innocents and very much resented Lady Fairbairn's attempts to pressurise him into completing the retouching.[85] The rift was only temporary, and in 1884 Fairbairn was of the greatest use to the artist in negotiating advantageous terms for exhibiting the replica of *The triumph of the innocents* at the Fine Art society.[86]

In April 1887 Hunt wrote to George Lillie Craik that Fairbairn was 'much dejected just now'.[87] His financial position was not as secure as it had been, and on 7th May he offered part of the collection for sale at Christie's. *The awakening conscience* was bought in at £105, while Agnew's bought *The scapegoat* on behalf of Cuthbert Quilter for £1,417 10s, a profit of about 180 per cent in nine years. The discrepancy between the fate of the two works suggests that didactic subjects such as *The awakening conscience* had gone out of fashion. *Valentine rescuing Sylvia from Proteus* sold for less than Fairbairn had hoped. According to Hunt: 'He had put the reserve of £1200 upon the work but on learning that the bid of £1000 was from the Birmingham Art Gallery he at once reduced the price, which otherwise he would not have done.'[88]

In 1889 Fairbairn, by now in poor health, gave up his Belgravia home to retire to Brambridge, where he died on 12th August 1891. The silver trowel was bequeathed to his heir, while the bust of Rajah Brooke went to his third son James Brooke, the sitter's godson. *The children's holiday* was not among the family portraits mentioned as specific bequests, nor was it listed as one of the forty-five paintings that the executors were authorised to sell.[89]

Fairbairn would have been proud that so many of his paintings are now in public collections. The fact that he made no provision for the collection to be kept intact, however, suggests that he did not regard it as in any sense outstanding. Holman Hunt felt that Fairbairn would have collected more Pre-Raphaelite works had he had the courage of his convictions:

> He has really got an immense instinct for what is good in Art which makes him enjoy the right thing when he comes across it altho' it, that is the instinct, is not always self-asserting enough to resist the influence of suggestions sometimes arising in his mind for the fear of being accused of a bigoted exclusiveness in his taste – in deference to which fear he buys and persuades himself to praise things that are oftentimes little more than rubbish.[90]

This was written in 1860, when the artist had already begun to nurture Fairbairn's innate appreciation of art. Instinct and influence combined to create a collection containing several works of the finest quality that epitomise mid-Victorian progressive taste and reveal the extent to which a nineteenth-century artist could channel the taste and purchasing power of his patron.

[85] See Hunt to F. G. Stephens, London, 4th December 1879: Bodleian Ms.Don.e.68 fo.61.
[86] See Fairbairn to Hunt, Pau, 22nd December 1884: MS Rylands: Craik Papers. Fairbairn's help is constantly mentioned in Hunt's 1884 letters to Craik: Ms. *ibid.*
[87] London, 3rd April 1887: Ms. Rylands: Craik Papers.
[88] Hunt to Jonathan Pratt, London, 1st June 1887: Ms. Royal Birmingham Society of Artists: 94 C fol.80.
[89] The provenance of *The children's holiday* is as follows: Sir Arthur Henderson Fairbairn, Bt., 1891; bequeathed to his first cousin, Rev. William Murray Fairbairn, 1915; bequeathed to his wife, Frances Elizabeth Fairbairn, 1929; bequeathed to her daughter Gwendolen Elizabeth Marianne Fairbairn, 1929; her gift to the Borough of Torbay, 1932. The inventory in Fairbairn's Will included J. R. Herbert's *Cordelia disinherited* (Harris Museum and Art Gallery, Preston) and its pendant *Regan* (present whereabouts unknown), and Gaston Renault's *Idylle au lavoir* (Salon 1884, No.2023), sold Sotheby's, 1st October 1980 (lot 216), but most of the works listed and not discussed above were landscapes, ranging from Constable and Turner to E. W. Cooke and Frank Dillon.
[90] Hunt to Lear, Monday morning c.February 1860: Ms. Rylands Eng.Ms.1214 No.29.

