

Edward Burne-Jones' *The Days of Creation*: A Celestial Utopia

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ABSTRACT

Edward Burne-Jones' cycle of *The Days of Creation* of 1870-66(Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Museums, Cambridge, MA) was highly praised and elegantly described by Oscar Wilde: "*The picture is divided into six compartments, each representing a day in the Creation of the World, under the symbol of an angel holding a crystal globe, within which is shown the work of a day.*"

This essay examines how Burne-Jones visualized an unusual celestial creation where angels holding magical spheres unveil the divine manifestation for the creation of a terrestrial realm. His *The Days of Creation* is an aesthetic culmination of the artistic power of invention, imitation and creation of beauty. Burne-Jones borrows the divine concept of world creation to formulate his own artist creation. Selecting God's week of creation, he empowers a daily angel to manifest the beauty and power of divine creation. Ultimately, Burne-Jones creates a cosmic utopia, a mythical heavenly and natural realm, where angels design a world of beauty to be emulated not only by the artist, but also by most of all by the viewer.

Introduction

This study examines how Edward Burne-Jones (1833–1898) creates a cosmic utopia of the world in six rectangular panels. He visualizes an unusual celestial creation where angels holding magical spheres unveil the divine manifestation for the creation of celestial and terrestrial realms. In describing what is art and what is the purpose of his art, Burne-Jones observes, "I mean by a picture a beautiful, romantic dream of something that never was, never will be—in a light better than any light that ever shone—in a land no one can define or remember, only desire—and the forms divinely beautiful." This artistic quest is manifested in *The Days of Creation*.

Edward Burne-Jones, a Pre-Raphaelite artist and designer, collaborated with William Morris (1834-1896) on many decorative arts projects such as stained glass windows, book illustrations, ceramics and tapestry designs.² He was also a founding partner of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner, and Co., manufacturers and retailers of furnishings and decorative arts.

From 1870 to 76, Burne-Jones designs for the Morris' firm, *The Days of Creation*. This includes series of pencil drawings, cartoons and watercolor paintings (Figs. 1-3) for the creation of stained glass windows of the Saint George Chapel, East Window, in the Church of Saint Editha at Tamworth in Staffordshire (1874).³ Later, Burne-Jones' designs are duplicated for the stained glass windows of the Unitarian Chapel in Manchester Hall (now Harris Manchester) at Oxford, England (Fig. 4), and for the ceramic tiles in Saint Dyfrig Chapel at Saint David Llandiff Cathedral in Cardiff, Wales (Fig. 5).

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²See Editor (no name), *Athenaeum Journal*, London (1899), p. 152, "Of the drawings in the Balcony at the New Gallery." These are chiefly studies for the compositions of pictures, most of which hang in the galleries below, like Mrs. Coronio's Study for the Days of Creation (178);" Malcolm Bell, *Sir Edward Burne-Jones, A Record and Review* (London: G. Bell, 1903), pp. 49-51, illustrating and describing the painting of *The Days of Creation* (referred to by Bell as "The Angels of Creation"), now in the Fogg Art Gallery, Cambridge, MA; Charles Sewter, *The Stained Glass of William Morris and His Circle A Catalogue* (London: Yale University Press, 1975), pp. 134 and 184; Martin Harrison and Bill Waters, *Burne-Jones*, London, 1979, p. 110; and John Christian, "Painter-Designer or Designer-Painter," in *The Journal of Stained Glass*, Burne-Jones Special Issue, vol. XXXV (2011), pp. 22, 24 and 26-27.

³ The east window was placed in memory of Rt. Hon. Robert Peel, M.P. for Tamworth who died in 1872.

Burne-Jones offers a commentary on aspects of the commission for the Morris' firm. He wishes to portray, "visions and dreams and symbols for the understanding of people."⁴ The archives of the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge contain Burne-Jones' personal work-records for the period of 1871 to 1876, where he notes the following: 1871: "Designed...the angels holding the circles of creation," 1872: "Began the series of Angels of Creation," 1875: "Many months of work on the painting[s]," and in 1876: "Worked for all the first months on *The Days of Creation*—altogether ten months and finished them." On completion of the paintings and to unite them, Burne-Jones designs a frame in the Renaissance style. The drawings and paintings are exhibited in 1877 at the Grosvenor Gallery in London.

