

AN ECHO OF PATARA AND THE XANTHUS VALLEY REFLECTED IN TWO WORKS OF
CAPRICE BY HARRY JOHNSON, ENTITLED, ‘HIERAPOLIS, ASIA MINOR...’ AND,
‘SARDIS...’ EXHIBITED IN 1859

*PATARA VE KsANTHOS VADİSİ’NİN HARRY JOHN JOHNSON’UN 1856’SERGİLENEN
İKİ “CAPRICE” ESERİNDE YANKISI: “HIERAPOLIS, ASIA MINOR...” VE “SARDIS...”*

T. M. P. DUGGAN*

Abstract: Harry John Johnson’s 4 months spent largely in Lycia in 1843-44 seem to have provided the source for the landscapes in his apocalyptic paintings exhibited in London in 1859 entitled: ‘Hierapolis, Asia Minor. “I will make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water”’, and, ‘Sardis, Thou Hast A Name That Thou Livest, And Art Dead’ — Rev. iii. I.’ Both exhibited before the Indian Mutiny ended. Some corrections are made to the titles that have subsequently been given to his paintings, not least, that Hierapolis is not in Greece but in Asia Minor, and that Macri is today Fethiye in ancient Lycia in southwestern Turkey, and is not Mukri in Turkmenistan. Two previously unidentified depictions of the 1791 Hassan Pasha mosque in Fethiye are noted, together with further evidence to show he remained involved reworking the images he saw and recorded in Lycia from his return to London in 1844 aged 18, over the course of the next forty years, until his death in 1884.

Keywords: Lycia • Patara • Harry Johnson • Apocalypse • Christian Capriccio

Öz: Harry John Johnson’ın 1843-1844 arasında 4 ay süren ve çoğunlukla Likya’da bulunduğu gezisinin 1859 yılında Londra’da sergilenen apokaliptik resimlerinde görülen peyzajların kaynağı olduğu anlaşılıyor. Bunlardan İncil’den alıntılarla isimlendirdiği ikisi, *Hierapolis Küçük Asya*, “*Kenti balabana verip bataklığa çevireceğim*”, ve, *Sardis*, “*Yaşıyorsun diye ad yapmışsın ama ölüsün*”. Hindistan’da İngiliz yönetimine karşı gerçekleşen ayaklanma sonlanmadan önce sergilenmişti. Resimlerin orjinal isimleri zaman içinde değiştirilmiştir. Hierapolis, Yunanistan olarak verilmiş, bir diğer resim Macri 1844 yanlışlıkla Mukri olarak okunmuştur. Fethiye Hasan Paşa Camii’ni konu alan iki ayrı resim ise Johnson’un Likya gezisinde görüp kaydettiği imgeleri 1844’de 18 yaşında Londra’ya dönüşünden 1884’de ölümüne kadar geçen süre içinde de resmetmeye devam ettiğini göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Likya • Patara • Harry John Johnson • Kiyamet • Hristiyan Capriccio

“Harry” (Henry)¹ John Johnson was born in April 1826, in Bath Row, Birmingham, England (died 1884²), R. I.³, the eldest son of Benjamin Johnson⁴, he studied at the Birmingham Society of Art un-

* Lecturer, Art Historian, Akdeniz University, Mediterranean Civilisations Research Institute (MCRI), Antalya.
☎ 0000-0003-3042-7489 | tmpduggan@yahoo.com

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¹ Henry John Johnson, who exhibited his paintings signed Harry Johnson from 1859 onwards, see Solly 1875, 173, was usually known as Harry, to avoid confusion with the established older painter Henry Johnson.

² Academy 1885, 158, and, Wallis-Chamberlain 1892, 189, record his death as in 1885, not on the last day of 1884. Obit. Birmingham Daily Post, Friday 09-01-1885, p. 4, “*An artist of some considerable eminence*”.

³ From 1868 he was an associate member of the Institute of Painters in Water-Colours (I.P.W.C.), Holme 1906,

der the tutelage of Samuel Lines, and then became a pupil of the Bristol born painter William James Müller⁵. He was regarded by his contemporaries as a landscape artist⁶, and primarily as an exhibitor

VIII; a member from 1870. It became the Royal Institute of Painters in Water-colours in 1885, the year after the death of Harry John Johnson, but he is today often recorded as being a member of the Royal Institute as such. He exhibited 26 paintings at the Royal Academy and 27 paintings at the British Institution for Promoting the Fine Arts in the United Kingdom. He also exhibited three works at the Royal Society of Artists in Birmingham, and eight works at the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool and eight at the Royal Institute of Oil Painters. Three of his works were exhibited at the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition in 1857; his "*Gulf of Salerno, near Naples*" at the Annual Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in 1857 and again in Pennsylvania in 1867, No. 369, *Gulf of Salerno* (Catalogue 1867), and one of his watercolours was exhibited at the Centennial Commission's Philadelphia Exhibition in the USA in 1876 (Architect 1876, 233). The outline of the contents of his studio sale was described in *The Athenaeum*: "*Harry J. Johnson, deceased, late Member of the Royal Institute of Painters In Water Colours; comprising upwards of 1.500 works, and including a beautiful Series of Views in Lycia and Asia Minor, made in the year 1843, in company with William Müller - large Series of Views in Greece*" (*Athenaeum* 1885, 171); in, Statham 1885, "*of the late Mr. Harry Johnson, the well-known watercolour artist, and formerly a member of the Institute of Painters in Water-Colours, The drawings will be on view on the two previous days, and will comprise, among other things, many interesting sketches of monuments of Classic architecture in Greece and Asia Minor*" (*Builder* 1885, 293). Notice was also given in, *The Academy and Literature*, where a number of errors were also circulated: "*The works of the late Mr. Harry Johnson, whose sudden death at the commencement of this year excited so much sympathy and regret, will be sold next week by Messrs. Christie, The pupil and friend of Muller, by whose side he worked in Lycia, and also of David COX, Mr. Johnson established a style of his own in the pure water-colour which is the great charm of the English school; and, like Duncan and Leitch, he was one of the most distinguished ornaments of the spring exhibitions. His extensive knowledge of Greece (which he visited with the late Mr. Falconer Poole), Asia Minor, Spain, and Italy, besides his familiarity with the wilder regions of England and Scotland, render this collection singularly interesting*" (*Academy* 1885, 158). However, Harry Johnson died on the 31st of December 1884, not exactly 'at the commencement' of 1885, he was certainly not a pupil of David Cox, and although Harry Johnson did visit Greece in 1860-61, I can find no evidence to support the statement that he visited Greece 'with the late Mr. Falconer Poole' (Paul Falconer Poole, R.A. Painter: b. 1807, d. Sept. 22, 1879: visited Italy 1828-1829, worked in London; distinguished as a self-taught painter of idyllic and domestic subjects; elected A.R.A. 1846, R.A. 1861). Harry Johnson did draw in the 1840's at the Clipstone St. Academy in Fitzrovia at the same time as the Bristol born Paul Falconer Poole. Harry Johnson also sketched in France, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, Monaco, Malta and Tangiers. The contents of Johnson's studio were auctioned by Christie's on March the 5th, 1885.

⁴ Solly 1875, 148. This Benjamin Johnson of Birminham, was a collector of paintings, subscriber to the British Society of Artists and the owner of No. 56, 'A Nymph' by William Etty R.A. (1787-1849) exhibited at the Birmingham Society of Arts, (*The Art Union*, 1843, 293), was a patron of William James Müller (Greenacre-Stoddard 1991, 144) and bought a number of Müller's paintings including: "*The Salmon Trap*", a work which was then copied by Harry John Johnson, today Inv. No. 1525, Sheffield City Art Gallery, *The Salmon Trap*, "*painted after W. J. Müller*"; "*The Chess Players, Cairo*", "*The Mummy Treasure Finders*" (Solly 1875, 157, 168), and is not to be confused with the painter Benjamin Johnson, (active 1850-1872), Ellis - Roe 2008, 126, 128; nor yet with the Birmingham painter W. B. Johnson, Anon 1906, re Cat. No. 211.

⁵ For Harry John Johnson's work as pupil in William James Müller's studio from November 1842, see Solly 1875, 148. William Müller not only took the teenager on his Lycian sketching expedition of 1843-44 (Solly 1875, 178-

of classical landscapes. In water-colour his works bear titles such as: *Roman Amphitheatre, Frejus, France* 1851; *Areopagus (Mars Hill), Athens, Greece*, April 20th 1860; *View of the Parthenon*, dated 1861 and inscribed Athens; *The Parthenon from Phalerum Bay; Island of Aegina from the shores of the marsh extending along Phalerum Bay* 1861; *Isles of Greece, Temple of Minerva in Aegina* 1879 (in fact of the Temple of Aphaea in Aegina); *An album of Rome* 1872; *The Roman Campagna* 1875; *Water tomb, Telmessus, Lycia*, 1883, *Sonium(sic.)* 1884. As also in oils: *The Greek coast near Athens of* 1857; *Sunium, ruins of the Temple of Minerva*, 1862; “*Two views in Attica-one of the Acropolis with the monument of Philopappus*”, and *the massive stone columns of the Olympeion; the other, the white*

