fantasy. It concludes with a section on the particular relationship between fantasy and medieval forms and motifs.

Chapter Two, "Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882): the forgotten father of fantasy," follows on from the methodological observations of the previous chapter by couching this newly formed lexicon for fantasy art in the context of mid-Victorian Britain. Key literary and pictorial devices in the work of Rossetti are identified which attest to the intimations of a fantasy mode in British art culture that predates the publication of the fantasy work of MacDonald and Morris, who have hitherto been positioned as the "forefathers of fantasy."

Chapter Three, "'The empire of imagination': series works as epic fantasy in late Victorian art," examines how the fantasy mode developed in British art post-Rossetti through four case studies. It begins with a literary analysis of Morris's short story "The Hollow Land" (1856) as a means of establishing the proximity of Rossetti's fantasy patterning with that of a second-generation "Pre-Raphaelite." Following on from this, it examines work by Rossetti's

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[138] Tolkien, "On Fairy Stories", 37-38 and 48.

friend and colleague Burges, whose decorative art and architecture has already been viewed by scholarship as a kind of visual mythmaking; attention to the decorative scheme of Cardiff Castle provides a case study for Burges's Secondary World Building technique. The chapter then argues for a revision of the position of Watts in the history of British art by allying his later work with the trajectory of Rossetti's influence through examination of his proposed House of Life project, which illustrates how he too was conceiving of fantasy cosmologies. Finally, it surveys Burne-Jones's Buscot Park Briar Rose (1885-1890) series as a means of establishing how visual artists present protracted fantasy narratives. Themes of narrative, story, and epic were particularly prominent during a time when artists were particularly concerned with the temporal expansion of their Secondary Worlds.

Chapter Four, "'A world … where fancy reigns': the proliferation of the fantasy mode in British art after 1890," surveys the prevalence of the fantasy mode in English visual art towards the end of the century and during the Edwardian era. This is achieved through four further case studies that examine the work of Thomas Cooper Gotch (*A Golden Dream*, 1893), Thomas Sturge Moore (*A Symbolic Painting*, c. 1890-1910), Gerald Moira (*'Thereto the silent voice replied, 'Look up thro' night: the world is wide'*, c. 1892-3), and Bernard Sleigh (*An Ancient Mappe of Fairyland*, 1819). It illustrates how, by the early twentieth century, the fantasy mode was well established in the visual arts of England by highlighting some of the manifold ways in which the fantasy mode was developing in visual works of art.

As is perhaps already clear, this study grapples with several significant methodological research realms, such as those associated with the Pre-Raphaelites, late Victorian art, and scholarship on fantasy, the purpose of which is to achieve improved vision on the almost totally unresearched phenomenon of late Victorian fantasy art. As the introduction sets out, this study is focused on the idea that the mode of modern fantasy was equally, or perhaps foremostly, a product of the visual art cultures of the Victorian period. In

order to show this, a methodology for discovering fantasy as the attributive feature of a visual work of art has been developed and applied to demonstrably non-realistic works of art made during between 1850 and 1920. Fantasy is the binding and central theme of this work.

Yet, given the novelty of this premise, a number of significant art historical discoveries have been made. In integrating theories of fantasy and the art history of late Victorian England, artists who have hitherto been little treated by scholarship come to the fore and their significance within this all-pervading cultural phenomenon recognised. This piece of research places the art cultures of late Victorian and Edwardian England in the context of an alternative, yet already established, history. By which means, the art of this period gains new significance to the history of art then and now.

Chapter 1: Chronotopic Sub-Creation: space and time in fantasy art

Have you never perceived how in dreams space and time vanish? […] Have you never observed how the soul creates its own space, world, and tempo as and where it will? […] The poet's space and time lie in the movement of his great event, in the *ordine successivorum et simulataneorum* of *his* world. How and where does he transport you?

- Johann Gottfried Herder (translated by Joyce P. Crick), *Shakespeare*, 1773.[139]

"But because I can only be sequentially conscious," he argued, "must I hold that what is not communicated to consciousness does not exist? I think in a line – but there is the potentiality of the plane." This perhaps was what great art was – a momentary apprehension of the plane at a point in the line. The Demeter of Cnidos, the Praying Hands of Dürer, the *Ode to a Nightingale*, the Ninth Symphony – the sense of vastness in those small things was the vastness of all that had been felt in the present.

- Charles Williams, *Many Dimensions*, 1931.[140]

Bakhtin originated the conception of the chronotope to highlight the individuated ways that literary genres configure space and time. In his 1937 essay "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel", Bakthin wrote:

> We will give the name chronotope (literally, "time space") to the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature […] In the literary artistic chronotope, spatial and temporal indicators are fused into one carefully thought-out, concrete whole. Time, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history. This intersection of axes and fusion of indicators characterizes the artistic chronotope. The chronotope in literature has an intrinsic generic significance. It can even be said that it is precisely the chronotope that defines genre and generic distinctions, for in literature the primary category in the chronotope is time.[141]

In this way, Bakhtin acknowledged 'the inseparability of space and time (time as the fourth dimension of space),' using the term 'chronotope' to stand for their unified presentation in literary works of art.[142] It is interesting that Bakhtin's conception of the chronotope rested

[139] Johann Gottfried Herder, "Extracts from *Shakespeare*," in *The Origins of Modern Critical Thought: German Aesthetic and Literary Criticism from Lessing to Hegel*, trans. Joyce P. Crick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 83.
[140] Charles Williams, *Many Dimensions* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1990), 54.
[141] Mikhail Bakhtin, "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel," in *The Dialogic Imagination* (Austin: Univ. Texas Press, 1981), 84–85.
[142] ibid., 84.

heavily on the assertion that it functions only in literature, despite the clear relationship of his argument to the visual ('time […] thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible'). As it rejects the proposition that the fantasy mode only functions in literature, this study will examine and evidence the ways that spacetime, the chronotope, is presented in literary *and* visual works of fantasy.

As the primary arbiters of reality, conceptions of space and time are fundamental to how the real world is constructed within our individual and communal imaginations. It follows, therefore, that any attempt to create an evidently non-realistic "world" must subvert the realistic presentation of these two forces. In generating an appropriate methodology to observe how this happens in visual and literary works of fantasy, I discovered that it is difficult to speak solely about one and not the other, given how inextricably linked they are in the comprehensive production of a world filled with moving parts. The idea of the chronotope, or spacetime, remedies some of the difficulties faced by trying to speak entirely about "space" or entirely about "time". Within the chronotope, space and time are equally present.

Following analysis of a range of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century visual works of fantasy, I have determined three principal chronotopic configurations in fantasy to be enclosure, density, and distortion. The chronotope of temporal dislocation is included as a fourth category, for, through it is arguably a sub-set of distortion, the presence of the temporally dislocated medieval in modern fantasy is so great that its unique elements warrant especial attention. In juxtaposition with theories of spacetime within and outside of the discipline of art history this chapter sets out, for the first time, a way by which fantasy can be observed as a mode that affects a wide range of art mediums. These observations provide the methodology for this study as a whole.

As indicated by this chapter's epigraphs, particular presentations of space and time are the means by which authors and artists began to engage readers and viewers with an impression of a fictional world. Both the German philosopher Herder, writing in 1773, and the twentieth-century fantasy author Williams, in his 1931 novel *Many Dimensions*, viewed a relationship between the presentation of the chronotope and a conveyance of "world" through 'the sense of vastness in those small things' of art.[146] These ideas corroborate Bakhtin's theory that the 'apprehension' of a particular configuration of space and time transports the reader or viewer to an artist's world.

Worldbuilding is a defining feature of modern fantasy. As Tolkien described in "On Fairy Stories", the success of a Secondary World hinges on the credibility that is perceived by the viewer. This echoes Herder's position that the success of a work of fiction often relies upon the author's ability to present space and time in such a way as to make '*his* world' convincing.[147] Thus, worldbuilding may be said to exist in almost every work of art and literature, but as Stefan Ekman explained, 'all works of fiction build imaginary worlds in which they set their stories. What makes genres such as science fiction and fantasy different is that their worlds are often created not as twins to our actual world but as cousins or even distant relatives to it.'[148] Indeed, when worldbuilding is discussed in the context of fantasy, it is most often taken to mean the kind of Secondary World Building described by Tolkien.

The subject-specific nature of terminology that has evolved to describe the operation of fantasy can be further explored as a means of discovering the ideas that underpin such conversations. In her essay "Tolkien and the Fantasy Tradition" (2016), Fimi explained how this terminology evolved out of Tolkien's deliberately Catholic analogies:

> Tolkien's terms "Primary" and "Secondary World" underpin Clute and Grant's definition […] Clute and Grant prefer the more general "this world" and

[146] Williams, *Many Dimensions*, 54.
[147] Herder, "Extracts from *Shakespeare*", 83.
[148] Stefan Ekman, "Vitruvius, Critics, and the Architecture of Worlds: Extra-Narratival Material and Critical World-Building," *Fafnir – Nordic Journal of Science Fiction and Fantasy Research* 6, no. 1 (2019), 118.

> "otherworld," but Tolkien's terminology is often re-produced by critics and is clearly related to the religious overtones of the term "sub-creator," which Tolkien uses to refer to the figure of the fantasy writer.[149]

However, throughout scholarship on fantasy and the fantastic, other terms that might be used to describe the Primary/Secondary World dichotomy appear. For example, this chapter examines how theories of other spaces, in particular Michel Foucault's *heterotopia*, are like the Secondary World space.[150] Thus, while terms such as Secondary World, otherworld, and sub-creation are explicitly related, terminology like Foucault's heterotopia may offer another view onto the difficult to discern features of modern fantasy.

This chapter examines the presentation of chronotopes in visual works of fantasy in order to ascertain a core methodology for their discovery. It thus takes up Landow's challenge to discern 'something, whether the reactions of a character within a literary work or some other device, [which] must signal us that we are to take certain elements as fantastic.'[151] Through examining how fantasy artists manipulate space and time in their paintings, a better definition of the mode is ascertained, with ramifications for how we understand and interpret fantasy art *and* literature. For, as Bakhtin wrote, 'it is precisely the chronotope that defines genre and generic distinctions.'[152]

The limitations of applying literary theories of spacetime to visual works of art, specifically with regard to fantasy

The existing framework for observing the temporal and spatial distortions of fantasy in literary studies is a wealthy resource from which to begin a study of the same phenomena in the visual arts. Indeed, it is not difficult to discern a proximity between demonstrably non-realistic art and theories like Jackson's that

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[149] Fimi, "Tolkien and the Fantasy Tradition", 45.
[150] Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," in *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (Spring 1986).
[151] Landow, "And the World Became Strange", 9.
[152] Bakhtin, "Forms of Time", 85.

> Literary fantasies have appeared to be 'free' from many of the conventions and restraints of more realistic texts: they have refused to observe unities of time, space and character, doing away with chronology, three-dimensionality and with rigid distinctions between animate and inanimate objects.[153]

Therefore, because alternative and subversive presentations of space and time are an important part of fantasy sub-creation in literature, I will test the hypothesis that it may also be true of visual art. But whereas most fantasy literature follows a teleological progression, with narrative events moving and contributing towards "the end" of the story, the way in which visual artists present a cohesive and convincing presentation of spacetime is more complicated, as there is often no ostensible trichotomy of beginning, middle, end in a visual work of art.

Scholars such as Walter F. Isaacs, Elena de Bértola, Albert Garrett and Eric Rabkin have considered the conundrum of the presentation of space-time in painting as having particular qualities.[154] Their theories, such as Isaacs's opinion that 'organisation brings about coherence and consistency which make it possible for art to express the equivalent of space-time as we experience it in nature'[155] and Bértola's observation that we 'speak of the "spatialization" of time and the "temporalization" of space'[156] support the position that theories of spacetime are, in some ways, universal with wide applicability to various artforms. Rabkin took this theorizing a step further, arguing that the process of interpreting a painting through sensory engagement is akin to reading: 'this is an extended process of questioning, noticing, reflecting and anticipating, bringing extra-artistic knowledge to bear, in order to experience the intra-artistic signifiers.'[157]

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[153] Jackson, *Fantasy,* 1.
[154] Walter F. Isaacs, "Time and the Fourth Dimension in Painting," *College Art Journal* 2, no. 1 (Nov 1942), 2-7; Elena de Bértola, "On Space and Time in Music and Painting," *Leonardo* Vol. 5 No. 1 (Winter, 1972), 27-30; and Albert Garrett, "On Space and Time in Art," *Leonardo*, Vol. 5 No. 4 (Autumn, 1972), 329-331.
Garrett "On Space Time in Art" (1972), Eric Rabkin, "Time and Rhythm in Literature and Painting," *Symbolism: An International Annual of Critical Aesthetics* 8 (2008).
[155] Isaacs, "Time and the Fourth Dimension", 4.
[156] Bértola, "On Space and Time",27.
[157] Rabkin, "Time and Rhythm", 220.

A focal area of research throughout this study has been the discovery of a definition of fantasy that services both literature and the visual arts. This encounters a number of obstacles, not least of which is the approach of past scholars to subjects as various as fantasy, spacetime in the arts, and the history of art itself. Consistent with Todorov and Herder's claims, some scholars have assumed a degree of non-compatibility when it comes to analysing visual and literary works in tandem. Art historian W.J.T. Mitchell, in his book *Iconology* (1986), viewed this position as stemming from a pervasive view that nothing 'seems more intuitively obvious than the claim that literature is an art of time, painting an art of space.'[158] If literature is the art of time, and narrative is the function of time in story, and fantasy is predicated on narrative, Todorov could be right in having written that 'the fantastic requires […] a reaction to events as they occur in the world evoked. For this reason, the fantastic can subsist only within fiction.'[159] Yet later in *The Fantastic*, Todorov acknowledged that 'we know that literature belongs to the field of [signs],'[160] and, as Mitchell explained, the tradition of 'denying temporality in the visual arts', which he saw as the unfortunate inheritance of Lessing's *Laocoön* (1766), assumes that there can be no speculative enquiry into the interrelation of space and time in painting.[161] As Rabkin explained, interpreting a painting:

> is a reading, not a glance; this is an extended process of questioning, noticing, reflecting and anticipating, bringing extra-artistic knowledge to bear, in order to experience the intra-artistic signifiers, and so on. We read paintings just as surely as we read literature.[162]

Signs, signification, and myth form the backbone of the structuralist approach that Mitchell and Rabkin's methods point towards. Given that an interdisciplinary study can be undermined when unsatisfactory systems of co-analysis are put in place, this study argues

[158] W.J.T. Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 95.
[159] Todorov, *The Fantastic*, 60.
[160] ibid., 92.
[161] Mitchell, *Iconology*, 99.
[162] Rabkin, "Time and Rhythm", 220.

that literary texts and visual works of art should be jointly synthesised within a structuralist framework. Such a methodology emphasises the idea of fantasy as a unique system of inter-relating signifiers.

In this methodological vein, I draw here from the work of Bal, according to whom narratives can be broken down into text, story, and fabula (or signs).[163] In her book *Narratology* (1985), Bal posited that the structuralist tradition of viewing text and fabula as homologous was open to criticism, particularly from students of the visual arts, due to the reductive position that fabula serve within the methodological framework of 'deep structure.'[164] Todorov's theory conforms to that viewpoint. Instead, Bal sought to approach fabula from an interdisciplinary narratological/anthropological perspective to demonstrate the tools of literature (text, story, fabula) and 'what they're for'.[165] This methodological perspective recalls Schurian's assertion that 'the "fantastic" is consequently much less a matter of art theory than of anthropology.'[166] Going forward, this study grants fabula (or the visual signifiers that make up a Secondary World) greater significance than has previously been afforded to them by theories of modern fantasy.[167]

As the work of the scholars indicated here suggests, it is difficult to talk of time without space and vice versa, given their fundamental connectedness. Bakhtin's idea of the chronotope therefore satisfies any issues we may face in attempting to extrapolate the presentation of time from space: the chronotope is the primary tool by which a work of visual art, like a work of literature, produces an impression of place. By the chronotope, fantasy

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[163] Bal, *Narratology*.
[164] ibid., 181.
[165] ibid., 185.
[166] Schurian, *Fantastic Art*, 14.
[167] An exception to this is Ekman's "Vitruvius". In this essay, Ekman examines what he terms non-narratival and extra-narratival material within Secondary Worldbuilding through the application of architectural models to the study of worldbuilding. Like this study does, Ekman sought to 'reveal not only how the world is constructed, but what function the structures have, and what they mean… [proposing] that the world-architectural way of reading a world would work just as well with worlds built in any medium, textual or non-textual, narrated or non-narrated.'

painting, like fantasy literature, is beholden to some of the expectations that we as viewers have of an intelligible painting. For, as Ostrowski indicated,[168] a fantasy world must nevertheless harmonise with the real-world language of signs. Unlike paintings that aim to reflect the organisation of space and time in reality, fantasy painting subverts the tenets of spacetime held as universal constants in our conception of reality. Therefore, we can now direct our enquiries regarding the emergent strangeness of fantasy art towards composition and form. In what way do they confound our expectations of reality? How do they subvert or resist a normative idea of time and space?

Chronotopes in fantasy vs. Realism

Though there is no framework for speaking about fantasy as a visual mode, it may be possible to discern an approximate definition by examining an art mode that purposefully rejects the unbelievable. Though they are not opposites, given that they draw heavily from the same language of signs, juxtaposition of theories association with fantasy and Realism emphasises the differing priorities of artists associated with these two art modes. For if fantasy is the art mode dedicated to the make believe, Realism is the art mode dedicated to the accurate reflection of real world sensory experience and by establishing how and in what ways Realist artists construct their artificial worlds, it might be possible to identify how fantasy artists subvert these structures in order to achieve their aim. This is not a novel approach to the study of fantasy. Ostrowski wrote that 'a scientific study of the fantastic in fiction ought to consist in defining the relation of its fantastic elements to the realistic elements in terms of the realistic conventions.'[169] Fortuitously, the history of Realism in painting was systematically and generously observed by Linda Nochlin in her seminal work

[168] Ostrowski, "The Fantastic and the Realistic", 63.
[169] ibid., 61.

Realism (1971) and is the means by which potential characteristics of fantasy art can be established.

Like the fantasy mode, Realism became a dominant Western art style in the middle of the nineteenth century. Nochlin defined it as a movement whose 'aim was to give a truthful, objective and impartial representation of the real world, based on meticulous observation of contemporary life.'[170] Like fantasy, Realism was interested in the notion of history and a parallel can be drawn between Nochlin's focus on 'the real world' as a means of defining Realism and the emphasis of fantasy scholarship on the Secondary World. In this regard, mid-nineteenth-century Realism and fantasy were united in their concern with history and its verifiability. Whereas Realists drove towards an observation of the single moment, fantasy artists developed increasingly ornate creative mythologies and invented histories. Place, as determined by various chronotopic presentations, thus became a definitive feature of both art categories.

As scholars have already observed, time is changed, manipulated, and fractured in order to aid an impression of unreality within fantasy. In contrast, Nochlin identified how the Realists rejected the presentation of temporal continuity in favour of an 'emphasis on the temporal fragment as the basic unit of perceived experience, like the equation of concrete fact with reality itself.'[171] To the Realist, the temporal fragment of the here and now is the only stable signifier of reality, synonymous with sensory information, and equated with factual evidence. Contrastingly, fantasy writers and artists rely upon the disturbance of temporal unities like the temporal fragment in order to convey an impression of unreality or alterity.[172]

These features were first observed as being unique to Rossetti's art and literature in the nineteenth century by critics such as Ruskin and Pater, both of whom positioned formal

[170] Linda Nochlin, *Realism* (St Ives: Penguin Books, 1990), 13.
[171] ibid., 31.
[172] See "Chronotopes in fantasy vs. Realism," 68-72.

aspects of his art and literature against dominant contemporary trends. Such elements would become foundational in modern fantasy. In a letter from Ruskin to Rossetti on the 15th June 1854, the art critic and champion of the Pre-Raphaelite style wrote in support of composition that allowed for the presentation of linear narrative:

> But as to what you say of your wish to unite several scenes in it on an elevated (?) horizon, I most entirely agree with you. No pictures are so interesting [as those] which tell a story in this consecutive way; and it would [never have] been given up but for the ridiculous 'unities' which the bad [critics of the] last two centuries insisted upon. The fact is – taking [the matter in the] most prosaic and severe way – you merely paint three [several pictures, and] unite them by interlude of background, instead [of painting them] separately. [sic.][173]

This excerpt highlights the presence of narrative (or telling 'a story in this consecutive way') in Rossetti's visual art, which Ruskin suggested was achieved through the presentation of 'several scenes' within a single work of art. It therefore establishes a link between fragmentation and extended narrative, in which the parameters of the Secondary World could, theoretically, be explored. Furthermore, this quote illustrates Ruskin's elevation of Rossetti's work as relatively novel. Indeed, Ruskin's description of the 'unities' that the bad [critics of the] last two centuries insisted upon' highlights the critic's disposition for styles that could be considered avant-garde, alternative, and out of the ordinary by the industry standards of the day.

The claim that Rossetti's use of fragmentation was essential to his application of the fantasy mode is further exemplified through attention to criticism of his literary works. For example, Pater, writing in 1883, discerned a similar quality in Rossetti's poetry to that observed by Ruskin about Rossetti's visual art:

> With him indeed, as in some revival of the mythopoeic age, common things – dawn, noon, night – are full of human or personal expression, full of sentiment. The lovely little sceneries scattered up and down his poems, glimpses of a landscape, not indeed

[173] William Michael Rossetti, *Ruskin: Rossetti: Pre-Raphaelitism: Papers 1854 to 1862* (New York and London: Dodd, Mead and Company and George Allen, 1899), 13.

> of broad open-air effects, but rather that of a painter concentrated upon the picturesque effect of one or two selected objects at a time.[174]

These 'little sceneries', like the 'several scenes' which Ruskin spoke of, are woven into the fabric of Rossetti's paintings and poems in such a manner as to express story and narrative in a protracted way. Such demonstrably non-Realist techniques were the primary means by which Rossetti conveyed an impression of his imaginary worlds. The following chapters will show how these techniques were established by Rossetti and inherited by subsequent fantasy artists.

Following the Enlightenment, the nineteenth century saw profound and widespread changes in belief. There was disconnection between those wishing to reflect the world as it is apprehended by the senses and those wishing to reflect the world of their imagination. During the Middle Ages Christian philosophies of time and space were widely held to be true and in various Christian traditions core tenets such as the intercession of the saints, the doctrine of the Trinity, and the omniscience of God appear to negate a wholly linear conception of time.[175] However, the notion of history that emerged in the nineteenth century, coupled with vast secularization, contributed to both the disenchantment of the world and a shift towards conceiving of time in a purely linear way.[176] The Realists rejected the proclivity of the Ancient world for representing a passage of time that was both, in Nochlin's words, 'condensed and stabilised by means of a significant kinetic summary' and a 'realistic' portrayal of the world.[177] However, fantasy artists increasingly incorporated this manner of

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[174] Walter Pater, "Dante Gabriel Rossetti,' in *Appreciations, with an Essay on Style* (Edinburgh: MacMillan and Co., 1889), 234.

[175] See Jacobs, "Fantasy and the Buffered Self". This article reviews the pertinence of Charles Taylor's idea of the porous (medieval) versus the buffered (modern) conception of the self to modern fantasy studies: 'fantasy, in most of its recent forms, may best be understood as a technologically enabled, and therefore *safe*, simulacrum of the pre-modern porous self,' providing 'an image of an enchanted world, of selves fully porous to supernatural forces.'

[176] For further commentary on the relationship between fantasy and the medieval Christian perspective, see Jacobs, "Fantasy and the Buffered Self", in which the author analyses the relationship of Charles Taylor's conception of the medieval, buffered self in the context of fantasy literature. See also Taylor, *A Secular Age*.

[177] Nochlin, *Realism*, 30-31.

constructing an idea of time into their generic language. Fragmentation and the use of multiple frames became a common tool for the visual artist to develop ideas around dimensionality and nonlinear presentations of chronotopes, such as timeslips, anachronisms, and the polder, a Secondary World defined by Clute as an enclave of 'toughened reality, demarcated by boundaries (thresholds) from the surrounding world.'[178]

Both fantasts and Realists engaged with spacetime to further the nineteenth century fascination with the notion of history: what is it, how is it constructed, is it verifiable? However, how they engaged with the idea of the chronotope diverged in emphasis. In sum, the nineteenth century saw a split between those who wished to accurately reflect a vision of space and time that was reflective of sensory experience and those who desired to realise the imaginary. The role that the chronotope plays in forming a work of fantasy is therefore a principal one. Attention to its relationship with form and content in the fantasy work of Victorian and Edwardian Britain will provide a basis for further investigation of the fantasy mode.

Conceiving of other places

In *Fantasy Art*, Schurian wrote that the impulse to create fantasy art and literature could be viewed as an opposite reaction to the trajectory of Enlightenment thinking, a reaction by which 'fantasy thus helped to create totally irrational times and spaces.'[181] Yet despite the fact that fantasy strives towards the projection of total alterity, scholars have attempted to rationalise 'irrational times and spaces' in order to grapple with the relationship of their production to normativity. The scientific enquiry into the nature of other spaces foregrounds this study. Examples such as Michel Foucault's *heterotopia* (1966), Frederic Jameson's

[178] Clute, *The Encyclopedia of Fantasy*, 772.
[181] Schurian, *Fantastic Art*, 8.

conception of the *simulacrum* (1991), and Edward Soja's *Thirdspace* (1996) show how alternative spaces, which resist normative spacetime conditions, have been identified through theoretical means.

Such theories are united by two qualities: they suppose that i) things exist in and occupy space and that ii) other spaces are composed of signification that is drawn from and mirrors reality. Like Johan Huizinga's conception of *playtime* as being distinctive or removed from the mundane, Bakhtin's theory of the carnivalesque, or Hakim Bey's idea of the Temporary Autonomous Zone,[182] there is evidence to show how modern philosophers have consistently pushed towards an idea of alterity that is aligned with its spatial configuration as outside of or beyond the space of the everyday. Often, these spaces are characterised as being *other* or in terms of their *wrongness*, thus affirming their existence as being defined by relationship to the normative real.

Having established some key conceptual ideas about how the chronotope functions within fantasy, the following section examines three existent conceptions of *other* places, including the liminal space, the play space, and the heterotopia. Like the methodology that seeks to construe the fantasy chronotope as the opposite of Realism, this section will look at how scholars have conceived of non-normative and un-real spaces to extrapolate features that might apply to the fantasy setting.

1. The liminal space

Fantasy scholarship has always held liminality to be of central importance to understanding how fantasy operates in relation to the everyday, as determined by sensory experience. Todorov's 'conception of hesitation' assumes the presence of the liminal,[183] Mendlesohn

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[182] A real-world space that is reconfigured to elude formal structures of understanding and control. See Hakin Bey, *Taz: The Temporary Autonomous Zone* (Brooklyn: Autonomedia, 1991).
[183] Todorov, *The Fantastic*, 25 quoted in Mendlesohn, *Rhetorics*, 182.

devoted one of her four subsections to it, "The Liminal Fantasy" ('that form of fantasy which estranges the reader from the fantastic as seen and described by the protagonist'),[184] and liminality also features in Slavoj Žižek's treatise on the abstractions of modernity in *The Plague of Fantasies* (1997), in which he wrote how the apprehension of modernity breeds 'a kind of liminal trancelike subjective experience' within the ''empirical' grey zone of liminal confusion and limitation of our perception.'[185] As these examples show, fantasy is often predicated on sensory abstraction, confusion, and an experience of arresting strangeness that follows.

In temporal and spatial terms, the liminal space is conceived as palpably separate from and/or at the edge of the real, normative, or mundane space. Positionality is therefore important and, in literary theory, has been ideated as belonging to consciousness. Mendlesohn explained that 'the position of the reader vis-à-vis the protagonist is central to the construction of liminality. It is the disjunction between the interpretation and understanding of this protagonist and that of the reader that has created the moment of hesitation.'[186] The liminal space is, therefore, a threshold point. It is a boundary between one thing and another. The liminal chronotope might be in space, e.g., between one person and another, but it might also be in time, e.g., between night and day. As the entry on thresholds in the *Encylopaedia of Fantasy* reads, 'thresholds may be physical, marking a gradient between two places of states of being, or metaphorical, marking some perception of change.'[187] According to Clute and Grant, the perception of this disjuncture is highlighted in fantasy literature by such devices as bondage, wrongness, or thinning,[188] which corroborates with Žižek's description of the 'liminal trancelike subjective experience.'[189]

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[184] Mendlesohn, *Rhetorics*, 182.
[185] Slavoj Žižek, *The Plague of Fantasies* (London: Verso, 1997), 61 and 199.
[186] Mendlesohn, *Rhetorics*, 220.
[187] Clute, *The Encyclopaedia of Fantasy*, 945.
[188] ibid.
[189] Žižek, *The Plague of Fantasies*, 61.

2. The play space

In *Homo Ludens* (1938), Johan Huizinga observed that the play space is 'a sacred space, a temporally real world of its own', 'which proceeds within certain limits of time and space, in a visible order, according to rules freely accepted, and outside the sphere of necessity of material utility.'[190] The fantasy chronotope functions as a type of play space, in which the internal laws are consistent and, therefore, credible, as Tolkien wrote was requisite.

As with liminality, the relationship between fantasy and play has already been established by scholarship. In *The Fantasy Literature of England*, Manlove suggested that England's particular predisposition towards fantasy art and literature can be linked to a cultural love of play:

> Fantasy also gives scope to the English love of play – play with the imagination, play with the rules of fairy-tale, play with philosophical ideas concerning such topics as time or a fourth dimension, play by mixing the supernatural comically with real life, by animating toys, having speaking animals or inventing wholly new worlds with their own rules.[191]

Like the liminal space, the play space is often grounded in relation to the nominal "real", as it is understood and determined by sensory perception. This space, as fantasy scholars have discerned of the liminal, operates according to its own natural laws, which often appear to disagree with our own.

In extending this idea to late nineteenth-century scholarship, Ruskin identified the quality of play as being integral to the grotesque, which has been established as having a definitional proximity with modern fantasy.[192] In the third volume of *The Stones of Venice*, he first observed how people play, grouping them into i) those who play wisely, ii) those who play necessarily, iii) those who play inordinately, iv) those who abuse the satirical, and v) those who do not play at all.[193] He then discerned a typology of play as it is expressed in art,

[190] Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens* (London: Routledge, 1949), 14 and 132.
[191] Manlove, *The Fantasy Literature of England*, 2.
[192] See "Fantasy as an art-historical term in Western art," 32-43.
[193] Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice, Volume III*, 127-130.

in the two categories of wise play and necessary play.[194] Accordingly, the successful application of the themes and motifs associated with wise and necessary play gives rise to the grotesque, otherwise conceived of as 'that magnificent condition of the fantastic imagination.'[195]

Like the play space, fantasy is a bounded world that is defined by chronotopic qualities that are unique to it. In works of fantasy, space and time are presented in non-normative ways that are accepted by the reader or viewer within the context of the work. Thus, the cultural paradigm of modern fantasy can be seen to conform to the essential act of creating play spaces.

3. The heterotopia

In his 1967 essay "Of Other Spaces",[196] Foucault determined that space and time were inextricably linked within Western consciousness and that the entirety of our experience was predicated on an understanding of ourselves in relation to those concepts.[197] Citing the work of Gaston Bachelard (1884-1962), Foucault described how our conception of space is neither homogenous nor empty, but 'thoroughly fantasmatic':[198]

> The space which is our primary perception, the space of our dreams, and that of our passions hold within themselves qualities that seem intrinsic: there is a light, ethereal, transparent space, or again a dark, rough, encumbered space; a space from above, of summits, or on the contrary a space from below, of mud; or again a space that can be flowing like sparkling water, or a space that is fixed, congealed, like stone or crystal.[199]

These spaces, as Foucault pointed out, are internal. However, the purpose of fantasy is arguably to represent these internal spaces to the external world. As such, all works of fantasy can be said to reflect space as it is perceived and determined by the individual self.

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[194] ibid., 130-131.
[195] ibid., 121.
[196] Foucault had previously used the term in 1966. This essay is the most thorough account that Foucault gave of the term.
[197] Foucault, "Of Other Spaces", 22.
[198] ibid., 23.
[199] ibid.

Foucault's conception of the heterotopia was defined according to six principles:

1. All human cultures constitute heterotopias
2. Heterotopias can alter in function
3. Heterotopias can juxtapose several places in one site
4. Heterotopias open on to heterochronies (ahistorical space)
5. Heterotopias are both open and closed
6. Heterotopias function in relation to remaining space(s)[200]

The heterotopia is therefore to be understood as a fringe site or liminal space to which non-normative conditions are relegated, a definition which bears many similarities to conceptions of fantasy that posit it to be a site of subversion.[201] Indeed, if we were to apply Foucault's conception of the heterotopia to fantasy, the following schema appears:

1. All human cultures constitute fantasies
2. Fantasies can alter in function
3. Fantasy can juxtapose several places in one site
4. Fantasy opens on to ahistorical space
5. Fantasy is both open and closed
6. Fantasy functions in relation to remaining space

These principles satisfy the tenets of fantasy observed by scholars and serve as a reminder of the drive towards alterity that is at the heart of fantasy.

Juxtaposition of the heterotopia with fantasy can also serve to underscore the relationship of fantasy to real-world signification set out in this study. Foucault wrote that our perception of the heterotopia is conditional upon principle 6, that it functions in relation to the space that remains. The role of the heterotopia is, therefore, either to 'create a space of illusion that exposes every real space [...] as still more illusory' or to 'create a space that is other, another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled.'[202] So too can we interpret fantasy in these divergent ways: either as i) pointing to the arbitrary nature of signification or as ii) echoing the construction of the lived-in world. Indeed, Secondary Worlds and the heterotopia both appear to conform to

[200] ibid.
[201] See Jackson, *Fantasy,* 22-23.
[202] Foucault, "Of Other Spaces", 27.

Foucault's definition of the latter as 'a floating piece of space, a place without a place, that exists by itself, that is closed in on itself and at the same time is given over to the infinity of the sea.'[203]

Summary

The fantasy chronotopes find reference points in existing conceptions of alternative spaces like the liminal space, the play space, and the heterotopia, and are united with them by being chronotopes which are conditional upon a relationship to reality. Indeed, as Ostrowski wrote, 'a work of completely fantastic fiction would have to present creatures that are completely different from us and modes of existence and action with their space and time settings completely alien to us,'[204] a sentiment which echoes Tolkien's observation that the Secondary World of fantasy always exists in relationship to the Primary World of reality. The following section identifies how forms and motifs drawn from reality are reconfigured within fantasy to create an impression of arresting strangeness, which, as the foregrounding notes evidence, follows on from established methods of identifying "other spaces."

Space and time in Victorian fantasy art

There are four prominent chronotopes found in fantasy art: enclosure, density, distortion and temporal dislocation. This typology was developed through observation of late Victorian and Edwardian cultural artefacts, including visual works of art and literature, and mirrors the typology that Ostrowski delineated in his study of literary works of fantasy.[205] It will become

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[203] ibid., 27.
[204] Ostrowski, "The Fantastic and the Realistic", 63.
[205] See ibid., which outlined a method for examining the interrelationship of matter, space, time, and consciousness within fantasy. Ostrowski worked from the position that 'within the limits of this world of everyday experience matter, space, time, and human consciousness form a certain pattern which is on the whole constant.' Through the reconfiguration of real elements, fantasy authors and artists can create an imaginary, Secondary World that has its own internal constancies. Ostrowski presented many examples of how this might be achieved: 1. 'free combination of features known from common experience' (57), 2. 'a reorganisation of the world of things can produce strange lands, states or planets' (58), 3. 'rearrangements of the matter-space-time

evident in the following chapters that works of art often include all or a mixture of the four chronotopes, yet enclosure, density, and distortion evidently configure spacetime in discrete ways. The fourth chronotope, temporal dislocation, is arguably a subset of the chronotope of distortion. However, because of its predominance in late Victorian and Edwardian fantasy art, it has been included as a separate category so that the prevalence of the medieval in fantasy can be explored more thoroughly.

Enclosure

Fantasy artists use enclosure to signify various aspects of their Secondary Worlds, including multiple worlds, different dimensions, narrative sequence, and timeslip. Enclosure might mean a) demarcation of a particular object away from another object or b) the inclusion of objects that cannot be found together in reality. Devices used to signify enclosure include multiple frames, hidden spaces demarcated by physical devices, and more abstract modes of enclosure, such as the superimposition of figures upon figures.

Fantasy chronotopes of enclosure rely upon a boundary to determine the space that the Secondary World occupies. A number of visual signifiers may alert the reader of viewer to this boundary, such as the cover of a book, the frame of a picture, or the proscenium arch of a stage. A notable reflection on this subject was made by the fairy scholar Nicola Bown, who explained how the phenomenon of enclosure can aid the reception of a work as fantasy within the context of theatre space:

> Both the spectator in the theatre and the viewer of a painting gaze through the proscenium arch or frame into a scaled-down version of the world they inhabit. The

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relationship' (58), 4. 'free play with consciousness' (58), 5. 'changing relationship between matter, consciousness and time' (58), 6. 'an ability to leave one's body […] an untypical relationship between mind and human body' (58-59), 7. 'an ability to subdue or kill other men or beasts by mere thought and will […] new combinations of mind and matter' (59), 8. 'any heightening of mental prowess means their emancipation from matter and space' (59), 9. 'knowledge of the future or of the unrecorded past, memory of previous incarnations, unusual longevity or immortality are all based on a rearrangement of the typical relations between mind, matter and time' (59). This essay highlights that the original data used to construct a fantasy world is always extracted from reality, for 'a work of completely fantastic fiction would have to present creatures that are completely different from us and modes of existence and action with their space and time settings completely alien to us.'

> disparities of scale present in the world of the spectator are thus dramatized and intensified in the brightly lit rectangle inside the theatre's arch or the picture frame.[206]

Within the visual arts, the arch and the frame serve as the rationalising feature of fantasy, suggesting boundary, polder, and portal between Primary and Secondary Worlds. In this regard, I agree with Jacques Derrida's (1930-2004) 'discourse on the frame' that it is a boundary that belongs neither wholly to the artwork nor the space in which it is situated.[207] Derrida's position further illuminates one of the ways in which visual art is predisposed towards the presentation of the fantastic, in that the frame simultaneously draws the viewer's attention to the artifice of the object whilst also setting up an hermetically sealed space in which the precepts of the Secondary World can be accepted.

The setting of disparate spaces within a single work of art, particularly one that explores the supernatural, promotes the idea of transgression away from reality into fantasy. An illustration for a book entitled *A Series of Ballads & Metrical Tales Illustrating the Fairy Faith of Europe* by Burne-Jones (Figure 4) provides an example of how enclosure is used in this way.[208] This work conforms to the principles discussed in Ruskin's letter to Rossetti of 1854, in which he supported the idea 'to unite several scenes' within a single work of art.[209] The frontispiece is used to suggest what a reader will likely find in the pages beneath through a patchwork series of fantastical images that include a knight and princess in the top left corner, a gothic folly beneath them, men and women dressed in medieval garbs, and goblins and little folk adorning a bough above a central slumbering figure. In this instance, the use of various frames also promotes the idea of multiple stories being linked or part of the same overarching narrative. Through the chronotope of enclosure Burne-Jones was able to

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[206] Nicola Bown, *Fairies in Nineteenth-Century Art and Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 75.
[207] Jacques Derrida, *The Truth in Painting*, translated by Geoff Bennington and Ian McLeod (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 45.
[208] It is one of the artist's earliest works, created whilst he was matriculating at Oxford and was greatly inspired by the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood.
[209] Rossetti, *Ruskin: Rossetti*, 13.

embellish his fairy world with an abundance of details, which aid the narrative protraction of his image.

The relationship of the fantasy chronotope of enclosure to narrative protraction is significant. As discussed in the previous section, if an illustrator is attempting to convey a sense of story, enclosure can be a useful means of imparting a visual impression of time passing. In commissions such as Burne-Jones's, as well as Rossetti's visual rendition of his poem *The Blessed Damozel* (Figure 5),[210] the artist's use of multiple frames helps to convey a sense of the Secondary World's breadth. In this approach multiple frames are juxtaposed in some way to create enclosed spaces that speak to one another. This feature continues to be an established feature of present-day fantasy art created for comic books and graphic novels.

Enclosed spaces that alert the viewer to the fantastic also appear *within* a work of art. For example, many of the illustrations made by Keith Henderson and Norman Wilkinson for a 1908 publication of Chaucer's *The Romaunt of the Rose* (Figure 6-9) establish spatial difference through a series of barriers made to suggest the separation of the hidden from the real. As described by the contemporary critic G.R.S. Taylor, Henderson and Wilkinson's imaginative use of form and composition effectively expressed 'a dreamworld spun by imagination.'[211] In his note that 'if their technical skill is unusually great, still greater is their knowledge of the realms of poesy,'[212] Taylor's reflection on these watercolours evidences one contemporary reception of the works as fantasy. In these illustrations, the artists primarily achieved an impression of enchantment through the fantasy chronotope of enclosure, which conveys the relationship of the hidden supernatural to the mundane within the Secondary World.

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[210] See "The Blessed Damozel," 136-138.
[211] After viewing the original watercolours exhibited at the Baillie Gallery, Taylor exclaimed 'one is bankrupt of adjectives at once. The graceful fancy of these pictures could scarcely be overpraised.' G.R.S. Taylor, "Art," *The New Age* 4, no. 6 (1908), 116.
[212] ibid.

The trellis, and often the hedge, play an important role in fantasy art when an artist wishes to juxtapose the Secondary World with reality; both apparatuses simultaneously reveal and disguise that which is beyond them. The hesitation prompted by not being able to fully comprehend a thing is a strong visual reminder of our experience of the intangible. The French artist Jean-Max Albert used latticework extensively and he explained that the trellis allows for 'a visual contact of external and internal elements. It allows [us] to observe together the inside and the outside of a construction.'[213] Like the portal or the frame, the permeated boundary of the trellis simultaneously sets up a visual symbol of the boundary of existence whilst also hinting at a world beyond. Such features suggest the unknown, the unregulatable, and the uncertain and function to promote both the moment of hesitation (Todorov) and a sense of arresting strangeness (Tolkien).

The fantasy chronotope of enclosure was also a notable feature of decorative art during the late Victorian era, which is perhaps best evidenced by Burges's work for the 3rd Marquess of Bute. As the visitor moves through Cardiff Castle, once the private home of Bute, they are drawn through a series of otherworldly interiors that are ostensibly unrelated. Though the design is unified by overarching themes and decorative schemes (the medieval and the supernatural permeate the umbrella scheme), every enclosed room has an independently complex design of its own, a facet of Burges's work that is shared by his other major decorative schemes at Castel Coch (redesigned and decorated 1875-1891) and The Tower House (1875-1881).[214] Each of the rooms of Cardiff Castle features an internally consistent aesthetic scheme that champions a set of themes and motifs,[215] which encourage

[213] Jean-Max Albert, *L'Espace de Profile. Space in Profile* (Paris: Les Editions de la Villette, 1993), 18.
[214] Principally *Castel Coch* (redesigned and decorated 1875-1891) and *The Tower House* (1875-1881). See Roquet, "Life in Costume", 181-231: "The Self, the City, and the Making of Tower House" for an exploration of Tower House as a 'modern' work of art..
[215] For example, the Day Nursery transports visitors into a realm of princesses, fairy tale characters, and talking animals (Figure 10), an enchanting and playful decorative scheme that was designed to encourage play through detailing familiar features from folklore and fairy tale.

the visitor to rationalise each of these spaces according to fantasy precepts, as spaces in which anything is possible. These rooms tell us: abandon what you believed the limits of architecture and design to be.

Thus, the fantasy chronotope of enclosure performs many functions. It can aid the presentation of an extended narrative in which more complex and nuanced ideas about the supernatural can be explored. It can be suggestive of inter- or multi-dimensionality and the existence of multiple realities in which there are different expectations of the supernatural. It can be used to represent the private nature of the individual fantasy. Finally, it can be a visual way of relegating the fantastic to a place away from the real.

Density

As previously established, enclosure allows an artist to embellish a Secondary World with detail from multiple perspectives. In a similar manner, a dense or complex composition can provide a viewer with a great deal of information about a Secondary World. This feature of modern fantasy art is related to the art cultures that directly preceded it. Indeed, the particular predisposition of modern fantasy art towards density might be understood as part of its Pre-Raphaelite inheritance, which was itself an extension of the Romantic attention to nature. Smith wrote in the 2004 exhibition catalogue *Pre-Raphaelite Vision: Truth to Nature* that 'despite its disavowal of tradition, the immediate roots of the Pre-Raphaelite landscape reside in the Romantic emphasis on the visual complexity of humble objects.'[216] And Barlow, in his essay on Millais within *The Cambridge Companion to the Pre-Raphaelites* (2012), wrote that 'devotion to nature's complexity has always been thought to be distinctively Pre-Raphaelite.'[217] Dedication to replicating the overabundance of nature, which was a hallmark

[216] Alison Smith, "The Enfranchised Eye," in *Pre-Raphaelite Vision: Truth to Nature*, ed. Harry N. Abrams (London: Tate Publishing, 2004), 11.
[217] Paul Barlow, "John Everett Millais (1829-1896)" in *The Cambridge Companion to the Pre-Raphaelites*, ed. Elizabeth Prettejohn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012): 141.

of both the Pre-Raphaelite and Arts and Crafts styles, perhaps paradoxically, became the blueprint for later fantasy works.

Density within the spatial configuration of a work of fantasy is, therefore, a means of reflecting the natural complexity of the Primary World.[218] For a work of fantasy to be received as a credible Secondary World, it must reflect reality in this way. So, through the chronotope of density, fantasy artists used familiar forms as a means of filling their invented worlds with rich visual detail, interspersing natural forms with imaginary or supernatural forms in order to root the illusory within a fully formed vision of alterity, as exemplified by John Anster Fitzgerald's *The Stuff That Dreams are Made Of* (Figure 11), Eleanor Fortescue Brickdale's *The Lover's World* (Figure 12), and Noel Laura Nisbet's *Evil Spirits Who Wander the World* (Figure 13).

An elaborate composition can also aid in the conveyance of narrative, which is often crucial in elaborating a fully formed fantasy universe. As Landow contended in his essay "And the World Became Strange", it is the details of a work of fantasy which 'stimulate in the reader that sense of wonder at encountering something delightfully or fearfully strange.'[219] The visual complexity of dense images may prompt the viewer to spend time observing their details, during which a sense of wonder builds as the viewer discovers its delightful and strange elements, as, for example, in John Duncan's *The Play Garden* (Figure 14). In this composition, a myriad of fantastical figures, including a phoenix and a pair of mermaids, populate various landscapes. The figures appear to be in various stages of play and further inspection of the daintily toned painting reveals a culturally unspecific ode to the pre-adolescent imagination, complete with tea party (top left), cowboys and Indians (mid right),

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[218] Density in the fictive space as a reflection of the density of the natural world is also bound to the idea of *horror vacui* in art, which references Aristotle's belief that 'nature abhors a vacuum.' Mario Praz coined the term in direct relation to the overabundance of Victorian art. See William Lidwell, et al., *Universal Principles of Design, Revised and Updated* (Gloucester, Mass.: Rockport Publishers, 2010): 128 for further information.
[219] Landow, "And the World Became Strange", 9.

and a host of orientalised figures in the bottom centre. In this example density, like enclosure, can promote a sense of arresting strangeness through the presentation of narrative.

Axel Haig's illustration of the Summer Smoking Room at Cardiff Castle (Figure 15) serves as another example of the effect that density can have in transporting the viewer to an imaginary Secondary World. The abundant use of design elements, which is equal in its physical iteration (Figure 15), is enthusiastic and unremitting. As was typical of Burges's style, there is little or no vacant space and every inch of the room, from furnishings to fittings, is bedecked in colour and form. The effect of such a fantastical incorporation of various art styles is dramatic; the room was later described by John Betjeman as 'the grandest room in the tower, a riot of reds and golds and blues.'[220] Indeed, riotous describes the effect of the fantasy chronotope of density art well. These oftentimes overwrought canvases can be viewed as an extension of Pre-Raphaelite hyperreality, in which the natural is aggrandized and repeated to create an impression of the super-natural. Within fantasy, densely packed canvases and crowded compositions enabled artists to create vast worlds within a single frame. In doing so, natural forms become ostensibly marvellous, through their redistribution and presentation in a new format.

Distortion

Many types of distortion occur within fantasy, including transformation, dissolution, and exaggeration. Hyperreality might also be considered to fit within this chonotope, in which every day forms are exaggerated in a way that makes them appear evidently unrealistic. This study has discovered the following distortions particular to visual works of fantasy created during this period:

1. Rejection of linear perspective
2. Defiance of the laws of physics
3. Hybridisation of subject and object

[220] John Betjeman, "Weekly Letter," *London Calling*, Jul 2, 1953, 9.

4. Distortions of scale

The fantasy chronotope of distortion can therefore be viewed as a particular type of manipulation of spacetime that draws attention to the unreality of the Secondary World through its subversion of elements of the Primary World.

There has been investigation of how this takes place in both visual art and literature. Landow considered how transformations are a tool used by fantasy artists to visualise an unreal setting through 'fantastic distortions,'[221] specifically transformations of the vantage point of normal perception. Likewise, Jackson designated transformation as one of the primary opening activities of fantasy literatures, along with invisibility, impossibility, and defiant illusion. Within these notions, Jackson wrote, 'the 'real' world is re-placed, its axis dissolved and distorted so that temporal and spatial structures collapse'.[222] As these excerpts show, distortion and transformation have been identified as one of the primary means by which a fantasy author or artist establishes their work as unrealistic.

The fantasy chronotope of distortion relies upon the viewer having a general awareness of pictorial conventions, such as those set out by Leon Battista Alberti in *On Painting* (1435). For, as Ostrowski asserted, fantasy can only be understood once a general understanding of the conventions of a particular medium have been established.[223] In his work, Alberti wrote that 'no one would deny that the painter has nothing to do with things that are not visible. The painter is concerned solely with representing what can be seen.'[224] This notion is clearly problematised by the idea of the fantastic, which is concerned with the imaginary and the unseen. However, as has already been established, even the fantasy artist must use the building blocks of the visual world, which they then transform or challenge in order to imprint their work with a sense of the otherworldly.

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[221] Landow, "And the World Became Strange", 15.
[222] Jackson, *Fantasy,* 22-23.
[223] Ostrowski, "The Fantastic and the Realistic", 70.
[224] Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, trans. John R. Spencer (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), 43.

Just as the theoretical underpinnings of Realism aid a discovery of the theoretical underpinnings of fantasy, so too acknowledging the essential aspects of a visual work of art is the beginning point from which observations about distortion can be made. According to Alberti, a picture is composed of planes, lines, and points. These are the physical materials that an artist requires to create space, which will in turn impress upon the viewer an idea of something. Alberti's three philosophical topics, identified by John R. Spencer as 'his approach to visible reality, *la piú grassa Minerva*; his use of the mathematical sciences as a means of controlling this reality, *mathematica*; and the means and aim of humanist painting, *istoria*' combine to form the basis of the Renaissance historian's argument about linear perspective and subsequently provided the basis for theoretical discussions about pictorial conventions in Western scholarship on the history of art.[225]

Linear perspective is often confounded within fantasy art for the principal purpose of subverting visible reality. It is therefore not suprising that within fantasy art many of the precepts that Alberti deemed to be essential for aesthetic value are absent or distorted. As is often the case with artworks which explore enclosure in some way, the distortion of Primary World spacetime can be a means of introducing narrative and multi-dimensionality. Paintings that are concerned with the cosmological, such as William Blake's *When the Morning Stars Sang Together* (Figure 16) and Frederick Alfred Rhead's *The Creation of Flowers and Plants* (Figure 17), use the distortion of linear perspective for these ends. Unlike literary counterparts such as J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Silmarillion*, which relied on the protracted medium of an extended literary narrative in order to explain the ordering of a multi-dimensional universe, the visual artist is confined by the real-world boundary of a two or three-dimensional space. The distortion of linear perspective is, therefore, a hallmark of modern fantasy painting that is often achieved through the rendering of scenes with uncertain

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[225] John R. Spencer, in ibid., 18.

and indeterminate physical boundaries. Whereas Alberti's ideal painting was made up of planes, lines, and points, many fantasy artworks like Blake and Rhead's paintings are missing concrete lines that configure the boundaries of the depicted universe. In these paintings, the human figures drift solidly through uncertain lands to impress upon the viewer a sense of liminality.

The proximity of the grotesque to fantasy can also be used to highlight the function of the fantasy chronotope of distortion. In *The Stones of Venice*, Ruskin determined the principal condition of the noble grotesque to be playfulness,[226] and it is this playfulness, or the free interplay between forms, that characterises the kind of distortions that take place in fantasy. This link has been established by Symonds, who described a relationship between fantasy and the grotesque by highlighting that 'the fantastic […] invariably implies a certain exaggeration or distortion of nature. What we call the fantastic in art results from an exercise of the capricious fancy, playing with things which it combines into arbitrary, non-existent forms.'[227] Play, unfettered by the restraints of representing the world according to sensory experience, defines the kind of imaginative work that goes into the creation of fantasy.

Close analysis of fantasy paintings shows the degree to which the free interplay between forms constitutes the fantasy chronotope of distortion. Both G.F. Watts's *Life's illusions* (Figure 18) and Annie Swynnerton's *Illusions* (Figure 19) juxtapose forms in surprising ways to evoke scenes of arresting strangeness. In these paintings, distortion of form is the primary tool used to achieve a visual representation of fantasticality. These paintings also conform to some of the chronotopes associated with the liminal space, in which, as Clemens Ruthner wrote, fantasy acts 'as a staging of *liminality* or as the liminality

[226] Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice Volume III*, 121.
[227] Symonds, "Caricature, the Fantastic, the Grotesque", 519.

of representation.'[228] Such fantasy attests to the instability of signification within the liminal moment, an impression that is achieved through the fantasy chronotope of distortion.

The Fairy Feller's Master-Stroke (Figure 20) by Richard Dadd serves as a further example of how the chronotope of distortion functions within fantasy art.[229] Certain features of the painting provide an anchor for the distorted elements, such as the daisies, nuts, and grass which the viewer can use for scale. This aspect of the work serves to augment the distorted elements of the miniature people and their miniature world, a tactic that was used by many Victorian fairy painters.[230] For, as Bown wrote, 'all fairy paintings must negotiate questions of scale.'[231] On the stage, children played fairies, and as the Victorian developed ever more accurate means of observing the microscopic world, fairy painters created increasingly more complex scenes of the miniature world.[232]

Fantasy art relies upon building blocks, including forms and motifs drawn from nature. Through the distortion of boundaries between the microscopic and what Ostrowski called the "medium sized" world, an impression of alterity emerges.[233] Though Dadd and other fairy artists painted worlds full of familiar objects, the distortion of those objects in scale results in the viewer interpreting the image to be a work of fantasy. By reconstituting the microscopic world in the context of the human world, fantasy artists distort the boundaries between the two in order to impress an impression of unreality on their paintings.

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[228] Clemens Ruthner, "Fantastic Liminality: A Theory Sketch," in *Collision of Realities: Establishing Research on the Fantastic in Europe*, ed. Lara Schmeink and Astrid Böger (Germany: De Gruyter, 2012), 49.

[229] This painting was composed whilst Dadd was interred at Broadmoor for patricide and scholarship has tended to interpret the dark, claustrophobic, and densely packed scene as reflective of Dadd's madness. The artist attempted to convey in a literary form which he perhaps felt that he had failed to do in this painting and in 1865 wrote the poem "Elimination of a Picture & its Subject – called The Feller's Master-Stroke".

[230] Some of the most famous fairy painters of this period include Dadd, John Anster Fitzgerald (1819-1906), John Simmons (1823-1876), John Atkinson Grimshaw (1836-1893), and Arthur Rackham (1867-1939).

[231] Bown, *Fairies*, 74.

[232] On Victorian fairy culture and scientific developments, see Ursula Seibold-Bultman, "Monster Soup: the microscope and Victorian fantasy," *Interdisciplinary Science Reviews* 25, no. 3 (2000), 211-219; Laurence Talairach-Vielmas, *Fairy Tales, Natural History and Victorian Culture* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Laura Forsberg, "Nature's Invisibilia: The Victorian Microscope and the Miniature Fairy," *Victorian Studies* 57, no. 4 (Summer 2015), 638-666; Olivia Campbell, "Under Victorian Microscopes, An Enchanted World," *JStor Daily*, 21 Feb, 2018, accessed 21 Sep, 2020, https://daily.jstor.org/victorian-microscope-enchanted-world/.

[233] Ostrowski, "The Fantastic and the Realistic", 55.

The fantasy chronotope of temporal dislocation: the medieval as palimpsest

Medieval forms continue to dominate both literary and visual fantasy Secondary Worlds.[234] As Maria Sachiko Cecire acknowledged in a recent article, 'much has changed in the fantasy genre in recent decades, but the word 'fantasy' still conjures images of dragons, castles, sword-wielding heroes and premodern wildernesses brimming with magic.'[235] However, fantasy and the modern conception of the Middle Ages have a more profound connection than the purely aesthetic in that they are systematically and structurally predisposed towards imaginative rendering. Scholarship attests to this: Adam Roberts and Elisabeth M. Sanders have coupled the significance of fantasy's emergence within a time of rapid secularisation,[236] arguing for an interpretation of the medieval in fantasy as emblematic of a desire for enchantment, and Lucie Armitt, in her survey of twentieth- and twenty-first-century visual works of fantasy, asserted that medieval fantasy was forged in the nineteenth century as a means of establishing a setting that was demonstrably other.[237]

Existing studies that posit the nineteenth century to be the root of medievalised or medievalesque modern fantasy are further supported by the argument that such fantasy emerged from medieval antiquarianism.[238] However, to relegate such "antiquarianism" to the pre-modern period is misleading as there is evidence to show that this kind of antiquarian

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[234] Examples of medievalesque modern fantasy art include *The Legend of Zelda* video game series released between 1986-2019, *The Witcher* book series published 1993-2013 (Netflix television series 2019 onwards), and the *Game of Thrones* book series published from 1996 (HBO television series 2011-2019).

[235] Maria Sachiko Cecire, "Empire of Fantasy," *Aeon* (Nov 30, 2020), accessed Nov 30, 2020, https://aeon.co/essays/the-rise-and-fall-of-the-oxford-school-of-fantasy-literature?fbclid=IwAR2wcDGGc2dFTQtGaYosnKDdkW3QBj3AFuyFlip7T1bzSzXRjHLU3_NQvEc.

[236] See Adam Roberts's essay on Gothicism in *The Cambridge Companion to Fantasy Literature* (2012), which charted the development of the Gothic from the late eighteenth century onwards and established how it impacted upon the Victorian imagination; "Gothic and horror fiction," in Mendlesohn, *The Cambridge Companion to Fantasy Literature*, 21-36; and Elisabeth M. Sanders's *Genres of Doubt: Science Fiction, Fantasy and the Victorian Crisis of Faith*, which viewed Morris's neo-medieval Secondary Worlds as attempting to recapture a pre-secular, enchanted age; as, even for Morris, who was a vocal atheist, 'the few references to God or faith serve primarily, if not only, to contribute to that aura of the past.' Elizabeth M. Sanders, *Genres of Doubt: Science Fiction, Fantasy and the Victorian Crisis of Faith* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company Inc., 2017), 138.

[237] See also Armitt, *Fantasy*, 51-56.

[238] See "Modern fantasy as an extension of medieval antiquarianism," 44-47.

activity persisted without the aura of the imagination that accompanied fantasy. For example, in an anonymous review of H.G. Knight's *The Normans in Sicily* (1838) published in *The Athenaeum*, the author wrote of 'the chief Gothic species, - Romanesque, Byzantine, Lombard, Saxon, Burgundian, Moorish, &c., being but different epithets applied to the same things, by the fantasy or philosophy of different authors.'[239] This sentiment shows that even as late as the mid-Victorian period, antiquarianism was associated with the loose application of historical terms to artefacts of the past. In the same way that Ruskin's attribution of the grotesque to the fantastic does, this excerpt shows that Victorians thought of fantasy as being to do with the imagination and, specifically, the loose application of terms to the description of the pre-modern world.

Both this review and Ruskin's writings show that in the Victorian period the medieval was considered to be a realm ripe for decoration by the imagination, a facet of cultural history that can be illustrated by reference to Victorian works of art. For example, when juxtaposing Burges's *The Great Bookcase* (Figure 21) with *The Prioress' Tale Wardrobe* (Figure 22), designed by Phillip Webb and painted by Burne-Jones, Matthew Winterbottom observed that the application of medieval forms and motifs in Victorian art draws our attention to their invented aspects. Winterbottom wrote that 'although both pieces clearly look back to medieval antecedents, they are stylistically, iconographically, and technically very different.'[240] This notion of difference serves as a reminder of the artifice of these objects. Neither artefacts nor replicas, these works are medievalised Victorian fantasy. Through works such as these, late Victorian artists spun stories about a medieval world in which the spirit of the Gothic was preserved and the idea of England as a medieval wonderland-that-never-was was visually, and perhaps even ideologically, consecrated. The purpose of the

[239] Anonymous, "Review of The Normans in Sicily," *The Athenaeum*, no. 550 (May 12, 1838), 1.
[240] Matthew Winterbottom, "Not Acceptable to Present Taste: William Burges's Great Bookcase," *The Decorative Arts Society: 1850 to the Present* 41 (2017), 17.

following section is, therefore, twofold; firstly, it builds on the assertion that the fantasy mode can be observed in visual art through attention to configurations of spacetime and, secondly, it contributes towards a statement in support of the 'short' history of fantasy, whereby medievalesque fantasy art and literature is viewed as a wholly Victorian creation.

