THE MARRIAGE OF ASTRONOMY AND CULTURE: THEORY AND METHOD IN THE STUDY OF CULTURAL ASTRONOMY

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Edward Burne-Jones's *The Planets*: Luna, A Celestial Sphere

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Abstract: Edward Burne-Jones (1833–98), a Pre-Raphaelite painter, was fascinated with astronomy as noted in his memorials and accounts. In 1879 he executed cartoon drawings for a cycle on the planets for the artisans of the William Morris firm, who would transform them into stained-glass windows. The commission was for the decoration of Woodlands, the Victorian home of Baron Angus Holden (1833–1912), a mayor of Bradford. Presently, seven of the cartoons - The Moon (Luna), Earth (Terra), Sol (Apollo), Venus, Jupiter, Saturn, and Evening Star) – are in the Torre Abbey Museum in Torquay, UK, while the cartoon for Mars is part of the collection of drawings at the Birmingham Museum of Art, UK, and the drawing Morning Star is located at Lady Margaret Hall in Oxford, UK. In the creation of the *Planets* cycle, Burne-Jones was inspired by cultural events of the time, such as British scientific astronomical discoveries and British and Italian humanistic sources in literature and visual arts portraying astronomy. This essay examines – art historically and iconographically – only one of the eight planets, the cartoon of Luna (The Moon) as an astral planetary formation and a celestial sphere. This study is composed of two sections. The first section discusses the history of the artistic commission and the second section explains some of Burne-Jones's cultural sources for the Planets cycle and the Moon, both of which partake of heavenly and terrestrial realms.

History of the Commission

In 1879, Burne-Jones and William Morris (1834–96) received a new commission from Baron Angus Holden (1833–1912), a woollen manufacturer and mayor of Bradford. The project consisted of a glass decorative cycle about the planets for a large, twenty feet high, semicircular window in Holden's Music Room in his Victorian mansion, called Woodlands, outside of Bradford. The Music Room was built in 1866 on the north end of the house as part of the Victorian Gothic wing, which was

¹ See Archives of Torrey Abbey Museum. Correspondence of 11 June 1992, between D. J. R. Green of Gloucester and L. Retallack, former Curator of the Torre Abbey Museum.

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an addition to the mansion. Burne-Jones completed nine cartoons for the Morris firm, which transformed them into stained-glass panels in 1879. Before Holden's commission, Edward Burne-Jones and William Morris were involved in earlier projects on this subject. In early 1858, the two men decorated with stained glass the church windows of All Saints at Selsley in Gloucestershire. The rose window illustrates God's creation from the Book of Genesis. One roundel represents the planets, the stars, the Moon, and the Sun. A few years later, in 1861–65, Morris and Burne-Jones engaged in another astronomical project, using the signs of the zodiac in the decoration of the Green Dining Room at South Kensington Museum in London, now part of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

According to an essay by Michael Rhodes, former curator of the Torre Abbey Museum, Angus Holden purchased Woodlands to display his famous collection of paintings and works of art. This area was described by E. Healey as a 'large and lofty apartment, lighted partially from the room and partially from the semi-circular window. This large bay window contained in the upper compartment nine stained glass figures, a work by the celebrated artist Burne-Jones'. A note from Rhodes's research indicates the purpose of Lord Holden's commission of the new wing at the Woodlands; this architectural addition functioned as a music room. The incorporation of stained-glass windows with the theme of the planets, the celestial spheres, is traditionally associated with the music of the spheres; hence a fitting topic for the site.³

Twenty years later, the nine cartoons and stained-glass panels encountered a series of mishaps. In 1890, the Holden family left Woodlands and moved to Nun Appleton Hall, near York. Woodlands was demolished in 1899. It is uncertain whether Burne-Jones and Morris's windows were still in the house at the time or if they were transferred to the new mansion in Nun Appleton. Regrettably, Lord Holden died in 1912 and, in his account of property sale occurred years later in 1917, there is no mention of the stained-glass windows or panes. Between 1919 and 1920, Sir Benjamin Dawson (1878–1966), 1st Baronet and Bradford textile manufacturer, purchased Nun Appleton Hall and lived there for more than

² See Michael Rhodes's essay dated 17 November 1997, part of the Archives of the Torre Abbey Museum. Here Rhodes cites an article by E. Healey, 'Woodlands, Bradford'. No references as to when it was published.