9), but also secured his entry at a young age into the important artistic centre of the Clipstone St. Academy, the life drawing club in Fitzrovia, (Solly 1875, 224, 277, 283-284). Further, it was doubtless under Müller’s influence and guidance that Johnson submitted two paintings of 1845 which were based upon work in Lycia, one to the British Institute and the other to the Royal Academy, both paintings exhibited in 1846. Johnson’s first work to be exhibited at the British Institution, No. 12, in February 1846 was entitled, “*Interior of Turkish Cafe at Minare, Lycia, Asia Minor*”, 1ft 9 by 2ft 2 in. This work was probably that which was auctioned June 22nd, 1983 at Sotheby’s Billingshurst, Lot. 1172, entitled only, “*Interior of Turkish cafe*”. In 1845/6 he also painted in oils a work that was exhibited at the Royal Academy in May 1846, No. 499, Graves 1906, 254, entitled in the R.A. catalogue, “*Rock tomb, Asia Minor, looking across the valley of the Xanthus*”. This painting depicts the Necropolis Pillar tomb at Xanthus and is the work that was subsequently incorrectly entitled, *The Harpy tomb with distant view of river and valley of Xanthos*, auctioned: Christie’s London, October 14th, 1988, Lot. 73, measuring 20 by 29 in; Christie’s London, 27th November 1987, Lot 100, *Harpy tomb with distant view of the river and valley of Zanthos from the Acropolis - Lycia, Asia Minor* signed, and inscribed as title and dated 1845 on the reverse, 20 by 28 3/4 in. (51 by 73 cm); August 21st, 1986; Bruun Rasmussen Kunstauktioner Bredgade, Lot 302. This work is based in part upon the water-colour view taken on November 7th, 1843, signed with initials HJJ, entitled ‘*Xanthus*’, today in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Museum No. SD.527 at: <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O145926/xanthus-watercolour-johnson-harry-john/>. This same oil painting has recently been further misnamed, *The Lion(sic.)Tomb at Xanthus*, auctioned by Sotheby’s, June 14th, 2005 Lot 108, measuring 49.5 by 72cm, 19 1/2 by 28 3/8 in. http://www.artnet.com/artists/harry-john-johnson/the-lion-tomb-at-xanthus-lycia-l6_iLgIe0JKGssMD8BO-KA2, hence, <https://www.niceartgallery.com/HarryJohnJohnson/The-Lion-Tomb-At-Xanthus,-Lycia-oil-painting.html>. This Necropolis pillar tomb was also drawn by Major Rohde Hawkins on the 18th of Jan. 1844, today B.M. London BM/P&D No. 2011.5012.111 http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3422575&partId=1&searchText=xanthus&page=1 and an engraving of G. Scharf’s drawing of it was printed by C. J. Hullmandel and published in 1844, B.M. London, BM/P&D No. 2012.5034.24. The Lion tomb was itself drawn by William Müller in 1843, ex Mr J. Henderson Col., B.M. London, BM/P&D No. 1878, 1228.97, from which the Woodburytype by V. Brooks and Co. Pl. XIII. The Lion’s Tomb in the Acropolis, Xanthus, facing page 216 was published in Solly 1875, and an etching was later made of it by C. O. Murray, published by Seeley & Co., London for “*The Portfolio. An Artistic Periodical...*” 1882, 7, illustrating Frederick Wedmore’s article entitled *William Müller and his sketches*. The Lion tomb was also drawn by George Scharf, before parts of it were removed to the B.M. London, and another view of it was published in Fellows 1847.

⁶ Recorded as such in his obituary in the Athenaeum 1885, 156, “*This able landscape painter, one of the modern leaders in the famous Bristol School...*”.

⁷ “*The Olympaeum and Acropolis of Athens, from the Banks of the Ilissus*” exhibited in the British Institution for

*ruins of the Temple of Minerva, crowning the peak of Sunium, by Harry Johnson*⁸ exhibited at the British Institution in 1863; *Ruins of the Temple of Minerva Sunias, Cape Colonna. Where Tritonia's airy shrine adorns Colonna's cliff and gleams along the wave*, exhibited at the British Institution in 1864, and the, *Temple of Minerva, Cape Colonna*, of 1884, as was noted by the reviewer for the Illustrated London News in 1865, in remarking upon an exception, "Mr. Harry Johnson is not, as he has been for many years past, an exhibitor of classical subjects: he now sends a scene, "On the marshes" with a striking effect of rain clouds"⁹.



Fig. 1. This oil painting entitled by Harry John Johnson, *Rock tomb, Asia Minor, looking across the valley of the Xanthus*, was probably that exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1846, Exhib. No. 499¹⁰ and was based in large part upon his water-colour drawn in Lycia on the 7th November 1843, today in the V&A London, No. SD.527 (Fig. 27). This oil painting measuring 49.5 x 72 cm (19.5 x 28.3 in) has today been incorrectly renamed, *The Harpy tomb with distant view of river and valley of Xanthos*, and has subsequently been auctioned under yet another incorrect title, *The Lion(sic.) Tomb at Xanthus*¹¹, but which depicts neither the Harpy or the Lion tomb, but the Pillar tomb on the Xanthos Necropolis hill, with a nearby rock-cut tomb that seems to have retained its traces of red paintwork and suffacing into the 19th c., while the pink colour of the stone of the monolith remains visible on this pillar tomb to-

£360 in 1863, was engraved, forming an illustration for The Illustrated London News, 11th April, 1863 <http://eng.travelogues.gr/item.php?view=58541>.

⁸ Public 1863, 190.

⁹ ILN 1865, 166. He is recorded as a "landscape" painter in Graves 1884, 129, with 15 works exhibited at the Royal Academy between 1859 and 1880.

¹⁰ Graves 1906, 254. At: <http://www.artnet.com/WebServices/images/ll00108lld1zGGFgVeECfDrCWvaHBOctcx/harry-john-johnson-the-lion-tomb-at-xanthus-lycia.jpg>

¹¹ Op. cit. fn. 5.

day¹². This Lycian Pillar Tomb has smooth sides, whereas the Harpy pillar tomb has protruding blocks on 3 faces. There is another version of this same scene by the artist, of approximately the same size, 49 by 72 cm, also signed and dated 1845, but which is without the pink tone of the pillar tomb and is painted in a richer golden tone, more polished in execution.¹³ A similar view was also taken in water-colour by his master, William James Müller, but a day later, on the morning of the 8th of November 1843, which records a much brighter sharper sunlight cutting across the smooth sufacings of the red painted rock-cut tomb, it is signed and inscribed l.r.: *Xanthus - am / WM 1843. . Nov 8*, a water-colour which is today entitled, *Tombs At Xanthus, Lycia*¹⁴.

However, amongst the numerous views taken of classical subjects and the caprice-*capriccio* based upon them, together with water-colour landscape views taken in England, Wales and Scotland, France, Germany, Switzerland, Monaco, Italy, Malta, Greece, in Spain, at Tangiers in 1853, and in Ottoman territory, Smyrna-İzmir¹⁵, Lycia and Rhodes in 1843-1844¹⁶, and oil paintings, including works of caprice based upon these water-colour studies, romantic vistas that explored the themes of ruination and of exoticism and of making the everyday itself remarkable (Fig. 8), Harry Johnson also painted several compositions set in Asia Minor carrying biblical titles.

Two of these compositions in oils, which were painted in 1858, more than a decade after returning aged 18 from Lycia in May 1844, seem to reflect in their depiction some elements of the marshy Lycian Xanthus-Esen River valley landscape by Patara. These elements would have been taken from the sketches, drawings and water-colours that he had painted in the space of a little under four months, from the 22nd of October 1843¹⁷ to the 19th of February 1844, time spent with his master,

¹² A different view of this necropolis pillar tomb was taken by Fellows in 1838, lithographed by C. J. Hallmandel and published in Fellows 1839, 230, entitled “*Rock Tombs at Xanthus*” and “*Rock-cut tombs at Xanthus*”; and another view of it was made George Scharf, but the engraving by C. J. Hullmandel of the drawing of this necropolis pillar tomb was wrongly entitled, “*Stele at Xanthus*”, when it was published in Fellows 1847; B.M. London, BM/P&D No. 2012,5034.1; http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=1287384001&objectid=3499233

¹³ Described as a watercolour in a private collection, but which seems rather to be an oil painting, and is misleadingly entitled-described as, “*Harpy tombs, with distant view of ruins and the Valley of the Zanthos from the Acropolis, Lycia*” illustrated in colour, Ackerman 1991, 137.

¹⁴ Measuring 34.5 by 54.3 cm; 13 3/4 by 21 1/4 in. Sold, Christie’s 2008, Lot 8170, 261, \$19,500 at: <https://www.mutualart.com/Artwork/Tombs-at-Xanthus--Lycia/1EFAA2D10029D62B>; <http://arthistoryreference.com/t145/4357b.htm>
<http://www.wikigallery.org/paintings/392501-393000/392626/painting1.jpg>

¹⁵ A water-colour painted in İzmir-Smyrna in 1843 was exhibited in an exhibition of English Watercolour Drawings –Spink and son, London, 1977, 6, “*No. 13 HARRY JOHN JOHNSON, R.I. 1826-1884 Two TURKS, SMYRNA, Pencil and watercolour 5.5 x 3.5 in. (13.3 x 9 cms.). Marked with the artist’s stamp and inscribed Smyrna*”.

¹⁶ Three volumes of Johnson’s sketches from this journey survive, Wood et al. 2008, Vol. 4, Part I, 282; likewise, harry john johnson - Peter Nahum At The Leicester Galleries, www.leicestergalleries.com/19th.../harry... johnson/13213.

