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From the Editor

In our first article Andrew Shapland from the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford looks at the wall paintings discovered at the Palace of Minos at Knossos by Sir Arthur Evans that have become so emblematic of Minoan art, and what they tell us about the society of Bronze Age Crete.

This year the National Gallery in London celebrates its bicentenary and Justine Hopkins charts some of its important milestones since its inception in 1824.

One of the National Gallery's most popular paintings is *Lake Keitele* by the Finnish artist Akseli Gallen-Kallela, which depicts luminous reflections in the blue waters of a Scandinavian lake; Charlotte Ashby considers the career of the artist, and his importance to the emerging sense of new national identity in Finland in the early years of the twentieth century.

Andrew Spira analyses the origins and inspirations for the Art Nouveau style, and looks at its application to architecture, furniture and the decorative arts.

The winner at Birkbeck this year of the Murray Prize for Best Early Period Masters Dissertation, Anthony Green, discusses a key painting depicting the British in India in the early days of the Raj: Johan Zoffany's *Colonel Mordaunt's Cock Match*.

A new feature this year is a listing of forthcoming art exhibitions in and around London. On our back page, we list some of our Society's lectures and study events for the next academic year.

I would like to express my thanks to the contributors, our designer, and my fellow Review Editorial Panel members.

Barrie MacDonald
Editor, London Art History Society Review

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FRONT COVER: *Émile Gilliéron*, Restoration of The Priest-King ('The Prince of the Lilies') Fresco. Source: *Arthur Evans,* The Palace of Minos*, vol. II (London: Macmillan, 1928). pl. xiv*.

The discovery of Minoan wall painting

Andrew Shapland

The Royal Academy Winter Exhibition of 1903 is a significant moment in the history of Minoan art. That year, alongside the traditional display of works by 'The Old Masters and Deceased Masters of the British School', a room was set aside for the works of painters who had lived 3,500 years ago on the island of Crete.[1] These works had started to come to light in 1900 when Sir Arthur Evans began to excavate at Knossos. Unlike Old Master paintings, however, they had emerged from the ground in fragments and could not be exported from Crete according to the laws of the time. Instead, Evans commissioned replicas from the Swiss artist who had restored them, Émile Gilliéron. It was these replicas which hung on the walls of Burlington House alongside photographs and architectural drawings which helped explain the finds from Knossos to a London audience. Many of these exhibits survive in the collection of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, where Sir Arthur Evans was Keeper at the time of his excavations. By re-examining some of these exhibits over a century later it becomes possible to trace how interpretations have changed since Evans's day.

An article in *The Times* helps to put the exhibition in context. It was an appeal for public donations to help Evans continue the excavations which 'in three years have laid bare the living outlines of what was before to us a merely legendary world'.[2] Evans had uncovered a Bronze Age building which stood from around 2000 BCE until its final destruction in 1350 BCE. He called it the Palace of Minos, and the associated civilisation 'Minoan'. According to Greek myth the palace at Knossos was also the location of the Labyrinth and its resident Minotaur. These associations helped to attract public attention to the site, but the finds were also spectacular. The article went on to describe some of the replica paintings: 'More interesting still are the painted reliefs in *gesso duro* – the astonishing bull's head and the forceful human torso – which can leave no one who has seen them in doubt as to the capacity of these early Aegean artists to model with freshness and expression. Equally striking is the vividness of colour which pervades the frescoes, and, in some cases the curiously modern suggestions in inspiration and treatment'.[3] Critics have noted that the modernity of the frescoes was in part due to their extensive restoration by Gilliéron

Fig. 1: Emile Gilliéron, Replica of bull's head fresco from North Entrance at Knossos*, c. 1900-03. Painted plaster, 88 x 136 cm. © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.*

Fig. 2: Restoration of charging bull painting on the North Entrance bastion at Knossos. Photograph: Andrew Shapland

Fig. 3: Émile Gilliéron, Taureador Fresco*, c. 1900-03. Watercolour, 86 x 153 cm. © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.*

but there is no doubt that the wall paintings have a distinct aesthetic which seemed at home in the early twentieth century.[4]

One of the most remarkable pieces of painted plaster, found in the North Entrance Passage of the Palace, is the life size bull's head in relief which *The Times* highlighted (Fig. 1). It provided the inspiration for the bastion bearing a charging bull built in 1930 as part of Evans's controversial 'restitution' of the site in reinforced concrete (Fig. 2). For Evans this was one of the pieces of evidence that the Palace had inspired the myth of the Minotaur, since he believed that such images of bulls were still visible among the ruins in later times. The relief plaster head also gives the bull physical presence, bringing the animal out of the surface of the wall. Evans later called it 'one of the noblest revelations of Minoan Art. It is simple and large in style, but instinct with fiery life'.[5]

Another painting on display in 1903 was described in the catalogue as 'Fresco of the Female Toreadors' (Fig. 3). Émile Gilliéron's restoration clearly indicates the outlines of the surviving fragments, showing that his paintings were closely based on the available evidence, but both the terms 'fresco' and 'female' are now debated. There has long been a consensus that the true fresco technique, applying pigment when the plaster was wet, was used for wall painting on Minoan Crete. Scientific analysis has complicated this picture, however, and it is now recognised that a mix of techniques was used, including painting *a secco*, once the plaster was dry.[6] Nevertheless it remains the case that Minoan Crete was one of the first places where true fresco painting was practised.

Evans argued that there were close links between Crete and Egypt in this period, so that the Egyptian convention of depicting women with white skin and men in red was adopted in Crete. This has been widely accepted too but, as this fresco shows, the evidence for this is ambiguous. All three figures in this fresco wear male attire, the codpiece and kilt, and so are almost certainly young men; Evans instead explained this as ritual transvestism since he regarded bull-leaping as a religious performance. The Taureador Fresco, as it is now known, was one of a series of similar panels found in the East Wing of the Palace in 1901. The panels show different outcomes of the performance of bull-leaping which was depicted in a variety of media

on Minoan Crete. The closest modern analogy seems to be the American rodeo, a demonstration of the skills used in rounding up cattle.[7] Both the pose of the leaper and the bull give a sense of movement. The posture of the bull has become known as a 'flying gallop', a distinctively Minoan innovation which brought animal depictions to life.

Conversely, one of the first frescoes to be discovered in 1900 was at first regarded as a female figure, before Evans decided that the red skin colour made it male. Now known more prosaically as the 'Cupbearer Fresco', Evans referred to this figure as 'Ariadne' in his notebook (Fig. 4). The feet of a number of other near life-size figures were found still *in situ* on the neighbouring walls, showing that this figure was part of a much larger procession. This helps to challenge our notion of wall paintings as simply decoration since many scholars now think that this painted procession was also an instruction for how to behave when entering the Palace – one should bring gifts – and also a permanent manifestation of a transient event. The object carried by the figure is known as a rhyton, most probably silver, and other similar objects were found at Knossos. It was probably used for filling cups in the course of the drinking ceremonies that happened at the Palace.