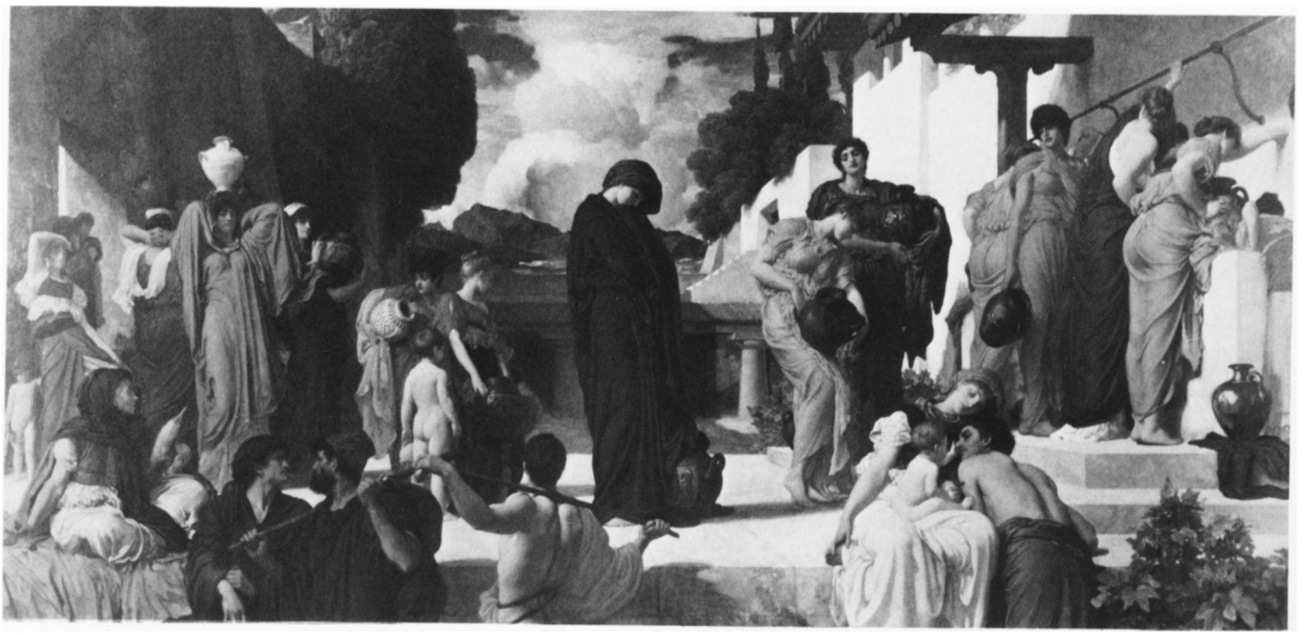
IAN JENKINS

Frederic Lord Leighton and Greek vases

THE British Museum provided a unique source of reference for the nineteenth-century painter of classical subjects.* Above all, it housed the Elgin Marbles, thought by many then, as now, to be the sublime manifestation of Greek artistic genius. There were, however, other objects to attract the painter's eye in the classical repository of Victorian Bloomsbury: since the eighteenth century, vase-paintings had been used by artists as sources of information about dress, armour, furniture and many other details of ancient life, and in the next century vases came to be featured increasingly in historical painting, as objects in their own right. In Leighton's monumental *Captive Andromache* (Fig.15) the Homeric subject of Andromache enslaved in Argos fetching water for her captors demanded a profusion of such vessels. A detailed examination of the vases in this and other paintings by Leighton (the ancient models for which are mostly to be found in the British Museum) provides a telling insight into the painter's approach to his work, both as antiquarian and artist.

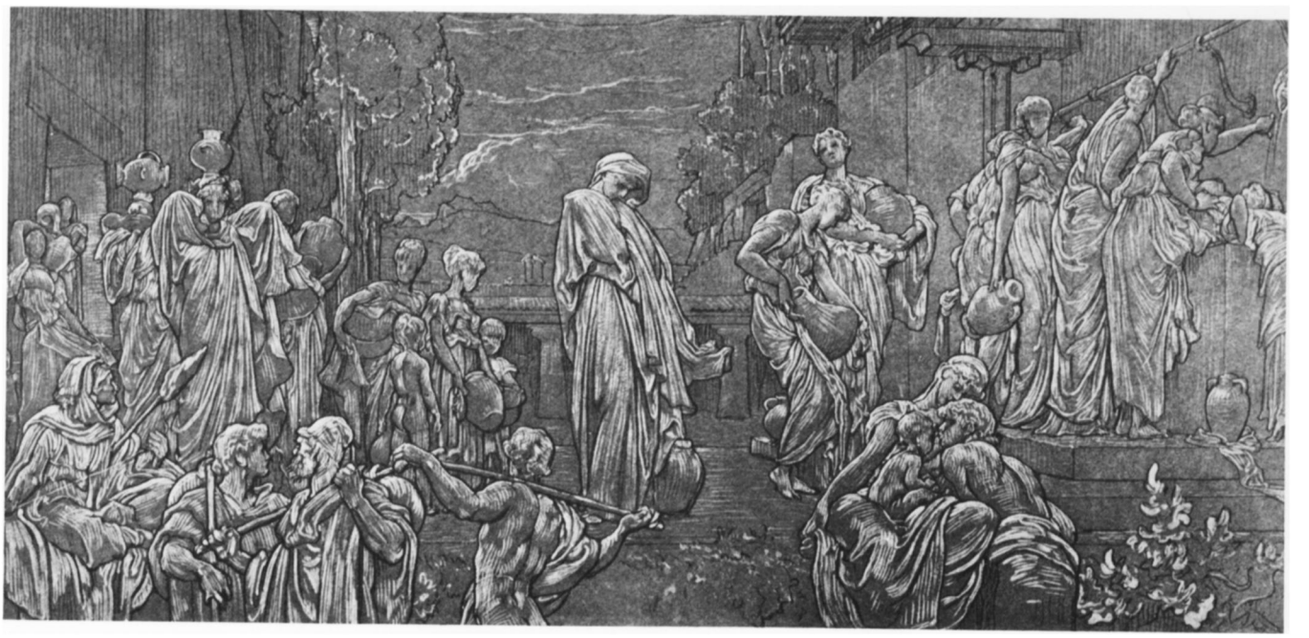
At first glance, the pots in the *Captive Andromache* appear to be mostly Attic vases of the sixth and fifth century B.C., but, as we shall see, no single vase exactly resembles its ancient prototype. The numbered tracing (Fig.16) will help us to pursue them one at a time: vase No. 2 is a *hydria*, a three-handled jar which was used as a water-pitcher in antiquity, and is therefore appropriate to the subject here. There are two main types of *hydria*, both of which are shown in the *Captive Andromache*. No. 2