¹⁷ Unfortunately, amongst numerous other publications, the Dictionary of National Biography DNB, 1892, Vol. XXX, 14, in its entry for Harry John Johnson records, “*As a boy he went with Sir Charles Fellowes (sic) [q. v.] to Lycia in 1840*”, rather than in 1843-44 and with William Müller, not with Charles Fellows, nor with Charles Fellowes, who is somebody else entirely. Likewise, The Connoisseur. Vol. 197, 1978, 82, in error states 1840, “*Harry John Johnson (1826-1884) was a pupil of Muller’s and accompanied him to Lycia in 1840*”, rather than in

the brilliant young painter from Bristol, William James Müller (1812-1845), at Xanthos, Minara-Pinara, Tlos, Telmessos, and, more particularly, those works drawn and painted in water-colours by Patara¹⁸ and in, and of the marshland of the Xanthus-Esen River (Figs. 4, 6? 11, 27, 28), as also drawn from some of his masters' paintings and sketches that he owned, and from the copies he had painted of water-colours painted by his master of the Lycian landscape and of its varied inhabitants, combined with his own recollections and reflections.

The year before these two compositions were painted, his oil painting entitled, *View in Lycia*, had been exhibited in Salon F¹⁹ of the Modern Masters section, No. 576, together with two water-colours in the Drawings in Watercolour section²⁰ of the Manchester (Art Treasures) exhibition, consisting of 16,000 works of art loaned from private collections, open from the 5th of May to the 17th of October 1857, an exhibition visited by 1.3 million people due to the railways, in a city with a total population at that time of 300,000. While six Lycian watercolours from 1843-1844 drawn by his master William J. Müller were also exhibited in the Drawings in Watercolour section of the Manchester Art Treasures exhibition²¹, keeping the landscape and the recently discovered monuments of Ottoman Lycia before the eyes of the public. The exhibition was closed on Wednesday the 7th of October 1857 to mark a "day of humiliation" due to the ongoing "Indian Mutiny".

1843-1844. The Encyclopedia Americana, 1972, Vol. 19, 557, in its entry for Muller, William James, records the date of this sketching tour as 1841, rather than 1843-44; as is likewise recorded twice in the exhibition catalogue entitled, *Portraits and Prospects: British and Irish Drawings and Watercolours from the Collection of the Ulster Museum, Belfast*, published by the Ulster Museum, 1989, "one of which, *Xanthus from the theatre*, derives from that artist's expedition to Lycia in 1841", xx, "Muller went to Asia Minor in 1841 with the government-sponsored expedition to Lycia" 88, when in fact, Muller was not a part of this expedition. While The Spectator in 1875, Vol. 48, 792, recorded that William James Müller went for "eight months in 1844-45, with another pupil, Mr. Harry Johnson, now of the Water-Colour Institute, to Asia Minor" rather than in 1843-44 and for four, not eight months. This confusion stems in part from the association of Müller and Johnson's Lycian sketching tour with one of the several visits made by Charles Fellows to Asia Minor in 1838, 1840, 1841-42 and in 1843-44.

¹⁸ Eg. there is a William Müller's water-colour sketch, today entitled "*Arch, Palms, and Shed*", Tate Gallery, London, N02378, that appears to depict a nomad or a gypsies hut by ruins, perhaps the remains of the date-palm Roman bath-house, a structure excavated in the 1990's, or another Roman structure at Patara, <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/muller-arch-palms-and-shed-n02378>; Johnson's work entitled, *Xanthus from the sands*, measuring 12.5 x 36.5 cm (4.9 x 14.4 in.) date perhaps misread as 1861; http://www.artnet.com/artists/harry-john-johnson/xanthus-from-the-sands-river-landscape-of-kinik-IG1QlgQOnclIQ_183NY9lQ2; that of 1864, today entitled *Xanthus from the sands, distant river landscape of Kinik, ancient Xanthos, in Turkey*, auctioned 25 October 25, 2007, Bloomsbury Auctions, London, Lot 77 <https://www.blouinartsalesindex.com/auctions/Harry-John-Johnson-3667244/Xanthus-from-the-sands,-distant-river-landscape-of-Kinik,-ancient-Xanthos,-in-Turkey-1864>; and a watercolour by William Müller of the landscape looking across the sands from the coast by Patara inland towards Xanthus which is today in the Norwich Castle Museum and Art Gallery, entitled, "*Xanthus from the sands Dec. 1843*" at: http://www.museums.norfolk.gov.uk/Visit_Us/Norwich_Castle/Past_Exhibitions/2005/The_Golden_Age_of_Watercolours/William_James_Muller/index.htmwork. Harry John Johnson's view of this scene from 1843, repainted 20 years later in 1861 and 1864.

¹⁹ Loaned by C. T. Maud Esq., Peck 1857, 103.

²⁰ Entitled, *Via Mala*, No. 721, and, *A Sketch in South of France*, No. 722, Peck 1857, 199.

²¹ Peck 1857, 185.

Master, Pupil and Lycian Capriccio

In consequence of the close working relationship between master and pupil²² it is today sometimes hard to determine for certain which is the work of the master and which the work of the pupil, as the V&A catalogue makes clear, in respect to a water-colour of Lycian tombs in the water, inscribed 'Tlos', which is today described as: "Watercolour, Lycean (sic.) Tombs in the Xanthus Valley, 1844, by William James Müller"²³ (Fig. 2), and also for a watercolour of the Xanthus valley, today described as "Watercolour, Marsh in the Xanthus Valley, 1843-1844, by William James Müller"²⁴ (Fig. 6), which was probably painted by Patara²⁵. Both of these water-colours are not signed and both carry the studio stamp of Müller's pupil Harry John Johnson²⁶. The V&A catalogue relates in respect to the former: "There are no free-standing tombs such as these in the immediate vicinity of Tlos, but although the artist has mistaken the exact location, the boldness and confidence of this drawing are characteristic of Müller. Nevertheless, the Johnson studio mark means that an attribution to Müller's pupil cannot be completely rejected. See SD.528-SD.530"²⁷. However, it seems possible that the artist has not mistaken the location, but rather that this water-colour inscribed *Tlos*, together with the related later oil sketch which was based in part upon this sketch of Lycian tombs by and in the water at dusk²⁸ (Figs. 2, 3), were painted after the artists' return to England on the 4th -5th May, 1844, and are to be understood as compositional works, paintings of the idea of a place, rather than being simple representational views, sketches made at a specific location; with the inclusion of the Tomb in the Water at Telmessus-Fethiye drawn in the spring of 1844 in the related composition in oils, and, if this was the case, then the artist has named a location, *Tlos* to localise and define, to make legible an imagined composition. There is no evidence to suggest when the water-colour and the oil composition based upon the water-colour inscribed *Tlos* were painted, all that can be said with confidence is that the oil was painted at some point after their return to England in May 1844.

²² As remarked upon by Martin Hardie, "Both in pencil and colour work, Johnson retained the influence of Cox, but still more that of Mueller (sic.) throughout his life. He was an admirable draughtsman; his studies of boats in particular have high merit; and his sketches in general have a force and vitality not always displayed in his exhibition pieces" Hardie 1967, 209. For an example from Le Treport, Seine Inferieure, France in 1850 see <https://www.ebay.com/itm/Antique-Framed-English-Watercolour-Treport-by-Harry-John-Johnson-RI-1850-/232304892331>, as also https://www.christies.com/LotFinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=5074394

²³ Museum Number SD.693; <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O147315/lycean-tombs-in-the-xanthus-watercolour-muller-william-james/>

²⁴ Museum Number SD.694; <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O147324/marsh-in-the-xanthus-valley-watercolour-muller-william-james/>

²⁵ "The location may be ancient Patara, near the mouth of the Xanthus river (Esen Çay)". <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O147324/marsh-in-the-xanthus-valley-watercolour-muller-william-james/>

²⁶ Concerning attribution in respect to this water-colour the catalogue directs, "For comments on the attribution, see SD.693", where Müller is suggested, although it is stated that the possibly of Johnson's hand cannot be ruled out.

²⁷ <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O147315/lycean-tombs-in-the-xanthus-watercolour-muller-william-james/>

²⁸ Bonhams, London, British & Continental Oil Paintings, February 19, 2008, Lot 15: William James Muller, Lycian tombs, oil on canvas, 18.5 x 26.5 cm (7¼ x 10½ in.); <http://www.invaluable.com/auction-lot/william-james-muller-british,-1812-1845-lycian-15-c-p9p9ud6obt>



Fig. 2. Today described as: “Watercolour, Lycean (sic.) Tombs in the Xanthus Valley, 1844, by William James Müller”, V&A SD.693, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London



Fig. 3. William James Müller, *Lycian tombs*, oil on canvas, 18.5 x 26.5 cm²⁹. This oil painting dates from after the return to London in May 1844 of Müller and Johnson, when the Lycian Tomb in the Water at Macri-Fethiye³⁰ which had been repeatedly painted in water-colour by both master and pupil in February 1844, was incorporated into the composition represented in Fig. 2, and the central upright tomb in the water-colour was displaced to the left and slightly rotated, together with other relatively small changes, fewer blocks in the water and the distant mountains removed, to form the new composite composition of the related oil painting

²⁹ <https://www.mutualart.com/Artwork/Lycian-tombs/9017838C3CCCD279>

³⁰ B.M. London, BM/P&DAN00054848_001_1, and a further copy in water-colour of the same of a slightly different size, <http://www.artnet.com/artists/william-james-m%C3%BCller/the-watertomb-at-telmessus-mBRvh6ATuSznHGY25pdR9A2>



Fig. 4. Watercolour, The Xanthus Valley, Lycia, 1844, by Harry John Johnson RI, *Inscribed and dated Koenia[?]*³¹ *Jany. 4th. 1844.* and stamped with the remains of artist's studio mark HJ, SD.529,³²© Victoria and Albert Museum, London