Another fresco, described in 1903 as a 'Miniature Fresco', shows a gathering of red and white figures: red is used for the sea of heads around the white figures, who are clearly women in colourfully-dyed dresses which open to show their breasts (Fig. 5). This replica was made in plaster, and again shows the surviving fragments. It appears

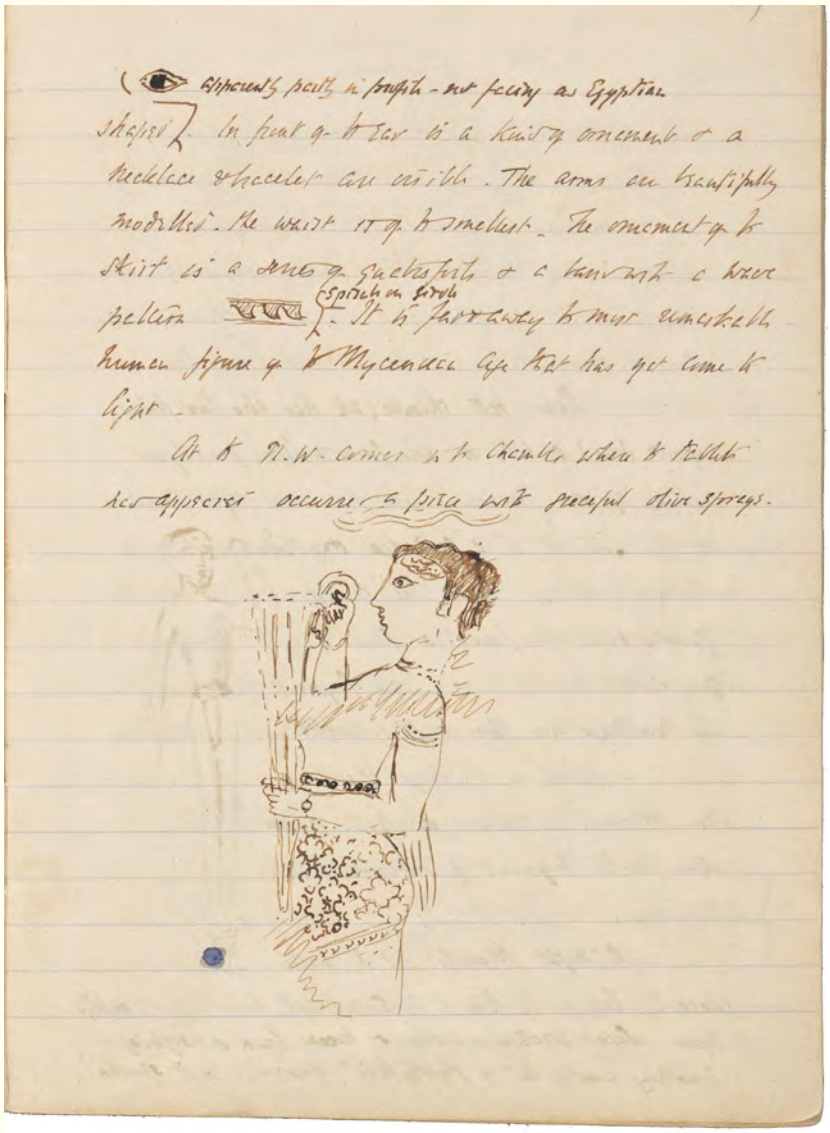

Fig. 4: Arthur Evans's 1900 Knossos excavation daybook, p. 19; Restoration of the Cupbearer Fresco. *Watercolour, 56 x 25 cm. © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.*

to show an area just outside the Palace known as the Theatral Area. Here there are raised walkways and banks of seating around an open area which, as this fresco shows, was used for performances of dancing among other things. It also shows that some women held high status, judging by their individual delineation and costly clothing. Dyed cloth was one of the main export products of Crete in this period, and these women might have been significant figures in the textile industry. Rather than gender, this painting shows that the red and white convention could map equally well onto status.

Some of the most famous Minoan frescoes only came into existence after the Royal Academy exhibition and first appeared in Evans's later publications. The fragments of the 'Ladies in Blue' were only put together a decade after they were excavated and were first published in 1921 (Fig. 6). Although the reconstruction appears to be accurate, all of the women's heads were reimagined by Émile Gilliéron. More problematic is the now famous 'Priest-King' or 'Prince of the Lilies', which was reconstructed from several fragments by the restorer's son, Émile Gilliéron *fils* (Front Cover). Few archaeologists now believe that this restoration is correct: the crown probably comes from a sphinx and the torso from a male boxer (whose pale skin is another argument against the link between skin colour and gender).[8] Nevertheless, versions of these same restorations, containing the original fragments, are on display in the Heraklion Archaeological Museum and have become emblematic of Minoan Crete.

Before the originals were put on permanent display in Heraklion, the presentation of some of these reproductions at the Royal Academy in 1903 helped to establish them as part of the canon of 'Minoan Art'. Yet despite their removal from the walls of the Palace, through Gilliéron's skilful replicas, they can also be used as important

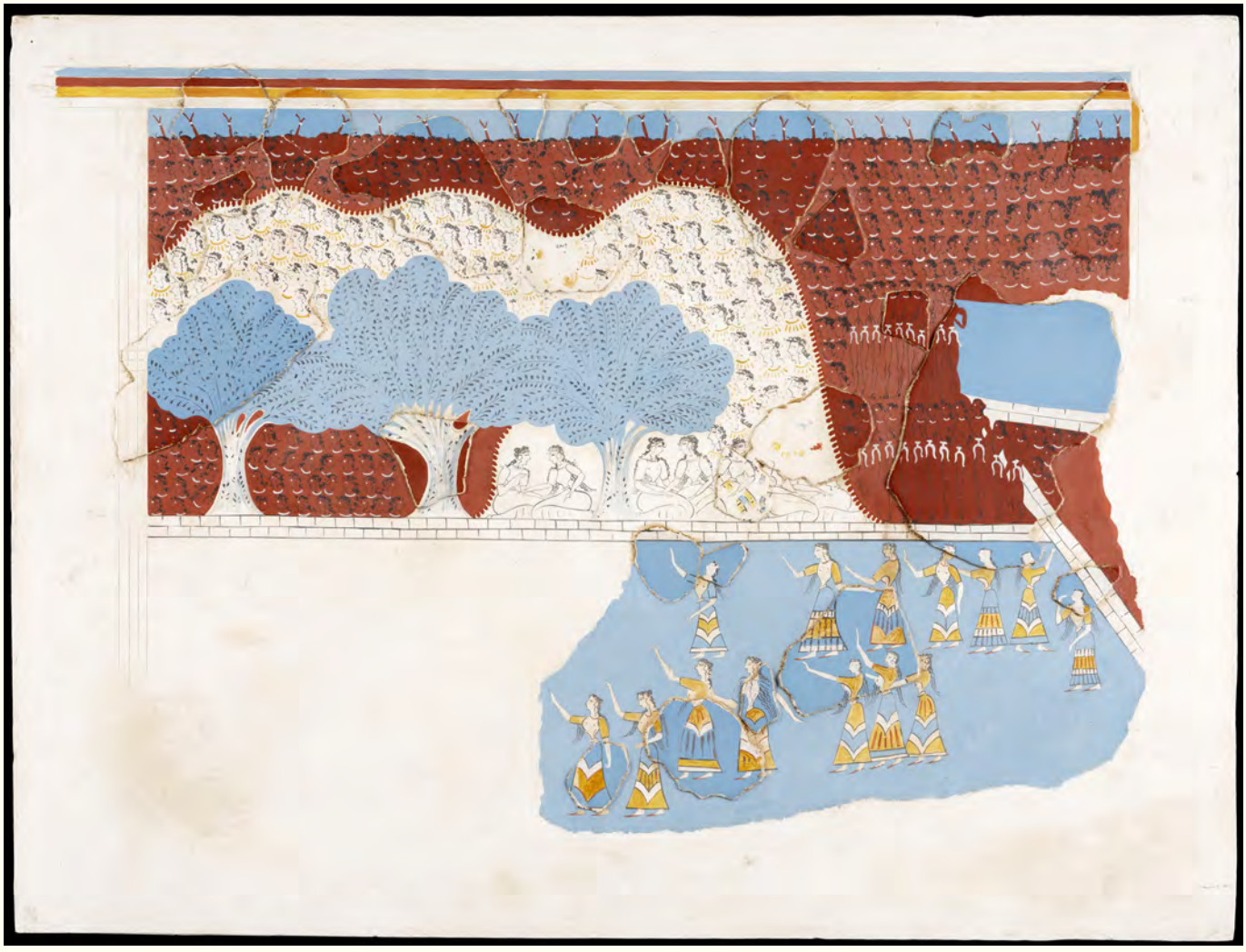

Fig. 5: Émile Gilliéron, Sacred Grove and Dance Fresco*, c. 1900-03. Painted plaster, 64 x 84 cm. © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.*

Fig. 6: Émile Gilliéron, Ladies in Blue Fresco*, c. 1914-21. Watercolour, 95 x 161 cm. © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.*

documents of the society that produced them. Indeed, in the absence of textual records for much of this period, they are often the best evidence we have for the society of Bronze Age Crete. One way of looking at the frescoes is that they show how the Palace was an economic centre where cattle were valuable animals, drinking equipment was paraded in processions, and women in colourfully dyed textiles held high status. In the Bronze Age these paintings presented a model of society, with its important people, animals and activities. Maybe this was not so different from the paintings hanging on the walls of the other galleries in the 1903 Winter Exhibition after all.