* Besides a number of colleagues in the British Museum from whom I have received much help and advice, and in addition to those mentioned below, I should like to thank the following: Richard Ormond, Julian Treuherz, Stephen Jones, and Prof. Dr Adolf Greifenhagen (Berlin), who has himself published articles on the theme of pots in pictures and has also brought to my attention an article by KARL KILINSKI II: 'Classical Klimtomania: Gustav Klimt and Archaic Greek Art', *Arts Magazine* [April 1979], pp.96ff.



15. *Captive Andromache*, by Frederic Leighton. c.1888. 193 by 407 cm. (City Art Gallery, Manchester).

16. Numbered diagram of *Captive Andromache*, indicating the various vases depicted: 1: Hydria. 2: Kalpis with Corinthian-style decoration. 3: Non-Greek shape with scene from vase B 668 (B.M. Catalogue). 4: Non-Greek shape with non-Greek decoration. 5: Non-Greek shape with scene from vase B 17 (B.M. Catalogue). 6: Kalpis with scene from vase E 161 (B.M. Catalogue). 7: Kalpis with scene from vase B 331 (B.M. Catalogue). 8: Non-Greek shape with scene from vase E 179 (B.M. Catalogue). 9: Kalpis with unidentified scene.



17. Photograph of final sketch for *Captive Andromache*. (British Museum, P. and D. 1897-11-26-24; present whereabouts of sketch unknown).

is the type sometimes called *kalpis* by archaeologists, where the neck and shoulder form a continuous line, whereas the other has a more sharply angled shoulder from which the neck is offset. The latter is visible in the painting, sideways on the head of the woman on the left of the picture (No.1). Vases of the second *hydria* type were most commonly produced in the sixth century B.C., while the *kalpis* first appeared in the later sixth century, and continued into the fourth. Vase No.2 is thus authentic in shape, but its decoration – though also Greek – is of a different period. A three-tier frieze of birds, floral motifs and lions is probably inspired by the earlier black-figured decoration of middle Corinthian vase-painting and is curiously out of place here (Fig.18).

The *kalpis* shape recurs in Nos. 6 and 7, and although here the figured scenes are less obviously anachronistic, they are nevertheless alien to the vessels they decorate. The vase at Andromache's feet is partially obscured by the drapery (Fig.19), and although only one figure is visible, this identifies the scene as one borrowed from a specific Attic red-figured *hydria* of the angle-shouldered type dated to around 480–70 B.C.[1] The full scene has three figures: the two on the left are thought to represent Menelaus pursuing Helen, the identity of the third, that shown by Leighton, is uncertain. In his adaptation of this vase he has transferred the scene from one *hydria* to another and, less obviously, has translated the subject from red-figure to black-figure.

The subject of vase No. 7 (Fig.20) is a black-figured fountain-house scene datable to around 510 B.C.,[2] depicting women fetching water from a fountain. Once again the scene has been borrowed from a *hydria* of the earlier type, but Leighton's rendering of it is in this case more true to the original vase-painting, or, at least, to its appearance in the 1880s; since here there is an added complication. It was common practice in black-figure vase-painting for the artist to distinguish the paler complexion of women by rendering their skin white, and to pick out ornamentation of dress and other details in the same colour. Shortly after its discovery, however, the areas of added white which had been applied to this vase in antiquity were accidentally erased by over-cleaning. They were subsequently restored and it was with the white newly added that the vase appeared in the British Museum after its acquisition in 1868. Thus it was seen by Leighton, and we can see from his reproduction of part of the scene that he has recorded it faithfully. A modern reaction against repainting has since caused the restoration to be removed.[3]

We need not, on the other hand, assume that Leighton was working from the original vase. His use of the painting independent of the pot may indicate that he was working from secondary sources. In 1858, for example, the scene was reproduced as a coloured engraving in Gerhard's *Griechische Vasenbilder* (Fig.21).[4] This was the standard source for subsequent publication of the scene, which became famous because of its inscription, indicating that it depicted no ordinary fountain but *Kallirhoe*, the most famous of all the springs of ancient Athens.

In general, the vase-scenes in the *Captive Andromache* make no special reference to the subject of the painting. It would be stretching a point too far to suggest that the pursuit of Helen by Menelaus is particularly appropriate because, like the story of Andromache herself, it is drawn from the Trojan cycle of myths. The fountain-house scene, on the other hand, may be thought to echo the theme of the painting, and it is possibly for this reason that the vase recommended itself to Leighton. More likely, however, it was not so much the subject of the vase-painting that appealed to him, as its static, frieze-like arrangement of figures. Leighton had a particular fondness for processional compositions, as can be seen clearly in a number of his earlier works, including the celebrated *Cimabue's Madonna* (1853–55), *The Syracusan Bride* (1865–66), and the *Daphnephoria* (1874–76).[5] The *Captive Andromache* clearly fits within this tradition.