'An otherworldly art of etherialized damozels and pallid knights in heavily brocaded medieavlesque settings':[241] fantasy and the medieval

In an interview on the medieval Secondary World of *Game of Thrones* by American author George R.R. Martin, Jessica Hines said that:

> The medieval occupies this pre-literal, pre-realist space for us. It's a space where the fantasy feels like it could have happened, and, perhaps more importantly, it's a space that seems steeped in symbol and allegory; where the figures who populate the landscape like dragons and giants can be more than just dragons or giants – they can be allegories for trauma or social disintegration.[242]

Hines's attribution of the medieval to the 'pre-literal' and the 'pre-realist' identifies it as a symbol of difference. Such difference has often been cited by scholars as a defining feature of fantasy and its many subgenres, such as the pseudo-medieval Secondary World, defined by Kenneth Zahorski and Robert H. Boyer as a subset of fantasy in which 'the customs, the beliefs, and the languages of these worlds are still different enough from ours to seem wondrous and strange.'[243] As supported by Nochlin's theory of Realism, while the "here and now" is typically conceived of as being real, everyday, and quotidian, the medieval continues to stand for the antithesis of the present reality, acting as a carrier for the strange, dislocated, unfamiliar, and other, acting, in effect, as a palimpsest for the presentation of ideas that in some way subvert, oppose, or reject the normative.

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[241] Weeks, *The Dream Weavers*, 9.
[242] Geoffrey Mock, "Why Game of Throne & Fantasy Literature Get Medieval: Jessica Hines on the enduring power of the Middle Ages for literary imagination," *Duke Today*, May 1, 2019, accessed Apr 13, 2020, https://today.duke.edu/2019/05/why-game-thrones-fantasy-literature-get-medieval.
[243] Kenneth J. Zahorski and Robert H. Boyer, "The Secondary Worlds of High Fantasy," in *The Aesthetics of Fantasy Art and Literature*, ed. Roger C. Schlobin (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1982), 61.

The inference of the Middle Ages within a work of fantasy serves to alert the reader or viewer to the otherness of the imagined universe. Such a temporal shift offers both an opportunity for recalibration, in that the artist can establish that the fictitious world is no longer a part of the known world, but also, and more fundamentally, a positioning of the represented world in direct relation to a period of relative enchantment in history. Our modern assumptions about the Middle Ages as being pre-Enlightenment, pre-rational, and a time when superstition and religious belief abounded, facilitates a link between the represented world and magic, the strange, and fantasy more generally. The idea of the medieval, therefore, helps to soften the transition of the reader or viewer from reality into the heart of the fantastic through a well-established idea that we moderns have of beliefs that the people of the Middle Ages may have held about the supernatural and the natural. When the medieval is involved or invoked in fantasy it serves not only to disrupt the unity of the present "real world" temporal fragment, but also to alert us to the possibility that magic might present itself. Thus, fantasy, a modern extension of pre-nineteenth-century art modes dealing with the supernatural, became formed by the dominant contemporary style associated with enchantment, magic, and the strange. By virtue of its temporal distance from the reality of the present, it also became a theme by which fantasy artists could explore and subvert ideas of time, thereby exacerbating the unreality of the representation.

Once Upon a Time: the medieval origins of the historical fantasy

The location of the enchanted world in an unidentified "time before" has been a feature of non-realistic literature since before the modern period. "Once upon a time…", a stock phrase that dates back to the Middle Ages and exists in many languages, continues to be an opening quip designed to transport us to a place of difference that is often in some way magical. It also reflects the principal driver of fantasy to relegate action to an alternative space and time (or, the Secondary World). Such a feature has been defined by Armitt as reflecting the human

impulse towards 'nostalgia for something that, in truth, we have never known, a perception that some kind of old order has passed and cannot be retrieved.'[244] Therefore, whilst the predisposition of modern fantasy towards the medieval setting is uniquely modern, structural aspects of the mode can be seen to mirror or be evolved from the features of past art and literature to do with the otherworldly.

The fantasy chronotope of temporal dislocation is a repositioning in *time* and not necessarily in *space*. On the one hand, such a dislocation explains why things are different in the imaginary story "place"; on the other, the spatial proximity of the Secondary World to the Primary World might suggest shared modes of being and that the action of the story set in the Secondary World has direct implications for our own. In his entry on "time", Clute wrote that: 'the concept of Time which governs fantasy is the medieval concept, […] the cycle of the seasons and the twice-told structure of the fantasy story are different ways of expressing the conviction what counts, what is true, is to be *found again*.'[245] Therefore, the "Once Upon a Time" motif creates a proximity (in space) between the Primary and Secondary Worlds that emphasises observations about human behaviour that may pertain to reality. This chronotope functions to provide the Secondary World with further credibility and might also emphasise didactic elements and socio-political commentary.

In this way, ancient and medieval folkloric practices can be seen to have set a precedent for modern fantasy's chronotope of temporal dislocation. For example, many of the stories that Frazer wrote about in *The Golden Bough* professed an idea of time as cyclical as opposed to linear.[246] So, though the modern tendency to view time as linear has implications for the teleological progression of a narrative within a work of fantasy, it is clear that some

[244] Armitt, *Fantasy*, 52.
[245] Clute, *The Encyclopaedia of Fantasy*, 946.
[246] Such as the killing of the corn-spirit, in which a member of the village was sent out to live the winter out in a barn in a complex ritual involving beatings and drownings. James Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (Chatham: Wordsworth Reference, 1993), 425-431.

fantasy narratives, such as Rossetti's "Saint Agnes of Intercession" and "Hand and Soul", experiment with the idea of time as circular.[247] The propensity of modern fantasy towards the chronotope of temporal dislocation shows a fealty to the medieval modes of belief as much as it does aesthetic forms.

When the "once upon a time" phrase is used by an artist as a title of a work, the expectations that we have of the phrase are then brought to bear on the work itself. Pictorial examples of artworks titled "Once Upon a Time" include those by Ann Macbeth (Figure 23), Edward Reginald Frampton (Figure 24), and Henry Meynell Rheam (Figure 25), which serve to underline the relationship of the stock phrase "once upon a time" to fairy tale and folklore. Macbeth's illustration draws heavily from nineteenth-century iconography associated with the Sleeping Beauty tale, Frampton's image shows a young, medievalised woman looking into the pages of a book, and Meynell Rheam's princess is depicted in a woodland hollow confronted with a group of dwarves. In short, the "Once Upon a Time" marker signifies fictionality, be it related to folkloric traditions or the very act of engaging with art and literature.

The kind of temporal dislocation brought to bear on a work through the title of "Once Upon a Time" requires the viewer to approach the object as a work of fantasy and not as a replica with pretensions to historical accuracy. Because they are titled *Once Upon a Time*, we do not assume the paintings by Macbeth, Frampton and Meynell Rheam to be in any way reflective of the way that medieval people used to live or the way that people live now. Similarly, medieval forms can act as the primary cue to the fantastic, wherein the temporal setting is the signifier of difference and alterity. If the known world operates according to the classical unities, then an unknown world, even one positioned in a "time before" can include characters and events that defy expectation either by the degree to which magic impacts on

[247] See "Rossetti's fantasy literature," 110-126.

the imaginary world or by the manner that time operates within the confines of the fictional narrative. For, as the Realists acknowledged, all we can be certain of is the sensory information of the immediate temporal fragment in which we exist. How time moves beyond the individual moment is a mystery, to which speculative genres like fantasy provide endless alternative answers.

Conclusion

This chapter provides a novel system for identifying and describing fantasy as a mode that influences visual works of art. It challenges the assertion that fantasy is only present within literature by evidencing how and in what ways visual artists create Secondary Worlds through the subversion of realistic presentations of space and time. It has identified how concerns, identified by Landow and others, that the fantasy mode is difficult to perceive in visual works of art are remedied by attention to the configuration of chronotopes.

By distinguishing the fantasy chronotopes in opposition to chronotopes associated with Realism and in approximation with chronotopes of "other spaces" this study provides a methodology for discerning fantasy that could be applied to many different mediums. Juxtaposition with existing models of spacetime in the visual arts and theoretical models of alternative spaces thus substantiates the claim that the fantasy mode can be observed in particular presentations of space and time. Four such chronotopic configurations are identified and described in this chapter. They include enclosure, density, distortion, and temporal dislocation, which function both in isolation and in tandem with each other. Such presentations of spacetime serve to alert the reader or viewer to the presence of the fantastic, causing the reader or viewer to perceive the work as fantasy

The prevalence of medieval forms and motifs in modern fantasy is significant. Given that an idea of the "time before" predisposes towards imaginative rendering, given that the

medieval continues to occupy the pre-rational space in consensus thought, the appearance of a medieval setting immediately alerts the viewer or reader to a place that is divorced from reality. In this scheme, the medieval is viewed as a palimpsest that is susceptible to occupation by imaginary Secondary Worlds.

There are potentially infinite ways in which spacetime, as the primary arbiter of reality, can be altered to facilitate the fantasy mode. However, the chronotopes here discussed are those that present most often and broadly categorise the manipulations of spacetime used by Victorian fantasy authors and artists. This typology provides a method for determining works of fantasy and the operation of the fantasy mode in visual works of art during the period marked roughly 1850-1920.

Chapter 2: Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882): the forgotten father of fantasy

Rossetti and fantasy

There have hitherto been no works dedicated to the study of Rossetti as a fantasy artist. However, many scholars and writers have observed proximities between Rossetti's art and literature and the fantasy mode. In 1980, following the publishing boom of fantasy literature in the United States,[248] John Weeks arranged and published *The Dream Weavers: Tales of Fantasy by the Pre-Raphaelites*, with stories written by Morris, Burne-Jones, Algernon Charles Swinburne, William Fulford, and R.W. Dixon. It also included Rossetti, who was positioned at the centre of Weeks's story about Pre-Raphaelite fantasy. Indeed, Weeks viewed the second wave of Pre-Raphaelitism, of which Burne-Jones and Morris were an integral part, as the moment during which modern fantasy was initialised, writing that 'in its second phase, dominated by Rossetti, moralism gives way to escapism, and Pre-Raphaelitism became an otherworldly art of etherealized damozels and pallid knights in heavily brocaded medievalesque settings.'[249] The 1997 *Encyclopaedia of Fantasy* likewise placed Rossetti at the forefront of the Pre-Raphaelite movement.[250] But, though it would appear that a connection has been made between the Pre-Raphaelites and fantasy, and that Rossetti is seen as the lynchpin of latter-day Pre-Raphaelitism within the context of that narrative, no attempt has been made to discern the pathways of influence and the stylistic similarities between his art production and that of later fantasy artists like Morris and Tolkien.

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[248] Meaning, *The Ballantine Adult Fantasy Series* published between 1969 and 1974 and *The Newcastle Forgotten Fantasy Library* published between 1973 and 1980.

[249] Weeks, "Introduction," in *The Dream Weavers*, 9.

[250] 'DGR was perhaps the most influential of the group, less ardent than Morris and less productive than Hunt, but nevertheless produced a body of work that remains the epitome of Victorian Romanticism … of all the Preraphaelities [*sic*.], DGR is perhaps the most representative and the most influential.' See Mike Ashley, "Dante Gabriel Rossetti" in Clute, *The Encyclopaedia of Fantasy*, 824.

This chapter highlights the key themes, motifs, and structural elements of Rossetti's literary and visual works of fantasy. It begins with a series of contextual points. "The being who reigned there" examines contemporary reception of Rossetti as a singular artist and evidences how he and his work were received by contemporaries. "There is no limit to the fleshliness" considers what beliefs Rossetti held, navigating ideas about the inherent Catholicity of Rossetti's work as a further means of establishing how and in what ways Rossetti engaged with the supernatural world. Finally, "Rossetti's medieval imagination", explores the role of medievalism of Rossetti's art making during the late 1850s when he was working closely with the young Burne-Jones and Morris. The purpose of these contextual studies is to establish the extent to which, and in what ways, Rossetti was thinking about the otherworldly, the imaginary, and alterity. They also present some of the key scholarly narratives that have engaged with aspects of Rossetti's work that are pertinent to this discussion, such as his use of enchantment, novelty, spirituality, religion, the supernatural, the medieval, and fantasy itself.

The final two sections are dedicated to an examination of the key stylistic elements of Rossetti's fantasy literature and art. These passages evidence how the fantasy chronotopes operate across both literary and visual works of art and serve as a first case study in support of these elements being a vital and traceable aspect of modern fantasy. In this way, Rossetti is shown to be a fantasy author and artist whose works predate the fantasy publications of MacDonald and Morris. This novel interpretation of Rossetti's work has implications not only for our understanding of the history of fantasy and its pathways of influence, but also for a new narrative about the relationship of Rossetti to art of the strange, supernatural, and imaginary in late Victorian Britain. Indeed, the following chapters will show that Rossetti's literary and visual fantasy works profoundly influenced his peers and the generation of artists who followed him.

Many of Rossetti's works deal with magic and the supernatural. These works can be categorised into the following types:

i. art inspired by ancient myth (*Astarte Syriaca*, 1877)
ii. art inspired by Christianity (*Ecce Ancilla Domini*, 1850)
iii. art inspired by Arthurian legend (*How Sir Galahad, Sir Bors and Sir Percival were Fed with the Sanc Grael,* 1864)
iv. art inspired by medieval literature (*Roman de la Rose*, 1864)
v. illustrations to Dante Alighieri's *Divine Comedy* (c. 1308-1320) (*Paolo and Francesca da Rimini*, 1855)
vi. illustrations of contemporary literatures of the strange (as written by authors such as Rossetti's sister Christina, Lord Alfred Tennyson, and Robert Browning)
vii. spontaneous works of the imagination (*The Blue Closet*, 1857, *How They Met Themselves*, 1851 onwards, and *The Blessed Damozel,* first commission accepted 1871).

This chapter will focus on Rossetti's spontaneous works of fantasy and illustrate how these can be interpreted as early attempts at Secondary World Building, as observed through the inclusion of the fantasy chronotopes of enclosure, density, distortion, and temporal dislocation. Moreover, though analysis of the double as a central theme of Rossetti's creative mythology, this chapter will illustrate how the artist imagined and represented notions of reality and unreality that reveals a persistent fascination with the inherent instability of "self", "other", "reality", and "fantasy". It will evidence how Rossetti's fantasies relied upon what Todorov called the 'moment of hesitation' for the principal action of his fantasy art and literature and show how the theme of the double and the tool of the moment of hesitation contributed to the artist's own creative mythology in which the natural and the supernatural collide in a series of motifs associated with bodily experience.

Campbell explained that a creative mythology can be understood as a story that replicates the experiences of the individual person, writing that 'this individual has had an experience of his own – of order, horror, beauty, or even mere exhilaration – which he seeks to communicate through signs.'[251] This notion is carried through in Rossetti's own creative

[251] Campbell, *Creative Mythology*, 4.

mythology, which was intimately bound up with the theme of the divided self and developed by signs such as the doppelgänger, the double in history, the soul and body imagined as discrete entities, and separated lovers. Dedicated attention to this theme, as well as a wider account of the presentation of chronotopes within Rossetti's fantasy sub-creations, positions Rossetti as the progenitor of the novel art mode of modern fantasy. This chapter substantiates the claim that Rossetti is the forgotten father of fantasy in two principal ways: through establishing the presence of a unified creative mythology within his work and through examination of how the fantasy chronotopes serve to present Secondary World within Rossetti's art and literature.

'The being who reigned there':[252] views on Rossetti, his 'fairy-land'[253], and the New School

In 1905, the British writer Emilie Isabel Barrington published a biography of Watts in which she detailed their acquaintance through a series of shared experiences, the most noteworthy being the moment of their meeting in Rossetti's studio:

> This seemed to me an enchanted chamber, the curious quaint beauty of the furniture and ornaments, the pictures in it which, like the voice of the painter, rang out a tune unlike all others; the garden, seen through a large window opening nearly down to the ground, a garden that might have been a hundred miles from London, indeed it felt to me still farther away out of this world in a fairy-land, with queer animals disporting themselves therein, all seemed to centre harmoniously round the strong personality of the being who reigned there.[254]

Through this almost sacred description of their meeting, Barrington sought to emphasise the importance of Watts. However, in doing so she also magnified the singularity of Rossetti by describing him as belonging to a strange and marvellous world of profound arresting strangeness, described as 'enchanted', 'curious', and 'queer' and as having unique spatial and

[252] Emilie Barrington, *G.F. Watts: Reminiscences* (London: George Allen, 1905), 3.
[253] ibid., 2.
[254] ibid., 2-3.

temporal qualities: ‘a garden that might have been a hundred miles from London indeed it felt to me still farther away out of this world in a fairy-land.’ In this way, Barrington imagined Rossetti, or ‘the being who reigned there’ whose voice ‘rang out a tune unlike all others’, as a fantastical being, who inhabited a liminal space not of this world.

The view of Rossetti as ruler of his own, singular domain accords with other accounts of the artist. On his deathbed in 1882, Whistler purportedly said ‘Rossetti was a King.’[255] And Pater’s essay on Rossetti (1883) positioned him as the progenitor of a ‘new school’ of painting that would come to dominate the British art world during and in the aftermath of his death.[256] These contemporary accounts come together to portray an idea of Rossetti as a titan, whose persona reflected the enchantment and novelty of his designs. Moreover, the idea of Rossetti as singular fits with what subsequent scholarship has said about the significance of the wider Pre-Raphaelite movement to art history. In their introductory essay to the accompanying catalogue for the Tate’s 2012 exhibition *Pre-Raphaelites: Victorian Avant-Garde*, Tim Barringer and Jason Rosenfeld wrote that Pre-Raphaelitism can be understood as ‘a self-conscious, radical, collective project of overturning current orthodoxies in art and replacing them with new, critical practices often directly engaged with the contemporary world.’[257] Like the description of Rossetti by contemporaries like Barrington, Whistler, and Pater, the Pre-Raphaelite movement has been viewed as distinctive, solipsistic, and defined in oppositional relation to the normative.

Interestingly, the idea of the Pre-Raphaelites as avant-gardists has recently been incorporated into fantasy scholarship. In her chapter “The Mirror Crack’d: Fractured Classicisms in the Pre-Raphaelites and Victorian Illustration” in *Classical Traditions in Modern Fantasy* (2017), Genevieve S. Gessert examined the relationship between the

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[255] Stanley Weintraub, *Whistler: A Biography* (New York: Weybright and Talley, 1974), 93.
[256] Pater, “Dante Gabriel Rossetti’, 228.
[257] Barringer, *Pre-Raphaelites: Victorian Avant-Garde*, 9.

inclusion of classical models in Pre-Raphaelite art with the assertion that 'they balanced a multiplicity of past styles and influences to craft a new aesthetic philosophy for the Victorian age.'[258] Such "newness", observed by Barringer, Rosenfeld, and Gessert as being a defining quality of the Pre-Raphaelites, is one of the primary focal points of this research. How and in what ways did late Victorian artists engage with the 'arresting strangeness' in new and radical ways? To what extent can this understanding be mapped according to the history of the 'new' genre of modern fantasy?

The answer lies with Rossetti and the trajectory of his influence beyond the nineteenth century. In his essay on the artist (1889),[259] Pater observed the qualities that have been discerned about the Pre-Raphaelite movement more widely as being intense in the work of Rossetti. In the immediate aftermath of Rossetti's death, Pater wrote of the poet artist as a solipsistic man who worked through his career in a palpably idiosyncratic style. For Pater, Rossetti was both the harbinger and instigator of a 'new school', an idea that he introduced through reference to one of Rossetti's earliest literary works, "The Blessed Damozel":[260]

> Those poems were the work of a painter, understood to belong to, and to be indeed the leader of a new school then rising into note; and the reader of today may observe already, in The Blessed Damozel, written at the age of eighteen, a prefigurement of the chief characteristics of that school.[261]

Pater did not identify the new school in strict terms. However, given that he did not call it Pre-Raphaelite we might consider Rossetti's legacy as connected with but not defined by the wider history of Pre-Raphaelitism. Perhaps the 'new school' identified by Pater might better be understood as a proto-fantasy mode, characterised by arresting strangeness and predicated on the peculiar interest of Rossetti's creative mythology, in which his fascination with themes

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[258] Gessert, "The Mirror Crack'd", 66.
[259] First published in Thomas Humphry Ward's *The English Poets* (1883).
[260] Evidence suggests that Rossetti began work on the poem in 1846. The first draft of was created in 1847 and the poem was first published in No. 2 of *The Germ* (1850). See *Rossetti Archive* for further details, accessed Sep 12, 2020, http://www.rossettiarchive.org/docs/1-1847.s244.raw.html.
[261] Pater, "Dante Gabriel Rossetti', 228.

such as erotic love and the divided self led him to imagine various Secondary World structures.

This argument is bolstered by the proximity between Pater's description of Rossetti's 'new school' and the language associated with sub-creation and Secondary World Building. Indeed, the shared rhetoric that exists between modern fantasy scholarship and Pater's essay on Rossetti is highlighted by the critics identification of Rossetti's overarching design as the 'shadowy world,'[262] as derived from Dante.[263] In this vein, Pater argued that Rossetti took something that he perceived in a medieval antecedent and transformed it for the modern age. This project of the imagination was, to Pater, to be interpreted as a whole: 'the whole of Rossetti's work might count as a House of Life, of which he is but the "Interpreter."'[264] In the same way that The Ancients saw Blake as the 'Interpreter' of his strange world, and G.K. Chesterton would later view Watts 'like one upon a tower looking down the appalling perspective of the centuries towards fantastic temples and inconceivable republics,'[265] so Rossetti was to Pater the creator of his own world, in whom all meaning originated.

Rossetti had a predilection for strange subject matter, but his drive towards alterity was also compounded in new forms and new ways of writing. As Pater wrote, Rossetti's poetry was characterised by 'the deliberate use of the most direct and unconventional expression, for the conveyance of a poetic sense which recognised no conventional standard of what poetry was called to be.'[266] In form and in subject matter, Rossetti was concerned with newness and how that newness could enhance the works of his creative imagination. These themes, of newness and strangeness, followed in his wake and came to typify the critical language associated with Burne-Jones and Morris, for whom Rossetti became a kind

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[262] ibid., 236.
[263] ibid., 236. 'like Dante, [Rossetti] knows no region of the spirit which shall not be sensuous also, or material.'
[264] ibid., 238.
[265] G.K. Chesterton, *G.F. Watts* (Chicago: Rand, McNally & Company, 1904), 34.
[266] ibid., 229.

of oracle. Indeed, Pater positioned Rossetti at the precipice of change, writing 'have there, in very deed been ages, in which the external conditions of poetry such as Rossetti's were of more spontaneous growth than in our own?'[267] Conditioning Rossetti's work within the conversation about 'newness' that would typify late Victorian discourse, Pater concluded his treatise on 'the imaginative creation of things that are ideal' in Rossetti by writing that 'his characteristic, his really revealing work, lay in the adding to poetry of fresh poetic material, of a new order of phenomena, in the creation of a new ideal.'[268]

Between Rossetti the fantastical being and Rossetti the creator of the shadowy world, a vivid picture of a modern fantast emerges. This interpretation of the artist is significant because it recognises how contemporary criticism discerned something enigmatic about his style and the prominence of themes to do with the real and the otherworldly within that discourse. Moreover, Pater's positioning of Rossetti at the beginning of a 'new school' of painting gives credence to the assertion that what we have come to call modern fantasy has an identifiable origin point in the mid-Victorian period. Now, Rossetti's particular blend of a 'delight in concrete definition'[269] and a desire to envisage 'the shadowy world'[270] of the creative imagination typifies not only the fantasy art and literature of Victorian England, but also that of today.

'There is no limit to the fleshliness':[271] borders of belief in Rossetti.

Critics have long speculated as to what beliefs Rossetti may have held. In a letter to Yeats dated the 8th November 1921, the Valeist Thomas Sturge Moore recollected certain

[267] Pater, "Dante Gabriel Rossetti', 239.
[268] ibid., 242.
[269] ibid., 231.
[270] ibid., 236.
[271] Robert Buchanan, "The Fleshly School of Poetry," *The Contemporary Review* 18, (1871), 343.

idiosyncrasies that he had heard of Rossetti's later life. He wrote that Rossetti's model and girlfriend Fanny Cornforth was 'something of a medium'[272] and:

> Rossetti certainly dabbled in spiritualistic experiences at that time but the only definite story I know or remember is the one given by Bell Scott about his conviction that a certain Chaffinch was his wife's soul. Watts-Dunton promptly persuaded him that he was an Agnostic, though at the bottom he was a very Christian mystic.[273]

Though murky, this picture of Rossetti fits with the one he projects via his fantasy art and literature, in which Christian myths were permeated with the strange, the fanciful, and the novel production of supernatural and otherworldly systems.

The palpable otherworldliness of Rossetti's work was often bound up with the application of the term 'Catholic' to it, sometimes favourably, sometimes negatively. In 1868 an anonymous statement in *Every Saturday* described the "The Blessed Damozel" poem:

> The religious sentiment in combination with this quality which we call subtlety generates all the beautiful childlike extravagances of mystical devotion; the Madonna of art and of the popular fantasy; the heavenly bridegroom of the convents; Angelico's orchestra of angels, and the rest of the lovely imagery of the Catholic imagination.[274]

This attribution followed Rossetti throughout his career, sparked by his early, controversially titled, book of poetry "Songs of the Art Catholic" (1847) in which the artist attempted to mould his infatuation with the world of the past into something new. His brother William Michael Rossetti would later say of this work that 'he meant to suggest that the poems embodied conceptions and a point of view related to pictorial art – also that this was, in sentiment though not necessarily in dogma, Catholic – mediaeval and un-modern. He never was, and never affected to be, a Roman-catholic, nor yet an Anglican-catholic.'[275] This so-called 'Catholic imagination' of Rossetti's work reveals his fascination with the past and

[272] Thomas Sturge Moore, "Letter to W.B. Yeats on 8th November 1921", in *W.B. Yeats and T. Sturge-Moore: Their Correspondence 1901-1937*, edited by Ursula Bridge (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1963), 43.
[273] ibid., 43-4.
[274] Anon., "A Pre-Raphaelite Magazine," *Every Saturday*, May 16, 1868, 621.
[275] William Michael Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: His Family Letters with a Memoir Volume 1* (London: Ellis, 1895), 114.

enchantment, even if it does not clarify what beliefs the artist himself held. For as the Catholic priest and science fiction author Andrew Greeley wrote in his seminal book *The Catholic Imagination* (2001): 'Catholics live in an enchanted world […]. Catholic paraphernalia are mere hints of a deeper and more pervasive religious sensibility which inclines Catholics to see the Holy lurking in creation.'[276] The attribution of the words Catholic and catholic to Rossetti's work can therefore be seen to reveal the significant connection between religious perspectives, particularly that of Roman Catholicism, and modern fantasy's subsumption of otherworldly themes, forms, and motifs into its complex visual tapestry.[277]

In his article "What did Rossetti believe?" (2013) Stephen Cheeke explored the 'complex modes of religious experience which remain alive in Rossetti's work'.[278] Negotiating the tensions that arise between the 'fleshly school' of critical interpretation and the predominance of the spontaneous, the otherworldly, and the supernatural in Rossetti's work, Cheeke's revisionist approach achieved an accord between the 'Christian medievalism' and overabundance of real-world fleshliness and physicality. The tension between the physical and the spiritual is but one of the many binaries that abounds in Rossetti's art and literature, in which the real is consistently in communion with the sensuous, the emotive, the superabundant, and the beyond. 'There is no limit to the fleshliness',[279] wrote contemporary critic Robert Buchanan in his critique of the Pre-Raphaelite style, but such excess, of colour, of mass, of eroticism, was integral to Rossetti's project of the imagination.

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[276] Andrew Greeley, *The Catholic Imagination* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001), 1.

[277] The idea that modern fantasy revisits many of the key tropes and structural elements of religious literature has been the subject of much scholarship, including Graham Sleight's essay on "Fantasies of History and Religion" published in *The Cambridge Companion to Fantasy Literature* (2012). Sleight argued that modern fantasy authors use religion and history to further an impression of their own secondary world with the intention of replicating the functionality of dogmatic religion through the appropriation of key symbols and tropes. See Graham Sleight, "Fantasies of history and religion," in Mendlesohn, *The Cambridge Companion to Fantasy Literature*, 248.

[278] Stephen Cheeke, "What did Rossetti Believe?," *Essays in Criticism* 63, no. 2 (April 2013), 154.

[279] Buchanan, "The Fleshly School", 343.

So, opinions about Rossetti's own belief system revolve around the idea that he held the spiritual to be in constant congruence with the physical. As Hough wrote, 'the emotions that had before belonged exclusively to religion are transferred bodily to art' in Rossetti's daring scenes of the otherworldly.[280] This attitude is bolstered by an interpretation of his work, in which the interplay between imagination and natural form mirrors the observation of fantasy scholars that fantasy is constituted by forms from nature.[281] William Michael Rossetti observed this as being a particular feature of his brother's work to do with 'general romantic themes' created during 1854-56:[282]

> Rossetti's invention was fertile, and – according to the varying and sometimes merely fanciful themes – appropriate; his colour high and brilliant, and, though at whiles a little over-positive, not forced. Allowing himself very free scope in his treatment of the subjects, he yet seldom if ever painted a figure without taking it from Nature.[283]

Through the fusion of the 'fanciful' with 'Nature', Rossetti constituted rich and credible Secondary Worlds. Whether or not this mirrors his own attitude towards the worlds of the flesh and the beyond is still up for debate. However, his own complex attitude towards the spiritual found a home in his fantasy creations, through which he navigated the borders of belief.

Rossetti's medieval imagination

In articulating a visual corpus for his otherworldly imagination, Rossetti used all the fantasy chronotopes of enclosure, density, distortion, and temporal dislocation. This section focuses on Rossetti's use of temporal dislocation as one of the principal tools used to achieve scenes of arresting strangeness and examines how scholarship has already identified Rossetti's use of the medieval as palimpsest in both his visual and literary work. Indeed, as early as 1928,

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[280] Hough, *The Last Romantics*, 53.
[281] See Ostrowski, "The Fantastic and the Realistic", 63.
[282] William Michael Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: His Family Letters Vol. 1*, 187.
[283] ibid., 188.

the critic Rodolphe Louis Mégroz, in *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: Painter Poet of Heaven in Earth*, determined how forms, themes, and motifs drawn from the Middle Ages aid the projection of the otherworldly in Rossetti's work. As Mégroz described, 'the universal symbolism which we think of as romantic, mediaeval, archaic, supernatural, may serve a double purpose in literature. It can be chosen by a writer as an aid to imagination, a stimulus to visionary thought.'[284] This study shows that these features, common to non-realistic literature, are evidently present in the visual arts also.

In his essay on the boundaries of Rossetti's belief, Cheeke argued that works such as "Saint Agnes of Intercession" show how his use of the medieval is a kind of palimpsest in which the past was imaginatively reconfigured.

> Discovering the forms of the Middle Ages and the Italian Renaissance consist of a language in which one discovers one's own authenticity, the narrator also discovers that this relation sets him in a purgatorial blind, a double negation, 'not mine, friend, but neither thine'. It is not simply that the wide historical divergence between Victorianism and medievalism undermines Rossetti's authenticity, but that medieval history itself, as it is received by the nineteenth century, is already fictive: it is neither Rossetti's nor Bucciuolo's.[285]

Thus, scholarship has already accounted for Rossetti's use of the fictive medieval space as a deliberately inauthentic space in which the past is reinvented. This interpretation of the text highlights Rossetti's use of the chronotope of temporal dislocation as one of the primary means by which an impression of fantasy is achieved within this work. Dislocated in time, absented of the kind of validity provided by sensory information, the medieval provides an impression of a time of enchantment in juxtaposition with the modern, secular age. So, the medieval as palimpsest, redeployed with the inclusion of the principal action of the narrative's supernatural plot, compounds the inauthenticity of medieval fantasy literature

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[284] R.L. Mégroz, *Dante Gabriel Rosseti: Painter Poet of Heaven in Earth* (New York: Haskell House Publishers Ltd., 1971), 276.
[285] Cheeke, "What did Rossetti Believe?",, 171.

such as Rossetti's "Saint Agnes of Intercession" that is nevertheless accessible to the reader by virtue of the story's homogeneity.

This aspect of Rossetti's style was present in his work since the foundation of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood in 1848. As Gessert wrote, when Holman Hunt and Rossetti set out to craft a list of "Immortals" to illuminate their own cultural purpose, they 'concentrated the debate among the creative intelligentsia of the Victorian era on two significant topics: the creation of a new artistic canon, and the modern scholar-artist's relationship with the past.'[286] The Pre-Raphaelites, like modern fantasy authors, were fascinated by the notion of history. It informed every aspect of their work, from concept to form, resulting in creative mythologies that were intensified and made credible by the illusion of a medieval world that never was.

Rossetti's fantasy literature

Since the Victorian era, the term 'fantasy' has been used to describe Rossetti's literature. In 1887 the author William Sharp discerned that:

> *Hand and Soul* is already familiar to most students of Rossetti. This beautiful prose fantasy or prose-poem appeared first in that exceedingly scarce magazine *The Germ* […] Rossetti valued it highly, regarding it as as important an imaginative achievement as any of his poems, with a few super-excellent exceptions […] But fine and nobly suggestive as *Hand and Soul* is, it is surpassed by the strange tale *Saint Agnes of Intercession*.[287]

The epithets that Sharp attached to these two stories (imaginative, fervid, emotional, visionary, strange, spiritual, curious and mystic)[288] promote the idea of Rossetti's prose as demonstrably non-realistic. Moreover, Sharp's identification of "Hand and Soul" as 'fantasy' serves as an early example of the term used to describe a type of literature a decade before Baldry's use of the term 'phantasy' to describe the work of artists like Stokes and Sleigh.[289]

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[286] Gessert, "The Mirror Crack'd", 67.
[287] William Sharp, "Rossetti in Prose and Verse," *The National Review* 9, no. 49 (March 1887), 119-120.
[288] ibid.
[289] See Baldry, "The Collection of George McCulloch Esq", 218.

Analysis of "Hand and Soul," "Saint Agnes of Intercession," and "The Blessed Damozel" provides two significant additions to scholarship on fantasy. Firstly, analysis of the themes and motifs observed in Rossetti's fantasy literature foregrounds the prevalence of the fantasy mode in his visual works of art. Secondly, the composition of these works in the late 1840s significantly pre-dates the first fantasy publications of both Morris, whose short story "The Hollow Land" was published in the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* in 1856, and MacDonald, who published *Phantastes* in 1858. So, positioning Rossetti's fantasy literature in relation to MacDonald and Morris shows him to be the progenitor of the kind of literature that has prompted fantasy scholars to identify MacDonald and Morris as the fathers of modern fantasy. The following chapter will build on this assertion by examining the proximity of Morris's "The Hollow Land" to Rossetti's literature.

This section focuses on "The Blessed Damozel" and on two of Rossetti's short stories identified by Sharp. It provides an account of how their themes and structures conform to theories of the fantastic in order to establish how and in what ways Rossetti's literature conform to a theoretical understanding of fantasy. The purpose is to foreground an exploration of Rossetti's visual works as fantasy. Framing a narrative about Rossetti's application of the fantasy mode in this way is not meant to imply that his visual works are subservient to the literary ones. Given that key fantasy methodologies have hitherto been developed within the field of literary studies, this section begins to test the applicability of such theories to literature and visual art. Though the visual works of fantasy selected follow on, chronologically speaking, from the literary ones, emphasis given to the central creative mythology of the divided self within Rossetti's fantasy world will show how the literary and visual products of this project are united and grown, intellectually, as parts of a whole.

"The Blessed Damozel" (1847) poem as portal fantasy

Rossetti's Blessed Damozel story is a Christian fantasy, the sub-creation of which includes elements of what Farah Mendlesohn defined as 'portal' and 'liminal' fantasy.[290] The following section explores the operation of fantasy in Rossetti's poem. It can be juxtaposed with the concluding case study analysis of the Blessed Damozel paintings,[291] in which the applicability of literary theories of fantasy to visual works of art is tested. Read together, these sections dually emphasise how Rossetti relied upon the fantasy chronotope of enclosure to create an ambitious vision of a Secondary World.

Rossetti's Blessed Damozel poem occupies an important and unrecorded position in the history of fantasy literature. Though its importance has often been glossed over, fantasy scholarship has shown some awareness of the fantasy elements of the story. In Manlove's *The Fantasy Literature of England* (1999), he alluded to the 'Pre-Raphaelite mysticism' of the poem, positioning it against 'the elaborately recreated myths of Swinburne's *Atalanta in Calydon* (1865) or William Morris' *Jason* (1867) and *The Earthly Paradise* (1868-70), and even the sturdier rapture of Gerard Manley Hopkin's 'The Windhover' (1879).'[292] In his biography of Rossetti, F.G. Stephens called the story of the Blessed Damozel a 'legend, if such it can be called, which is entirely of the poet-painter's invention.'[293] Such identifications provide a starting point for looking at the story of the Blessed Damozel as a spontaneous work of fantasy.

Rossetti began writing "The Blessed Damozel" as a teenager, before 1847.[294] It was first published in *The Germ* in 1850 and was subsequently revised in future publications until

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[290] Mendlesohn, *Rhetorics*, Chapters 1 and 4.
[291] See "The Blessed Damozel," 136-138.
[292] Manlove, *The Fantasy Literature of England*, 91-92.
[293] Frederick George Stephens, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti* (London: Seeley and Co. Limited, 1894), 84.
[294] See William Michael Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: His Family-Letters with a Memoir Volume II* (New York: AMS Press, 1970), 673: 'this is a juvenile affair, bearing the date of September 1847; which was however some few months later than the date of the original "Blessed Damozel."'

the “final” text was published in 1881, a year prior to Rossetti’s death. Analysis of the fantastic elements of Rossetti’s literary iteration of this story presage many of the assertions made in a later section about the paintings.[295] However, as already stated, contextualising Rossetti’s fantasy works in this way primarily serves a methodological purpose. Given that all existing fantasy methodologies have been developed in literary fields, Rossetti’s double works provide an excellent opportunity to test the application of these theories to visual works of art as a means of validating that process.

That aside, emphasis should be placed on the story of the Blessed Damozel as being particularly important to discovering Rossetti’s stature as an influential modern fantasy creator, given that it was this work that turned the second generation of Pre-Raphaelites, namely Morris and Burne-Jones, on to Rossetti and his ‘new school’. Georgiana Burne-Jones quoted her husband as saying that by 1854 he ‘had already fallen in with a copy of the Germ, containing Rossetti’s poem of the Blessed Damozel, and at once he seemed to us the chief figure in the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood.’[296] As one of the entry points of Morris and Burne-Jones to the world of Pre-Raphaelites, this kind of literature catalysed in them a proclivity for the creative mythology, which they replicated throughout the rest of their careers in various media. Following receipt of the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*, Rossetti wrote to William Allingham that ‘a certain youthful Jones’ was ‘one of the nicest young fellows in – Dreamland. For there most of the writers in that miraculous piece of literature seem to be.’[297] Thus, the Blessed Damozel can be viewed as Morris and Burne-Jones’s entry point into the realm of fantasy creation, out of which they developed their own ‘miraculous’ ‘Dreamland’

[295] This study will examine two visual iterations of *The Blessed Damozel* story; the painting now in the collection of the Fogg Museum (Figure 5), which was commissioned by William Graham in 1871 and finished in 1877, and the painting bought by F.R. Leyland (Figure 26), which was, according to Virginia Surtees, worked on at the same time as the Graham painting. Virginia Surtees, *The Paintings and Drawings of Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882): A Catalogue Raisonné Volume I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 144. The most significant change to the work bought by Leyland is the absence of the field of lovers from the heavenly background.
[296] Burne-Jones, *Memorials Vol. 1*, 110.
[297] Dante Gabriel Rossetti quoted in Burne-Jones, *Memorials Vol. 1*, 130.

literature. Because of this biographical detail, it has been selected for further analysis in this study.

The fantastical elements of “The Blessed Damozel” poem are pronounced. The poem sets up three distinctive spaces, which we might otherwise identify as chronotopic enclosures: the earthly world of the male lover, the heavenly world of the female lover, and the dream or liminal space in which they meet. In this sub-creation, the Secondary World is the heavenly space in which the Blessed Damozel resides, which is enclosed away from the earthly or Primary World. The poem thus incorporates many of the themes associated with Rossetti’s creative mythology of the divided self through presentation of the lovers as a divided whole who are physically brought together through supernatural means.

This creative mythology is furthered by innovative grammar. In stanza four of the poem, the male protagonist appears to trespass beyond the boundaries of the worldly divide and is physically reunited with his dead lover:

> (To one, it is ten years of years.
> … Yet now, and in this place,
> Surely she leaned o’er me – her hair
> Fell all about my face…
> Nothing: the autumn-fall of leaves.
> The whole year set apace.)[298]

Rossetti’s use of parentheses and ellipses aid the impression of this moment as a unique and separate experience from that of the Damozel in heaven. The parentheses set up a visual boundary between the thoughts of the man on earth and the rest of the text, and the ellipses augment the impression of timelessness, or time fading away, that is also expressed by the language of the poem: ‘ten years of years’, ‘the whole year set apace’. Through the chronotopes of distortion and temporal dislocation, the poem plays with the unities of a linear temporal narrative to create an impression of difference between the Primary and Secondary

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[298] Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Poems: A New Edition* (London: Ellis & White, 1881), 4.

Worlds. By these means, Rossetti used grammar to disrupt temporal and spatial boundaries and convey an impression of arresting strangeness within his poem, with the parentheses serving as both literary and visual demarcation of enclosure.

As in Rossetti's short stories,[299] the fantasticality of this poem revolves around the 'moment of hesitation', which Todorov viewed as being the defining feature of the fantastic.[300] On the subject, Todorov claimed that fantasy can be defined by the following set of principles:

> 1. There occurs an event which cannot be explained by the laws of this same world.[301]
> 2. The person who experiences this event must opt for one of two possible solutions […] the fantastic occupies the duration of this uncertainty.[302]
> 3. The fantastic […] implies an integration of the reader into the world of the characters; the world is defined by the reader's own ambiguous perception of the events narrated.[303]

These points present themselves in this poem: the male protagonist has an encounter with his dead lover. The male protagonist then ruminates 'surely she leaned o'er me' and, as Graham Ranger set out in his article "Surely not! Between certainty and disbelief," the instability of the adverb 'surely' points towards the protagonists uncertainty that what is taking place is truly happening.[304] The protagonist, and subsequently, the reader, must then rationalise this occurrence according to:

> one of two possible solutions: either he is the victim of the imagination – and laws of the world then remain what they are; or else the event has taken place, it is an integral part of reality – but then this reality is controlled by laws unknown to us.[305]

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[299] See "This beautiful prose fantasy: binaries and the liminal fantasy of "Hand and Soul"," 117-120, and "Wild and fantastic broodings: "Saint Agnes of Intercession"," 120-126.
[300] Todorov, *The Fantastic*, 41
[301] ibid., 25.
[302] ibid.
[303] ibid., 31.
[304] See Graham Ranger, "Surely not! Between certainty and disbelief," *Discours: Approches fonctionnelles de la structuration des textes*, 8 (2011), abstract: 'when epistemic, surely appears to mark certainty, but when discursive, it appears rather to mark doubt, disbelief or incomprehension, according to context.'
[305] Todorov, *The Fantastic*, 25.

The presence of all three of Todorov's claims about fantastic literature shows how "The Blessed Damozel" poem conforms to that understanding of fantasy.

The fact that the fantastical textual interludes of the poem have hitherto been explained as "dream" points towards the desire of scholarship to rationalise this work according to the "laws of the world". The predisposition of scholars towards interpreting material in this way marks how fantastical elements have systematically been viewed as invalid in the unremitting design of the post-Enlightenment critical consciousness of the Western world, which in the humanities was typified by the likes of Ranke and his aphorism of 'wie es eigentlich gewesen ist.'[306] However, by reading Rossetti's poem in the context of Todorov's theory of the fantastic, it can be interpreted as an attempt at Secondary World Building. Instead of being read solely as a dream allegory, the Blessed Damozel might also be interpreted as marvellous sub-creation. Thus, when positioning Rossetti's poem in the context of methodologies of the fantastic we can see how the internal consistency of his fantasy has often been overwritten by scholarship determined to interpret it as "dream."

By interpreting Rossetti's poem "The Blessed Damozel" as fantasy as opposed to allegory, the role of individual experience becomes greater than that of the symbol. For as Menzies delineated, fantasy deals with the lives of individuals, whereas allegory is concerned with the discrete symbol.[307] Thus, the principal narrative elements of the poem should not be viewed as standing *for* something else, but *as* consistent representation of an alternative chronotopic space or Secondary World. Through this interpretation of the poem, the experience of the individual carries the central meaning of the text, as opposed to the symbols that constitute the otherworld. Most significantly, this interpretation of "The Blessed

[306] Stern, "The Ideal of Universal History", 57.
[307] ibid., 39-40.

Damozel" gives especial credence to the idea of Rossetti as a fantasy maker, whose literature and art evidence his predisposition towards sub-creation.

'This beautiful prose fantasy':[308] binaries and the liminal fantasy of "Hand and Soul" (1849)

Rossetti's short story "Hand and Soul" was composed between September and December 1849 for publication in the first issue of *The Germ* on the 1st January 1850. Scholars have attempted to account for the religious and aesthetic elements of the story to suggest how it might speak to autobiographical aspects of Rossetti's early career during the time of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood and, until now, the short story has traditionally been interpreted as a piece of juvenilia. However, attention to the chronotopic features of "Hand and Soul" shows it to be an example of modern fantasy literature in such a way that elevates the status of the story within Rossetti's oeuvre.

Contemporary reflections on the story record the imaginative aspects of the narrative as being essential to an interpretation of "Hand and Soul." In a letter sent to Sir Hall Caine shortly after its publication in *The Germ*, Rossetti called it 'more poem than story,'[309] a sentiment that mirrors Sharp's identification of it as a 'beautiful prose fantasy or prose-poem.'[310] In an addendum to *The Collected Works of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, his brother said of "Hand and Soul" that 'it is purely a work of imagination.'[311] Thus, this story can be seen to have had especial significance to the category of works described as Rossetti's spontaneous works of the imagination.

An exploration of the themes and motifs associated with liminality, binary, and ambiguity evidences the value of this work to a wider discussion about the nature of fantasy

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[308] ibid., 119.
[309] Dante Gabriel Rossetti, quoted in Thomas Henry Hall Caine, *Recollections of Dante Gabriel Rossetti* (London: Elliot Stock, 1882), 120.
[310] Sharp, "Rossetti in Prose and Verse", 119-120.
[311] William Michael Rossetti, *Collected Works Vol. 1*, 524.

as an art mode. These elements are principally facilitated by the chronotope of enclosure, which can be observed throughout the text. The narrative progresses through a series of bounded spaces that are dislocated from one another, including the Victorian domestic setting of the epigraph and epilogue, the studio of the itinerant thirteenth-century artist Chiaro dell'Erma, and the portico of the local cathedral, that is both the setting for Chiaro's latest fresco, "Peace", as well as the scene of a violent clash between two local families, the Gherghiotti and the Marotoli. Between these various enclosures moments of tension, violence and fantasy elide. As the Ghergiotti-Marotoli scrimmage rages on in the street below his studio, Chiaro is visited by his own soul in female form: 'and though the turmoil was great outside, the air within was at peace.'[312] The liminal spaces that exist between the bounded, binary spaces of Rossetti's story thereby serve as sites of subversion in which the fantastic emerges.

The series of binaries that the reader is presented with include: then and now, Italy and England, sacred and secular space, inside and outside, Gherghiotti and Marotoli, body and soul, and male and female. These binaries serve to exacerbate a sense of the presence of the liminal fantastic that persists throughout this short story and it is these moments that give way to the 'moment of hesitation,' through which abundant 'arresting strangeness' is manifested in the text. The series of enclosures that such binaries present allowed for Rossetti to examine the inherent ambiguity of the threshold; a feature common to fantasy literature. As Jackson posited of the *menippea*, fantasy's classical counterpart, 'it was a genre which did not claim to be definitive or knowing. Lacking finality, it interrogated authoritative truths and replaced them with something less certain.'[313] Likewise, Mendlesohn argued that this facet of fantasy is particularly manifest in the liminal fantasy which 'creates possible readings.'[314]

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[312] Rossetti, *Collected Works Vol. 1*, 393.
[313] Jackson, *Fantasy,* 15.
[314] Mendlesohn, *Rhetorics*, 183.

In Rossetti's story, the main supernatural occurrence serves to emphasise the theme of ambiguity. Descriptive language evokes an image of the borderless relationship between Chiaro ('the hand') and his 'soul': 'she did not move closer towards him, but he felt her to be as much with him as his breath […]. As the woman stood, her speech was with Chiaro: not, as it were, from her mouth or in his ears; but distinctly between them.'[315] Liminality, achieved through the chronotope of distortion, is the primary source from which the moment of hesitation arises. Within the enclosed space of his small studio room, Chiaro describes an impossible spatial occurrence in the eclipse of his physical body with a physical soul,[316] and strong visual language such as this is used to evoke the fantasy chronotopes of enclosure, density, and distortion.

Compounding the elements of uncertainty that abound in the text, "Hand and Soul" concludes with a series of reflections on the nature of knowing, the limitations of sensory experience, and the instability of signification. In the present-day of nineteenth-century Florence, a group of young artists study in the Pitti gallery. An Italian artist remarks to his friend that he cannot understand the Englishman's enthusiasm for Chiaro's painting, because it is 'roba mistica: 'st' Inglesi son/ matti sul misticismo: somiglia alle nebbie di là. Li/ fa pensare alla patria [sic.]' [my translation: mystical stuff: the English are mad about mysticism: it resembles their own mists. Makes them think of their homeland].[317] In turn, the Frenchman says 'je dis, mon cher, que c'est une spécialité dont je me fiche pas mal. Je tiens que quand on ne comprend pas une chose, c'est qu' elle ne signifie rien.' [my translation: I say, my dear, that this is an aspect [of the painting] that I don't really care about. I believe that when we do not understand something, it means nothing.'[318] Through this philosophical

[315] Rossetti, *Collected Works Vol. 1*, 392.
[316] This idea is furthered by the references to the theme of boundary within the dialogue: 'but what bade thee strike the point **betwixt** love and faith?', '[the men] shall afterwards stand, with thee in the porch midway **between** Him and themselves. ibid., 393 and 394. Bold added for emphasis.
[317] ibid., 398.
[318] ibid., 398.

dialogue, the story is concluded with ruminations on the complications that arise at the boundary of signification, which mirrors conversations about the indefiniteness of fantasy in Todorov, Jackson, and Mendlesohn's work.

Rossetti's "Hand and Soul" is a work of fantasy not only because it includes supernatural and magical elements, but also because it uses fantasy chronotopes to introduce complex ideas about the relationship of signification to the world of sensory experience. The inherent fantasticality of this story is compounded within the arresting strangeness of Rossetti's binary vision, which consistently promotes a sense of liminality. This liminality ensures that, as Todorov wrote of the fantasy work, 'the ambiguity is sustained to the very end of the adventure: reality or dream? truth or illusion?'[319] Thus, "Hand and Soul" may be said to have the hallmark of a liminal fantasy in its 'lacking finality.'[320] After all the deliverances of Chiaro's soul, Rossetti finishes his story with the line: 'my reader thinks possibly that the French student was right' and the reader is confounded once more.[321]

'Wild and fantastic broodings':[322] "Saint Agnes of Intercession" (1850)

As both Ruskin and Pater observed,[323] Rossetti regularly used fragmentation in his literary and visual work, which was often used to stimulate a sense of arresting strangeness. This section will examine how such fragmentation facilitates the chronotope of enclosure in Rossetti's story "Saint Agnes of Intercession".[324] By this means, the literary methods of Rossetti's fantasy making will be further set out and evidenced, before identification of the operation of the fantasy mode in his visual works begins.

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[319] Todorov, *The Fantastic*, 25.
[320] Jackson, *Fantasy,* 15.
[321] Rossetti, *Collected Works Vol. 1*, 398.
[322] ibid., 425-6.
[323] See "Chronotopes in fantasy vs. Realism," 68-72.
[324] Composed by D.G. in 1850, with the intention that it be published in *The Germ*. First published posthumously by his brother, William Michael Rossetti, in the 1886 edition of *The Collected Works of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*.

The version of "Saint Agnes of Intercession" published in 1886 by William Michael Rossetti included a frame narrative that has often been omitted in subsequent publications.[325] This umbrella narrative, which also serves as an epigraph to the metatext, depicts a scene in which a family listens to a strange tale recounted by 'Uncle Toby.' Though this narrator insists he has heard no 'stranger' tale, his brother mockingly offers 'the History of an Icelandish Nose' by the fictional Icelandic author Slawkenbergius,[326] whilst Dr. Slop suggests an imaginary 'golden legend of Saint Anschankus of Lithuania' as being an equivalent oddity.[327] Thus, the story begins by posing questions about time, the nature of reality, memory, and the reliability of fiction, foregrounding many of the revelations that take place later in the text.

The climax of the story is the moment the unnamed protagonist discovers his identical likeness in the portrait of a man who lived four hundred years earlier:

> That it *was* my portrait,—that the St. Agnes was the portrait of Mary,—and that both had been painted by myself four hundred years ago,—this now rose up distinctly before me as the one and only solution of so startling a mystery, and as being, in fact, that result round which, or some portion of which, my soul had been blindly hovering, uncertain of itself. The tremendous experience of that moment, the like of which has never, perhaps, been known to any other man, must remain undescribed; since the description, read calmly at common leisure, could seem but fantastic raving.

Sliding clauses attached by hyphens, hyperbolic language: 'startling,' 'tremendous,' 'fantastic raving,' and the poignant central image of the soul of the protagonist hovering outside of his corporeal body all contribute to the wildly unrealistic moment. The fantasy chronotopes of distortion and temporal dislocation prompt both the protagonist and the reader to interpret it as a moment of 'fantastic raving' by which means the moment of hesitation arises. This ambiguity 'is sustained to the very end of the adventure: reality or dream? truth

[325] Though there are three drafts of the story in manuscripts dating from between 1850 and 1870, the story wasn't published in print until William Michael Rossetti's 1886 collection of his brothers' works.
[326] Borrowed from Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*.
[327] Rossetti, *Collected Works Vol. 1*, 399.

or illusion?'[328] For at the end of the story, Rossetti has offered no resolution as to whether the events were the product of madness, illusion, or the supernatural:

> And thus now, with myself, old trains of thought and the conceptions of former years came back […] and seemed, by contrast, to wake my spirit from its wild and fantastic broodings to a consciousness of something like actual existence; as the mere reflections of objects, sunk in the vague, pathless water, appear almost to strengthen it into substance.[329]

The series of binaries exacerbates the arresting strangeness of the text: now and former years, fantastic broodings and actual existence, reflections and substance. Opposition to a nominal reality serves to heighten the otherworldly effect of the fantasy.

According to William Michael Rossetti, his brother began "Saint Agnes" in 1848 or 1849, shortly before "Hand and Soul."[330] Like "Hand and Soul," "Saint Agnes of Intercession" relies upon motifs associated with binaries, doubles, and doubling to promote a sense of arresting strangeness. This strangeness is highlighted by Rossetti's use of the term 'fantastic,' which occurs three times in "Saint Agnes": 'fantastic raving,' 'fantastic brain-sickness,' and 'wild and fantastic broodings.'[331] In these examples, the term is used to mean unbelievable, incredible, impossible, mad, and degenerate. They signify a state of being other than the healthy, the reasonable, the rational, and the sane and are used by the narrator to signify a self-consciousness about his mental decline following the revelation that a beloved artist from history shared his face.

Thus, "Saint Agnes of Intercession" comfortably aligns with Todorov's theory of the fantastic, in which:

> The fantastic occupied the duration of this uncertainty. Once we choose one answer or the other, we leave the fantastic for a neighbouring genre, the uncanny or the

[328] Todorov, *The Fantastic*, 25.
[329] Weeks, *The Dream Weavers*, 54.
[330] William Michael Rossetti, *Collected Works Vol. 1*, 524. Rossetti may have been inspired to write this story by William Holman Hunt's painting *The Eve of St. Agnes*, which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1848. On standing before the painting, Rossetti supposedly exclaimed: "The best picture there!" (T.L. Hare, ed. *The Leaders of the English Pre-Raphaelites: Holman Hunt* (London: T.C.&E.C. Jack, 1908): 31.) Rossetti's work includes the setting of the contemporary gallery and the theme of art appreciation. See Barlow for an interpretation of Hunt's painting as fantasy, "Pre-Raphaelitism and Post-Raphaelitism".
[331] Page numbers taken from Rossetti, *Collected Works Vol. 1*, 417, 423, 425-6.

> marvellous. The fantastic is that hesitation experienced by a person who knows only the laws of nature, confronting an apparently supernatural event.[332]

Indeed, there is a characteristic brevity to Rossetti's fantastic moments. In her *Memorials,* Georgiana recounted her husband saying of Rossetti that '"like many people he could not bear the length and quietness of an epic. He wanted to keep a poem at boiling point all the way through, and he did it to that degree that it went into ether with fervent glowing heart before he had done with it."'[333] Considering this biographical detail, it is perhaps unsurprising that Rossetti's broad use of the short story as well as his particular choice of language to create suspense and surprise conform to Todorov's later observations about the nature of fantasy, an example of which can be found in the following passage. Having relayed events to his parents, the narrator in "Saint Agnes" is disturbed by their response of dismay:

> It may appear strange, but I believe it to have been the fact, that the startling and portentous reality which those events had for me, while it left me fully prepared for wonder and perturbation on the part of my hearers, prevented the idea from even occurring to me that, as far as belief went, there could be more hesitation in another's than in my own.[334]

The hesitation of the narrator's parents prompts his own reflection. This long sentence, peppered with commas, acts as a kind of stream-of-consciousness rendition of the kind of phenomenon described by Todorov, in which 'the fantastic is that hesitation experienced by a person who knows only the laws of nature.'[335]

So, like "Hand and Soul", "Saint Agnes of Intercession" comfortably aligns with scholarly theories of modern fantasy and the fantastic. Attention to the details of the story reveals Rossetti's distinctive creative mythology, which is bound up in his attitudes and ideas about the worlds of the body and the spirit. Indeed, the story was originally intended to be the

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[332] Todorov, *The Fantastic*, 25.
[333] Georgiana Burne-Jones, *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones; Volume 2 (1868-1898)* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1904), 264.
[334] Rossetti, *Collected Works Vol. 1*, 422-23.
[335] Todorov, *The Fantastic*, 25.

beginning of a longer work titled *The Autopsychology*[336] and the motifs associated with mind and body that percolate through the work evidence how Rossetti was thinking about the psyche and the limits of the human mind. Throughout, the story maintains the unshakeable presence of otherworldly forces, identified by the narrator as a 'mystic reality'[337] which is described through a series of experiences which affect his physical state: 'my head swam with me,' 'a flash seemed to strike before my eyes,' 'thought turned in my brain like a wheel,' and 'my whole life seemed to crowd about me, and to stun me like a pulse in my head.'[338] The bodily effect of the shock of supernatural discovery in this story compounds Rossetti's 'fleshly' outlook with his spiritual one, illustrating how he believed the world of the 'mystic reality' to be within, and not dislocated from, the real one.

In "Hand and Soul" Rossetti explored the hidden supernatural within the body; likewise, "Saint Agnes" reveals how the external world can be brought to bear on the internal body through psychological and spiritual events. Unlike the religious experience confined to ritual and miracle, Rossetti used his story to suggest that the otherworldly experience can be concentrated in the work of art. In the first paragraph of the post 1870 version of the story, the young artist narrator tells us: 'I would take paper and pencil, and try in some childish way to fix the shapes that rose within me.'[339] This idea is arguably at the heart of Rossetti's creative mythology. For him, the artistic process was the portal to the hidden world of our 'mystic reality.'

Rossetti bound aspects of his creative mythology with history, urban legend, and visual artefacts to promote the inherent fantasticality and arresting strangeness of his work. The sketch and watercolour known as *Bonifazio's Mistress* (Figure 27), reproduced in H.C. Marillier's 1899 illustrated memorial to Rossetti, were originally intended to illustrate "Saint

[336] William Michael Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: His Family Letters Vol. 1*, 155.
[337] Rossetti, *Collected Works Vol. 1*, 419.
[338] Page numbers taken from Rossetti, *Collected Works Vol. 1*, 408, 409, 409, 414.
[339] Rossetti, *Collected Works Vol. 1*, 399.