Andrew Shapland is the Sir Arthur Evans Curator of Bronze Age and Classical Greece at the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. He was curator of the recent exhibition *Labyrinth: Knossos, Myth and Reality*.

Notes

1 *Winter Exhibition Thirty-Fourth Year,* ex. cat., (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1903).

2 *The Times*, 16 February 1903, p. 9.

3 Ibid.

4 See Nicoletta Momigliano, *In search of the labyrinth: the cultural legacy of Minoan Crete* (London: Bloomsbury, 2020), pp. 74-86.

5 Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, vol. III (London: Macmillan, 1930), p. 172.

6 Richard Jones, 'Technical studies of Aegean Bronze Age wall painting: methods, results and future prospects' in *Aegean wall paintings: a tribute to Mark Cameron*, ed. by Lyvia Morgan (London: British School at Athens, 2005), pp. 199-228.

7 Andrew Shapland, *Human-animal relations in Bronze Age Crete: a history through objects* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), pp. 89-95.

8 Susan Sherratt, *Arthur Evans, Knossos and the priest-king* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2000).

‘Everyone’s invited’[1]: bicentenary of a National Treasure

Justine Hopkins

Fig. 1: The National Gallery, London. *Photo: Michael Coppins. Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International License.*

When a young John Ruskin visited the fledgling National Gallery in January 1847, a bare decade after its move to the prestigious site of London’s latest public square, he was not impressed by what he found. Being Ruskin, he had no hesitation expressing this in eloquent prose for publication in *The Times*, where he fulminated at length on ‘an European jest, her art a shadow, and her connoisseurship an hypocrisy … exposed to the cheats of every vendor of old canvas’, housed beneath ‘that preposterous portico [in] melancholy and miserable rooms,’ with pictures chosen by ‘principles of selection … as extraordinary as unjustifiable’.[2]

It was not, perhaps, quite so bad as that. Still, Ruskin, if intemperate, was not alone in questioning how the nation’s pictures were being selected, displayed and – most controversially – restored. An official Government Enquiry was launched, a Select Committee appointed to investigate – and so was born the National Gallery we know today.

London came late to the concept of a public national collection. The combined effects of Enlightenment principles and bloody revolution meant that by the 1800s European cities from Florence to Paris, Vatican City to Madrid, had thriving public galleries, while Britain’s pictures remained the joy of private collectors. It took eight years from the foundation of the Royal Academy in 1769 for a national gallery to be proposed in Parliament – to no effect. In 1823 two major collectors – Constable’s friend and patron George Beaumont and clergyman-connoisseur, the Reverend Holwell Carr – offered substantial collections to the nation on the simple proviso of fit premises to display them. Still

Fig. 2: Sebastiano del Piombo, The Raising of Lazarus, *c. 1517-19. Oil on canvas, 381 x 289.6 cm. National Gallery, London. Photograph: www.commons.wikimedia.org/Sebastiano del Piombo/Public Domain.*

nothing happened. It took the death, that same year, of another major collector, John Julius Angerstein, to change the situation.

Angerstein, born in Russia to German parents (although rumoured to be an illegitimate scion of the Russian Imperial family), had made his home in London at the age of fifteen. A man of considerable personal charm and wide acquaintance, influential in Parliament and a familiar figure at Court, his career as an insurance broker and founding Lloyd's underwriter made him wealthy even by the extravagant standards of the time, and much of this money was spent on paintings. Counting Royal Academy President, Sir Thomas Lawrence, among his friends and advisers, his collection was outstanding, including a pair of pictures by Claude Lorrain for which he reportedly paid 8000 guineas (just shy of a million pounds in today's currency).

When it emerged that Angerstein's heirs were selling his pictures and had already been offered £70,000 by the Prince of Orange, Lawrence made an impassioned plea to Parliament to keep the collection for the nation. Initially reluctant, partly due to stretched finances following the Napoleonic Wars, a fortuitous repayment of war loans by Austria encouraged the Treasury to put up funds for the purchase, preservation, and exhibition of 38 pictures from the collection. This included the lease on Angerstein's Pall Mall house, and it was here, on 10 May 1824, that the National Gallery opened its doors to the public. Artists on display included Rembrandt, Claude, Rubens, and Van Dyck, with works by Hogarth and Reynolds introducing a British presence among the established European masters. First in the catalogue[3] was Sebastiano del Piombo's enormous masterpiece, *The Raising of Lazarus* (Fig. 2).

In the following years the collection grew haphazardly: the promised bequests from Beaumont and Holwell Carr arrived in 1826 and 1831 respectively, and Treasury funds were made available on an ad hoc basis for particular purchases. There was no dedicated budget and no settled collecting policy; a keeper was appointed to oversee the building and a 'committee of six gentlemen' charged with supervising the pictures.[4] Still, by the end of the decade, it was clear that the Pall Mall space was inadequate, not only to display the pictures but to accommodate increasing numbers of interested visitors. After complaints were made to the Treasury, it was decided to build a dedicated National Gallery as part of developing the area around Charing Cross; the new building opened in 1838, on the site of the former Royal Mews along the northern side of what would shortly thereafter become Trafalgar Square (Fig. 1).

Fig. 3: Piero della Francesca, The Baptism of Christ, *c. 1448-50. Egg tempera on poplar wood, 167 x 116 cm. National Gallery, London. Photograph: www.commons.wikimedia.org/Piero della Francesca/Public Domain.*

Fig. 4: Anon (English or French?), Richard II presented to the Virgin and Child by his Patron St John the Baptist and Saints Edward and Edmund ('The Wilton Diptych')*, c. 1395-9. Egg tempera on oak, 53 x 37 cm. National Gallery, London. Photograph: www.commons.wikimedia.org/Wilton Diptych/Public Domain.*

The sort of changes Ruskin demanded, however, waited until 1855 and the appointment of the first Director, President of the Royal Academy, Charles Lock Eastlake, with an annual purchase grant of £10,000, and a personal mission to diversify the gallery holdings. Over the next ten years he undertook a series of summer buying trips, acquiring, often for ridiculously small sums, such Gallery favourites as Paolo Uccello's *Battle of San Romano* and Piero della Francesca's *Baptism of Christ* (Fig. 3); at his death in 1865 the national collection could at last stand comparison with any of its European counterparts. His achievements, and the subsequent efforts of his successors, while a triumph for the Gallery and an education to its visitors, also exacerbated the continuing problems of space, notwithstanding an ongoing programme of extension, involving designs by some of the leading architects of the day, which began in 1877 and culminated in the opening of the Sainsbury Wing in 1991.

Some relief of the pressure was anticipated from the establishment in 1897, under National Gallery aegis, of a National Gallery of British Art (familiarly known as the Tate Gallery for its sugar-magnate benefactor). No short article could adequately explore the complex relationship between the two institutions, both before and after the Tate Gallery gained its independence in 1955; suffice it to say that the idea, while a phenomenal success on many levels, probably created at least as many administrative headaches as it solved problems of space.

Two hundred years have brought the National Gallery assorted challenges, but none so potentially devastating as the Blitz during the Second World War. It was decided early on to move the collection out of London in anticipation of bombing, and by 1941, against proposed shipment to Canada, the pictures were secured in the requisitioned

Fig. 5: Vincent van Gogh, Sunflowers*, 1888. Oil on canvas, 92.1 x 73 cm. National Gallery, London. Photograph: www.commons.wikimedia.org/Vincent Willem van Gogh/Public Domain.*

so popular that it continues to this day.