Vessels 3, 4, 5 and 8, which all have a shallow, offset neck with twin handles and tapering body, are not borrowed from the Classical potters' repertoire of shapes; only the decoration – with the striking exception of No. 4 (Fig.18) – is Greek. The scene painted on No. 3 has been adapted from a white-ground *alabastron* signed by Pasiades as potter around 500 B.C., and depicts two maenads on either side of a bird. The vase was acquired by the British Museum in 1887, and its subject was illustrated in a water-colour study published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for the same year.[6] This was almost certainly Leighton's source for the scene, although he felt no compulsion to remain true to the original: his adaptation places the 'roll-out' of the scene on to an alien shape, and the original painting in polychrome on a white ground is reproduced by Leighton in black figure on a red ground.

Vase No. 5 owes its figured scene to a black-figured neck-amphora made in Athens around 540–20 B.C., and purchased for the British Museum in 1772 as part of Sir William Hamilton's first vase collection, which had been published earlier in four lavishly illustrated volumes. Leighton possessed a copy of this publication and he must have taken the scene from here.[7]

Finally No. 8 (Fig.20) bears the figure of a winged Nike, holding a jug in one hand and a libation bowl in the other, from a red-figured *kalpis* dated to around 480 B.C.[8] Here Leighton's licence to reproduce the vase-scene according to his own taste has enabled him to make good the original. By the 1880s the vase had suffered severely from damage by fire, which had discoloured the figure of Nike from the normal pleasing tone of

[1] British Museum Catalogue of Vases (hereafter B.M., etc.) E 161; J. D. BEAZLEY; *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, second edition, Oxford [1963], 262, 41: the Syriskos Painter; L. B. GHALI-KAHIL: *Les Enlèvements et le Retour d'Hélène*, Paris [1955], pl.50.

[2] B.M. B 331; J. D. BEAZLEY; *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters*, Oxford [1956], 261, 41; by, or in the manner of, the Lysippides Painter; E. GERHARD: *Griechische Vasenbilder*, Part IV, Berlin [1858], pl.307.

[3] The damage is reported in P. O. BRÖNSTED: *Thirty-two Ancient Greek Vases*, London [1832], p.56. The restoration appears to have been carried out before the vase was acquired by the B.M. The overpainting was removed some time between 1942 and 1956.

[4] *loc. cit.* (see n.2)

[5] L. and R. ORMOND: *Lord Leighton*, New Haven and London [1975], Cat. Nos.23; 121; 237.

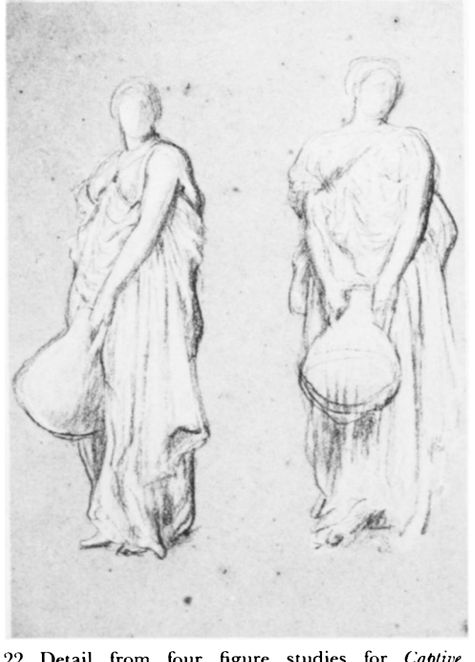
[6] B.M. B 668; BEAZLEY, *op. cit.* at note 1 above [1963], 98, 1; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 8 [1887], pl.82.

[7] B.M. B 17; P. F. HUGUES (called D'HANCARVILLE): *Collection of Etruscan, Greek and Roman Antiquities from the Cabinet of the Hon. W. Hamilton* etc., I, Naples [1766], pl.93.

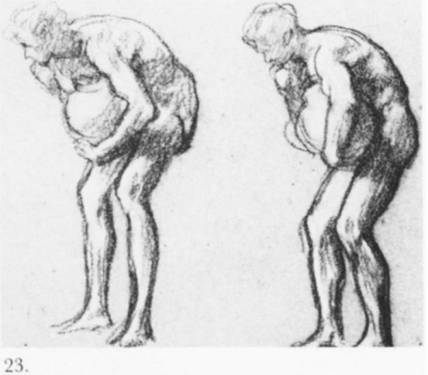
[8] B.M. E 179; BEAZLEY, *op. cit.* at note 1 above [1963], 307, 7: The Dutuit Painter; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 33 [1913], pl.12.

18, 19 and 20. Details from a hand photogravure of *Captive Andromache*. (British Museum, P. and D. 1900-5-15-16).

21. Scene from vase B 331 (B.M. Catalogue). Engraving from E. Gerhard's *Griechische Vasenbilder*, 1858.



22. Detail from four figure studies for *Captive Andromache*, by Frederic Leighton. C.1887-88. Black and white chalk on blue paper. (No.665, Leighton House, London).



23.

24.