Fig. 5. The same range of hills on the east side of the Xanthus valley between Patara and Kalkan drawn from a slightly different angle, painted in oils by William James Müller from a water-colour sketch made in Lycia in 1843-44³³, probably of the same date as Harry Johnson's view. This is a detail from an oil painting which is today unfortunately misnamed, 'Encampment in the Desert'© Manchester City Galleries³⁴, measuring 101.7 by 210.3 cm, in the Manchester City Art Gallery since its purchase in 1897³⁵. It is a major late composition by Müller painted in 1845 which is rather to be identified with the title, "On the Road to the Ford of the River Mangerchi, between Xanthus and Tlos", and was presumably the painting of this name that was exhibited in the British Museum exhibition in 1880³⁶. Rather than "the desert" of its current title, the landscape is as was described in Homer's Iliad Bk. XII, "Where Xanthus' streams enrich the Lycian plain, Our numerous herds that range the fruitful field, And hills where vines their purple harvest yield", and, as described by the artist Richard Dadd in Lycia in 1842 in a letter to David Roberts, the steep valleys and coastal plains of Lycia in Asia Minor 'would wake all the artist in you, or indeed in anybody with the least love of nature'³⁷, there is no desert in Lycia

³¹ Almost certainly to be read as *Koenik*, a transliteration of the Turkish name for Xanthos, *Kınık*, a name transcribed as *koinooky* = *kinik* by Dr. Clarke "Dr. Clarke was informed of extensive ruins at a village called Koinooky, a day's journey and a half from Makri, and to the east of Yedy-Booroon, which, he supposed, might be those of Xanthus or Patara" Anon. 1824, II, 232, and recorded as *Kunik* by Hoskyns on his map of Part of Caria and Lycia of 1841-2, also recorded as *Gunik*.

³² <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O145929/the-xanthus-valley-lycia-watercolour-johnson-harry-john/>

³³ The Connoisseur. Vol. 197, 1978, 82, in error states 1840, "Harry John Johnson (1826-1884) was a pupil of Müller's and accompanied him to Lycia in 1840", rather than in 1843-1844.

³⁴ For further on this matter of the misnaming and misdating of Müller's Works, see Duggan 2017.

³⁵ The Museum's description of the painting reads: "A romantic scene of a nomadic encampment in the Turkish desert landscape". At: <http://artuk.org/discover/artworks/an-encampment-in-the-desert-205662/search/actor:muller-william-james-18121845/page/9/>; <http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/artists/william-james-muller/paintings/slideshow?page=3#/4> No. 205 (Accessed 9/10/2014); <http://artuk.org/discover/artworks/an-encampment-in-the-desert-205662/search/actor:muller-william-james-18121845/page/10>

³⁶ The painting No. 86, entitled "On the Road to the Ford of the River Mangerchi, between Xanthus and Tlos" is recorded as exhibited in, A Guide to the Exhibition Galleries of the British Museum, 1880, 57.

³⁷ Tromans 2008, 330.



Fig.6. Today entitled, “*Watercolour, Marsh in the Xanthus Valley, 1843-1844, by William James Müller*”, but stamped with the remains of artist Harry John Johnson’s studio mark HJ, SD.694,³⁸ and possibly by him, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London



Fig. 7. Harry Johnson’s water-colour caprice or *capriccio* of 1883, a composition painted forty years after his return to England from Lycia, which was exhibited at the Royal Institute of Painters in Water Colour in 1883, No. 753, entitled, *A Grecian Tomb - Ruins of the Ancient City Telmessus, once Famed for its Oracle - Asia Minor*. Illustration No. 46 in the catalogue to the 1883 exhibition³⁹. A work which recently has had its title truncated, and then changed and which is today entitled, “*Water tomb, Telmessus, Lycia*”⁴⁰ or, in another version, *A Grecian tomb, 1883*.⁴¹ The artist has added a minaret to the 1791 Hassan Pasha Mosque in Macri-Fethiye in the mid-distance to ensure the viewer recognises it as a mosque. It had no minaret in 1844 when Harry John Johnson drew it in February 1844 (Fig. 9)

³⁸ <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O147324/marsh-in-the-xanthus-valley-watercolour-muller-william-james/>

³⁹ <http://www.artnet.com/artists/harry-john-johnson/water-tomb-telmessus-lycia-gpvlR5kkXhwrfv3ID8yQYQ2> Auctioned at Bonhams, London, May 21st 2008, Exploration, Travel and Topographical Pictures, Lot 135: entitled, *Water tomb, Telmessus, Lycia*, 59 x 101cm (23 1/4 x 39 3/4in); Sworders Fine Art Auctioneers, July 24th 2007, 40 by 23 in., where renamed, entitled *A Grecian(sic.) Tomb*.

⁴⁰ <http://www.artnet.com/artists/harry-john-johnson/water-tomb-telmessus-lycia-gpvlR5kkXhwrfv3ID8yQYQ2>.

⁴¹ Auctioned 24 July, 2007, Sworders Fine Art, Lot No. 478 <https://www.blouinartsalesindex.com/auctions/Harry-John-Johnson-3396228/A-Grecian-tomb-1883>.

These two works (Figs. 2 and 3) can therefore be described as depicting a Lycian caprice or *capriccio*, a painting composed from a variety of different Lycian elements recorded separately that have been combined to form an imagined composition, presenting an idea to the eye and intellect, not simply a view of a particular place, continuing the compositional practice of some earlier visitors to Lycia in this respect, including Louis-François Cassas⁴² and Charles Robert Cockerell⁴³, and as was practiced by Johnson's master William James Müller, in works such as, "*View of Bologna: Capriccio with Eastern Figures*" of c.1835, today in the Tate Gallery, London⁴⁴, and a compositional type to be repeatedly employed by Harry John Johnson. The construction of a caprice, a compositional practice derived from the study of the remains of antique architecture, and from the example provided by paintings of Italian artists of *capriccio* such as Giovanni Paolo Pannini (1691-1765)⁴⁵, Canaletto (1697-1768), Michele Marieschi (1710-1743) and Bernardo Bellotto (1721-1780), a practice continued by the French painter Hubert Robert (1733-1808) who worked with Pannini in Rome and which were circulated through the numerous engravings of these works, was a type of composition which continued in importance in the 19th century. With the particular selection-collection of ancient architectural remains, combined to form a composite composition, the artist recreated the depicted ruins as an object-place painted to concentrate and display a complex set of meanings, relating to patrimony and history, to the consequences of the passage of time and to destiny. The caprice/*capriccio* being a landscape with ruins compositional variant, and a compositional equivalent of the arrangement of the various elements deployed to form a still life, at times carrying a similar content in respect to the passage of time and the decay consequent upon it.

These composite compositions for Harry Johnson formed a bridge between painting water-colours from life in the open air and still-life compositions (e.g. Fig. 8) and it was a type of pictorial composition that Harry Johnson was to practice and exhibit in both oil and water-colours from the 1850's into the 1880's. One of his Lycian caprice or *capriccio* compositions was painted the year before he died, the signed and dated 1883 water-colour entitled *A Grecian Tomb - Ruins of the Ancient*

⁴² As for example a water-colour of the Myra theatre, Lycia, today V&A London SD.214, based upon a drawing made on the spot in 1786, but a copy of this drawing was then employed as part of a capriccio in water-colours that was painted in Paris in 1808, entitled, "*Vue du Theatre de Cacanie en Caramanie*" - View of the Theatre at Kekova in Karamania, more accurately, View of the theatre of Myra on the southern coastline of Turkey, a *capriccio* described as a view-*veduta*. <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O142327/theatre-of-myra-now-demre-watercolour-cassas-louis-francois/> Likewise, one of the four water-colours sold by Sothebys New York, Jan 25th 2007, Lot 462, today entitled "*Southern landscape with two riders watering their horses*" 14 1/2 by 21 in.; 36.7 by 53.3 cm approximates in the same way to the landscape from the cliff-top by Antalya-Adaliya-Sataliya looking along the coastline towards the south-west, <http://www.artvalue.com/auctionresult--cassas-louis-francois-1756-182-1-southern-landscape-with-four-1470882.htm>.

⁴³ Both Joseph Gandy and his brother, John Peter Dandy (Deering), who was a member of the Society of Dilettanti's tour of the antique remains of Ionia, also produced works of architectural caprice.

⁴⁴ Tate Gallery, London, N01463.

⁴⁵ A series of seven paintings showing Ruins in Rome was commissioned from Pannini for the collection at Castle Howard in 1740, and there are similar examples of his capriccio in Sir John Soane's Museum, while Canaletto in his 10 years in England (1746-55) produced both *veduta*-view paintings and *capriccios*. His work was then followed by artists such as William Marlow in his work of c. 1795 entitled, "*Capriccio: St Paul's and a Venetian Canal*" at http://www.tate.org.uk/art/images/work/N/N06/N06213_10.jpg.

City Telmessus, once Famed for its Oracle - Asia Minor, but which is today incorrectly entitled, *Water tomb, Telmessus, Lycia* (Fig. 7). A work which was in part based upon his oil painting of this same subject, entitled *A Grecian Tomb*, which was his last work to be exhibited at the Royal Academy, in 1881, No. 475⁴⁷ and upon his 1844 sketches of the Tomb in the Water, of palm trees and of the mosque constructed by Hassan Pasha, also recorded in an oil of 1845, and of the landscape at Telmessos-Makri-Macri-Fethiye (Figs. 9, 10)⁴⁸ in Lycia, combined with elements drawn from sketches he had made in Italy; as also from the two water-colours⁴⁹, as also the oil painting of this same subject by William



Fig. 8. Harry John Johnson, water-colour inscribed, "*Coffee Pot, Lycia*" 4.44 x 6.75 inches, said to be dated 1884⁴⁶, the year of his death, but rather more probably it is a sketch that was made in Lycia in 1844, the number 4 of the date since misread as an 8. Gift of Alexander B. V. Johnson and Roberta J. M. Olson (2004.001.001), Wheaton College, Norton, Mass. U.S.A.