Agnes of Intercession". In his contextual analysis of the works, Marillier explained that the connection of the work to the historical Bonifazio (Fazio) degli Uberti (c. 1301 or 1305-c. 1367) was 'entirely fanciful'.[340] The watercolour illustrates the following lines from "Saint Agnes of Intercession" in Marillier's edition:

> Blanzifiore declared that she would rise at once from her bed, and that Bucciuolo should paint her portrait before she died; for so, she said, there should still remain something to him whereby to have her in memory. […] Clad in her most sumptuous attire, and arrayed with all her jewels: her two sisters remaining constantly at her side, to sustain her and supply restoratives.[341]

The reason for Rossetti's titling of the work *Bonifazio's Mistress* is not wholly clear, but may have been a coordinated attempt to augment the fantastical quality of the "Saint Agnes" story with an added dose of superstition. The titular artist Bonifazio was a real person who had worked as an artist during the fourteenth century, a contemporary of Dante Alighieri's (c. 1265-1321), who was not unlike the imaginary Bucciuolo of the fifteenth century. By titling the watercolour, which adheres to the description of events in "Saint Agnes", with the name of a real artist, Rossetti appears to have been reinforcing the idea of the preternatural double in history.[342]

Thus, Rossetti used his story to promote the idea of the artist as a kind of supernatural intercessor, able to move between space, time, and the real and imaginary worlds. Like Barrington's idea of him as a fantastical being, Rossetti's own self-fashioning as a modern-day Dante was one of the primary means by which he positioned himself as being between this plane of existence and another, more magical one. The language that accompanied this Rossetti, both the language in his fantasy stories and the language his contemporaries used to

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[340] H.C. Marillier, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: An Illustrated Memorial of His Art and Life* (Chiswick: George Bell and Sons, 1899), 103.
[341] Rossetti, *Collected Works Vol. 1*, 415.
[342] A further example of how Rossetti promoted an idea of the story's truthfulness can be found in William Michael's family memoir, in which he alluded to two women who believed the story 'to be substantially true.' One of whom, he wrote, 'professed to Rossetti that she had actually seen the picture at the Pitti.' These nuggets of superstition cloud around the wider fantasy narrative of "Saint Agnes" and Rossetti's own self-fashioning as a Victorian iteration of dead medieval Italian artists in such a way as to exacerbate the strangeness of the story. William Michael Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: His Family Letters Vol. 1*, 155.

describe him, speaks of the fantasticality of the world that he crafted for himself: enchanted, curious, queer, imaginative, fervid, emotional, visionary, strange, spiritual, curious, mystic, invention, fanciful, brilliant.[343]

Rossetti's fantasy art

This section examines three sets of Rossetti's visual works of art as fantasy. These artworks belong to the "spontaneous" category of Rossetti's imagery and mirror many of the themes and motifs of Rossetti's fantasy literature. They explore ideas associated with enchantment, magic, the supernatural, and mystery, and serve to illustrate the various applications of the fantasy chronotopes within Rossetti's visual work. Particular attention to these works illustrates how Rossetti developed his Secondary World Building technique throughout his career.

Rossetti's selva oscura:[344] How They Met Themselves (1851 onwards)

In a letter to Charles Augustus Howell, Rossetti famously called *How They Met Themselves* (Figure 28 and Figure 29) his 'bogie drawing'.[345] Like *Bonifazio's Mistress* (Figure 27) the 1860-4 watercolour of *How They Met Themselves* (Figure 29) originated during the years of Rossetti's marriage to Elizabeth Siddall (1829-1862), which lasted from 23rd May 1860 to her death on 11th February 1862. These years appear to have been particularly fruitful for Rossetti's fantastic imagination, during which he revisited *How They Met Themselves* with

[343] Language previously referenced, taken from: Barrington, *G.F. Watts*, 3; Sharp, "Rossetti in Prose and Verse", 119-120; William Michael Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: His Family Letters Vol. 1*, 187.
[344] Hough, *The Last Romantics*, 82.
[345] Dante Gabriel Rossetti, "Letter to Charles Augustus Howell, 4 May 1868," in *The Correspondence of Dante Gabriel Rossetti: Volume 4*, ed. William E. Fredeman (Trowbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2004), 57. The term bogie is significant. Rossetti used it with some frequency in his letters, often to express something unusual or unpleasant, including himself. In one letter sent on the 28th June 1867, he lamented to Howell that 'I've been reflecting helplessly on my recreant relation to your wedding. But after all I *am* a bogie and there's no help for it.' (Dante Gabriel Rossetti, "Letter to Charles Augustus Howell, 28 June 1867," in *The Correspondence of Dante Gabriel Rossetti: Volume 3*, ed. William E. Fredeman (Trowbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2003), 549.) Thus, Rossetti used the term in such a way as to highlight it as a word for something unpleasant or wrong and the identification of *How They Met Themselves* as a 'bogie drawing' reveals it to be about the same subversive tendencies.

feverish intensity.[346] This image is one of Rossetti's most fantastical and analysis of its core themes and motifs shows an allegiance to those of his fantasy literature.

Attention to Rossetti's use of the fantasy chronotopes and the moment of hesitation serves to highlight the arresting strangeness of the image. The densely packed, tight composition of four figures entangled in a dark wood augments the tension of the narrative being depicted and sets the boundaries of the Secondary World through the fantasy chronotopes of enclosure and density. The distorted aura that cloaks the supernatural doppelgängers signifies the same otherworldliness experienced by the protagonist of "Saint Agnes of Intercession" who is physically and mentally overcome by the shock of the fantastical.[347] In the same way, the fear in the faces of the Primary World couple of *How They Met Themselves* draws the viewer's attention to the strangeness of the narrative being depicted and conforms to Todorov's observation that the fantastic emerges as the result of the dual hesitation of the protagonist and the viewer.[348]

Like Rossetti's fantasy literature, *How They Met Themselves* positions the familiar symbol of the doppelgänger within an unfamiliar narrative. In this way, the painting conforms to Jackson's definition of the fantastic as 'inverting elements of this world, re-combining its constitutive features in new relations to produce something strange, unfamiliar and apparently 'new', absolutely 'other' and different.'[349] Interpretation of the image thusly develops the thesis that Rossetti's creative mythology was bound up with themes of selfhood and the individual self and reveals the Romantic origins of Rossetti's ideas about the self and the fantastic. Criticism at the time sought to understand the painting as an illustration, though

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[346] According to Marillier, the first *How They Met Themselves* was a now lost pen and ink drawing produced in 1851. It was redrawn for George Pryce Boyce in 1860, after which Rossetti created two watercolours. See Marillier, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, 39.
[347] 'my head swam with me,' 'a flash seemed to strike before my eyes,' 'thought turned in my brain like a wheel,' and 'my whole life seemed to crowd about me, and to stun me like a pulse in my head.' Page numbers taken from Rossetti, *Collected Works Vol. 1*, 408, 409, 409, 414.
[348] The fantastic 'implies an integration of the reader into the world of the characters; the world is defined by the reader's own ambiguous perception of the events narrated.' Todorov, *The Fantastic*, 31.
[349] Jackson, *Fantasy,* 8.

the origin of the image still remains unclear. In an 1890 article in *Folk-Lore: A Quarterly Review of Myth, Tradition, Institution, & Custom*, James Darmesteter wrote that 'des personnes, qui avaient connu intimement Rossetti, ne purent me donner d'explication sur le sujet et l'intention de l'œeuvre.' [Translation: people who had known Rossetti intimately could not give me an explanation of the subject and the intent of the work.][350] This article prompted a responsorial letter from Charles Godfrey Leland who suggested that a work by Carpaccio that had been in the studio of the picture-cleaner Henry Merritt (1822-77) might have been the source of Rossetti's strange image.[351] Though the Carpaccio has never been identified, Leland's idea that Rossetti's painting explored the Romantic idea of the preternatural double as a spiritual other accords with one of the central themes of Rossetti's "Hand and Soul", in which the supernatural other is the reflection of an inner self: 'I am an image, Chiaro, of thine own soul within thee.'[352]

Whilst the origins of the image are not wholly clear, Rossetti did draw upon ideas, themes, and motifs from Gothic and Romantic art to develop the moment of hesitation that characterises the fantasy of *How They Met Themselves*. A link between Rossetti and Romanticism is highlighted by Leland's suggestion (via Darmesteter) that aspects of Rossetti's presentation relate to themes from Shelley's work, as well as F.G. Stephens suggestion that Rossetti was inspired by 'the ancient German legend' of the doppelgänger.[353] The image also reflects Edmund Burke's (1729-1797) theory of the sublime, wherein the sudden intrusion of the fantastic is like that 'passion caused by the great and sublime in

[350] James Darmesteter, "How They Met Themselves," *Folk-Lore* 1 (1890), 227, accessed Dec 17, 2019, https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Folk-Lore/Volume_1/How_They_Met_Themselves.

[351] According to Leland, this work contained two nuns in a garden. Cleaning revealed a duplicate pair of nuns, which prompted Leland to suggest that the work might express the same sentiment expressed in the following lines from *Prometheus Unbound* (1820) by Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822): 'it shall be told, ere Babylon was dust, The Magus Zoroaster, my great child, Met his own image walking in the garden.' Charles Godfrey Leland, "How They Met Themselves: To the Editor of Folk-Lore," *Folk-Lore* 1 (1890), 403, accessed Dec 17, 2019, https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Folk-Lore/Volume_1/Re_How_They_Met_Themselves.

[352] Rossetti, *Collected Works Vol. 1*, 392.

[353] Stephens, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, 32.

nature, when those causes operate most powerfully, is astonishment; and astonishment is that state of the soul in which all its motions and suspended with some degree of horror.'[354]

Rossetti intended for his 'bogie' image to inspire fear and uncertainty in the viewer, feelings that would mirror the emotions experienced by the real-world couple in the painting. Similarly in "Saint Agnes" the narrator tells the reader: 'I can recall my feeling at that moment, only as one of the most lively and exquisite fear.'[355] Astonishment, tension, fear, surprise, and horror were essential to Rossetti's conveyance of the fantastic. These aspects of his work conform to Todorov's designation of fantasy as characterised by a 'moment of hesitation', wherein the viewer oscillates between an interpretation of the events as real, psychological hallucinations (the uncanny) and real, supernatural visitations (the marvellous).[356] So, whilst the composition of *How They Met Themselves* itself appears to be novel, it is possible to discern patterns of influence that illustrate how Rossetti drew inspiration from the art and literature of the past and transformed that inspiration into new stories.

This image also navigates Rossetti's complex attitudes to belief, bringing together the worlds of the imagination and the flesh in a seemingly shocking moment. The 'moment of hesitation' which Rossetti's characters experience, brought on by the shock of the doppelgänger, could be considered to be like an experience of religious transcendence. Within this sublime moment we are provided with a glimmer of an alternative reality that gives further substance (a literal other dimension) to the mundanity of reality, leading the narrator to an experience of 'a consciousness of something like actual existence.'[357] Wilton perceived a similar effect in the artist's work, writing that 'Rossetti's style deliberately

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[354] Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry Into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1856), 72.
[355] Rossetti, *Collected Works Vol. 1*, 417.
[356] Todorov, *The Fantastic*, 25.
[357] Rossetti, *Collected Works Vol. 1*, 426.

evoked a blurred, almost dream-like world of the spirit, where profounder and more exalted passions played than were to be found in the practical, if foggy, air of modern London.'[358] The intended impression of such stylistic effects was summed up adroitly by Cheeke, who wrote that 'it is through these modes of imaginative life, these broodings and fantasies and medieval ravings, that the 'actual existence' of the nineteenth-century street in which the narrator walks is almost constructed.'[359]

Within his work, Rossetti evoked a sense of the liminal through loose brushstrokes and through sentences and stanzas peppered with grammar, as well as by repeated inclusion of the doppelgänger motif. These tools contribute to the reader and viewer's interpretation of the characters' hesitation. The fainting lady figure that appears in Rossetti's illustrations to Bonifazio's mistress (Figure 27) and *How They Met Themselves* (Figure 28 and Figure 29) reaches apotheosis in the artists' painting titled *Beata Beatrix* (Figure 30). In this portrait of Siddall as Dante's Beatrice, the central figure is caught between the real world represented by the earth-bound Dante in the top right of the composition and the angel Love on the left, whose radiant, supernatural presence is presented by a flourishing aura in which the flame of Beatrice's life flickers. This painting, perhaps above all other of Rossetti's works, reflects a vision of the liminal quality of the transcendent, 'extending or lying beyond the limits of ordinary experience.'[360] It articulates what Hough saw as the defining feature of Rossetti's solipsistic style: 'his confused and partial return to the medieval concept of an ideal love.'[361] In Rossetti the repeated binaries of love and death, soul and body signify an attack upon their modern iterations, through which we can perceive what Hough identified as 'Rossetti's turning away from science, sociology and progress into the analysis of his own soul [which]

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[358] Wilton, *The Age of Rossetti, Burne-Jones & Watts*, 18.
[359] Cheeke, "What did Rossetti Believe?", 172.
[360] *The Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, s.v. "transcendent (*adj.*)," accessed December 15, 2019, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/transcendent.
[361] Hough, *The Last Romantics*, 82.

led him into a *selva oscura* from which the only outlet is a dim, half-earthly, half-religious hope'.[362]

Thus, *How They Met Themselves* was motivated by themes that course through Rossetti's visual language. The chronotopes of distortion, enclosure, and density that are prominent features of the 'bogie' image also come into play in paintings like *Beata Beatrix* in such a way as to evoke mystery, liminality, and arresting strangeness. Through the hyper-definition of Siddall's features and the looseness of the brushstrokes that surround her, the central figure is depicted as being enclosed away from the real world in such a way as to provide the viewer with an impression of transfiguration. Such an interpretation accords with the artist's own instruction on how the painting should be viewed. In a letter to William Graham, Rossetti claimed that the painting should 'be viewed not as a representation of the incident of the death of Beatrice, but as an ideal of the subject, symbolized by a trance or sudden spiritual transfiguration.'[363] Rossetti's choice of language to describe the painting: 'ideal', 'symbolized' and 'transfiguration', thus emboldens an interpretation of the painting as a visual representation of the 'moment of hesitation' in a story about the boundaries of the real world and the divine world.

Previous work has identified the interplay between language and idea, word and image as being a central feature of Rossetti's work. For example, Donnelly described how 'inflected throughout with uncanny resemblances and redactions, ["Saint Agnes"] elucidates the way Rossetti's intertexts operate across the slippage between word and image, a slippage they often describe.'[364] Thus, it is not only the motif of the double and his style that express the liminal-transcendent, 'slippage', and 'sudden spiritual transfiguration' in Rossetti, but also the dynamic double works and the obsessive revisitation of these themes that present

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[362] ibid., 82.
[363] Dante Gabriel Rossetti, "Letter to William Graham, 11 March 1873," in *The Correspondence of Dante Gabriel Rossetti: Volume 6*, ed. William E. Fredeman (Trowbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), 89.
[364] Brian Donnelly, *Reading Dante Gabriel Rossetti: The Painter as Poet* (Oxford: Routledge, 2016), 43.

themselves in an account of the artist's work. Such a study gives form to Rossetti's bold fantasy vision, through which he explored the premise of Secondary Worlds, boundaries between binaries such as the sensory world and the hidden world, and the possibility of crossover between them.

By repositioning Rossetti in the history of fantasy, the instability of signification in his work can be understood to be fundamental to Secondary World Building procedures in both his literary and visual works. As analysis of *How They Met Themselves* and *Beata Beatrix* shows, the fantasy chrontopes dismantle the associations that viewers commonly hold between signifier and signified, which then allows for the creative repositioning of forms in space. This mode of art-making encourages the viewer to perceive arresting strangeness within Rossetti's visual works of art, leading to the moment of hesitation and the inevitable querying of whether this image is meant to reflect 'reality or dream? Truth or illusion?'[365] Such a novel understanding of Rossetti's work helps to uncover an essential aspect of his art-making process and begins to position him as a central artist in the history of modern fantasy.

The medieval watercolours

There is an interesting relationship between the writing of Rossetti and Morris and this will be discussed in the next chapter.[366] Here, however, an examination of Rossetti's watercolours shows the way in which the older artist was in conversation with the younger through their shared interest in the mock-medieval. It also begins to suggest how Rossetti may have inspired Morris and the other 'second generation Pre-Raphaelites' to create their own Secondary Worlds. Furthermore, attention to Rossetti's use of medieval forms, themes, and motifs emphasises how he used temporal dislocation to enhance his imaginary works of art.

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[365] Todorov, *The Fantastic*, 25.

[366] The next chapter illustrates how Morris's early writings share a distinctive stylistic relationship with Rossetti's work published in *The Germ*. See "Case Study: Morris and "The Hollow Land" (1856)," 152-159..

Rossetti experimented with watercolour throughout his career, but this section focuses on the seven that Morris bought from him.[367] These paintings, created during the years of 1857 and 1858, illustrate the transformation of Rossetti's creative mythology from literary works such as "Hand and Soul" and "Saint Agnes of Intercession" into the visual mode. This approach to Rossetti's watercolours created in the late 1850s mirrors that taken by Robert Wilkes to Rossetti's 1860s watercolours 'as a substantial, cohesive body of work in their own right.'[368] In the interpretation of this study, Rossetti's watercolour series represents an early attempt at creating a Secondary World that was unified by the idea of the Middle Ages.

The medieval was particularly important to the latter-day "Pre-Raphaelites" during the time that Rossetti worked on these images. This interest was emblematic of a wider Victorian fascination with the medieval world, which was often coupled with ideas about national identity and made manifest in works of art and literature inspired by Arthurian legend.[369] Work on the Oxford Union murals began in 1857. These were a series of wall paintings depicting scenes from Arthurian myth that were worked on by a number of Pre-Raphaelite artists including Rossetti, Morris, Burne-Jones, Valentine Prinsep, John Hungerford Pollen, Arthur Hughes, and John Rodham Spencer Stanhope.[370] Rossetti described this project as being for Burne-Jones and Morris 'almost their debut,'[371] and during this year, Rossetti, Burne-Jones and Morris began to influence one another in a profound way that would have ramifications for the development of modern fantasy. It was also the year

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[367] Which included *The Blue Closet* (Figure 32), *The Tune of Seven Towers* (Figure 33), *The Damsel of Sanct Grael* (Figure 34), *The Wedding of Saint George and Princess Sabra* (Figure 35), *The Chapel Before the Lists* (Figure 36), *The Death of Breuze Sans Pitié* (Figure 37), and *Before the Battle* (Figure 38). According to Marillier, only five of these were in Morris' possession, see Marillier, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, 80-82; however, Hare cites all seven as being sold to Morris in the late 1850s, see Hare, *The Leaders*, 37.
[368] Robert Wilkes, "The 1860s watercolours of Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-82)," *The British Art Journal* XVIII, no. 3 (Winter 2017/2018), 48.
[369] Manlove noted that fantasy regularly draws from native mythology, referring to the 'frequent use of Arthurian materials in English fantasy.' Manlove, *The Fantasy Literature of England*, 1.
[370] Anonymous, "History and Pre-Raphaelite Murals," *The Oxford Union*, accessed Nov 24, 2021, https://oxford-union.org/history-and-pre-raphaelite-murals/.
[371] Dante Gabriel Rossetti, "To Charles Eliot Norton, July 1858" in *Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Volume 1*, eds. Oswald Doughty and John Robert Wahl (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 337.

that Rossetti spotted Jane Burden, later Morris, who subsequently modelled for Guinevere in *Launcelot at the Shrine* (Figure 31). This incomplete mural illustrates many of the themes that permeated Rossetti's fantasy works including the medieval, mystery, and the inference of the supernatural.[372] The design of this work utilised the fantasy chronotope of enclosure most prominently and conformed to that group of Rossetti's designs praised by Ruskin, in which he juxtaposed various scenes in one composition to convey a sense of story.

Unlike the Oxford murals, Rossetti's watercolours serve as examples of seemingly spontaneous works of the imagination, an argument which is supported by the research that has been done on their execution. In her article "Rossetti's Watercolours: Materials and Technique" (2005), Fiona Mann described how other artists working with Rossetti were surprised at the novelty of his technique. Mann cited Henry Treffrey Dunn, who became Rossetti's studio assistant, as noting that 'his water-colour work was so different in method of execution to anything I had yet seen.'[373] This study evidenced how Rossetti combined unusual techniques used by Ford Madox Brown and advocated for by Ruskin with modern and creative applications of watercolour, including the use of gum arabic, which had been used by medieval illuminators but was an unusual choice for modern painters.[374] In short, it appears that Rossetti was picking and choosing both thematic and technical elements from the medieval and modern periods to create something new and exclusive to him.

The imaginative quality of these works was also recorded by contemporary criticism. Stephens called *The Blue Closet* 'one of the most romantic and, of its kind, subtlest of the artist's "inventions".'[375] Likewise, Marillier described *The Tune of Seven Towers* as depicting

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[372] Rossetti described the moment that this work depicts in suitably otherworldly terms: 'he has fallen asleep before the shrine full of angels, & between him & it, rises in his dream the image of Queen Guenevere, the cause of all.' ibid., 337.
[373] Henry Treffry Dunn in Fiona Mann, "Rossetti's Watercolours: Materials and Technique," *The Review of the Pre-Raphaelite Society* XIII, no. 3 (Autumn 2005), 19.
[374] Mann, "Rossetti's Watercolours", 23-24.
[375] Stephens, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, 41.

'a quaint little scene, very characteristic of Rossetti's fertility and originality of invention.' [376] These watercolours were thus clearly viewed as spontaneous works of the imagination and when Morris used these paintings as inspiration for two poems titled "The Blue Closet" and "The Tune of Seven Towers", Rossetti was keen to emphasise which creation came first. George Ray, who later owned the watercolours, wrote to ask Rossetti to sign off a draft catalogue. The artist replied that 'the poems were the result of the pictures, but don't all tally to any purpose with them though beautiful in themselves.' [377] By rejecting the Morris poems from inclusion in that catalogue, Rossetti may have wished to ensure that the poems retain their identity as separate works of "invention".

However, Marillier's assertion that the pictures and poems 'have nothing in common but their names' is misleading. The paintings and poems were linked by the context of their production and both propose the same idea of a medievalised Secondary World populated by figures of the imagination. Drawing from the rich visual language of Rossetti's Secondary World, Morris recorded in his poems 'the chinks of the tiles of the Closet Blue' and 'the desolate battlements all arrow'.[378] So, whilst fantasy art is often thought to follow literary works of fantasy, Rossetti's medieval watercolours serve as an example of visual works of the imagination that later inspired works of literature. Thus, Rossetti can be said to have visualised a precedent for Morris's later literary works.

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[376] Marillier, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, 81.

[377] Dante Gabriel Rossetti, "To George Ray, December 1872" in *The Correspondence of Dante Gabriel Rossetti: The Chelsea Years, 1863-1872*, ed. William E. Fredeman (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2005), 364. Marillier also acknowledged that Morris's poems had been erroneously identified as the source material and inspiration for the paintings, asserting that 'in reality they have nothing in common but their names.' Marillier, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, 81.

[378] William Morris, "The Blue Closet" and "The Tune of the Seven Towers" in *The Defence of Guenevere, and Other Poems* (London: Ellis & White, 1875), 195 and 199.

The Blessed Damozel

The spatial organisation of *The Blessed Damozel* (Figure 26) composition plays a vital role in conveying the fantastical elements of this story.[379] In both paintings, the realm of the Blessed Damozel is juxtaposed with the separate canvas of the earth-bound lover through the chronotope of enclosure. The importance of this juxtaposition is twofold. Firstly, it aids the conveyance of story which is so important to the fantasy of the Blessed Damozel, recalling Ruskin's praise of a different of Rossetti's designs 'to unite several scenes […] which tell a story in this consecutive way.'[380] Secondly, it promotes the idea of a Primary/Secondary World dichotomy.

Rossetti furthered the arresting strangeness of this Secondary World through use of the chronotope of distortion, used in the repeated motif of entwined lovers within the Fogg painting and the inclusion of supernatural beings in the foreground of both paintings. Whereas the perspective of the earthly realm remains demonstrably realistic and heavily pastoral, a familiar English landscape, the space inhabited by the Blessed Damozel is contorted, unfamiliar, and strange. In this way, Rossetti imbued the heavenly, Secondary World with an arresting strangeness that encourages the viewer to interpret her kingdom as demonstrably different from the real/Primary World. The manifestly unique chronotopic configurations of these two dimensions has already been noted by scholarship. In his chapter on "the articulation of fantasy and the problem of pictorial space", Barlow's juxtaposed interpretation of the poem and painting similarly recognises the female figure as beholden to the desires of the male narrator; he wrote that 'in the poem the very blessedness of the Damozel imprisons her within a space which offers no outlet for sensuality […] the Damozel is caught in artifice, the display of which suppresses the fantasy of incorporation into the

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[379] F.G. Stephens noted that the painting was supposed to illustrate the fifth stanza of the poem: 'It was the rampart of God's house/ That she was standing on;/ By God built over the sheer depth/ The which is Space begun;/ So high, that looking downward thence/ She scarce could see the sun.' Rossetti, *Poems*, 4.
[380] Rossetti, *Ruskin: Rossetti*, 13.

space of the image which 'Post-Raphaelitism' promotes.'[381] Thus, Barlow's analysis of the 'artificial' aspects of the Secondary World of the Blessed Damozel can be said to support the analysis of the paintings as works of fantasy, through which creative mythology about the nature of desire emerges.[382]

Barlow's theses about the Blessed Damozel story show an allegiance with Jackson's desire to, post-Todorov, reincorporate a theory of the fantastic into the contexts in which it was produced:

> Recognition of these forces involves placing authors in relation to historical, social, economic, political and sexual determinants, as well as to a literary tradition of fantasy, and makes it impossible to accept a reading of this kind of literature which places it somehow mysteriously 'outside' time altogether.[383]

Scholarship on the perceptible fantasy of Rossetti's Blessed Damozel has focused on this kind of intellectual narrative, viewing it as emblematic of particularl attitudes towards rationalising desire, a position that fits with the idea of fantasy as a political mode that serves as a repository for the demonstrably other, alternative, non-normative, obscene, and the hidden. It also supports one of the overarching theses of this dissertation, that modern fantasy can be understood as creative mythology which replicates individual experience through the amalgamation and re-presentation of symbols in new ways.

In sum, the prevalence of the fantasy chronotopes within *The Blessed Damozel* paintings support its designation as fantasy. Attention to the use of enclosure within the works evidences how Rossetti used juxtaposing canvases to set up the idea of Primary and Secondary Worlds and the use of the fantasy chronotope of distortion serves to establish the demonstrable difference of the Secondary World. Strange forms, replicated and hybrid,

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[381] Barlow, "Pre-Raphaelitism and Post-Raphaelitism", 77 and 78.
[382] This argument is supported by the central thesis of D.M.R. Bentley's article ""The Blessed Damozel": A Young Man's Fantasy", which examines the way in which subsequent revisions of the poem reveal it to be an increasingly personal reflection on the nature of erotic love. See David Michael Reid Bentley, "'The Blessed Damozel': A Young Man's Fantasy" *Victorian Poetry* 20, no. 3/4 (Autumn/Winter 1982), 32.
[383] Jackson, *Fantasy,* 3.

appear in a manner that defies pictorial conventions and mirror the arresting strangeness inherent in the literary version of the tale. Thus, Rossetti presented a Secondary World that was rationalised within the context of the story. Interpretation of the painting (and, indeed, the poem) proposes a new means of approaching Rossetti's work not as dream, but as a deliberate attempt to envisage credible worlds of enchantment.

Conclusion

Rossetti's fantasy works clearly support Todorov's theory of the fantastic. As later case studies show, this is not necessarily true of all visual and literary works of fantasy. Revisionist scholarship has sought to address the limitations of Todorov's theoretical framework. However, these case studies show that his work is a useful tool for discerning the presence of the demonstrably unrealistic in both literary and visual work.

This chapter has demonstrated that the fantasy mode is pervasive in Rossetti's art and literature. While previous scholars have identified his work, and the work of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood generally, as having something fantastical about it, this study has systematically described how Rossetti constituted multiple Secondary Worlds within his arrestingly strange works of art. Through the application of the methodology set out in Chapter One, it has been shown how Rossetti's chronotopic configurations conforms to the qualities associated with fantasy art during this period.

In *The Age of Rossetti, Burne-Jones and Watts*, Wilton explained that the flexibility with which the term "Pre-Raphaelite" has been used since the foundation of the Brotherhood in 1848 resulted in a series of often inconsistent narratives about the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood's ideals.[384] Wilton discerned that of the three most prolific members of the Brotherhood, Holman Hunt, John Everett Millais, and Rossetti, the former two were arguably

[384] Wilton, *The Age of Rossetti, Burne-Jones & Watts*, 17-18.

more consistent proponents of the emphasis on 'truth to nature' that had been integral to the work of the Brotherhood in the early years of its formation.[385] Rossetti's strange, introverted, and self-referential fantasy mode became an ever-prominent feature of the artist's work, in contrast to other members of the Brotherhood. Prettejohn wrote that 'Rossetti does not seem interested in exploring modern life,'[386] and, in her catalogue of the Ashmolean's latest exhibition of *Pre-Raphaelite Drawings & Watercolours* (2021), Christiana Payne identified 'the Rossettian, imaginative strand of the [Pre-Raphaelite] movement' as having 'the greatest longevity.'[387] Through an analysis of the trajectory of his oeuvre we can see how, in Wilton's words, Rossetti 'became more and more committed to his own idiosyncratic vision of the medieval past.'[388] This aspect of Rossetti's post-Brotherhood style characterised the 'new school' that Pater discerned as belonging to the artist's influence and these elements, of medievalism and artifice, profoundly characterised and defined the fantasy mode in the visual arts following his death.

The existence of fantasy chronotopes in Rossetti's literature and visual art evidence how this methodology for uncovering works of fantasy can be applied to different mediums. The unique configurations of spacetime within fantasy are the primary means by which alterity can be identified as being intrinsic to the creation and the identification of particular chronotopes. This methodology emphasises that visual works of fantasy adhere to the same principles of Secondary World creation as fantasy literature, a facet of modern fantasy that is evidenced well by Rossetti's dual practice.

The history of fantasy art is bound up with the history and language of Pre-Raphaelitism, primarily in the extension of Rossetti's influence on the art world of late nineteenth-century Britain. The following chapters will show how opulent colour, the

[385] ibid.
[386] Prettejohn, *Modern Painters*, 26.
[387] Christiana Payne, *Pre-Raphaelite Drawings & Watercolours* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2021), 28.
[388] Wilton, *The Age of Rossetti, Burne-Jones & Watts*, 18.

rejection of chiaroscuro, the medieval world, myth, fairy tale, folklore, and other written work of the strange, as well as the spontaneous influence of the individual imagination, become the primary elements by which we can gauge the trajectory of the stylistic aspects of fantasy in British art from the 1850s onwards. These features and aspects of fantasy, which are manifold in the art and literature of Rossetti, would go on to furnish innumerable Secondary Worlds. Through an account of this one artist's influence on wider art traditions, and particularly his influence on individual artists and writers, we can see how the solipsistic, idiosyncratic creative imagination of Rossetti was of fundamental importance to the origination of modern fantasy.

Chapter 3: 'The empire of imagination':[389] series works as epic fantasy in late Victorian art

Morris, Burges, Burne-Jones, and Watts created expansive Secondary Worlds throughout their careers. This chapter makes the argument that their relationships, particularly with Rossetti, fomented an art culture out of which modern fantasy emerged. Through the examination of four works of modern fantasy: "The Hollow Land" (1856), Cardiff Castle (1865-1881), the Buscot Park *Briar Rose* series (1885-1890), and the proposed House of Life, this chapter establishes how artists were thinking about new ways to express alterity and arresting strangeness. For whilst these works show a clear relationship to the work of Rossetti and popular contemporary art styles, they can also be considered to be spontaneous works of the imagination, configuring cultural material in new ways to tell stories of enchantment and magic. The works of art selected for study in this chapter are unified by being "series" works constituted by different elements that unite into a whole. Rossetti's fantasy works were usually standalone, although often repeated and "doubled". In contrast, the works of Morris, Burges, Burne-Jones, and Watts discussed here were designed as series of chapters, paintings, and rooms that made up a wider narrative about their Secondary Worlds.

These case studies have been chosen to illustrate the phenomenon of the ever-expanding Secondary Worlds in visual works of art at this time, but also the extent to which the fantasy mode affected late-Victorian culture. Through examination of a work of literature, a work of architecture, a series of paintings, and a decorative scheme, the way in which the fantasy mode influenced various mediums becomes clearer. The shared themes of temporal protraction, enchantment, and "world" reveal how artists were beginning to grapple with the notion of the Secondary World in earnest. Building on the assertions of the previous chapter, these case studies show how and in what ways visual and literary fantasy works can be

[389] Title of Chapter 1 of Carter's *Imaginary Worlds*.

interpreted as determined acts of worldbuilding as understood according to the methodology set out in Chapter One. Such analysis substantiates the claim that the fantasy mode may be brought to bear on various mediums and evidences how the typology described in Chapter One applies to works of fantasy in different mediums.

Through focus on these series works, this chapter emphasises the importance of the Secondary World within fantasy. Through the novel inclusion of visual works of fantasy within its analysis, this study details how and in what ways the fantasy mode, as defined by the presence of a Secondary World and 'arresting strangeness', influences various art mediums. This methodology departs from scholarly theories of worldbuilding that have, until recently, relied upon the temporal function (narrative) of literary mediums as the primary means by which breadth of detail is achieved in fantasy.[390] In 2012, American scholar Mark J. P. Wolf of the World Building Institute published *Building Imaginary Worlds: the Theory and History of Subcreation* as a means of redressing the misapprehension that Secondary Worlds exist only in fiction. In it, he wrote that:

> Imaginary worlds may depend relatively little on narrative, and even when they do, they often rely on other kinds of structures for their form and organization. Imaginary worlds are, by their nature, an interdisciplinary object of study, and thus likely to either fall between the cracks between sub-disciplines or receive only a partial examination according to which features are considered salient according to the analytical tools being described.[391]

More recently, Ekman's analysis of 'non-narratival' world-building placed great emphasis on the visual construction of Secondary Worlds. In the context of illustrations for Dungeons & Dragons, Ekman explained that

> Both the halfling and human figures are dressed for travelling, indicating that what is a familiar home for someone of one race is a foreign place for people of other races. The habitats are both familiar and strange, known and unknown, a place of origin and a place to visit during adventures. The world is homely but also obscure, unseen, to the point where there are only abstract colours flowing into each other, evoking a

[390] See "Fantasy as 'creative mythology': an introduction to fantasy as an art mode," 16-25.
[391] Mark J.P. Wolf, *Building Imaginary Worlds: The Theory and History of Subcreation* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 3

> mysterious atmosphere but little else (such is the case in the tiefling picture: no concrete habitat is portrayed).[392]

Wolf and Ekman's work sets a precedent for the assessment of non-narratival works of art as fantasy, understood as being defined by the presentation of a Secondary World. The methodology outlined in Chapter One supports this endeavour, providing a novel framework for the discovery of the key modal features that Ekman's analysis highlights. Moreover, Wolf's analysis of the sub-creation or Secondary World as an essentially multi-disciplinary object agrees with Schurian's view of fantasy that it 'is consequently much less a matter of art theory than of anthropology.'[393] By examining the work of Morris, Burges, Watts, and Burne-Jones as fantasy in which a Secondary World has been constructed, a significant precedent for subsequent medievalised fantasy worlds is found.

The works of fantasy that are discussed in this chapter are close to what both Todorov and Jackson identified as the "marvellous."[394] Unlike their conception of the fantastic, the marvellous rationalises the strange occurrences within the context of the new rationale of the Secondary World, described by Jackson in this way:

> Fantasies moving towards the realm of the 'marvellous' are the ones which have been tolerated and widely disseminated socially. A creation of secondary worlds through religious myth, faery, science fiction, uses 'legalized' methods – religion, magic, science – to establish other worlds, worlds which are compensatory, which fill up a lack, making up for an apprehension of actuality as disordered and insufficient. These fantasies transcend that actuality. Their romance base suggests that the universe is, ultimately, a self-regulating mechanism in which goodness, stability, order will eventually prevail.[395]

A study of fantasy art after Rossetti evidences the indefinite threshold between 'the fantastic' and 'the marvellous', wherein the Secondary World is legitimised and, as Tolkien later wrote

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[392] Ekman, "Vitruvius", 128.
[393] Schurian, *Fantastic Art*, 14.
[394] Defined by Todorov as 'the fantastic-marvelous, the class of narratives that are presented as fantastic and that end with an acceptance of the supernatural. These are the narratives closest to the pure fantastic, for the latter, by the very fact that it remains unexplained, unrationalized, suggests the existence of the supernatural.' Todorov, *The Fantastic*, 51-52.
[395] Jackson, *Fantasy,* 173-174.

was a defining feature of fantasy, reflects 'the inner consistency of reality.'[396] Such a feature of the work of Morris, Burges, Watts, and Burne-Jones shows how fantasy was evolving away from "the fantastic" and towards "the fantastic-marvellous", which agrees with Todorov's claim that the purely fantastic literature of the nineteenth century suffered a demise in the twentieth.[397] Through attention to how the fantasy chronotopes developed in their presentation of alterity, arresting strangeness, and moments of hesitation, this chapter will evidence the continued interplay between reality and the imagination within late-Victorian fantasy as well as how the fantasy mode transformed during this period.

Through observation of the fantasy chronotopes in late-Victorian series works, this study proposes that the desire to build enchanted worlds and imaginary histories was a dominant feature of art at this time. Through attention to biographical details about the work practice of these artists and a close examination of the forms, themes and motifs of their output, these fantasy works are positioned as a precursor to the boom of modern fantasy writing in the twentieth century. Furthermore, attention to biographical data as well as formal analysis gives renewed emphasis to Rossetti's influence on the generation of artists who emerged after his death in 1882, thus providing a unique history of modern fantasy that shows visual art cultures to have been of foundational importance to the nascent mode.

The following case studies make definitive observations about the relationship of the work of other artists to Rossetti's fantasy creations. However, a general point about the nature of Rossetti's fantasy can be highlighted as an entry point to this discussion. In a letter that Lewis wrote to Tolkien in 1949, he described what he viewed to be the two major successes of *The Lord of the Rings*:

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[396] Tolkien, "On Fairy Stories", 47.

[397] See Todorov, *The Fantastic*, 168: 'the nineteenth century transpired … in a metaphysics of the real and the imaginary, and the literature of the fantastic is nothing but the bad conscience of this positivistic era. But today, we can no longer believe in an immutable, external reality, nor in a literature which is merely the transcription of such a reality … Fantastic literature itself – which on every page subverts linguistic categorizations – had received a fatal blow from these very categorizations. But this death, this suicide generates a new literature.'

> In two virtues I think it excels: sheer sub-creation – Bombadil, Barrow Wights, Elves, Ents – as if from inexhaustible resources, and construction. Also in *gravitas*. No romance can repel the charge of 'escapism' with such confidence. If it errs, it errs in precisely the opposite direction: all victories of hope deferred and the merciless piling up of odds against the heroes are near to being too painful.[398]

The aspects of Tolkien's work that his friend and fellow fantasy writer Lewis identified, 'sheer sub-creation' and 'gravitas', were part of the inheritance of Rossetti's ideals and were profoundly realised in the epic fantasies created in his wake. Indeed, in his essay on Rossetti's novel poetic language, Pater discerned this same propensity for couching gravitas in an overabundance of natural detail, which he called a 'delight in concrete definition':[399]

> To Rossetti it is so always, because life is in crisis at every moment. A sustained impressibility towards the mysterious conditions of man's everyday life, towards the very mystery itself in it, gives a singular gravity to all his work: those matters never become trite to him. But throughout, it is the ideal intensity of love – of love based upon a perfect yet peculiar type of physical or material beauty – which is enthroned in the midst of those mysterious powers.[400]

Generally speaking, late-Victorian and Edwardian fantasy was characterised by this blend of an overabundance of physical detail and an ever-presence of gravitas or gravity, which can otherwise be described as the 'intensity' also identified by Pater, including the intensity of form we associate with hyperreality and the intensity of feeling associated with Rossetti's images and stories of idealised love. In both form and meaning, the work of Rossetti, and the Pre-Raphaelites more generally, was elevated by such intensity or gravitas. Juxtaposition of Lewis and Pater's analyses of the work of Tolkien and Rossetti, therefore, suggests a link between the type of art that they were creating, an idea that is reinforced by examination of the key elements in the work of Morris *et al.*, in which these two features were particularly pronounced.

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[398] C.S. Lewis quoted in Humphrey Carpenter, *J.R.R. Tolkien: A Biography* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1977), 207-8.
[399] Pater, "Dante Gabriel Rossetti", 231.
[400] ibid., 235.

For example, Burne-Jones was able to provide his own works with a sense of gravitas through compositional techniques designed to make his works appear important, intellectual, and bound up in the illustration of what the artist called 'the mystery of life.' Robert de Sizeranne remarked about the *Briar Rose* series that 'the most righteous cause, the truest ideas, the most necessary reforms, cannot rise triumphant, however bravely we might fight for them, before the time fixed by the mysterious decree of the Higher Powers.'[401] Thus there is the same suggestion of moral cogency in Burne-Jones that Lewis perceived in Tolkien. Furthermore, Prettejohn wrote that observations about the transmutation of Burne-Jones's design for the *Perseus and the Graeae* panel (Figure 39, Figure 40, and Figure 41) 'confirms its summative character […] the scene makes reference to many of the ideas that circulate, in mythic fashion, through the series as a whole.'[402] Therefore, art-historical scholarship provides a precedent for a conversation about the nature of story, narrative, tone, and form within late-Victorian art. This chapter thus begins to suture a story about the epic properties of late Victorian art together with the history of fantasy in order to present the work of these artists in a novel way that recognises the patterns of their influence on subsequent fantasy works.

'My work is the embodiment of dreams in one way or another':[403] Morris and the imaginary world

Morris's role in the fantasy tradition is well documented. The *Ballantine Adult Fantasy* series (1969-74) provided Morris with a privileged position in the fantasy canon.[404] In his

[401] Robert de la Sizeranne, "In Memoriam, Sir Edward Burne-Jones: A Tribute from France," *Magazine of Art* 22 (1898), 516.
[402] Elizabeth Prettejohn, "The Series Paintings," in *Edward Burne-Jones*, ed. Alison Smith (London: Tate Enterprises Ltd., 2018), 184.
[403] William Morris quoted in John William Mackail, *The Life of William Morris* (London and New York: Longmans, Green, 1901), 107.
[404] The *Ballantine Adult Fantasy Series* published four of Morris' novels: *The Wood Beyond the World* (1894), *The Water of the Wondrous Isles* (1897), *The Sundering Flood* (1897), and the *Well At the World's End* (1896), which was edited into two parts. Four additional texts were considered for publication but never released: *A Tale*

introduction to this publication of *The Wood Beyond the World*, Lin Carter opened with the assertion that: 'the book you hold in your hands is the first great fantasy novel ever written: the first of them all; all others, Dunsany, Eddison, Pratt, Tolkien, Peake, Howard, *et al.*, are successors to this great original.'[405] As detailed in the introduction to this study,[406] the role that Ballantine played in developing an idea of the fantasy genre was significant and stands as a reminder of the power of popular culture in establishing new knowledge pathways. Indeed, according to Williamson, publication of the Ballantine Series ideated 'the crucial formative stage of the fantasy genre, "canonized" as the "tradition" behind Tolkien.'[407]

Fantasy scholars such as Carter, Manlove, Clute, and Grant have all posited that the tradition of Secondary World Building can be traced to Morris. Moreover, conversations about worldbuilding in Morris's literature can also be found in Hough's *The Last Romantics*. On Morris's *News from Nowhere* (1890) Hough wrote that 'we find ourselves in a wholly different world, not only a different England, but a different universe of discourse.'[408] So, art-historical scholarship has, at times, also viewed Morris's work as evidently interested in the Secondary World. Indeed, Hough not only identified the Secondary World as a feature of Morris's literature, but he also observed the tendency of imaginary worlds to subvert the Primary World laws of signification, thus observing one of the most essential aspects of fantasy making, wherein 'elements of this world, re-combining its constitutive features in new relations to produce something strange, unfamiliar and apparently 'new', absolutely 'other' and different.'[409]

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of the House of the Wolflings and All the Kindreds of the Mark (1889), *The Roots of the Mountains* (1889), and *The Story of the Glittering Plain* (1891), *Child Christopher and Goldilind the Fair* (1895).

[405] Carter, "The Fresh, Scrubbed, Morning World of William Morris", ix.

[406] See "The history of scholarship on fantasy," 27-32.

[407] Williamson, *The Evolution of Modern Fantasy*, ix.

[408] Hough, *The Last Romantics*, 111.

[409] Jackson, *Fantasy,* 8.

The following section will show how Morris's early imagination was moulded by contact with Rossetti's art and literature. In the same way that Rossetti's strange and fantastical short stories pushed towards demonstrably unrealistic worlds through deployment of the fantasy chronotopes, so too did Morris construct 'different universe[s] of discourse' through his worldbuilding activity.[410] Much like Rossetti, Morris achieved this through reliance on the nineteenth-century fascination with the medieval and a Pre-Raphaelite-mannered invocation of myth and legend, observed by Hough in the following way:

> The England of *News from Nowhere* is a modern reshaping of the ancient myth, in legend named the Golden Age, in political philosophy the state of nature. Morris has provided it with a realistic prelude, but his real distinction is that in a period of domestic realism in fiction, private fantasy in poetry, his romance has the validity of an image from a deeper level, one of the archetypes from the collective unconscious of mankind.[411]

Whilst the rhetorical elements of Morris's fantasies reveal an allegiance to the structural elements of modern fantasy, both that created before and after Morris, the aesthetic elements compound his singular fantasy style. The following section, therefore, traces the development of elements of Morris's fantasy making as a means of ascertaining how and in what ways the artist contributed to the developing mode.

Morris and the world of romance

Morris's fantasy style was typified by elements that he reused throughout his career. Traditional scholarship on fantasy dictates that it was Morris who transformed what Hough called the 'religio-romantic dream worlds' of the Pre-Raphaelites into something like the high fantasy worlds that audiences have come to expect from the genre.[412] Manlove wrote that in Morris's later prose romances such as *The Story of the Glittering Plain* (1891), *The Wood Beyond the World* (1894), *The Well at the World's End* (1896), and *The Water of the*

[410] Hough, *The Last Romantics*, 111.
[411] ibid., 111-112.
[412] ibid., 40.

Wondrous Isles (1897), 'we have a medievalized faery universe of heroes and maidens, witches and wonders, which has little to do with our reality or any possible one,'[413] and that:

> The very titles of Morris's works embody a desire for Faery, and for beautiful other worlds, that is continually being expressed towards the end of the nineteenth century, in literature, painting and illustration. These works are also the culmination of the long Victorian fascination with the medieval and the Arthurian.[414]

As Manlove has observed, Morris took themes that were familiar to art and literature of the strange and expounded upon them, transforming them into novel prose romances. But what traditional scholarship has failed to account for is how the contexts in which Morris was educated conform to our understanding of modern fantasy, and, principally, what role Rossetti played in the formation of modern fantasy.

Intimations of Morris's style can be found in his earliest work, when he sought to create intricate visual art inspired by the medieval world. Works such as *The Prioress's Tale Wardrobe* (Figure 22), *King René's Honeymoon Cabinet* (Figure 42), and the *St George Cabinet* (Figure 43) show how Morris and his friends would fashion mock-medieval objects to furnish the world of the imagination that Georgiana Burne-Jones wrote of her husband and Morris inhabiting.[415] In her biography of her father's life, May Morris later wrote about these three objects that:

> As ever with these young artists, there is a certain quality in all this work that one cannot define in a single word – an intensity of vision, and a simplicity of setting down, that make the scenes of medieval life they picture, however fanciful, a bit of life as it was lived; we are looking through a peep-hole at a medieval town; it may not have been exactly thus and thus, but the invention is vivid and human.[416]

Indeed, Morris undertook great efforts to provide his vision with a kind of totality. The ultimate extension of this mode was the location of the epic fantasy in a particular space, such

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[413] Manlove, *The Fantasy Literature of England*, 43.
[414] ibid.
[415] Burne-Jones, *Memorials Vol. 1*, 169. These objects were included in the Medieval Court at the International Exhibition of 1862, curated by Burges.
[416] May Morris, *William Morris: Artist, Writer, Socialist: Volume 1: The Art of William Morris; Morris as a Writer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 33.

as in Burges's designs for the Marquess of Bute at Cardiff Castle and Castell Coch, or his own Tower House, Watts's never-realised House of Life, Burne-Jones's Saloon at Buscot Park, and Morris's own Red House (1859-) and Kelmscott House (Morris residence 1878-1896).[417] In these domestic interiors, Morris fully expounded upon the traits of his style that Manlove observed in the artist's literature: the medieval, tales of heroes and maidens, and the wondrous.

Morris viewed this art style as being a direct response to socio-cultural movements that immediately preceded his own age. In an introduction to his essay "The Revival of Architecture,"[418] May Morris commented that 'the revival of the art of architecture in Great Britain may be said to have been a natural consequence of the rise of the romantic school in literature,'[419] echoing the first lines of her father's work that:

> The first symptoms of change in this respect were brought about by the Anglo-Catholic movement, which must itself be considered as part of the romantic movement in literature, and was supported by many who had no special theological tendencies, as a protest against the historical position and stupid isolation of Protestantism.[420]

From the juxtaposition of these positions there emerges the powerful opinion that the art and literature of England at the end of the twentieth century was the especial product of the cultural momentum that bore the Romantic movement, the Anglo-Catholic Revival, and the trend towards medieval themes and motifs in art and architecture, which Morris viewed as being symptomatic of years of transformation within the socio-cultural sphere of Britain. In

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[417] On taking up the tenancy, Morris changed the name of The Retreat to Kelmscott House, after his Oxfordshire home Kelmscott Manor, which further evidences how Morris sought to bend all aspects of the home to his design. Prior to Morris's tenancy, the house had been lived in by George Macdonald, who wrote *At the Back of the North Wind* (1871) and *The Princess and the Goblin* (1873) here.
[418] First published in the *Fortnightly Review,* May 1888. In this essay, Morris explored the Victorian love of medieval form and the influence of the Gothic.
[419] May Morris, "Introduction to the Revival of Architecture," in William Morris, *The Collected Works of William Morris: with introductions by his daughter May Morris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 318.
[420] ibid., 319.

other writings he named this branch of cultural production ‘romance’ and sought to identify its generic structure, writing:

> As for romance, what does romance mean? I have heard people mis-called for being romantic, but what romance means is the capacity for a true conception of history, a power of making the past part of the present.[421]

Morris was a central, vital part of modern fantasy. These excerpts from his critical writings show that he viewed the cultural phenomenon that would ultimately birth modern fantasy as equally responsible for Romanticism and the rise of history.

Moreover, Morris’s views agree with the idea that fantasy is palimpsestic by nature, a genre that consumes symbols from disparate historical traditions and presents them in new and unfamiliar ways. Significantly, this echoes the definition of the marvellous set out by Pierre Mabille in *Le Miroir du Merveilleux* (1940), that Todorov later appropriated for his definition of the fantastic-marvellous:

> Beyond entertainment, beyond curiosity, beyond all the emotions such narratives and legends afford, beyond the need to divert, to forget, or to achieve delightful or terrifying sensations, the real goal of the marvellous journey is the total exploration of universal reality.[422]

Both Morris’s belief that romance is typified by a desire to present ‘a true conception of history’ and Mabille’s notion that the marvellous is concerned with ‘the total exploration of universal reality’ chime with Tolkien’s idea that fantasy is typified by a Secondary World that is a reflection of reality (or the Primary World). Though Morris called this type of literature romance, it has a clear proximity to definitions of fantasy set out by subsequent authors and scholars and shows how Morris was thinking about the structural qualities of literature of the imagination, particularly in relation to history and the known world. Moreover, it marries with the idea, already expressed, that modern fantasy was like history in its drive towards subsuming the past within a cohesive narrative framework.[423]

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[421] May Morris, *William Morris: Artist, Writer, Socialist* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1936), 146.
[422] Pierre Mabille quoted in Todorov, *The Fantastic*, 57. First published in 1940 with a preface by André Breton.
[423] See “Modern fantasy as an extension of medieval antiquarianism,” 44-47.

Morris was instrumental in bridging the world of the Pre-Raphaelites (1848-early 1850s) and the pre-eminent Inklings (c.1930s-1949) Tolkien and Lewis. The novel aspect of this thesis regarding Morris and the fantasy tradition is that many of the shared influences and overlapping interests that have been observed between Morris and the Inklings can, in fact, be traced to Rossetti. An interpretation of Morris's work as the connective tissue between the endeavours of Rossetti and Tolkien is therefore the focus of this section. Through an analysis of the compositional and thematic similarities between Morris's early fantasy story "The Hollow Land" and Rossetti's literature, Morris is exposed as the inheritor, rather than the progenitor, of the fantasy mode.

Case Study: Morris and "The Hollow Land" (1856)

In *The Encyclopaedia of Fantasy*, Clute described Morris's "The Hollow Land" as his first work of fantasy.[424] It was published in two instalments, in the September and October 1856 editions of *The Oxford & Cambridge Magazine,* and was funded by his inheritance.[425] The story includes many elements that are now familiar to fantasy: a pseudo-medieval setting, supernatural occurrences, and a quest tale in which the protagonist ventures from a state of normalcy into the fantastic, before returning. However, what has not been previously demonstrated is that analysis of the aesthetic and narrative elements of the story reveal a great debt to Rossetti, whom Morris had met earlier in 1856. Shortly after their meeting, Morris wrote to a friend that 'my work is the embodiment of dreams in one form or another,'[426] and like Rossetti, Morris's early work explores the nature of 'dream' by setting up Primary and Secondary Worlds through which his character experiences transformation via arresting strangeness and moments of hesitation.

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[424] Clute, *The Encyclopaedia of Fantasy*, 664.
[425] Burne-Jones estimated that the first year's investment would require £500 (of the £900 inheritance), so the magazine can be viewed as a significant investment on Morris's part. See Mackail, *The Life of William Morris*, 49; and Burne-Jones, *Memorials Vol. 1*, 121.
[426] Morris quoted in Mackail, *The Life of William Morris*, 107.

Parallels have already been established between *The Germ* and *The Oxford & Cambridge Magazine*; via *Memorials* we can date the time that Burne-Jones and Morris first encounter *The Germ* to roughly May 1855.[427] An important feature of Morris's story that has hitherto received scant scholarly attention is that the themes of Morris's fantasy story are markedly similar to those of Rossetti's short stories, particularly "Hand and Soul" and "St. Agnes of Intercession." The following case study will observe the development of the fantasy mode through three aspects of "The Hollow Land," including the concept of "world," presentations of the fantasy chronotope of density, and the centrality of the moment of hesitation. These observations will be couched in a wider discussion of the parallels between Morris and Rossetti's work and will show how modern fantasy literature was developing as a direct result of the patterns of exchange amongst the late Pre-Raphaelites.

In Tolkien's essay "On Fairy Stories," the author explained that the Secondary World at the heart of a work of fantasy must be self-satisfying:

> Fantasy has also an essential drawback: it is difficult to achieve […] it is found in practice that "the inner consistency of reality" is more difficult to produce, the more unlike are the images and rearrangements of primary material to the actual arrangements of the Primary World. It is easier to produce this kind of "reality" with more "sober" material.[428]

Of paramount importance to understanding Morris's early (1856) work as fantasy is acknowledgement of the centrality of "world" within "The Hollow Land." Morris's own awareness of this fact is perhaps evidenced by the titles of his three chapters: "Struggling in the world," "Failing in the World," and "Leaving the World," through which Morris highlighted this concept as being fundamental to the work. Further identification of how the fantasy chronotopes work together to imbue the work with an impression of arresting strangeness show how reality is subverted within Morris's fantasy, thus providing the

[427] Burne-Jones, *Memorials Vol. 1*, 110.
[428] Tolkien, "On Fairy Stories", 48-49.

invented world with unique identifying features that conform to Tolkien's definition of a credible Secondary World.

The chronotope of enclosure is prominent in Morris's text and can be traced through the recurring motif of boundary. The concept of "world," so prominently acknowledged through the chapter titles, sets up an idea of the bounded space and helps to promote the fantasy chronotope of enclosure. This is furthered by the primary notion of the text, which is "The Hollow Land" itself, a Secondary World that is an unfamiliar, hidden place in which the protagonist finds himself: 'how was it that no one of us ever found it till that day? For it is near our country.'[429] Known geography and physical boundaries therefore serve as the normative feature of the Primary World that are subverted and distorted within the Secondary World of the Hollow Land, with the very notion of "hollowness" serving as a visual symbol of the distortion of this novel, imaginary space.[430]

In Morris's story, the narrator refers to social and spatial boundaries as a means of explaining the intricacies of the invented world to the reader. The book opens with the tantalising query 'Do you know where it is – the Hollow Land? I have been looking for it now so long, trying to find it again – the Hollow Land – for there I saw my love first.'[431] The narrator explains that he is old and has forgotten the whereabouts of this mystical land, declaiming 'how was it that no one of us ever found it till that day?'[432] Additionally, as was typical of the Icelandic sagas that Morris was so greatly inspired by, he also describes the social hierarchy of his world in detail, writing 'there arose a feud between the Lillies' house and Red Harald; and this that follows is the history of it.'[433] These general remarks about the

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[429] William Morris, "The Hollow Land," *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* (September 1856), 565.
[430] Aspects of Morris's fantasy creation can be recognised as emblematic of various sub-categories of fantasy, such as the "Lost Worlds" or "Lost Lands and Continents" and "polder". See Brian Stableford, "Lost Lands and Continents," in Clute, *The Encyclopaedia of Fantasy*, 593-4; and Clute, *The Encyclopaedia of Fantasy*, 772-3.
[431] Morris, "The Hollow Land," (September 1856), 565.
[432] ibid.
[433] ibid.

nature of the Secondary World serve the dual purposes of reinforcing the fantasy chronotope of enclosure whilst also developing the density of the imagined space, a feature that would become prominent in his later fantasy works as well. On returning to Morris's *The Well at the World's End* (1896) in later life, Lewis wrote:

> I was anxious to see whether the old spell still worked. It does – rather too well. This going back to books read at that age is humiliating: one keeps on tracing what are now quite big things in one's mental outfit to curiously small sources. I wondered how much even of my feeling for external nature comes out of the brief, convincing little descriptions of mountains and woods in this book.[434]

For Lewis, the World's End was not only a 'convincing' description of a world created out of the familiar landscape of reality, but it was also a world that profoundly impacted his own vision of 'external nature.'

As the quote from Lewis's diary suggests, one of the most evocative features of this literature is the densely described visual features of the Secondary World. A particular feature of Morris's fantasy worldbuilding, then, is the attention given to describing the fashion and colours of his invented worlds, which are 'heavily characterised by the medieval':

> I saw him walking by the side of her horse, dressed in white and gold very delicately; but as he went it chanced that he stumbled. Now he was one of those that held a golden canopy over the lady's head, so that it now sunk into wrinkles, and the lady had to bow her head full low, and even then the gold brocade caught in one of the long, slim gold flowers that were wrought round about the crown she wore.[435]

This excerpt illustrates how Morris relies upon an attention to colour and form to convey details of a world so disparately other than that of modern, Victorian England. When juxtaposed with his only completed painting *La Belle Iseult* (Figure 44), the value of such dense descriptions to the evocation of a Secondary World, be it visual or literary, becomes clear. Both the drapery and the fashion of this excerpt and the painting are approximate to

[434] C.S. Lewis, *All My Road Before Me: The Diary of C.S. Lewis, 1922-1927*, ed. Walter Hooper (San Diego: Harcourt, 1991), 421.
[435] Morris, "The Hollow Land,"(September 1856), 566.

one another, designed to evoke the alterity of a world displaced into a medieval setting. Through the chronotope of density, the reader or viewer becomes fully subsumed into the landscape of the new world.

Like his idea of the "House Beautiful", Morris's love of visual detail, vital to the fantasy chronotope of density, allowed him to embellish both his literary and visual works of art with abundant and rich detail, a feature of his style that is further evidenced by the professional services he offered as a craftsman and designer. In 1861 the first prospectus of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Company promised to 'do away' with the difficulty of creating a 'harmony between the various parts of a successful work.'[436] It offered the services of a wide range of artists and artisans who would 'be able to undertake any species of decoration, mural or otherwise, from pictures, properly so called, down to the consideration of the smallest work susceptible of art beauty.'[437] For Morris, detail (or, 'the smallest work susceptible of art beauty') was vital to the overarching design of the home, itself a kind of miniature world.[438] Through this kind of *Gestamtkunstwerk* a totality of vision emerged that satisfied not only his aesthetic predilection, but also the quality of 'inner consistency' that Tolkien associated with worldbuilding.[439]

Beyond the clear dedication of his work to building a convincing and coherent Secondary World, Morris used arresting strangeness as a means of decorating his landscapes with an air of enchantment. Juxtaposition of Rossetti's literature with Morris's use of the moment of hesitation, to heighten the fantastical elements of "The Hollow Land," reveals their shared generic qualities. Like Rossetti's story "Saint Agnes of Intercession,"[440] Morris's

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[436] Mackail, *The Life of William Morris*, 150-151.
[437] ibid., 151.
[438] See "Victorian aesthetic theory and Secondary World Building: the house as a miniature world," 47-50.
[439] Tolkien, "On Fairy Stories", 47.
[440] N.B. "Saint Agnes of Intercession" was drafted in 1850 but not published until 1870. The proximity between Morris and Rossetti's stories suggests an interesting pattern of exchange that requires further analysis to determine an originator.

"The Hollow Land" is written in the first person. The tension that the protagonists of these stories feel is therefore shared directly with the reader and through this feature of the narrative, aspects of Morris's story conform to Todorov's definition of fantasy literature as 'that hesitation experienced by a person who knows only the laws of nature.'[441]

As in Rossetti's stories, memory is an important theme in "The Hollow Land." Through an exploration of its boundaries, as well as tension between individual and communal memory, a commentary about the nature of truth emerges. Morris begins his story with the line: 'I wish to tell you how I found [the Hollow Land] first of all; but I am old, my memory fails me: you must wait and let me think if I perchance can tell you how it happened.'[442] Lack of sensory data, failure of the senses, and a framed narrative all contribute to the hesitation experienced by the reader, during which 'the fantastic occupies the duration of this uncertainty.'[443]

Furthermore, there is a direct correspondence between Rossetti and Morris's characterisation of the feminine supernatural, which in "The Hollow Land" is conveyed by a strange and ethereal woman who is visually similar to Chiaro's soul in Rossetti's "Hand and Soul." After fainting and awakening in the Hollow Land, the protagonist meets Margaret, described as being 'clad in loose white raiment close to her hands and throat; her feet were bare, her hair hung loose a long way down, but some of it lay on her knees […] her hair was quite golden, not light yellow, but dusky golden.'[444] From the aesthetic presentation to the choice of language used to describe the fantastical woman, this description bears great similarities to Rossetti's dream woman in "Hand and Soul", whom Chiaro describes as a woman 'clad to the hands and feet with a green and grey raiment, fashioned to that time. […]

[441] Todorov, *The Fantastic*, 25.
[442] Morris, "The Hollow Land," (September 1856), 565.
[443] Todorov, *The Fantastic*, 25.
[444] Morris, "The Hollow Land," (October 1856), 632.

he knew her hair to be the golden veil through which he beheld his dreams.'[445] These dream women operate as sentinels of the fantastic, desirous creatures that bridge the real and the unreal, the presence of whom suggests the power of romantic love to achieving a kind of transcendence. The proximity of the visual and textual language used to describe them, particularly 'raiment,' 'feet,' 'hair,' and 'golden,' suggests a shared origin point for these motifs. Given the publication history, we cannot be certain which author developed this motif first. What this close reading does show is how the two artists were sharing ideas, particularly ideas about beauty and the supernatural.