23 and 24. Details (same sheet) from four figure studies for *Arts of industry as applied to peace*, by Frederic Leighton. 1872-73. Black and white chalk on blue paper. (No.560, Leighton House, London).

25.

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25. *Lachrymae*, by Frederic Leighton. c.1895. 157 by 63cm. (Wolfe Fund, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

26. *Echoes of Hellas*, by Walter Crane, after G. C. Warr. Engraving.

27. *The women of Amphissa*, by Lawrence Alma-Tadema. 1887. 121.8 by 182.8 cm. (Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts.

28. *Electra at the tomb of Agamemnon*, by Frederic Leighton. c.1869. 148.5 by 73.5 cm. (Ferens Art Gallery, Hull).

29. and 30. Details from photograph of monochrome cartoon for *Arts of industry as applied to peace*, by Frederic Leighton. (British Museum, P. and D. 1947-2-11-7; actual cartoon in Victoria and Albert Museum).

Attic red-figured pottery to a dull, greyish brown. The Victorian painter restored its reddish hue and picked out the skin surfaces of the figure with white paint.

From this survey of the pots in the *Captive Andromache* it is clear that Leighton was quite unconcerned with archaeological accuracy, freely adapting the vase-paintings he used and often working from secondary sources rather than originals. His studies for the painting further illuminate his methods: working in a studio without immediate access to models for his antique vases the artist posed his living models with whatever was to hand among the bric-à-brac of Leighton House. Vases 3, 4, 5 and 8 are very similar in shape to a pot which seems to have served as a studio prop whenever the pose demanded it (Figs.23, 24). Leighton's use of the *kalpis* shape shows greater discrimination and in at least one case we can trace the successive stages through which the vessel came to be substituted for the original studio prop. Four studies for the *Captive Andromache* (Fig.22) show the model posing with a bag shaped jar with rounded bottom, tall neck and side handles. These drawings must have been executed at a fairly early stage, when Leighton was beginning to assemble the figures who would eventually form part of the carefully arranged groups to the left and right of Andromache. A later drawing (Fig.17) shows the composition virtually finalised with only the details left to complete.[9] The semi-crouching figure immediately ahead of Andromache still carries the bag-shaped pot we saw featured in the earlier studies; the eventual canvas, however, substituted a *kalpis*. The prop can be identified as a modern Egyptian water jar.[10] Coarse ware vessels of this shape with corded decoration were very common in Egypt in the nineteenth century, as now, and Leighton must have acquired one when he visited Egypt in the 1860s.[11]

Greek vases feature prominently in other paintings by Leighton. The fountain-house scene discussed earlier reappears appropriately in *At the fountain* (1892),[12] and in the picture entitled *Lachrymae* (1895).[13] In this last (Fig.25) the mourning figure of a woman leans on a grave-stele in the form of a Doric Column. A *hydria* with the fountain-house scene rests on the column behind her, swathed in a funerary wreath. It is not the only vase in the painting: at the foot of the column resting on its side, Leighton has placed a red-figured *kylix* with a figure of Hermes in the tondo, which has been identified as a cup now in the Louvre.[14] A *kalpis* with its back to us is seen further round the base of the column. The *Lachrymae* is also of interest because the composition itself may be inspired by vase-painting. Scenes of one or more figures seated or standing by a funerary monument are common on Attic vases of the fifth century B.C., and South Italian vases of the fourth century B.C. Such scenes became the standard motif for Attic white-ground *lekythoi*, which were intended to hold offerings of oil at the tomb.

There is, however, the possibility of a more immediate source. On the evenings of Thursday 13th and Saturday 15th May 1886 a performance was given at the Princes Hall, Piccadilly of G. C. Warr's abridged version of Aeschylus's *Oresteia* and, on the intervening Friday, of his adaptation of Homer entitled *The Tale of Troy*. Tableaux and scenery were designed by, among others, Frederic Leighton, G. F. Watts, E. J. Poynter, Henry Holiday and Walter Crane. Sir Charles Newton, recently retired as Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum, acted as archaeological advisor. At these performances Leighton watched his friend and protégée, Dorothy Dene, perform the rôles of Cassandra and Nausicaa. He subsequently acquired a souvenir copy of the text and music, which were reproduced in two handsome volumes with illustrations by Walter Crane.[15] Warr's preface to the second volume states that several of the illustrations were based, if loosely, on the 'scenic representations'; for in the story of Orestes, the mourning at the tomb of Agamemnon was illustrated with a tableau of Electra and her fellow libation-bearers arranged around a funerary stele (Fig.26). There is much in this scene that reminds us of the *Lachrymae*, not least the figure of Electra herself. It seems fair to suppose that Leighton had this picture in mind, or perhaps even the memory of the original tableau, when he conceived the mourning woman of the *Lachrymae*.