Impressed by Burne-Jones' creations at the Gallery, Oscar Wilde (1854-1900) highly praises the imagery of *The Days of Creation* in the Dublin University Magazine. He writes:

The picture is divided into six compartments, each representing a day in the Creation of the World, under the symbol of an angel holding a crystal globe, within which is shown the work of a day. In the first compartment stands the lonely angel of the First Day, and within the crystal ball Light is being separated from Darkness. In the fourth compartment are four angels, and the crystal glows like a heated opal, for within it the creation of the Sun, Moon, and Stars is passing; the number of the angels increases, and the colours grow more vivid till we reach the sixth compartment, which shines afar off like a rainbow. Within it are the six angels of the Creation, each holding its crystal ball; and within the crystal of the sixth angel one can see Adam's strong brown limbs and hero form, and the pale, beautiful body of Eve. At the feet also of these six winged messengers of the Creator is sitting the angel of the Seventh Day, who on a harp of gold is singing the glories of that coming day which we have not yet seen. The faces of the angels are pale and oval-shaped, in their eyes is the light of Wisdom and Love, and their lips seem as if they would speak to us; and strength and beauty are in their wings. They stand with naked feet, some on shell-strewn sands whereon tide has never washed nor storm broken, others it seems on pools of water, others on strange flowers; and their hair is like the bright glory round a saint's head.⁵

The theme of God's creation of the world is conceptually fascinating and stimulating to Burne-Jones, not just visually, but iconographically as well. He likely associates the traditional concept of world creation to the individual creation, paralleling God's artistic creative powers with human artistic creativity. God's conception of the cosmic world inspires the artist's visualization of such a world.

Three aspects of the Burne-Jones' *The Days of Creation* are considered here: 1) the source for the commission, 2) the composition of the imagery, and 3) the signification of the imagery.

Source of the Commission

In 1870, William Morris (1834-1896),⁶ a close friend of and collaborator with Burne-Jones asks him to execute drawings for six stained glass windows with the Biblical subject of God's creation of the world. From 1870 to 1876, Burne-Jones' composes using various media depictions of God's six days of creation. He designs *modelli* in pencil cartoons for watercolor paintings on gouache, containing shell gold and platinum paint. In turn, these *modelli* are employed to compose stained glass windows and porcelain tiles for several chapels. In the discussion of these works in catalogues entries, journals and books, the titles for this imagery vary from *The Days of Creation* to *Six Days of Creation* to *Angels of Creation*.

There are four parts to this commission: drawings, paintings, stained glass windows and ceramic tiles. The provenance for the drawings of *The Days of Creation* is the well-established Anglo-Greek family, Ionides. Aglaia Coronio née Ionides (1834-1906) purchases them or her artist friend, Burne-Jones in 1877, gifts

⁴ Georgiana Burne-Jones, *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones*. 2 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1904), vol. I, p. 143.

⁵ Wilde's essay is included in his book of collected writings, *Miscellanies*.

⁶ It is not by accident that William Morris views Burne-Jones' *The Days of Creation* with personal interest. He is a close friend and confidant of Coronio, who owns a set of Burne-Jones *modelli*. She was also Burne-Jones' patroness of art. It has been suggested that Morris' oldest daughter, Jenny (1861-1935), posed for the drawing of some of the angels. She would have been ten years old, and not 15 years old. Unfortunately, the same year that the series is completed, 1876, Jenny dies after suffering from epilepsy. Another suggestion, more plausible, is that Elizabeth Siddal modeled for the faces of some of the angels. See Linda Parry, "Coronio, Aglaia," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, online.ed 2010).