Morris's short story concludes when the protagonist is reunited with his beloved and they pass into a beautiful Hollow Land, before which stands a statue of 'two figures of a man and woman, winged and garlanded, whose raiment flashed with stars; and their faces were like faces we had seen or half seen in some dream long and long and long ago.'[446] The numerous boundaries that this scene sets up, between Primary World and Secondary World, earth and stars, past and present, and waking and dreaming, cement the arresting strangeness of the tale, causing the reader once more to hesitate between an interpretation of the story as truth or dream. Thus, analysis of Morris's short story "The Hollow Land", which he wrote and published early in his career, reveals a link to Rossetti's literature in theme and style. Elements of this story, such as the prevalence of the fantasy chronotopes of density, distortion, and enclosure, would later become hallmarks of his fantasy novels, leading him to be labelled as one of the 'fathers of fantasy.' However, as this cursory case study proves, that accolade might be better attributed to Rossetti.

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[445] Rossetti, *Collected Works Vol. 1*, 392.
[446] Morris, "The Hollow Land," (October 1856), 641.

Summary

"World" is an important notion in Morris's fantasy works. As he did with the chapter titles of "The Hollow Land," Morris would use "world" in the titles of two of his other fantasy works of literature, *The Wood Beyond the World* (1894) and *The Well at the World's End* (1896). These titles thrust the reader immediately into a bounded space with an emphasis on the edge or limit of physically demarcated space; 'leaving the world', 'the world's end' and 'beyond the world' suggest boundary, threshold, passage, liminality, and enclosure. Moreover, like the strange occurrences that alert us to the presence of the supernatural in the progression of the narrative, these titles also suggest the binary presence of the known and unknown.

Despite occupying fringe sites, Morris's Secondary Worlds are familiar. Trees, lawns, meadows, and rivers constitute the geography of the Secondary World, as well as seas, which are always accompanied by a suggestion of the infinitely unknowable. Other visual signifiers, such as strange creatures and unknown symbols, furnish the world with an arresting strangeness that marks these spaces as imaginary; it is this interplay between the demonstrably familiar, known, real and the unfamiliar, unknown, imaginary that typifies his literature.

Scholars have pointed to Morris as the father of fantasy because of the impact his extensive literature has had on subsequent writing, which is itself the result of the enthusiasm with which he was received by the Inklings.[447] However, as Morris himself elucidated, his own 'romance' style drew from the well out of which Romanticism and the Anglo-Catholic Revival sprang. The eternal font from which all strange literature emerges is clearly palpable; Carter described the landscape of *The Wood Beyond the World* of:

> Dim, shadowy forests wherein curious creatures lurk … dewy meadows and green hills where old magics survive from elder days … a fresh, scrubbed morning world painted in the bright and timeless colors of a Medieval tapestry, filled with weird

[447] See Lionel Adey, "The Light of Holiness: Some Comments on Morris by C.S. Lewis," *Journal of the William Morris Society* 3, no. 1 (1974), 10-22.

> veiled figures and uncouth, dwarfed, malignant foes and strange unearthly monsters.[448]

Yet the Victorian elements of Morris's fantasy making are also pronounced when couched in discussion about the cultural and aesthetic contexts in which literature like "The Hollow Land" was written. Medievalism, bright colour, and the inference of forms and motifs drawn from myth and legend are all aspects of Morris's style that find a precedent in Pre-Raphaelitism more broadly, and the fantasy work of Rossetti in particular.

Carter's description of Morris's work shows the relationship of his literary style to contemporary fantasy; familiar motifs such as magic, nostalgia, the medieval, and the supernatural continue to form the essence of high fantasy for many readers today. These elements, many of which pay clear homage to Rossetti, were popularised by Morris's novels and read voraciously by children in the aftermath of their publication. As the American literary critic Paul Fussell wrote in his seminal work *The Great War and Modern Memory* (1975), 'the young men who went to war in 1914 spent their early lives reading such books as 'the boys' books of George Alfred Henty; the male-romances of Rider Haggard; the poems of Robert Bridges; and especially the Arthurian poems of Tennyson and the pseudo-medieval romances of William Morris.'[449] Amongst that generation was the young Tolkien, who went to the Somme in June of 1916, a year after he had begun to create his own Secondary World of Middle Earth.[450]

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[448] Carter, "The Fresh, Scrubbed, Morning World of William Morris", xiii.

[449] Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 22.

[450] Tolkien became well acquainted with Morris's work at school. In his senior year at King Edward's school, Tolkien presented a paper to the literary society on the *Völsunga Saga*, which he described as 'a strange and glorious tale. It tells of the oldest treasure hunts: the quest of the red gold of Andvari, the dwarf. It tells of the brave Sigurd Fafnirsbane, who was cursed by the possession of this gold, who, in spite of his greatness, had no happiness from his love for Brynhild. The Saga tells of this and many another strange and thrilling thing. It shows us the highest epic genius struggling out of savagery into complete and conscious humanity.' J.R.R. Tolkien quoted in *The Annotated Hobbit*, ed. Douglas A. Anderson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2002), 3. Additionally, Tolkien's biographer Humphrey Carpenter ascertained that the copy of the *Red Fairy Book* by Andrew Lang in Tolkien's possession since childhood contained a condensed version of Morris's Sigurd story. Carpenter, *J.R.R. Tolkien*, 30.

Theatres of play: whimsy and the medieval in Burges's fantastic imagination.

Just as Rossetti developed a language of the fantastic to explore themes of interest to him, Burges's creations have unifying stylistic elements that reveal a cohesive creative vision concerned with exploring and articulating his own interests. Underlying this shared feature of their art making are the shared biographical details of their parallel lives. Burges died in 1881, the same age as Rossetti would be when he died a year later in 1882. They both, along with Rossetti's brother William Michael, attended King's College School in London, were members of The Hogarth Club (1858-1862),[451] the Arts Club (founded in 1863), and worked together on Burges's important early fantasy work the Great Bookcase (Figure 21). For almost the entirety of their lives, Rossetti and Burges were friends and colleagues.

But despite these historical markers, little scholarship has been generated on their relationship or shared artistic practices. Yet there is evidence that their relationship influenced their professional lives. In his diary entry for 29 May 1858, G.P. Boyce (1826-97) recorded that 'Rossetti called to see me while Burges was taking tea with me […]. Burges bullied him into using vellum when he wished simply for good paper.'[452] Investigation of the fantasy mode in the work of Rossetti and Burges shows that they were both using the same tools of reclamation and reapplication to create complex fantasy worlds. Moreover, their shared history supports the theory that they were working in the same vein, using the same ideas, and sharing work practice.

Scholarship on Burges has focused on the role that imagination and creativity play in in his work, perhaps more than was true for Rossetti. Crook's study on Burges was first published in 1981 and remains the most comprehensive study of the designer architect's life.

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[451] Members included William Morris, Edward Burne-Jones, George Frederick Watts, Edward Lear, Ford Madox Brown, Arthur Hughes, William Holman Hunt, and John Ruskin.

[452] George Boyce, *The Diaries of George Price Boyce*, ed. Virginia Surtees (London: Real World, 1980), 23. This passage also describes further details of the exchange between Rossetti and Burges: 'Burges asked him how he would lay in a head in oil colour.'

For the purposes of this study, the two most significant positions of this work are, firstly, the dedicated section on the "Fantastic" in Burges's oeuvre, which explores how he manifested his fantasy visions through deployment of 'High Victorian Gothic' styles and ideals,[453] and secondly, the idea that Burges was working in a radically novel way. In much the same manner that Ruskin and Pater lauded Rossetti's singularity, Crook declared that 'between 1855 and 1859 it was Burges, above all, who opened up a new dimension in English furniture design.'[454] In other words, the newness perceived in Rossetti's work, which this study links with the emergence of modern fantasy, can also be found in the critical response to Burges's designs.

Building on Crook's seminal study, Nicolas Roquet's PhD thesis in 2011 set out how Burges's designs can be understood as fantasy, the central creative mythology of which was a project dedicated to self-fashioning.[455] Using the framework of Bann's theses on the historicising drive of the Romantic movement and the modern world more generally,[456] Roquet examined how Burges, as a nineteenth-century craftsman, embodied the zeitgeist of identity formation through an imaginative rendering of the past.[457] Through particular analysis of Burges's Vellum Sketchbook (1860-c.1870), Roquet developed an idea of this work as 'the locus of an elaborate fantasy. In the moment in which Burges took in hand the archaic instruments of vellum and quill, he became an imagined other.'[458] In this manner, Roquet evidenced how Burges created himself as a modern day Villard de Honnecourt,[459]

[453] Crook, *William Burges*, 284-341.
[454] ibid., 299.
[455] Roquet, "Life in Costume", iv.
[456] Bann, *Romanticism*.
[457] ibid., 14-15.
[458] ibid., 107.
[459] Rossetti's self-patterning on the historic figures of Dante Allighieri, as well as to an extent Bonifazio degli Uberti, illustrates how he imagined a deep and personal connection with artists of the past that is like the one that Burges drew between himself and Villard de Honnecourt (c.1225 – c.1250). The young de Honnecourt's only remaining, identified work is a single sketchbook dating to c. 1225-1235. It is in part because of his relative obscurity that he was received with such aplomb by the nineteenth century, which moulded him into the form of a medieval architect in much the same way that fantasy artists were refashioning a language of the medieval out of the shrapnel of antiquarian study. Burges himself explored de Honnecourt's life and work in a

and through these means painted a picture of the artist's practice that would 'restore fantasy to its central place in Burges' creative process.'[460] Roquet's analysis also coupled "newness" with the work of Burges through reference to a small comment made by Burges in a lecture on the history and literature of the Middle Ages: 'another great reason,' declaimed Burges, 'for the disuse of architectural libraries is the existance [sic.] of a new sort of book which supersedes the others – viz the sketchbook.'[461] Roquet focused on this comment as a means of augmenting the position, shared with Crook, that Burges was intent on creating something new, writing that 'his insistence on the "newness" of the architect's sketchbook was a means to distance himself from the elders and come to terms with new forms of historical imagination.'[462] In this way, contemporary and subsequent criticism of the work of Burges, like that of Rossetti and Morris, reveals novelty to be a unifying quality observed in the work of these artists. With the support of Jackson's seminal enquiry into modern fantasy, this study presents the premise that late-Victorian observations of "newness", when made in reference to works of art, often highlight works that also conform to the tenets of the fantasy mode.

Roquet's work thus helped to situate Burges in the wider contexts of his time, by which means he showed how other artists, particularly the Aesthetes and those working in the Pre-Raphaelite style, were working in the same mode.[463] This study takes that theorising a step further and sets out how the widespread cultural phenomenon identified by scholars such as Roquet can be understood as a part of the story of modern fantasy. Crook identified this phenomenon too, characteristically bequeathing Burges with a privileged position in that story:

> Maybe the whole Pre-Raphaelite generation was moving towards the same goal. And maybe Viollet-le-Duc crystallised the tentative approaches of his less systematic

series of articles written for the architectural journal *The Builder.* See William Burges, "An Architect's Sketch-Book of the Thirteenth Century," *The Builder*, no. 16 (1858), 770-2.

[460] Roquet, "Life in Costume", 75.

[461] Burges quotes in ibid., 23.

[462] ibid., 234.

[463] ibid., 121 and 150.

> contemporaries. But it required Burges's special genius to translate a couple of medieval curiosities into a range of Pre-Raphaelite furniture. And even in terms of strict chronology, Burges takes the lead.[464]

This 'strange genius' is the subject of the following section. How and in what ways did Burges create a vision of alterity? Out of what contexts did this solipsistic and idiosyncratic style emerge?

Like many of his contemporaries, Burges viewed the Middle Ages as a lost, enchanted age. In his introduction to the published lecture series delivered for the Society of Arts in 1865 he addressed what he viewed to be the three most pressing concerns for the art world of the present day: the want of distinctive architecture, the want of a good costume, and the want of sufficient teaching of the figure.[465] Paying particular attention to what he believed to be a dearth of good Victorian architecture, Burges expressed the view shared by Tolkien that all good art came from a time before the modern age.[466] Through these lectures he expressed a belief in the power of the imagination to create something new and wonderful, which is compounded in the charming expression, previously cited, that:

> If some kind of fairy could make a clean sweep of all our existing buildings and all our books on architecture, to say nothing of the architects, being then left to our own resources we might do something of our own. But as fairies have long ceased to exist, we can only live in hopes that the succeeding generations may be more fortunate.[467]

Unlike contemporaries who believed that a better direction for English art could be found in the art of the past, Burges believed in the power of the imagination to achieve greatness once stripped of the burden of that which had been built before: 'left to our own resources we might do something of our own.'

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[464] Crook, *William Burges*, 298.
[465] Burges, *Art Applied to Industry*, 7.
[466] See J.R.R. Tolkien, "The Oxford English School," *The Oxford Magazine* 48 (1930), 778-80, in which Tolkien detailed his manifesto for changes to be made to the University of Oxford's English curriculum, including for the period covered by the course to finish at the nineteenth century.
[467] ibid., 8.

On the issue of the want of good costume, by which he meant daily fashion, Burges suggested that a return to the colourful garments worn by the people of the Middle Ages would be a happy resolution. He described English fashion in the reign of Edward I in characteristically overabundant terms, writing that:

> The dresses themselves were of almost every conceivable colour under the sun, and being quite new were rather gaudy; but the effect of the whole was most wonderful, resembling an enormous moving flower-bed filled with the most brilliant flowers. A mediaeval holiday crown must have been even more gorgeous, for there the colours were varied by embroidery.[468]

Thus, through an analysis of his writings, it is possible to discern how the medieval became for Burges, like Morris, a theatre for the imagination in which he developed a world contoured by beautiful design and an overabundance of colour and detail.

As Burges ascertained in his writings, imagination was the primary means through which a vision of the past was excavated. In his second article on the 1862 International Exhibition for *Gentleman's Magazine*, Burges described that 'one of the first questions which suggests itself to the student of Mediaeval Art is how to account for the extreme paucity of woodwork, more especially furniture, executed during the earlier periods.'[469] The need to think imaginatively in the face of a 'paucity of' insufficient historical data is evocative of the antiquarian process of the medieval and Early Modern period in which history was synthesised within an oftentimes invented framework. This same impulse was the locus of Burges's medieval imagination, and, by extension, the application of the fantasy mode within his work, which furthers the argument about the relationship of modern history and modern fantasy to the method of the medieval antiquarian. Roquet shared this perspective of Burges's work. In his thesis, he described Burges's process as a deliberate attempt to recapture and recalibrate the historical within his 'elaborate fantasy':[471]

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[468] ibid., 10.
[469] William Burges, "The International Exhibition," *Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Review* 213, July (1862), 3.
[471] Roquet, "Life in Costume", 107.

> Spun from small and heterogenous historic fragments, these houses were intended as convincing portrayals of history; in physical terms, they mirrored their owners' undertaking to recreate a vanished past – as a writer of historical novels, or as a scholar of British antiquities.[472]

Burges's own perspective of the past (specifically, the Middle Ages) is well-documented in his critical writing. In his article for *Gentleman's Magazine*, Burges made his famous comment that 'if, however, the visitor wishes to see the real Middle ages, he must visit the Japanese court, for at the present day the arts of the Middle Ages have deserted Europe.'[473] Indeed, according to Burges, the strength of the Japanese Court lay in the variety of techniques on show, which illustrated the successful preservation of traditional crafts between the ages:

> The ingenuity of the Japanese is still further illustrated by specimens of paper made to imitate cloth, by a numerous collection of surgical instruments, and by the egg-shell china, to say nothing of the many specimens of lacquer cabinets and other pieces of furniture. Truly the Japanese Court is the real mediaeval court of the Exhibition.[474]

In the same way that Hines described the medieval as occupying the 'pre-literal, pre-realist space,'[475] the Japanese Court was, for Burges, a palimpsest for the world of superior craftsmanship that he imagined medieval Europe to once have been. The 'idea of' Japan promoted by the Japanese Court was like the 'idea of' the Middle Ages with which Burges had long been enamoured. In this regard, both rooms represented an "other" space that was expressed by the curation of literal space at the International Exhibition, wherein the chronotope of enclosure functioned as a boundary between normalcy and alterity. Burges's own work, then, can be said to have been concentrated on integrating the normative (functionality of form) with the other (an expression of that which has been lost). It thus performs what Jackson saw as an essential characteristic of fantasy, wherein 'fantasy has always provided a clue to the limits of a culture, by foregrounding problems of categorizing

[472] ibid., 233.
[473] Burges, "The International Exhibition", 10.
[474] ibid., 11.
[475] Mock, "Why Game of Throne & Fantasy Literature Get Medieval"..

the 'real' and of the situation of the self in relation to that dominant notion of 'reality'.'[476] Burges's project of the imagination incorporated into its own, rich language the signifiers of other times and places and it is out of that 'abundance of resource' that his idiosyncratic fantasy world emerged.

Like other Victorian artists, the decorated space became for Burges a repository for his own expansive imagination.[477] This attitude towards art and life would become increasingly pronounced in the lives of the Aesthetes; as Bernard Denvir wrote, 'the aesthetic movement involved almost every aspect of life; dress, furniture, art, literature, even pronunciation.'[478] This kind of worldbuilding was a significant Victorian contribution to modern fantasy that can be traced to the present day via mid-twentieth-century amusement park designs such as Anton Pieck's (1895-1987) De Efteling (Netherlands, founded 1952) and Walt Disney's (1901-1966) Disneyland Resort (United States, founded 1955), which, like the Courts of the International Exhibition homogenised every element into the totality of their design.[479] In the same way that the market presentation of the work of the Inklings in the 1930s-50s solidified core generic elements of fantasy literature, these life-size fantasy themed amusement parks did the same thing for fantasy visual art. Burges's uncharted contribution to the history of modern fantasy is therefore profound when taken in the context of present day fantasy creation. By the middle of the twentieth century, Burges's wish to see a fairy erase and recreate worlds unbeholden to architectural history and tradition was realised in

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[476] Jackson, *Fantasy,* 52.

[477] Examples include Lord Frederick Leighton (1830-1896), whose central London home featured a resplendent Arab Hall; Lawrence Alma Tadema (1836-1912), who installed an aluminium ceiling to give the light in his studio an ethereal, silvery effect; and William Morris, whose Kelmscott Manor features on the frontispiece to his dystopian fantasy *News From Nowhere* (1890) and continues to serve as a reminder of how reality provides the constituent features of fantasy. Rossetti's house also displayed a characteristically Victorian predisposition towards interior overabundance and whimsy. The artist was fascinated by mirrors, which he hung in abundance. He also kept pet wombats at his home in 16 Cheyne Walk along with other of his menagerie. On this home, the Victorian diarist Arthur Munby (1828-1910) wrote of the 'aroma of its manifold romance.' A.J. Munby, *Man of Two Worlds: The Life and Diaries of Arthur J. Munby, 1828-1910* (London: Gambit, 1972), 160.

[478] Bernard Denvir, *The Late Victorians: Art, Design and Society, 1852-1910* (London: Longman, 1986), 18.

[479] It is notable that Pieck, who was born and raised during the Golden Age of Illustration, was foremostly a painter and graphic artist.

Anaheim, California at Walt Disney World, where, as the advertisement for the park's opening (Figure 45) promised, 'fun, thrills, fantasy, adventure await you in this exciting new world of Walt Disney's fabulous dreams.'

Modern Mythmakers: Burges, Bute, and Benjamin Disraeli

In 1865 John Crichton-Stuart, the 3rd Marquess of Bute, asked Burges to write a report on the state of Cardiff Castle, which would be the beginning of an enterprise in myth making that would last until Burges's death in 1881. During this time, Bute worked to create an image of himself through a series of gestures that were aided by the complex narrative schemes developed for his properties by Burges. In the following case study, an analysis of Cardiff Castle shows how Burges used the fantasy chronotopes to create an idea of Bute that allied him with a romantic history and the history of England itself, with analysis of other aspects of Bute's life and legacy supporting this perspective of how he created a narrative about himself within the society of late Victorian Britain.

Bute's own propensity for myth-making revolved around positioning himself into the legacy that Morris described as being the foundation of the novel romance genre, being 'the Anglo-Catholic movement, which must itself be considered as part of the romantic movement in literature.'[480] On the 8th of December 1868, just after the close of Benjamin Disraeli's first term as Prime Minister, Bute converted to Roman Catholicism, an event that was famously used as the plot for Disraeli's own romance novel *Lothair* (1870), in which he explored ideas pertaining to the Jewish inheritance of the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches respectively. Crook viewed this as directly related to Burges's art-making, noting that his patrons were all either Roman Catholic or High Anglican, and that 'his ideal was the Church

[480] Morris, *The Collected Works of William Morris*, 319.

Candescent, an aesthete's version of the Church Militant: Faith made manifest in Art.'[481] Like Rossetti the "Art Catholic" and Morris, who viewed the Anglo-Catholic Revival as part of the romance tradition in which he was working, so too can we link Burges with the late Victorian vogue for bridging the enchanted and the aesthetic.

Disraeli's own cultural production exemplified this trend. Jewish by birth and a convert to Anglicanism at the age of twelve, Disraeli used ideas about the movement of Judaism into the modern era to create a myth for England. He did this throughout his career, in both the political and literary spheres. From his spearheading of the Young England aristocrats into parliament in the 1840s and the publication of his Young England trilogy, *Coningsby* (1844), *Sybil* (1845) and *Tancred* (1847), Disraeli grew a myth of English exceptionalism that was rooted in a Jewish history.[482] Through *Lothair*, Bute inadvertently became a societal figurehead for the kind of impulse that Morris described, a modern day Anglo-Catholic who was immortalised as a knight of the realm in literature and image by Disraeli and Burges respectively.

Like Disraeli, the 3rd Marquess of Bute was an intellectual, an enthusiastic learner and a prolific writer. His aptitude for languages revealed itself early; in 1872 he had married Gwendolen Fitzalan-Howard, who in one letter recounted that 'he says what I suppose is true 'why can't you teach yourself?' – I say I don't know where to begin & then he says calmly, read the grammar through and through – he does that with his Hebrew.'[483] Burges later incorporated Bute's fascination with languages into the fabric of his fantasy world: on the walls of the Roof Garden at Cardiff Castle (Figure 46) he depicted the Old Testament story of

[481] Joseph Mordaunt Crook, *The Strange Genius of William Burges, 'Art-Architect,' 1827-81* (Cardiff: National Museums and Galleries of Wales, 1981): 12.
[482] In the *Vindication* (1835) he had written 'thus the English in politics are as the old Hebrews in religion, "a favoured and peculiar people." [sic.] (Benjamin Disraeli, *Vindication of the English Constitution in a Letter to a Noble and Learned Lord* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1835): 205.)
[483] Gwedolen Fitzalan-Howard quoted in Rosemary Hannah, *The Grand Designer: Third Marquess of Bute* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2012), 142.

Elijah with accompanying lines of passage written in Hebrew (Figure 47). In this space, Burges used his design to explore the same Judaic origin story that Disraeli's myths explored, with the notable addition of the central, commanding force of a bronze Madonna and Child (Figure 48). Thus, Burges's project at Cardiff Castle should be viewed as the joint project of two great Victorian mythmakers, in which a creative mythology about Bute was bound by Burges's complex decorative fantasy.

Case Study: Kings of Cardiff Castle, Burges and the Marquess of Bute

Cardiff Castle is a fantasy of selfhood. Just as Rossetti positioned the self at the centre of his fantasy works *The Blessed Damozel*, *Beata Beatrix*, *How They Met Themselves*, "St. Agnes of Intercession", and "Hand and Soul," so an exploration of the theme of selfhood in Burges's designs for the Marquess of Bute shows the degree to which the personal performs an integral role in the ordering of a Secondary World. Attention to the self-fashioning of the Marquess of Bute within the decoration of Cardiff Castle reveals how he and his architect-designer used history to promote a creative mythology in which the Marquess was positioned, loftily, at the epicentre of a story about the divine. This case study will examine Burges's approach to the design of Cardiff Castle, the Banqueting Hall as the locus of Cardiff Castle's creative mythology, and the patron-function in the contexts of self-fashioning and fantasy creation. Analysis of the elements of this design show how Burges appropriated symbols from widespread cultures to produce something novel. Together, the features of Cardiff Castle's nineteenth-century facelift point towards a design to transform the building into an enchanted world, with the Bute family at its heart.

The commission of the nineteenth-century renovation of Cardiff Castle laid the foundation for this enterprise in fantasy creation. In 1865, Bute hired Burges to write a report on the state of Cardiff Castle. The designer presented this to the trustees a year later and in it, proposed three renovation options, '1. The Strictly Conservative, 2. The Antiquarian, and 3.

The Modern.'[484] He went on to describe how each "style" might be accomplished in practice; the conservative method required a truthful and accurate reflection of the historical elements that could be discovered of the site; the antiquarian method was somewhat more flexible and would involve the incorporation of styles that were accurate to the age of the various parts of the project; and the third style was altogether more radical: 'it would involve sundry additions which are to a certain degree demanded by the fact of the castle being used as a nobleman's residence.'[485] Bute opted for the more radical, so-called "modern" approach.

Burges enacted his bold, modern vision for Cardiff Castle in a manner akin to Jackson's seminal description of fantasy as a mode that inverts elements of this world.[486] In this regard, Cardiff Castle is an outstanding example of late-Victorian visual fantasy creation in which enclosure, density, distortion, and temporal dislocation all function. Such an analysis of the building shows that the project of modernising Cardiff Castle was centred around the creation of a Secondary World fit for a nineteenth-century 'nobleman's residence.' Burges later replicated this kind of modernisation at Bute's other properties, Castell Coch and Mount Stuart, in the early 1870s.

Many of the rooms of Cardiff Castle hark back to the Middle Ages, when the aristocracy performed a greater public function than they did in the nineteenth century. This was particularly true for the Banqueting Hall (Figure 49), a temporally dislocated space that serves as a strong example of Burges's overarching style of fantasy. It includes a complex invented narrative, supernatural creatures, and design elements that are drawn from various sources and it exemplifies the chronotopic configurations of modern fantasy in a rich, densely detailed decorative scheme. The resultant design augments an interplay between the historical material of the house, Bute's ancestry, and invented and displaced design elements. Such a

[484] William Burges quoted in Crook, *William Burges*, 239.
[485] ibid., 240.
[486] Jackson, *Fantasy,* 52.

feature of the design is demonstrated by the architectural fabrication of the room itself, which was constructed on the site of the fifteenth-century medieval hall. Burges emphasised the medieval elements of this room by fashioning a Gothic style hammer beam roof that Crook believed to be a copy of either the fifteenth-century roof at St Peter's, Norwich (Figure 50) or the sixteenth-century roof at Framlingham, Suffolk (Figure 51).[487] The result remains a curious hybrid of secular and ecclesiastical design.

One of the room's most prominent references to the divine world is the legion of golden-haired, polychromatic winged angels, who loom over visitors to the Banqueting Hall (Figure 52), their distorted hybrid bodies appearing from the eaves as if by magic. This design feature is a pointed augmentation of the religious aspect of Burges's overarching design narrative. For, as Iain Zaczek wrote in his book on angel iconography, angels occupy a special position in the history of Christian symbolism:

> Angels act as intermediaries between God and humanity. In the Bible, they serve as divine messengers (their name comes from *angelos*, the Greek word for 'messenger'), though they also have many other duties. They are healers and protectors; they wage war against the devil; and they are celestial courtiers, worshipping around God's throne.[488]

As Zaczek intimates, angels have, since the Middle Ages, occupied a unique position as intermediaries between this world and the divine, a feature of their iconography that persists in the modern era.[489] Like the hammer beam roof, their presence highlights the relationship of this design to the Middle Ages.

In Burges's scheme, the presence of angels magnifies an especial relationship between Bute and the divine. Included prominently in the design of these supernatural beings

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[487] Crook, *William Burges*, 257.
[488] Iain Zaczek, *Angels* (London: Flame Tree Publishing, 2007), 6.
[489] Other examples of the angel in modern art include the *Angelus Novus* (1920) monoprint created by Paul Klee (1879-1940), for whom the angel was a cipher of the invisible world made visible. R. Langenberg. *Angels: From Dante Rossetti to Paul Klee* (London: Prestel, 2012): 22. Both William Blake and Marc Chagall recorded having seen angels, and the latter expressed the belief that these creatures were proof of permeation between this world and the next.

are familial escutcheons emblazoned with the coat of arms of fifteen generations of the Bute family, a feature that is evocative of the inclusion of a patron's visual likeness in medieval religious artworks, as illustrated by Jan van Eyck's *The Virgin and Child with Canon van der Paele* (Figure 53). In examples such as van Eyck's, the patronage of a work of art would be viewed as an important part of the individual's legacy on earth as well as a provision for their personal salvation. Similarly, the inclusion of angels within the decorative scheme of Cardiff Castle promotes an immediacy between Bute and the divine.

In addition, by viewing Cardiff Castle as a mini-world, or a Secondary World, the presence of these angels takes on another meaning, wherein the angels flanking this room are part of Bute's kingdom. As a devout Catholic, Burges would not have been positioning himself as a kind of godhead within the narrative scheme of his design. Rather, the Burges/Bute design demonstrates a modern iteration of what Aden Kumler typified as the patron-function,[490] a medieval system of patronage that operated in league with the legal framework of rights, obligations, and discipline.[491] Burges's designs conform to this function in their articulation of a hierarchy that is demonstrably unified or homogenous. Angels are a prominent motif in the design of Cardiff Castle as a whole, and this interpretation of their presence within that work gives credence to the argument that Cardiff Castle was designed as a miniature world that reflects our own, Primary World. Like Burges's *Great Bookcase*, the Banqueting Hall at Cardiff Castle reflects a vision of a stratified world, and in the latter the patron serves as the locus of that universe's activity.

The patron that is at the heart of this design is both the real patron, Bute, and the idea of patron; in the narrative put forward in the decoration of the fireplace and frieze we see how the patron-function was used to establish a nebula of relationships between Bute, historical

[490] Aden Kumler, "The Patron-Function," in *Patronage: Power & Agency in Medieval Art*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press, 2013).
[491] ibid., 308.

figures, and Cardiff Castle. Above the fireplace is a relief of the twelfth-century Robert Fitzroy "the Consul", 1st Earl of Gloucester, adorned with castellated towers. The chimneypiece was begun in 1875, the same year that construction on the imposing Clock Tower finished, and it echoes the form of the nineteenth-century Cardiff Castle that was beginning to take shape. Around the room twenty-six canvas wall paintings detail the exploits of Robert the Consul, who performs the function of the 'patron saint' of this room, and perhaps Cardiff Castle as a whole. Through the design of the Banqueting Hall and Cardiff Castle, the 3rd Marquess of Bute, therefore, drew a parallel between himself and a medieval Lord of the Castle.[492] In this regard, Robert the Consul was to Bute what the thirteenth-century Dante Alighieri and Villard de Honnecourt were to Rossetti and Burges respectively. This process of self-fashioning had less to do with emulation of the self through fashion and more to do with crafting a world that was like that of the imaginary predecessor. This is the locus of the fantasy construction of Rossetti and Burges, and, tangentially, Bute, in which the world became a palimpsest through which fantasy was enacted.

The Banqueting Hall at Cardiff Castle provides an example of how fantasy was achieved in the decorative arts using choice historical designs and symbols. The Secondary World of Burges's design, built up around the creative mythology of Bute, was stylised according to the fantasy choronotopes of enclosure, density, distortion, and temporal dislocation as a means of underscoring the themes of the medieval and the divine that abound in this fantasy creation. Like the work of Rossetti and Morris, Cardiff Castle, as an example of a nineteenth century fantasy that explores the life of an individual, thus conforms to Menzies designation of fantasy as a mode that is concerned with the lives of individuals.[493]

[492] After he was created 1st Earl of Gloucester and married into the FitzHamon family, Robert the Consul became Lord of Glamorgan, the seat of which was Cardiff Castle.
[493] Menzies, *True Myth*, 39-40.

Summary

Conceiving of the Victorians as myth makers has wide-reaching ramifications for how we interpret visual artefacts from that period. Acknowledgement of the contribution of Disraeli to that cultural phenomenon shows that even at the highest level of civil service fantasies to do with an imaginary English history were being shared through cultural outputs. Such a detail elevates the wider significance of the history of fantasy and underlines the value of a semi-anthropological, certainly interdisciplinary, approach to its study.

Burges's own fantasy style drew from the art and literature of the past and present, and positioned these stories in dense decorative schemes. In the same way that writers of fantasy literature furnish their Secondary Worlds with descriptive details of unreality, Burges was attentive to the smallest detail. The Banqueting Hall at Cardiff Castle is an ode to the Middle Ages architecturally, decoratively, and in terms of the story told through a series of paintings about the life of Robert the Consul. His passion for the materials of the forms of the Middle Ages was manifested in multi-dimensional works of the imagination that envision a more enchanted age. Burges pursued this world of 'fairy,' a world of the imagination, untethered to precedent, and, as Tolkien wrote, 'in such "fantasy," as it is called, new form is made; Faerie begins; Man becomes a sub-creator.'[494]

'Poems painted on canvas': Watts and the 'House of Life' series as epic fantasy cosmology

Watts has always been something of an enigma. As Chesterton wrote in his 1904 biography of the artist: 'the great singularity of Watts, considered as a mere artist, is that he stands alone.'[495] Positioning him against Frederic Leighton (1830-1896) (the classical) and Rossetti (the medieval) to show the difference, Chesterton identified Watts's style as 'the

[494] Tolkien, "On Fairy Stories", 4.
[495] Chesterton, *G.F. Watts*, 24.

primitive.'[496] For Chesterton, Watts embodied the spirit of the age in a totally isolated and solipsistic manner that was not reproduced by any other artist, writing that:

> He has followed the gleam, like some odd modern Merlin. He has escaped all the great atmospheres, the divine if deluding intoxications, which have whirled one man one way and one another; […] he said once that he had not even consented to illustrate a book; his limitation was that he could express no ideas but his own.[497]

As Chesterton's analysis of Watts's oeuvre suggests, the artist conforms to the pattern of late-Victorian fantasy artists viewed as being in some way new. As Ruskin thought of Rossetti and Crook of Burges, Chesterton recorded Watts as having occupied a unique position in the history of late-Victorian British art.

Beyond the newness that was roundly observed as belonging to these artists, when Watts's work is juxtaposed with that of Burges, Burne-Jones, and Morris, a series of patterns emerges. Expansion, complex worldbuilding, and epic series were all important themes in the work of these artists. Chesterton's observation of Watts as a sub-creator is consistent with what we know of the other artists:

> in his nameless youth and in his silent old age, […] he paints like one upon a tower looking down the appalling perspective of the centuries towards fantastic temples and inconceivable republics.[498]

Chesterton's biography viewed abundant enchantment in Watts's oeuvre and similarly the theme of enchantment peppered Barrington's biography of the artist. By using the recollection of Rossetti's 'fairy-land' as her opening memory of Watts, Barrington drew a connection between the magical space of Rossetti's world with the artistic life and spirit of the older artist.[499] Later in the book, Barrington detailed that 'Italian Art did for Watts what the Italian inheritance in Rossetti's nature did for the Pre-Raphaelite school a little later. It awoke a fervour, the feeling for grace and distinction latent in Watts' nature.'[500] Whilst Watts

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[496] ibid.
[497] ibid., 25.
[498] ibid., 34.
[499] Barrington, *G.F. Watts*, 2-3.
[500] ibid., 29.

had equipped himself with the basic skills to carry out his craft in practice, it was his relationship with Rossetti that released his creative potential. Gradually, over the course of his lifetime Watts painted less from history and increasingly from his imagination.

In his later life, the artist lived alone with his wife Mary in rural Surrey. He did not spend a great deal of time with other artists, which is perhaps why he is not often contextualised within contemporary art cultures. However, Barbara Bryant viewed a 'tangible link and close affinity' between Watts's work and that of Rossetti and the Belgian artist Fernand Khnopff (1858-1921).[501] Building on Bryant's work, this section will show Watts responded to the developing fantasy mode by building an increasingly ornate Secondary World designed to reflect 'universal reality.'[502] As for other late-Victorian artists, the novel recontextualization of Watts's work within the history of fantasy shows him to have been an artist who was responsive to the cultural zeitgeist, thus helping to shed new light on the relevancy of Watts's craft to future generations of artists and authors.

Case Study: The House of Life as epic fantasy

In his introduction to the catalogue for The Whitechapel Gallery's 1974 mini-retrospective, *G.F. Watts: A Nineteenth-Century Phenomenon,* the art historian John Gage called Watts's House of Life project 'his own inventive libretti.'[503] Just as Stephens and Marillier perceived a unique spirit of invention in Rossetti's medieval watercolours, the House of Life series occupies a special position in scholarly conversations about Watts and his oeuvre. This case study will consider the proposed series as a work of epic fantasy. It will attempt to establish what the incomplete House of Life was intended to be and the proximity of this design to an established understanding of epic fantasy. It will also examine the relationship of the project

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[501] Barbara Bryant, "G.F. Watts and the Symbolist Vision," in Wilton, *The Age of Rossetti, Burne-Jones & Watts*, 65-81.
[502] Pierre Mabille quoted in Todorov, *The Fantastic*, 57.
[503] John Gage, "Introduction" in Chris Mullen, *G.F. Watts: A Nineteenth Century Phenomenon* (London: The Whitechapel Art Gallery, 1974), 3.

to Rossetti's own House of Life series. Furthermore, this section develops the notion of the house as a miniature world through analysis of Mary Seton Watts's chapel at Compton, Surrey. Because the scheme was never realised, this section relies heavily on the premise of the House of Life. As such, it does not offer a close analysis of visual material, but rather seeks to establish some of the wider motivations that one artist had for making art that conforms to the understanding of fantasy that was set out in the Introduction and Chapter One. When juxtaposed against Burges's decorative scheme for Cardiff Castle, Burne-Jones's paintings for the Buscot Park *Briar Rose* series, and Morris's literary work "The Hollow Land," this project can be understood as a type of fantasy worldbuilding that was prevalent in late-Victorian art.

The themes of worldbuilding and creation were a prominent feature of Watts's work generally, particularly during the latter half of his career. Motifs associated with such works include the universe, stars, and planets and many utilised the themes and motifs that were embedded into "The House of Life" project that Mary described as 'the ambition of one half of his life and the regret of the other half.'[504] Watts's own account of the scheme as a whole reveals an ambitious plan, in which enclosure, density, and distortion were all intended to feature as a means of transporting the viewer to the Secondary World space of The House of Life:

> The ceiling to be covered with the uniform blue of space, on which should be painted the Sun, the Earth, and the Moon, as it is by their several revolutions and dependence upon each other that we have a distinct notion of, and are able to measure and estimate, the magnitude of Time. The progress of Time, and its consequent effect, I would illustrate for the purpose of conveying a moral lesson the design of Time and Oblivion would be exactly in its place. To complete the design, the Earth should be attended by two figures symbolic of the antagonistic forces, Attraction and Repulsion. I would then give, perhaps upon one half of the ceiling, which might be divided with a gold band on which the zodiac might be painted, a nearer view of earth, and by a number of gigantic figures stretched out at full length represent a range of mountains typifying the rocky structure of skeleton. These I would make very grand and

[504] Mary Seton Watts, *George Frederic Watts: Volume I: The Annals of An Artist's Life* (London: Hodder & Stoughton), 101.

> impressive, in order to emphasise the insignificance of man. The most important (to us) of the constellations should shine out of the deep ultramarine firmament. Silence and Mighty Repose should be stamped upon the character and disposition of the giants; and revolving centuries and cycles should glide, personified by female figures of great beauty, beneath the crags upon which the mighty forms should lie, to indicate (as compared with the effect upon man and his works) the non-effect of time upon them.[505]

The idea of chronotopic sub-creation, characterised by a literal manifestation of Time and the spatial organisation of other aspects of this Secondary World, was integral to Watts's conception of the series. As this excerpt shows, the imaginative repositioning of familiar forms was central to Watts's idea for the work and, in this, mirrored his pledge to 'paint ideas, not things.'[506]

Though the ambition to give form to the formless was not executed in The House of Life to be able to analyse its composition, another example of this kind of project was Watts's painting *Sower of the Systems* (Figure 54). This artwork was inspired by the mundane occurrence of 'curiously refracted rays of light thrown by a night-light upon the ceiling of his bedroom.'[507] Watts transformed that image into one of his most daring symbolic works, meant to represent God. However, following attempts to convey this impression to paper, the painter was not altogether satisfied with the result, writing that:

> My attempts at giving utterance and form to my ideas are like the child's design, who being asked [...] to draw God, made a great number of circular scribbles, and [...] struck his pencil through the centre, making a great void. This is utterly absurd as a picture, but there is a greater idea in it than in Michaelangelo's old man with a white beard.[508]

Mary's sentiment that this was 'an attempt made to paint an unpaintable subject' highlights the ambition with which Watts took on projects that dealt with ideas for which there is little or no sensory information, such as the idea of God. [509] This passage also brings Watts's more

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[505] ibid., 101-102.
[506] G.F. Watts, quoted in Anonymous, "A Mythic Art – G.F. Watts, R.A.", *The Artist* 19 (1897), 150.
[507] Mary Seton Watts, *George Frederic Watts: Volume II: The Annals of An Artist's Life* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1912), 105.
[508] George Watts quoted in Mary Watts, *George Frederic Watts Vol. II*, 302.
[509] Mary Watts, *George Frederic Watts Vol. II*, 302.

general endeavour to transform the ephemera of everyday life into things of universal significance to the fore as one of the central, commanding concerns of his art practice. As he recorded later in his life, Watts believed that 'art in its highest form has always been symbolic and used as a mean to suggest ideas.'[510]

Like all fantasy artists, Watts's attempt to give form to the formless world relied upon the natural one. According to Mary, both the *Sower of the Systems* (Figure 54) and *The All-Pervading* (Figure 55) were inspired by the patterning of refracted glass rays, *Chaos* (Figure 56) was inspired by cracks and undulating in a plaster wall. Barrington recorded in her biography that the face of *Hope* (Figure 57) was modelled by her friend:

> not only was nature used to carry out his visions, his thoughts, and feelings, but sympathy with the nature of others inspired the subjects of the visions, and so far such pictures are links between the purely imaginative works and the portraits.[511]

Thus, to give form to his works of the imagination, Watts relied heavily on the natural world, a fact that is recorded in biographical accounts of his practice.

Watts's experience of painting *The Sower of the Systems*, and how he later spoke about that experience, illustrates some of the problems that visual artists encounter when approaching the creation of a work of fantasy. As Jackson stated, fantasy presents problems of representation, for 'to give representation to an imaginary realm is, however, not possible. This realm is non-thetic, it has no 'human' discourse. To attempt to give it a voice in literature is a manifest contradiction.'[512] Watts said that he began this painting by striking 'his pencil through the centre, making a great void.' The literal absence of form, and the general formlessness of the final work, is a dramatic representation of the 'non-thetic' nature of the beyond, the divine, the imaginary, and the fantastic. So, whilst Watts believed the painting to

[510] George Frederic Watts quoted in Mary Watts, *George Frederic Watts Vol. II*, 129.
[511] Barrington, *G.F. Watts*, 37.
[512] ibid., 90.

have been unsuccessful, the record of his process is extremely successful in illustrating the difficulties of creating visual works of fantasy.

As the House of Life project was never completed, analysis of the work as fantasy relies on the information recorded by Watts and others about what was intended. By viewing Watts's project as one that occupied him throughout his life a parallel can be made between this act of sub-creation and Tolkien's lifelong endeavour to detail Middle Earth. Approaching it in this manner helps to recognise the significance and scope of Watts's ambition, which is marked by the longevity of the project in his creative imagination. The earliest inklings of the work came in 1852, when Watts offered the Directors of the London and North-Western Railway a design titled *The Progress of the Cosmos* for the Great Hall at Euston Station.[513] The proposal was rejected, but the design was not abandoned. In fact, according to a letter sent by Mary to *The Times* in the 1920s, this cosmic design was for the ceiling of 'a vast never-to-be-built temple', which suggests that this commission was the first iteration of The House of Life design.[514] This claim is substantiated by the fact that the title of *The Progress of the Cosmos* resounds with Watts's description of the proposed House of Life, in which 'the ceiling [was] to be covered with the uniform blue of space, on which should be painted the Sun, the Earth, and the Moon.'[515]

However, it is possible that Watts began conceiving of this project even earlier than the 1850s. Chris Mullen suggested that Watts's encounter with the Sistine Chapel in 1845 began his desire to imagine a vast, allegorical history of mankind,[516] which chimes with Mary's claim that Watts had said 'not only does Michael Angelo give a character to his

[513] Mullen, *G.F. Watts*, 4-5. The date of 1852 is significant because in 1851 Watts had become a resident of Mr. and Mrs. Thoby Prinsep at Little Holland House, a place where he would have been in the environs of the Pre-Raphaelites, of whom he was an admirer. See also Mary Watts, *George Frederic Watts Vol. I*, 172.
[514] Mary Watts quoted in Clare A.P. Willsdon, *Mural Painting in Britain 1840-1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 359.
[515] Mary Watts, *George Frederic Watts Vol. I*, 101.
[516] Mullen, *G.F. Watts*, 6.

epoch, but he stands for Italy almost as Shakespeare does for England', and that 'on the whole, as a complete work by one man, they are the greatest things existing.'[517] Like Burne-Jones, on whom the Sistine Chapel had a similarly profound effect, Watts accorded this work a privileged position in the history of art. Perhaps as a result the themes of creation, expansiveness, and totality of vision profoundly influenced his own work after viewing Michaelangelo's ceiling.

The themes of cosmology and epic scale that are found in the concept of the House of Life were fundamental to the burgeoning fantasy mode. This facet of the project, as well as further attention to the history of the composition, potentially reveals Rossetti's influence, which has not yet been considered as a factor in The House of Life's inception. Indeed, the relationship between Watts and Rossetti is not often accentuated in histories of the artists, yet the two had a long-standing personal and professional relationship. Biographical details surrounding Watts's *Justice: A Hemicycle of Law Givers* (1853-1859) provide evidence for this and show how exchange of ideas may have taken place between the two. The fresco, located on the upper north wall of the Great Hall at Lincoln's Inn, measures 45 by 40 feet, and depicts various men of power from history as well as unnamed figures of spiritual and cultural authority such as monks, scribes, and a druid. The mural shared the same totality of vision and temporal distortion that would later become intrinsic to the *House of Life*, which Watts was then conceiving in earnest. According to Mary, during the time that he was working on the Lincoln's Inn fresco *A Hemi-Cycle of Law Givers* (Figure 58), Watts was 'talking over the advantages of various mediums with Rossetti, Millais, and perhaps Ruskin.'[518] In a letter to Henry Austin Bruce, Rossetti called it 'the finest specimen of the method we have seen among modern [frescoes].'[519]

[517] See Mary Watts, *George Frederic Watts Vol. I*, 172; and Mullen, *G.F. Watts*, 73.
[518] Mary Watts, *George Frederic Watts Vol. I*, 174.
[519] Dante Gabriel Rossetti, "Letter to Henry Austin Bruce, October 1859," in *Letters*, 356.

Watts met Rossetti in 1856. A year later Rossetti began to work on Burne-Jones and Morris's 'debut' project of the Oxford Murals, and when introducing Burne-Jones to him Rossetti was supposed to have said of Watts that 'he paints a queer sort of pictures about God and creation [sic.].'[520] However, the extent to which the two artists talked about and shared in the idea of the *House of Life* is difficult to discern. Rossetti's own *House of Life* project, a book of sonnets that was published with that title in 1881, was not named as such until the late 1860s at the earliest.[521] In her *Annals*, Mary wrote that around 1874 Watts had read the collection and thought it to place Rossetti 'amongst the greatest of our English poets. To him the poet Rossetti stood higher than the painter.'[522] But, whilst there is no written evidence that the two artists discussed and shared the idea of the House of Life, there is a suggestion that Watts approved Rossetti's usage of the term.[523]

Although there is no biographical evidence to elucidate the similarities between the two projects, the shared properties of the two "Houses of Life" are clear. Both artists intended that the total work of art be made of parts contributing to a whole about the nature of human experience and creation and, moreover, the nature of these works as series highlights the presence of the fantasy chronotope of enclosure. Within each work, parts of the whole worked together to express a narrative about the Secondary World, which in the case of Watts's project was visually embellished with a multiplicity of supernatural forms. The name of the House of Life, therefore, was meant to evoke totality of vision, completeness, and the idea of the created world, facets of its being that further accord with Tolkien's conception of fantasy:

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[520] Edward Burne-Jones quoted in "Art Notes," *Illustrated London News* 35 (1904), 968.

[521] Rossetti marked, in pen, "Songs and Sonnets towards a work to be called The House of Life" on the Penkill Proofs, a privately printed selection of poems dated 18 August 1869, 103.

[522] Mary Watts, *George Frederic Watts Vol. I*, 267.

[523] Elsewhere in her biography, Mary made explicit reference to Rossetti's *House of Life* sequence: 'as I … read to him from "The House of Life" … he listened with ever-increasing admiration.' Mary Watts, *George Frederic Watts Vol. I*, 271.

> An essential power of Faerie is thus the power of making immediately effective by the will the visions of "fantasy". Not all are beautiful or even wholesome, not at any rate the fantasies of the fallen Man … This aspect of "mythology" – sub-creation, rather than either representation or symbolic interpretation of the beauties and terrors of the world – is, I think, too little considered.[524]

Watts's House of Life, as with Tolkien's conception of fantasy, was a creative mythology devoted to expressing the totality of the world with due space allotted to the 'beauties and terrors' alike. Of the works mentioned by Mullen as belonging to the series, the titles and the paintings speak of the sublime: 'the *Eve* series and the *Cain* series, *The Court of Death*, *Chaos*, *Physical Energy* and *Time, Death and Judgement*.'[525] Watts's creative mythology was, therefore, designed to reflect both the beautiful and the terrible, bound up in the umbrella device of the House of Life, which, like Rossetti's work, was intended as an exploration of universal experience.

Finally, the sub-creative aspects of the proposed House of Life project can also be likened to the late-Victorian conception of the house as a miniature world.[526] Like Rossetti's intention for *The House of Life: A Sonnet Sequence* (published 1881), Watts wanted his own House of Life series to express the totality of human experience. The 'house' was the overarching device that unified this worldbuilding exercise through the fantasy chronotope of enclosure, which is emphasised by Mary's references to the 'temple' like qualities of the planned project. Through this observation a comparison can be made between this project and the Watts Cemetery Chapel (Figure 59) that Mary designed and built at the home she shared with her husband in Compton, Surrey. This mortuary chapel represents how proposed aspects of the House of Life project might have been realised, as it was similarly designed as a decorative scheme within a single building that would have been populated with canvases. Decorative symbols like the tree of life (Figure 60) and angels (Figure 61) tap into Mary

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[524] Tolkien, "On Fairy Stories", 23.
[525] Mullen, *G.F. Watts*, 6.
[526] See "Victorian aesthetic theory and Secondary World Building: the house as a miniature world," 47-50.

Seton Watts's own desire to create an idea of the universe that was in conference with the divine world and serve as a visual suggestion of how the House of Life would have functioned had it too been realised. In sum, like Cardiff Castle, examples such as the mortuary chapel and the proposed House of Life highlight the importance that demarcation in space had to the fantasy vision, wherein the walls of the work represent a threshold point between the relative normativity of the Primary World and the Secondary World of arresting strangeness in which supernatural creatures and ideas of universal importance play a central role. Perhaps because of the insecurities he felt about his ability to convey the ambition of his vision, Watts's House of Life remained unmade.

Summary

The idea of 'the house' continues to reverberate throughout fantasy literature. In 1946 Mervyn Peake published *Titus Groan*, in which the action takes place in and around the mysterious house of Gormenghast. Tolkien populated his Middle Earth books with many houses, the most famous of which is perhaps Rivendell, otherwise known by the inhabitants of Middle Earth as "The Last Homely House East of the Sea". Recently, J.K. Rowling's Harry Potter books introduced other houses of strange and seemingly unnatural spatial and temporal properties, including the moving staircases of Hogwarts School, the Weasley family's Burrow, 'so crooked it looked as though it were held up by magic',[527] and 12 Grimmauld Place.

The House of Life also bears comparison to Morris and Wilde's conception of the house as a perfect, bounded unit, reflective of the individual life and spirit. The imaginary "house" of Rossetti and Watts's creations, as well as the innumerable Victorian artists's houses that expressed particular and oftentimes eccentric aesthetic schemes, can be viewed as

[527] J.K. Rowling, *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 33.

mini fantasy worlds that are demarcated away from the normative real by the fantasy chronotope of enclosure. Filled with wonders of the imagination and designed according to the principles of the governing creative, the fantasy house continues to be a source of inspiration for fantasts today.

More specifically, Watts's unique style of painting that blended distorted forms with forms drawn from nature reveals his dedication to finding a means of expressing the non-thetic world of the imagination. His significant dissatisfaction with the fruit of such labour, for example with *Sower of the Systems* and the unfinished House of Life project, highlights his experience of the difficulty that Landow and Tolkien observed as being the particular burden of the fantasy artist. However, the palpable novelty of his style, acknowledged by Chesterton, Barrington, and his wife, Mary Seton Watts, heralds him as one of the finest late-Victorian fantasy creators, one who worked tirelessly to bring his Secondary Worlds to life. Like Tolkien would later do through his literature, Watts revealed the reality of his perception through forms drawn from nature, imaginatively reconfigured.

'One of the nicest young fellows in - Dreamland':[528] Burne-Jones and the manufacture of mythic cycles

Burne-Jones was a sentinel of modern fantasy whose works, like Morris's, were the connective tissue that stretched from Rossetti to Tolkien. His fantasy worlds, littered with supernatural creatures and strange forms, adumbrated the Secondary Worlds of future generations. Biographical details about his life give us further cause to consider his significance within the history of modern fantasy, notably, that Burne-Jones attended King Edward's School in Birmingham, the same school that Tolkien would later attend from September 1900. The following case study will examine Burne-Jones as a fantasy artist in his

[528] Dante Gabriel Rossetti in a letter to William Allingham, quoted in Burne-Jones, *Memorials Vol. 1*, 130.

own right, one whose complex and seemingly spontaneous Secondary Worlds foreshadowed Tolkien's by over half a century. However, in the same way that an examination of the biographies of Burges and Rossetti emphasises certain common features of their work; so too do the biographies of Burne-Jones and Tolkien draw our attention to how the early lives of these young artists may have influenced their later work. After attending King Edward's, both Burne-Jones and Tolkien took up places at Exeter College, Oxford, a fact that would dramatically influence both men. During the years of 1853-5 when Burne-Jones was at Exeter with Morris, an interest in the medieval became a shared passion project between the two. As Fiona MacCarthy wrote, in her book on Burne-Jones *The Last Pre-Raphaelite: Edward Burne-Jones and the Victorian Imagination* (2011), 'this largely fifteenth-century Oxford encouraged the dream life that one finds in Burne-Jones's paintings. It was his place of early visions of the romantic, wistful, highly coloured medieval world.'[529] The early experiences of Burne-Jones at Oxford can therefore be seen to have augmented his visionary imagination and propelled him further into a pre-modern world that would come to feature so heavily in both his and Tolkien's fantasy creations.

At Oxford, Burne-Jones fell under the thrall of Rossetti. By 1853 the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood had been established for five years and Rossetti was about to enter the period in 1854-6 that William Michael Rossetti later characterised as one in which 'Rossetti's invention was fertile, and – according to the varying and something merely fanciful themes – appropriate; his colour high and brilliant.'[530] Further attention to biographical evidence shows how Rossetti influenced Burne-Jones, and, in particular, how Rossetti inspired Burne-Jones's

[529] MacCarthy also quoted from a letter that Burne-Jones sent to his father, that described a trip to Godstow as 'a mirror'd counterpart, ruffled by a light west wind – and in my mind pictures of the old days, the abbey, and long processions of the faithful, banners of the cross, coped and crosiers, gay knights and ladies by the river bank, hawking parties and all the pageantry of the golden age.' Fiona MacCarthy, *The Last Pre-Raphaelite: Edward Burne-Jones and the Victorian Imagination* (Cambridge, Massachusets: Harvard University Press, 2011), 27.
[530] William Michael Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: His Family Letters Vol. 1*, 188.

enchanted imagination. The younger artist wrote of Rossetti's wood engraving (Figure 62) for William Allingham's (1824-1899) poem 'The Maids of Elfen-Mere' (1855) that it was:

> the most beautiful drawing for an illustration I have ever seen, the weird faces of the maids of Elfinmere, the musical timed movement of their arms together as they sing, the face of the man, above all, are such as only a great artist could conceive. Why is the author of the Blessed Damozel, and the story of Chiaro, so seldom on the lips of men?[531]

Acquaintance with Rossetti's fantasy work was *the* feature of the artist's oeuvre that determined Burne-Jones to pursue a meeting with Rossetti, which he did in the winter of 1855. From then on Burne-Jones was first informally apprenticed to Rossetti and afterwards a friend and colleague. The uniqueness of his journey into the profession has been noted by scholars, with Prettejohn writing that 'his career and practice were in significant respects unlike those of any other artist of his generation.'[532] Such singularity emphasises the significance of Burne-Jones's early experiences with Rossetti in understanding their profound influence on the artist, who otherwise had no formal artistic training. Analysis of Burne-Jones's fantasy works supports the idea that the artist was profoundly moulded by the circumstances between 1853 and 1855. Furthermore, the uniqueness of his journey into the painterly profession fits with the idea of newness that abounded in the critical commentary associated with other of the artists identified by this study.

The fantastical elements of Burne-Jones's work have been described by scholars. As curator of the Burne-Jones retrospective that ran from the 24th October 2018 to the 24th February 2019, Alison Smith wrote:

> to describe someone as possessing 'a Burne-Jones look' is to conjure up a vision of a thin, pale youth with a dreamy expression: it is an androgynous type of beauty that is disturbing yet fascinating to behold, and has influenced a growing appetite for fantasy, from Tolkien to *Game of Thrones*.[533]

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[531] Edward Burne-Jones, "Essay on the Newcomes," *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* (January 1856), 60.
[532] Prettejohn, "Burnes-Jones: Intellectual, Designer, People's Man," in Smith, *Edward Burne-Jones*, 13.
[533] Alison Smith, "The Strange World of Edward Burne-Jones," *Tate Etc*., Oct 20, 2018, accessed Jan 8, 2020, https://www.tate.org.uk/tate-etc/issue-44-autumn-2018/edward-burne-jones-strange-world-alison-smith.

As this excerpt shows, fantasy has been a term attributed by scholars to Burne-Jones. However, whilst the usage of the term indicates a general association between the artist and modern fantasy, we can infer that it was also an attempt to capitalise on the contemporary popularity of works like *Game of Thrones*. But whilst the exhibition did not formalise or concretise the relationship of Burne-Jones to the fantasy mode in any scholarly way, some of essays in the complementary catalogue did begin to consider the relationship of Burne-Jones to mythic structures; for example, Prettejohn's essay "The Series Painting" investigated how these cycles came to be and what qualities make them unique from other of the artist's work.[534]

Fantasy scholars have made similar attempts to include Burne-Jones within their remit by making observations that link his overall aesthetic with those of works of fantasy in other mediums. *The Encyclopaedia of Fantasy* (1997) included a cursory biography of him along with an identification of his style as evoking 'a dreamy, romantic, medieval, literary never-never land.'[535] Like Smith's exploratory essay, *The Encyclopaedia* relied upon a cursory examination of the aesthetic elements of Burne-Jones work and its relationship to 'the literary' to denote its inclusion in a canon of fantasy, thus highlighting a problem that scholars of visual fantasy have faced: it is easy to perceive the aesthetic proximity of a Burne-Jones to *The Lord of the Rings*, but we have no language by which we can ascertain how the fantasy mode operates in the visual counterpart.

The following case study will examine Burne-Jones's Buscot Park *Briar Rose* series as a work of Secondary Worldbuilding. It will continue the analysis of visual works of fantasy as epic fantasy through further consideration of the relationship of fantasy to myth and the relationship of these modes to reality. Like the artists hitherto discussed, Burne-

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[534] Prettejohn, "The Series Paintings," in Smith, *Edward Burne-Jones*, 169-196.
[535] Richard Dalby, "Sir Edward Coley Burne-Jones," in Clute, *The Encyclopaedia of Fantasy*, 151.