One hundred and seventy-seven years on from Ruskin's scathing assessment, the National Gallery reaches its bicentenary with a very different reputation: a celebrated London landmark housing an institution of international reputation, chosen destination of three million visitors last year. Thirty-eight pictures have become more than 2,300, covering Western art from the Middle Ages to Post-Impressionism by way of a dazzling array of artists famous and obscure, from the anonymous *Wilton Diptych* (Fig. 4) to Vincent van Gogh's spectacular *Sunflowers* (Fig. 5). A new building project currently underway will allow even more of them to be displayed, while providing 'a welcome experience befitting a world-class institution and meet[ing] the expectations of visitors now and in the future'.[5]

These are challenging times for museums worldwide, facing unprecedented levels of scrutiny in respect of sponsorship, diversity, and the provenance of their collections. The National Gallery has made a good beginning at addressing such issues; it may yet need to do more. But for now the main focus, understandably, is on NG200, for which we are promised 'a year-long festival of art, creativity and imagination which sets the tone for our third century[6]': the first major Van Gogh show for a decade; key Gallery works shown at venues around the country; a travelling art studio creating community-led projects; a summer festival in Trafalgar Square with new work by Turner Prize winner Jeremy Deller; a series of behind-the-scenes films; and an innovative digital Gallery experience. 'Everyone's invited', declares its website. Even Ruskin might finally be impressed.

Manod Slate Quarry, Blaenau Ffestiniog. The entrance was enlarged by blasting to accommodate lorries, with air-conditioned brick bunkers built inside the hill and fitted for picture storage. Assistant Keeper (later Director) Martin Davies and scientific advisor Ian Rawlins stayed nearby, taking the opportunity to carry out an extensive, experimental programme of research and restoration which would put the National Gallery in the vanguard of post-war art preservation.

Meanwhile Director Kenneth Clark resolved that the empty galleries should provide some cultural relief to the beleaguered city. With renowned pianist Myra Hess, he organised lunchtime concerts, at the modest charge of a shilling, every weekday from October 10th, 1939, to April 10th, 1946. The wide-ranging classical programme, performed and conducted by the foremost names in music, drew audiences from all backgrounds, including on several occasions Queen Elizabeth (the late Queen Mother) herself. Clark also organised exhibitions of pictures by artists working for his War Artists' Advisory Committee, while 1942 saw the institution of the National Gallery's Picture of the Month: a monthly picture being brought 'home' for daily exhibition (stored underground overnight). The idea proved

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Notes

1 www.nationalgallery.org.uk/about-us/ng200-programme.

2 John Ruskin, *The Times*, 7 January 1847. See Edward Tyas Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (eds.), *The works of John Ruskin*, vol. XII (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1903-12) pp. 397-406.

3 National Gallery Archives.

4 Michael Wilson, *The National Gallery, London* (London: Orbis, 1977) p. 8.

5 www.nationalgallery.org.uk/about-us/ng200-programme.

6 Ibid.

Akseli Gallen-Kallela: national hero/cosmopolitan artist

Charlotte Ashby

Fig. 1: Akseli Gallen-Kallela, Self-portrait*, 1905. Photo: Akseli Gallen-Kallela.*

Akseli Gallen-Kallela (1865 -1931) holds a key position in Finnish art history (Fig. 1). His paintings, celebrating Finnish nature and Finnish mythology, loom large in the national psyche. Yet, at the same time, his work incorporated a range of transnational influences. He travelled widely throughout his career, studying in Paris, returning there many times, and Italy, with visits to Germany, Kenya, and the Taos artists' colony in New Mexico, but he also remained deeply patriotic and inspired by the folklore and landscape of his country. He is an important figure in the Art Nouveau and Symbolist movements. In the 1890s Gallen-Kallela's practice was enriched by exploration of alternative media, including woodcarving, textiles, and print. These forays into design reflected the desire, common to many artists of the period, for their art to reach into every area of life.[1]

Much of this impulse was driven by the huge interest in the arts of East Asia that swept through the European art world in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. With little actual knowledge about life in China or Japan,

Fig. 2: Akseli Gallen-Kallela, Wild Angelica*, 1889. Oil on canvas, 103 × 56 cm. Finnish National Gallery. Photo: Hannu Pakarinen.*

exquisitely glazed ceramics, silk embroidery, and graphic art were understood by Europeans to reflect a sophisticated culture that managed to maintain a closeness to nature in its emphasis on the expressive power of landscape, flowers and even insects. The collecting of East Asian Art and the use of its motifs in Nordic art was a way for Nordic artists to express their own desire to live surrounded by art and close to nature.[2]

In paintings like *Wild Angelica*, 1889 (Fig. 2), Gallen-Kallela departed from the conventions of European landscape painting to focus on a close representation of native plants. He was able to showcase his grasp of the techniques of French naturalism, learned as a student in Paris, by employing the bright, crisp colours of the Nordic summer. The simplicity of the focus on local flora belies the emotive pull created by this celebration of Finnish nature and multi-sensory richness created by the evocation of the sounds of wind shaking leaves, the warmth of the sun, and scent of flowers.

Many European artists at this time were exploring new print media as a means of providing reproductions of their work to collectors who could not afford paintings. Gallen-Kallela had learnt woodcut printing, as well as etching, in Berlin in 1895. In the freedom afforded by minor works, Gallen-Kallela could also experiment with bolder forms of cropping and flattening his imagery. *The Flower of Death* woodcut of 1895 (Fig. 3) is marked by the grief of the death of his first daughter, Impi Marjatta. The folds of the girl's gown become an empty twist of fabric as she disappears into the dark forest, slipping from the viewer's grasp.

Exploring the same composition across different media allowed Gallen-Kallela to hone his ideas. His 1896 canvas painting *Defence of the Sampo* evolved out of the

Fig. 3: Akseli Gallen-Kallela, Flower of Death, *1895. Woodcut, 50 × 40 cm. Finnish National Gallery. Photo: Hannu Pakarinen.*

Fig. 4: Akseli Gallen-Kallela, The Defence of the Sampo, *1895. Woodcut, 22.5 × 18 cm. Finnish National Gallery. Photo: Hannu Pakarinen.*

composition for an earlier woodcarving on the same theme from 1894. Gallen-Kallela had started to work on scenes from the *Kalevala* at the beginning of the 1890s. The *Kalevala* was a vitally important text in the development of Finnish nationalism. It was compiled by the folklorist Elias Lönnrot and first published in 1835. The mythology was devised by Lönnrot from extensive study of the sung-poetry of Finnish peoples, particularly of Karelia and Eastern Finland.

Its original title, *The Kalevala or Old Karelian Poems of the Ancient Days of the Finnish People*, reveals the way it was understood as simultaneously literature and history. For a people with no history as an independent nation, this imagined history of legendary heroes was hugely important. In the tale illustrated in *Defence of the Sampo*, the hero-wizard Väinämöinen battles to retain his prize, a magical object known as the Sampo, which he has stolen from Louhi, the Witch of the North. *Defence of the Sampo* also represents a decisive break from the naturalism of Gallen-Kallela's earlier work. Increasingly, Gallen-Kallela sought a more robust, primitive, and stylised visual language to reflect the archaic metre of the *Kalevala* verse form and the age of heroes it represented.

The translation of the image from wood carving into a woodblock print in 1895 (Fig. 4) was a vital step towards freeing the composition from the expectations of European verisimilitude.[3] Gallen-Kallela collected Japanese prints from his time in Paris in the 1880s, and these provided the inspiration for the interplay of graphic patterns across the hair of Väinämöinen, the skin of Louhi, and of the sea in the background.[4] Contrasting diagonals of the thrusting spears and rearing prow of the boat, allowed Gallen-Kallela to create a highly dramatic composition that worked with both the narrative and the flat, decorative surface of the image.

Alongside these East-Asian influences, elements of Finnish material heritage played an important role in lending the scene authenticity. Alongside folkloric studies, material culture had played an important role in the burgeoning Finnish national movement. The amassing of collections of folk textiles and woodwork from the regions was a way of both creating and celebrating Finnish culture.[5] The pin brooch worn by Väinämöinen, and the clinker-built boat portrayed, helped ground the mythological scene in the concrete world of the Finnish vernacular culture. The thick weave chosen for the canvas painting was another allusion to applied art, that of tapestry. Gallen-Kallela wanted to imbue his work with the enduring values of the arts of the past: tapestry, fresco, and wood carving, as well as with the modernity and immediacy of the Japanese *ukiyo-e* prints.