them to her. Then, Aglaia's niece, Zoë Manuel née Ionides (1877-1973), purchases them from her in 1906. On Zoe's death, the works are sold to Phillip's of London, on September 30, 1974, sells them (lot 147) to The Maas Gallery of London. In turn the gallery sales them to a unanimous buyer. On January 23, 2013, Bonhams of London auctions off these cartoon drawings, but the buyer is not revealed. Now, Burne-Jones' drawings are in a private collection.⁷

For most of their existence, the drawings for *The Days of Creation* belong to private owners. The original owner is Aglaia Coronio (1834-1906), a close friend, a muse and an admirer of the artist.⁸ She owns the pencil drawings as well as the watercolor paintings (Fogg Art Gallery, Harvard University, and Cambridge, MA).⁹The six panel drawings are framed by at owner's request. Perhaps she received the drawings as a gift from Burne-Jones. After their completion, Burne-Jones' drawings are unveiled to the public at the Grosvenor Gallery inaugural exhibition in 1877.¹⁰

Until 1906, the drawings remain in Aglaia Coronio's collection. After her suicide, her niece, Zoë Ionides, purchases them from the Coronio estate before their placement for auction. In 1973, after Ionides' death, the drawings are sold in a public market. Purchased by Maas Gallery, they later were sold to the mother of the present owner who wishes to remain anonymous. On January 23, 2013, Bonhams of London auctions off these cartoon drawings, still today the buyer is not revealed.

While the circumstance of the paintings is different from the drawings, they passed through various private hands. First, William Graham of Glasgow (1817-1885), one of the Burne-Jones most devoted patrons, purchases the set from the artist in 1877. It is later acquired by Alexander Henderson (Lord Farringdon; 1850-1934) and then Grenville Winthrop (1864-1943), who donate them to the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University in 1943. The series remains on display at the museum for 47 years. Then, in 1970/74, they are loaned to the dining hall in Dunster House at Harvard University, when the fourth panel is cut out from the frame, stolen and never recovered. The surviving five panels are still in view at the Fogg.

Burne-Jones' preparatory life-size drawings for paintings as well as for the stained glass windows and porcelain tiles are a remarkable manifestation of his artistic creativity, poetical visualization, and evocation of beauty. He says many times that his quest in art is a quest for beauty. "Only this is true, that beauty is very beautiful, and softens, and comforts, and inspires, and rouses, and lifts up, and never fails,"¹¹ he notes, for example.

The numerous stained glass windows composed by Burne-Jones' *The Days of Creation* can be seen in many churches throughout England, namely, *Six Days of Creation* of 1870 in the west window of All Saints Church (All Saints Church) at Middleton Cheney in Northamptonshire (5); *Angels of Creation* of 1874, Editha's Church in Tamworth, Staffordshire (6); and *The Six Angels of Creation* of 1895, at Manchester College Chapel in Oxford (8). Of particular interest is the expansion of the Morris firm into porcelain tiles, where Burne-Jones' drawings of *The Days of Creation* are a source of inspiration for the ceramic tiles of *The Six Days of Creation* of 1893, at Dyfrig Chapel of Saint David Church, Llandaff Cathedral in Cardiff (7). This series is commissioned by the Morris & Company firm and executed in Birkenhead by the established porcelain company of the same name, Birkenhead, and completed in 1898 by the painter and sculptor, Harold Steward Rathbone (1858-1929), after Burne-Jones' death. The undecorated framing is likely not Burne-Jones' original work.

⁷Records show that Burne-Jones starts the pencil drawings of *The Days of Creation* in 1871, and a year later, the paintings, with a gouache watercolor with shell gold and platinum paint on linen panels. The paintings are twice as large in size as the pencil drawings. Once completed in 1876, Burne-Jones unites the panels in a constructed Renaissance frame.