⁴⁶ http://wheatoncollege.edu/gallery/files/2010/10/cr_pamp_screen.pdf.

⁴⁷ Graves 1906, 254. An oil of this title was sold in 1886 for £246, James 1897, II, 22.

⁴⁸ A water-colour measuring 28 x 47 cm (11 x 18.5 in.) subsequently misnamed, "*The mosque at Mukri, Turkmenistan, 1844*", Christie's, London, Old Masters & 19th Century Art, October 29, 2010, Lot 448 <http://artsalesindex.artinfo.com/auctions/Harry-John-Johnson-4121773/The-Mosque-at-Mukri,-Turkmenistan-1844>; likewise, Christie's, London, July 8, 1997, Lot. 80, "*Description: Mosque at Mukry, Turkmenistan*". The inscription on the auctioned water-colour is in fact legible, its clearly inscribed, "*Mosque Makri, Feb. 8. 1844*". Mukri in Eastern Turkmenistan by the Amu Darya and the Afghan border was never visited by Harry John Johnson, although after the well reported virulent outbreak of the bubonic plague there in 1871, the name Mukri was probably known to him. A finished watercolour of this view, dated 1845, was in the F. J. Baidon Collection, Southport. At: <http://www.artnet.com/artists/harry-john-johnson/the-mosque-at-mukri-turkmenistan-6TRngXnCF0XrJlytuNiAsg2>. It seems probable that the composite oil painting of 1845, 23.5 x 16 cm (9.3 x 6.3 in.), which is today entitled *Riverside Mosque*, is a depiction of the same Hassan Pasha mosque at Fethiye, constructed by the locally born Ottoman Admiral and Pasha of Algiers, Hassan Pasha in 1791, both mosques are white, as is recorded of the mosque in 1842 by Spratt and Forbes (1847, I, 3), although the minaret which is not recorded in the water-colour painted on the spot, is present in the oil painting by Harry John Johnson, presumably added to further identify the structure and make legible this structure as being a mosque, at: <http://www.artnet.com/artists/harry-john-johnson/riverside-mosque-hCpyMeKnKXAgp4cW6BHXqA2>, in G. Scharf's view entitled, *Macry with the Ancient Theatre of Telmessus*, lithographed by Hullmandel & Walton for Fellows 1847, this mosque also has no minaret and there is likewise a palm tree in the courtyard. There was an earthquake at Rhodes in 1843 although it is doubtful if any minaret of the Fethiye mosque was brought down in this minor seismic event and Johnson's watercolour post-dates this seismic event.

⁴⁹ One in the British Museum, from John Henderson in 1878, measuring 36.5 x 53.3 cm. B. M. London, BM/P&DAN00054848_001_1 Another, 35 x 53 cm (13.8 x 20.9 in.) of this same scene, inscribed, *The Water Tomb at Telmessus* <http://www.artnet.com/artists/william-james-m%C3%BCller/the-watertomb-at-telmessus-mBRvh6ATuSznHGY25pdR9A2>.

James Müller exhibited at the British Institution, Pall Mall, London in 1845, No. 498⁵⁰, signed and dated 1845⁵¹, today in the collection of Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, University of London, still retaining its original title: *Tomb in the Water, Telmessos, Lycia*. Both Müller and Johnson may also have been influenced by the earlier drawing of this same tomb which was made on the 29th of October 1841 from a rowing boat⁵² by John Harrison Allan, which was entitled, *Sea-girt tomb Telmessos*⁵³, the zinc plate drawn by A. R. Grieves, which was published in J. H. Allan's, *A Pictorial Tour in the Mediterranean: Including Malta, Dalmatia, Turkey, Asia Minor, Grecian Archipelago, Egypt, Nubia, Greece, Ionian Islands, Sicily, Italy and Spain*, Longman, Brown Green and Longmans, London, 1843.



Fig. 9. Harry John Johnson's water-colour sketch of the Hassan Pasha Mosque of 1791 at Macri-Fethiye, inscribed, "Mosque of Makri. Feb. 8 1844". It was sold twice by Christie's, in 1997 and, 2010, in both sales it was described as, "The Mosque at Mukri, Turkmenistan, 1844"

Fig. 10. Harry John Johnson's oil painting of 1845, the year after his return from Lycia, centred on the Hassan Pasha Mosque (today Eski Cami, the Old Mosque at Paspatur) on the bay at Macri-Fethiye. The minaret was added by the artist to ensure legibility, so that the audience recognised the subject. Freshly named by Sothebys, London, Oct. 28, 2008, Lot 162, "Riverside Mosque". For another example of the addition of a minaret to this mosque see above Fig. 7, dating from 1883

⁵⁰ Graves 1908, 392; <http://www.islandschoolhouse.com/wp-content/uploads/50.-MullerWilliam-James-Tomb-in-the-Water-Telmessus-Lycia-1845.jpg>; http://artuk.org/discover/artworks/tomb-in-the-water-telmessus-lycia-a-12854/search/actor:muller-william-james-18121845/page/11/view_as/grid A further oil painting entitled, *Tomb in the Water, Lycia*, 30 by 60in., was sold at Sharp's sale in 1876, possibly a version of this composition (James, II, 1897, 276).

⁵¹ Penny 1846, 336; Solly 1875, 330, measuring 3ft. 8 by 5ft. 9in.

⁵² Allan 1843, 44.

⁵³ Allan 1843, un-numbered, facing page 44. The plate is inscribed, *Telmessus Lycia* J. H. Allan. A. R. Grieve, Zinco. Printed by J. Grieve, 33, *Nicholas Lane*, with the title to plate 5, *Sea-girt tomb Telmessos*, given in the list of illustrations. Tinted zincograph with colour added by hand, 375 x 265mm, 14¾ x 10½.



Fig. 11. Harry John Johnson's oil painting of 1846 entitled, *The valley of Patara, Asia Minor*⁵⁴



Fig. 12. Photograph of the range of mountains to the west of the mouth of the Xanthus-Esen River



Fig. 13. Detail of the mountains depicted in *The Valley of Patara, Asia Minor*, Fig. 11 above

The Lycian Landscape

The marshy landscape with ancient ruins of the Xanthus-Esen River, as likewise the marshes by Telmessus-Fethiye, were at that time semi aquatic landscapes that the artist reflected deeply upon⁵⁵, as, more than a decade before the two compositions exhibited in 1859, 'Hierapolis, Asia Minor...' and 'Sardis...' were composed and painted, Harry John Johnson produced in 1846 an oil painting from the drawings and water-colour sketches he had made by Patara, a view, looking north across the marshy landscape, past the clusters of date palms in the middle distance towards the mountains

⁵⁴ Sold at Sotheby's, London, The British Sale: Paintings & Watercolours, 28th November 2002, Lot. No.128, <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2002/the-british-sale-paintings-watercolours-102155/lot.128.html>; <http://www.artnet.com/artists/harry-john-johnson/the-valley-of-patara-asia-minor-O4K7rTVnP1fRlncKUg3g1w2>.

⁵⁵ His introspection over time probably aided by the course of his increasing deafness.

(Figs. 11-13) under a sinking sun creeping towards dusk, with a Late Antique ruin in the marsh, some fallen stone antique blocks and a fallen column in the swamp, the reeds and the distant mountain reflected on the surface of the swamp water in the foreground, a work measuring 28 x 56 cm (11 x 22 in), entitled, *The Valley of Patara, Asia Minor* (Fig. 11). It was a painting that seems to have been constructed from a landscape watercolour of the view of the mountains on the west side of the estuary at Patara taken in the evening from the area of today's modern excavation house, combined with a study of a Late Antique tomb from amongst the row of tombs extending North from the Roman city gate, of the lines of palm trees and a study of a fallen column and stone blocks in the marsh, possibly of one of the columns then lying around the city Basilica at Patara.

No. 608, 'Hierapolis, Asia Minor. "I will make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water"'



Fig. 14. Harry Johnson's oil painting of 1858, exhibited 1859, entitled, *Hierapolis, Asia Minor*. "I will make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water"⁵⁶

Elements of Harry Johnson's composition that was entitled '*Hierapolis, Asia Minor*. "I will make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water"' (Fig. 14), that may have been taken from the sketches he made by Patara in 1843-1844 include: the line of the mountains extending to the sea to the north-west of Patara, the extensive marshes, memories of November 1843 when, "As far as we could see, the (Xanthus)valley was a vast lake, the turbulent river having broken its boundaries and flooded the whole marsh"⁵⁷, and of "the many fine clusters of palm trees"⁵⁸, the wide sunset over the estuary framed by mountains, the fallen column, probably from the same sketch as was employed in his, *The valley of Patara, Asia Minor* (Fig. 8) of 1846, perhaps also the sarcophagus in the water and the other sarcophagus, also opened, beside the upturned column capital, above the skull and much of the skeleton of a sheep or goat. There is also the depiction of three men fishing with a net from a boat in this freshwater marsh, probably, given their dress, sketched in Lycia by Patara, or by Macry-Telmessus-Fethiye in 1843-44⁵⁹. However, at the time of William James Müller and his student

⁵⁶ File:Hierapolis HJ Johnson.jpg.