The *Defence of the Sampo* composition took on a more public and political form as part of his contributions to the Finnish Pavilion at the Universal Exposition in Paris in 1900. The realisation of the pavilion took place at a critical historic moment for Finland. Tsarist authorities in St Petersburg had, through the 1890s, been attempting to dismantle the semi-autonomous status of the Grand Duchy of Finland, which had existed since it passed from Swedish into Russian hands in 1809. The presentation of a separate Finnish pavilion on the world stage in Paris was seized upon as an opportunity to elicit international support for the Finnish national cause.

The official remit of the national pavilions, set by the French authorities, was to represent national life and people. In reality, these were public relations exercises that sought to showcase national culture. Where Gallen-Kallela's and other Finnish artists' paintings were shown in the Grand Palais they were labelled as Russian. Only by contributing

Fig. 5: Akseli Gallen-Kallela, The Defence of the Sampo*, (sketch for the cupola frescoes of the Finnish Pavilion at the 1900 Paris World's Fair), 1899. Gouache on paper, 146 × 152 cm. Finnish National Gallery. Photo: Pirje Mykkänen.*

decorative art within the Finnish pavilion could these artists assert a Finnish national identity. Gallen-Kallela painted four *Kalevala*-themed scenes as murals for the central cupola of the pavilion. These included another reworking of his *Defence of the Sampo* theme, with Väinämöinen's determined defiance taking on new symbolism (Fig. 5).

The mural format integrated painting with architecture. Gallen-Kallela's experience with design enabled him to work with the varied curved shapes of the cupola to create compositions that did not appear awkward within their unconventional frames. The medium also suggested a connection to the European tradition of fresco painting, particularly to artists of the early Renaissance whom Gallen-Kallela had admired on his trip to Italy in 1898. The ribs of the vault were decorated by him with geometric patterns in the reddish pigment that referenced the frescoes of Finnish medieval churches, fusing the local Finnish and wider European traditions. In this way Gallen-Kallela contributed to the Finnish pavilion's efforts to transport the international visitor to Finland and convey the message that the Finns were a European people with a rich and ancient culture, and emphatically distinct from Russia.

Like many artists at the *fin de siècle*, Gallen-Kallela's practice was diverse and experimental, motivated by a search for a way to meet the expressive needs of a rapidly evolving society. This involved looking back into the past, as well as a readiness to break with tradition. It was also motivated by intense national feeling, particularly important as an articulation of resistance to Russia. At the same time, the art world was transnational. Study in Paris and other art centres across Europe, as well as the circulation of art objects and images from around the world, provided a host of experiences and encounters that could not be ignored. Key histories of Finnish art, written in the shadow of Russian hostility prior to independence and again in the aftermath of the Second World War, presented Gallen-Kallela as a national hero. But it is also important to recognise the diverse, cosmopolitan influences that shaped his work.[6]

Charlotte Ashby is a lecturer in art and design history at Birkbeck, University of London. Her publications include *Modernism in Scandinavia: art, architecture and design* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017) and *Art Nouveau: art, architecture and design in transformation* (London: Bloomsbury, 2021)

Notes

1 Charlotte Ashby, *Art Nouveau: art, architecture and design in transformation* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2021).

2 Gabriel P. Weisberg, Anna-Maria von Bonsdorff and Hanne Selkokari, *Japanomania in the Nordic Countries 1875-1918*, (Brussels, Helsinki, Oslo, Copenhagen: Mercatorfonds, 2016).

3 Juha Ilvas, 'Defence of the Sampo', in *Akseli Gallen-Kallela*, ed. by Leena Ahtola-Moorhouse (Helsinki: Ateneum, 1996), p. 76.

4 Anna Kortelainen. 'Japan and Eros' in *Looking at other cultures: works of art as icons of memory*, ed. Anja Kervanto Nevanlinna (Helsinki: Taidehistorian Seura, 1999), pp. 139-41.

5 Charlotte Ashby, 'Representing the Finnish Past: Popular History and the World of the Ancient Finn' *Representing the past in art of the long nineteenth century: historicism, post-modernism, and internationalism*, ed. by Matthew Potter (London: Routledge, 2021), pp. 195-212.

6 Marja Lahelma, 'From Nostalgia to Where…?; National Romanticism, Esotericism, and the 'Golden Age of Finnish Art'.' *FNG Research* no.1 (2020), pp. 177-206.

Art Nouveau

Andrew Spira

Throughout the history of art, a pendulum has been swinging to and fro – from classical 'reason' to anti-classical 'feeling' and back again. Renaissance Classicism was followed by Mannerist waywardness, which was followed by a Baroque 'return to classical order'. The controlled visual language of the Baroque was softened up by the whimsical Rococo style which was subsequently curtailed by rationalist Neo-Classicism. Neo-Classicism was challenged by the subjectivity and religiosity of Romanticism which, in the mid-nineteenth century, was replaced by academic Historicism. In the twentieth century, rationalist Modernism was undermined by Post-Modernism which playfully challenged rational principles for the sake of it.

Each of these phenomena can be seen to be subject to a development that the German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) would have called 'dialectical'. That is, no matter where one begins the story, the development proceeds from 'thesis' to 'antithesis' to 'synthesis': a given style is a 'statement' of taste (thesis), which is opposed by a 'counter-style' (antithesis), before a solution is found, restoring the initial style, albeit with significant differences (synthesis). The late nineteenth-century style Art Nouveau fits this model perfectly. It was the antithesis of the pompous and artificial Historicism of the mid-century but also precipitated the abstract functionalism of the 1920s. Geometrical Modernism, which eliminated all irrational and purely sensuous elements from its visual vocabulary, was a reaction against what it perceived to be the unprincipled and random nature of Art Nouveau. It offered a synthesis of Art Nouveau's anti-historicism with a newly utilitarian approach to design.

While each of these styles is a predictable reaction against its predecessor, each of them also has its own unique characteristics. Art Nouveau is no exception. Perhaps its most distinctive feature is its foundation in Darwinism. Following the publication of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* in 1859, many commentators began to speculate that the notion of evolution might be applicable not only to natural species but to *all* phenomena, including history. The outcomes of human activity, like politics, society, and culture, might not be the direct effects of human endeavour, as argued by the 'great man' theory of history; they might simply *evolve*. The 'great man' theory of history was championed by Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881). It upheld that it was as a result of the prodigious actions of great individuals like Moses, Mohammed, and Dante that history was driven forward. In the arts, the prevalence of this theory was reflected in the huge number of history paintings that were produced at the time as well as the eclecticism of its architecture. All the great buildings of the period, from the Houses of Parliament in London (1840-76) to the Opéra Garnier in Paris (1861-75), were laden with ornamental references to earlier historical styles, a tendency that was specifically conceived to place contemporary enterprises in the context of historical agendas, investing them with potent ideological associations.

The Art Nouveau style challenged the assumption that it was the human will that determined the course of events. On the contrary, it upheld that, like everything else, human history was driven by the forces of nature. It was only appropriate then that humanity's endeavours should be subject to those forces. As a result, Art Nouveau designers rejected the use of historical ornament as an instrument of association, and focused on forms that were derived from the animal and plant world. Significantly, they were not attracted to these forms because they were pretty or poetic. They were attracted to them because they were technological – inherently informed by the strength and organic intelligence of nature. Accordingly, the *stems* of plants, and the *bones* and *skeletons* of animals, appealed to them as much as their flowers or faces; the structural functions of nature were as inspirational as its aesthetic appeal (Fig. 1).

As with plant growth, this transition from historicism to functionalism was organic and gradual. Historical styles were not eliminated suddenly; they were phased out. Some of the earliest Art Nouveau designers – for instance, the furniture maker Louis Majorelle (1859-1926) working in Nancy – began their careers as designers of neo-Rococo objects due to the association of the Rococo style with the pleasurable ease of the *Ancien Régime*. The sinuous and sensuous forms of

Fig. 1: Karl Alfred von Zittel, Pedagogical chart, *Theodor Fischer Publisher, Cassel, 1902. Private Collection.*
A teaching material conceived by von Zittel that had an impact on designers as well as palaeontologists.