³ See Jamie James, *The Music of the Spheres: Music, Science and The Natural Order of the Universe* (New York: Copernicus, 1993); and Marc Lachièze-Rey and Jean-Pierre Luminet, *Figures du Ciel: de l'armonie des spheres à la conquête spatiale* (Seuil: Biblothèque nationale de Frances, 1988), pp. 58–62.

forty years. Two articles on this mansion appeared in *Yorkshire Life* (March 1955 and March 1960); neither of them mentioned Burne-Jones's glass panels.⁴ But the *Yorkshire Life* of March 1955 noted that when the Dawson family moved into Nun Appleton Hall, they renovated the Victorian house 'by demolishing the incongruous Gothic wing on the west side'; perhaps the glass-stained panels were located in this area. Hence, a large part of the Nun Appleton Hull mansion was demolished in 1920 and totally destroyed before 1935. Thus, since 1899, there is no clear trace of Burne-Jones and Morris's stained-glass windows. This essay will not examine the complicated history of Burne-Jones and Morris's glass panels but will focus on the cartoon drawings (compare Fig. 1 and 2).

A possible arrangement of the cartoons suggests this presentation at the Woodlands window: Luna, Earth (Terra), Sol (Apollo), Mars, Morning Star, Venus, Jupiter, Saturn, and Evening Star. Auctioneer Gabreal Franklin proposes an alternate format for the surviving stained-glass panels: Morning Star, Evening Star, Jupiter, Sol (Apollo), Mars, Venus, and Luna. Unfortunately, Saturn and Earth (Terra) are missing.⁶

Three entries in Burne-Jones's *Account Books* at the Fitzwilliam Museum record his progress on the project: 1) 18 August 1878: 'First four figures of Planets. Pound 15 ea. viz. Venus, Luna [see Fig. 1], Morning and Evening stars. Pound 60'; 2) 22 August 1878, two more Planets were completed, 'Saturn and Mars'; and 3) 1 November 1878, noting complete 'Figures of Earth, Jupiter and Apollo. Pound 45'.⁷

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⁴ See Archives at the Torre Abbey Museum. Correspondence between D. J. R. Green of Gloucester with Gordon Hand, Librarian of North Yorkshire County and L. Retallack, Curator of the Torre Abbey Museum. The letters are dated 23 June 1993 and 25 June 1993. See also A. C. Sewter, *The Stained Glass of William Morris and his Circle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974–75), p. 208.

⁵ Archives at the Torre Abbey Museum. Correspondence between D. J. R. Green of Gloucester with Gordon Hand, Librarian of North Yorkshire County, and L. Retallack, Letter of June 25, 1993. In the literature, there is a discrepancy regarding the location of this music room, whether it was located on the north or west side of the Victorian mansion.

⁶ See http://www.allplanet.com/glass/BJ5.htm [access 1 Dec. 2016]. These stained glass windows were remanufactured; it still is unknown when this copy took place. ⁷ See Malcolm Bell, *Edward Burne-Jones: A Record and Review* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1892), p. 102ff., for a discussion of four designs on the seasons as conceptions for the *Planets'* cycle.



Fig. 1 Edward Burne-Jones, *Luna (The Moon)*, 1878–1879, watercolour cartoon. Photo by Liana De Girolami Cheney. Courtesy of the Torre Abbey Museum, Torquay, UK.

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Fig. 2 Edward Burne-Jones, *Luna (The Moon)*, 1878–1879, stained-glass panel. Photo courtesy of the Auctioneer Gabreal Franklin.⁸

⁸ See, http://www.allplanet.com/glass/BJ5.htm [accessed 2 Dec. 2016].

The cartoons for the nine planets have suffered a less tragic fate than their companion stained-glass windows. The cartoons were dispersed after being used, but today their location is known. In 1930, Torre Abbey was a historic site with private collections. According to Rhodes, the art collector G. H. Earle of Rocklands, residing at Warren Road in Torquay, purchased Burne-Jones' seven cartoons of the Planets – Venus, Luna, Sol, Jupiter, Saturn, Earth, and Evening Star - from Angus Holden's wife, Lady Holden. In early 1930, Earle donated these cartoons to the Torre Abbey collection, which became a museum in 1936. 10 In honour of Torre Abbey Museum's fiftieth anniversary in 1966, one of the Burne-Jones's stainedglass panels, Earth, was once again constructed after the original cartoon in the collection.

The eighth cartoon, Mars, was acquired through Christie's in 1898 by the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, 11 and the ninth, Morning Star, a large drawing, not a cartoon, is presently located at Lady Margaret Hall in Oxford

Iconography: Edward Burne-Jones's Cultural Sources for the *Planets* **Cycle and The Moon**

Burne-Jones's writings, such as the records at the Fitzwilliam Museum of Art and the recollections of his wife, Georgiana MacDonald (1840–1920), assist in understanding the scope of his interest in astronomy. The astronomical books that he collected and viewed at the British Museum contributed to his creative quest. He was captivated by the study of astronomy, as indicated by: 1) his personal notations on astronomy; 2) British scientific events (astronomical discoveries at the time); 3) British literary collections on astronomy (poems, books, manuals, celestial maps, playing cards); and 4) Italian literary and visual sources on astronomy and astrology.