⁵⁷ Solly 1875, 210.

⁵⁸ Fellows 1839, 224. There remains today the clump of date palms by the Roman Hurma hamam at Patara.

⁵⁹ For further on the Xanthus valley in the 19th c. see, Duggan 2017.

Harry Johnson's visits to Patara in 1843-1844, the five columns and entablature of a temple that is depicted left of centre were certainly not standing at Patara, they could not have formed one of "*the remains of many small temples in the masses of ruins*" the temple-tombs, as was noted by Fellows in 1838⁶⁰, nor were they standing at ancient Hierapolis, as this combination of Ionic capitals with Corinthian corner capitals is not ancient but Neo-Classical. This collection of different elements were combined together, to form the composition of this remarkable work, a caprice or *capriccio* providing the representation of the idea of a place entitled *Hierapolis...*, rather than being a *veduta*-view of the ruins of the ancient city of Hierapolis.

This oil painting measuring 116 x 57.6 cm was exhibited at the Royal Academy in the Summer Exhibition of 1859⁶¹ that opened on the 1st of May, entitled, *Hierapolis, Asia Minor*. "*I will make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water*", No. 608. The quote is from the Old Testament of the Holy Bible, Isaiah 14: 23 "*And I will make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water; and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts*", in reference to the prophecy related by Isaiah as to the end of Babylon and the Assyrians, and understood as a prefiguration of the Apocalypse. This title was therefore given to this picture of ruins by the artist for it to be read as a caution and a reminder of the Apocalypse and of the Day of Judgement, of the vanity-temporality of worldly power. The truncation of the complete quote from Isaiah lending the force of absence remembered to this scene swept by the broom of destruction.

This painting was composed, painted and exhibited in London, together with that entitled "Sardis...", (see below) by Harry Johnson, within the worldly context of the Indian rebellion against British East India Company rule that continued from 10th of May 1857 (the transfer of the Indian administration to the British Crown from the East India Company on the 2nd of August, 1858), through vengeance, to final reprisals and extinguishment, with hostilities formally ended on the 8th July, 1859. An event that was termed by the British, the Indian or Sepoy Mutiny, of grave consequence for Britain, as also for the so-termed mutineers, their societies and dwelling places⁶²; in part, brought about by the activities of British militant Christian evangelicals in India. The Revolt-Mutiny was itself the direct subject of numerous British paintings of 1858-1859 including: "Retribution"⁶³ by Edward Armitage, exhibited in the R.A. 1858 Summer Exhibition and described in *The Illustrated London News* in 1859, as: "*Mr Armitage's striking picture, entitled "Retribution" allegorical of the suppression of the Indian mutiny, occupied a conspicuous place over the door of the first room at the Royal Academy Exhibition last year. The composition is grand and impressive, although in some parts not exactly pleasing. Britannia, represented of colossal proportions, has seized the assassin tiger by the throat, and is about to plunge her sword into its heart ... The melancholy results of the mutiny, which have spread mourning through so many homes, are typified in the figures of prostrate victims,*

⁶⁰ Fellows 1839, 223.

⁶¹ Graves 1906, 254. He exhibited 26 times at the R.A. between 1845 and 1880 under the names Harry John Johnson and then Harry Johnson, Graves 1906, 253-254. This was the first painting that he exhibited at the R.A. under his name Harry Johnson, rather than exhibiting as Harry John Johnson.

⁶² See for example, Dalrymple 2006, 346-393, "To Shoot Every Soul". British subjects and servicemen dead, 2,392. Estimates of Indian dead, sepoys and armed rebels about 100,000 and estimates of Indian civilian deaths in the reprisals and subsequent famine to 1867 are estimated in the millions.

⁶³ <https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/retribution-37516>

with debris of books, etc., scattered around”⁶⁴, it was given by the painter to Leeds Town Hall, today in Leeds City Art Gallery; No. 471 in the 1858 Summer Exhibition, Sir Joseph Noel Paton’s “In Memoriam” dedicated by the artist to the Christian heroism of “British Ladies in India during the Mutiny of 1857” it was repainted after exhibition, so the subject showed the rescue of the women and children by Scottish highland troops⁶⁵, which was engraved⁶⁶, rather than showing the Indian sepoy mutineers in the doorway threatening them⁶⁷, and was then exhibited in the Scottish Royal Academy in 1859, No.146; and there was also the painting (today with its companion piece in the Museum of London) exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1858, entitled “Eastward Ho! August 1857” by Henry Nelson O’Neil, depicting soldiers embarking for the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, the painting was engraved and published in *The Illustrated London News*, and it toured Britain and was seen by over half a million people. Its companion piece, entitled, “Home Again” of those soldiers that returned after more than a year, was exhibited in the R. A. Summer Exhibition in 1859⁶⁸.

The painting No. 608 by Harry Johnson exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1859 is today in the Victoria Art Gallery, Bath Royal Literary and Scientific Institution, England, No. L: 13, where surprisingly it carries a quite different title from that given to it by its author. It is today entitled, *Ruins at Hierapolis, Greece*⁶⁹. It is today incorrectly titled as *Ruins at Hierapolis, Greece*: firstly, because its title when it was exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1859 was, “*Hierapolis, Asia Minor. “I will make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water”*”, and it is recorded as such in the Royal Academy 1859 catalogue⁷⁰. There was no mention of Greece in the title of this work, but of Asia Minor and the

⁶⁴ ILN Vol. XXXIV, No. 962- Supplement, Saturday, Feb. 26, 1859, “Fine Art Collection at The Town Hall, Leeds” p. 216, engraving of “Retribution” on p. 209.

⁶⁵ File:Paton Sir Joseph Noel In Memoriam.jpg - Wikimedia Commons. Owned today by Lord Lloyd-Webber, of, Cats and Evita the London musicals.

⁶⁶ B.M. London, P&D 1866-10-13-1088; <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O130715/in-memoriam-print-paton-joseph-noel/>

⁶⁷ A single drawing, a cartoon for the painting of the sepoy as exhibited in 1858 survives, Museum number 2003,0429.8

https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=336765001&objectId=1342668&partId=1

⁶⁸ <https://www.museumoflondonprints.com/image/204630/henry-nelson-oneil-eastward-ho-august-1857>
Bought for £839,000 in 2004. For further examples: R. A. Summer Exhibition 1859, No. 246, Portrait of Col. Fenwick, C. B., in hot weather dress, worn during the Indian Revolt, 1857-8 by J. Sydney Willis Hodges, Thomas Jones Barker, The Relief of Lucknow, 1857, oil on canvas of 1859, NPG 5851, London, painted for Messers Agnew who produced in 1860 an engraving of it, <https://www.rct.uk/collection/813930/the-relief-of-lucknow-and-triumphal-meeting-of-havelock-outram-and-sir-colin>; Highland Jessie (an incident during the Siege of Lucknow 26 September 1857), also entitled, The Campbells are Coming or, Jessies Dream, Exhibited British Institution February 1858 by Frederick Goodall, <https://collection.nam.ac.uk/detail.php?acc=1975-02-3-1>.

⁶⁹ Ruins at Hierapolis, Greece | Art UK Art UK | Discover Artworks Ruins at Hierap; <http://artuk.org/discover/artworks/ruins-at-hierapolis-greece-39718>.

⁷⁰ The Royal Academy 1859 exhibition catalogue records its full title on page 26, No. 608. “*Hierapolis, Asia Minor. “I will make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water”*”. H. Johnson; hence Graves 1906, 254. A truncated title is recorded in, *The Royal Academy Review, A Guide to the Exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts, 1859, containing original, critical and descriptive notices of upwards of 250 works of art by the Council of Four*, Saturday,

quote from the Prophet Isaiah, and it is suggested below that without the proper name for the subject's localization and the quote from Isaiah, the work itself cannot be properly understood. Secondly, there are no important ruins like these in any place called Hierapolis in Greece, as Hierapolis is an unknown toponym of an ancient site in Greece⁷¹ and consequently, there are no *Ruins at Hierapolis, Greece*. As is the case with Fig. 1 above, entitled by the artist, *Rock tomb, Asia Minor, looking across the valley of the Xanthus*, but which has now been given two rather different incorrect titles, *Harpy tomb with distant view of the river and valley of Zanthos from the Acropolis - Lycia, Asia Minor*, and also, quite incorrectly, *Lion tomb Xanthus*⁷², as this painting depicts the monument which is today termed the Pillar of the Necropolis; misnamed, as is likewise the case for Fig. 7 above, which was entitled by the artist, *A Grecian Tomb - Ruins of the Ancient City Telmessus, once Famed for its Oracle - Asia Minor*, which, a century later has also been re-named, *Water tomb, Telmessus, Lycia*, the work given a very different title; as also for his water-colour inscribed, "*Mosque Makri, Feb. 8. 1844*", a work which has been repeatedly auctioned under the title, "*The mosque at Mukri, Turkmenistan, 1844*"⁷³ (Fig. 9), which raises an important question, how can one possibly attempt to understand what the painter intended by a work, when the title deliberately given by the painter to the work, and forming a key to the painting, is subsequently deliberately or ignorantly truncated, misread, and/or altered through being re-named?