Fig. 2: Louis Majorelle, Suite of bedroom furniture, *1903-4. Villa Majorelle, Nancy. Photograph: John Peacock.*

Louis Majorelle designed bedroom furniture in 'suites' of items, including beds, bedside-tables, and dressing tables in order to ensure that the domestic spaces he was commissioned to realise were comprehensive and consistent in their appearance.

the suites of bedroom furniture that Majorelle designed in around 1900 (Fig. 2) make a clear reference to the swelling 'bombé' forms of Rococo commodes (chests of drawers) that were popular in the 1740s. At the same time, the architect Victor Horta (1861-1947), working in Brussels, was influenced by the conservation work of Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1814-79) who was in charge of restoring the medieval patrimony of France. The Gothic style had been considered 'barbaric' during the Renaissance and Baroque periods – hence its name, based on the hordes of Goths who, like the Vandals, raided Europe during the 'Dark Ages'. But in the nineteenth century, the style was rehabilitated due to the romantic associations of its religiosity. The restoration of medieval buildings required craftsmen to study, understand and master the entire range of medieval tastes and techniques. These tastes and techniques soon made their way into contemporary discourse whereupon they began to influence contemporary artists and architects. In the house and workshop that he designed for himself in 1898-1901, Horta clearly translated Gothic features such as thin colonnettes, fan-vaulting and coloured glazing into a modern idiom (Fig. 3). Architects' interest in medieval architecture was piqued by the fact that some of its features seemed to resonate with their other interests. For instance, the resemblance between the vaulting systems of the great cathedrals and the rib cages of animals, newly put on display in the Jardin des Plantes in Paris in 1889, was not overlooked.

Of course, the medieval style was a historic style, and it would therefore also be rejected. Nevertheless, it outlived its competitors. This was partly due to the British Arts and Crafts movement – the first movement to use the precedent of medieval art as a foil against the ills of industry. What differentiated the medieval style from other revived styles was that because most of the medieval culture that had survived was religious, it was perceived to have a moral dimension. Not only was it associated with Christianity, but its working practices were seen to be fully integrated into the lifestyles of its practitioners; this gave them a sense of social purpose and moral probity. By contrast, Renaissance painters and sculptors had aspired to elevate the status of their skill to that of a high liberal 'art'; in so doing, they dissociated from the tradition of medieval craftsmanship. As a result, the social status of painting and sculpture rose; and the status of functional objects plummeted, until it was almost eradicated by the cheap and quick productivity of the Industrial Revolution. When medieval art was revived, therefore, it was embraced as much for the moral associations of applied craftsmanship – which, unlike fine art, served the entire community in a practical way – as for its Christianity.

It was not only medieval precedent that inspired Art Nouveau designers to prioritise craftsmanship. The tradition of fine art, which only emerged as an independent force during the Renaissance, was now seen to be in decline. Having exhausted the possibilities of illusionism, the language of painting now seemed to have run out of ideas. Post-Impressionism had pushed painting to the limits of representation, beyond which it was impossible to go.

Fig. 3: Victor Horta, Façade of the Horta House and Workshop, Brussels (now the Horta Museum*), 1898-1901. Photograph licensed under Creative Commons.*

Victor Horta is credited with designing the first Art Nouveau building. Many of his earliest commissions were for homes for private clients as the Art Nouveau style was originally seen to represent a challenge to the conservative style of public institutions.

Fig. 4: Alphonse Mucha, Illustration for a Zodiac calendar for the magazine La Plume*, 1897. Photograph in the public domain.*

Alphonse Mucha's designs combined the sensuality of the female form with the organic growth of plant forms. He was especially well known for the posters he designed to advertise performances by actress Sarah Bernhardt in the 1890s. Following the First World War, his opulent taste fell out of fashion but interest in his work was revived during the 1960s on account of its 'psychedelic' quality.

This situation left some individuals in a state of crisis. For instance, Henry van de Velde (1863-1957) and Richard Riemerschmid (1868-1957), two of the most eminent Art Nouveau designers, both trained as fine artists but felt they had no choice but to abandon painting in favour of applied art. The social applications of the latter offered them more potential. It is for this reason that the Art Nouveau style prevailed more in the decorative arts than in painting. For these observers, the demise of painting was proven by the emergence of the Symbolist movement. This movement was also a manifestation of Art Nouveau, though it delighted more in the languid decaying of plants in the autumn than in their concentrated power in the spring. Fernand Knopff (1858-1921) and Franz Stuck (1863-1928) were among the main offenders.

Besides the decorative and applied arts, the Art Nouveau style was also frequently used in poster design. Given that one of the reasons it developed was that painting was in decline, this is ironic, for one of the definitive characteristics of Art Nouveau posters – the flattening of forms and colours, often contained within bold black outlines – would eventually become a source of inspiration for abstract painters, as the idea of abstract art gained traction. The posters of the Czech designer Alphonse Mucha (1860-1939) epitomise the genre. Usually produced as advertisements, his works often incorporate Symbolist elements of sensuality (Fig. 4). Significantly, as the twentieth century got underway, several Art Nouveau designers followed the call to abstraction themselves. Horta, Van de Velde and Riemerschmid all took steps in this direction, replacing the soft and sensuous curvaceousness of their earlier lines with tighter, less flexible arcs.

As the First World War approached, the extravagant hedonism of Art Nouveau seemed outdated. Two key options presented themselves to designers. One was to tighten the reins on the production and consumption of commodities by re-inflecting them with a degree of classical dignity and restraint. This was the path taken by the proponents of the Art Deco style, named after an 'International Exhibition of Modern, Decorative and Industrial Arts' that was planned in Paris for 1914 but postponed until 1925. The Art Deco style, which was also a luxury style, involved a simplified revival of historical Classicism, in its ancient, Baroque and Neo-Classical versions; its conservatism manifested in the Neo-Baroque compositions of the composer Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971) and the art of Pablo Picasso (1881-1973), as well as in the decorative arts. The second path open to designers was towards a more rigorous functionalism that erased all inessential details, focusing on strictly logical, geometrical solutions to problems that were orientated around social change; this style eschewed luxury in favour of economic viability and mass production. The approach was especially propagated at the Bauhaus school in Weimar and the Vkhutemas school in Moscow, though there were also like-minded spirits in France, such as Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, called 'Le Corbusier' (1887-1965). The Second World War brought the indulgent excesses of Art Deco to an end just as the First had put paid to Art Nouveau. For the next generation, economic functionalism ruled the roost. The pendulum had swung again.

Andrew Spira studied at the Courtauld Institute and Kings College, London. For several years, he worked at the Temple Gallery, London (specialists in Byzantine, Russian and Greek icons) and as a curator at the Victoria and Albert Museum, then Programme Director at Christie's Education for 14 years. Besides lecturing extensively, he has led numerous groups on cultural visits to Russia, and all over Europe. He is the author of: *The avant-garde icon: Russian avant-garde art and the icon painting tradition* (Aldershot: Lund Humphries, 2008); *The invention of the self: personal identity in the age of art*, and *Simulated selves: the undoing of personal identity in the modern world* (both London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020); and *Foreshadowed: Malevich's 'Black Square' and its precursors* (London: Reaktion Books, 2022).

Johan Zoffany: *Colonel Mordaunt's Cock Match*

Anthony Green

Fig. 1: Johan Zoffany, Colonel Mordaunt's Cock Match, 1784-86*.*
Oil on canvas, 104 x 150 cm. Tate Britain, London. Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain.

'Attended Mordaunt's cock match'.[1] This brief note in the diary of the Governor-General of India, Warren Hastings, for 5 April 1784 during a visit to Lucknow in the kingdom of Awadh in north-west India, gives a glimpse into the origins of *Colonel Mordaunt's Cock Match* (Fig. 1), one of the most vibrant images of the British in India during the early colonial period. Hastings bought the finished painting from the artist, the celebrated Anglo-German painter, Johan Zoffany (1733-1810), and it hung for many years in Daylesford House, his country home in Gloucestershire, an evocative memento of Hastings' many years in India.