⁹ See Michael Rhodes, Devon's Torre Abbey: Faith, Politics and Grand Designs (New York: The History Press, 2015).

After the death of Angus Holden in 1912, his wife and family moved to Torquay. After the death of her mother, Donna Holden lived for a long time in a nursing home. Prior to her death in 1995, the curator of Torre Abbey Museum contacted her, but she provided no information about Burne-Jones' Planets cycle. See Archive, Accession Number A-111, Torre Abbey Museum, notations made by Michael Rhodes, former Curator of the Museum before 2000.

¹¹ See Registrar's notation at the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery. Rest moved to Acknowledgements at end.

In Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones, Georgiana MacDonald recounted how fascinated he was with the study of astronomy. She wrote: 'He kept astronomical books at his bedside, and often turned to them when unable to sleep'. 12 She described him saying: 'I terrified myself in the night with more astronomy'. 13 In another passage, Georgiana repeated that 'Astronomy had a great fascination for him – almost a terrible one'. 14 One year after his trip to Italy in 1871, Burne-Jones composed a list of the paintings he was working on, mentioning that he made 'an oil picture of Luna, in tones of blue' (Fig. 3). 15 After the death of his friend and soulmate, Morris, Burne-Jones decided to delve further into astronomy. He stated: 'So I've had to take to my astronomy again'. 16

¹²See Georgiana Burne-Jones, *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones*, 2 vols (London: Macmillan Company, 1904), Vol. 2, p. 304 [hereafter GBJ, Memorials].

¹³ GBJ, Memorials, 1, p. 58.

¹⁴ GBJ, *Memorials*, 2, p. 304.

¹⁵ GBJ, Memorials, 2. p. 30. Luna is an oil painting on canvas (101 x 71cm; 39³/₄ x 28in.) and signed with initials 'EBJ' at the lower left. Alexander Ionides (1840-98) owned the painting. Before his death it was sold anonymously to Christie's London, 1 March 1897, lot 121, then re-acquired by Christie's London in 1898 and sold as lot 21 on 15 May 1902 to Agnew R.H. Benson (1839-1912). The painting was eventually purchased and was part of the Collection Yves Saint Laurent et Pierre Bergé in Paris, who sold it to Christie's (lot/sale 1209), 23-25 February 2009, Paris. See http://www.christies.com/= lotfinder/-paintings/-siredward-coley-burne-jones-bart-ara-rws-5157409-details.aspx 2009

lotfinder/-paintings/-sir-edward-coley-burne-jones-bart-ara-rws-5157409-

details.aspx 2009. After the 2009 Christie's sale, the painting became part of a private collection. The description of the painting, the size (101 x 71cm. (39³/₄ x 28in.), materials (oil on canvas) and the signature with the monogram of 'EBJ' on the lower left of the painting attest and coincide with the description of the painting mentioned by GBJ in the Memorials, Vol. 2, p. 30.

¹⁶ GBJ, *Memorials*, 2, p. 303.



Fig. 3 Edward Burne-Jones, *Luna*, 1871–72, oil on canvas. Photo credit: CHRISTIE'S IMAGES LTD. 2017

British scientific culture and discoveries provided impetus for Burne-Jones's artistic expression in representing astronomical imagery. ¹⁷ In 1781, William Herschel (together with his sister Caroline) discovered Uranus. Both were also musicians; William composed music and conducted the Bath orchestra. ¹⁸ In 1822, Alexander Jamieson published a *Celestial Atlas* with G. & W. B. Whittaker and Co. in London. William Lassell made new astronomical discoveries, such as the largest moon of Neptune (Triton) in 1846 and (together with William Cranch Bond and George Phillips Bond) a moon of Saturn (Hyperion) in 1848. In 1851, William Lassell recorded Uranus' moons (Ariel and Umbriel). In 1859, Richard Christopher Carrington and Richard Hodgson (independently) made the first observations of a geomagnetic solar storm. In 1864, William Thomson discovered the thermodynamics of the earth and estimated the earth's age to be about 20 million years. And in 1873, George Biddell Airy explained and improved upon the orbital theory of Venus and the Moon.

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See Peter Whitfield, Astrology: A History (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2001), pp. 165–79, for a discussion on astrology in England between 1550–1700.
 William Herschel with his sister Caroline lived at New King Street in Bath. Today the residence houses the Herschel Museum of Astronomy. In 1780, He was appointed director of the Bath Orchestra, while his sister performed as a soprano. See Richard Holmes, *The Age of Wonder* (New York: Vintage Books, 2008).