Further, it is suggested today that this painting entitled *Hierapolis, Asia Minor*... dates from "c. 1844"⁷⁴. Yet this oil painting is quite clearly a masterly composition and a mature work, not the work of the 18 year old Harry John Johnson in 1844, and it is also signed Harry Johnson, not Harry John Johnson and so the work dates from 1859 (or later) and in fact, this was the first painting that he exhibited at the R. A. in 1859 under the name Harry Johnson, rather than as Harry John Johnson. It can also be noted that Harry John Johnson was neither in Turkmenistan, nor in Greece in 1844 or "c. 1844" respectively, he was in Asia Minor largely in Lycia in 1843-44 with his master, William James Müller, painting in water-colours until, after four months of painting, they finally ran out of water-colour paints⁷⁵ in the Lazaretto of Smyrna-İzmir in March 1844, and, in consequence, Johnson recorded there would be, "*no more sketching, for lack of material*"⁷⁶, not through any lack of subjects worthy of record, but because they had quite run out of the water-colours with which to paint

May 7th, 1859, Kent and Co., London, 1859, 37, West Room, "No. 608. *Hierapolis, Asia Minor*". *H. Johnson. A respectable sunset effect, though rather dark in the shadows*".

⁷¹ See for example the sole entry for Hierapolis in PECS 1976. There is a city called Hierapytna, later Hierapetra (Ierapetra), but this is on Crete, the ruins of which have no resemblance to those depicted in this painting, and there is no evidence to suggest that Harry John Johnson/Harry Johnson visited Ottoman Crete.

⁷² Op. cit. fn. 5.

⁷³ In 2010 and 1995, op. cit. fn. 48.

⁷⁴ Ruins at Hierapolis, Greece | Art UK Art UK | Discover Artworks Ruins at Hierap; <http://artuk.org/discover/artworks/ruins-at-hierapolis-greece-39718>.

⁷⁵ As the 1880 Burlington Fine Arts Club, London exhibition catalogue records, "*In Lycia, his pigments, particularly cobalt, ran short; his body-colour turned black, and had to be abandoned; and his last sketches there were chiefly low-toned and "severe in their chromatic arrangement"*", Exhib. 1880, 35. For an example of such deprivation of colours by Harry John Johnson in march 1844, see Fig. 9.

⁷⁶ Solly 1875, 214-5.

them. Oil paints were not employed on this “sketching tour”⁷⁷ by William James Müller and his pupil, not least because of the time it takes for an oil painting to dry, and because of the sheer weight and bulk of panel, stretchers and canvas, easels, oil paints and medium necessary for a four month sketching tour overseas in the wilds. William Müller and Harry John Johnson left Lycia via Macri-Fethiye to Ottoman Rhodes to Smyrna, returning via Malta to Britain in May and where they remained for the rest of the year, so no Greece in 1844 and no Turkmenistan in 1844.

The original title stated this painting represents *Hierapolis, Asia Minor*, that is Hierapolis in Phrygia, in Anatolia (by Pamukkale, Turkey), mentioned in the New Testament of the Holy Bible, Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Colossians, 4: 13, in reference to the small early Christian community of the city at the time of the apostle in the 1st c. A.D. The antique ruins of Hierapolis were known to the educated in Britain in the 19th century through Richard Chandler’s account of the city in *Travels in Asia Minor* first published in 1775 and republished in a new edition by Nicholas Revett in 1825⁷⁸, as also through the drawings of the city made by Thomas Allom in 1826 and the widespread circulation of these through engravings published in volumes concerning both theology and travel; as also through the series of lithographs by F. Freeman in Léon de Laborde’s *Voyage de l’Asie Mineure* published in 1838, with copies of these engraved by E. Radcliffe, including Léon de Laborde’s views of Hierapolis, engravings published in works such as Thomas Milner’s, *The Gallery of Nature: A Pictorial and Descriptive Tour Through Creation, Illustrative of the Wonders of Astronomy, Physical Geography, and Geology*, published by W. and R. Chambers, London, 1846.



Fig.15. Steel engraving⁷⁹ by S. Fisher entitled *The ruins at Hierapolis from the Theatre, Asia Minor*, from the 1826 drawing by Thomas Allom, published in 1838 by Fisher & Son in “*Constantinople and it’s Environs*”



Fig.16. Hand coloured steel engraving⁸⁰ by E. Benjamin, entitled *The ruins at Hierapolis now called Pambouk Kalesi, Asia Minor*, from a drawing by Thomas Allom of 1826, published in 1839 in R. Walsh’s *Constantinople and the scenery of the seven chuches of Asia Minor*, Vol. 1. 397

⁷⁷ In Johnson’s account in Solly 1875, 204, he records before their departure for Lycia that Müller, “*laid in an apparently inexhaustible amount of sketching materials, though it proved eventually to be quite insufficient,...*”

⁷⁸ Chandler 1825, 290-297.

⁷⁹ <http://eng.travelogues.gr/item.php?view=38929> The original Thomas Allom wash drawing from which this engraving was made is today in the V&A, London, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O136491/the-ruins-of-hierapolis-watercolour-thomas-allom/>.

⁸⁰ <http://www.antiqueprints.com/proddetail.php?prod=h8058>.

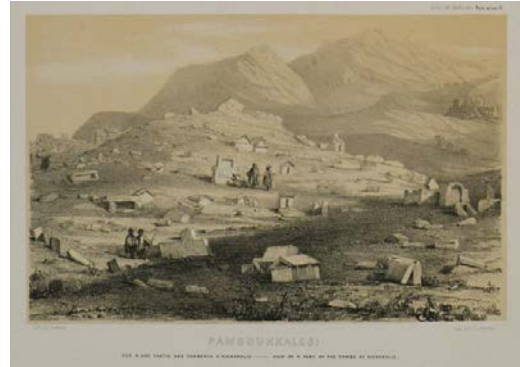
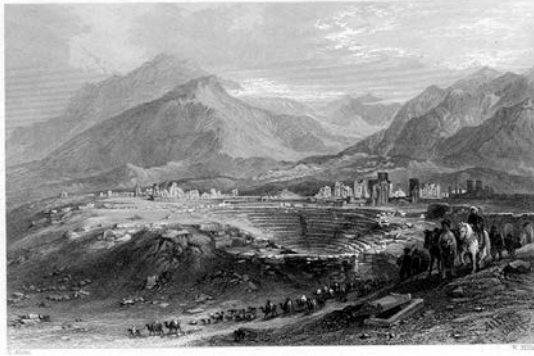


Fig.17. Steel engraving⁸¹ of 1847 by W. Miller of *The ruins at Hierapolis*, from a drawing by Thomas Allom of 1826.

Fig. 18. Lithograph of Laborde's drawing of the necropolis, *Vue d'une partie des tombeaux d'Hierapolis*, in Léon Emmanuel Simon Joseph Laborde, *Voyage de l'Asie Mineure par Alexandre de Laborde, Becker, Hall, et L. de Laborde, rédigé et publié par Léon de Laborde*, Paris, Firmin Didot, 1838

However, it is evident that the landscape that was depicted by Harry Johnson in this painting certainly represents a very different landscape from the elevated landscape of the ancient city of Hierapolis in Asia Minor, with adjacent peaks; in fact, and, as is recorded by authors concerned with biblical topography at the time, such as E. F. C. Rosenmüller, his work translated by Rev. N. Morren in 1841⁸², and as drawn by artists such as Thomas Allom, eg. Figs.15-18. From both the engraved and the photographic 19th c. record, there were no palm trees growing at ancient Hierapolis in Phrygia in the 19th century (although there are today around the thermal pools) in this city that extends across a hilltop, “*Over the summit of this chalky cliff appear the remains of Hierapolis*”⁸³. And there was no extensive marshland, and there were no wooden boats punting around in the marshes of ancient Hierapolis. Yet all of these elements are recorded in this painting entitled, “*Hierapolis, Asia Minor. “I will make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water”*”.

No. 1, ‘Sardis, Thou Hast A Name That Thou Livest, And Art Dead’ — Rev. iii. 1.

Harry Johnson had exhibited at the British Institution⁸⁴ for Promoting the Fine Arts in the United Kingdom, Pall Mall, London, in February of the same year, 1859⁸⁵ a similar composition and sub-

⁸¹ https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dosya:Ruins_of_Laodicea_engraving_by_William_Miller_after_T_Allom.jpg.

⁸² Rosenmüller 1841, 49, “...*the ancient Hierapolis, built upon white rocks, on which account it is called, by the Turks, Pambuk Kulassi, (i.e. Cotton Castle). The ruins of the ancient town are situated on the flat summit of the lowest elevation of the mountain, which terminates steeply towards the valley of the Lycus*”.

⁸³ Allom-Walsh 1839, 71.

⁸⁴ The British Institution, also known as the Pall Mall Picture Galleries and the British Gallery, founded in 1805 was disbanded in 1867. It was a private society in London formed by interested members of the upper class to exhibit the works of living and dead artists. The spring exhibition of works by living artists ran from the start of February to the first week of May, closing a week after the Royal Academy exhibition opened, with the summer exhibition showing the works of old masters, loans from private collections at home and abroad.