Zoffany moved to Calcutta, the principal Presidency of the East India Company, soon after his arrival in India in the autumn of 1783 and ever after moved restlessly between it and the court of Asaf-ud-Daula, Nawab of Awadh, at Lucknow, in which he was to spend three significant periods.[2] He followed a number of other British artists, notably Tilly Kettle, who had been drawn to India after the late 1760s by the reputed fabulous wealth of East India Company officials. Zoffany had no difficulty in winning commissions for his portraits and conversation pieces, as prized by British patrons in Calcutta as in London, of whom Hastings was one.

The *Cock Match* identifies the key people at the court in Lucknow. The Nawab Vizier of Awadh, Asaf-ud-Daula (1748-1797) is placed at the very centre of the painting, facing Colonel John Mordaunt of the East India Company (1749-c. 1790). The Nawab, clad in flowing tunic and loose trousers, occupies the almost exact centre of the painting, which is oppositional, in that the Europeans occupy almost exclusively its right-hand side, while Indians occupy the left. The Nawab is part of a central group that includes his uncle, Salar Junt, dressed in white,

and Asaf's two most senior ministers; Hasan Reza Khan, in blue with the yellow sash, and his deputy, Heyder Beg Khan. The exception to this Indian group is the striking figure of John Mordaunt: tall, dressed entirely in white, 'more of the Apollo Belvidere [sic], though more rigid of muscle than any other person I ever saw'.[3]

One key feature of an orientalist reading is that the Nawab has moved away from the white couch under a green umbrella (*chattah*), symbolic by its colour of Islamic kingship. Zoffany depicts the site of Awadhi royal power as being literally occupied by Europeans, who sit and stand round it, casually gossiping and exchanging bets. Among them are Zoffany himself, with fellow artist, Ozias Humphries, and the rotund figure of Lieutenant William Golding, holding a cock in the bottom right of the painting.

Zoffany referred to his painting in his bill for the work as 'an historical picture of a Cock Pitt composed of a great number of small figures'.[4] The scale of the painting and the portraits of contemporary personalities do suggest a 'History' painting in the style of the patriotic scenes of British military supremacy by Benjamin West or John Singleton Copley. The painting appears to have been completed over a long period and not finished until 1786. If it depicts an event in 1784, we know that Humphries was not in Lucknow at that time and has been added later. Similarly, there is evidence that Golding is standing in for another equally bulky figure, James Graham.[5] It appears, therefore, that the painting is better taken as an imaginative reconstruction of an event rather than a historical record.

The political reality was that the rulers of Awadh had had to accept the East India Company as the principal military power in neighbouring Bengal and their own status as a buffer state between the British and hostile Indian powers to the south and east. Compelled to maintain and pay for expensive garrisons of Company soldiers, Asaf had also accepted the presence of a British Resident at his court. Within these constraints, Asaf was left to govern as he liked; his love of pleasure and passion for cockfighting, lack of interest in the routine business of government, and extravagance are testified by both British and Indian sources. Zoffany casts a somewhat satirical eye over these proceedings in this brilliant but dissipated court.

No European and few Indian women are depicted in the painting. The overwhelming impression is one of men at their pleasures – gambling, sport, and probably ribald jokes. Griselda Pollock has attempted to draw a more nuanced view of the painting as orientalist, seeing it as competition between men who assert their masculinity through the fighting

Fig. 2: Johan Zoffany, The Impey Family, 1783. *Oil on canvas, 91.5 x 122 cm. Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid. Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain.*

Fig. 3: After Johan Zoffany and an unknown Indian artist, Colonel Mordaunt's Cock Match *(the 'Ashwick' version), c. 1786-c. 1790. Print. Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain.*

performance of their cocks and, by implication, a suggested competition for superiority between Indian and British or European manhood.[6] While the *Cock Match* is highly gendered, and the cocks have an iconographic sexual suggestiveness in this context, the painting is notable for its lack of an overt sense of competition. An early commentator noted that no-one seems particularly concerned at the outcome of the cock fight about to take place.[7] Indians and Europeans occupy the same space, in the main without a sense of close interaction, but without hostility or awkwardness.

This sense of ease and informality is reflected in other paintings completed by Zoffany in India, such as his conversation piece of 1783, *The Impey Family* (Fig. 2). Here the family of Sir Elijah Impey, Chief Justice of the Court in Calcutta, is shown enjoying the performance of a group of Indian musicians at his home. Impey claps to the music while one of his daughters, wearing modified Indian dress, dances. The family, their Indian servants and the musicians are in clearly defined groups but occupy the same space and all are integral to the scene, in much the same way that Zoffany achieves in the *Cock Match*.

The Nawab's lack of an heir and rumoured homosexuality was a topic for gossip, and he was inseparable from Mordaunt, described as a 'favourite' or 'aide de camp', but whose actual function at court was unspecified.[8] John Mordaunt was reputedly near-illiterate and the illegitimate son of the Earl of Peterborough, so hardly conformed to the stereotype of an Imperial hero[9]. The very ambiguity of their relationship shows, along with the Indian mistresses enjoyed by many European men including Zoffany, the potential for close, although not equal, private relationships between Indian and European at this time. It is this relationship which may have inspired Asaf to commission his own version of the painting, which, technical analysis suggests, was begun by Zoffany (who worked on several of the principal figures) but was completed by an Indian artist (Fig. 3).[10] Zoffany's biographer, Mary Webster, comments that, unlike the Daylesford version 'crowded with exotic Indians, the Ashwick version contains a predominance of exotic Europeans. All sense of noise and hubbub and confusion is gone'.[11] But this new formality is entirely the point of the painting when seen from Asaf's point of view; the significant reduction in the number of 'exotic Indians' focuses attention on the highest-ranking officials of his court, including his uncle and his ministers. Mordaunt still occupies a prominent position, but the Europeans have also been reduced in number, if less significantly.

These figures include Claude Martin, the French-born Superintendent of the Nawab's arsenal and Antoine Polier, his Swiss Chief Surveyor. Zoffany is also present but much reduced in prominence – he can be seen with his palette crouching behind the royal couch, which now resembles more clearly a cushion throne, or *musnud*. All these people were in the pay of the Nawab or looked to him for commissions.

For Warren Hastings and Zoffany, then, the painting may be seen as a reconstruction of Europeans at ease in a colourful, boisterous India, with distinctly gendered and sexualised overtones. For Asaf, the painting can have a different meaning; an Indian sovereign at a favourite pastime, surrounded by his most prominent courtiers and a beloved royal favourite. No one reading, and no purely orientalist reading, is going to capture fully this fascinating painting. Its importance was recognised in the early 1990s when, after years in private ownership, it was sold at auction to a buyer outside the UK but then saved for the nation by the National Art Collections Fund and a public campaign as it was considered 'far and away the single most important visual document of Anglo-Indian history', and then purchased by the Tate.[12]

Anthony Green has just completed his MA in Art History at Birkbeck College London and won the Murray Prize for Best Early Period Masters Dissertation for his work on the Indian paintings of Johan Zoffany. His first degree was in History from the University of Southampton. He would like to continue independent research into eighteenth and nineteenth-century British art history.

Notes

1 Mildred Archer, *India and British portraiture, 1770-1825* (Phillip Wilson Publishers Ltd, 1979), p. 148. *Diary of Warren Hastings*, Add. Ms. 39879, f.19.

2 Zoffany's first stay in Lucknow was a brief one – between June 1784 and early 1785. He returned for a much longer stay in 1785-1786 when the *Cock Match* was probably completed. A final stay took place in 1787-1788. See Mary Webster, *Johan Zoffany, 1733-1810* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), p. 186.

3 *Select Reviews: Spirit of the Foreign Magazines*, March 1809, pp. 186-95. 'Biographical Anecdotes relating to the late Lieutenant Colonel John Mordaunt of the Honourable East India Company's Madras Establishment'. Anonymous.

4 Archer, *India and British portraiture*, p. 152.

5 Webster, *Johan Zoffany*, p. 501.

6 Grizelda Pollock, 'Cockfights and Other Parades: Gesture, Difference and the Staging of Meaning in Three Paintings by Zoffany, Pollock and Krasner', *Oxford Art Journal*, vol. 26, no. 2 (2003), pp. 141-65.