Jamieson's *Celestial Atlas* inspired an important market for cartographic maps and playing cards in London. The Rev. Richard Bloxam popularized Jamieson's atlas by composing a set of 72 playing cards based on constellations, which were printed by Samuel Leigh for The Royal Astronomical Society in London in 1825 under the title of *Urania's Mirror* or *A View of the Heavens*. ¹⁹

Moreover, these British scientific discoveries and media applications provided inspiration for Pre-Raphaelite artistic expressions not just in painting but also in poetry. Alfred Tennyson composed poems on astronomy and cosmology such as *Maud*, *Lucretius*, on Herschel's great star, and *In Memoriam*; Gabriel Dante Rossetti wrote a stanza on *A Match With The Moon*; his sister, Christina Georgina Rossetti, poetically questioned the colours of the moon in *Is the Moon Tired. She Looks so Pale*?; and Morris evoked the beauty of the planet Earth in *Flora* and *Earth the Healer*. Burne-Jones visualised their poetical visions and formulated his own astronomical ideas into a fanciful stellar ensemble in the *Planets*.

During his many journeys to Italy, from 1859 until 1871, Burne-Jones became interested in Italian culture, including literature and visual arts. Travelling through Florence, Padua, Ferrara, Rome, and Venice and their surroundings areas, he experienced the visual presence of the Renaissance's cosmology as depicted in numerous ceilings and walls of churches and palaces. For example: in Florence, the Medicean astrological cupola in the old sacristy of San Lorenzo, 1426; in Padua, the Palazzo della Ragione with its combination of Niccolò Miretto and Stefano da Ferrara's *Labours of the Months*, the seasons and the zodiac signs of 1425–40; and in Rome, Baldassare Peruzzi's ceiling with the family Chigi's astrological chart in the Loggia of Galatea of 1515 at Villa Farnesina. But Burne-Jones must have been absorbed by the astrological and astronomical representations of Francesco Cossa and Cosmé Tura's wall decorations in the Hall of the Months of 1470–84 at the Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara. These astrological seasonal cycles, designed for the duke of Ferrara, Borso

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¹⁹ See facsimile edition of the First American Edition of *Urania's Mirror*, 1832 (New York: Barnes and Noble, 2004) at http://www.atlascoelestis.com/16.htm [accessed 2 Dec. 2016].

²⁰ See Francesco Cossa and Cosmé Tura, *Luna, The Month of June*, 1470–84. Wall fresco in Hall of the Months, Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara, Italy. Photograph by Sailko, at

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Palazzo_schifanoia,_salone_dei_mesi,_ 06_giugno_(maestro_dagli_occhi_spalancati),_cancro_01.JPG [accessed 2 Dec. 2016].

d'Este, were programmed after the ancient astrological manuscript of Hyginus's Poeticon Astronomicon, published unillustrated in Ferrara in 1475 and in 1482 with illustrations. ²¹ As a frequent visitor of the British Museum – and because of his avid interests in astronomy noted in his wife's memoirs - it is indubitable that Burne-Jones was familiar with Hyginus's astrological manuscript (Harley MS 647) housed in the library.²²

Among the Italian Renaissance literary sources was Francesco Colonna's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili (The Dream of Poliphilo or The Strife of Love in a Dream), published in Venice in 1499 by Aldo Manutius.²³ Burne-Jones considered Colonna's tome the most beautiful printed and illustrated book of the Italian Renaissance. He owned a copy, a gift from Morris, which is now at the Houghton Library in Cambridge, MA.²⁴

Colonna explained the function of the planets and their innate qualities of order, governance, and harmony of the spheres.²⁵ He elaborated upon a system dealing between the eternal and the physical realms as manifested in the text through Poliphilo's journey. He guides 'the reader through an

²¹ Hyginus, Poeticon Astronomicon with the illustrations of the constellations and planets, Jacobus Sentinus and Johannes Lucilius Santritter, eds., (Venice: Erhard Ratdolt, 1482/3).

²² Probably Burne-Jones saw these manuscripts: London, British Library, Harley MS 647, 820–11th century. This collection contains the following astronomical texts and diagrams: 1) Astronomical texts based on Isidore of Seville, with two short prayers (ff. 1r-2r); 2) Marcus Tullius Cicero, Aratea, with 22 constellation figures containing extracts from Hyginus, Astronomica (ff. 2v-17v); 3) Excerpts from Pliny, Natural History, Macrobius, Commentary on the Somnium Scipionis, and Martianus Capella, De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii, books 8 and 6 (known as The Seven-Book Computus (ff. 17v-20r and 16r-16v (margin)); and 4) Diagram of the Northern and Southern Hemispheres (f. 21v). Decoration: 22 full-page representations of the constellations in colours (ff. 2v-6r, 7r-13v); a full-page diagram of the constellations in brown ink (f. 21v); and a large diagram of the solar system in brown and red (f. 19r).