The theme of the *Lachrymae* is similar to a much earlier painting, *Electra at the tomb of Agamemnon* (c.1869; Fig.28).[16] Here, however, the mourning figure is not the quiet, languid form of the anonymous woman in the earlier work but the vengeful daughter of Agamemnon, who stands at, rather than leans on, the tomb of her father: her hands are flung over her head in a ritual gesture of mourning, and her face expresses a mixture of pain and anger. At the foot of the column, and in a similar position to that in the *Lachrymae*, is what many pass for a *kylix*, despite its eccentric handles. The black-figure scene in the tondo represents a satyr and a maenad. The design of these two figures – well fitted to the circular frame – suggests that Leighton had a specific model in mind. The shape of the large jug behind Electra is eccentric and we may doubt its having any ancient antecedents at all. The decoration, on the other hand, a frieze of grazing animals and floral ornament, is in the style of pottery painted in the proto-Attic phase of Athenian vase-painting and was perhaps inspired by the scene on a lid in the British Museum.[17]

One painting after another, therefore, tells the same story. We recognise in them stray elements borrowed from Greek vases, but rarely is one object reproduced entire, or faithfully. Leighton was no archaeologist and

[9] *Drawings and Studies by the Late Lord Leighton P.R.A.* Fine Arts Society [1898], pl.XXIV.

[10] An example has recently been transferred to the British Museum from the Victoria and Albert: G.R. unregistered V.&A. Material, Circ. 268–1939. I am grateful to Donald Bailey for bringing this object to my attention and for much invaluable assistance throughout the preparation of this article.

[11] ORMOND, *op. cit.* at note 5 above, p.96.

[12] *Ibid.*, Cat.370.

[13] *Ibid.*, Cat.390.

[14] Louvre G, 471; BEAZLEY, *op. cit.* at note 1 above [1963], 798, 1: in the manner of the Euaion Painter; E. POTTIER: *Vases Antiques du Louvre*, 3me Série, Paris [1922], pl.151. The *kylix* was identified by Dr Dietrich von Bothmer for the catalogue to the exhibition, *Treasures from the Metropolitan Museum of Art New York*, National Pinakothiki, Alexander Soutzos Museum, Athens [1979], p.260, 105.

[15] G. C. WARR and W. CRANE: *Echoes of Hellas*, London [1887].

[16] ORMOND, *op. cit.* at note 5 above, Cat.188.

[17] GR 1977.12-11.9.; *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 35 [1934–5], pl.42a.

yet he had ample opportunity to check the authenticity of his archaeological accessories, had he so wished. We know, for example, from the catalogue of his library, which was sold up after his death, that he had immediate access to a number of standard works on archaeology. Furthermore, as President of the Royal Academy he became a Trustee of the British Museum and must have been a regular visitor there.[18] The facts were available to him but he evidently did not feel compelled to observe them.

This is confirmed by the testimony of two pages from a sketchbook now in the Library of the Royal Academy (Figs.33, 34).[19] They contain pencil sketches, more visual notes than drawings, of objects in the British Museum. Leighton's choice of objects shows a degree of discernment: they are all of Etruscan or South Italian workmanship, with the exception of a late Attic head-vase.[20] These were to provide the basis for the archaeological accessories featured in his fresco entitled *Arts of industry as applied to peace*. This was the companion to another fresco, *Arts of industry as applied to war*,[21] both commissioned by the South Kensington Museum, later to become known as the Victoria and Albert. There they can be seen today, sadly much deteriorated and badly cramped by subsequent re-use of the space they originally commanded.

Both the *Arts of peace* and the *Arts of war* are painted within a lunette. In the *Arts of peace* the most fruitful area for archaeological investigation is the right hand side of the composition, where the potters and pot-sellers are grouped (Fig.32). Most striking are the large vessels *(askoi)* standing in the foreground, clearly inspired by a type of Hellenistic pottery produced at Canosa in southern Italy in the third century B.C. Canosan pottery is distinctive for its polychrome painted decoration and applied figure ornament. Studies from Canosan pottery in the British Museum appear among the R.A. notebook sketches but, with the possible exception of the plainer *askoi*,[22] Leighton's Canosan pots do not have any exact ancient counterparts. The satyr's mask, for example, on the vessel farthest to the right, does not seem to have been employed as an ornamental motif on this type of pottery, and indeed appears to have been borrowed from the late Attic head vase featured in the sketches.[23]

A South Italian red-figured *lebes gamikos*[24] (marriage-bowl) appears in the notebook sketches, and served as the model for the object being inspected by the discerning customer at the back of the group of figures in the fresco (Fig.32). The shape is rendered accurately enough, but the scene underwent radical alteration: on the original a woman was shown leaning on a washstand; in Leighton's adaptation she was displaced by a free-standing figure of a man.

Other objects featured in the fresco are more loosely based on the notebook sketches. A terracotta lid from Centuripe in Sicily of the third century B.C. provided the inspiration for the elaborate invention carried on the head of a woman in the other corner of the fresco (Fig.30).[25] Similarly, details of an Etruscan bronze *cista*[26] formed the basis for the fantastic object standing on a podium in the centre of the painting, behind the figures of women dressing (Fig.29).

The objects featured in the notebook sketches were not notable for their artistic merit, but seem to have recommended themselves to the painter's eye as curiosities, distinctive for their outlandish shapes and fanciful decoration. Later, in the studio, Leighton reworked what he had seen in the Museum into even more elaborate creations, no doubt supplementing his own observations with ideas drawn from the resources of his library. Further, just as in the *Captive Andromache*, he was prepared to use whatever was to hand in the studio. Studies of the figures of the potters among the drawings at Leighton House show the painter's model posing with the same non-Greek vessel which we saw used in the *Captive Andromache* (Fig.23). As in that painting, the object has found its way into the final version of the fresco. The youth in the foreground seen in profile, bending to the left, carries it under his left arm; behind him a more fully dressed figure holds a similar vessel by the lip and one handle.