⁸A short biography of Aglaia Coronio from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aglaia_Coronio, cited in Linda Parry, "Coronio, Aglaia," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford:Oxford University Press, online.ed 2010). Known for her formidable intelligence, sound judgment, humor and slight eccentricity, Aglaia Coronio belongs to an influential Anglo-Greek community that played a decisive role in determining artistic tastes in Victorian England. As the eldest daughter of Euterpe née Sgouta and Alexander Ionides, a wealthy merchant, she and her four siblings grow up in the family home at Tulse Hill, which became a meeting place for the artistic and literary elite. Aglaia's eldest brother Constantine shared the family's passion for art and formed an impressive collection (bequeathed to the Victoria and Albert Museum), which included works by, Jean-Baptist-Camille Corot, Edgar Degas, Eugene Delacroix, and Jean-Francois Millet as well as those by Burne-Jones, Dante Gabriel Rossetti and George Frederic Watts.

⁹These paintings with the drawings for *The Days of Creation* were lent to the New Gallery Burne-Jones Exhibition in 1898-99.

¹⁰The success of this exhibit was significant for Burne-Jones, who seven years earlier the Society of Painters in Water-Colours had censured his art. Requesting to modify or repent *Phyllis and Demophoön*. He refused to make the changes in the nude Phyllis (Maria's body, his lover and model) and Demophoön's passionate embrace, an unacceptable Victorian response to female sexual desire. Thus, Burne-Jones withdrew from the exhibition and resigned from the membership and the society.

¹¹G(eorgiana) B(urne)-J(ones), *Memorials*, vol. 2, p. 125.

One of Burne-Jones' earliest depictions of the creation theme is conceived in 1861 for the rose window at Holy Cross and Saint Lawrence, Waltham Abbey. Later, in 1863, he composes a series of six designs for engravings commissioned by the Dalziel Brothers (George, 1815-1902; Edward, 1817-1905; and Thomas, 1823-1906) for their Illustrated Bible. The small paintings in gouaches depicting *The Seven Days of Creation* (Birmingham City Museum and Art Gallery) depict birds, landscape, vegetation, the celestial bodies, and Adam and Eve. Here, Burne-Jones explores the biblical iconography for the creation theme. He would return to this subject in the early 1870s, fusing the influence and interpretation of other artists such as the British painter, William Blake (1757-1827), and the Italian Renaissance painters, Botticelli (1445-1510), Andrea Mantegna (1430-1506),¹²Luca Signorelli (1445-1523), Michelangelo (1475-1564), and, in particular, the sculptures of Luca della Robbia's Cantoria of 1470, whom he studied in the Italian journeys (Fig. 7).¹³

Composition of the Imagery

In *The Days of Creation*, Burne-Jones depicts each day with a corresponding number of angels, with each angel holding a globe that corresponds to the cosmic invention. All angels holding the sphere are crowned with a burning flame, an allusion to divine creativity or Pentecostal inspiration. These celestial figures stand in a flat platform that differs according to their day of creation. Fancy plumage with a variety of celestial colors decorates these angelic figures. Although their facial physiognomy is similar, their differences are revealed in their hair color, plumage attire, the manner holding the sphere, and the standing platforms. The coloration of the plumage garment is associated with the angel's type of creation.

There are noticeable differences from the cartoon's design and the depiction of the paintings, as well as the reproduction in the stained glass and ceramic tiles. These differences may relate in part to the medium employed in the realization of the imagery. The cartoons show flexibility in the contra postal stance of the figures emphasizing three-dimensional space, while the stained glass and ceramic tiles underscore a frontal plane and a two-dimensional space. The cartoons' subtle platform transition of the environment depicted each day of creation is projected in the paintings, but difficult to perceive in the stained glass windows and ceramic tiles.

Burne-Jones carefully designs the position of the angel's hands holding the globe. Each originator angel becomes a member of the following day of creation and is incorporated in the background scene. A feathery flame on the center of the angel creator's head distinguishes from the other angels and identifies the angel in the dominant role of creation. Symbolic of their ethereal nature, all the angels are disarmed and standing on resplendent platforms. The stance of the angelic figure recalls Botticelli's figure of Venus in *The Birth of Venus* of 1485 (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence). In the angelic composition of the angels and their action of creation, Burne-Jones is alluding to Botticelli's figure type and creation of a form.