Jones's own Secondary World Building consisted of the replication of mythic structures, the evocation of the liminal, the theme of enchantment, and the idea of the created world. These bold, ambitious cycles were the product of his later career, and so to understand the series paintings is to understand the climax of Burne-Jones's project of the imagination that has, as Smith wrote, 'influenced a growing appetite for fantasy.'[536]

Between reality and invention: Burne Jones's approach to art

> One of the hardest things in the world is to determine how much realism is allowable in any particular picture. It is of so many different kinds, too. For instance, I want a shield or a crown or a pair of wings or what not, to look real. Well, I make what I want, or a model of it, and then make studies from that. So that what eventually gets on to the canvas is a reflection of a reflection of something purely imaginary.[537]

Taken from Georgiana's short section on "Realism" in her husband's work, this excerpt shows how Burne-Jones conceived of the real and the imaginary within his work. Later in the biography, Georgiana recorded her husband as having exclaimed: 'transcripts from Nature […], what do I want with transcripts? I prefer her own signature; I don't want forgeries more or less skilful.'[538] These records suggest that style and invention were, to Burne-Jones, of the utmost importance to good art, a sentiment that recalls Burges's declaration that 'if some kind of fairy could make a clean sweep of all our existing buildings and all our books on architecture […] we might do something of our own.'[539] Like Burges, Burne-Jones viewed the power of the creative imagination and its inventions as being vital to a successful work of art.

Burne-Jones evidently understood how both the "real" and the "imaginary" performed a function in his art. For Burne-Jones, the 'shading of the real' was an essential component of a good painting, which the visual work of art offered him the opportunity to explore: 'I don't

[536] Smith, "The Strange World"..
[537] Burne-Jones, *Memorials Vol. 2*, 261.
[538] ibid.
[539] Burges, *Art Applied to Industry*, 8.

want to pretend that this isn't a picture […], it is the message, the 'burden' of a picture that makes its real value.'[540] The burden of artifice that allows for the unique experience of art was, for Burne-Jones, the principal element by which we can gauge its subsequent value to the world. Accordingly, the success of a work of art, and the subsequent value attributed to that success, was bound up with the degree to which a work could convey meaning or emotion, like the 'certain hesitation: a hesitation common to reader and character' that was so crucial to Todorov's conception of fantasy.[541]

Burne-Jones's sentiment echoes that of Lessing, whose seminal essay on the interrelationship of, and limitations to the simultaneous study of literature and the visual arts, *Laocoon*, included the affirmation that 'now that only is fruitful which allows free play to the Imagination.'[542] In this manner, the viewers' experience is clearly crucial to the success of the work of art for Lessing, Burne-Jones, and Todorov.[543] But, as Lessing explained, the way in which meaning is conveyed in literature is different to its conveyance in the visual arts. Therefore, analysis of the pictorial aspects of Burne-Jones fantasies of the 'purely imaginary' reveals how the fantasy mode functions in the visual arts and how such artists conceive of Secondary Worlds of arresting strangeness through primarily visual means.

Case Study: Worldbuilding and the *Briar Rose* series at Buscot Park

Burne-Jones's Buscot Park *Briar Rose* series consists of four large canvases that measure 49 by 98.25 inches and ten, smaller panels of varying sizes. Given that the artist had been creating images inspired by, and based on the Sleeping Beauty tale since the 1860s, this series represents the accumulation of two decades' work. This case study will consider the

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[540] Burne-Jones, *Memorials Vol. 2*, 261.
[541] Todorov, *The Fantastic*, 41.
[542] Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laocoon: An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1887), 16-17.
[543] Burne-Jones expressed his own preferences neatly in the line 'what I most love are little things, not many lines long, that make me tingle every time I say them,' quoting from John Keats' 'Ode to a Nightingale' (1819) as an example: 'magic casements opening on the foam/ Of perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn.' Burne-Jones, *Memorials Vol. 2*, 264.

ramifications of interpreting Burne-Jones's vision of the Sleeping Beauty story as a comprehensive and spontaneously designed Secondary World, making the case that he rendered the figure of Sleeping Beauty in a novel way through application of the fantasy chronotopes of density, distortion, and enclosure.

The longevity of the Sleeping Beauty story within Burne-Jones's imagination is reflected in an overview of the artworks that he created to reflect that story. The artist's first Sleeping Beauty work was the finely detailed narrative depicted on a tile collection dating to 1864 (Figure 63).[544] During his creation of the small watercolour of 1871 entitled *The Sleeping Beauty* (Figure 64), he made plans for two larger series, a 'small' Briar Rose series of oil paintings for William Graham and what has subsequently become known as the Buscot Park Briar Rose series. Further to these schemes, Burne-Jones also created three Briar Rose paintings which were discarded from the Buscot Park series and transformed into stand-alone canvases during the 1890s.[545] This story was a persistent source of reference for Burne-Jones; he re-modelled and re-told it in a variety of ways throughout his life.

The history of Burne-Jones's Sleeping Beauty creations illustrates the interesting development and expansion of these works and also serves as an example of how the artist revisited one idea with the same obsessive tendency as Rossetti's re-visitation of the doppelgänger image in the *How They Met Themselves* composition. As Prettejohn wrote:

> The proliferation of versions cannot be dismissed as mere commercial expedients […] the continuous process of multiplication and variation is integral to the history of the series paintings, which change and develop over the time span of Burne-Jones's career just as the myths and legends themselves evolved over the longer time frames of their life in the popular imagination.[546]

[544] This tile panel formed part of a set of three ordered from Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co. in 1862 by the painter of pastoral scenes Myles Birket Foster (1825-99). The other panel series told the stories of Beauty and the Beast and Cinderella which are now in the William Morris Gallery, Walthamstow (Beauty and the Beast) and Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool (Cinderella). Morris designed the swan tiles that surround the figurative tiles. Note on the Victoria & Albert Museum object file: 'The Swan pattern border tile was almost certainly designed by William Morris as Aymer Vallance has attributed it to him as did May Morris in the catalogue of the 1934 William Morris Centenary Exhibition held at the Victoria and Albert Museum (No.176).' Accessed Jan 9, 2020, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O8053/tile-panel-burne-jones-edward/.
[545] Prettejohn, "The Series Paintings," in Smith, *Edward Burne-Jones*, 176.
[546] ibid.

The Sleeping Beauty story held a peculiar attraction for Burne-Jones, which he was intent on developing and displaying over and over again as a kind of mythic reproduction that was tantamount to the ideation of a creative mythology centred around a Secondary World inspired by an existing tale type. This case study examines the Buscot Park Briar Rose series as a work of epic fantasy, the narrative protraction of which is aided by it being a series work. However, it can also be considered as part of the wider series of Sleeping Beauty objects and images that Burne-Jones created to tell of the Secondary World in which the story was set.

Burne-Jones's Sleeping Beauty narrative draws from different literary iterations of the tale, including aspects of stories written by Charles Perrault and the Grimm Brothers. [547] By alluding to familiar elements of the Sleeping Beauty story and positioning them in unfamiliar ways, Burne-Jones created a demonstrably new presentation of the story, an aspect of his tale-telling that speaks to Jackson's assertion that fantasy is the repositioning of familiar forms in unfamiliar ways.[548] In the 1840s Perrault's story was translated and published as a chapbook titled *The Sleeping Beauty of the Wood*, later reprinted for the 1878 Chapman's Library collection of *Fairy Tales, Romances and Histories*. In this publication, emphasis was placed on the castle environs, particularly the characters who accompanied Sleeping Beauty into her slumber:

> She thought that when the princess should awake, she might not know what to do with herself, being all alone in this old palace; therefore she touched with her wand every thing in the palace, except the king and queen, governesses, maids of honour, ladies of the bed-chamber, gentlemen, officers, stewards, cooks, under-cooks, scullions, guards, with their beef-eaters, pages, and footmen[549]

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[547] According to the Aarne-Thompson tale type index, the nineteenth century Sleeping Beauty story was principally derived from three publications: 'The Sun, Moon, and Talia' by Italian author Giambattista Basile, published in *The Pentamerone* (1634), 'La Belle au bois dormant' by Charles Perrault, published in *Les Contes de ma mère l'Oye* (1697), and 'Dornröschen' by the Grimm Brothers, published in *Kinder, und Hausmärchen* (1812), which was a derivative of the Perrault tale. The latter was first translated and published in English as "Rose-Bud" in Edgar Taylor's 1823 translation. See Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *German Popular Stories: translated from the Kinder und Haus Märchen* [*sic*.], *collected by M.M. Grimm, from oral tradition*, trans. Edgar Taylor (London: Published by C. Baldwyn, 1823), 51-57.
[548] Jackson, *Fantasy,* 8.
[549] Charles Perrault, anonymous translator, *The Sleeping Beauty of the Wood* (Glasgow: Printed for the booksellers, c.1840), 7.

Like Perrault, Burne-Jones's Buscot Park series depicts the castle asleep in its entirety; from the ladies in waiting in *The Rose Bower* (Figure 65) to the courtiers in *The Council Chamber* (Figure 66), 'every thing in the palace' is included in Burne-Jones vision of the moment of transformation. But Burne-Jones did not strictly adhere to Perrault's narrative, as his painting *The Briar Wood* (Figure 67) evidences. In Perrault, a single prince ventures to save the Princess. However, in the Grimm Brothers interpretation, many heroes journey to the castle as:

> There went a report through all the land of the beautiful sleeping Rose-Bud (for so was the king's daughter called); so that from time to time several kings' sons came, and tried to break through the thicket into the palace. This they could never do; for the thorns and bushes laid hold of them as it were with hands, and there stuck fast and died miserably.[550]

There is a clear proximity between the narrative described in the Grimm Brothers passage and that of *The Briar Wood* painting. In that work Burne-Jones painted the knights in different costumes, an aspect of the painting that was later highlighted by Robert de la Sizeranne, who described 'five knights, of many lands – Gothic, Moorish, Saracen.'[551] So, through analysis of the versions of the Sleeping Beauty tale-type available to him, it is evident that Burne-Jones selected features of the Sleeping Beauty from various sources in order to tell the story in a novel way.

There is a further and hitherto unacknowledged source of inspiration for Burne-Jones Sleeping Beauty world. Two years prior to creating his tile series, Burne-Jones exhibited *The Prioress's Tale Wardrobe* (Figure 22) as part of the 1862 Medieval Court at the International Exhibition curated by Burges. In his review of the exhibition, William Michael Rossetti made special reference to a 'French carpet of the Sleeping Beauty.'[552] The power that Burges's scheme for the Medieval Court had in inculcating an idea of the medieval space in Burne-

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[550] Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *German Popular Stories*, 54-55.
[551] de la Sizeranne, "In Memoriam", 516.
[552] William Michael Rossetti, *Fine Art* (London and Cambridge: Macmillan and Co., 1867), 165.

Jones was undoubtedly profound. It is noteworthy that many of the themes and motifs associated with his worldbuilding projects can be traced to this moment. Whether or not the Sleeping Beauty carpet was a direct source of inspiration for Burne-Jones is unclear; however, just as aspects of the Buscot Park narrative reveal the artist's awareness of the literary history of the Sleeping Beauty story, a connection to the 1862 Medieval Court may reveal a source of inspiration for Burne-Jones's transmutation of the story into visual and material works of art.

The late nineteenth-century vogue for depicting sleeping beauties in large and intricate, yet static, canvases prevailed right through to the end of the era and continue to provide what Jack Zipes identified as 'the connotative aspect of the 'Sleeping Beauty''.[553] Indeed, the Victorian impression on the tale type was profound. As Zipes wrote, 'astonishingly little has been altered since the early nineteenth century with regard to the socio-political gesture of the text and image.'[554] Analysis of the peculiarities of Burne-Jones's designs, particularly in juxtaposition with contemporary Sleeping Beauty images, therefore reveals the novelty of his fantasy creation. For though Burne-Jones's Sleeping Beauty images conform to some of the tropes associated with the tale type, the central figure of *The Rose Bower* (Figure 65) can be viewed as an atypical late nineteenth-century rendering of the Sleeping Beauty.

Unlike contemporaneous paintings such as Thomas Ralph Spence's *Sleeping Beauty* (1886, Figure 68), Arthur Wardle's *A Fairy Tale: 'All Seemed to Sleep, the Timid Hare on Form'* (1895, Figure 69), and even his own 1864 watercolour (Figure 64), the Buscot Park Briar Rose is unusual in that the protagonist is neither alone nor is she clad in a figure-revealing, classical garment. Rather, the protagonist of *The Rose Bower* is surrounded by

[553] Jack Zipes, *The Brothers Grimm: From Enchanted Tales to the Modern World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 223.
[554] ibid.

fleshy handmaidens whose faces are alive with dreaming thoughts and she herself is depicted as a characteristically 'thin, pale youth with a dreamy expression,'[555] waif-like and covered by a blanket. Unlike the voluptuous beauties of both his early watercolour and Spence's painting, Burne-Jones's *The Briar Rose* features a girl who appears to be 'about fifteen or sixteen years of age'[556] (Perrault) or 'just fifteen years old' (Grimm Brothers).[557] Moreover, by choosing to paint the face of his heroine in full, unlike the half-turned faces of Spence and Wardle's paintings, Burne-Jones gives us greater access to her emotional or psychological state. The greater detail that this affords helps to facilitate, as Todorov has said, 'an integration of the reader into the world of the characters; that world is defined by the reader's own ambiguous perception of the events narrated.'[558]

Certain aspects of this painting are conformist; for example, the protagonist is female, she is dressed in luxurious clothing, and she is surrounded by abundant nature. But when juxtaposed with contemporary paintings of the Sleeping Beauty, certain novelties become apparent, and this conforms to the fantasy chronotope of distortion. Juxtaposition with Sleeping Beauty material created both prior to and contemporary with the Buscot Park Briar Rose series, elucidates the inherent novelty of its design in which the protagonist is a subversive type that defied the 'connotative' mould. In sum, Burne-Jones's painting drew from the folkloric source material in a manner that was unlike other contemporary accounts of the Sleeping Beauty, which illustrates how he absorbed historical material and repositioned it in new and imaginative ways to create a work of fantasy.

Further attention to the fantasy chronotopes of density, distortion, and enclosure underlines the visual operation of the fantasy mode in this work and shows how significant

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[555] Smith, "The Strange World".
[556] Perrault, *The Sleeping Beauty of the Wood*, 6.
[557] Grimm Brothers, anonymous translator, *Grimm's Fairy Tales* (London: The Standard Library Company, 1857), 149.
[558] Todorov, *The Fantastic*, 31.

the impression of arresting strangeness was to the creation of this Secondary World. Indeed, the impression of alterity and liminality generated by these paintings was built into their design; Burne-Jones wished to 'stop with the princess asleep and to tell no more, to leave all the afterwards to the invention and imagination of people.'[559] In order to exacerbate the inventive and imaginative qualities of the painting, Burne-Jones focused on the "liminal" moment of transition from waking world to enchanted world, relying upon the fantasy chronotopes to facilitate the 'moment of hesitation,' through which the viewer's invention is stimulated. In order to do this, he created a world rich in design and consistency. Across each of the multiple canvases a comprehensive world unfolds in which every aspect of mundane life is detailed, but the images are also studded with imaginary observations. An atmosphere of enchantment lingers in the sprinkling of garden roses, the rich jewel-like tones of the palace, and the almost imperceptible smiles of the sleeping boudoir.

One of the central themes of the piece that the densely detailed scenery augments is that of magic, via the distortions that are incorporated into the design of the world. Thorns breach the walls of the castle and creep, unnaturally, into the human world, prompting in the viewer a sense of the abundant arresting strangeness of a world that has suddenly fallen into an enchanted slumber. The scene is evidently non-realistic, yet, as is always the case in fantasy, aspects of the world have been built from distorted elements of reality to achieve this. The human figures have fallen asleep in various stages of activity, the deep and rich colours transport the viewer to a different, more ornate, richer world, and nature abounds, disrupting the beautifully cultivated world of the castle.

Attention to the thorn motif unifies the project as a whole and also draws attention to Burne-Jones's abundant use of the chronotope of enclosure in the demarcation of his Secondary World. This is particularly evident in the composition of *The Briar Wood*, which

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[559] Burne-Jones, *Memorials Vol. 2*, 195.

not only depicts an enclosed space within the narrative of the Sleeping Beauty story, but also allows examination of space and enclosure as essential aspects of the non-narratival worldbuilding. The knights are barred from the world of the castle not only by the enormous barrier of thorns, but also the very frames of the individual paintings. Manifold other thresholds exist between the images in prominent architectural and design features such as the loom in *The Garden Court* and the balcony of *The Rose Bower*; the persistent reference to boundary reinforces the enclosure of the Secondary World. However, the ways in which Burne-Jones disrupts these boundaries, through the creeping thorns and the depiction of a space outside of the castle, is more revealing still. The many unanswered questions about the nature of this Secondary World contribute to his project of wishing to 'stop with the princess asleep and to tell no more, to leave all the afterwards to the invention and imagination of people.'[560] Together, the binary of enclosure and merger continues to enforce the inherent liminality of this fantasy creation, in which sleep is not sleep as we know it, and all interpretations are possible.

Summary

Aymer Vallance, writing about fantasy artist Edward Reginald Frampton, recalled a visit to Burne-Jones's posthumous exhibition at the New Gallery (1898-1899) as being the moment that Frampton began to evolve a new style of painting:

> That wonderful display struck Reginald Frampton with the force of a very revelation, opening his eyes to the supreme possibilities of the human form in decoration; and from thenceforward, though some of his most recent work comprises decorative landscape (in which branch indeed he excels), all his larger and more important compositions have been figure subjects.[561]

Later artists, like Frampton, would view Burne-Jones as the fountain from which the late-Victorian imagination flowed. Frampton's own figurative fantasy works speak to a tradition

[560] ibid.
[561] Aymer Vallance, "The Paintings of Reginald Frampton, R.O.I.," *International Studio* 66 (1919), 66-76.

of art creation that flowered in the work of Burne-Jones and continues to inspire writers, film makers, and artists today. As the Tate's reliance on the idea of 'fantasy' for their 2018 retrospective illustrates, Burne-Jones continues to be received as an artist with a particular predisposition towards Secondary World Building, medieval fantasy, enchantment, and wonder.

This case study has illustrated the operation of Burne-Jones's mastery of the fantasy mode. On the one hand, the Buscot Park series is a faithful illustration of the story of Sleeping Beauty as told by Perrault and the Grimm Brothers. But, on the other hand, Burne-Jones transformed the story by repositioning choice elements in new and unfamiliar ways and through circumventing contemporary iconography associated with the story's protagonist. Noting the imaginative aspect of the Buscot Park Briar Rose series is therefore important to understanding the operation of the fantasy mode in these paintings and its operation more widely. Through analysis of the presentation of fantasy chronotopes of density, distortion, and enclosure in this work, it becomes apparent that the fantasy mode hinges on the success of the artist in conveying an impression of arresting strangeness, by which means invention and imagination are encouraged in the viewer.

Conclusion

These case studies evidence a late-Victorian trend for Secondary World Building of a kind typified by decoration with motifs associated with magic, the supernatural, enchantment, and the divine. These works are all serialised, there is a larger whole and smaller elements within that whole. This points towards a desire within fantasy art for forms that would allow for the exploration of the Secondary World in greater visual detail, and a kind of temporal protraction that was afforded by narrative sequencing. Whilst Morris's type of literary fantasy would become the prototype for the genre as a whole, juxtaposition of one of his earliest

fantasy works with contemporary visual works shows how the mode was developing across art mediums. Moreover, given the obvious significance of Morris's early experiences under the influence of Rossetti, it might be argued that modern fantasy emerged from within an art group that was defined by its fascination with the past and its visual artefacts, something that profoundly influenced the distinctive visuality of Secondary Worldbuilding.

Indeed, situating these case studies in contextual information such as that provided by attention to the intentions, philosophy, and relationships of the artists, particularly with Rossetti, and an overview of key historical data, it is possible to evidence how a shared fascination with fantasy worldbuilding was developing during the course of their careers. If Rossetti began with the notion of the fantastic moment, the artists whom he inspired transformed that idea into something akin to what Todorov called the "fantastic-marvellous." Moreover, there is evidently a connection with the kind of fantasy creation going on in the late Victorian period and the fantasy creation that later took place in the mid-twentieth century in the work of Tolkien and Lewis. Biographical elements connect these men to the work of late Victorian artists such as those analysed by this study, but acute attention to the thematic and structural elements of their fantasy worlds reveals the beginnings of a pervasive cultural phenomenon that continues to inform the work of artists and writers today.

Scholars such as Cecire have contended that 'the heart of fantasy literature grows out of the fiction and scholarly legacy of two University of Oxford medievalists: J R R [sic.] Tolkien and C S [sic.] Lewis.'[562] However, as single case studies drawn from earlier fantasts show, the work of Tolkien and Lewis should not be viewed as the blueprint for fantasy but rather part of the extension of a mode that was born in the late Victorian period. Indeed, the idea of the "Oxford School of Fantasy", first proposed by scholars such as Jessica Yates and

[562] Cecire, "Empire of Fantasy"..

Catherine Butler,[563] as birthing the Secondary World is thrown into contention by visual works of art such as Watts's House of Life. Like Tolkien and Lewis's fantasies, this visual world of the imagination was not set in the pre-modern 'universal "Fairyland" or in an England where children encountered fairies or other supernatural beings,' which Yates believed to have been the prototype for earlier fantastical literature, but began to construct a giant and self-referential system governed by Secondary Belief.[564] By broadening the bracket of cultural artefacts which can be considered works of fantasy, a fuller picture of its history emerges. In this new narrative, the visual artefacts of fantasy are not necessarily a subsidiary of, secondary to, or derived from their literary counterparts, but are the very lifeblood of the mode in which the essential aspects of the genre, such as the medieval, epic, quest, enchantment, and magic, were preserved.

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[563] See Jessica Yates, "50 Years of Fantasy," *Books for Keeps*, no. 46 (Sep 1987), accessed Nov 30, 2020, http://booksforkeeps.co.uk/issue/46/childrens-books/articles/other-articles/50-years-of-fantasy and Catherine Butler (as Charles Butler), *Four British Fantasists: Place and Culture in the Children's Fantasies of Penelope Lively, Alan Garner, Diana Wynne Jones, and Susan Cooper* (Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, 2006).
[564] Yates, "50 Years of Fantasy".

Chapter 4: 'A world … where fancy reigns':[565] the proliferation of the fantasy mode in British art after 1890

Observations about British fantasy art at the fin-de-siècle illustrate the prolonged effect of Rossetti's "New School" (as identified by Pater) on British art. Such a history evidences how visual artists continued to employ the fantasy chronotopes of enclosure, density, and distortion to evoke alterity, an impression of the Secondary World, and arresting strangeness. Building on the observations made at the end of the last chapter, this chapter has three aims: to acknowledge and identify the effect of Rossetti's influence on subsequent fantasy artists; to highlight the richness and diversity of British fantasy art at the fin-de-siècle; and to bridge the divide between the second generation of Pre-Raphaelites and the mid-twentieth century British fantasy writers to whom this study is indebted for the provision of a literary and philosophical framework.

Through the interrogation of the fantasy mode in British art after Morris, Burges, Watts, and Burne-Jones, a revisionist art history that gives greater significance to lesser-researched artists emerges. By positioning the artists Thomas Cooper Gotch (1854-1931), Thomas Sturge Moore (1870-1944), Gerald Moira (1867-1959), and Bernard Sleigh (1872-1954) in the history of the highly influential and rapidly broadening genre of modern fantasy, this story becomes one of continuance, the exchange of ideas, and the development of a mode in the work of the generation that preceded Tolkien.

These artists have been selected to exemplify the diversity of the fantasy mode in turn-of-the-century English art. Their works express both an allegiance to the overarching mode discerned by this study as well as the individual creative mythologies that govern them. Moreover, attention to the primary work bases of these artists, in Cornwall, London, and

[565] Baldry, "The Collection of George McCulloch Esq", 218. Baldry wrote about Marianne Stokes's *The Queen and the Page* (undated): 'we are taken at one step from fact to fiction, from a world of realism to another where fancy reigns.'

Birmingham, evidences the geographical reach of the fantasy mode in English art of this period. Biographical details such as these show that by 1920, the fantasy mode was proliferating in art circles and educational institutions across the nation, which highlights how widespread the mode was within early-twentieth-century English culture. Indeed, the prevalence of the mode stretches beyond these four case studies. However, the mode of analysis selected for this study allows for the close analysis of novel configurations of chronotopes within fantasy art. Through this means, a robust theoretical idea of fantasy as a visual mode continues to provide answers to the leading research question of this study: what is fantasy art?

Historical context: English fantasy and the newness of the 1890s

During the late 1890s, a spate of observations about "newness" was made by cultural commentators to describe a series of trends in art, literature, and society. In his book on the 1890s, Holbrook Jackson observed the use of the adjective 'new' to 'indicate extreme modernity' across the social and cultural world of late-Victorian Britain.[566] Jackson alluded to aphorisms as wide-ranging as "The New Hedonism" (Grant Allen), "The New Fiction" (H.D. Traill), "New Paganism" (William Sharp), "The New Voluptuousness" (William Sharp), "The New Remorse" (Oscar Wilde), and repeat references to the "New Spirit", "New Humour", "New Realism", "New Hedonism", "New Drama", "New Unionism", "New Party", and the "New Woman".[567] For the purpose of this thesis, a significant addition to that list is the term "New Sculpture", which Sir Edmund Gosse coined in 1894 to describe a type of English art creating during the period of 1870-1890.[568]

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[566] Jackson, *The Eighteen Nineties*, 21.
[567] Jackson also noted that in 1894 a British weekly titled *The New Age* began publication and *The National Observer* developed a feature titled "The New Review", which the present-day publication retains. ibid., 21-22.
[568] Edmund Gosse, "The New Sculpture: 1879-1894," *The Art Journal*, no. 56 (1894), 138-147, 199-203, 277-82, 306-11.

The 'newness' observed by Holbrook Jackson as belonging to the late Victorian period resounds with the essential theoretical notion of Rosemary Jackson that fantasy takes 'elements of this world, re-combining its constitutive features in new relations to produce something strange, unfamiliar and apparently 'new', absolutely 'other' and different.'[569] When juxtaposed with Holbrook Jackson's observations about the cultural commentary of the 1890s, there is a corollary between the operation of modern fantasy, as a dramatic new mode that is palimpsestic by nature, and the tendency of late Victorians to observe 'newness' in everything around them.[570]

Another link can be made between modern fantasy and the "New Paganism" identified by William Sharp and 'neo-paganism' identified by the Reverend William F. Barry.[571] According to Sharp and Barry, a trend for drawing imagery and ideas from Celtic and Greek sources, often in juxtaposition with Christian iconography, developed during the late-Victorian period. Concurrently, fantasy artists such as those highlighted in this study developed styles that drew symbols and motifs from wide ranging and disparate cultures. Like New Paganism, modern fantasy incorporated various symbols and motifs into its generic model, leading to almost endless reconfigurations of historical material.

A similar link can be drawn between modern fantasy and "New Sculpture". In 1894 Gosse published a series of four essays in *The Art Journal* dedicated to determining the history and nature of work characterised in its inception by Leighton. According to Gosse, this shift saw a move away from strictly neo-classical designs that 'thought nothing of surface, their sole anxiety was to obtain an effect by a strict study of form.'[572] The new style was not only typified by greater surface texture, but also by a greater degree of dynamism

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[569] Jackson, *Fantasy,* 8.
[570] This sentiment also resounds with the idea that the work of the second generation of 'Pre-Raphaelites' constituted a 'new religion,' as expressed in Burne-Jones, *Memorials Vol. 1*, 169. See "Fantasy as 'creative mythology': an introduction to fantasy as an art mode," 16-25.
[571] In *The Pagan Review* (1892) and *The Quarterly Review* 172 (1891).
[572] Gosse, "The New Sculpture", 139.

and energy, as well as the application of forms taken from myth, legend, and the imagination. An example was Sir Alfred Gilbert's *The Enchanted Chair* of 1886 (Figure 70), the figure of which Gosse described as being 'drowned in a deep sleep in a magic chair.'[573] Like Pre-Raphaelite painting, New Sculpture drew from myth and fairy tale, and often presented forms from nature that were imaginatively reconfigured. Despite their essentially imaginative qualities, these fantasy works were reliant on natural forms for narrative contextualisation.

Indeed, in the same way that artists associated with Pre-Raphaelitism often applied the fantasy mode to their works, so too did sculptors associated with New Sculpture as defined by Gosse. In his final article, Gosse paid particular homage to the sculptor Sir George Frampton, whose contribution to fantasy art persisted after the formative years of New Sculpture. Along with Sir William Goscombe John, Frampton supposedly began his career with 'dreams of gigantic enterprises, walls and corridors clustered with bronze statues and lined with long marble friezes […] intoxicated with beauty and the desire for creating beauty.'[574] Like Morris, Burges, Watts, and Burne-Jones, Frampton and John appear to have had grand designs for their imaginative works that were characterised by expansiveness and great scope. Though these schemes were never realised, individual works by both John and Frampton remain examples of modern fantasy sculpture, such as Frampton's *Mysteriarch* of 1896 (Figure 71) and John's *The Elf* of 1899 (Figure 72).

The trajectory of Pre-Raphaelitism and the flourishing of New Sculpture can be interpreted as part of the same story, wherein Victorian artists were interested in dramatizing the otherworldly in new ways and, throughout the latter half of the century, developed a language of the fantastic that could be applied to various cultural forms. This new art mode

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[573] ibid., 281. Drawing attention to the unreal aspects of the sculpture, Gosse wrote that: 'The wings, the draperies, the symbolic ornaments of the chair, were all arranged so as to relieve and illuminate, as in a richly lacquered jewel box a diamond enshrined, the soft and luscious flesh of the central animating figure. With this pursuit of colour and style was combined a realism pushed to an almost equal extreme.' Gosse, "The New Sculpture", 282.

[574] ibid., 307.

was characterised by the inclusion of non-real forms and an overabundance of textual, compositional, and textural detail that was bound by the fantasy chronotopes of enclosure, density, and distortion.

Critical contexts

By the 1890s, Pre-Raphaelitism was a diffuse and widely applicable art term that often implied the use of bright colour and medieval forms. It was the foremost style used by British artists to evoke the unreal, alterity, and imaginary worlds.[575] However, the fashion for Pre-Raphaelitism, both as an art style and a subject for scholarly study, was dwindling, a fact which has subsequently led to a gap in the history of its effect on the twentieth century. Reparative scholarship has only recently sought to understand British Art after 1890, before the influence of modernism began to be felt in the 1930s. As Tim Barringer wrote in his short history of this phenomenon, *Before and After Modernism* (2010):

> The exhaustion and historical demise of Modernism towards the end of the twentieth century, however, has seen a revival […] as part of a wide process of rehabilitation in which Pre-Raphaelites, Secessionists and Symbolists, from Rossetti to Klimt and von Stuck, from Leighton to Moreau, are once again seen as key figures of their age and an important presence in the history of art.[576]

This sentiment echoes that expressed by Thomas Tuohy in his review of a 2001 exhibition on the collector Gordon Bottomley:

> When Gordon Bottomley's collection of 600 pictures was bequeathed to the Carlisle Museum in 1949 the taste for such poetic visionary works of the imagination as this collection contains was close to its nadir. The Pre-Raphaelites, their Symbolist

[575] British artists working in this style during the late Victorian period included George Wooliscroft-Rhead (1832-1908), Simeon Solomon (1840-1905), Robert Bateman (1842-1922), Marie Spartali Stillman (1844-1927), John William Waterhouse (1849-1917), John Melhuish Strudwick (1849-1937), Edward Robert Hughes (1851-1914), John Henry Dearle (1859-1932), Phoebe Anna Traquair (1852-1936), Evelyn de Morgan (1855-1919), Marianne Stokes (1855-1927), Louis Davis (1860-1941), Joseph Edward Southall (1861-1944), Arthur Gaskin (1862-1928), Herbert James Draper (1863-1920), Isobel Lilian Gloag (1865-1917) John Duncan (1866-1945), William Graham Robertson (1866-1948), Sidney Harold Meteyard (1868-1947), Robert Burns (1869-1941) Edward Reginald Frampton (1870-1923), Eleanor Fortescue-Brickdale (1872-1945), Frank Pickford Marriott (1876-1935), George Owen Wynne Apperley (1884-1960).

[576] Tim Barringer, *Before and After Modernism: Byam Shaw, Rex Vicat Cole, Yinka Shonibare, MBE* (London: Central Saint Martins College of Art & Design, 2010), 13.

> successors and Aesthetic avatars had been overwhelmed by a taste for Post-Impressionism and Modernism, and the past neglect of the Bottomley bequest in Carlisle is at least partly attributable to a massive shift in taste.[577]

Against this background, this chapter serves to re-establish the significance of Rossetti's influence on turn-of-the-century British art through the lens of modern fantasy. It explores how the fantasy mode proliferated within the rapidly multiplying art circles of modern Britain and argues for the wider inclusion of artists who were significant to this story, such as Sturge Moore, whose work *A Symbolic Painting* (Figure 73) was part of Bottomley's bequest.[578] This study thus furthers the reparative scholarship identified by Barringer and Tuohy by positioning the work of latter-day Pre-Raphaelites in the context of the established history of modern fantasy.

From the Arts and Crafts-centred educational facilities and societies of the Birmingham art world to the mystical coteries of the London Aesthetes, the prevalence of the fantasy mode in British art of the fin-de-siècle was prolific. Here the application of the fantasy mode will be analysed within the work of four artists through contextual and critical analysis of their oeuvre as a whole and also through individual works. As in Chapter Three, discussion is divided into contextual information and a case study. The focal paintings of these case studies are *A Golden Dream* (1893) by Thomas Cooper Gotch, *A Symbolic Painting* (undated, c. 1890-1910) by Thomas Sturge Moore, *'Thereto the silent voice replied, 'Look up thro' night: the world is wide'* (1892-3) by Gerald Moira, and *An Ancient Map of Fairyland* by Bernard Sleigh (1918).

These four artists and their individual works have been chosen to represent the breadth of fantasy art in Britain after 1890 and are discussed chronologically according to the birth date of the artist. Five principles informed this selection:

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[577] Thomas Tuohy, "Bottomley's Pictures," *The British Art Journal* 3, no. 1 (Autumn 2001), 80.
[578] See "The 'rarefied atmosphere'[578] of Sturge Moore," 219-227 for further contextualisation of Bottomley's collection legacy.

1. The artists have a demonstrable relationship to Pre-Raphaelite ideals, as evidenced by their training, painting styles, and biographical information.
2. The works of art are demonstrably non-realistic and,
3. They differ in style and in how the fantasy mode has been applied; they thus serve to illustrate the variations of application within the fantasy mode.
4. The artists lived and worked across Britain and this geographical diversity demonstrates the extent to which fantasy was informing the work of visual artists in turn-of-the-century Britain.
5. The artists have hitherto been underrepresented in scholarship on fin-de-siècle art; this study therefore offers an opportunity to revise their relevance to past and future cultural histories.

While this chapter will not provide a comprehensive analysis of fantasy art at this time, it will serve to outline the proliferation of the fantasy mode in English art towards the turn of the century. It highlights key developments, including the proliferation of styles and the popularity of the fantasy mode in art communities across Britain after 1890, and it builds on arguments pertaining to the basic research questions in this study. It augments the theory that the fantasy mode can be observed in visual works of art through observation of the fantasy chronotopes of distortion, density, and enclosure. It continues to provide examples of how different configurations of space and time may appear to present arresting strangeness; and it tests a methodology for identifying visual works of fantasy that could apply to more artworks.

By providing complementary biographical context, the examples presented here demonstrate how artists and critics thought and spoke about fantasy art, evidenced through close analysis of the language Victorians used to describe it. The distinctive features of fantasy, often highlighted in juxtaposition with demonstrably realistic works of art, became more pronounced as the critical language associated with fantasy art developed, as in the work of commentators like Baldry. Moreover, contextual analysis of English fantasy art after 1890 also serves to highlight the patterns of influence that led to the significant Secondary Worldbuilding of the period. Focusing on the four artists selected and their work will provide insight into Rossetti's influence on future generations of English artists and so demonstrate

the significance of his legacy. These artists were aware of both his visual and literary work, as revealed by their letters and biographies, and this illustrates that Rossetti's work was still viewed as relevant to artists working in the fantasy style after his death.

Finally, research into artists on whom little scholarly research has been undertaken provides greater clarity about the nature of the English art landscape at the turn of the century. By situating these artists within a history of modern fantasy, their relevance to subsequent cultural outputs becomes more pronounced.

Gotch and the fantasy world of Phyllis Cooper Gotch

In Thomas Cooper Gotch's painting *The Child in the World* (Figure 74 and Figure 75), the characteristically rosy face of Phyllis Cooper Gotch looks directly at the viewer, as the incontestably fantastic body of the dragon curls around her. The iridescent skin of the imaginary beast shimmers in blue, purple, and gold paints, which are contrasted starkly with the plain nightdress of the girl. The art critic Lewis Hind described this painting as representing a child 'standing alone and unafraid in the innermost, horridest home of the Dragon, called the World, who is powerless against her innocence.'[579] Indeed, this painting highlights the fantasy mode's rapacious appetite for subsuming identifiable supernatural symbols (the dragon) into its corpus and, furthermore, shows how one artist constructed a Secondary World that tells the story of 'the Dragon, called the World.' The head of the dragon, her eyes half closed, lolls to the left of the image as the child, dressed in her night clothes, stares precociously out at the viewer. The symbolism of this painting thus capitalised on the prevailing tendency of the fantasy mode to facilitate spaces in which we question 'reality or dream, truth or allusion?'[580] As in all works of fantasy, the unstable signification of

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[579] Lewis Hind, "T.C. Gotch and his pictures," *The Windsor Magazine: an Illustrated Monthly for Men and Women* 4 (Jul 1896), 279.
[580] Todorov, *The Fantastic*, 25.

the fantastic prompts almost endless interpretations of it; perhaps the child has visited this place in her dream, or perhaps she has found her way into a Secondary World. This is, perhaps, Gotch's most ostensibly and enduringly fantastical image, though not, as this case study will examine, an isolated phenomenon within the context of his wider oeuvre.

From 1876 to 1882 Gotch studied at Heatherley's Art School in Antwerp, the Slade School in London under Alphonse Legrose, and Laurens' Atelier in Paris.[581] Thus, by the age of twenty-eight he was well-trained and well-travelled and was familiar with many different art styles and cultures. After he and his young family relocated from the continent to Newlyn in Cornwall in 1887, Gotch became associated with the Newlyn School, which included the realist artists Stanhope Forbes and Frank Bramley.[582] In his article on Gotch published in 1898, Hind considered that 'the pictures that Mr. Gotch painted prior to 1891 prove him to have been Newlynite to his finger tips.'[583] Commentary such as this highlights that he experimented with various compositions, including the Newlyn *plein air* style, throughout his life.[584] The period of his life during which his work exhibited qualities associated with the fantasy mode corresponds with the young life of his daughter Phyllis, who often served as a model for these works. In this study, the fantasy works of the years 1882-1903 are viewed as a kind of standalone series in the artist's wider oeuvre. Through these images, Gotch

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[581] Pamela Lomax, *The Golden Dream: A Biography of Thomas Cooper Gotch* (Bristol: Sansom & Company Ltd., 2004), 9.
[582] In 1899 Forbes opened the Forbes School of Painting, advertising 'a Studio adapted for the especial study of figures in the open air, and of animals in their natural environment of landscape.' In 1892 Marion Hepworth Dixon, writing for *The Magazine of Art*, named Forbes 'the youthful leader of so audacious a school as the Newlyn school of painting,' typifying his oeuvre as 'one of the more characteristic exponents of the *plein air* methods. Advertisement reproduced in Melissa Hardie, *100 Years in Newlyn: Diary of a Gallery* (St Ives: Patten Press, 1995), 10.
[583] Hind described the 'Newlyn style' as 'gray, sad, dramatic, obvious' and Gotch's later style, enigmatically, as 'heyho! for colour, allegory, and that fine decorative quality which culminated in the "Alleluia."' (ibid.) Hind, "T.C. Gotch", 273.
[584] The period during which he created paintings that undeniably feature the supernatural and magic was bookended by time dedicated to studies in realism, evidenced by early paintings such as *Mental Arithmetic*, 1883 (Figure 76), and late paintings such as the *View of Gretton* in 1916 (Figure 77).

explored his daughter's experience of enchantment, wonder, and delight as a means of exploring creative mythologies to do with national identity, monarchy, and empire.[585]

Gotch's penchant for changing the mode and the style in which he worked may have related to the critical pressure on artists to produce works that were apparently "English." In an 1890 article on the Grosvenor Gallery the Irish novelist-turned-critic George Moore posed the dramatic question of 'why will English artists go to France to learn painting? Can nothing be done to stop them?'[586] This sentiment was consistently echoed by Ruskin in his later life, as in his introduction to Ernest Chesnau's *The English School of Painting* (1885), where he intoned how:

> After being for at least half a century paralysed by their isolation and self-sufficiency, the British schools of painting are now in the contrary danger of losing their national character in their endeavour to become sentimentally German, dramatically Parisian, or decoratively Asiatic.[587]

The role of Gotch and the other artists discussed here is significant in the way they embalmed the Pre-Raphaelite style and carried it between centuries, monarchs, and the seismic socio-political changes of the early twentieth century. A study of the transfer of styles that can be grouped under the banner of "fantasy" thus shows how English artists were building on a mode that was now established and further inculcating that mode within the English cultural sphere.

To date, two conciliatory accounts have contributed to a better understanding and appreciation of how Gotch was an artist responsive to the zeitgeist of his age. Rebecca Virag's consideration of the artist as a painter of "empire" (1997) and the positioning of Gotch's works in relation to contemporary feminist ideologies in Alice Anne Eden's PhD

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[585] As Rebecca Virag set out in her MA thesis entitled "Thomas Cooper Gotch: A Painter of Childhood, Motherhood and Empire" (1997), Gotch's symbolism points towards the habitation of socio-political issues within his own imaginary universe, in which the child and the woman became vehicles for conversations around national identity.

[586] George Moore, "The Grosvenor Gallery," *Hawk* (May 13, 1890), 553.

[587] John Ruskin, "Introduction," in *The English School of Painting* (London and New York: Cassell & Company Ltd., 1885), ix.

thesis (2016) both indicate and exemplify how the symbolism of Gotch's works points to pertinent moments and trends in the history of turn-of-the-century Britain. The fact that the two most significant academic studies of Gotch's work are to be found in postgraduate research indicates the degree to which he has been ignored by wider histories of late-Victorian and Edwardian art. In addition, however, Pamela Lomax's biography of Gotch (2004) also provides evidence of how the primary source of inspiration for the artist was his family, and his daughter in particular.[589] As a prominent and successful artist of his day, Gotch was undoubtedly informed and influenced by contemporary publications and events. However, the daily influence and impact of family upon the artist's life, and the ever-present imaginings of a clearly creative mind, have been lost to the narrative of the wider historical significance of his works. The interweaving of Gotch's oeuvre into the story of fantasy art and a late flowering of Romanticism, medievalism, and Pre-Raphaelitism in the British cultural sphere is therefore recuperative and shows him to feature significantly in the art of his age.

The aspects of fantasy art that have already been identified as belonging to this period are prominent in Gotch's paintings. Lack of cultural specificity, the influence of the Gothic and the medieval and the use of hyper-realistic colours and supernatural figures all contributed to what Baldry identified in *The Child Enthroned* (Figure 78) as an 'admirable decoration full of healthy invention and hitting happily the safe middle course between phantasy and literal reality.'[590] Indeed, the generous use of the chronotope of temporal dislocation is the primary means by which Gotch achieved the feeling of unreality or 'phantasy' in his work. Like Burne-Jones's *Briar Rose* series,[591] Gotch's paintings exemplify

[589] Lomax, *The Golden Dream.*
[590] ibid.
[591] See "Case Study: Worldbuilding and the *Briar Rose* series at Buscot Park," 191-198. Individual works not discussed in this study that exemplify this phenomenon include John William Waterhouse's *The Magic Circle* or William Burges's *Great Bookcase.* For an analysis of the symbolism of Waterhouse's *The Magic Circle* see

the tendency of Victorian fantasy art to include symbols and motifs from widespread iconographic traditions, a feature of his work that was regularly identified by critics as belonging to Gotch's otherworldly imagery. For example, in his essay on Gotch, Hind declared that in *Alleluia* (Figure 79) 'almost every Eastern and Western nation is represented in the rainbow robes which clothe the children.'[592]

The effect of this feature, however, sometimes caused confusion and misinterpretation. In 1894, for example, Stephens considered *The Child Enthroned* (Figure 78) to project 'something almost Byzantine in the still sweetness and joyous serenity of the comely boy with Flemish features.'[593] Despite the Academy notes that detailed a description of the painting as 'a flaxen-haired girl in mediaeval blue cloak embroidered with gold,' critics like Stephens were interpreting this painting according to a language of art with which they were familiar. The assumption that *The Child Enthroned* was the Christ Child accorded with the preconception that any child enthroned must be the divine child rather than an imaginary girl child. This, along with Hind's comment, illustrates how the mechanisms of art history in modern Britain were, and to a great extent still are, determined to place Gotch and other artists in the context of what Marina Warner called the 'language of vision,'[594] to evidence their historical or temporal position as a means of understanding them.

While many of Gotch's fantasy details appear to have come from his imagination, the real-world context in which he created his paintings was the determining feature of his fantasy style. Gotch's frequent use of Phyllis in his fantasy paintings and the juxtaposition of her early years with their exhibition dates reveals the correlation between key dates in

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Anthony Hobson, *J.W. Waterhouse* (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1989), 37-38. On Burges's *Great Bookcase* see Crook, "Fantastic", *William Burges*, 328-329.

[592] Hind, "T.C. Gotch", 279.

[593] Frederick George Stephens, "T.C. Gotch," *The Athenaeum*, no. 3471 (5th May, 1894), 587.

[594] 'The language of vision has a syntax, grammar, vocabulary, a history and a changing development over time; its intelligibility depends partly on handed down expressions, on habitual ways of envisioning, on codes known, assembled and disassembled in cognitive patterns that have been learned and passed on.' Marina Warner, *The Inner Eye: Art Beyond the Visible* (Manchester, National Touring Exhibitions, 1996), 9.

Phyllis's life and Gotch's development of a comprehensive creative mythology in which his daughter featured as the central protagonist (Appendix 1). Moreover, even when Phyllis was not portrayed, as in *The Message* (Figure 80), moments in her life could still be invoked. As Lomax noted:

> The painting – part of the group that depicted 'coming of age' was intended to depict the birth of an idea in the mind of a young girl, a moment of sudden insight into the meaning of life. [It] was celebratory and reflected Tom's joy in his daughter's new achievements.[595]

Thematically speaking, Gotch's fantasy paintings revolved around the life of women and their role in society.[596] Within the context of this interpretation of his paintings, Gotch's fantasy works were evidently the product of his experience as a father, and through such observation of his daughter's life, he was able to explore and manifest a wider creative mythology about the lives of women.

Case study: Gotch, *A Golden Dream* (1893)

Following *My Crown and Sceptre* (Figure 82), *A Golden Dream* (Figure 83) was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1893. Though the earlier painting had also used Phyllis as the model for the principal figure and dealt with similar themes of play, dress-up, the medieval, and make-believe, *A Golden Dream* was the first of Gotch's paintings to employ the fantasy chronotope of distortion in his quest to realise a liminal state. It is therefore an important demarcator in understanding how Gotch's oeuvre shifted away from his earlier *plein air* works towards increasingly complex fantasy narratives that reveal a creative mythology based upon the life of his daughter. Its importance, revealed in its contemporary reception, lies in the way the fantasy chronotopes function. How the painting inspired H.D. Lowry's

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[595] Lomax, *The Golden Dream*, 123.

[596] Considering the painting *Holy Motherhood* (Figure 81), in which Phyllis is positioned in the bottom right of the canvas, Eden pointed out that 'in this composition Phyllis looks away from the mother and child figures, mature and thoughtful, her askance gaze indicates autonomous desires not reconciled with the vocation of the mother figure.' Alice Anne Eden, *Women, Representation and the Spiritual in the Works of Thomas Cooper Gotch, Robert Anning Bell and Frederick Cayley Robinson* (PhD diss., University of Warwick, 2016), 104.

book of fairy tales, *Make-Believe* (1896), provides further insight into the relationship of the painting to Secondary World creation.[597]

Contemporary reception demonstrated that Gotch came to be viewed a fantasy painter. As Hind's 1896 article shows, this was seen as a departure from his early works and from the style of the Newlynites, with whom he had been widely identified.[598] Describing *A Golden Dream*, Hind declared that

> he had forsaken the realism of modern life for the realism of allegory […] Thus "A Golden Dream" may picture a real maiden plucking fruit in a Kentish orchard, or she may be a dream-child gathering phantom blossoms in fairyland. Read into it what you will, it is an agreeable fancy, beautiful in colour.[599]

Many of the synonyms for fantasy used by late Victorian critics were included here, allegory, dream, phantom, fairyland, fancy, and thus underline the reception of the painting as demonstrably non-Realist.

That said, there are aspects of Gotch's Realism that informed his fantasy works. Unlike the complex fantasy narratives of Burges's Cardiff Castle, Watts's *House of Life* project, Burne-Jones's *Briar Rose* Series, and Morris's fantasy novels, *A Golden Dream* captures a single moment in time, a chronotope of painting that was more the purvey of nineteenth-century Realists who, as Nochlin noted, emphasised 'the temporal fragment as the basic unit of perceived experience, like the equation of concrete fact with reality itself'.[600] Rossetti's multi-dimensional canvases had various enclosed spaces, such as *The Blessed Damozel* which included multiple canvases within a single work of art and *Beata Beatrix* containing multiple scenes within a single canvas. In contrast, *A Golden Dream* consists of a single scene, with one perspective and a solitary figure. This particular use of fantasy

[597] Though they do not serve as case studies for this thesis, the illustrations of Charles Robinson for Lowry's *Make-Believe* also exemplify how the fantasy mode was used to create complex visual Secondary Worlds.
[598] Hind, "T.C. Gotch"..
[599] ibid., 279.
[600] Nochlin, *Realism*, 31.

chronotopes to create an impression of alterity distinguishes Gotch's paintings from earlier works.

Within the painting, space and time have been manipulated to convince the viewer that this is a scene of arresting strangeness. There is a chronotope of distortion in the juxtaposition of the golden apple tree with the overabundant, natural meadow, for neither is rationalised within the context of the other, and, like Rossetti's *Beata Beatrix*, there is a faint aura around the girl that suggests liminality. These features come together in the painting as a series of ambiguities and irrational features which immediately cause the viewer to hesitate in their interpretation of it; in keeping with Todorov's definition of fantasy, they query 'reality or dream, truth or illusion?'[601]

The moment of hesitation that erupts from the viewer's apprehension of the arresting strangeness of the image is augmented by the sensorial details of the painting. Following the inquisitive eye of her flushed face and ruby lips, the fleshy, well defined hand of the girl reaches into the tree to pluck a golden fruit, as she perhaps anticipates the first taste of the fantasy fruit. Behind her, the Primary World landscape blurs in and out of focus. By painting some parts of the image sharply and others indefinitely, Gotch has further stimulated a sense of arresting strangeness through the same visual signifiers of liminality that are found in Rossetti's *Beata Beatrix* (Figure 30) and Gerald Moira's *Thereto the silent voice replied, 'Look up thro' night: the world is wide'* (Figure 101). Thus, both the subject matter and the composition of this painting clearly conform to the generic patterns of Victorian fantasy art, in which distortion, enclosure, and density serve to promote arresting strangeness and the moment of hesitation within visual works of fantasy.

Building on the assertion that Gotch's fantasy works were the particular product of his relationship with Phyllis, analysis of H.D. Lowry's *Make-Believe* demonstrates how the

[601] Todorov, *The Fantastic*, 25.

vision of wonder depicted in *A Golden Dream* was a product of Phyllis's imagination as much as her father's. This collection of short stories contains many imaginary scenes that were inspired by the life of the Gotch family at Malt House, Newlyn, where Lowry had stayed as a guest.[602] *Make-Believe* tells the story of Doris, whose 'father is a painter, and […] delights above all things in making portraits of his daughter.'[603] Doris, the fictional Phyllis, is a bold, adventurous, and imaginative little girl who, over the course of the novel, tells a visitor to her father's studio-home a series of fantastical stories including "The Magic Painter", "The Lady and the Treasure" and "Dream About a Star", set on a distant planet atop a star.

In Lowry's book, reference is made to *A Golden Dream* in Chapter One, "The Meeting", in which Doris says to the Visitor:

> "Well, you remember the picture you saw in the Academy last year with all the gold in it? There was a lot of it left over, and when father had finished the picture he was so tired that he said he never wanted to paint again, and that I might take the rest of the gold paint and even his favourite brushes. Afterwards he said he thought he had better keep the brushes, because he might have to work again some day, but I took the paint."[604]

A Golden Dream was presented at the Academy in 1893, two years before the publication of *Make-Believe,* and the gold paint used in it is the tool by which the central figure establishes the make-believe treasure trove in her garden and is able to realise her fantasy in reality.[605] This story, therefore, evidences the creative power of Phyllis's imagination, how she inspired not only her father but also his friends, and how the artefacts of the fantastic (*A Golden Dream*, the treasure trove of gilded rocks, and the fantasy worlds of Lowry's imagination) are

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602 See Newlyn Archives 3870 'Photo. Cover of HD Lowry's book Make-Believe which was dedicated to Phyllis Gotch and contains descriptions of her as a child at the Malt House' and 3871 'Extracts from HD Lowry's book Make-Believe containing descriptions of her as a child at the Malt House.'

603 H.D. Lowry, *Make-Believe* (London: Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., 1896), 23.

604 ibid., 16-17.

605 'Somehow or other, certainly not by the most diligent searching of the dustheap, she had secured a great store of gold paint. Then she had taken stones, and a small metal needle-case, a little key, and a few odd scraps of iron. Copiously gilded, the stones were now huge nuggets of solid gold, the key looked as though it might have been made to open Pandora's box, and the other trifles lay about them with a delightful appearance of simple preciousness.' ibid., 15-16.

often linked by biographical details of artists's lives and the circumstance in which fantasy is produced.

Summary

Reception of Gotch is certainly demonstrated by the inclusion of a small group of his works in public collection;[606] but, his apparent absence from major scholarship on late Victorian and Edwardian art would suggest that his role in wider art-historical narratives has not yet been fully considered. Observation of key aspects of his work, including the use of bright colour, medieval forms, and the fantasy chronotopes places him firmly in the trajectories of both Pre-Raphaelitism and modern fantasy, thus serving as a reminder of how intimately linked the two modes came to be. By these means, Gotch propounded a creative mythology that was fashioned during and inspired by his daughter's childhood, positioning her at the heart of a story that was inspired by the delights of her juvenescence.

Analysis of the functionality of the chronotopes within *A Golden Dream* serves as a further reminder of how arresting strangeness and the presentation of a Secondary World, in which key elements are in some way different to those of the Primary World, operate as the essential features of the fantasy mode. Gotch's wide application of the chronotopes to works that featured his daughter Phyllis continue to serve as examples of visual works of art dedicated to exploring themes of wonder, magic, and adventure. Gotch should, therefore, be viewed as a forerunner of the fantasy artists and authors of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, those whose works continue to exemplify the now ubiquitous modern fantasy mode.

[606] *A Pageant of Childhood* was purchased by the Corporation of Liverpool in 1899, *A Golden Dream* was purchased by Harris Museum & Art Gallery in Preston in 1900, *Holy Motherhood* was purchased by the Laing Art Gallery in 1910, *The Mother Enthroned* was purchased by Charles Boot and presented to the Mappin Gallery in Sheffield in 1925.

The 'rarefied atmosphere'[607] of Sturge Moore

The artist, poet, and playwright Thomas Sturge Moore began training at the Croydon School of Art in 1885, where he was instructed by Charles Hazlewood Shannon (1863-1937). Two years later, aged seventeen, he transferred to the Lambeth School of Art to be taught by Shannon's partner Charles Ricketts (1866-1931).[608] Thus, the early years of his education as an artist were shaped by the passionate practices of the men whom Oscar Wilde would later name "The Valeists." The training received by Shannon and Ricketts was such that Sturge Moore's principal interests lay in wood engraving; many of his visual art works are woodblock illustrations to the literary works of his writer friends. In addition, he also became an accomplished author himself, and it is this aspect of his artistic practice that he was, and perhaps is still, best remembered for. At a dinner held at Chicago's Cliff Dwellers Club on 1 March 1914, for example, W.B. Yeats claimed that he was 'one of the most exquisite poets writing in England; his poetry is a glorification of instinct.'[609]

In fact, Sturge Moore and Yeats had much in common, both in terms of their education and their highly symbolic styles.[610] In his biography of Sturge Moore, the American literary scholar Frederick L. Gwynn introduced him through an overview of his

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[607] Frederick L. Gwynn, *Sturge Moore and the Life of Art* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1951), 2.
[608] Sturge Moore also studied alongside the fairy artist illustrator Arthur Rackham (1867-1939) at Lambeth.
[609] Harriet Monroe, "Comments and Reviews: Poetry's Banquet," *Poetry* 4, no. 1 (April, 1914), 25.
[610] Biographical aspects of Yeats's early life evidence both a connection to the British art world and an interest in the fantastical world of the imagination. Yeats was ethnically and culturally Irish, but aside from the years between 1880 and 1887 during which he lived in Dublin, Yeats grew up in London. Until 1880, his artist father pursued connections to the London art world. After the Yeats's family returned to Ireland, the young poet began drafting the text that would be his first published work and in 1885 published *The Island of Statues: An Arcadian Faery Tale in Two Acts*, a protracted fantasy poem that drew principally on the theme of magic, which would preoccupy Yeats throughout his life. His fascination with the otherworldly permeated his social life too; in 1890 Yeats joined the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, an organisation that had been formed in 1887 for the study of the occult and other manifestations of the supernatural in reality. Moreover, Yeats saw himself as the twentieth-century bookend of the visionary tradition that permeated Victorian culture. In his 1902 essay on William Morris, "The Happiest of the Poets", Yeats wrote that 'Rossetti, drunken with natural beauty, saw the supernatural beauty, the impossible beauty, in his frenzy.' W.B. Yeats, *The Collected Works of W.B. Yeats Volume IV: Early Essays*, George Bornstein and Richard J. Finneran eds., (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2007), 49. Hough's *The Last Romantics* (1949) identified Yeats as part of the artistic lineage that coursed through the nineteenth century from Ruskin through Rossetti and Morris to Yeats, who was 'driven to dreams and fantasies to explain man's total experience'. Hough, *The Last Romantics*, 61.

relationship with Yeats and the overlap of their biographies, drawing attention to the significant fact that both men studied at art school where they 'served an apprenticeship to Pre-Raphaelite modes and ideals.'[611] Later, he noted that 'like Rossetti and Yeats, Sturge Moore began to live when he entered on his apprenticeship to the fine arts.'[612] The subsequent outputs of Sturge Moore and Yeats, both literary and visual, show a unique fascination with the strange, the fantastical, and the otherworldly that illustrates how they both, in Gwynn's words, 'felt at home in the rarefied atmosphere or artificial and ceremonious drama, of formal incantation, esoteric symbols, fantasy and myth.'[613]

So, from his earliest education as an artist, Sturge Moore was grounded in a tradition of art making that followed on from the artists discussed in this study, and, most particularly, those 'modes and ideals' espoused by Rossetti. Indeed, the outward aspects of the Valeists community mirrored that of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, with the energetic Ricketts as a Rossetti-figure at the epicentre. After reading Hall Caine's *Recollections* in 1921, Yeats wrote to Sturge Moore that he had been 'constantly reminded of Ricketts- he must when very young have formed himself on Rossetti.'[614] Although Sturge Moore disagreed, asserting that, 'as to Ricketts and Rossetti, I think there are great resemblances as you say […] but I am still more conscious of their differences,'[615] he did acknowledge that there was a period of influence 'about 1890 or 1891,' during which Ricketts was 'entirely absorbed in Rossetti.'[616] This transfer of ideas informed the work of the Valeists in many ways. Like the Pre-Raphaelites, their production was varied and vast, and just as *The Germ* (1850) had stood for the efforts and endeavours of the Brotherhood, *The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* (1856)

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[611] Gwynn, *Sturge Moore*, 2.
[612] ibid., 15.
[613] ibid., 2.
[614] ibid., 26.
[615] "Letter from T.S. Moore to W.B. Yeats on Nov 8, 1921," in *W.B. Yeats and T. Sturge-Moore*, 42.
[616] 'I think there are great resemblances as you say […] I knew Ricketts before he became so entirely absorbed in Rossetti as at one period (about 1890 or 1891) he was, and I cannot say that I think he modelled himself consciously on Rossetti at all.' "Letter from T.S. Moore to W.B. Yeats on Nov 8, 1921," in *W.B. Yeats and T. Sturge-Moore*, 42.

for the Birmingham Set, and *The Quest* (1894-6) for the Birmingham Group, *The Dial* (1889-1897) was the means by which the Valeists established their public identity.[617]

Perhaps because of his relationship with members of the literary circles of early twentieth-century Britain, particularly his friendship with the Valeists and Yeats, scholarship on Sturge Moore has tended to focus on his literary efforts rather than his visual work.[618] Moreover, Sturge Moore did not see himself as a painter, writing in later life that 'Ricketts might make a painter of Holmes, but Shannon failed to make one of me.'[619] Unlike Rossetti, who was at the forefront of his group and movement, Sturge Moore was the pupil of his, a fact that might serve to explain why he has been recorded as having a relatively minor role in the history of art at this time. However, through analysis of his work in the context of early fantasy art and literature, a case can be made that Sturge Moore's position in the cultural history of Britain must be revised and elevated.