7 Evan Cotton, 'Zoffany's Cock Match at Lucknow. The Two Versions', *Bengal Past and Present*, 37, (Oct-Dec 1928), pp. 126-35.

8 *Select Reviews: Spirit of the Foreign Magazines*, pp. 188-190.

9 Greg Sullivan, revised by Martin Myrone, 'Colonel Mordaunt's Cock Match', www.tate.org.uk [posted November 2013, then May 2018].

10 See Martin Postle (ed.), *Johan Zoffany RA: society observed* (London: Yale Center for British Art, 2011), pp. 272-273 for a detailed discussion of the 'Ashwick' version. The painting was thought lost for many years; the original now hangs at White's Club in London.

11 Webster, *Johan Zoffany*, pp. 508-09.

12 Hassan Vawda, 'Framing (and reframing) 'Colonel Mordaunt's Cock Match'', 2021. www.artuk.org [posted 24 May 2021].

Forthcoming art exhibitions

Exhibition details and dates are taken from the named institutions' website and are not guaranteed. Please check the exhibition timing and ticket availability before travelling. For regular updated information about public and private art gallery exhibitions see the Art in London *section of the London Art History Society website for the* London Exhibition Listings*, and also the monthly* E-News Bulletin*.*

London

British Museum
Contemporary collecting David Hockney to Cornelia Parker
100 images from the Museum's collection of contemporary British art.
25 April-29 September 2024

Rembrandt and Children
A newly acquired drawing of a sleeping child.
14 May-6 October 2024

Admonitions of the instructress to the court ladies
A poetic text to correct the behaviour of an empress.
8 July-18 August 2024

Buckingham Palace
Summer Opening
15 July-29 September 2024

Courtauld Gallery
Henry Moore: Shadows on the Wall
The Shelter drawings.
8 June-22 September 2024

Monet and London: Views of the Thames
Monet's paintings depicting views of the Thames and its bridges and buildings.
27 September 2024-19 January 2025

Design Museum
Barbie: The Exhibition
The design evolution of the famous doll.
5 July 2024-23 February 2025

Dulwich Picture Gallery
Yoshida: Three generations of Japanese Printmaking
19 November 2024-26 May 2025

The King's Gallery
Royal Portraits: A Century of Photography
150 photographs from the Royal Collection.
17 May-6 October 2024 (various dates)

Drawing the Italian Renaissance
160 works on paper, by Da Vinci, Raphael, and Michaelangelo.
1 November 2024-9 March 2025 (various dates)

National Gallery
The Last Caravaggio
Caravaggio's last work.
18 April-21 July 2024

Discovering Degas and Miss La La
Analysing Degas's *Miss La La at the Cirque Fernando*.
6 June-1 September 2024

Van Gogh: Poets and Lovers
50 works, 1880-1890.
14 September 2024-19 January 2025

Discover Constable and The Hay Wain
Including preliminary sketches.
17 October 2024-2 February 2025

Parmigianino – The Vision of Saint Jerome
Returns after 10 years of conservation.
5 December 2024-9 March 2025

National Portrait Gallery
Six Lives
Paintings by Holbein and contemporary photography by Hiroshi Sugimoto.
20 June-8 September 2024

Herbert Smith Freehills Portrait Award 2024
11 July-27 October 2024

Francis Bacon Portraits
10 October 2024-19 January 2025

Taylor Wessing Photo Portrait Prize
14 November 2024-16 February 2025

Royal Academy
Summer Exhibition
18 June-18 August 2024

Flaming June: Lord Leighton's Victorian Masterpiece
With works by Leighton and others.
17 February 2024-12 January 2025

Michaelangelo, Leonardo and Raphael: Florence c.1504
The finest examples of Renaissance drawing.
9 November 2024-16 February 2025

Tate Britain
Now you see us: Women artists in Britain 1520–1920
Women's journeys to become professional artists.
16 May-13 October 2024

The Turner Prize
24 September 2024-16 February 2025

Tate Modern
Expressionists: Kandinsky, Münter, and the Blue Rider
The Blue Rider group experiment with colour, sound, and light.
25 April-20 October 2024

Yoko Ono: Music of the Mind
200 works, spanning seven decades.
15 February-1 September 2024

V&A South Kensington
The Great Mughals: Art, Architecture and Opulence
The artistic splendour of the 'Golden Age' of the Mughal court (c. 1560-1660).
9 November 2024-5 May 2025

Fragile Beauty: Photographs from the Sir Elton John and David Furnish Collection
The story of modern and contemporary photography, across subjects such as fashion, celebrity, reportage, and the male body.
18 May 2024-5 January 2025 (Parental Guidance)

Outside London

Pallant House Gallery, Chichester
The Shape of Things: Still Life in Britain
11 May-20 October 2024

Ashmolean, Oxford
Money Talks: Art, Society, and Power
From Da Vinci to Banksy.
9 Aug 2024-5 Jan 2025

The Fitzwilliam Cambridge
National Treasures: Botticelli in Cambridge
Botticelli's *Venus* and *Mars* highlights an exploration of ideas of sex and power, gender and the body through classical mythology and Italian art.
10 May-10 September 2024

Programme 2024-2025

The events listed are accurate at the time of publication, but members are reminded to check details on the website before booking as they may have changed. New events may also be added.

LECTURES

Tuesday 8 October 2024
The value of drawing in Renaissance Italy
Grant Lewis
6pm on Zoom

Tuesday 26th November 2024
Alphonse Mucha: the man, the artist, the legacy
Marcus Mucha
6pm: The Art Workers' Guild

Tuesday 7 January 2025
Hogarth at the Hustings
Rupert Dickens
6pm on Zoom

Tuesday 18 February 2025
Tilman Riemenschneider
Tom Abbot
6pm on Zoom

Tuesday 8 April 2025
Illumino: a history of medieval Britain in 12 illuminated manuscripts
Michelle Brown
6pm on Zoom

Tuesday 10th June 2025
Should the Elgin Marbles be returned?
Professor Robin Cormack
6pm: The Art Workers' Guild

COURSES

12 September-10 October 2024
Thursdays 11am-1pm
Byzantine architecture: fourth to fifteenth centuries
Lecturer: **Dr Cecily Hennessy**
Venue: Lettsom House

16th October-13th November 2024
Wednesdays 2.30-4.30pm
Between nationalism and modernity: artists of Eastern Europe
Lecturer: **Kathy McLauchlan**
On Zoom

10 January-7 February 2025
Fridays 11am-1pm
High Renaissance Rome
Lecturer: **Dorigen Caldwell**
On Zoom

13 February-13 March 2025
Thursdays 2-4pm
Barbizon and the making of modern landscape
Lecturer: **Jo Rhymer**
On Zoom

STUDY DAYS AND VISITS

Friday 6 September 2024
10.30am/2pm (two separate tours, bookable jointly or separately)
Study Visit: *St Paul's Cathedral*
Leader: **St Paul's Cathedral guides**
Meet inside West Door

Friday 18 October 2024
11am-4.30pm
Caspar David Friedrich: intense visionary painter of landscape
Lecturer: **Clare Ford-Wille**
Venue: Lettsom House

Friday 25 October 2024
11am-4.30pm
Urbino: art and patronage from the Montefeltro to the Della Rovere
Lecturer: **Dr Paula Nuttall**
Venue: Lettsom House

Wednesday/Thursday 20/21 November 2024
2.30-5pm each day
Four English medieval churches in context
Lecturer: **John McNeill**
On Zoom

Wednesday 19 February 2025
11am-4.30pm
Mantua
Lecturers: **Drs Paula & Geoffrey Nuttall**
Venue: Lettsom House

Wednesday 26 February 2025
11am-4.30pm
God Save the King! Celebrating coronations in the Middle Ages
Sally Dormer
Venue: Lettsom House

Friday 4 July 2025
Four imperial garden cities
Lecturer: **Sue Rollin**
Venue: tba

London Art History Society

Affiliated to Birkbeck History of Art, and formerly known as ULEMHAS

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