In the Bible, the Seven Days of Creation begins: "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth" (Genesis 1:1 NIV). "The world (earth) was empty and dark" (Genesis 1: 2-3). On the first day of creation, God created light and separated the light from the darkness, calling light "day" and darkness "night." The first recorded words of God that we have are, "Let there be light" (Genesis 1:3)

Burne-Jones depicts the first angel standing alone in reflective platform. The landscape is a vast extension of celestial and aquatic surfaces reflecting the heavenly realm. The angel holds a large crystal globe, composed of two other globes. One reflects light, the other darkness. The creation in the world is of light and darkness, thus the separation in two globes. Variations of blue and purple coloration in the angel's plumage, attire and landscape scene allude to the celestial and mystical formation of heavenly reflections and the formation of light.

On the second day of creation, God says, "Let there be a sky between the waters, and the sky was made by God's word." (Genesis 1:6) "This sky kept the water in the upper air apart from the waters that were underneath" (Genesis 1, 6-7). "God created a large area where to separate, the waters and form the sky" (Genesis 1:3-5).

¹²At the British Museum, Burne-Jones probably studies a tarot card engraving, then attributed to Mantegna.

¹³ A replica of the Cantoria is at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, a familiar work that Burne-Jones studied.

Burne-Jones' angel of the second day of creation holds a globe, which also contains two smaller spheres showing the separation of the heavens and the waters. The sphere of the water is differentiated by the intense bluish sea-like coloration. But the overall tonality is similar to the first scene. The platform is more reflective of the angel's feet.

On the third day, God says, "Let the waters collect in one place, and let the dry land come out" (Genesis 1:9). "God called the dry land earth, the waters, He called seas, God looked at all that He had made, and He saw that it was good" (Genesis 1, 9-10). "God creates dry ground available for the first plants and trees to grow in great abundance" (Genesis 1:9-13).

Burne-Jones' third angel holds a globe wherein the earth brings forth grass, plants, and fruit-bearing trees. The plumage and garment are composed of earthly colors of gold, green and browns. The angel stands in an opaque platform, suggesting a soil substance with flowering plants and bushes, while his companions reside in transparent and watery platforms.

In the Fourth Day, God created two types of lights and many smaller ones. Thus, "He created the sun, moon and stars" (Genesis 1:14-19). "They give light to the earth, and they mark the days, the years and the seasons" (Genesis 1, 14-19). Burne-Jones' platform reveals the reflection of earthly green coloration.

On the fifth day of creation, God blessed the birds and the sea creatures and said, "Be fruitful and increase in number and fill the water in the seas, and let the birds increase on the earth. God created great whales, and every living creature that moves, which the waters brought forth abundantly, after their kind, and every winged fowl after his kind: and God saw that it was good" (Genesis 1:20-20). And God blessed them, saying, "Be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the waters in the seas, and let fowl multiply in the earth. And the evening and the morning were the fifth day" (Genesis 1:20- 23).

Burne-Jones angel of the fifth day stands at a seashore where numerous discarded seashells are visible. The angel holds a globe showing the waters and the birds and the living creatures. The angel of the fourth day of creation is on the right side holding his sphere with a luminous sun, a beautiful contrast between the reddish light of the sun as well as the angel's plumage, with the bluish light and plumage coloration of the fifth angel of creation.

On the Sixth Day of Creation, "God created all kinds of wild beasts and cattle, and creatures that crawl on the ground. Again, God saw that His works were good" (Genesis 1, 24). After "God made the animals to fill the earth," He says, "Let us make man [and woman] in Our image and likeness, Let us make him [and her] rulers over the fishes of the sea, the birds of the air, the cattle, and the animals of the whole earth" (Genesis 1:26) "So God made man [and woman] in His own image and likeness: (Genesis 1, 26-7).