The letter Sturge Moore wrote to Yeats in November 1921 establishes that he had a strong command of Rossetti's oeuvre and of his personal life and relationships.[620] He evidently read widely on the Pre-Raphaelites, referring in the letter to many of Rossetti's works ("Love's Nocturn", "The Stream's Secret", "Cloud Confines", "The Portrait", "The Blessed Damozel", and *The House of Life*) as well as biographical accounts of the lives of the Pre-Raphaelites such as Sir Thomas Henry Hall Caine's *Recollections in Rossetti* (1882) and *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones* by Lady Georgiana Burne-Jones (1904).[621] Sturge Moore

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[617] Further analysis of the work of the Birmingham Group can be found in "'Memoirs of a Human Peter Pan': Bernard Sleigh (1872-1954) and the continuance of the fantastic mode into the twentieth century," 241-249.
[618] In his 1951 biography of Sturge Moore, Gwynn suggested that the 'scant attention' paid to Sturge Moore by literary historians positioned him as 'a latter-day Pre-Raphaelite, a Bridgean traditionalist, a trans-Channel cousin of the Symbolists, or simply as an artistic unicorn.' Gwynn, *Sturge Moore*, 81.
[619] Thomas Sturge Moore quoted in Gwynn, *Sturge Moore*, 23. This fits with Alexander J. Finberg's description of Sturge Moore as a student at the Lambeth School of Art (with Finberg). In his essay "The Wood-Cuts of T. Sturge Moore" for *The Studio*, Finberg wrote 'I do not think any of us took Moore's artistic studies very seriously. He was what is called "clumsy fisted."' A.J. Finberg, "The Wood Cuts of T. Sturge Moore," *The Studio* 57 (1915), 33.
[620] Yeats later thanked him for this 'most important letter about Rossetti.' "Letter from W.B. Yeats to T.S. Moore on Nov 24, 1921," in *W.B. Yeats and T. Sturge-Moore*, 45.
[621] "Letter from T.S. Moore to W.B. Yeats on Nov 8, 1921," in *W.B. Yeats and T. Sturge-Moore*, 42.

also considered the contemporary endeavours of Ricketts and Shannon to be an extension of the work of the Pre-Raphaelites, principally that of Rossetti.[622] Overall, this exchange with Yeats indicates that Sturge Moore viewed the Valeists as responsive to Pre-Raphaelitism, and saw himself as having a particular relationship with the life and work of Rossetti.

Sturge Moore's own artistic practice demonstrates his knowledge of and fealty to the Pre-Raphaelite tradition, particularly his use of bold colour in both his art and literature. Quoting from Sturge Moore's poem "The Unknown Known" (1939), Gwynn wrote that it 'could have come from *The Earthly Paradise* of seventy years before':[623]

> Within walls, walls rose higher,
> And towers thronged up round a central tower;
> As though the *green* land's *green* height bore a flower
> Of *ruddy* roofs, and *windowed granite* walls,
> Where *yellow* horn in curved *panes* caught the play
> Of varied *sunshine*. Sometimes gleaming *amber*,
> Anon they *gilded* flash,
> Or like *red* embers *glow*.
> Behind their beauty she could see the bed;
> Within its *crimson* curtains, see herself…[624]

Considered alongside *A Symbolic Painting* (Figure 73) both poem and painting show the effect of the Pre-Raphaelite penchant for hypercolour on Sturge Moore's creative imagination and an allegiance to 'the Pre-Raphaelite poets and the synesthetes of the 1890's who drugged the veins of their poetic corpus with multicolored paint.'[625] Sturge Moore's application of the fantasy chronotopes within a painting that includes medieval forms, hybrid creatures, and bright colour, references aspects of the fantasy mode found in earlier "Pre-Raphaelite" paintings.

The letter of 1921 and Gwynn's close reading of Sturge Moore's own poetry shows that Sturge Moore had a good understanding of the work of the Pre-Raphaelites and viewed

[622] ibid., 44.
[623] Gwynn, *Sturge Moore*, 83.
[624] Thomas Sturge Moore, "The Unknown Known," quoted in Gwynn, *Sturge Moore*, 83. Italicisation added by Gwynn for emphasis.
[625] Gwynn, *Sturge Moore*, 83.

his own artistic circle as having been influenced by artists like Rossetti, Burne-Jones, and Morris. The following case study of Sturge Moore's work repositions this conversation in the context the history of modern fantasy, through which a stronger link between Sturge Moore and Pre-Raphaelitism is made. Like the Pre-Raphaelites, Sturge Moore took the natural world and, through the power of his creative imagination, manipulated it to create imaginary characters and Secondary Worlds.

Metamorphoses of Pan **(1895): the Pan series, Sturge Moore as Pan, and Pan as creative mythology**

It is interesting to note how Sturge Moore's fascination with the figure of Pan provides a strong example of his interest in the boundary between the natural and the supernatural. Like many other Victorian artists, Sturge Moore fashioned a guise for himself that involved stylised dress and grooming, as seen in a photo of him in 1933 (Figure 84). One friend, the poet Robert Calverly Trevelyan (1872-1951), recalled of the young Sturge Moore that 'he had a thin straggly light brown beard, at a time when beards were more out of fashion with young men than they are now.'[626] The late-Victorian writer Edith Emma Cooper (1862-1913) also found his appearance noteworthy, writing in 1901 that he looked to her 'like a primeval forest god – terrible – the source of panic and of the cruel laughter of simplicity.'[627] This particular project of self-fashioning revolved around Sturge Moore's fascination with 'The Great God Pan',[628] to which Gwynn drew attention.[629]

Patricia Merivale investigated why there was 'between 1890 and 1926, that astonishing resurgence of interest in the Pan motif, and the rich harvest of its varied

[626] Robert Calverly Trevelyan quoted in Gwynn, *Sturge Moore*, 72.
[627] Edith Emma Cooper quoted in Gwynn, *Sturge Moore*, 72.; and in Patricia Merivale, *Pan the Goat-God: His Myth in Modern Times* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2014), 265, footnote 77.
[628] Reference to the title of Arthur Machen's fantasy novel *The Great God Pan*, published in instalments of *The Whirlwind* from 1890. Published as a book in 1894.
[629] 'photographs and portraits of the poet in his youth bear out the impression of a Pan-like face, gentle and yet saturnine, with a strong, un-Pan-like nose.' Gwynn, *Sturge Moore*, 72.

possibilities?'[630] Like contemporary artist Bernard Sleigh,[631] whose autobiography was titled "Memoirs of a Human Peter Pan" (unpublished, written 1944), Sturge Moore was riding the wave of a late-Victorian fascination with Pan; his works relating to the figure include the woodcut series *Metamorphoses of Pan* (1895), the epic poem *Pan's Prophecy* (1904), and the play *Tragic Mothers: Medea, Niobe, Tyrfing* (1920). Indeed, it might be said that over his career he developed a creative mythology, or fantasy, of Pan.

According to Merivale, prior to the proliferation of such increasingly personal mythologies, the nineteenth century saw two major trends in Pan's representation, during the Romantic and Victorian periods respectively:

> The major Victorian poets, especially Landor, the Brownings, and Meredith, restored the figure of Pan the Arcadian goat-god to his classical role as a participant in actions, endowed him with elements of individuality and of personality, whether human, bestial, or divine, and stressed the paradox that he was both a goat and a god. They owed little to their immediate predecessors, the Romantic poets, for whom Pan had been an abstract concept; "invisible" or "universal" were the characteristic Romantic epithets for Pan, who was an all-infusing spirit of the landscape, most often benevolently pastoral, occasionally heard, but almost never seen.[632]

Sturge Moore's work includes both these strains in his work.[633] As contemporary accounts of his personal attire suggest, he developed a uniform that may have suggested himself as a Victorian iteration of the ancient Greek deity. However, as his Pan woodcuts show (Figure 85-Figure 94), he was also interested in visiting the Romantic idea of Pan as an innate force, an 'all-infusing spirit of landscape'. In short, the prolific references to Pan made by Sturge Moore create an overarching fantasy that was personal to him. An overview of these provides insight into how early twentieth-century British artists were reclaiming elements of the past

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[630] Patricia Merivale, *Pan the Goat-God: His Myth in Modern Times* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2014), vii.

[631] See "'Memoirs of a Human Peter Pan': Sleigh and the continuance of the fantastic mode into the twentieth century," 237-247.

[632] ibid., 76.

[633] Merivale's account of the Pan motif in Sturge Moore's literature shifts from being critical to complementary in a manner underlines its shifting usage. Merivale wrote that 'where [Landor's] principal form, the black-verse idyl [sic.], was copied, the results were deplorable. Sturge Moore's are perhaps the best known of the later lengthy, chiseled [sic.] Pan narratives.' Yet elsewhere in the text Merivale referred to *Pan's Prophecy* as being an example of 'very respectable reworkings of classical themes by very respectable poets.'

for their own ends, contributing to what Merivale called 'the Victorian genius for using the traditional fabric of myth and legend to set free topically relevant and psychologically valid meanings.'[634]

More specifically, the wood engravings Sturge Moore published as *Metamorphoses of Pan* in June 1895 give an indication of his sources of inspiration and the way in which he transformed that material into a new presentation of an old tale. Indeed, Sturge Moore's former classmate A.J. Finberg likened them to the work and person of Romantic artist William Blake (1757-1827):

> The designs have something of the imaginative fervour and sweep of Blake's best work, but they have a grace, tenderness, and delicate sense of humour of which we find no trace in Blake's artistic work. As an artist Blake dwelt ever in an invisible world of his own, peopled mainly with memories of bad line engravings of the works of Michael Angelo. His art very seldom came in contact with the visible world, with the men and women and natural objects which we know, and see and touch.[635]

Findberg's association of Sturge Moore's output to Blake's 'invisible world' develops the idea that the Romantic period laid the foundation of modern fantasy. In fact, in his art the Pre-Raphaelite tendency towards an overabundance of natural forms met with the 'imaginative fervour and sweep' of the Romantics. But the artist's *Metamorphoses* can also be characterised, as Merivale commented, as being depicted as 'an all-infusing spirit of the landscape, most often benevolently pastoral, occasionally heard, but almost never seen.'[636]

Further analysis of the influence of Blake on Sturge Moore reveals a nebulous pattern of influence that moved beyond these two artists and supports the argument that modern fantasy was the ultimate product of Romanticism moving into late-Victorian aesthetic culture. In Sturge Moore's exploratory art-historical treatise *Art and Life,* the artist highlighted his particular admiration for Blake through consideration of the Romantic artist's

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[634] Merivale, *Pan the Goat-God*, 76.
[635] Finberg, "The Wood Cuts of T. Sturge Moore", 36-7.
[636] Merivale, *Pan the Goat-God*, 76.

novel use of the 'obsolete tempera and fresco.'[637] With reference to *The Bard, from Gray* (Figure 95) and *The Spiritual Form of Pitt Guiding Behemoth* (Figure 96), Sturge Moore placed emphasis on the earlier artist's predisposition towards the strange and fantastic, which he beautifully expressed in the notion of Blake's 'gleaming topsyturvydom.'[638] Furthermore, as has been evidenced of Rossetti's artistic practice,[639] Sturge Moore viewed Blake's particular genius as being bound up with his desire to reclaim historic modes of art making, by which means he did away with convention and used only that which was useful to his own creative mythology.[640]

But Blake was not the only arbiter of this peculiar and, for Sturge Moore, exciting new style of painting. Citing Watt's *Curse of Cain* (Figure 97), then exhibited at the Diploma Gallery, Sturge Moore lauded that it 'is in every respect such a monumental picture as would have satisfied Blake's innate aspirations fully.'[641] Indeed, the sweeping, energetic lines of Sturge Moore's Pan imagery, which blur the boundary between Pan and the natural world, are evocative of the work of Watts,[642] who, according to Gwynn, was 'greatly admired' by Sturge Moore.[643] Analysis of the compositional similarities between Sturge Moore's *Pan Island* (Figure 85) and Watts's *Curse of Cain* (Figure 97), however, shows that the interest of Sturge Moore in Watts's work went beyond mere admiration. From the vertical shaft of energy, to the figure bound up in the whirlwind that is capped off by blooming clouds of meteorological power, these images appear to share, in theme and form, an idea of the natural

[637] Thomas Sturge Moore, *Art and Life* (London: Methuen & Co., 1910), 227.
[638] ibid.
[639] See "The medieval watercolours," 132-136.
[640] Later in the book, Sturge Moore wrote that 'the most successful artists for a century past have recombined in relationship to modern mentalities elements derived from bygone arts,' citing 'Alfred Stevens and Watts, Delacroix and Puvis de Chavannes.' Sturge Moore, *Art and Life*, 245.
[641] Sturge Moore, *Art and Life*, 227-8.
[642] This relationship is purely conjectural; Watts's painting did not enter the public collection of the Tate until 1897, after publication of Sturge Moore's book.
[643] Gwynn, *Sturge Moore*, 73 and 110. Sturge Moore referenced Watts's *Psyche* (Figure 98) in his biography of *Albert Dürer* [sic.] (1905), explicitly stating that he prefers the version of *Psyche* in a private collection and not that of the Tate (Figure 99), though the two versions resemble one another according to the description of the former provided by Sturge Moore in *Albert Dürer*. London: Duckworth & Co., 1905, Part III, V.

world and the supernatural forces which govern it. This compositional structure is also shared with Watts's *"She shall be called woman"* (Figure 98), which points towards Sturge Moore's interest in the cosmological elements of Watts's Secondary World design, intended by the artist to be 'very grand and impressive, in order to emphasise the insignificance of man.'[644]

Thus, aspects of Sturge Moore's biography position him in a lineage of artists who were interested in worldbuilding, make-believe, and the supernatural. Through the biographical material left by Sturge Moore and others, it is possible to establish which artists informed his work in their practice and choice of otherworldly subject matter. By these means, Sturge Moore can be clearly positioned in the trajectory of modern fantasy art as it developed beyond the nineteenth century. Close analysis of his only painting in a public collection shows how he transformed these sources of inspiration into a daring new fantasy vision through application of the fantasy chronotopes and an art style that was increasingly associated with modern fantasy art.

Case Study: Sturge Moore, *A Symbolic Painting* (1890-1910)

The work known as *A Symbolic Painting* (Figure 73) was bequeathed to the Tullie House Museum in 1949 by its original owners, Gordon and Emily Bottomley, acknowledged by Gwynn to be friends of the artist.[645] The piece is something of a mystery. There is little literature included in its object history and no secondary scholarship has been undertaken. Here, therefore, the biographical notes written by Bottomley as an accompaniment to the work will be considered alongside an overview of the functionality of fantasy chronotopes in the painting.

[644] George Frederick Watts quoted in Mary Watts, *George Frederic Watts Vol. I*, 101.
[645] Gwynn, *Sturge Moore*, acknowledgements.

The painting is not currently on display at the Tullie House Museum, but was exhibited at the 1970 exhibition, *Gordon Bottomley: Poet and Collector*,[646] and a reproduction of it can be accessed on the Art UK website. Nonetheless, it remains an enigma, even though the bright colours, inventive use of landscape, and the medieval garment and headdress of the protagonist render it a striking work and suggest an allegiance to the 'Pre-Raphaelite modes and ideals' that Sturge Moore's biographer identified as belonging to his oeuvre.[647] Fortunately, Bottomley described the painting in his notebook containing details of his collection as it was presented in his home, The Sheiling:

> Through the Middle Door
> From the Artist
> A Symbolic Painting: by T Sturge Moore: gouache or impasto watercolour
> The artist stated, at the time of executing this work, that it is A Symbol of the Life of Shelley: I set this down as he was implicitly in the position to know. Though favoured for his remarkable wood-engravings he is only known to have painted two pictures. The other was of The Birth of Venus, for his children's nursery.[648]

Visitors to The Shieling would have encountered Sturge Moore's painting on entry to the house and its prominence here may indicate a particular affection for the work. Whether this was indeed so, the idea that the painting is a symbol of the life of the Romantic poet Percy Bysshe Shelley is suggested in various ways. It might function as an allegory of poetic life: the journey of the poet is like that of the fantastic hero, journeying across unknown lands in unfamiliar ways. Alternatively, it might illustrate an imaginative rendering of Shelley's life: the baby in the basket could be Shelley himself, brought from a magical, Secondary World to this Primary one in strange and unknowable ways. Bottomley's account of the painting in this

[646] See Carlisle Museum & Art Gallery, *Gordon Bottomley, Poet and Collector: A Selection from the Collection of Emily and Gordon Bottomley, Bequeathed to Carlisle in 1949* (Carlisle: Carlisle Museum & Art Gallery, 1970).
[647] Gwynn, *Sturge Moore*, 2.
[648] Gordon Bottomley, *An Account of the Paintings and some other works of art, at The Sheiling, Silverdale, Carnforth, in the possession of Emily and Gordon Bottomley: as at the New Year, 1947. Compiled by Gordon Bottomley*, Carlisle, Tullie House Museum. Object number: CALMG: 1997.704.3: 1. The other painting that Bottomley made reference to, *The Birth of Venus*, is untraced. Sturge Moore's self-professed failure as a painter would suggest that Bottomley's claim that he only finished two paintings was true. See "The 'rarefied atmosphere'[648] of Sturge Moore," 219-231.

respect is unclear. The biographies of Shelley and Sturge Moore might therefore be worth exploring in case they share certain aspects that throw light on the work. Both men were, of course, poets, who were, moreover, interested in the natural world, the hidden world, and the figure of Pan.[649] These shared interests are reflected in Sturge Moore's attention to the natural landscape and the way in which he creates an idea of nature as a demanding and personified force within Pan.

Apart from Bottomley's notes, Tullie House Museum provides only a brief object description of the painting: 'woman wearing flowing red robes, mounted on a unicorn, flies over a fantastical landscape of black mountains and lakes. An eagle bearing an infant suspended from its beak in a hammock, flies behind her.'[650] Limited as this is, it does illustrate some of the problems in speaking about works of fantasy. The museum's notable allusion to the fantastical elements of the painting sum up the overall impression of the painting in such a way that recognises that it stands as a good example of the fantasy mode. By its very nature, the mode deals with the limits of signification, a problem which many fantasy scholars, readers, and viewers seek to resolve by turning to secondary materials to produce an allegorical or biographical account of how the work came into being and what its intentions are. However, with a work such as this, for which we have almost no account, the perception of the viewer is arguably at the forefront in generating meaning and interpretation. As Todorov suggested, the creative imagination of the reader or viewer is of vital significance in that the fantasy mode relies upon the perception of what Tolkien called 'arresting strangeness.'[651]

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[649] Percy Bysshe Shelley "Hymn of Pan", *Posthumous Poems*, ed. Mary Shelley (London: John and Henry L. Hunt, 1824).
[650] Email from Melanie Gardner, Keeper of Fine & Decorative Art at Tullie House Museum, to Alex Gushurst-Moore, 9 April, 2019.
[651] Tolkien, "On Fairy Stories", 48.

The features of this Secondary World can be ascertained by a methodology intended to excavate the presence of the fantasy mode. As analysis shows, Sturge Moore used fantasy chronotopes of distortion and density to add colour and depth to his imaginary landscape. The woman in medieval dress sits atop a unicorn and they, together with an eagle carrying a baby, fly over a landscape that is unfamiliar in detail, but which draws its perspective and general composition from nature. Aspects of the rocks, the waves, and the grass are common to the Primary World, but here they have been distorted and reconstituted to produce the impression of arresting strangeness. The flattened quality of the painting is exacerbated by blocks of bright and distinctive colours in a manner that is evocative of Japanese Ukiyo-e, a type of composition that has subsequently been popularised by comic book and graphic novel illustration. In this way, the painting combines real world forms in unfamiliar ways that, like Gotch's *A Golden Dream*, clearly demarcate the space as enchanted, non-normative, and fantastic.

A Symbolic Painting is as an example of a fantasy work grown out of the contexts of the Victorian art world. The strong use of bright colours and medieval dress demonstrate allegiance to the Pre-Raphaelite style. As well there is reliance on the flat compositional style and bright colours that foreshadow some of the key developments in fantasy and graphic art during the twentieth century, including a rejection of depth and emphasis on motion and action.

Summary

Analysis of the work of Sturge Moore reveals his interest in the work of late Victorian artists such as Rossetti and Watts. Moreover, aspects of the use of natural and supernatural forms in his work provides an indication of the relationship between modern fantasy and Romanticism, particularly as it was developed in the work of Blake and Shelley. His interest in the ancient figure of Pan, which performs a central role in his art and literature, may be

viewed as the lynchpin for a creative mythology. The fantasy mode is clearly developed in these works, but also in work that does not revolve around the figure of Pan. Indeed, general observations about Sturge Moore's visual works of art reveal how he drew on the fantasy chronotopes of distortion and density to create compositions like *A Symbolic Painting* (Figure 73) that paid homage to "Pre-Raphaelite" modes of painting.

Moira and the legacy of fantasy art in Britain

In 1887 Gerald Moira entered the Royal Academy, followed in 1890 by his friend, collaborator, and fellow fantasy artist John Liston Byam Shaw. Unlike Byam Shaw, however, Moira never gained any major renown for his paintings, but became identified with his work as a muralist and arts administrator; Moira was professor of painting at the Royal College of Art from 1900-1923, Principal of the Edinburgh College of Art from 1923-1932, President of the Royal Institute of Oil Painters, and Vice-President of the royal Watercolour Society.[652] Harold Watkins published his biography of Moira in 1922, but subsequently, the artist's career has otherwise attracted little scholarly interest.

Between 1893 and 1896 Moira exhibited three fantasy paintings at the Royal Academy,[653] attention to which develops the argument that Moira was an early source of inspiration for Byam Shaw, whose work received a great deal of contemporary acclaim for being fantastic. One critic, for instance, described his *'Time and chance happeneth to all'* (Figure 100) as 'one of those quaint and somewhat puzzling allegories which have inspired Byam Shaw to many of his most notable successes.'[654] This section will show how

[652] "Professor Gerald E. Moira," *Mapping the Practice and Profession of Sculpture in Britain and Ireland 1851-1951*, University of Glasgow History of Art and HATII, online database 2011, accessed Feb 8, 2020, http://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/person.php?id=msib2_1203115924.
[653] *'Thereto the silent voice replied, 'Look up thro' night: the world is wide'* (Figure 100), '*And with his foot and with his wing-feathers…'* (Figure 101), and *'golden gifts for all the rest,/ sorrow of heart for the king's daughter'* (Figure 102).
[654] Anonymous, "Art Centres – London; The Society of Oil Painters," *The Artist* 33 (1902), 149.

examination of the early work of both Moira and Byam Shaw highlights the significant role that late Victorian artists and authors, particularly Rossetti, played in inspiring later generations of fantasy artists.

Gerald Moira and John Liston Byam Shaw

Alongside Moira's untraced *'And with his feet and with his wing-feathers*', which was titled with a quotation taken from Rossetti's "Willowwood," Byam Shaw exhibited a painting with lines taken from Rossetti's poem "Silent Noon" (1871) at the 1894 Royal Academy exhibition. The theme of silence, which performed a central role in Moira's 1893 painting *'Thereto the silent voice replied, 'Look up thro' night: the world is wide',* formed the central theme of Byam Shaw's painting *Silent Noon* (Figure 104).[655] This commonality shows how these two men referenced not only their artistic antecedents but also each other in their work, and begins to paint a portrait of a professional relationship that moved into intimate acquaintance.

They exhibited together from 1894 onwards and both contributed to the 1899-1902 Chiswick Shakespeare, for which Moira provided the art nouveau cover design (Figure 105) and title page (Figure 106), and Byam Shaw the illustrations (Figure 106 and Figure 107).[656] In his 1932 biography of Byam Shaw, Rex Vicat Cole named Moira as one of the artist's friends, quoting one of Byam Shaw's letters from 1896, in which he wrote: 'I have put the gold on Jez: and am going to paint designs on top of course, it means painting it all up in a higher key, but that is all the better. Moira suggested to me to put Jezebel into a much more

[655] The title of this painting was taken from Rossetti's poem of the same name (published in *The House of Life* (1881)) and accompanied in the catalogue by the lines: '*This close companied inarticulate house,/ When twofold silence was the song of love*.' Moira's 1894 painting was titled with a line taken from one of the four sonnets that comprise "Willowwood," also from *The House of Life*.

[656] They also worked in the vicinity of each other elsewhere, Moira designed the commemorative effigy (1901) for Byam Shaw's first cousin, George Shaw, that remains in St Barnabus in Kensington, where Byam Shaw would a year later install a stained-glass design of St Cecilia and St Margaret. Bridget Cherry and Nicolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: London 3: North West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 456.

mysterious light and shade, so the next day I had a slash at it all over' (see Figure 108).[657] The relationship between these artists, the exchange of ideas relating to composition and style, is marked in the visual exchange between their iterations of fantasy worlds: *'Thereto the silent voice replied, 'Look up thro' night: the world is wide'* (Moira, 1893) is united with *Silent Noon* (Byam Shaw, 1894) in theme, the latter was shown the same year as Moira's lost Rossetti painting, and Moira's *'golden gifts for all the rest,/ sorrow of heart for the king's daughter'* (1896) offers a similar composition as Byam Shaw's 1894 painting. Thus, the impossible worlds of Moira and Byam Shaw's art can be shown to reflect the central themes and stylistic interests of one another, as well as the past.

The 'mysterious light' that Moira recommended for Byam Shaw's *Jezebel* abounds in his own painting *'Thereto the silent voice replied, 'Look up thro' night: the world is wide'.* When juxtaposed with Rossetti's *Beata Beatrix* (Figure 30),[658] the fantasy chronotope of distortion used by Moira to evoke an eerie, or mysterious, quality seems more pronounced. The same focus given to the facial features of the protagonist, a faded quality to the landscape achieved by soft brushstrokes and indefinite lines, and the presence of a supernatural being, faintly wrought and dislocated from firm space, suggest a direct referencing of Rossetti's work in Moira's later painting. The abundant strangeness of the scenes, wrought through the weak, almost imperceptible outline of a surrounding world, aids the viewers sense that this is a moment of trespass beyond the known world. Is it sleep, dream, trance, or death? We cannot be certain based on the work alone. The stories to which the titles and subject matter refer, Tennyson's 'The Two Voices' (1842) and Dante's *La Vita Nuova* (1294), may lead us to assume a particular reading of the paintings, but in the moment that the viewer comes upon them, they are arresting in their instability, opening up space for imaginative interpretation.

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[657] The painting this letter refers to is Byam Shaw's *Jezebel* (Figure 108). Byam Shaw quoted in Rex Vicat Cole, *The Art and Life of Byam Shaw* (London: Seeley, 1932), 53–54.
[658] This is the version shown in the 1883 Rossetti retrospective, which was then owned by Lord Mount Temple. Another version, in black and red chalk, was also exhibited.

Whilst Byam Shaw's *Silent Noon* (Figure 104) relies on some of the same compositional techniques, illusion and weak form, his paintings are more substantial than Moira's dazzling vision of supernatural tension. Indeed, in the letter to Metcalfe earlier quoted, Byam Shaw revealed a proclivity for the stable forms of Ford Madox Brown and a seeming aversion to Rossetti's 'weak' style:

> I went to see the Madox Brown (Christ washing Peter's feet), with which I am perfectly enraptured. It seemed to me to have all the delights of Holman Hunt without the mannerism of colour. Oh, I think it's lovely! I don't mean as a girl says lovely. I mean literally lovely I can't tell you how much I like it. I was very much disappointed in turning from it to Beata Beatrix, it seemed to look so insipid and weak in colour. I always feel that about Rossetti, when I have not seen one for a long time.[659]

Byam Shaw's exuberant enthusiasm for Madox Brown's style and his clear distaste for Rossetti's is perplexing, given that his work aligns more closely with what Payne identified as 'the Rossettian, imaginative strand of the [Pre-Raphaelite] movement.'[660] But this disdain is an important aspect of his work; for Byam Shaw, Rossetti existed in the imagination, not through objects: 'I always feel that about Rossetti, when I have not seen one for a long time.'[661] His constant allusions to Rossetti through the subject matter of his paintings demonstrate that the proverbial fantasy of the earlier artist existed in his mind. The issue of style is therefore a particularly interesting one. There are aspects of Byam Shaw's oeuvre, for example *Silent Noon*, that, perhaps unwittingly on his part, unite him with Rossetti. Yet the tone of Byam Shaw's painting is undeniably different from that of Rossetti, lacking much of the 'mysterious light' of the earlier artist and his friend Moira.

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[659] Byam Shaw quoted in Cole, *The Art and Life of Byam Shaw*, 53.
[660] Payne, *Pre-Raphaelite Drawings*, 28.
[661] ibid.

Case study: Moira, *'Thereto the silent voice replied, 'Look up thro' night: the world is wide'* (1892-3)

Moira's painting *'Thereto the silent voice replied, 'Look up thro' night: the world is wide'* (Figure 101) was first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1893, whilst Moira was a student there. It illustrates lines from Tennyson's poem "The Two Voices":[662]

> Thereto the silent voice replied:
> "Self-blinded are you by your pride:
> Look up thro' night: the world is wide.

Watkins considered that this painting 'showed a remarkable ability in the painter to take a given conventional subject and interpret it along his own unconventional lines.'[663] He cited another critic who wrote:

> In the blue moonlight, close about the dazed and doleful figure of a seated girl, a 'silent voice,' or half perceived figure, whispers a coming comfort. Weird, haunting, fascinating it is as a page from *L'Intruse* of Maeterlinck.[664]

In this way, Moira's painting can be viewed as a work of fantasy: a creative mythology that draws upon cultural artefacts of the near past and transforms them into something new and demonstrably other.

Moira's painting displays clear indicators of liminality. The central figure is painted as a definite form with firm lines and discrete colours. To the right, a spectral form kisses the forehead of the Primary World figure and clasps her left wrist as it fades into the starry night beyond. Binaries such as firm form versus loose brushstrokes, bold colour versus mute colour, and the contrasting densities of the figures (solid and fluid), combine to evoke a sense of liminality through the fantasy chronotope of distortion. Unlike the bold technicolour of Pre-Raphaelite paintings, Moira's canvas could be regarded as relatively monochrome. However, aspects of the composition are evocative of other Pre-Raphaelite paintings like

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[662] Composed 1833-4.
[663] Harold Watkins, *The Art of Gerald Moira* (London: E.W. Dickens, 1922), 12.
[664] Anonymous critic quoted in Watkins, *The Art of Gerald Moira*, 12. *L'Intruse* (*The Intruder*) is a one-act play by Belgian playwright Maurice Maeterlinck (1862-1949), written in 1890. It contains themes to do with the supernatural and is widely identified as a work of Symbolism.

Rossetti's *Beata Beatrix* (Figure 30) and William Holman Hunt's *The Awakening Conscience* (Figure 109). Like Rossetti's painting, Moira has defined the features of his central figure in contrast to the relatively loose brushstrokes of the otherworld which constitutes the background, thereby augmenting the atmosphere of arresting strangeness that serves to highlight the disjuncture between the Primary and Secondary Worlds that are both represented in the image. The painting also appears to share compositional similarities with Holman Hunt's painting in the way Moira positioned the face of his central figure in the upper quarter of the frame, providing space within the rest of the canvas for her body and greater narrative detail. In the Hunt painting the protagonist, an unmarried mistress, undergoes a redemptive revelation;[665] and similarly the central figure of Moira's work is depicted in a moment of wide-eyed comprehension, a feature that highlights the themes of thought, consciousness, and revelation emphasised in both paintings.

So, Moira's 'weird, haunting, fascinating' fantasy painting is seen to draw from the literature and art of the past whilst also being 'unconventional' by the standards of the day. This work of fantasy blended existing stories, both literary and pictorial, into a scene of arresting strangeness based on the idea of Primary and Secondary Worlds, worlds that are principally established through use of the fantasy chronotope of distortion. To a lesser degree, density and enclosure also feature as the scene is enclosed by both the frame and the thicket of woods in the background. These elements serve to further exacerbate the impression of liminality that is at the heart of this tantalisingly strange image and help to establish the painting as a work that relies upon many of the visual signifiers of the fantastic.

[665] See Terry Riggs, "The Awakening Conscience," March 1998, Tate Website, accessed Jun 29, 2020, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/hunt-the-awakening-conscience-t02075.

Summary

Gerald Moira employed the fantasy chronotopes of distortion, density, and enclosure to imbue his work with an impression of liminality that leads to the viewer's perception of arresting strangeness. Though his later works departed these trends, his influence on John Liston Byam Shaw can be traced through their biographies and paintings, with Moira's suggestion that Byam Shaw paint Jezebel in a more 'mysterious light' being indicative of the kind of transfer of ideas that took place. Byam Shaw would go on to found the Byam Shaw School of Art in 1910, a place that attracted fantasy artists such as Eleanor Fortescue-Brickdale (1872-1945) and Blair Hughes-Stanton (1902-1981). Therefore, the work of artists studying at the Royal Academy in the aftermath of Rossetti's death evidences how the fantasy mode in art, distinguished by medieval forms, literary allusion, hypercolour, and the fantasy chronotopes, moved into the twentieth century and beyond.

'Memoirs of a Human Peter Pan':[667] Sleigh and the continuance of the fantastic mode into the twentieth century

In the introduction to Sleigh's *Wood Engraving Since Eighteen Ninety* (1931) Campbell Dodgson wrote of 'that particular school of Post-Pre-Raphaelitism whose home is Birmingham.'[668] During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Birmingham became a home not only of Pre-Raphaelitism but also a centre for the study of the Arts and Crafts. At this time, the Birmingham Group became renowned for their flamboyantly colourful and medieval scenes, in which they built fantasy worlds that referenced not only the art of the past but also their own creative mythologies. This section will examine how Sleigh developed a style evocative of the Pre-Raphaelites while also relying on many of the modes associated with the Arts and Crafts Movement.

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[667] Bernard Sleigh, *Memoirs of a Human Peter Pan*, 1944, typescript, Birmingham County Council Libraries.
[668] ibid.

The second generation of Pre-Raphaelites performed important roles in directing the syllabus and education of the young Birmingham artists. In 1885, Burne-Jones became the President of the Birmingham Society of Artists, to which the English painter and educator Edward Richard Taylor (1838-1911) had been elected in 1879. Taylor served as the head of the Birmingham School of Art from 1877 to 1903,[669] was friends with Ruskin and Morris, and defined the curriculum through which the Birmingham Group progressed. Under his tutelage the School became a centre for Arts and Crafts and this style, married with the marked influence of Burne-Jones,[670] came to define the Birmingham Group. The group included artists such as Kate Bunce (1856-1927), Mary J. Newill (1860-1947), Joseph Southall (1861-1944), Arthur Gaskin (1862-1928), Sidney Meteyard (1868-1947), Henry Payne (1868-1940), Charles March Gere (1869-1957), Sleigh, and Maxwell Armfield (1881-1972), all of whom experimented with the fantasy mode as a means of embellished their dramatic Pre-Raphaelite designs with surprise, wonder, delight, and the strange.

The syllabus of the Birmingham school focused upon made objects, as Taylor's 1891 proposal for funds for a new building design reveals. The proposal was a radical new design for 'proper facilities' to provide instruction on:

i. Repoussé and kindred subjects, e.g. niello, chasing, etching and engraving on metal, damascening and filigree.
ii. Enamelling: Cloisonné**,** Champlevé and Limoges, and
iii. Wood-carving, wood-engraving, needlework, terracotta, encaustic painting, the making of decorative cartoons, and working in fresco, tempera and sgraffito, etc.[671]

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[669] The School became the first municipal school of art in 1885 but had been functioning since the foundation of the Birmingham Government School of Design in 1843 as a centre for art and design learning.
[670] Whilst Birmingham was becoming a hot spot for arts and crafts endeavour, Burne-Jones was sporadically working away on his Perseus series, which would be unfinished at the time of his death in 1898. The first *Perseus and the Graeae* panel (Figure 39) made of silver and gold leaf, gesso and oil paint on an oak panel had been exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1878, a decade before the establishment of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society in 1887. His use of mixed media, and the inclusion of a decorative section of writing in the work itself, though unfavoured by critics, foreshadows some of the artworks that was to come from British artists, particularly Bernard Sleigh.
[671] Reproduced in Mervyn Romans, *Histories of Art and Design Education: Collected Essays* (Bristol and Portland, OR: Intellect, 2005), 99, footnote 15.

When the Birmingham School of Art opened its "Art Laboratories"[672] in 1893 a number of artists associated with the Birmingham Group, including Sleigh, began re-enrolling.[673] According to Alan Crawford, at this time the connection between the Birmingham Group and the Art School was strengthened, with the school supplying the facilities for the group's artistic work.[674] In this environment, students were instructed in traditional arts and crafts techniques and, given the biographical and working relationship of the city to Burne-Jones in particular, they developed a style that reflected later Pre-Raphaelite trends.

Other Birmingham art groups also played a part. In 1880, The Birmingham Kyrie Society was formed for the purpose of increasing arts education, awareness, and participation amongst the working classes and by 1890 they had been subsumed under the banner of The Birmingham Guild of Handicraft. From 1894 to 1896, the society published six issues of its periodical *The Quest*, to which Morris contributed. Gaskin and the Pre-Raphaelite collector James Richardson Holliday edited and produced the series, which was intended to last longer than six editions.

Scholarship of the past century has supported the premise that the Birmingham Group was one of, if not the, primary locus of Pre-Raphaelite energies at the end of the Victoria era. The work of artists associated with this group tended to concentrate on the medieval world and traditional arts and craftsmanship. These factors, along with their position in the history of Victorian art, has incentivised subsequent scholarship to view them a part of the story of late Romanticism. For example, the purpose of John's Christian's 1989 exhibition *The Last Romantics: The Romantic Tradition in British Art* was to chart 'the treatment of imaginative figure subjects in British art from the decline of Pre-Raphaelitism in the late 19th century to

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[672] Two workshops in the basement linked with the modelling and casting rooms as well as a cartoon and fresco room on the first floor.
[673] Alan Crawford, *By Hammer and Hand: The Arts and Crafts Movement in Birmingham* (Birmingham: City Museum and Art Gallery, 1984), 136, footnote 8.
[674] Also involved were Meteyard, Newill, and Payne. Crawford, *By Hammer and Hand*, 29.

the rise of so-called Neo-Romanticism in the 1940s.'[675] The Birmingham Group occupied an integral position in Christian's conception of the continuance of the Romantic legacy. This exhibition, along with Hough's *The Last Romantics* (1949) from which Christian's title was taken, strengthened the argument that the ideas generated by visual and literary artists of the strange at the time of the Romantics extended into the twentieth century. However, in the context of a history of modern fantasy, the work of the Birmingham Group was not a last flowering, as is suggested by the title *The Last Romantics*, but rather, it was part of the tradition that connects mid-twentieth century fantasy literature with the art of Victorian England.

Sleigh was the Birmingham Group member best known for his woodcut illustrations. As his career progressed into the twentieth century, he began to develop a fairy mythology for which he created a host of works on paper that point towards his early arts and crafts education. The presentation of images and text in his most startling fantasy work, *An Ancient Mappe of Fairy Land* (Figure 110), suggests an homage to Victorian artists like Burne-Jones and a command of the various art techniques learned at the 'Art Laboratories' of the Birmingham School of Art.

It was at this school that Sleigh developed his reputation for woodcuts and his 1932 history of the subject helped to cement his subsequent reputation in this field. *The Vale of False Lovers* (Figure 111) serves as an example of one of his earliest published engravings and was first reproduced, along with two other of Sleigh's designs,[676] in *The Studio* in 1898 to accompany an article by Baldry on "The Future of Wood Engraving." Lamenting the present condition of 'the one infallible process by which book illustrations could be made,'[677] Baldry considered that 'it cannot again strive to be pictorial; it must be decorative, and must

[675] Christian, *The Last Romantics*, back cover.
[676] Including *A King's Lesson* and an untitled engraving of a woman with a bow haloed by doves (possibly Artemis); A.L. Baldry, "The Future of Wood Engraving," *The Studio* 3, pt. 6 (1898), 14 and 15.
[677] ibid., 10.

devote itself to that branch of art practice in which its technical distinction will add a touch of individuality to the artist's work.'[678] In selecting three of Sleigh's woodcut prints to illustrate his point, Baldry was positioning him at the top of his profession, 'following the precedent soundly established by Blake and Calvert.'[679]

Further examination of Sleigh's early wood engravings also reveals his homage to artists like Burne-Jones, Morris, and Rossetti. The influence of Burne-Jones is particularly pronounced in early works such as *The Vale of False Lovers* (Figure 111).[680] Sleigh appears to have based the design of Lancelot's helmet on armour included in Burne-Jones works; both the helmet of Perseus from *The Doom Fulfilled* (Figure 112) and armour designs for the Briar Rose series (Figure 113).[681] Sleigh appears to have subsumed forms drawn from Burne-Jones's artwork into his visual language, and also the process of creating those forms. Indeed, Aymer Vallance described Burne-Jones's process of creating armour designs as being based on gothic designs, but transfigured through his imagination:

> The romantic character of Sir Edward Burne-Jones's subjects entailed the introduction of an extraordinary amount of amour [*sic.*], in the designing of which he gave free play to his artistic fancy. He created imaginary, fantastic forms, based on the leafage of plants or the scales of reptiles. With a blissful unconcern of precedent.[682]

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[678] ibid., 15.
[679] ibid., 16.
[680] The wood engraving depicts a scene from Arthurian legend included in French antiquarian Pierre Jean-Baptiste Legrand d'Aussy's *Fabliaux ou Contes des douzième et treizième siècles, traduits ou extraits d'après les manuscrits,* first published in 1781 and published as a translation by G.L. Way in 1799. According to legend, the Vale False Lovers, also known as the Vale sans Retour (Vale without Return), was constructed by Morgan le Fay to punish an errant lover.
[681] The second drawing from Burne-Jones study is a sallet helmet, an element common to medieval gothic armour like that of a c.1480 suit in the Wallace Collection (Figure 114) or even the more elaborate begonet by Filippo Negroli, in the Metropolitan Museums collections. As the July 1898 edition of *The Athenaeum* makes clear, the 'sallett' was an unusual term but not totally unfamiliar to Victorian literary audiences, as evidenced by this quip: 'Mr J.R. Wretts writes: - "the reviewer of [the English translation of] 'Cyrano de Bergerac' asks, 'Where in English will the translator find a helmet called a *salad* or regarded as a comestible?' If he refers to the 'Second Part of King Henry IV.,' Act IV. Scene X., he will find Jack Cade making precisely the same play on words – *sallett* [sic.], an iron helmet, a salad, and *sallett* [sic.], as referring to uncooked vegetables." This play upon the word *sallett* had escaped our attention.' *The Athenaeum,* no. 3691 (July 23, 1898), 140.
[682] Aymer Vallance, "Sir Edward Burne-Jones," in *Great Masters of Decorative Art* (Mineola, New York: Calla Editions, 2017) reproduced as an unabridged republication of the edition published by The Art Journal Office, London in 1900, 28.

Sleigh followed in this vein, potentially basing his own armour on Burne-Jones's paintings as opposed to real objects, in a working style evocative of the older artist's 'reflection of a reflection of something purely imaginary.'[683] Other resemblances to Burne-Jones are also evident: the upright stance of the woman in the foreground, who is likely Morgan le Fay, evokes Maria Zambaco modelling the same character in Burne-Jones's *The Beguiling of Merlin* (Figure 116). Both figures are tall, occupying a large amount of vertical space, and depicted with long, bare necks, which are craning to the right. In addition, the scenes are both heavily medievalised, with the fashions depicted by both Sleigh and Burne-Jones serving to emphasis the chronotope of temporal distortion within these designs.[684]

Other of Sleigh's early works, like the 1902 painting of *Princess Aslaug* (Figure 118), show how the artist was inspired by the literature of the Pre-Raphaelites. The character of Aslaug was included in three Old Icelandic texts: Snorri Sturluson's (1179-1241) *Prose Edda* (c. 1220), *The Tale of Ragnar Lodbrok* (thirteenth-century Iceland), and the *Völsunga Saga* (late 13th century), which Morris and Eiríkur Magnússon had published in translation in 1870.[685] Sleigh's painting evokes the Pre-Raphaelite penchant for red-haired models, medievalised settings, and bright colour, with the landscape and composition being particularly evocative of Rossetti's watercolour *Before the Battle* (Figure 38), which also features a female figure whose form dominates the canvas, beyond which a medieval, flag-laden setting unfurls. This composition was replicated in Sleigh's wood engraving of *Birdalone* (Figure 119), which illustrated Morris's fantasy epic *The Water of the Wondrous Isles* (1897).[686] Thus, attention to the themes and compositional technique of Sleigh's early

[683] Burne-Jones, *Memorials Vol. 2*, 261.
[684] A further connection can be made between Sleigh's image and paintings like Rossetti's *Proserpine* (115) and Morris's *La Belle Iseult* (Figure 44), which both feature Jane Morris and her signature penumbral cloud of dark hair in a medievalised gown.
[685] Morris also developed this story as a poetic rendition of "The Fostering of Auslag" which was subsequently included *The Earthly Paradise* as the Northern/medieval tale for December (first published 1870).
[686] This engraving was first published in the first of two editions of *The Venture*, edited by Laurence Housman (1865-1959) and William Somerset Maugham (1874-1965), in 1903. The engraving was printed as a standalone

work shows a relationship to the work of earlier English artists who were interested in myth and legend and who used fantasy chronotopes to add surprise, mystery, and wonder to their works.

'Clearly something of a psychological case':[687] Sleigh's fairy mythology

In 1944, Sleigh drafted an autobiography that he tentatively entitled *Memoirs of a Human Peter Pan*; the work was never published.[688] Earlier still, in his preface to *The Faery Calendar* (1920), Sleigh declared that 'I believe in Faeries,'[689] and in this short essay explored ideas about fairy life, which he believed to be scientifically observable 'psychical phenomena.'[690] Accordingly, Sleigh believed that the hidden world of faery was equal parts physical and 'psychical', an opinion that has prompted art historians such as Christian to suggest that Sleigh's love of fairies made the artist 'something of a psychological case.'[691] 'So may the world's folk-lore be justified,'[692] wrote Sleigh.

In the latter half of his career, he devoted himself to the exploration and exposition of a hidden world that was bound up by his own fantasy vision. Just as Burges and Gotch looked to far-flung histories and territories for source material, Sleigh wished to include the entirety of the historical corpus of supernatural literature, convinced that literature of the strange was a shared feature of 'all races, times, and civilisations linked into one by these common beliefs.'[693] Indeed his mythology included aspects of:

> The nature and worship of Egypt, Greece, and Rome, the fabulous deities of desert temples, and of far Olympus, the Homeric stories, Vedic nymphs, Persian Peris, the Arabian Nights, Celtic and Gothic legends and Norse mythology; Teutonic folk stories and Welsh romance; the immortal Shakespearean Puck and Titania – down to

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work between two unrelated short stories, "The Genius of Pope" by Stephen Gwynn and "Poor Little Mrs. Villiers" by Violet Hunt.

[687] Christian, *The Last Romantics*, 112.
[688] The typescript now resides in the Birmingham Central Reference Library.
[689] Bernard Sleigh, *The Faery Calendar* (London: Heath Cranton Ltd., 1920), 4.
[690] ibid.
[691] Christian, *The Last Romantics*, 112.
[692] Sleigh, *The Faery Calendar*, 4.
[693] ibid.

> those latest wanderers in Fairyland, Sir James Barrie, M. Maeterlinck, and Maurice Hewlett![694]

Through the accoutrements of his hidden world, such as maps, calendars, and almanacs, Sleigh crafted a legend that was part text-based but heavily reliant on visual form and the materiality of the objects depicted. In this way, his early training in traditional craftsmanship imbued his later work with a distinctly decorative aspect.

In fact, Sleigh's oeuvre is marked by a distinct shift between the heavily medievalised world of his early work and the delicately wrought fairy worlds of his later years, beginning with *An ancient mappe of Fairyland* (Figure 110), published in 1918. Aspects of public culture contributed to the shift in Sleigh's style. In 1919, fairy fever gripped the nation as the photographs of the Cottingley Fairies were made public by the Theosophical Society of Bradford. Two years later Sir Arthur Conan Doyle published a defence of these fairy photographs, writing of the life of fairies 'which pursues its own strange life in its own strange way.'[695] These popular stories would likely have encouraged Sleigh to go further down this avenue, to further embellish his creative mythology about the life of fairies; in 1920 he published *The Faery Calendar*, which was followed by *A Faery Pageant* (1924), *The Gates of Horn* (1926), *Witchcraft* (1934), *The Dryad's Child* (1936), *The Boy in Ivy* (1955), and *The Tailor's Friends* (1956).

Case study: Sleigh, *An Ancient Mappe of Fairyland* (1918)

Contemporary advertisements for and reviews of *An Ancient Mappe of Fairyland* (Figure 110) were published in many anthologies of children's literature. Unlike the Kelmscott editions, this was not a coveted collectable, but rather was a work for children. In *A List of Approved Books for Boys and Girls* (1918) the object was described as:

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[694] ibid.

[695] Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Coming of the Fairies* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1922), 13.

> A pictorial map after the style of ancient charts setting forth the whole length and breadth of fairyland with much geographical detail and with innumerable characters from nursery rhymes, folk tales, legends, myths and fairy stories, both old and new.[696]

Similar accounts followed in *Roads to Childhood: Views and Reviews of Children's Books* (1920), *A List of Books for Girls and Boys* (1921), and *The Forecast* (1921).[697]

Excerpts taken from Sleigh's wider faery literature suggest that aligning these works with the children's market was part of the author's intention. Recalling Gotch's faith in the imagination of children, Sleigh's *Faery Calendar* described his own 'deep belief and reverence in the dreams of childhood.'[698] Referencing the subject in his preface to the *Fairy Pageant,* he suggested a link between children and the ability to perceive the kingdom of fairy: 'do you find there no smallest seedling of happy memory, living still from the days when you thrilled and listened for the elfin voices?'[699] Set against his early work, *An Ancient Mappe of Fairyland* does appear to be more whimsical and light-hearted. The spatially cohesive *Ancient Mappe* acts as a playground for the corpus of supernatural literature throughout history, performing the same function as an actual playground, which Huizinga called 'a sacred space, a temporally real world of its own.'[700] As noted,[701] the act of creating a fantasy is like play, 'which proceeds within certain limits of time and space, in a visible order, according to rules freely accepted, and outside the sphere of necessity of material utility.'[702] Sleigh's fairy mythology, like other works of fantasy, similarly operates in the sacred space of play, organised according to 'a deep belief and reverence [of] the dreams of childhood.'[703]

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[696] Lillian H. Smith, *A List of Approved Books for Boys and Girls* (Toronto, A.T. Wilgress, 1918), 45.
[697] Anne Carroll Moore ed., *Roads to Childhood: Views and Reviews of Children's Books* (New York: George H. Doran, 1920), 165; Jacqueline Overton ed., *A List of Books for Boys and Girls: Suggested for Purchase by Marion Cutter of the Children's Book Shop* (New York: Children's Book Shop, 1921), 24; *The Forecast*, Vol. 21-22 (Forecast Publishing Company, 1921), 298.
[698] Sleigh, *The Faery Calendar*, 5.
[699] ibid.
[700] Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, 14.
[701] See "Conceiving of other places," 72-78.
[702] ibid., 132.
[703] Sleigh, *The Faery Calendar*, 5.

Chronotopes of enclosure, density, and distortion all play a role in determining the nature of the Secondary World depicted in *An Ancient Mappe of Fairyland* (Figure 110). Not only is the work bounded by being a physical map, but also the boundaries of the Secondary World are constrained as a whole within the composition. The image is dense with detail taken from stories as wide-ranging as 'Elfland, The Bay of Dream, St. Brandon's Fairy Isle, and Red Riding Hood, Puss in Boots, Three Blind Mice, Hansel and Gretl, Peter Pan, and many more friends.'[704] Moreover, the chronotope of distortion is used to add wonder and surprise to the Secondary World; an undulating glimpse of an impossible land in the top rightmost corner of the map suggests that there is more to be discovered beneath a banner that reads 'Here is the Other End of Nowhere.'

This object illustrates three important aspects of the transformation of fantasy in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Firstly, it evidences how the Victorian decorative arts, which culminated in the Arts and Crafts Movement, encouraged fantasy artists towards made objects. Secondly, it illustrates how literature and visual imagery came together in a complex, temporally protracted image that foreshadows the graphic novel. Thirdly, an understanding of Sleigh's work within the context of late-Pre Raphaelitism provides a biographical bridge between those artistic practices and those of his fellow mid-twentieth century fantasy artists and authors.

Summary

The impulse to create imaginary places had once been considered to be a serious endeavour, but by the end of the Edwardian era it was increasingly assumed to be a childhood trifle. This opened fantasy art and literature to criticism and the application of pejorative labels like 'childish', 'escapism', and 'folly.' However, a survey of Sleigh's work shows that the

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[704] Overton, *A List of Books for Boys and Girls*, 24.

identification of the 'fabulous world' with the world of children was in some cases intentional, the purpose being to encourage adults to re-access 'the days when you thrilled and listened for the elfin voices.'[705]

Sleigh's work illustrates a variety of styles associated with the fantasy mode, including high medieval fantasy and fairy. From his early "Pre-Raphaelite"-inspired illustrations to his later fairy-centric creative mythology, Sleigh's interest in the limits of the creative imagination was profound. His novel use of the made object, a map, to imbue his fantasy creations with a mock-veracity has a clear relationship to his early education in the Arts and Crafts style that foreshadowed the growing market for fantasy-world memorabilia that enthusiasts and collectors would later crave.

Conclusion

Other British art groups experimenting with the fantasy mode at the turn of the century include the Aesthetes who centred on Wilde, the Art Nouveau groups of the Glasgow School, especially the Glasgow Four and the Glasgow Boys, and the artists associated with the Golden Age of Illustration.[706] More research is needed to understand how widespread the fantasy mode was at this time and to describe the pathways of inspiration and exchange used by these artists. Through highlighting the variety and richness of fantasy art in turn-of-the-century England, the work presented here illustrates how aspects of the work of Rossetti, Burges, Burne-Jones, Morris, and Watts continued to influence visual works of the imagination in English art.

[705] ibid.
[706] Individually prolific fantasy artists of this period that I have not mentioned include Phoebe Traquair (1852-1936), Evelyn de Morgan (1855-1919), Sidney Sime (1865-1941), Charles Robinson (1870-1937), and Austin Osman Spare (1886-1956).

The fantasy chronotopes of density, distortion, enclosure, and temporal dislocation have been shown to be present within the work of Gotch, Sturge Moore, Moira, and Sleigh, while the themes and motifs associated with them continued to be included within English art after 1890. Single visual works of art, as opposed to series, also presented Secondary Worlds with these tools and reveal how artists at the fin-de-siècle continued to depict demonstrably unrealistic scenes.

In the critical commentary about late-Victorian and Edwardian fantasy artists, the continued use of language associated with the Pre-Raphaelite style highlights the relationship between that style and the burgeoning fantasy mode. Whilst it is undeniable that the fantastic flourished in the work of artists who were geographically and stylistically disparate from those discussed in this study, the contextual study of the critical language associated with late Victorian art substantiates the claim, which has already been made by Manlove,[707] that the roots of modern fantasy are to be found in English cultural artefacts.

There are obvious limitations to the argument that Victorian England has ownership of the origins of modern fantasy. For example, that perspective does not take into account the sustained influence of the fantastic on art outside of England. Within wider European art cultures of the late nineteenth century there existed a fascination with the strange, the marvellous, the otherworldly, and the fantastic. Indeed, the fantastic was a significant aspect of many fin-de-siecle artworks. That being said, dominant aspects of the modern genre show a clear relationship to the visual art cultures of late nineteenth-century England, which is a feature of the mode's history that has been overwritten with general deference paid to the mid-twentieth century authors Tolkien and Lewis. Even Cecire's pointed attack against the 'sanitised versions of the magical Middle Ages', 'pseudo-medieval, roughly British worlds,' 'Anglophilic fascination with early Britain and its medieval legends,' and 'the stench of

[707] See Manlove, *The Fantasy Literature of England*..

empire […] around much medievalist fantasy' failed to truly grapple with the significance of this mode within the history of modern English culture.[709] However, by her own admission, Cecire's criticisms highlighted the importance of the medieval to modern fantasy as a whole: many of the core forms, themes, and motifs of early work in fantasy remain.

Thus, an analysis of fantasy art in England after 1890 reveals a vibrant tradition that continued to influence artists who lived in different parts of the country, trained in different educational institutions, and faced competing priorities within their professional lives. The prevalence of the fantasy mode in English art during the Edwardian era shows how varied the visual language of the fantastic was becoming in England, during a time that scholars have already located as the genesis point for modern fantasy literature. By highlighting the ways in which modern fantasy art developed in concurrence with modern fantasy literature, a new history of the mode emerges in which visual culture is granted a primary position in its dissemination and development.

[709] Cecire, "Empire of Fantasy".

Conclusion

> Then there were quiet times when Edward and Morris were alone and communed with each other in their own world of imagination. About this world which never failed him Edward once said, "Of course imagining doesn't end with my work: I go on always in that strange land that is more true than real."[710]

The strange land that late-Victorian artists such as Burne-Jones and Morris inhabited was one charged with the supernatural and contoured by the presence of medieval forms, features of the genre that persist in the fantasy production of today. Countless television shows, films, video games, theme parks, comic books, graphic novels, literary works, and paintings continue to be shaped by these qualities, contributing to the vast body of cultural products that can be distinguished as works of fantasy. This study has bridged the gap between the Pre-Raphaelites, who were in thrall to their individual worlds of the imagination and the mid-twentieth century authors who came to dominate the idea of the genre that persists within our collective imagination. In doing so, it has highlighted the newness identified as belonging to these artists as a key indicator of the 'extreme modernity' of the fantasy mode and, for the first time, set out a comprehensive means of analysing visual works of the imagination as fantasy.

In examining the relationship of fantasy to the nineteenth-century art world, this study has also sought to answer the question: what is fantasy art? By engaging with scholarly theories of the fantastic in comparative analysis of visual art, this dissertation sets forth a way of speaking about visual works of fantasy through the notion of the fantasy chronotopes. Enclosure, density, distortion, and temporal dislocation have all been shown to be prominent chronotopic features of English fantasy art from 1850 to 1920, which evidences a continuance in how cultural artefacts of this time presented scenes of arresting strangeness. This work has shown that "fantasy" has been used as a term to describe demonstrably non-

[710] Burne-Jones, *Memorials Vol. 1*, 169.

realistic art since the Victorian era and argues for the revival of this word as an art historical term with specific and wide-reaching meanings. This study establishes the case that the works of fantasy highlighted here should be viewed as an integral part of the origin story of modern fantasy, as identified by scholarship as being seated in late-Victorian Britain.

In sum, this study has shown the pattern of influence that lies between the Pre-Raphaelites and the Inklings. It has repositioned Rossetti in the history of fantasy as a progenitor, one whose fantasy work predates that of both MacDonald and Morris. Thus, there is revision of some of the long-established ideas about the origin point of the "short history" of fantasy, ideas held by the insular scholarship of literary fantasy studies. This essay has shown how key elements identified as belonging to the "Pre-Raphaelite" style became formative elements of modern fantasy, including bright colour, the medieval, forms drawn from nature and, significantly, the reconstitution of that which is familiar in unfamiliar ways. Consequently, this study has highlighted fantasy artists not yet been represented in the fantasy canon, artists whose significance to the history of fantasy and the history of art has not been established. Thus, by merging an art-historical analysis of late Victorian culture with scholarly theories of the fantastic, a new discourse for speaking about art and fantasy has begun, one that sheds new light on one of the most dominant art modes of the present day.

Implications for future research

The scope of this research and the breadth of material that warranted inclusion is vast. Although Rossetti's influence was the main factor in the selection of the eight fantasy artists whose work has informed this study, his influence extends beyond the observations included here.

The body of scholarship that has developed around the topic of fantasy is also vast. In this study I engaged with those texts that are considered seminal by Western scholarship,

such as those by Todorov, Jackson, Manlove, Mendlesohn, Clute, and Grant. However, fringe voices were also included, such as those of Ostrowski, Rabkin, and Landow, whose theorising provides interesting opportunities for reflection on the nature of the fantasy mode in visual works of art. Further studies into the visual fantastic might incorporate more positions into their central methodology or, indeed, abandon literary theories of the fantastic entirely to forge theories anew.

Demonstrating the applicability of literary theories of fantasy to visual works of art has been an undertone of this study. Due to the scope of the period, material, and subject, decisions about which scholarly opinions to include were made based firstly on the relevance of past scholarship to the field as a whole and secondly on the particular methodology of this study; in which the presentation of space and time within Secondary World constructs is viewed as essential. There is still significant work to be done to harmonise the field of fantasy studies with a discipline-appropriate discourse for art history. In this work, an approximation between existing theories of fantasy and a new rhetoric for uncovering the fantasy mode in visual objects was sought. In future there may be other methodological approaches that are also useful in exploring fantasy as a visual phenomenon.

A challenge in this study has been the lack of an existing language for identifying, describing, and understanding the appearance of the fantasy mode in visual works of art. As such, a large part of this thesis has been devoted to developing and articulating a new theory of fantasy.[711] The chapters that follow "Chapter One: Chronotopic Sub-Creation" follow as case studies rather than serving as a comprehensive story of fantasy art in England during 1850-1920. As the project progressed, it became clear that the dual focal points of Rossetti's influence and the new methodology developed in Chapter One helped to structure the written

[711] See "Chronotopic Sub-Creation: space and time in fantasy art," 61-98.

research in such a way as to suggest a comprehensive narrative of continuation, the portrayal of which was a basic goal of this study.

The chronotopic configurations suggested in Chapter One are not assumed to be exhaustive. As acknowledged in that chapter, more than one of these chronotopes often exist in a single work of fantasy, and when they elide it is possible that they form "new" chronotopic configurations. However, these four (or three, if temporal dislocation is to be considered as a subset of distortion) presentations of space and time in fantasy form the backbone of the mode and, as has been shown, have influence over both literary and visual works of art. The use of these chronotopes as a means of discerning a work of fantasy should be viewed as a success that will aid the future discovery of fantasy beyond the literary.

There has been little historical scholarship done on fantasy as a visual art mode in paintings, sculpture, and the decorative arts. To combat this, two dominating narratives have been drawn out through examination of certain specific works of visual art. It is worth reiterating that the study of fantasy as an art historical phenomenon is, in essence, a nascent discipline.