²³ Leonardo Crasso from Verona, who financed the printing, dedicated it to the duke of Urbino, Guido da Montefeltro. See Lilian Armstrong, 'Benedetto Bordon, Aldus Manutius and Lucantonio Giunta: Old and New Links', in Lilian Armstrong, Studies of Renaissance Miniaturists in Venice, 2 vols (London: Pindar, 2003), Vol. 2:161-83.

²⁴ See Mark Samuel-Lasner, 'Note on Burne-Jones' Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', Pre-Raphaelite Review 1 (1978): p. 110.

²⁵ See Joscelyn Godwin, *The Pagan Dream of the Renaissance* (Grand Rapids, MI: Phanes Press, 2002), pp. 32 and 36, on the planets and their association with the cult of Venus.

initiation rite composed of different phases and realities, for the purpose of arriving at a consciousness where body and soul are united through the metamorphoses of love between Poliphilo and Polia²⁶.

Moreover, during his numerous trips to Italy, Burne-Jones probably knew the popular and beautiful astrological manuscript of the Italian Renaissance by Cristoforo de Predis (1440–86), De Sphaera of 1470, at the Biblioteca Estense Universitaria in Modena (Fig. 4). A visual comparison with some of Predis' imagery assists in decoding many of the symbols in Burne-Jones's *Planets*. These planetary personifications are accompanied by constellations and signs of the zodiac, similarly visualized in Cossa and Tura's seasonal cycles at the Hall of the Months in Palazzo Schifanoia. For example, Burne-Jones's Venus holds a mirror as a symbol of light and beauty; this planet rules the houses of Taurus with the bull and Libra with the scale. Mars, the red planet, rules the houses of Scorpio and Aries, but Burne-Jones replaced the traditional tame ram as a symbol of Aries with a fierce feline, perhaps a puma, lynx or wolf. 27 Apollo, the sun god, rules the house of Leo with the sign of the Lion. Saturn, considered in Renaissance as the oldest planet, rules the houses of Aquarius and Capricorn with respective signs; but Burne-Jones substitutes Gemini or the twins for Capricorn. Jupiter rules the houses of Pisces and Sagittarius with their signs, but Burne-Jones focused on the cosmic regal power of Jupiter with a thunderbolt. Burne-Jones' creation of the planet Earth (Terra), a conflated combination, rules the house of Virgo, trees, Aquarius, water, and Syrus, the sky. And Luna (The Moon), on a boat, controls the seas and rules the houses of Cancer and the zodiac sign of the Crab (compare Figs. 1 and $4)^{28}$

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²⁶ See Esteban Alejandro Cruz, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*: *An Architectural Vision*, 2 vols (USA: Xlibris, 2011), Vol.1:201; Godwin, *Pagan Dream of the Renaissance*, p. 30.s

 ²⁷ See Julia Cresswell, *Legendary Beasts of Britain* (Oxford: Shire Library, 2013),
 p. 24. Puma and lynx were seen in Inverness-shire.
 ²⁸ See P. G. Maxwell-Steward, *Astrology: From Ancient Babylon to the Present*

²⁸ See P. G. Maxwell-Steward, *Astrology: From Ancient Babylon to the Present* (Stroud: Amberley, 2010), pp. 2–44; R. Hinckley Allen, *Star Names and Their Meanings* (Glastonbury: The Lost Library, 1899), pp. 10–30; and Giuseppe Maria Sesti, *The Glorious Constellations: History and Mythology* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1991).



Fig. 4. Cristoforo de Predis, *Luna*, 1470–76, miniature. *De Sphaera* (Ms. lat. 209). Biblioteca Estense, Modena.²⁹

I would like to suggest as well an iconological signification. Burne-Jones continued the cultural tradition of envisioning the planets as personifications of goodness. These personifications partake of both the spiritual and physical realms. In this manner, in the *Planets*, Burne-Jones appropriated from Michelangelo's Ignudi, Prophets, and Sibyls in the Sistine Ceiling their composition – such as their royal seated posture and peaceful attitude – as well as their meaning by capturing their projected powers of divination and creation. Michelangelo depicted genii as astral sources of inspiration and benevolent guidance, while Burne-Jones drew constellations and zodiac signs to convey the positive destiny of the cosmos.³⁰ The majestic and voluminous representation of their personification in the *Planets* suggests that Burne-Jones portrayed them as monumental guardians of the celestial sphere. Burne-Jones surrounds their heads with specific allusions to sacred forms or entities, such as a halo (a celestial attribute) or a crown (a regal allusion), with attributes specific attributes to each planet. For example, in the female planets, Luna is decorated with a bluish luminous ring alluding to a full moon; Venus has a golden starry disk, alluding to her coloured light source; and Earth has no

²⁹ https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Luna_-_De_Sphaera_-Biblioteca Estense lat209.png [accessed 2 Dec. 2016].