Burne-Jones' angel of the sixth day depicts the last day of creation. The angel holds a globe that reflects the creation of living forms such as trees, serpents and humankind created in God's image. Adam and Eve appear in a garden, standing in front of a large tree, The Tree of Knowledge, where a prominently coiled serpent embraces the bottom of the tree trunk and turns its head toward the couple. Ingeniously, Burne-Jones places the angel of the sixth creation turning toward the angel of the fifth creation, suggesting the biblical account that man and woman will govern over the created nature, birds, fishes and the animals of earth.

According to the bible, on the seventh day after the creation, God rests. Burne-Jones depicts the glory and the success of the creation by placing a musical angel at the feet of all angels on the last day of creation. Crowned with myrtle, this musical angel is playing a psalter. Rose bushes surround this seated musician. The angel of the sixth creation is crowned as well, but with roses. These are the only two angels whose heads are decorated with natural vegetation: roses and myrtle. However, the musical angel, unlike his angel companions, is not depicted with a flaming feather, likely because his musical improvisation is a human creation and not divine like those created by the angel of creation.

The Signification of the Image

In 1863, Burne-Jones begins drawings for a series of biblical engravings commissioned by the Dalziel Brothers (George Dalziel 1815-1902 and Edward Dalziel 1817-1905). They wanted to create an engraved

Illustrated Bible with stories from the Old Testament. Several Pre-Raphaelite artists are involved in this project, including Ford Madox Brown (1821-1893), Edward Burne-Jones, William Holman Hunt (1827-1910), Frederick Leighton (1830-1896), Frederick Sandys (1829-1904), George Frederick Watts (1817-1904) and Simeon Solomon (1840-1905). Although Burne-Jones designs numerous drawings for this commission (now at the Birmingham Art Museum and City Gallery, Fig. 6), for unknown reason, he does not complete his part of the project. Regardless, George Routledge & Sons, London, publishes the Illustrated Bible in 1881.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the Anglo-Catholic movement encourages the decoration of the Gothic churches to be populated with stained glass windows. Burne-Jones and collaborator Morris compose numerous designs for these types of windows, including his last commission of *The Days of Creation* for Manchester College (now Harris-Manchester College) at Oxford in 1893.¹⁴

There are three considerations in the interpretation of Burne-Jones' *The Days of Creation*: 1) the parallel notion of divine and human creation, 2) the purpose of art for creating a beautiful world, and 3) a celestial or cosmic utopia composed with angelic figures,

Burne-Jones, similar to traditional painters in the history of art from antiquity to the present, views himself as a creator, a composer of beautiful images for a perfect realm. Pre-Raphaelite painters, in particular Burne-Jones, seeking a new aesthetic ideal in their art, reflect on earlier notions of artistic theories. Concepts of creativity connected with invention, imagination and judgment are associated with divine creation, God's creation of the cosmos, a physical and metaphysical realm, a natural and celestial world, a human and spiritual state of being. God's creation of the individual in His own image provides guidance not only to imitate His creation, but also to confirm the artist's ability to create. If God invents and composes the world from nothingness, the artist, Burne-Jones, could imitate the creative process and invent his own natural world.

Burne-Jones could visualize in drawing, painting and stained glass a mythical creation of the cosmos. Since antiquity and through the Middle Ages, theologians and philosophers from Plato (424-324 BCE) to Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) attempt to explain the process of natural and celestial creation. In their efforts, a pagan and Christian cosmos is composed. In this process, a cosmic utopia is designed in order to explain natural and heavenly phenomena, e.g., Plato's *Republic* of 380 BCE and Aquinas' *City of God* of 1245.

In the nineteenth-century, Charles Darwin's (1809-1882) *The Origin of the Species* of 1859 and the British industrial revolutions of 1820-1840 and 1870 are a turning point in the living structure of the individual. These significant scientific and technological transformations in human progress also affect the spiritual and psychic conception of the individual in relation to the divine. The Christian view of a world created by God is challenged by the scientifically proven principles of natural law.