The *Arts of industry as applied to peace* affords us the fullest insight so far into Leighton's tendency to deviate from his sources in his use of archaeological motif. The notebook sketches confirm our assumption that the painter did not begin from a position of ignorance, but that he freely modified what he knew to be academically correct. Was his approach to the archaeological element in his painting, therefore, merely careless, or can some more positive explanation be found? The attempt at a final answer to that question may be helped by comparison with two other contemporary classical painters, one of whom cared a good deal about archaeological accuracy, the other of whom did not.

Lawrence Alma-Tadema has been applauded and ridiculed in turn for his attention to detail. In his *Etruscan vase-painters* (Opus XCIV, 1871), which has recently joined the *Captive Andromache* in the City Art Gallery, Manchester (Fig.31), the principal figure stands back from an Apulian red-figured *lekythos* to which she is applying the finishing touches. Behind her sits a male companion who applies his brush to the body of a large *lebes gamikos*. On the window sill there sits a red-figured drinking-cup *(glaux)*, and beside it an *aryballos* (oil-bottle). The *lekythos* and *glaux*, at least, can be identified, and both are in the Louvre, although it was probably not there that Alma-Tadema saw them.[27] The University Library in Birmingham possesses the painter's vast

[18] On 28th May 1881 he was elected a member of the Standing Committee of Trustees and he attended meetings regularly until his death in 1896.
[19] Sketchbook XV.
[20] GR 1873.8-20.28. The head-vase enables us to date the sketches to within a couple of years: it had come into the British Museum with part of the so-called Castellani Collection, which arrived in England on approval in the Spring of 1871. Leighton exhibited the monochrome cartoon for the *Arts of industry* at the Royal Academy in Spring 1873. The Sketches were executed, therefore, at some time between Spring 1871 and Spring 1873.
[21] This and its companion piece *Arts of industry as applied to war* are illustrated and discussed by RICHARD ORMOND: *Leighton's Frescoes*, Victoria and Albert Museum Brochure, 6, London [1975].
[22] I am grateful to Katrien Van Wonterghem-Maes for confirming the eccentricity of Leighton's 'Canosan' pots. Cf. F. VAN DER WIELEN-VAN OMMEREN: 'Vases with Polychrome and Plastic Decoration from Canosa', *Proceedings of the British Museum Italic Seminar, 1982* (Publication forthcoming).
[23] An observation made by Colin Wiggins of the National Gallery, London.
[24] GR 1756.1-1.482.
[25] B.M. Catalogue of Terracottas D 1; C.V.A. IV Da, pl.20,4.
[26] B.M. Catalogue of Bronzes 744.
[27] Louvre K 214; G 619.

31. *Etruscan vase painters*, by Lawrence Alma-Tadema. 1871. Panel, 39.2 by 27.3 cm. (City Art Gallery, Manchester).

32. Detail from photograph of monochrome cartoon for *Arts of industry as applied to peace*, by Frederic Leighton. (British Museum, P. and D. 1947-2-11-17; actual cartoon in Victoria and Albert Museum).

33 and 34. Two pages of studies of objects in the British Museum, by Frederic Leighton (sketchbook XV). c.1872. Pencil on white paper, each 21 by 7 cm. (Royal Academy).

35. Eight studies of Greek and South Italian pottery (now in the Louvre). Unsigned. Water-colour, 37.6 by 26.5 cm. (Alma-Tadema Archive, 84/E2325-1915, University of Birmingham).

reference collection of drawings, prints and photographs. In folio 84 is contained a page of water-colour studies seemingly prepared for publication (Fig.35). All the objects are now in the Louvre,[28] but were once in the possession of one Joseph-François Tochon d'Annecy (1772–1820). I have not been able to discover how Alma-Tadema came to acquire this page of drawings but, clearly, they provided the source for the two identifiable vases in the painting, and although he has exaggerated the size of the *lekythos*, both are rendered accurately enough.

Tadema has deservedly earned himself the reputation of an archaeologist among painters. On the other hand, there is a tendency to exaggerate the extent of his scholarly acumen. *The women of Amphissa*, (Opus CCLXXVIII, 1887), for example, depicts female devotees of the cult of Dionysos languishing after a night of bacchic excess (Fig.27). Among shrivelled cucumbers and swooning maenads the painter has placed a number of objects, carefully observed in themselves, but strikingly anachronistic when taken all together. The figured vases include a black-figured *hydria* decorated with a fountain-house scene, and a ram's head *rhyton*; this last is in the British Museum and is dated to around 480 B.C.[29] There are, besides, an assortment of South Italian fishplates belonging to the fourth century B.C. In addition to ceramic vessels, under the awning on the left of the picture a woman holds a large silver wine-mixing bowl. This vessel is very similar in shape to that which had been discovered together with the rest of the so-called Hildesheim treasure near Hanover in 1868.[30] The inclusion of this silver *krater*, which probably dates to the early Roman Imperial period, demonstrates a desire on the part of the painter to be up-to-the-minute in his use of archaeological material; a desire which prevailed over considerations of archaeological integrity.