³⁰ See Valerie Shrimplin, Sun-symbolism and Cosmology in Michelangelo's Last Judgment (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2000); and Valerie Shrimplin, Michelangelo, Copernicus and the Sistine Ceiling: The Last Judgment Decoded (Saarbrucken: Lambert, 2013).

halo, since she is a terrestrial planet. With the male planets, Burne-Jones depicted Mars wearing a warrior helmet surrounded by a solid golden disk while Jupiter, with a celestial aura, wears a royal crown with jewels. Apollo's starry halo transforms into an open sunflower – an allusion to the Sun – while he is crowned with laurel, a poetic touch; and Saturn is portrayed as a Moses-type with a galactic halo, which is marked with large stars, while his crown is composed of tablets, alluding to ancient knowledge and times. These astral rulers are seated on allegorical thrones surrounded by attributes that combine their cosmic powers. These attributes are part of the constellations, an ancient formation for understanding the movement of the spheres and the stars as well as controlling the destiny of terrestrial beings.³¹

Burne-Jones composed a scroll with large Latin inscriptions to accompany each image in the cartoons; these assist in comprehending the planets' role in the firmament. For example, the inscription Saturn Pallidum sidus refers to Saturn's colour: a silvery white star like a silver jubilee. The inscription accompanying the Sun (Apollo), Solis aureu idus, decrees that the Golden Age is here. Venus's [S] Tella Candida Venere refers to Venus as a brilliant star. Regia Stella Jovis proclaims Jupiter to be the Regal Star. meaning the ruler of the universe. Terra Omniparens alludes to Mother Earth or the Planet Earth, where all terrestrial forms are created. 32 Stella Matutina alludes to the early morning soft light while Stella Vespertina refers to the luminous Evening Star. Mars Terreus signifies 'made of earth colour', alluding to Mars's reddish tones, and Luna's Stella Mutabilis Lunae refers to the changeable movements of the Moon. In addition to providing the Latin inscriptions, Burne-Jones also coloured his cartoons according to what he perceived are the planetary attributes, e.g., blue for the Moon, red tones for Mars and pale yellow for Venus.

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³¹ Plato's *Timaeus*, 90a2–d7 and 90d5–7. See D. J. Zeyl, trans, *Plato: Timaeus* (Indianapolis, IN and Cambridge, MA: Hackett Publishing, 2000); *On Plato's Timaeus-Calcidius*, ed. and trans. John Magee (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), pp. 211–87 and 289–317; and F. M. Cornford, *Plato's Cosmology* (1937; repr. Indianapolis, IN and Cambridge, MA: Hackett Publishing, 1997).

³² See Theodore Chilb, 'On the Decorations of Pianos', in *Early Journal Content* (1883), p. 167, for a description of Edward Burne-Jones's decoration of a pianoforte for William Graham in which he employed the term Earth as *Terra omniparens*. '[She] is the universal mother'. See also Liana De Girolami Cheney, *Edward Burne-Jones: Mythical Paintings* (London/New York: Peter Lang Publishers, 2013), pp. 107–13.

Burne-Jones's poetical inscriptions and visualisations allude to a *paragone* (comparison) among the sister arts or fine arts as noted by the classical poet Horace, *ut pictura poesis* (as is painting, so is poetry).³³ In this type of poetical combination the text assists the viewer in interpreting the image, and the image in turn poetically makes manifest the inscription, a union between the sister arts. With the personifications of the planets and constellations, Burne-Jones created, in his *Planets* cycle, a stellar tapestry as a spatial background for the cosmic dwelling of the planets, hence providing a heavenly realm for terrestrial beings to contemplate and wonder about the firmament.

Christina Rossetti (1830–94), a Pre-Raphaelite poet and the sister of the Pre-Raphaelite painter and poet Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828–1882), who was one of Burne-Jones's teachers, also followed Horace's poetical dictum, 'as is poetry so is painting'. ³⁴ She composed a sonnet in honour of the Moon, verbalizing her feelings upon perceiving the Moon and noticing the Moon's pale colorations and oscillations. Her poem, *Is the Moon tired? She Looks so pale*, was published in a collection of *Sing-Song: nursery rhyme book* in 1868–70. ³⁵

Is the moon tired? she looks so pale
Within her misty veil:
She scales the sky from east to west,
And takes no rest.

Before the coming of the night The moon shows papery white; Before the dawning of the day She fades away.