Areas for further research

Because scholarship on visual works of fantasy is limited, there are almost endless areas for further exploration. Future work might investigate fantasy art beyond England, fantasy art before and after the period covered by this study, and further research on mediums not discussed here such as video games, animation, comic book and graphic novel illustration, film, television, CGI, memes, social media content. The following two sections provide details regarding research into the trajectory of theses discerned by this study in both England and beyond.

The forgotten legacy of fantasy art in England

This thesis has focused on the type of fantasy typified by high fantasy novels and television. It has largely focused on the neo-medieval type of fantasy that relies upon the fantasy chronotope of temporal dislocation to provide the Secondary World with a sense of unreality. However, it has also alluded to different styles of fantasy creation, like the spacious galaxies of Watts and the fairy fantasies of Sleigh. Further research on the extent to which the fantasy mode influenced the work of late Victorian and Edwardian artists in England is needed to establish how diverse and varied the mode truly came to be.

Two notable absences from this thesis are the strange and solipsistic Austin Osman Spare (1886-1956) and his friend and collaborator Sidney Sime (1865-1941), who worked with Spare on his publication *Form* (1921). A follower of the renowned occultist Aleister Crowley (1875-1947),[712] Spare's work characterises a period during which studies into astral travel, ritual magic, and reincarnationism flourished amongst a small group of Britons.[713] His visual art was widely identified as Decadent, Symbolist, and Surrealist during the course of his lifetime; however, elements of his jarring and subversive style, as illustrated by *A Book of Satyrs: General Allegory* (Figure 119), conformed to the fantasy mode. Spare's inclusion of references to widespread mythologies, energetic forms, and complex visual narratives are both suggestive of Secondary Worldbuilding and point towards the inheritance of modes from late-Victorian visual art. Moreover, his distinctive, graphic style foreshadowed the bombastic line-art of late twentieth-century and twenty-first-century comic books and graphic novels, a feature of his influence that has been recorded by subsequent fantasts. Renowned comic book writer Alan Moore (1953-), whose work includes *V for Vendetta* (1982-1985,

[712] Like Sime, Spare developed a penchant for decadent and otherworldly illustrations; the artists worked together on the second and third editions of Spare's periodical *Form* (October 1921, January 1922).
[713] See Christine Ferguson and Andrew Radford, eds. *The Occult Imagination in Britain, 1875-1947* (London: Routledge, 2017).

1988-1989), *Swamp Thing* (1984-1987), *Watchmen* (1986-1987), and *The League of Extraordinary Gentlemen* (1999-2019), discussed Spare in an interview, saying:

> Very interesting man. Very powerful magician. I sometimes debate, who was the – I mean, it's like, who's strongest, the Hulk or Thor? Who's king occultist? Is it Crowley or is it Spare? Is it Bill or is it Ben? And, it's difficult, because yeah, Crowley was probably a superior theorist, or in terms of the amount of magical information that Crowley left and the way that he synthesized different systems. On the other hand, Austin Spare could make it rain! And Austin Spare could draw the places where he'd been so that you could be in absolutely no doubt that he had been there.[714]

Thus, Spare evidently continues to be a source of inspiration for fantasy creators today; not only via the cultural artefacts of his visual outputs, but also as a theorist of the fantastic, magical, and occult.

Like Spare, Sime's work was wide ranging and included various presentations of imaginary and non-realistic forms and figures. His fantasy work can largely be sub-divided into the two categories of comic fantasy, exemplified by designs included in his *Bogey Beasts* (for example, Figures 120-121),[715] and fantasy landscapes (for example, Figures 122-124). Many of Sime's works are in the care of The Sime Gallery at Worplesdon, which is an almost wholly untapped resource for future scholarship on fantasy.

Further research is needed to establish how the early fantasy creations of Rossetti, Morris, Burne-Jones, Burges, Watts, and later, Gotch, Sturge-Moore, Moira, and Sleigh influenced the art and literature of mid-twentieth-century Britain. Another promising area of research in this regard would be into the artistic and literary outputs of the Scott-Snells. After May Morris died in 1938, she bequeathed Kelmscott Manor to Oxford University, which subsequently leased the property to a series of tenants, the first of whom were the eccentric artists Edward Scott-Snell and his wife Stephani (née Mary Allfree). The Scott-Snells called

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[714] Barry Kavanagh, "The Birth Caul and Austin Osman Spare," in *The Alan Moore Interview*, Oct 17, 2000, accessed Apr 21, 2020, http://www.blather.net/projects/alan-moore-interview/birth-caul-austin-osman-spare/.
[715] Published in 1923 by Goodwin & Tabb alongside poems (by Sime) and fifteen scores written by Joseph Holbrook, the illustrations of these Bogey Beasts were originally published standalone in *The Sketch* in 1905.

this house the 'most enchanted place on earth'[716] and whilst training at the Byam Shaw School of Art, they developed a love of romance that they built into their Secondary World of Thessyros. Described by their biographer as 'a fantasy world whose inhabitants spend their time in erotic games and cultivating aestheticism of a fin-de-siecle type,' the literature and imagery of the imaginary Thessyros was replete with impossible forms (Figure 125),[717] which Allfree later wrote were encouraged by an engagement with 'De Sade, Beardsley, Wilde, Max Ernst, Corvo, Dali, [and] the Pre-Raphaelites.'[718] So, through their engagement with the ideas of Morris and Byam Shaw, the Scott-Snells developed a rich fantasy vocabulary, by which means they fashioned imaginary landscapes that were contemporary with the outputs of the more famous Inklings.

An obvious area for exploring the trajectory of modern fantasy art out of the Victorian era into the twentieth century would be to chart Victorian influence on the visual art of Tolkien. Though he never trained as an artist, Tolkien produced many visual works of fantasy. Publications that have examined these works include *J.R.R. Tolkien: Artist & Illustrator* (2000) by Wayne G. Hammond and Christina Scull and *Tolkien: Maker of Middle-Earth* (2018) by Catherine McIlwaine. An understanding of the sources of inspiration for Tolkien's visual art will further bolster the history of fantasy as a visual phenomenon and may provide greater evidence for the argument that fantasy art can be observed through the fantasy chronotopes.

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[716] Joscelyn Godwin, *The Starlight Years: Love & War at Kelmscott Manor 1940-1948* (Stanbridge: Dovecote Press, 2015), 43.
[717] ibid., 13.
[718] ibid.

Fantasy art outside of England, c. 1800-1950

This thesis has considered the development of English fantasy art in isolation from international affairs. However, further scholarship on the pathways of exchange between artists working on Secondary Worlds, the impression of arresting strangeness, and the depiction of the moment of hesitation will grow our understanding of the particular relationship of fantasy to modernity. Further work on the pathways of influence will provide a greater picture about how modern fantasy has come to dominate the globe as one of the most popular modern modes, in which countless cultural products are made.

Summary

Tolkien wrote that he would not 'attempt to define [fantasy], nor to describe it directly. It cannot be done. Faërie cannot be caught in a net of words; for it is one of its qualities to be indescribable, though not imperceptible.'[719] This study has, therefore, attempted to do the impossible and to identify, through attention to the construction of demonstrably non-realistic works of art, the essential features of fantasy art in England during the period marked roughly 1850 to 1920.

One of the key discoveries of this study has been the identification of newness as a unifying indicator of the fantasy mode in modern British art. Such a discovery accords with past scholarship on fantasy. 'In such "fantasy,"' Tolkien wrote 'new form is made.'[720] Similarly, Jackson discerned that fantasy is achieved by 'inverting elements of this world, re-combining its constitutive features in new relations to produce something strange, unfamiliar and apparently 'new', absolutely 'other' and different.'[721] Acknowledgement of the abundance of newness, novelty, and the new in the critical commentary associated with late-

[719] Tolkien, "On Fairy Stories", 10.
[720] ibid., 23.
[721] Jackson, *Fantasy,* 8.

Victorian and Edwardian fantasy art is therefore a significant step towards the discovery of a coherent narrative about the emergence of modern fantasy in the art cultures of late-Victorian Britain. “Newness” as a defining quality of modern fantasy art marks both the spontaneity and imagination inherent in such works and the apparent novelty of the mode within the context of the long history of art. As articulated earlier in this study, this supports the “short” history of fantasy which posits the genre to be a product of significant changes to consensus thought during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In this study, it was indicated that Romanticism and the Anglo-Catholic revival were affected by the same impulses that culminated in the emergence of modern fantasy. Further exploration of the relationships between these three cultural phenomena will surely prove fruitful.

The idea of modern antiquarianism as the shared root from which modern fantasy and modern history have emerged is substantiated by the notion of the Secondary World as an invented history. The centrality of the Secondary World to the mode of modern fantasy has, therefore, been further established by this study. The imaginary space of fantasy, like the play space, can be conceived of as ‘a sacred space, a temporally real world of its own.’[722] Once the core elements or operation of the Secondary World has been achieved, it presents an approximation to reality that breathes an inner consistency into the creation, long enough for the reader or viewer to believe the world ‘credible,’ which is, according to Tolkien, essential to the success of a work of fantasy.

Analysis of the work of Rossetti, Morris, Burges, Watts, Burne-Jones, Gotch, Sturge Moore, Moira, and Sleigh has shown how innovative chronotopic configurations promoted an idea of expansiveness within their work despite the relatively temporally truncated mediums in which these artists and authors were working. The use of non-realistic modes of painting, such as the presentation of several scenes in one work, the juxtaposition of impossible forms,

[722] Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, 14 and 132.

and the rejection of perspective, enabled artists to convey enough of an impression of their world to suggest narratives in which enchantment features prominently. Moreover, the ways in which these artists used the moment of hesitation to imbue their works with an aura of arresting strangeness has been shown through attention to the use of distortion, the medieval, and abstraction. Such elements power the fantasy of these creators, lending wonder, mystery, surprise, and humour to their works of the imagination.

In sum, this study has shown how significant the fantasy mode was within late-Victorian and Edwardian England. Dominating the art production of multiple art circles in the early twentieth century, it ultimately became prevalent in literature, but so too does it continue to inform the visual art production of today. Visual artists like Vivienne Westwood (1941-), Yinka Shonibare (1962-), Alexander McQueen (1969-2010), and Raqib Shaw (1974-) have drawn and continue to draw heavily from the enchanted well of fantasy. The fantasy art mode has thus been persistent and important to the development of English culture since the Victorian era. In this way, the groundwork laid by the latter-day "Pre-Raphaelites" continues to enchant and inspire us to engage our creative imaginations and indulge in the delights of the world within.

Epilogue

There is a sort of garden – or rather an estate, of park and fallow and waste – nay, perhaps we may call it a kingdom, albeit a noman's-land and an everyman's land – which lies so close to the frontier of our work-a day world that a step will take us therein. Indeed, some will have it that we are there all the time, that it is the real fourth dimension, and that at any moment – if we did but know the trick, we might find ourselves trotting along its pleasant alleys, without once quitting our arm-chair. Nonsense-Land is one of the names painted up on the board at the frontier-station; and there the custom-house officers are very strict. You may take as much tobacco as you please, any quantity of spirits, and fripperies of every sort, new and old; but all common-sense, all logic, all serious argument, must strictly be declared, and is promptly confiscated.

- Kenneth Grahame, "Preface" to *Lullaby-Land: Songs of Childhood* by Eugene Field, 1898.[723]

[723] Kenneth Grahame, "Preface," in *Lullaby-Land: Songs of Childhood*, E. Field (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1898), 7-8.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Timeline of Phyllis Cooper Gotch and Thomas Cooper Gotch's fantasy paintings

Date	Phyllis	Age	Painting
1882	Born on 6th September	0	
1889	Mrs Mursell's school in Kettering	6	
1892	Baptised in Newlyn	9	*My Crown and Sceptre*
1893		10	*A Golden Dream*
1894	Sent to boarding school at St Katherine's School, St Andrews	11	*The Child Enthroned*
1895		12	*The Child in the World*
1896		13	*Alleluia*
1897		14	*The Heir to All the Ages*
1898		15	*The Awakening*
1899		16	*A Pageant of Childhood*
1900		17	*The Dawn of Womanhood*
1902		19	*Holy Motherhood*
1903	Published *The Romance of a Boo-Bird Chic* (illustrated)	20	*The Message*
1913	Marriage to Patrick Doherty in South Africa	30	
1915	Birth of daughter, Deidre	32	
1918	Death of Patrick	35	
1919		36	*The Mother Enthroned*

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Figures

Figure 1 Marianne Stokes, The Queen and the Page, 1896, oil on canvas, 101 x 96.5 cm, Private Collection.

Figure 2 William Holman Hunt, The Eve of Saint Agnes, 1848, oil on canvas, 75 x 113 cm, Guildhall Art Gallery, London.

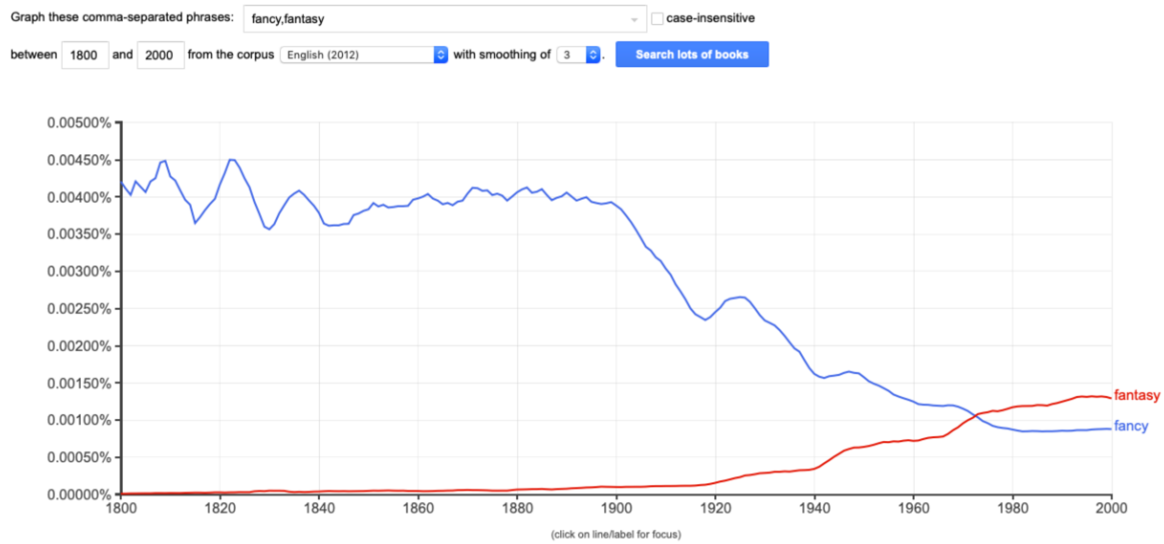


Figure 3 Google Ngram, the prevalence of "fancy" versus "fantasy" in English language texts from 1800 to 2000 digitised by Google, accessed 26 February, 2020.

Figure 4 Edward Burne-Jones, frontispiece, 1857, in Archibald Maclaren, The Fairy Family: A Series of Ballads & Metrical Tales Illustrating the Fairy Faith of Europe (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts. 1857), 7-8.

Figure 5 Dante Gabriel Rossetti, The Blessed Damozel, 1875-8, oil on canvas, 136.8 x 96.5 cm, Fogg Museum of Art, Boston.

Figure 6 Keith Henderson, Love Pursuing, 1908, in Geoffrey Chaucer, The Romaunt of the Rose (London: Chatto and Windus, 1908), 20.

Figure 7 Norman Wilkinson, The God of Love, 1908, in Geoffrey Chaucer, The Romaunt of the Rose (London: Chatto and Windus, 1908), 14.

Figure 8 Keith Henderson, The End, 1908, in Geoffrey Chaucer, The Romaunt of the Rose (London: Chatto and Windus, 1908), 102.

Figure 9 Norman Wilkinson, The Three Arrows of Love, 1908, in Geoffrey Chaucer, The Romaunt of the Rose (London: Chatto and Windus, 1908), 24.

Figure 10 William Burges (designer), The Day Nursery at Cardiff Castle, 1871-81, Cardiff Castle, Cardiff.

Figure 11 John Anster Fitzgerald, The Dream After the Masked Ball (The Stuff That Dreams are Made Of), 1858, oil on canvas, 33.5 x 44.5 cm, Private Collection.

Figure 12 Eleanor Fortescue-Brickdale, The Lover's World, 1905, watercolour and bodycolour on paper, 66 x 111.8 cm, Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, Bristol.

Figure 13 Noel Laura Nisbet, Evil Spirits Who Wander Through the World, 1938, oil on canvas, 73.5 x 150 cm, Newport Museum and Art Gallery, Newport.

Figure 14 John Duncan, The Play Garden, 1912, tempera on board, 121.9 x 182.8 cm, Dundee Art Gallery and Museum, Dundee.

Figure 15 Axel Haig, Cardiff Castle: Summer Smoking Room (1871-4). Designed by Burges for the 3rd Marquess of Bute. Decoration by Fred Weekes and H.W. Lonsdale. Watercolour, c. 1870, in J. Mordaunt Crook, William Burges and the High Victorian Dream (China: Frances Lincoln Ltd, 2013), 13.

Figure 16 William Blake, When the Morning Stars Sang Together, 1825, engraved plate, 218 x 166 mm, in Illustrations of The Book of Job Invented & Engraved by William Blake 1825 (London: Published as the Act directs March 8: 1825, by William Blake No. 3 Fountain Court Strand), 14.

Figure 17 Frederick Alfred Rhead, The Creation of Flowers and Plants, undated, watercolour and bodycolour, 53 x 35 cm, Private Collection.

Figure 18 George Frederick Watts, Life's Illusions, 1849, oil on canvas, 244.5 x 183.5 cm, Tate, London.

Figure 19 Annie Louise Swynnerton, Illusions, 1902, oil on canvas, 68 x 51 cm, Manchester Art Gallery, Manchester.

Figure 20 Richard Dadd, The Fairy Feller's Master-Stroke, 1855-64, oil on canvas, 54 x 39.4 cm, Tate, London.

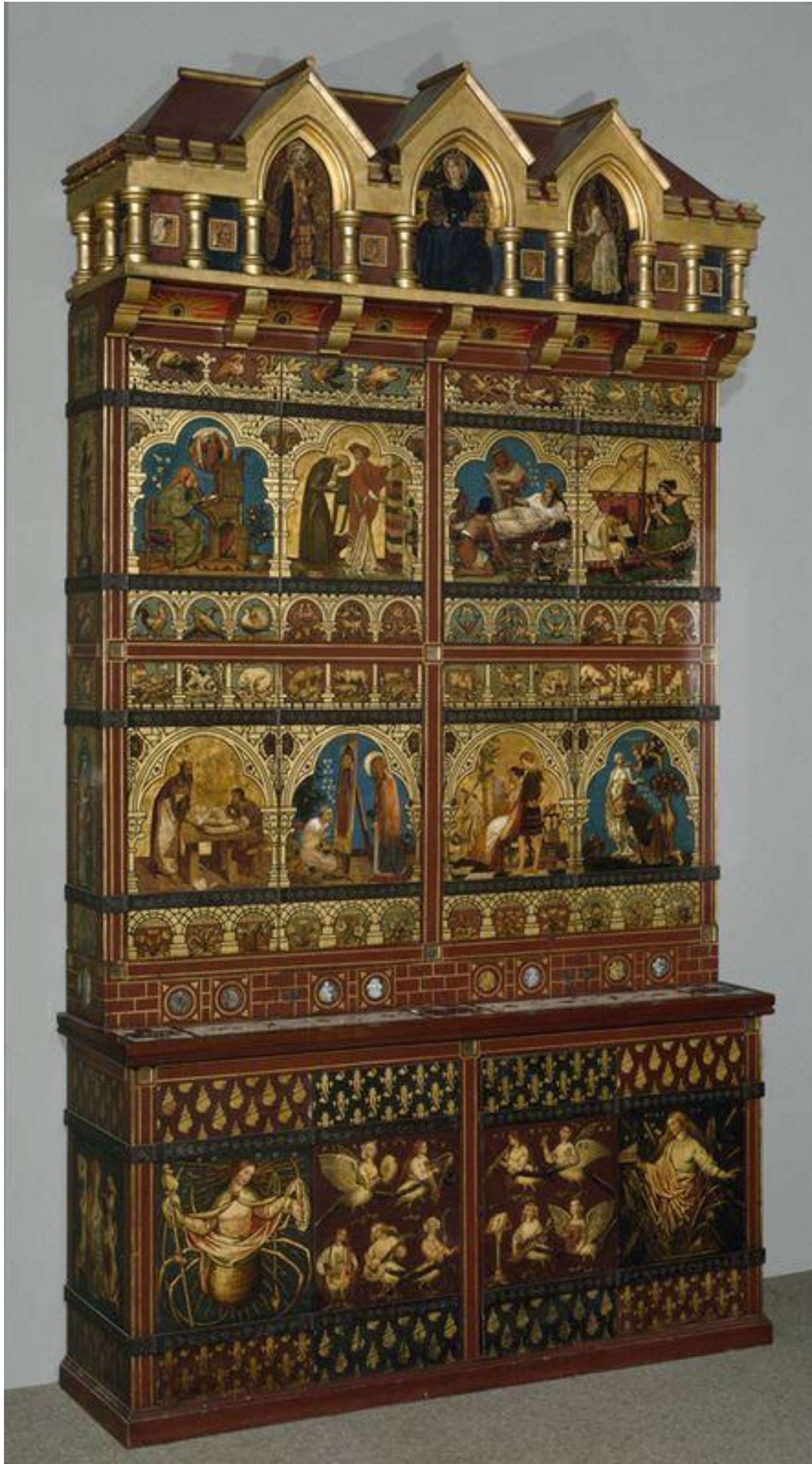
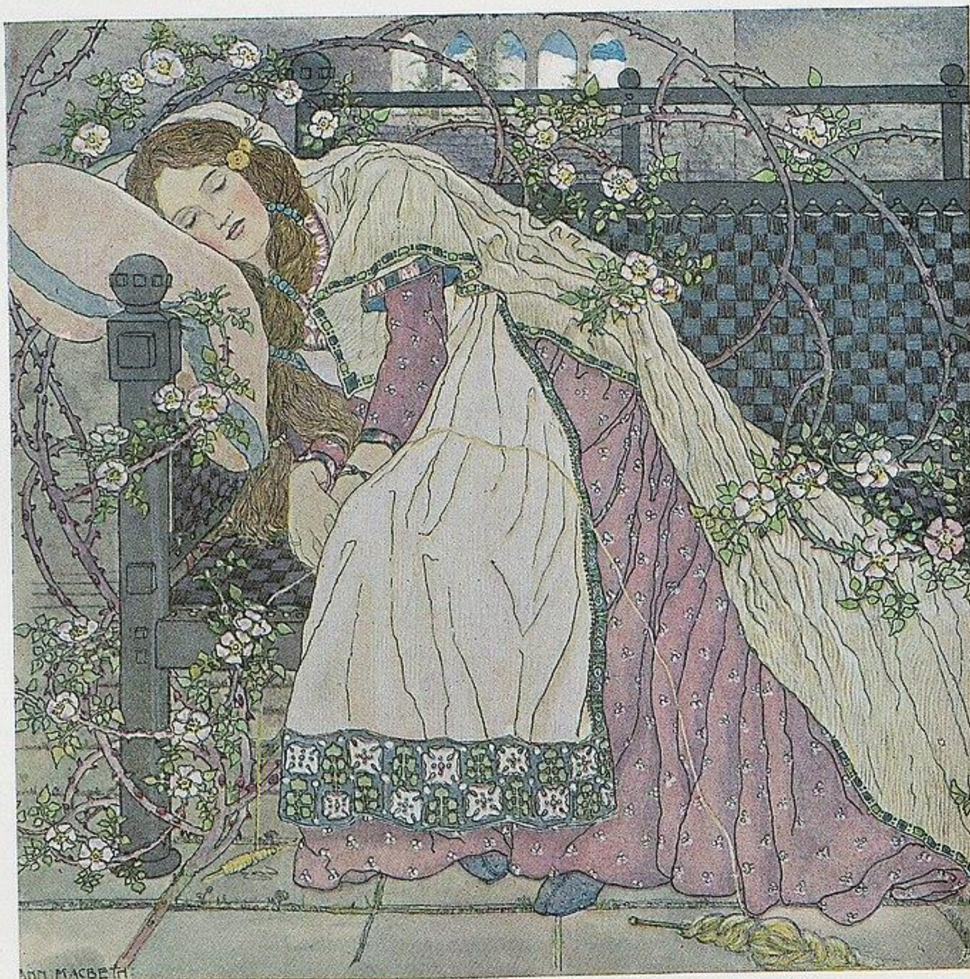


Figure 21 William Burges (designer), The Great Bookcase, 1859-62, oak, carved, painted and gilt, 317.5 x 173.9 x 49.5 cm, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Painted by John Anster Fitzgerald, Frederic Weekes, Henry Stacy Marks, Frederick Smallfield, Charles Rossiter, Thomas Pritchard Rossiter, Nathaniel Herbert John Westlake, Edward John Poynter, Henry Holiday, William Holman Hunt, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, William Frederick Yeames, Albert Joseph Moore, Thomas Morten, Simeon Solomon, and Edward Coley Burne-Jones.

Figure 22 Philip Speakman Webb (designer) and Edward Burne-Jones (painter), Prioress's Tale Wardrobe, 1859, painted oak and deal, 219.71 x 157.48 x 53.7 cm, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.



THE STUDIO

"ONCE UPON A TIME." BY ANN MACBETH.
BY PERMISSION OF WILLIAM BILSLAND, ESQ.

Figure 23 Ann Macbeth, "Once Upon a Time", 1902, in The Studio 24 (1902), 205.

Figure 24 Edward Reginald Frampton, Once Upon a Time, 1904, oil on board, 25.5 x 18 cm, Private Collection.

Figure 25 Henry Meynell Rheam, Once Upon a Time, 1908, watercolour, 45.5 x 101.5 cm, Private Collection.

Figure 26 Dante Gabriel Rossetti, The Blessed Damozel, 1875-9, oil on canvas, 59.5 x 31.5 inches, Lady Lever Art Gallery, Liverpool.

BONIFAZIO'S MISTRESS: FROM THE PEN-AND-INK SKETCH AND FROM THE WATERCOLOUR

Figure 27 Dante Gabriel Rossetti, (two prints of) Bonifazio's Mistress, c.1856, in H.C. Marillier, Dante Gabriel Rossetti: An Illustrated Memorial of His Art and Life (Chiswick: George Bell and Sons, 1899), 102b recto.

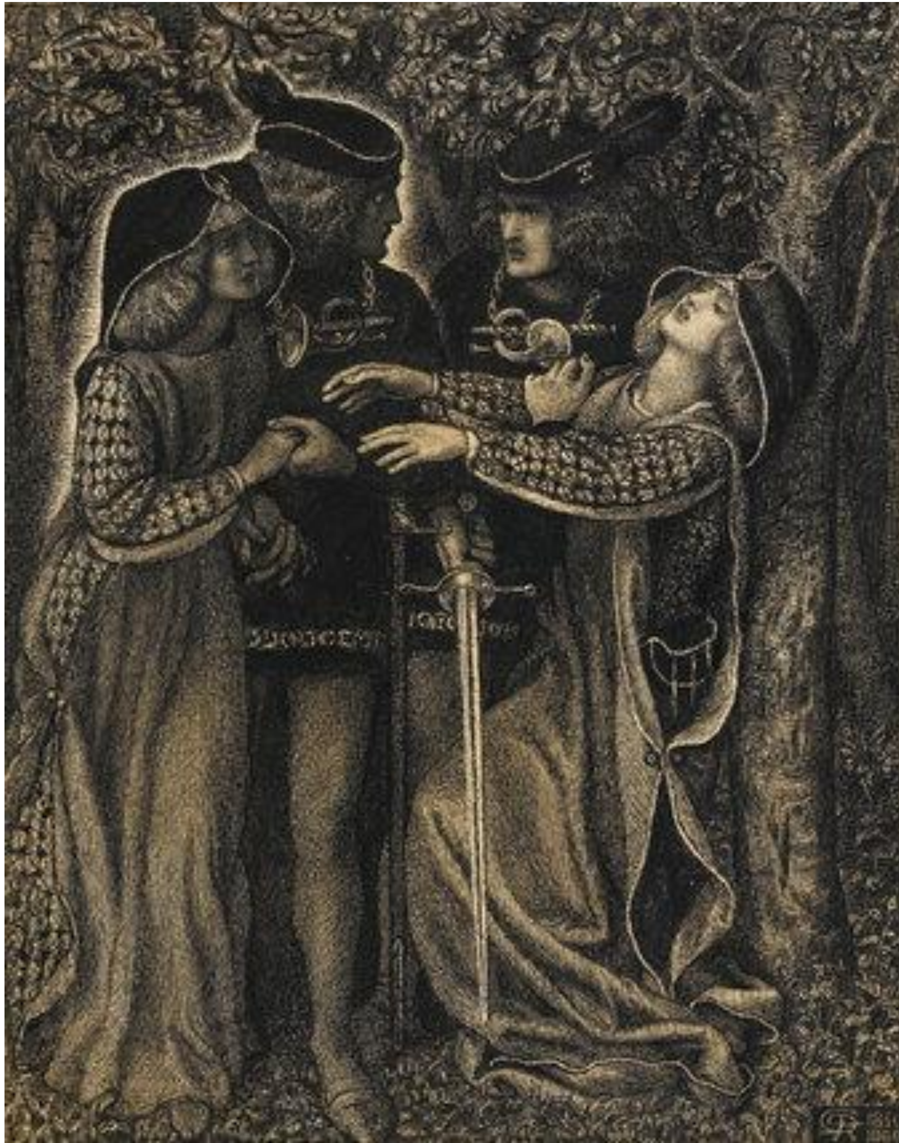


Figure 28 Dante Gabriel Rossetti, How They Met Themselves, 1851-60, pen and ink and brush, 27 x 21.3 cm, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Figure 29 Dante Gabriel Rossetti, How They Met Themselves, 1860-64, watercolour, 33.9 x 27.3 cm, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

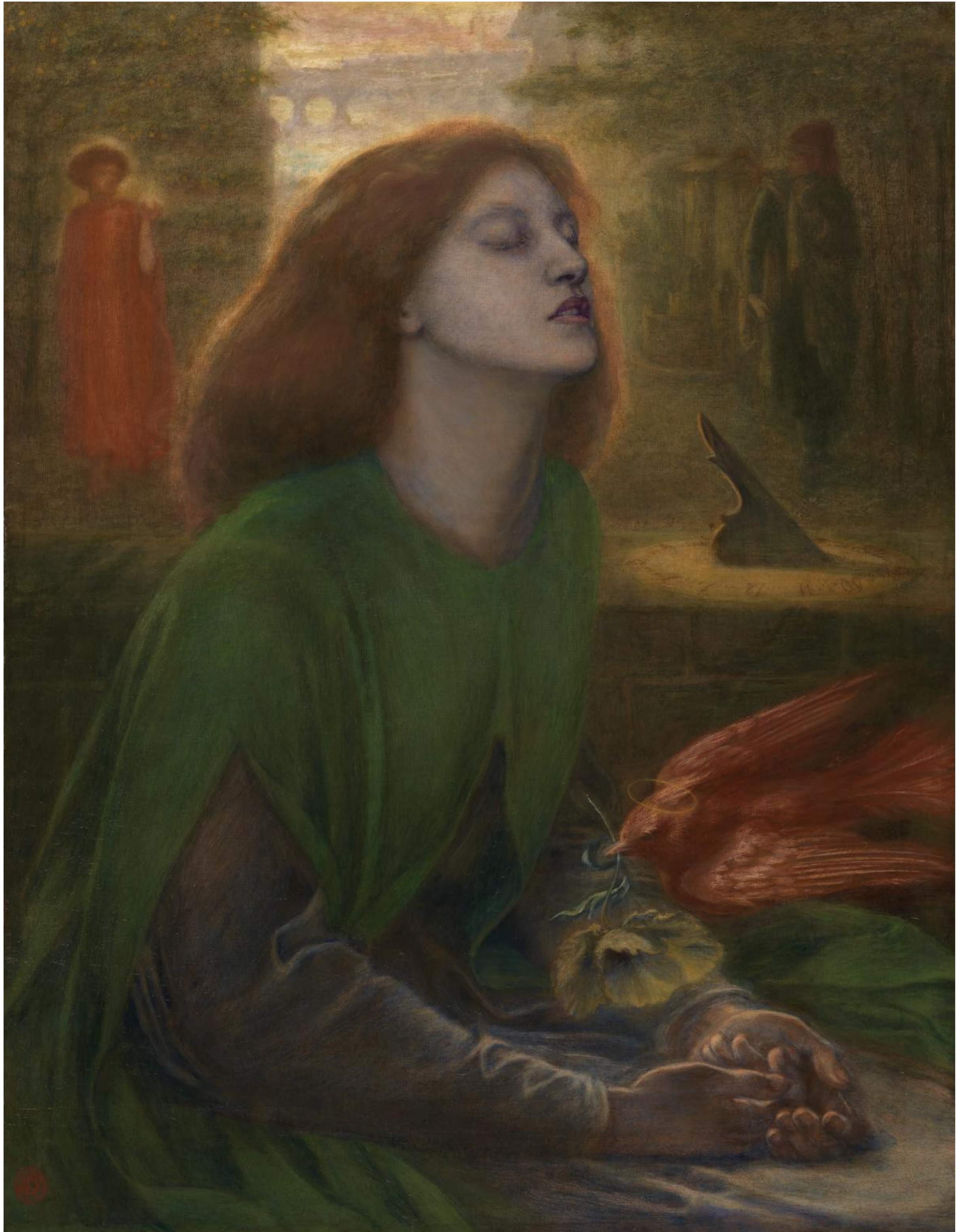


Figure 30 Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Beata Beatrix, 1864-70, oil paint on canvas, 86.4 x 66 cm, Tate, London.

Figure 31 Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Launcelot at the Shrine of the Holy Grail - Study for the Figures of Guenevere and Launcelot for Sir Launcelot's Vision, 1857, brown pen and ink over pencil with touches of red chalk and small splashes of accidental colour, on paper, 32 x 25.2 cm, Birmingham Museums & Art Gallery, Birmingham.

Figure 32 Dante Gabriel Rossetti, The Blue Closet, 1857, watercolour on paper, 35.4 x 26 cm, Tate, London.

Figure 33 Dante Gabriel Rossetti, The Tune of the Seven Towers, 1857, watercolour on paper, 31.4 x 36.5 cm, Tate, London.

Figure 34 Dante Gabriel Rossetti, The Damsel of Sanct Grael, 1857, watercolour on paper, 34.9 x 12.7 cm, Tate, London.

Figure 35 Dante Gabriel Rossetti, The Wedding of St George and Princess Sabra, 1857, watercolour on paper, 36.5 x 36.5 cm, Tate, London.

Figure 36 Dante Gabriel Rossetti, The Chapel Before the Lists, 1857-1864, watercolour on paper, 40 x 41.9 cm, Tate, London.

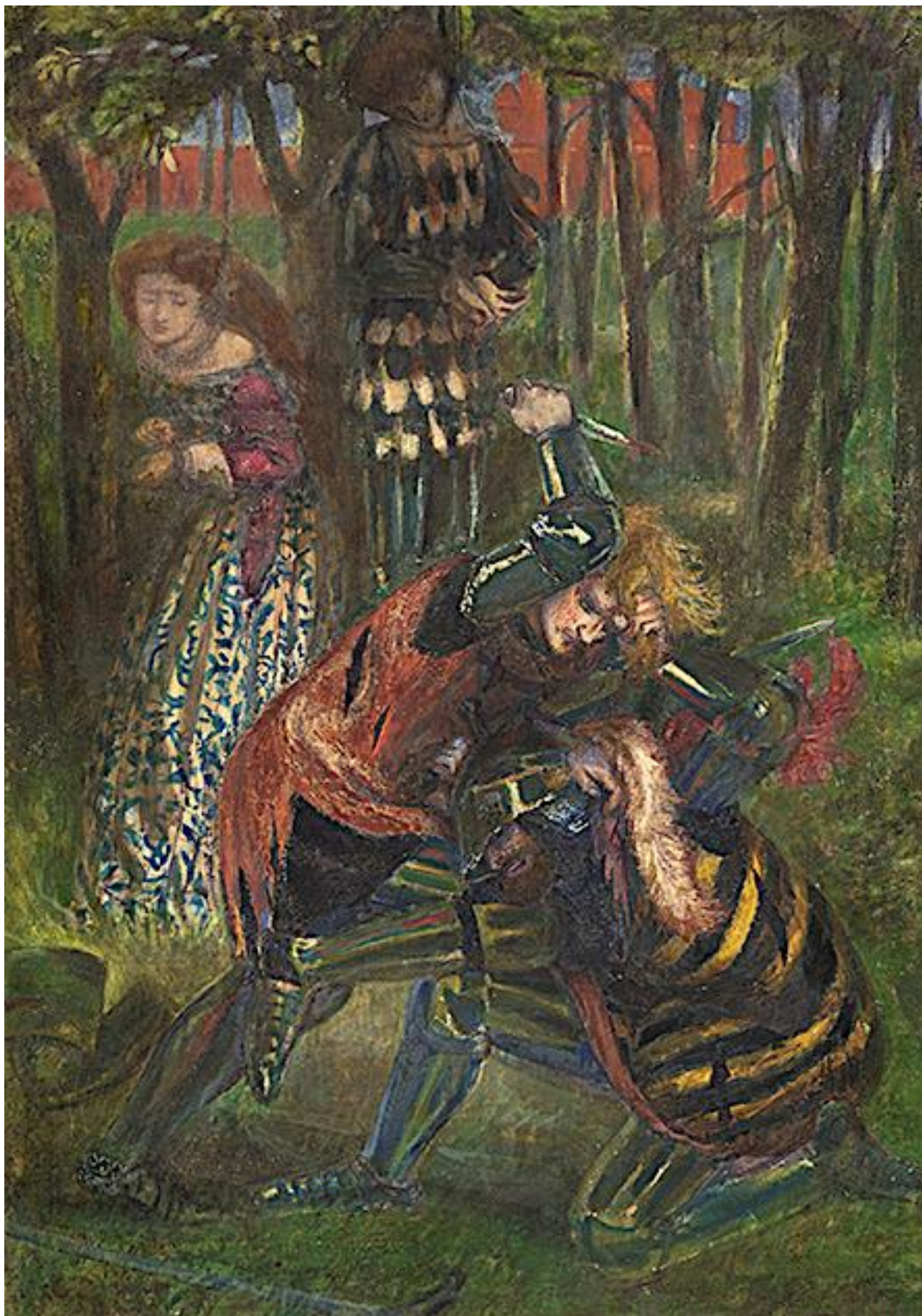


Figure 37 Dante Gabriel Rossetti, The Death of Breuze Sana Pitié, 1857, watercolour, 49.5 x 34.2 cm, British Museum, London.

Figure 38 Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Before the Battle, 1858-1862, watercolour on paper, 42.2 x 27.3 cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston MA.

Figure 39 Edward Burne-Jones, Perseus and the Graeae, 1877-88, silver and gold leaf, gesso, and oil paint on oak, 170.2 x 153.2 cm, Amgueddfa Cymru-National Musuem of Wales, Cardiff.

Figure 40 Edward Burne-Jones, Perseus and the Graeae, 1877, mixed media on paper, 152.5 x 170.5 cm, Southampton Art Gallery, Southampton.

Figure 41 Edward Burne-Jones, Perseus and the Graeae, 1892, oil paint on canvas, 153.5 x 170 cm, Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart.

Figure 42 William Morris (painter) and others, King René's Honeymoon Cabinet, 1861, oak, inlaid with various woods, with painted metalwork and painted panels, 133.4 x 252 x 87 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Other artists include: John Pollard Seddon, Ford Madow Brown, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Edward Coley Burne-Jones, Val Prinsep, Seddon & Sons, Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co.

Figure 43 William Morris (painter), Philip Webb (designer), and Morris, Marshall & Co. (manufacturer), St George Cabinet, 1861-2, painted and gilded mahogany, pine and oak, with copper mounts, 111 x 178 x 43 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Figure 44 William Morris, La Belle Iseult, 1858, oil on canvas, 71.8 x 50.8 cm, Tate, London.

man, Ardeth Weed, Laurene Tingum, Vicki Faust, Sherryl

Santa Ana, Calif. KI 3-1615 or KI 3-3178

OPENS MONDAY, JULY 18 AT 10 A.M. ★ OPENS MONDAY, JULY 18 AT 10 A.M. ★ OPENS MONDAY, JULY 18 AT 10 A.M. ★ OPENS MONDAY, JULY 18 AT 10 A.M. ★

OPENS MONDAY JULY 18

Disneyland

WALT DISNEY'S MAGIC KINGDOM

The World's Most Fabulous Wonderland Comes to Life in Anaheim, California

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In this fascinating dream-world-come-true you will find treasures you will prize for a lifetime, experiences you will relive for years to come. Until you see it for yourself, you'll never believe there exists such a wonderland of wonderful entertainment as awaits you at Disneyland.

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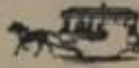

MAIN STREET

TOMORROWLAND

Figure 45 "Walt Disney's Magic Kingdom" advertisement, in Valley Times (North Hollywood, California, Friday July 15th, 1955), 6.

Figure 46 William Burges design, The Roof Garden (Peristyle), 1873-6, Cardiff, Cardiff Castle.

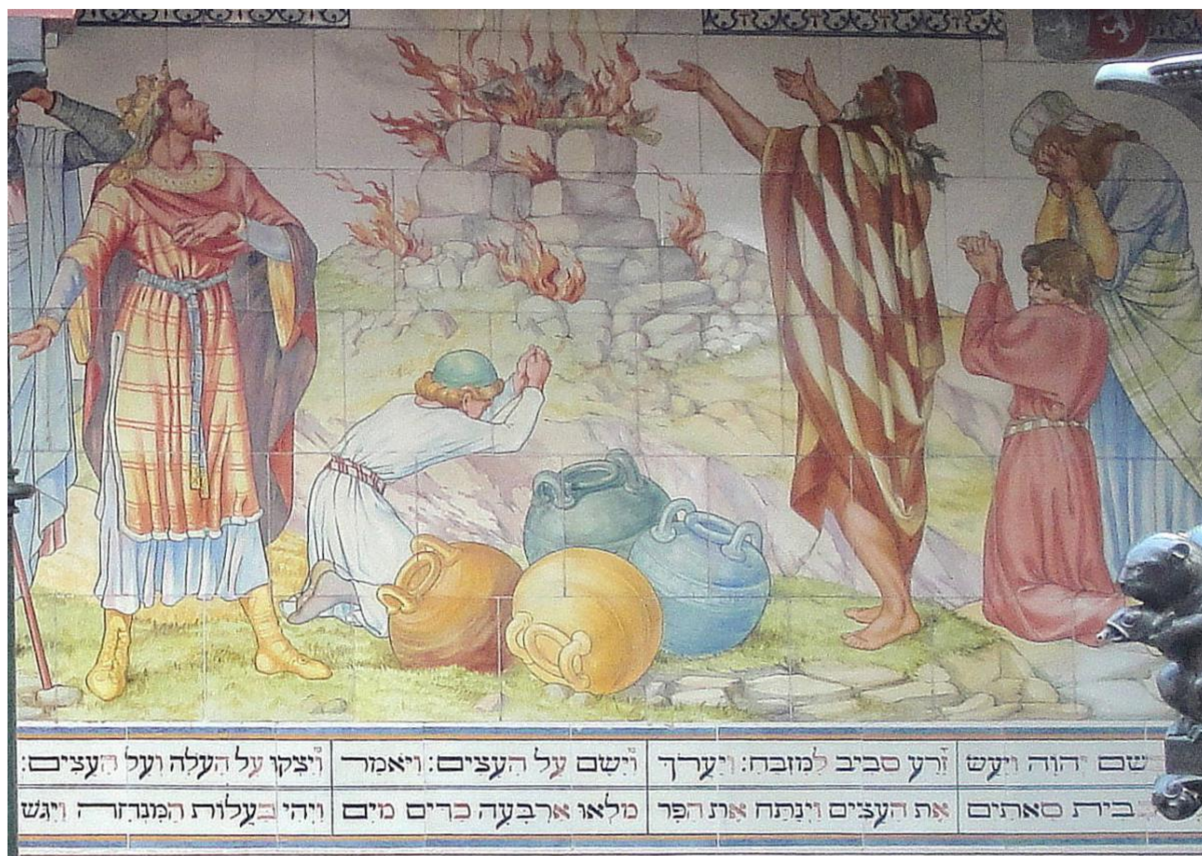

Figure 47 H.D. Lonsdale cartoon, executed by W.B. Simpson & Sons, Ezekiel tile mural in The Roof Garden at Cardiff Castle, Cardiff, Cardiff Castle.

Figure 48 John Ayres Hatfield, Madonna and Child, bronze, Cardiff, Cardiff Castle.

Figure 49 William Burges design, The Banqueting Hall at Cardiff Castle.

Figure 50 Ceiling at St Peter's Mancroft, Norwich.

Figure 51 Ceiling at Church of St Michael the Archangel, Framlingham, Suffolk.

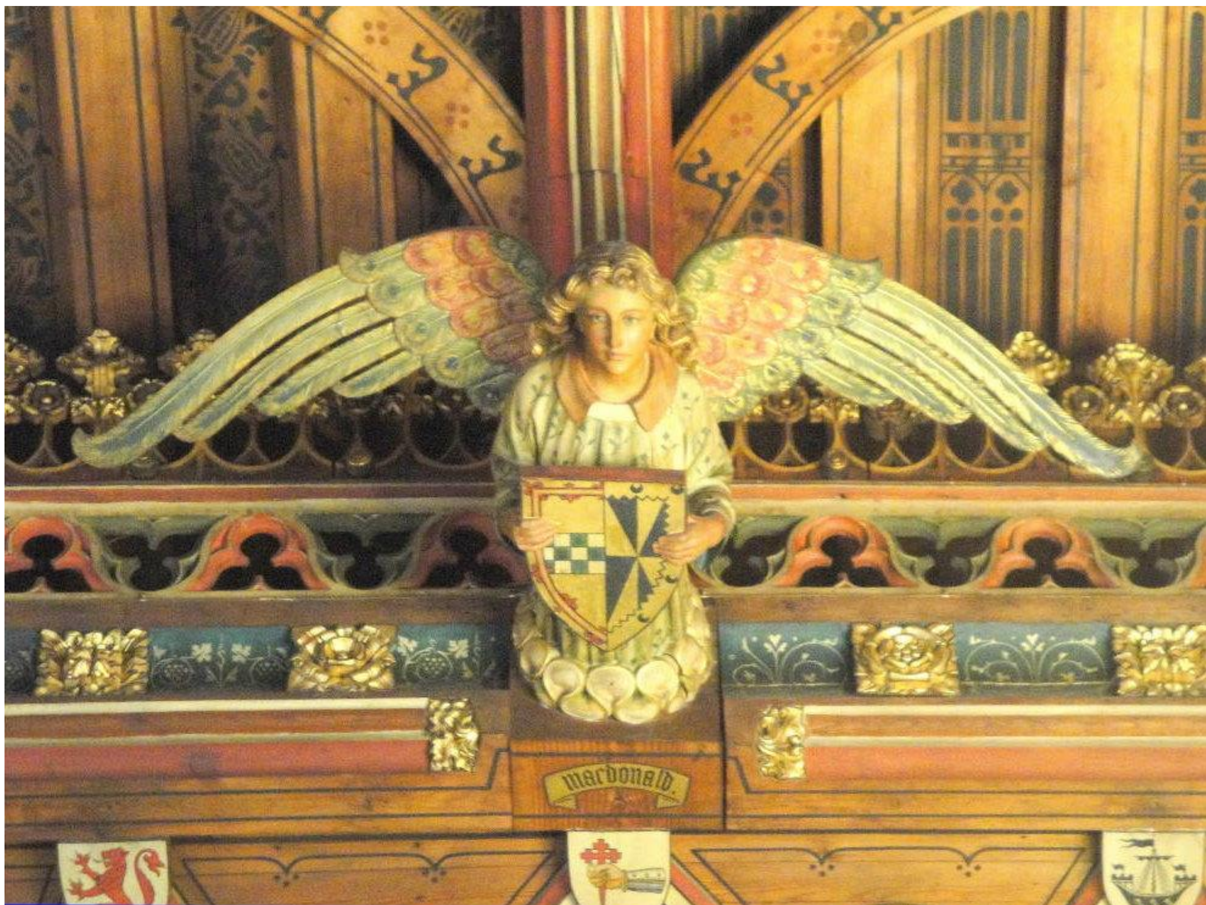

Figure 52 William Burges design, Angel with heraldry in the Banqueting Hall.

Figure 53 Jan van Eyck, The Virgin and Child with Canon van der Paele, 1434-6, oil on wood, 141 x 175 cm, Groeningemuseum, Bruges.

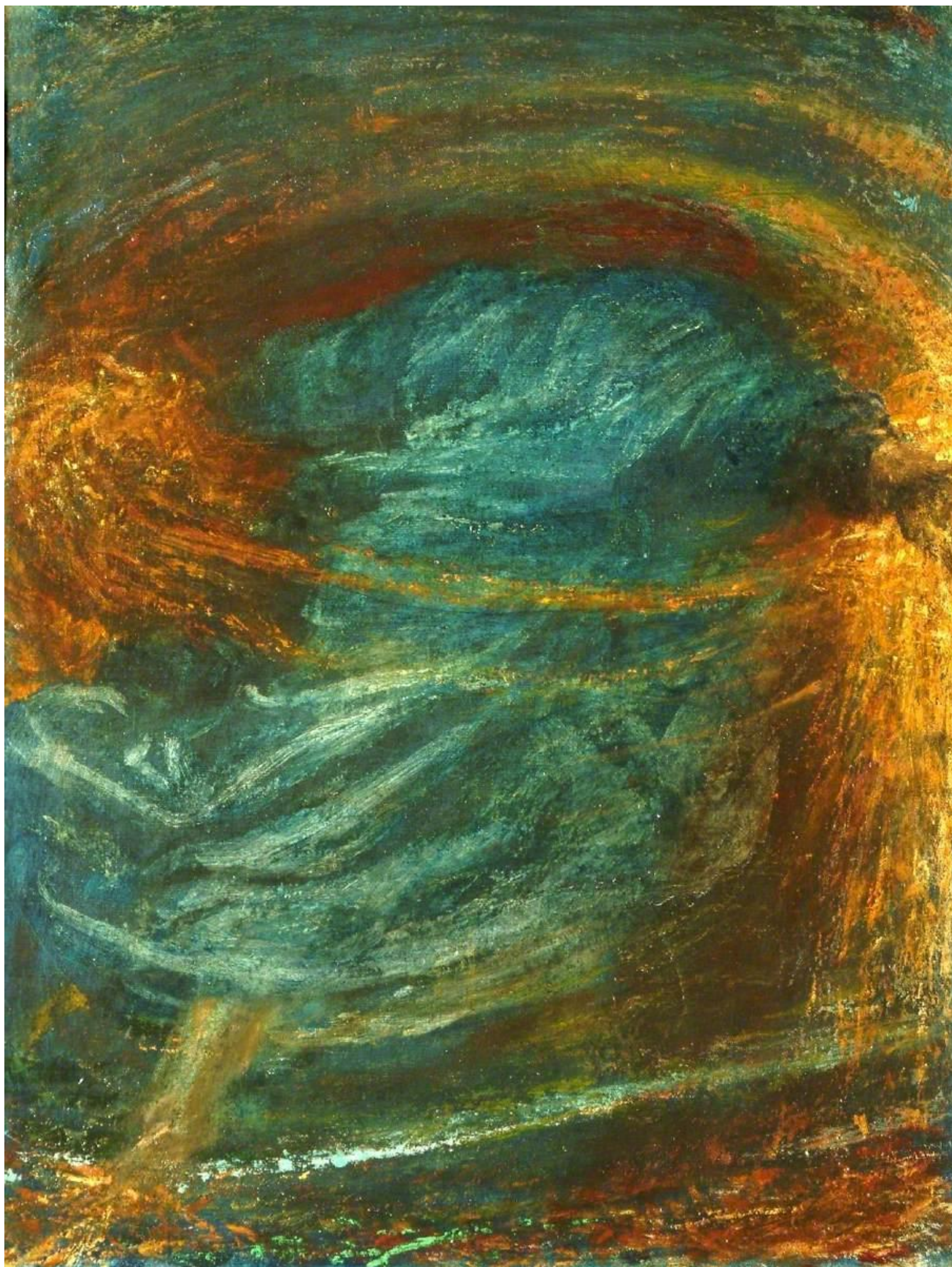

Figure 54 George Frederic Watts, Sower of the Systems, 1902, oil on canvas, 66 x 53.3 cm, Watts Gallery, Compton Surrey.

Figure 55 George Frederic Watts, The All Pervading, 1887-90, oil on canvas, 213.5 x 112 cm, Tate, London.

Figure 56 George Frederic Watts, Chaos, c. 1875-82, oil on canvas, 196.7 x 304.8 cm, Tate, London.

Figure 57 George Frederic Watts, Hope, 1886, oil on canvas, 142.2 x 111.9 cm, Tate, London.

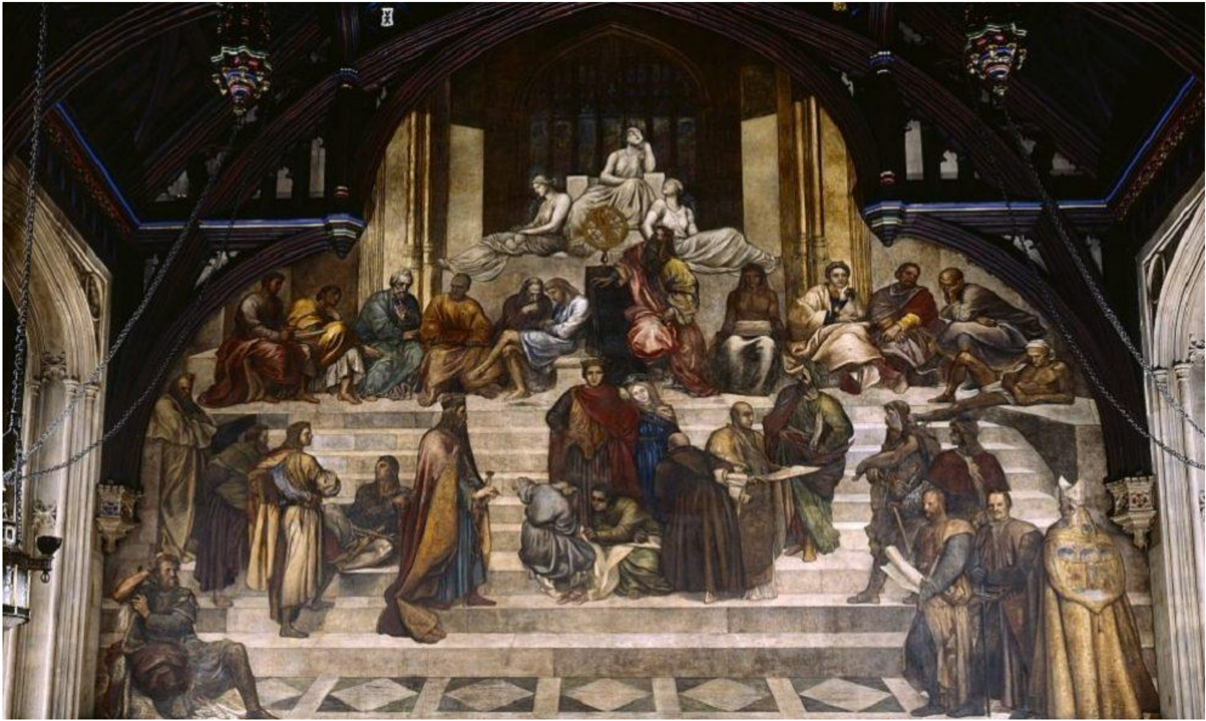

Figure 58 George Frederick Watts, A Hemicycle of Law-Givers, 1853-1859, fresco, 45 x 40 ft, The Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, London.

Figure 59 Mary Seton Watts (designer), Watts Cemetary Chapel/ Watts Mortuary Chapel, 1896-1898, Compton Surrey.

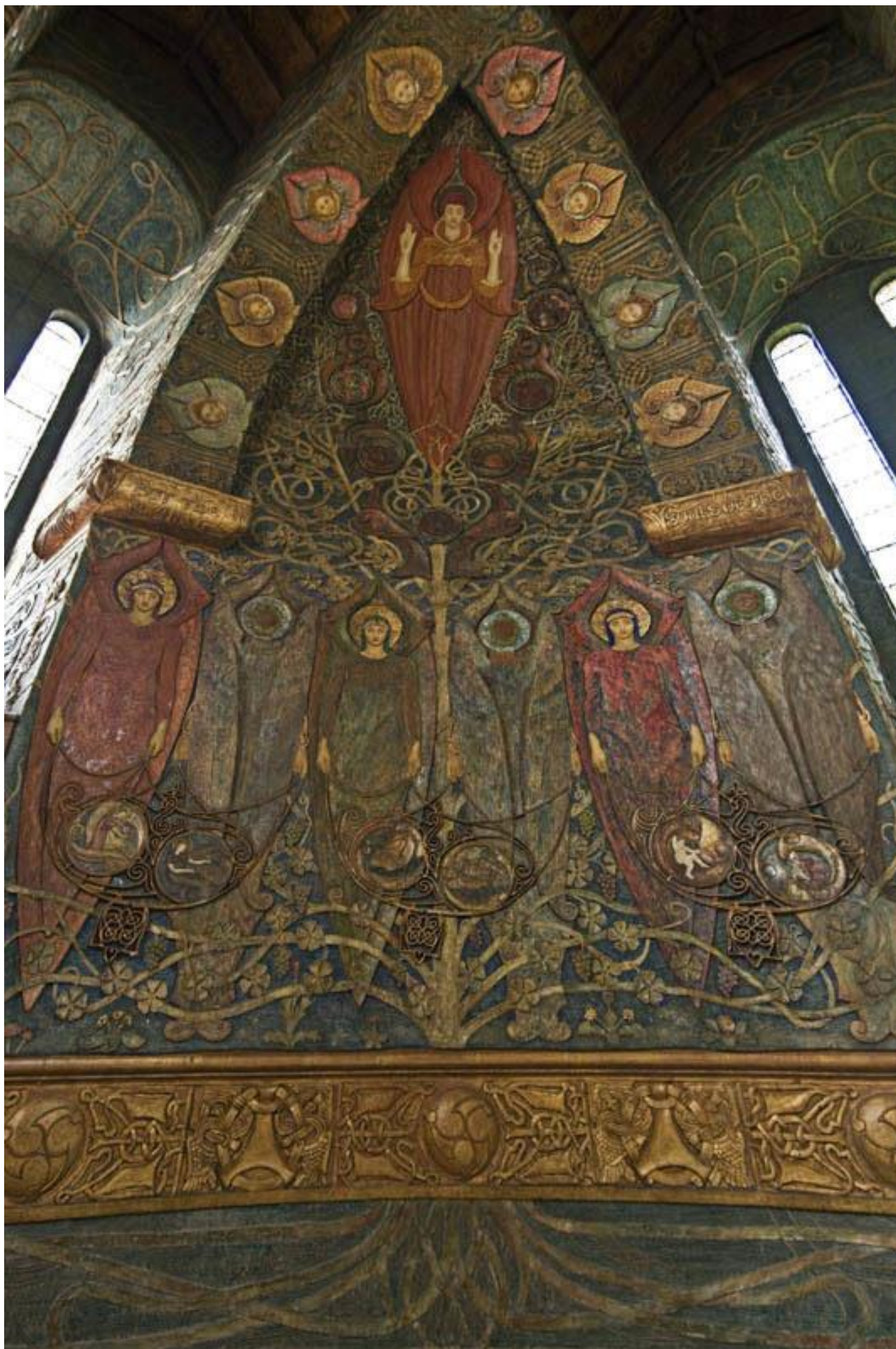

Figure 60 Mary Seton Watts, Tree of Life, Girdle of the Earth and Angels, in the Watts Cemetary Chapel, 1886-1904, Compton Surrey.

Figure 61 Mary Seton Watts, Ceiling Apex with Cherubs in the Watts Cemetary Chapel, 1886-1904, Compton Surrey.

Figure 62 Dante Gabriel Rossetti (artist), Dalziel brothers (engraving), The Maids of Elfen-Mere, 1855, wood engraving on paper, 12.7 x 7.6 cm, in William Allingham, The Music Maker, A Love Story and Two Series of Day and Night Songs (London: Savill and Edwards, 1855).