Alma-Tadema's approach was, nevertheless, self-consciously archaeological in a way that Leighton's was not. Leighton was first and foremost a painter; and the objects he uses are included because of the demands of subject or composition, rather than to exhibit his own antiquarian virtuosity. Although his themes are frequently classical, Leighton's paintings often seem to evoke a timeless romance, and the non-Greek are as vital as the authentically classical elements to the picturesque setting of his subjects. In this respect his art exhibits that spirit of aesthetic eclecticism which is so evident in the works of Albert Moore.

The natural reaction in this age of archaeological sophistication when confronted with Moore's glaring anachronisms is to laugh and wonder how he could have got it so very wrong. But this is to do him an injustice. His case is put very well in a remarkable appraisal by a contemporary critic, Cosmo Monkhouse:

> '. . . The (second) class of complaint which supposes that Albert Moore intends to give us pictures of Greek life, and fails, implies a total misconception of the aims of his art. He is no Alma-Tadema seeking to reproduce for us the life of extinct civilisations. In such reconstructions archaeology is important, an anachronism is a defect, but not in the art of Albert Moore, who seeks only after beauty, and employs the robes and draperies of Athens only because they are to his eyes far more beautiful than any costume which has been invented since. Remembering such criticism as applied to his work he has been known to utter the astonishing dictum that 'anachronism is the soul of art.'[31]

Leighton's anachronisms and archaeological aberrations must be regarded in the same vein. 'His knowledge of classical antiquity', wrote M. H. Spielmann in a posthumous appreciation, 'was hardly less than that of Mr. Alma-Tadema; but he had long laid it aside as an aid to painting, convinced that what is so charming a merit in Mr. Tadema's art was only out of place in his own. He held that an anachronism in a work not definitely and deliberately historical and illustrative is no fault when it does not outrage the eye or outrage the sense by its impropriety.'[32] In the *Captive Andromache* itself, Spielmann claims that Leighton steered a 'middle course, with full knowledge of the concession he was making to art'. If we were able to confront Leighton with the archaeological shortcomings of his paintings he would, I think, admit them readily, but he might reasonably express surprise at our concern.

[28] Louvre K 193 (top); K 339 (top left); K 59 (top right); K 386 (centre); K 215 (bottom right); K 339 (bottom). I am grateful to Prof. A. D. Trendall and M. Alain Pasquier for kindly providing information about these vases.

[29] The *hydria* is possibly B.M. B 329; BEAZLEY, *op. cit.* at note 2 above [1956], 334, 1: the Syriskos Painter; E. PFUHL; *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Munich [1923]. pl.79, 296. The *rhyton* is B.M. E 795; see BEAZLEY, *op. cit.* at note 1 above [1963], 265, 75; *Ant. Kunst*, 4, pl.12,2.

[30] E. PERNICE and F. WINTER: *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund*, Berlin [1901], pl.33. This same *krater* appears in other works by Alma-Tadema with its fine relief decoration clearly visible, e.g. *A dedication to Bacchus* (Opus CCLXXVIII, 1887); *A favourite custom* (Opus CCCXCI, 1909). Pieces of the Hildesheim Treasure appear frequently in other paintings, e.g. PERNICE and WINTER, *op. cit.* pl.1 in *A silent greeting* (Opus CCXCIX, 1889); pl.39 in *Calling the worshippers* (Opus CCCXIII, 1892) and *Vain courtship* (Opus CCCLXII, 1900). The painter possessed replicas of two of the pieces including the *krater*, see W. MEYNELL in *Magazine of Art*, 4 [1881], p.187. These may have provided the models for the vessels featured in the paintings.

[31] *Magazine of Art*, 8 [1885], p.195.

[32] 'The Late Lord Leighton, P.R.A., D.C.L., L.L.b.P', *Magazine of Art* [1896], p.208. I am indebted to Hilary Morgan for this reference.

Shorter Notices

*An antique model for David's 'Death of Marat'**

BY HANNO-WALTER KRUFT

THIS note is meant not as a new interpretation of David's *Death of Marat*, but simply as an observation which adds a new dimension to existing interpretations.[1] More or less by chance,

*The English version of the present note I owe to Eduardo Tejeira-Davis.

[1] See, most recently, ANITA BROOKNER: *Jacques-Louis David*, London [1980]; ANTOINE SCHNAPPER: *David. Témoin de son temps*, Fribourg [1980], pp.153 ff.; DAVID LLOYD DOWD: *Pageant-Master of the Republic. Jacques-Louis David and the French Revolution*, Lincoln, Nebraska [1948], pp.98 ff.; otherwise, see above all KLAUS LANKHEIT: *Jacques-Louis David. Der Tod Marats*, Stuttgart [1962]; ROBERT ROSENBLUM: *Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art* (1967), ed. Princeton [1970], pp.82 ff.; HUGH HONOUR: *Neo-classicism*, Harmondworth [1968], pp.155 ff.