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³³ The phrase originates from Horace's *Arts poetica* (line 361), first century BCE; for further study, see *Horace on Poetry: The Ars Poetica*, ed. C.O. Brink (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971). See Jean H. Hagstrum, *Sister Arts: The Tradition of Literary Pictorialism and the English Poetry from Dryden to Gray* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), p. 59; and Michael J.B. Allen, *Marsilio Ficino and the Phaedran Charioteer* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981), pp. 339–439.

³⁴ See GBJ, *Memorials*, Vol. I, pp. 1333, 136, 145, and 149.

³⁵ An original copy, Ashley MS 1371, is at the British Museum Library in London. George Routledge and Sons were the first publishers in 1872. For this edition, Arthur Hughes (1832–1915) and Dalziel Brothers illustrated the text. In 1893, Macmillan and Co. of London reprinted the book.

Burne-Jones's first paragone is between the word and the brush inspired by British poetical compositions on the colouration and status of the Moon; for example, Rossetti's paragone between seeing what the Moon appears to be and employing words to express the nature of her colouration. Burne-Jones's second paragone is between music and painting, the note and the brush. A modification of Horace's dictum ut pictura poesis to ut pictura musica (as is painting, so is music) relates as well to the sister arts. Holden's commission was for the purpose of decorating the music room with the image of the Planets. The traditional concept of musica universalis or Music of the Spheres (Harmony of the Spheres) is an ancient philosophical association related to the movement of the celestial bodies.³⁶ The movement of these celestial bodies, the Sun, Moon and planets, are revealed metaphysically through mathematical constructions in order to create harmony and spiritual uplift and physically through sounds played with musical instruments. Earlier, Pythagoras, who invented the theory of music and sounds, claimed that the Sun, Moon and planets all emit their celestial sound or orbital resonance based on their orbital revolutions.³⁷ As Plato noted, 'As the eyes, said I, seem formed for studying astronomy, so do the ears seem formed for harmonious motions: and these seem to be twin sciences to one another, as also the Pythagoreans

³⁶ See Joscelyn Godwin, ed., *The Harmony of the Spheres: A Sourcebook of the Pythagorean Tradition in Music* (Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions International, 1993), pp. 3–9; 21–40, 163–70, and 395–99; and Jamie James, *The Music of the Spheres: Music, Science and The Natural Order of the Universe* (New York: Copernicus, 1993), pp. 41–59.

See W. Stirling, *The Canon: The Pagan Mystery as the Rule of all the Arts* (Glastonbury: The Lost Library, 1897), pp. 260–74, p. 260, for an explanation of Pythagoras's claim that 'the planets in their revolutions around the earth uttered certain sounds differing accounting to their respective magnitude, celebrity and local distance', establishing his harmony canon. See also Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, Book I and II, II.xviii.xx, trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938), pp. 277–78. See also in the Renaissance, Franchinus Gafurius, *Practica musicae* (Milan: Gulielmum signer Rothomagensem, 1496, and Venice: Agostino Zani, 1512), when an engraving connects Apollo with the Muses and the planetary spheres, e.g., the planet Luna with the muse Clio. See Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, Book I and II, II.xviii.xx. The translation of this ancient volume by Philemon Holland (London: Adam Firm, 1601) had a special significance for Burne-Jones. During their marriage, his wife read it aloud to him. See GBJ, Memorials, Vol. 2, p. 55; and James, *The Music of the Spheres*, pp. 20–40.

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say' (Republic VII.XII).³⁸ These Platonic notions of associating music with astronomy resurfaced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For example, the British astronomer William Herschel not only discovered the planet Uranus but also composed and orchestrated music. In the nineteenth century, Burne-Jones combined his artistic talent as a painter in 1870 depicting *Luna* and in 1879 composing a cartoon about *Luna* with his musical inclination in playing the piano; in addition, he was involved in constructing and decorating musical instruments.³⁹

Throughout his artistic career, Burne-Jones composed several images depicting the Moon. His earliest known composition was created during his travels in Italy in 1871 (see Fig. 3). In this painting, Burne-Jones depicted a creative image of the Moon hiding from the Sun's emissions. In a blue-starry firmament, a female figure, Luna, rides on a globe. While the tresses of her hair have been turned golden by the Sun's radiation, Luna employs her attire to hide from the Sun's reflections. Her face is veiled with the sleeves of the dress and the folds of her dress train cover the circular form of her planet, as only a small crescent ridge is visible. In this composition, Burne-Jones experimented with a variation of tonalities, employing only the colour blue to form an orchestral symphony of blue tones. He may have been influenced by James Abbott McNeill Whistler's paintings on nocturnes and symphonies, for example, *Nocturne: Blue and Silver-Chelsea* of 1871, now held at the Tate Gallery in London. Unterested the figure, globe, drapery and crescent moon

³⁸ See Henry Davis, *The Republic. The Statesman of Plato* (1901; repr. Nabu Press, 2010), p. 252; and James, *The Music of the Spheres*, p. 41–59.