As a reaction in part to this rational view, artists, especially Burne-Jones, seek to view the world in a more gentle manner, combining the artistic environment of creativity and beauty with the divine and inspirational realm. Burne-Jones becomes the promoter of the Aesthetic Movement in Britain. In an interview, he says, "The more materialistic science becomes, the more I shall paint angels: their wings are my protest in favour of the immortality of the soul."¹⁵ No doubt, in *The Days of Creation*, he depicts winged angels, as the messengers to God's creation of the world revealing his own manifestation of a celestial utopia.

Burne-Jones' *The Days of Creation* is, at once, an aesthetic culmination of the artistic power of invention, imitation and creation of beauty. He borrows the divine concept of world creation to formulate his own artist creation. Selecting God's week of creation, he empowers a daily angel to manifest the beauty and power of divine creation. Influenced by artists' quest for beauty in art and the inspiration and manifestation of the divine in art, he recalls the works of Italian Renaissance masters such as Botticelli, Mantegna and Michelangelo, as well as British artists such as William Blake, for the composition, coloration and symbolism of his imagery. Ultimately, Burne-Jones creates a cosmic utopia, a mythical heavenly and natural realm,

¹⁴Burne-Jones' other imagery here are Faith, Justice, Humility, Generosity, Courage, Charity, Mercy, Prayer and Inspiration.

¹⁵See Larry D. Lutchmansingh, "Fantasy and Arrested Desire in Edward Burne-Jones' Briar Rose Series," in Marcia Pointon, ed., *Pre-Raphaelites Re-viewed* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), p. 123.

where angels design a world of beauty to be emulated not only by the artist, but also by most of all by the viewer.

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Appendix



Fig. 1. Edward Burne-Jones, *The Days of Creation*, 1870-76, pencil drawing
Private Collection

Photo credit: <http://www.thehistoryblog.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/Studies-for-the-Days-of-Creation-by-Sir-Edward-Coley-Burne-Jones.jpg>



Fig. 2. Edward Burne-Jones, *The Days of Creation*, 1876, watercolor
Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA
Photo Credit: Harvard Museums, Cambridge, MA. See also
http://www.williammorristile.com/burne_jones_days_of_creation_angels.html



Fig. 3. Edward Burne-Jones, *The Days of Creation*, 1876, originally framed
Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA
Photo Credit: Burne-Jones' *The Days of Creation* in original frame ill Sotheby's London 13 June 1934 Lot 99
See also http://www.williammorristile.com/burne_jones_days_of_creation_angels.html



Fig. 4. Edward Burne-Jones, *The Days of Creation*, 1894, stained glass windows. Chapel, Harris Manchester Hall, Oxford, UK
Photo credit: author



Fig. 5. Edward Burne-Jones, *The Days of Creation*, 1894, porcelain
Saint Dyfrig Chapel, Saint David Llandiff Cathedral, Cardiff, Wales
Photo credit: author



Fig. 6. Luca della Robbia, *Cantoria*, 1438, 19th century replica
Victoria and Albert Museum, London
Photo credit: author

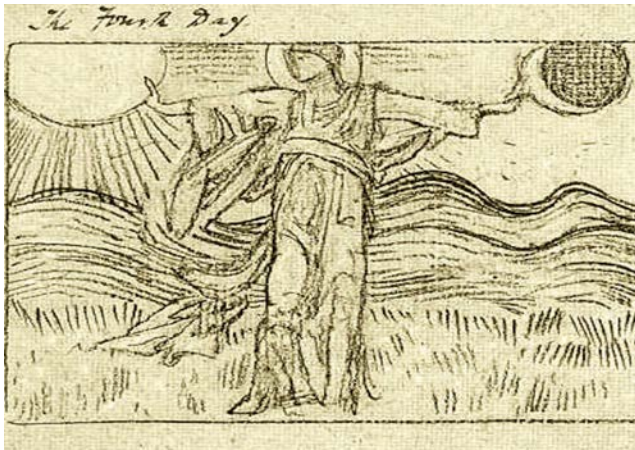


Fig. 7. Edward Burne-Jones, *The Days of Creation*, det. *Fourth Day*, 1863, drawing. Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, UK
Photo credit: Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, UK