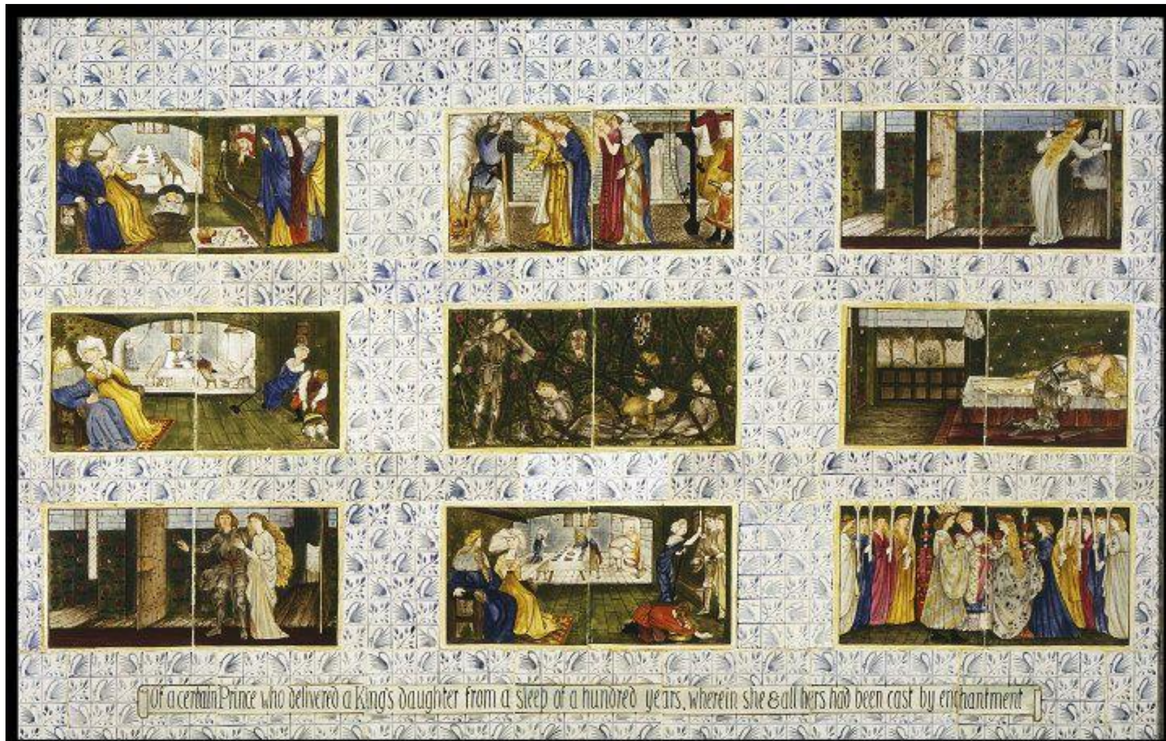

Figure 63 Edward Burne-Jones design, probably painted by Lucy Faulkner, Sleeping Beauty, 1864, ceramic tile panel, 76.2 x 120.6 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

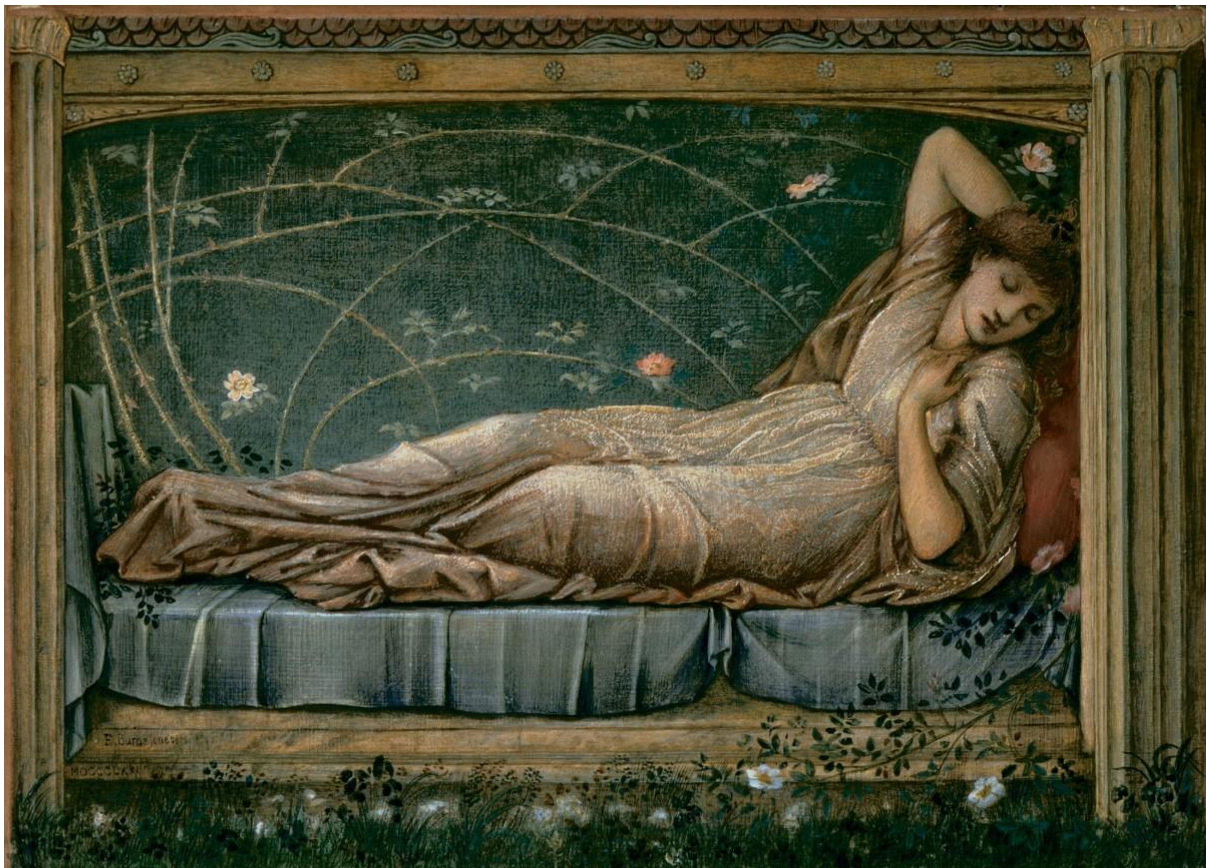

Figure 64 Edward Burne-Jones, The Sleeping Beauty, 1871, gold paint, watercolour and bodycolour on vellum, 25.9 x 36 cm, Manchester Art Gallery, Manchester.

Figure 65 Edward Burne-Jones, The Rose Bower, 1886-90, oil on canvas, 125 x 231 cm, The Farringdon Collection Trust.

Figure 66 Edward Burne-Jones, The Council Chamber, 1885-90, oil on canvas, 125 x 231 cm, The Farringdon Collection Trust.

Figure 67 Edward Burne-Jones, The Briar Wood, 1874-84, oil on canvas, 125 x 231 cm, The Farringdon Collection Trust.

Figure 68 Thomas Ralph Spence, The Sleeping Beauty, 1886, materials unknown, 94 x 180 cm, Private Collection.

Figure 69 Arthur Wardle, A Fairy Tale: 'All Seemed to Sleep, The Timid Hare on Form', 1895, oil on canvas, 114.3 x 165.7 cm, Private Collection.

Figure 70 Sir Alfred Gilbert, The Enchanted Chair, 1886, in The Studio 48 (1909), 109.

Figure 71 Sir George Frampton, Mysteriarch, 1896, bronze relief, 91.4 cm high, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.

Figure 72 Sir William Goscombe John, The Elf, 1899, marble, 104 cm high, Kibble Palace, Glasgow.

Figure 73 Thomas Sturge Moore, A Symbolic Painting, c. 1890-1910, tempera on paper, 29 x 39.5 cm, Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery, Carlisle.

Figure 74 Thomas Cooper Gotch, The Child in the World, 1895, oil on canvas, 127 x 94 cm, Private Collection. Image from Black and White, May 11, 1895 reproduced in Pamela Lomax. The Golden Dream: A Biography of Thomas Cooper Gotch. Bristol: Sansom & Company Ltd., 2004.

Figure 75 Thomas Cooper Gotch, Innocence, 1904, watercolour, 23 x 19 cm, Falmouth, Falmouth Art Gallery.

Figure 76 Thomas Cooper Gotch, Mental Arithmetic, 1883, oil on canvas, 153.5 x 123 cm, Newlyn, England.

Figure 77 Thomas Cooper Gotch, View of Gretton, Northamptonshire, 1916, oil on canvas, 40 x 50 cm, Alfred East Art Gallery, Kettering.

Figure 78 Thomas Cooper Gotch, The Child Enthroned, 1894, oil on canvas, 100 x 59 cm, Private Collection.

Figure 79 Thomas Cooper Gotch, Alleluia, 1896, oil on canvas, 133 x 184 cm, Tate, London.

Figure 80 Thomas Cooper Gotch, The Message, 1903, watercolour, 40.5 cm diameter, Private Collection.

Figure 81 Thomas Cooper Gotch, Holy Motherhood, 1902, oil on canvas, 180 x 165 cm, Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle.

Figure 82 Thomas Cooper Gotch, My Crown & Sceptre, 1891, oil on canvas, 95.2 x 68.3 cm, Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney.

Figure 83 Thomas Cooper Gotch, A Golden Dream, 1893, oil on canvas, 96 x 116 cm, Harris Museum & Art Gallery, Preston.

Figure 84 Unknown Photographer, Thomas Sturge Moore, Marc Connelly, Madeleine Hurlock, Lady Ottoline Morrell and two unknown sitters, 1933, vintage snapshot print, 7.8 x 9.2 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Figure 85 Thomas Sturge Moore, Pan Island, 1895, in Metamorphoses of Pan, Portfolio containing ten mounted woodcuts, printed in shades of green, grey and red, British Museum, London.

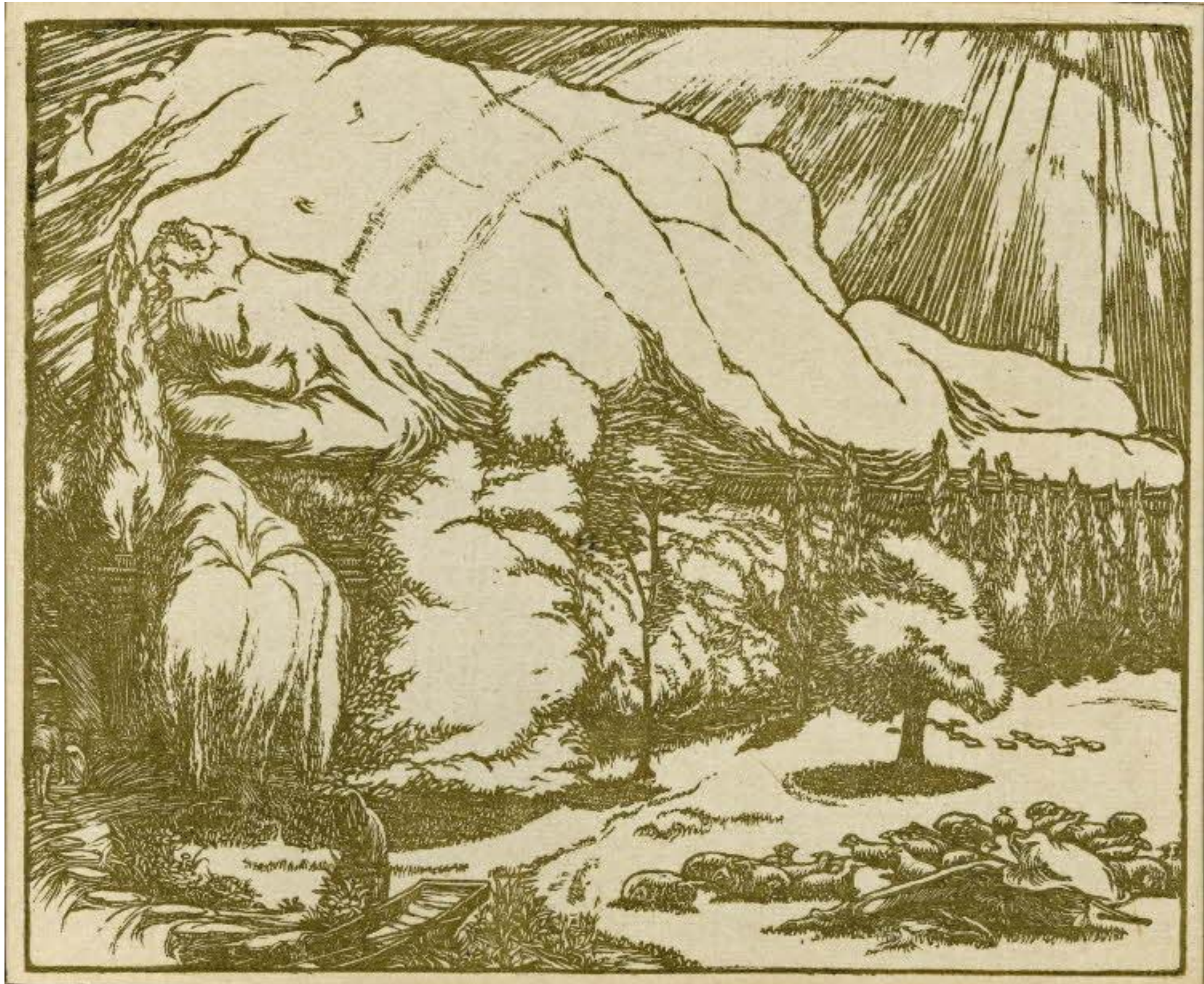

Figure 86 Thomas Sturge Moore, Untitled, 1895, in Metamorphoses of Pan, Portfolio containing ten mounted woodcuts, printed in shades of green, grey and red, British Museum, London.

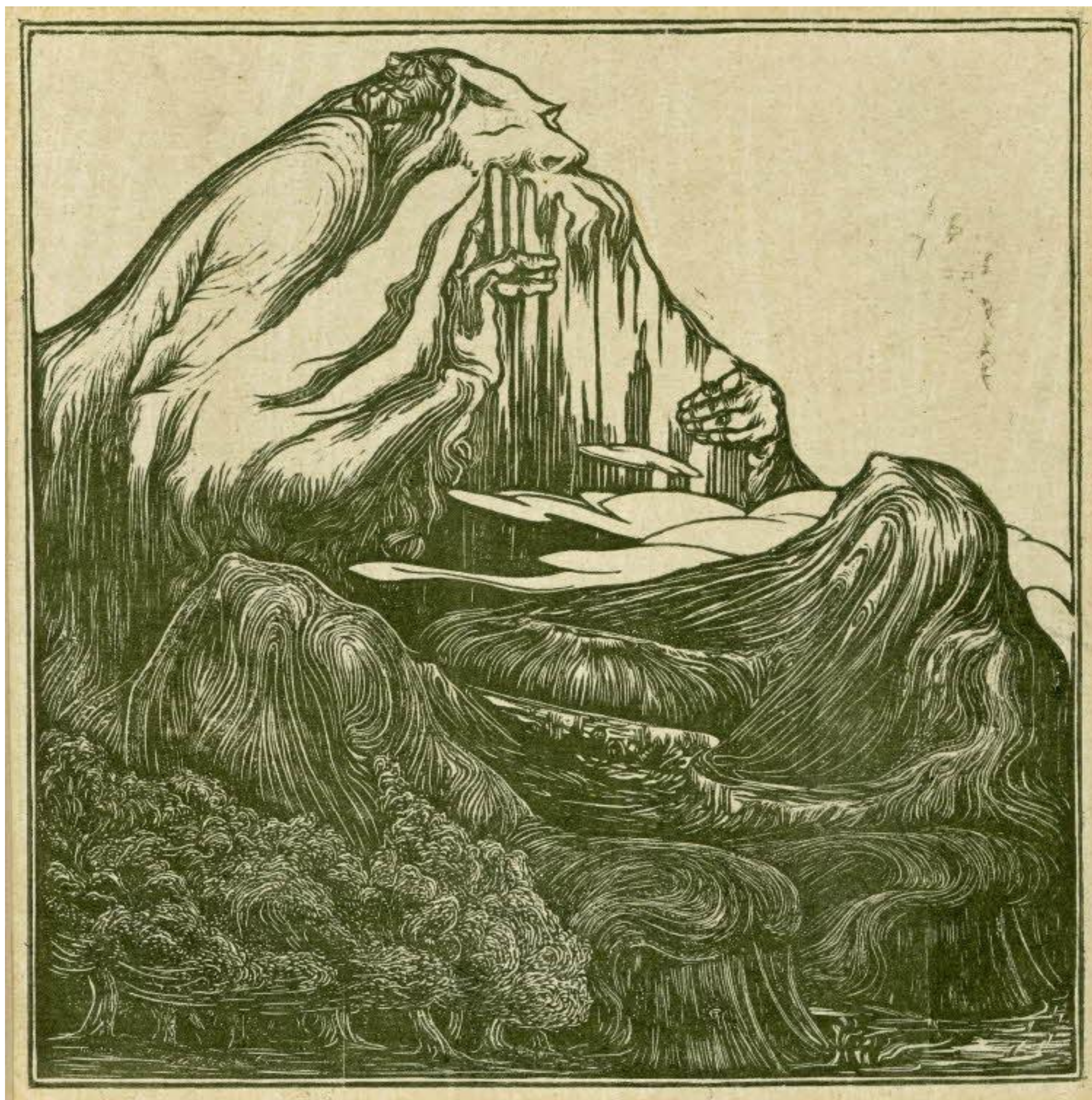

Figure 87 Thomas Sturge Moore, Pan Mountain, 1895, in Metamorphoses of Pan, Portfolio containing ten mounted woodcuts, printed in shades of green, grey and red, British Museum, London.

Figure 88 Thomas Sturge Moore, Untitled, 1895, in Metamorphoses of Pan, Portfolio containing ten mounted woodcuts, printed in shades of green, grey and red, British Museum, London.

Figure 89 Thomas Sturge Moore, Untitled, 1895, in Metamorphoses of Pan, Portfolio containing ten mounted woodcuts, printed in shades of green, grey and red, British Museum, London.

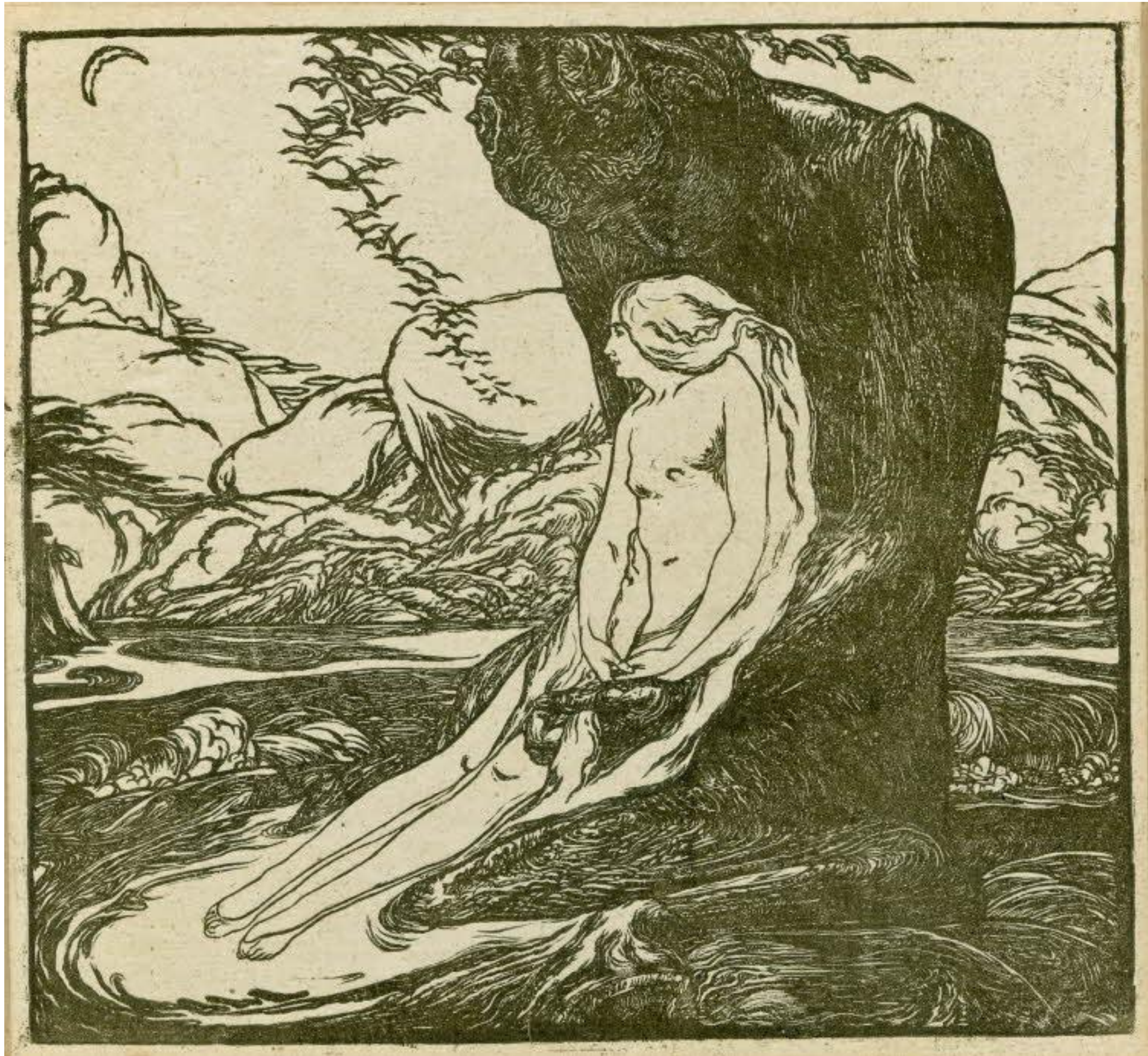

Figure 90 Thomas Sturge Moore, Untitled, 1895, in Metamorphoses of Pan, Portfolio containing ten mounted woodcuts, printed in shades of green, grey and red, British Museum, London.

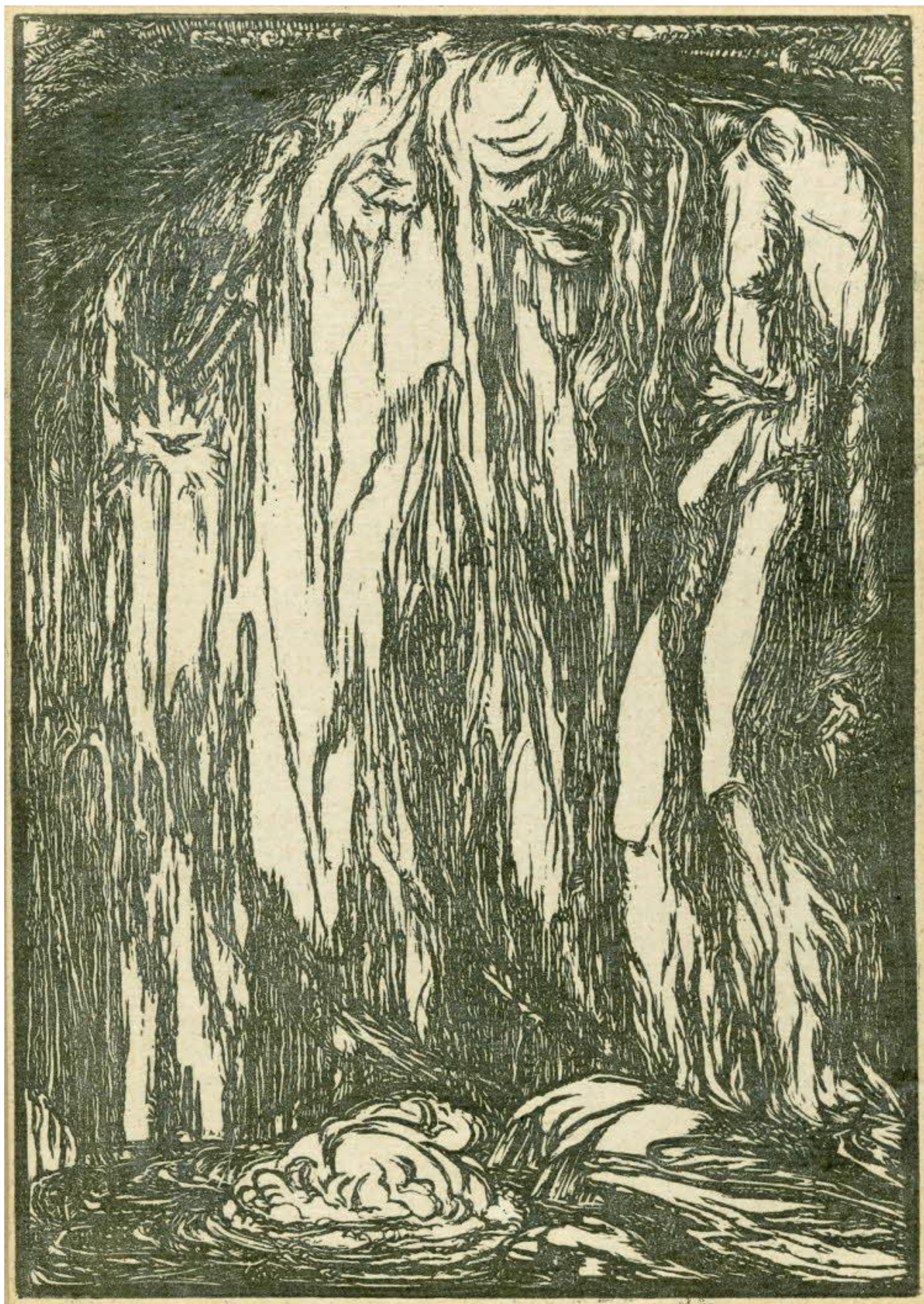

Figure 91 Thomas Sturge Moore, Untitled, 1895, in Metamorphoses of Pan, Portfolio containing ten mounted woodcuts, printed in shades of green, grey and red, British Museum, London.

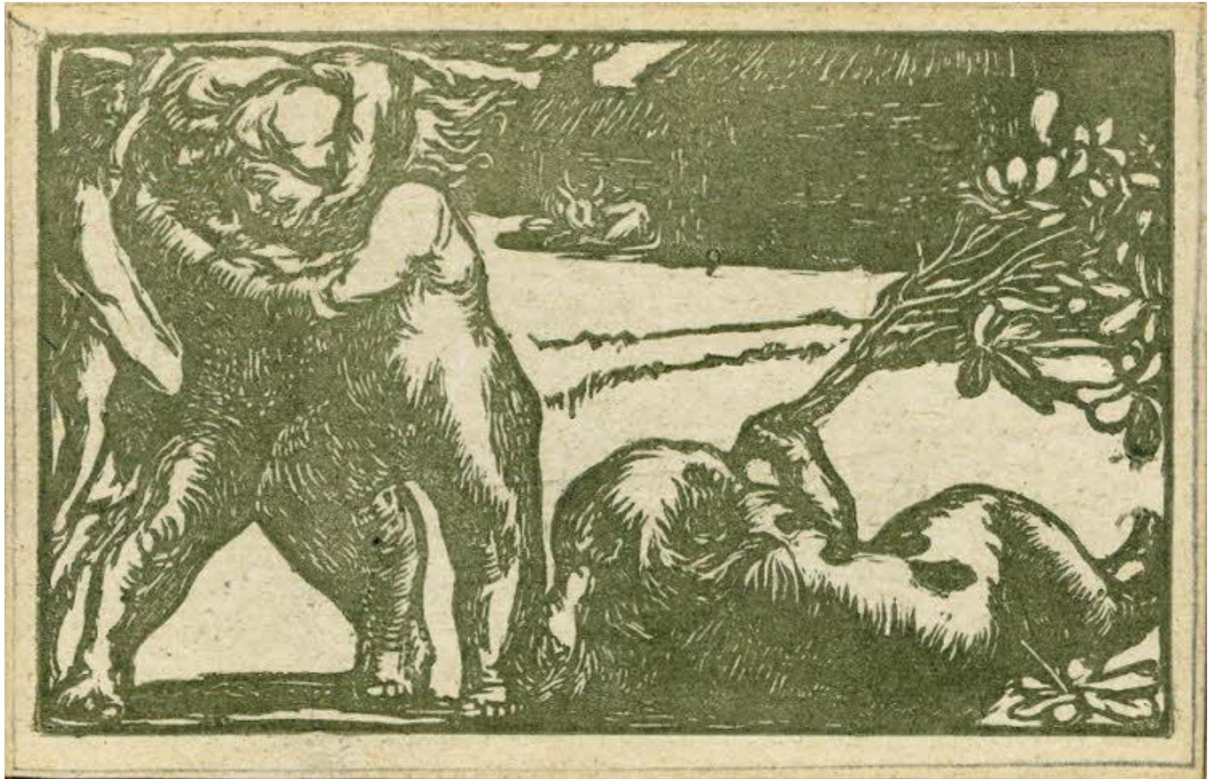

Figure 92 Thomas Sturge Moore, Baby Giants, 1895, in Metamorphoses of Pan, Portfolio containing ten mounted woodcuts, printed in shades of green, grey and red, British Museum, London.

Figure 93 Thomas Sturge Moore, Untitled, 1895, in Metamorphoses of Pan, Portfolio containing ten mounted woodcuts, printed in shades of green, grey and red, British Museum, London.

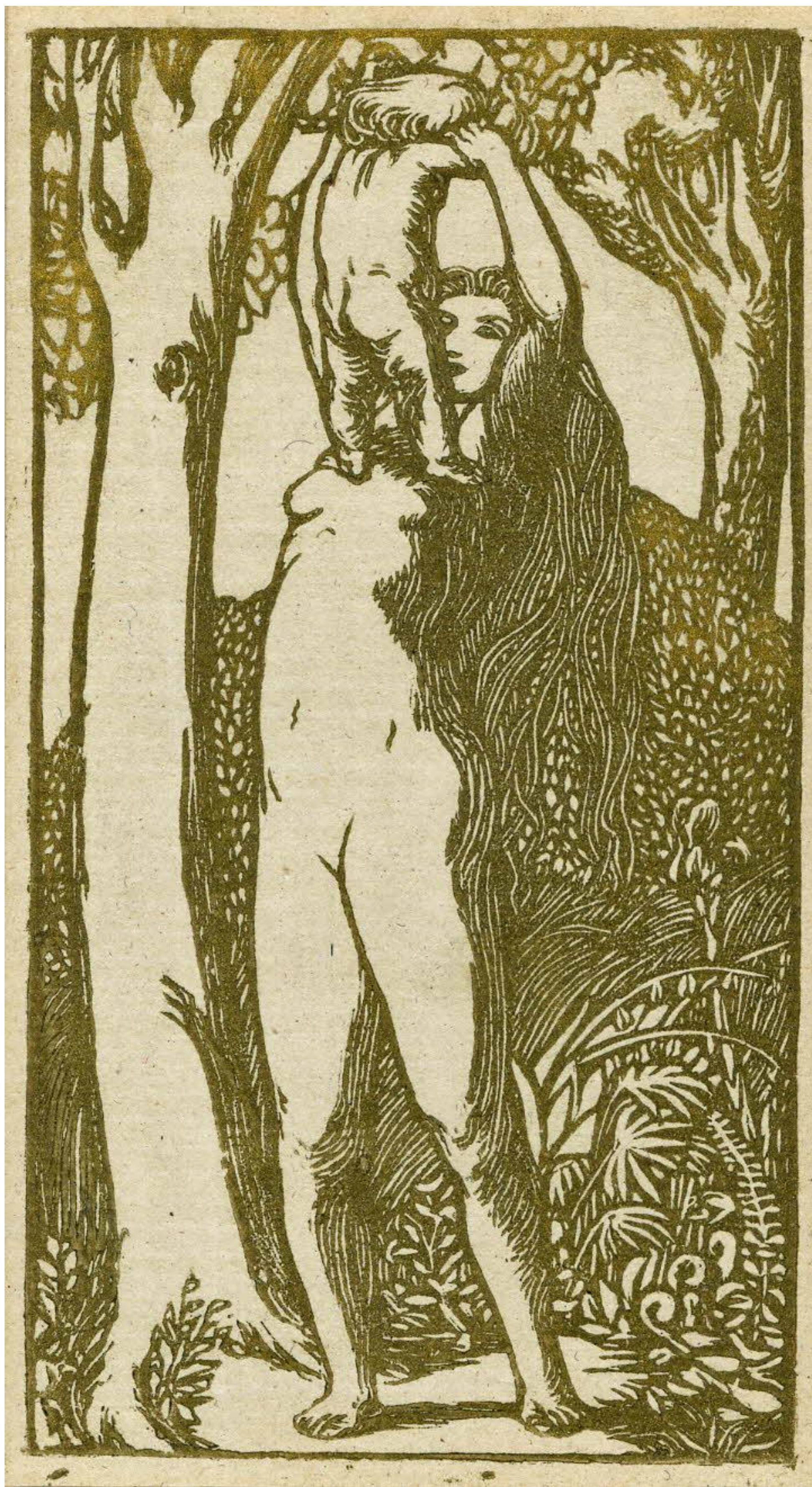

Figure 94 Thomas Sturge Moore, The Young Mother, 1895, in Metamorphoses of Pan, Portfolio containing ten mounted woodcuts, printed in shades of green, grey and red, British Museum, London.

Figure 95 William Blake, The Bard, from Gray, c. 1809, tempera and gold on canvas, 600 x 441 cm, Tate, London.

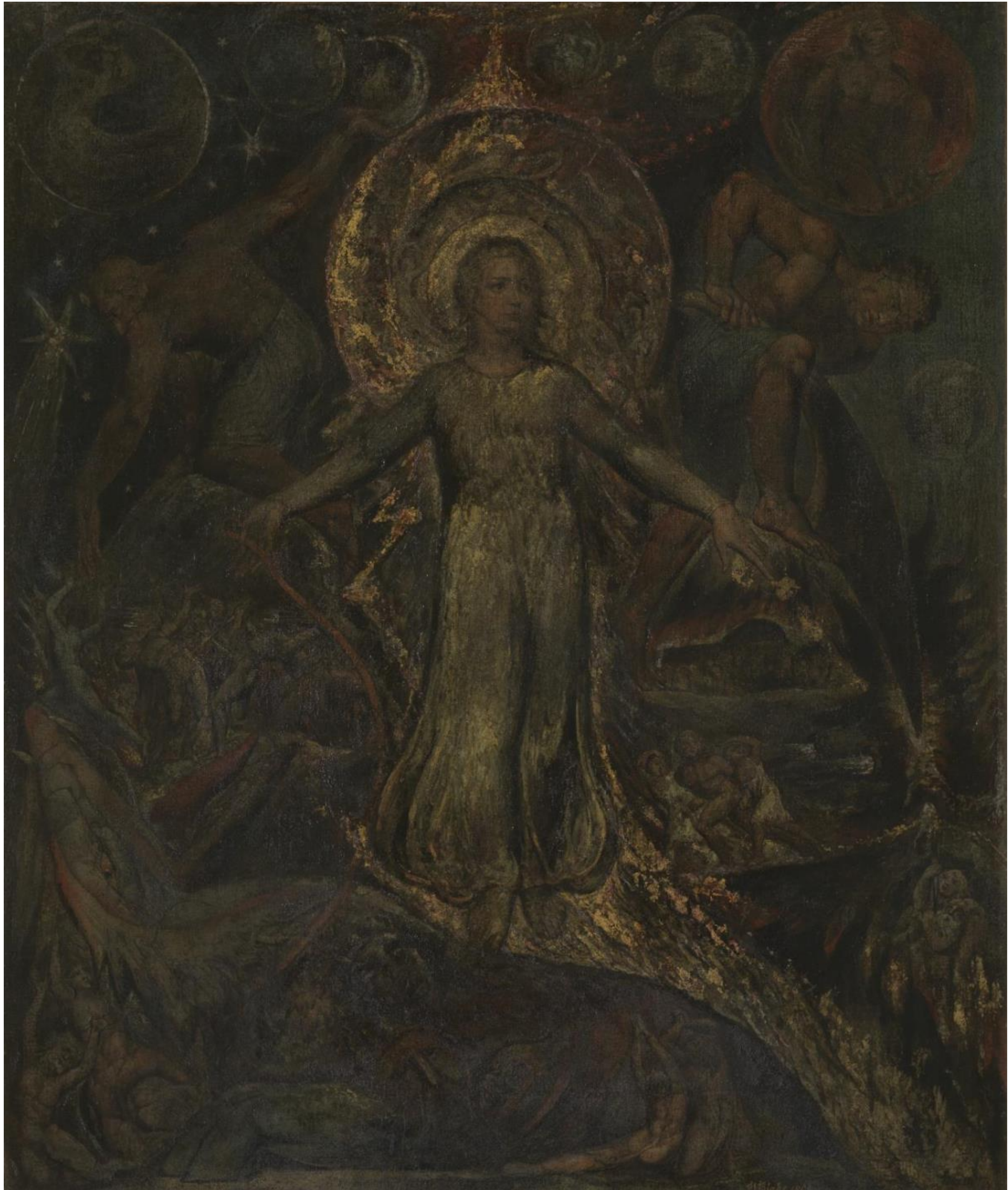

Figure 96 William Blake, The Spiritual Form of Pitt Guiding Behemoth, c. 1805, tempera and gold on canvas, 74 x 62.7 cm, Tate, London.

Figure 97 George Frederick Watts, The Curse of Cain, 1872, oil on canvas, Norwich Museum Collection, Norwich.

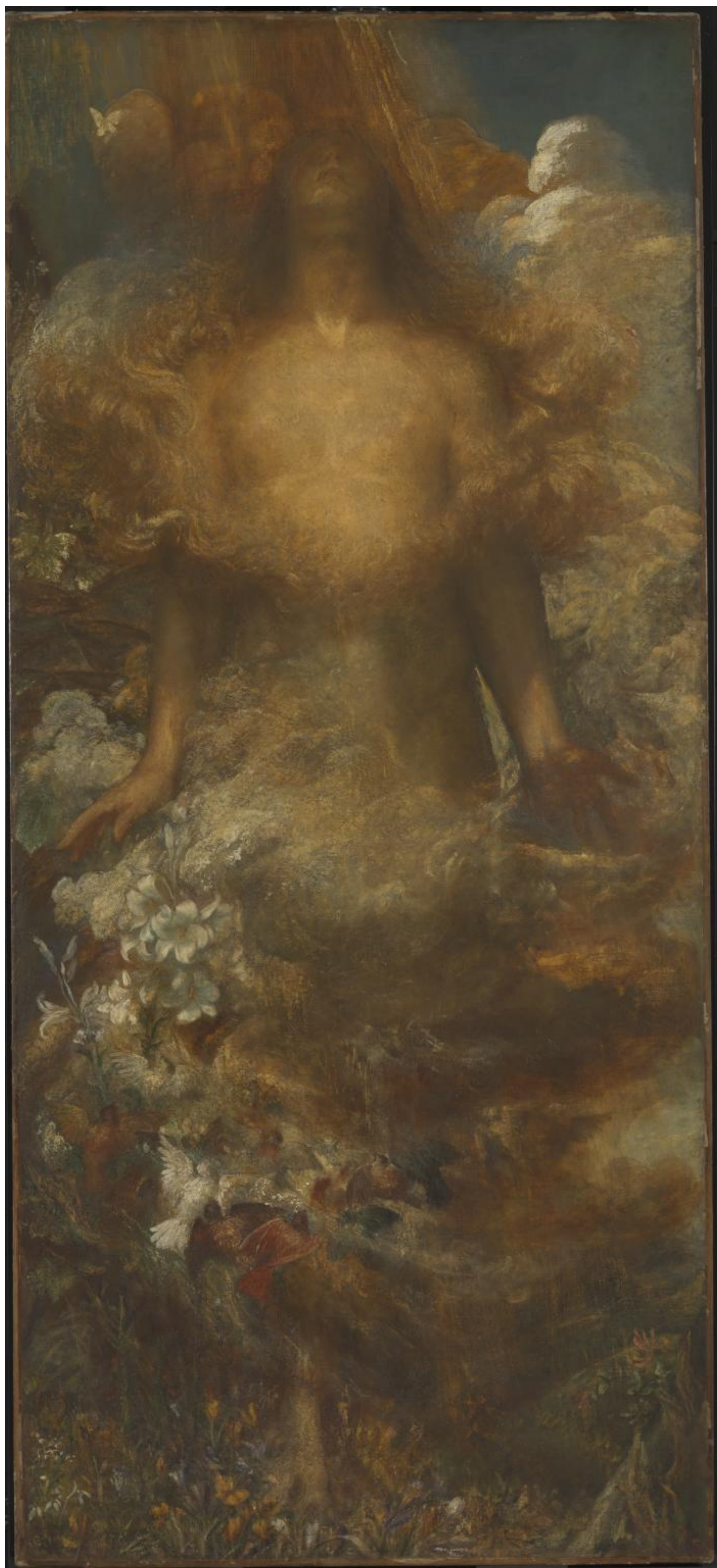

Figure 98 George Frederic Watts, 'She shall be called woman', c. 1875-92, oil paint on canvas, 257.8 x 116.8 cm, Tate, London.

Figure 99 George Frederic Watts, Psyche, 1880, oil paint on canvas, 188.6 x 59.7 cm, Tate, London.

Figure 100 John Byam Liston Shaw, 'Time and chance happeneth to all. I returned, and saw under the sun, that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men...', 1901, oil on canvas, 86.4 x 61.3 cm, Private Collection.

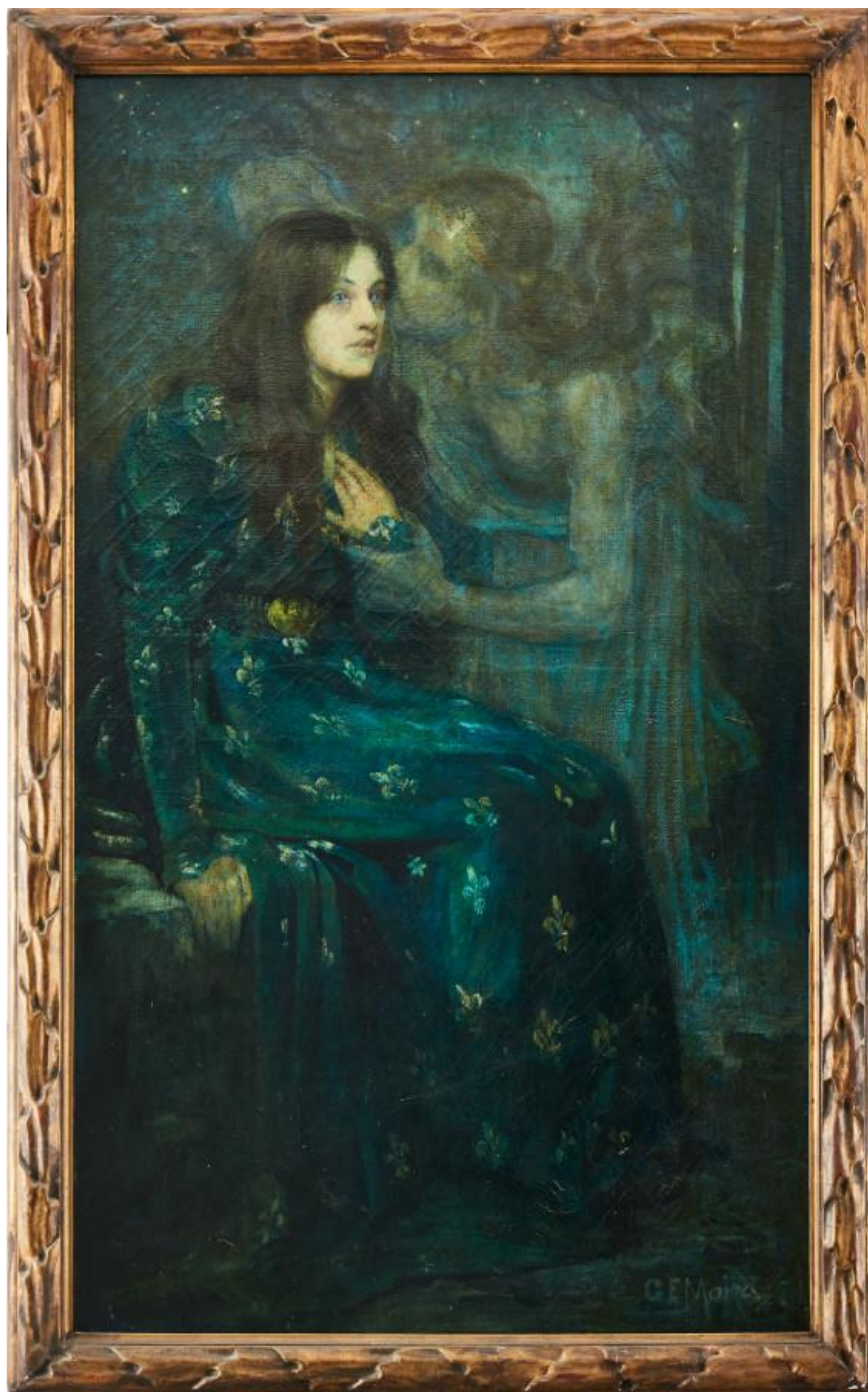

Figure 101 Gerald Moira, 'Thereto the silent voice replied, 'Look up thro' night: the world is wide,' 1892-3, oil on canvas, 86 x 150 cm, Private Collection.

Figure 102 Gerald Moira, 'And with his feet and with his wing-feathers,' 1894, in Gleeson White, "Mr. Gerald Moira's Paintings and Bas-relief Decorations," The Studio 12 (1898).

Figure 103 Gerald Moira, 'Golden gifts for all the rest, sorrow of heart for the king's daughter,' 1896, in Gleeson White, "Mr. Gerald Moira's Paintings and Bas-relief Decorations," The Studio 12 (1898).

Figure 104 John Liston Byam Shaw, Silent Noon, 1894, oil on canvas, 66.8 x 111.8 cm, Leighton House Museum, London.

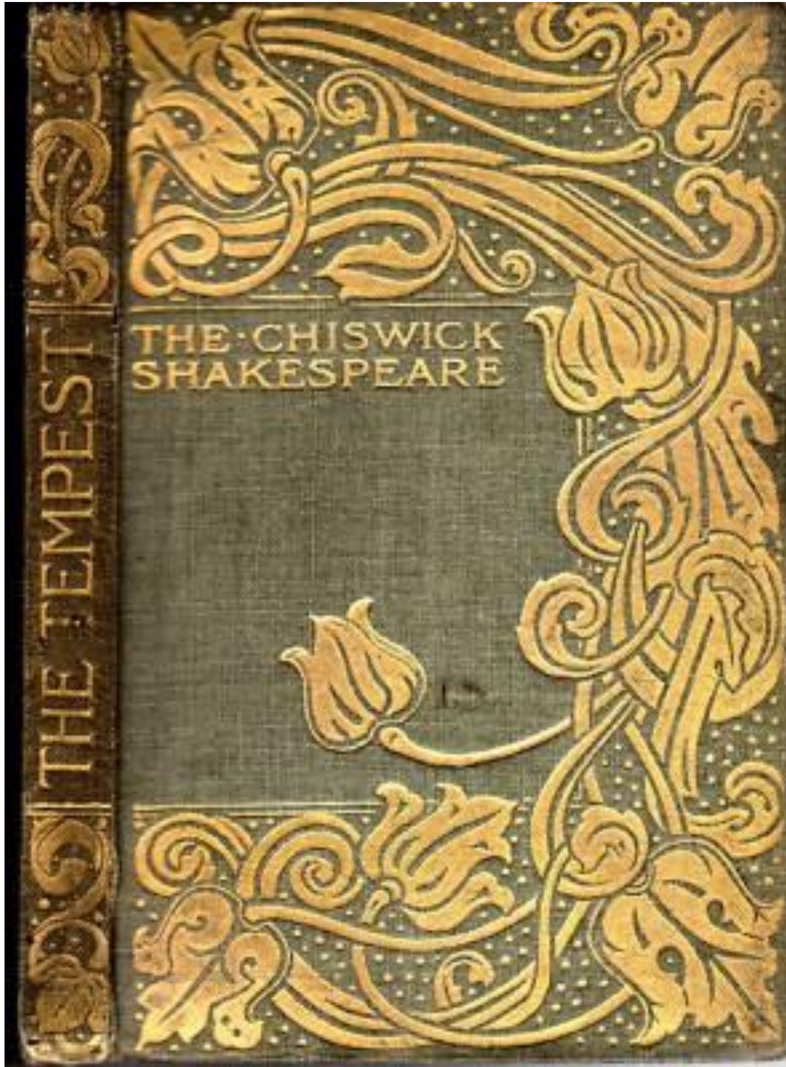

Figure 105 Gerald Moira, Cover Design, The Tempest, part of The Chiswick Shakespeare series (London: George Bell & Sons, 1899).

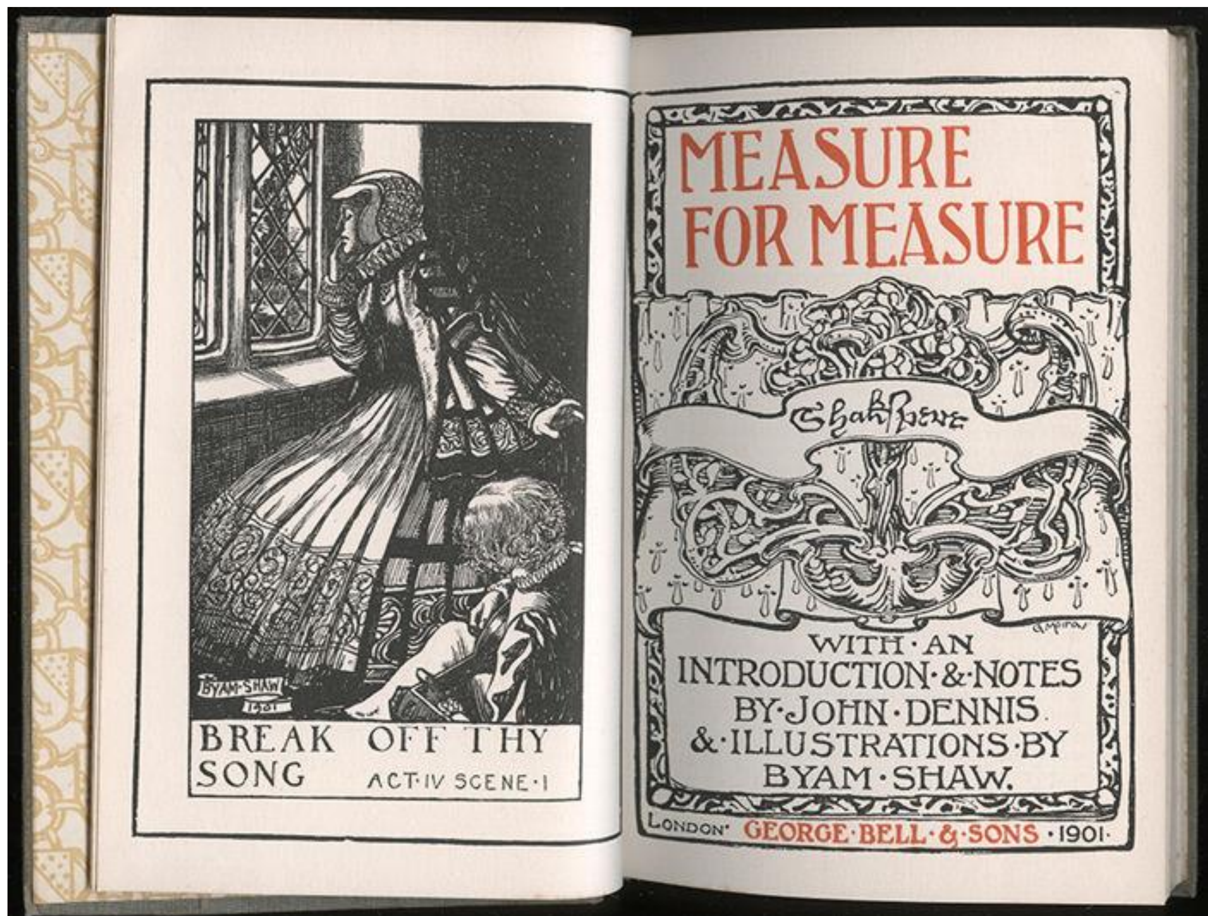

Figure 106 Left: John Liston Byaw Shaw, frontispiece: 'Break off thy song', and right: Gerald Moira, title page, in Measure for Measure, part of The Chiswick Shakespeare series (London: George Bell & Sons, 1901).

Figure 107 John Liston Byam Shaw, 'Her aid she promised', c. 1900, pen and ink design for King Henry VI, Part I, which would be published as part of The Chiswick Shakespeare series (London: George Bell & Sons, 1900), Folger Library, Washington DC.

Figure 108 John Byan Liston Shaw, Jezebel, 1896, oil on canvas, 148.5 x 81 cm, Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth.

Figure 109 William Holman Hunt, The Awakening Conscience, 1853, oil on canvas, 76.2 x 55.9 cm, Tate, London.

Figure 110 Bernard Sleigh, An Ancient Mappe of Fairyland, London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1918, 48 x 182 cm.

Figure 111 Bernard Sleigh, The Vale of False Lovers, 1898, woodblock, in The Studio 14 (1898), 11.

Figure 112 Edward Burne-Jones, The Doom Fulfilled, 1888, mixed media on paper, 153.8 x 138.4 cm, Southampton City Art Gallery, Southampton.

Figure 113 Edward Burne-Jones, Studies of armour for The Briar Wood, 1875, black and white chalk, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne.

Figure 114 Possibly Ulrich Rämbs, A21: Armour for Man and Horse, c. 1480, Germany, Wallace Collection, London.

Figure 115 Filippo Negroli, Burgonet, c. 1510-1579, steel and gold, 24.1 cm high, Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Figure 116 Edward Burne-Jones, The Beguiling of Merlin, 1872-77, oil on canvas, 186 x 111 cm, Lady Lever Art Gallery, Liverpool.

Figure 117 Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Proserpine, 1874, oil on canvas, 125.1 x 61 cm, Tate, London.

Figure 118 Bernard Sleigh, Aslaug, 1902, tempera on canvas, 49.6 x 31.2 cm, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Figure 119 Bernard Sleigh, Birdalone, wood engraving, 12.7 x 5.7 cm, in The Venture: An Annual of Art and Literature, edited by Laurence Houseman and W. Somerset Maugham (London: John Baillie, 1903).

Figure 120 Austin Osman Spare, A Book of Satyrs: General Allegory, undated, ink, wash, and gouache, 38 x 26.7 cm, Private Collection.

Figure 121 Sidney Sime, The Lop-Eared Bloog, 1905, pen and black ink and watercolour over graphite, 22.8 x 16.9 cm, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Figure 122 Sidney Sime, The Gorrobbobl, 1905, pen and black ink and watercolour over graphite, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

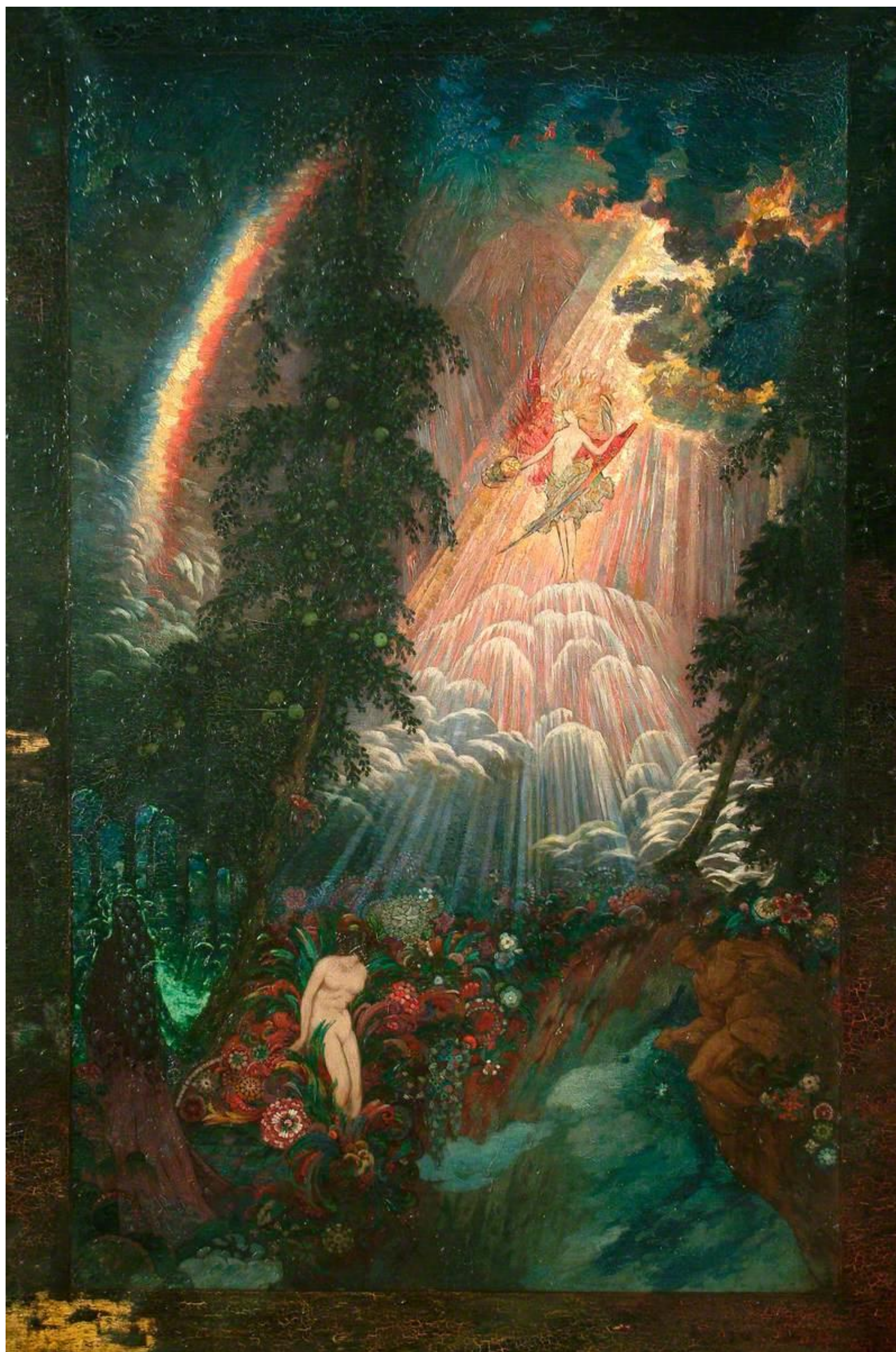

Figure 123 Sidney Sime, Illustrative 2, c.1914-30

Figure 124 Sidney Sime, Illustrative, c.1914-30

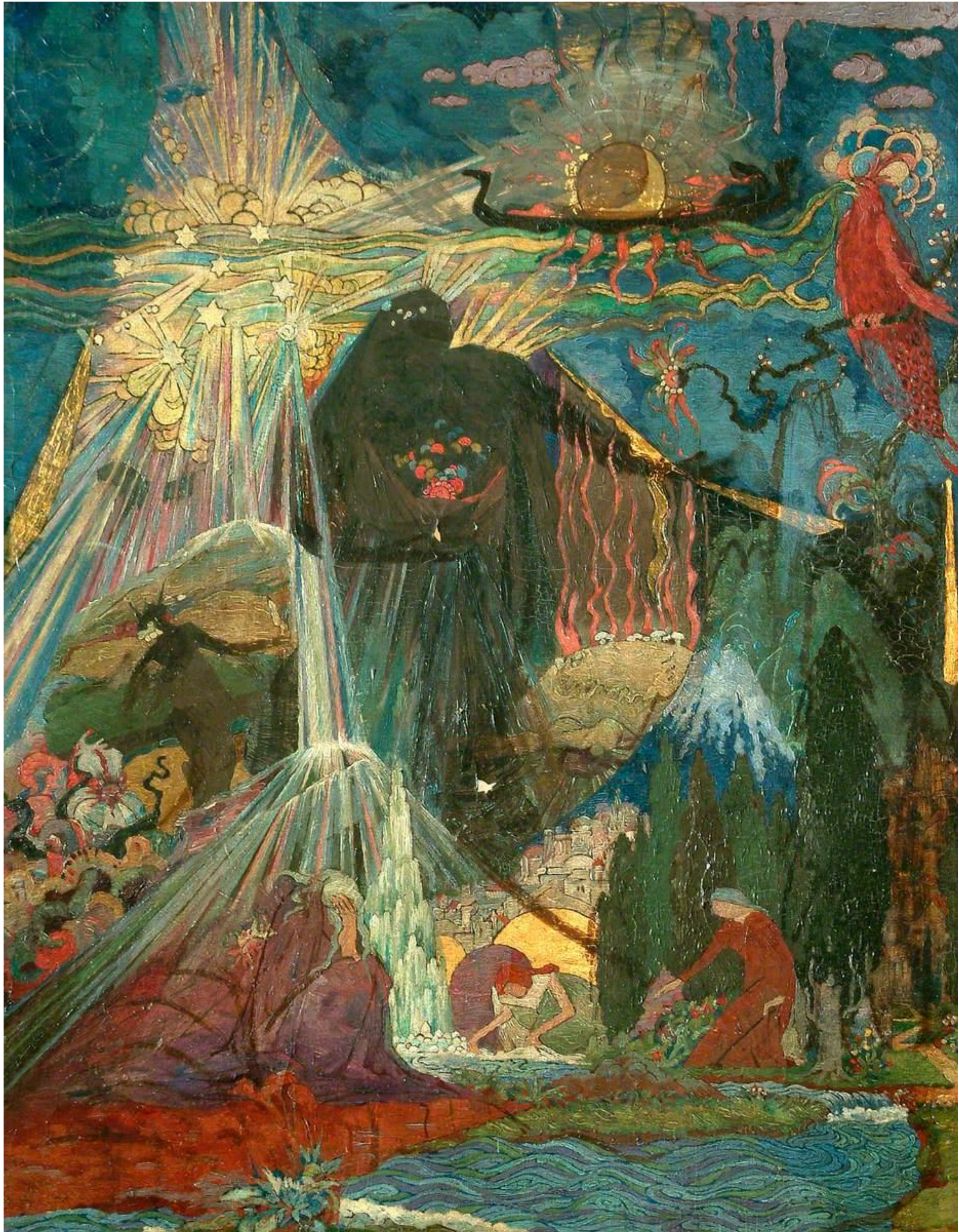

Figure 125 Sidney Sime, Illustrative Design of Fountain and Figures, c.1914-30.

Figure 126 Edward Scott-Snell, The Cuckoo Crying Before Dawn, c. 1943, unknown location, in Joscelyn Godwin, The Starlight Years: Love & War at Kelmscott Manor, 1940-1948 (Stanbridge: The Dovecot Press, 2015), included in coloured plates between pages 54 and 64.