³⁹ See Christopher Wood, *Burne-Jones: The Life and Works of Sir Edward Burne-Jones, 1833–1898* (New York: Stewart, Tabori and Chang, 1998), p. 78, for records, which document the early design on this subject, *Le Chant d'Amour*, created for a decoration of a small upright piano made by F. Priestley of Berners Street in London (now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London). The American walnut piano was given as a wedding present to Burne-Jones in 1860. Burne-Jones paints the lid of the piano in monochrome in 1863. For Francis Homer, daughter of William Graham, an important collector and patron of Burne-Jones, he painted a piano in 1879, with themes on Orpheus, during the same time that he was designing the *Planets* cycle. See also Aymer Vallance, *Sir Edward Burne-Jones Baronet* (London: The Art Journal, 1900), p. 28, Figs. 54 and 55, for Burne-Jones' constructed psaltery and harp, respectively.

⁴⁰ See Stirling, *The Canon*, p. 262, where he notes that Pythagoras, 'using the term of music, called the interval between the earth and the moon, a Tone'.

⁴¹ For the image, see http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/whistler-nocturne-blue-and-silver-chelsea-t01571 [accessed 2 Dec. 2016].

provide a rotary movement, alluding to the rotation of the lunar sphere, while the reflections of the sky and the water produce an eerie atmosphere. Inventively, Burne-Jones interplays these with bright light effects, showing how Luna hides from the bright sunlight, demonstrating the astral connection and rivalry between the planets: the Sun and the Moon, signifying time – day and night – and radiance, with light and dark effects. The overall luminosity of the blue light and its reflections augment the understanding of the Moon's colouration (compare Fig. 1 and 3). Luna, whose ancient Roman name *lumina*, signifies light or to illuminate. In the painting, Burne-Jones interplays these meanings of *lumina*: physically alluding to illumination of a visible area as the Moon radiates at night, and metaphysically referring to Luna as the astral planet that not only illuminates through shining stars but also through its mysterious bluish coloration which evokes a mystical atmosphere for the imagination and the intellect of a creative mind.

The compositional design for the cartoon *Luna*, like the other *Planets*, is in arched-shape format. The haloed female figure is identified as a goddess or astral being. The figure of Luna is beautifully dressed in a classical garment with a wet drapery motif recalling Burne-Jones's admiration for the Greek sculptor Phidias (480–430 BCE), whose marbles statues for the frieze and pedimental area of the Parthenon were (and are) in view at the British Museum during his numerous visits. Burne-Jones depicted Luna as seated female navigating through the sea in an ancient Roman boat (see Fig. 1). Holding steadily with her left hand a crescent moon as a rudder of a celestial ship, she intensely watches the nautical direction of her physical and metaphysical realms. With her right hand, Luna holds fast to the edge of the boat, adjusting to the physical movements of the sea's waves. In the cartoon, Burne-Jones has skilfully contrasted the astral deity's beautiful hands with tapered fingers and the crab's clumsy regenerative claws, alluding to both – the Moon and the crab - fastening to atmospheric and climatic changes.

Astrologically, Luna rules the sign of Cancer or constellation of Cancer, which is depicted by the zodiac sign of the crab. The animal symbolism of the crab is associated with water movement, as well as illuminating effects. Burne-Jones depicted a crab surfacing from the sea and following the boat's navigation. The nautical movements of the boat are associated with the crab's oscillation, which alludes to the Moon's monthly cycle and the seasonal time of summer (July and August).

⁴² See Sesti, *The Glorious Constellations: History and Mythology*, pp. 267–71.

A shower of stars decorates the celestial background of the composition for the navigation of the Moon, as indicated by the large scroll with a Latin inscription which reminds the viewer about the mutable astral Moon, *Stella Mu/Tabilis Lunae*. ⁴³ The Moon's mutable transformation oscillates the cycles of the sea, as noted in the cartoon by the blue tonalities and reflections of the sky in the water, and the sound of the wave is paralleled to the sound of the star. Burne-Jones created a physical and metaphysical bond among art, astronomy, music and poetry. *Luna* is an image of a poetical planetary symphony.

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⁴³ See Archives, Accession Number A.113, Torre Abbey Museum. The drawing is made of charcoal and coloured chalks, blues and gold and violets. The drawing was restored and cleaned in 1988 by the Bristol City Art Gallery. In the Entry in the *Catalogue of Designs* of July 1870, Fletcher is named as of the glass painter who composed the panel (2512/35 and 2477/36).

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