⁸⁵ Harry John Johnson's work was exhibited at the British Institution every year from 1846 to 1867 when the Institution closed, Graves, 1908, 301-302. His first work exhibited at the British Institution in 1846 was painted from Lycian sketches, No. 12, entitled, “*Interior of Turkish Cafe at Minare, Lycia, Asia Minor*” as noted above.

ject, an oil painting of an ancient city in ruins, Cat. No. 1, at £120⁸⁶. It was described in *The Art Journal* as, “an admirable picture”⁸⁷ and in Bentley’s *Miscellany* as “perhaps the most striking landscape in the exhibition”⁸⁸. The whereabouts of this oil painting are today unknown. This painting carries a similarly structured title, the name of an ancient city followed by a biblical quotation⁸⁹, *Sardis, Thou Hast A Name That Thou Livest, And Art Dead - Rev. iii. I*. The quote is from a part of *The Revelation of St. John the Divine*, 3.1, “And unto the angel of the church in Sardis write; These things saith he that hath the seven Spirits of God, and the seven stars; I know thy works, that thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead”, a verse concerning the dead and the alive in the Spirit before the Apocalypse, amongst the warnings sent to the Seven Churches: Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea, *as the time is at hand*⁹⁰. The scene depicted in this painting is further identified through the name ‘Zardis,’ painted as though carved into the stone

⁸⁶ Graves 1908, 302. £120 in 1858 is worth about £14,787 in 2019, (<http://www.in2013dollars.com/uk/inflation/1858?amount=120>) a considerable sum for a work by a living artist in 1859. His greatest price at auction in the 21st century to date, was \$107,755 realized for an oil painting of the Temple of Aphaea on Aegina.

⁸⁷ Art 1859, 290.

⁸⁸ Bentley 1859, 332.

⁸⁹ The first record of Harry John Johnson’s employment of this type of two part title was for a painting entitled: *Scylla and Charybdis*, “Beneath, Charybdis holds her boisterous reign, etc”, citing Alexander Pope’s translation of the *Odyssey*, Bk. XII, which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1851, No.670. Subsequently for *The Temple of Minerva on Aegina, Greece. The Column’d aisles with whispers of the past, etc.*, exhibited at the British Institution in 1862, No. 62, (not in fact of the Temple of Minerva (by the port of Aegina), of which only two columns remained in 1812 as noted by C. R. Cockerell (Cockerell 1860, 40), as earlier by R. Chandler who had described the two columns as the remains of a Temple of Venus, but which was a painting which depicted the remains of the Temple of Aphaea on Aegina) citing a line from T. K. Hervey’s poem, *Temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens*, published in Sharpe’s *Library of Belles Lettres*, Vol. III, *The Lyre. Fugitive Poetry of the XIXth Century*, London, 1830, 232, as also in Vol. IV, *The Harp of the Wilderness; or, Flowers of Modern Fugitive Poetry*, London, 1836, 330-331, 331 the Royal Academy in 1856, No. 189. Likewise for the oil painting entitled: *Sunset in the Atlantic*. “Far up the wave The clouds that lay piled up in the golden heat, etc.”, a quote taken from Edward Robert Lytton Bulwer-Lytton = Owen Meredith’s poem *The Earl’s Return*, canto X. It was published in his volume, *Clytemnestra; The Earl’s Return; The Artist; and Other Poems*, by Chapman and Hall, London, in 1855. This painting was auctioned at Christie’s London, Jan. 8th 2009, Lot. 395, where it had the altered title of, “Sunset on (sic.) the Atlantic” with the rest of its title missing, <http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/harry-john-johnson-1826-1884-sunset-on-5168658-details.aspx>.

It was also employed for the painting, *Ruins of the Temple of Minerva Sunias, Cape Colonna. Where Tritonia’s airy shrine adorns Colonna’s cliff and gleams along the wave*, exhibited at the British Institution in 1864, where the quote is from Lord Byron’s *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage: A Romaunt*, published in 1812, Canto II, LXXXVI. A quotation that had earlier been employed in the series of quotations concerning the *Temple of Minerva Sunias* facing the engraving of the same in H. W. Williams, *Select views in Greece: with classical illustrations*, Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, London, 1829, 124; and this type of two part title was also employed for the painting entitled, *Corinth*. “Two or three columns, and many a stone, marble and granite with grass o’ergrown”, exhibited at the Royal Academy 1868, No. 601, where the quote is from Lord Byron’s poem *The Siege of Corinth*, Stanza XVIII.

⁹⁰ Holy Bible, Revelation 1, 3.

block in the lower right foreground, in the same manner as the stone block in the lower right foreground of the watercolour composition of Lycian tombs (Fig. 2) carries the name, ‘*Tlos*’, thus making the depicted imagined location clearly legible. The association of the depiction of the physical remains of Sardis with this quote from John the Divine was current in the first half of the 19th c. and “*Du hast den Namen dass du lebst und bist todt*” was employed as the text for a German engraving of the Sardis ruins published in 1840⁹¹, an engraving which was copied in part from the etching of Clarkson Stanfield’s water-colour of Sardis published in 1836 which had simply recorded “*Rev.3.1*”, rather than giving the full biblical text in its title, see below (Fig. 21).

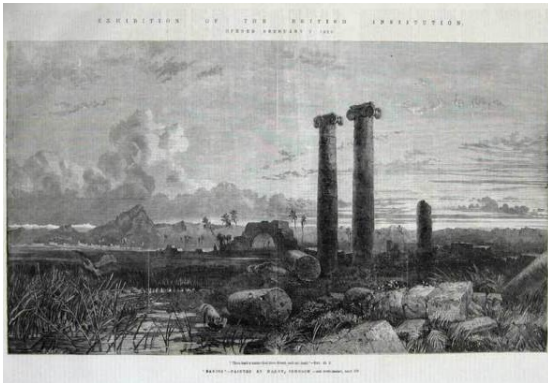


Fig. 19. A steel engraving by W. French of Harry Johnson’s painting of Sardis with its full title, published in *The Illustrated London News* on Feb. 17th 1859⁹², as a full page engraving on page 152, for the supplement concerning the opening of the exhibition of paintings at the British Institution on Feb. 7th

Fig. 20. A hand coloured steel engraving by W. French of this painting, although the accuracy of the hand colouring in respect to the actual colours and tones of the original oil painting is unclear.⁹³

Of this painting the reviewer for the *Art Journal* remarked: “*Daylight with its vulgarity of detail, would have mocked the desolation of this scene; it is therefore set forth in terms generally subdued, and shaded by the tickening veil of night. The silence of the place is broken only by the rise of a bittern, alarmed by a fox worrying a bird. There is little material in the subject. What there is may be good for Persopolis or Heliopolis, or any other city que exeat in polis*⁹⁴, and has been upwards of two thousand years in process of entombment”⁹⁵. While the reviewer for the *Literary Gazette* wrote: “*We see the fallen city by the purple light of the setting sun. The picture exhibits much poetic feeling; the parts are well balanced; and the lofty columns - the most ancient Ionic columns in existence - rear their capitals*

⁹¹ Published as a steel engraving, Stahlstich von B.I. um 1840 http://images-00.delcampe-static.net/img_large/auction/000/381/186/812_001.jpg Also at the Bibliograph. Institut in Hildburghausen, dated ca. 1845, Offenb. Johannis III Cap. IV, “*Du hast den Namen dass du lebest und bist todt*”, <http://www.philographikon.com/imagesasiaminor/turkey236792.gif>; http://philabild.de/nordphila/bilder/mittel_900/0306525.jpg.

⁹² Also at: www.gettyimages.com/.../exhibition-of-the-british-institutio...B; <https://www.magnoliabox.com/products/exhibition-of-the-british-institution-opened-february-7-1859-sardis-thou-hast-a-name-that-thou-lc090411-0596-1> etc.

⁹³ At: <http://www.antique-prints.de/shop/catalog.php?cat=KAT43&product=P009235>.

⁹⁴ Original in italics, here in bold. This combination of Latin and Greek words seems otherwise unknown, but it presumably was understood at that time to mean something along the lines of, *and any other city that maybe deserted by its inhabitants*. My thanks to Dr. M. Oktan for his assistance in this matter.

⁹⁵ *Art* 1859, 80.

grandly against the pale evening sky. For most part the picture is well-painted, but the foreground herbage is coarse, and of a very unnatural green. The incident of the wolves (sic.) crawling stealthily among the ruins, and surprising the scared wild-fowl, suggests well the desolate loneliness of the dead city. The chief drawback from the picture is that it so much resembles those made up pictures of such places⁹⁶ we are accustomed to see in French exhibitions and French prints, that we are tempted to ask whether Mr Johnson could have studied his picture on the site itself?⁹⁷ The reviewer for the Literary Gazette could have asked the same question about Harry Johnson's painting of a similar subject in the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition of the same year (Fig. 14), as, in fact, neither the site of ancient Sardis, nor that of ancient Hierapolis had been visited in person by the artist. But then the reviewer for the Literary Gazette, while remarking upon the 'poetic feeling' of the composition, seems not to have realised, or chose not to relate, that the artist was not painting any photograph-like record of this, or of any other ancient site in the evening of the day; but, as the biblical quotation in the titles of both compositions exhibited in 1859 make clear, he had a different aim. These "views" were painted to evoke in the viewer through the combination of title and images, a reminder of the consequences of worldly pride, of the broom of destruction sweeping over the land, of the Apocalypse, and of the Day of Judgement. These biblical quotations were supported through the depiction of the fallen columns and cast down capitals, the opened tombs, the ruins and the bare bones of a skeleton, the marsh where once there had been civilisation, the bittern in flight and the depiction of dusk, the ending of the temporal day. In this painting there is a startled bittern in flight to the left, and there is not a wolf, as related by the reviewer for the Literary Gazette, but a fox/jackal with a bird beside the lowest fallen column. Harry Johnson painted the fox/jackal worrying a bird to remind the viewer of Lamentations 5: 18, "Because of the mountain of Zion, which is desolate, the foxes walk upon it", Psalms 63: 9-10, "But those that seek my soul, to destroy it, shall go into the lower parts of the earth. They shall fall by the sword: they shall be the portion for foxes", as also Ezekiel 13: 4 "O Israel, thy prophets are like the foxes in the deserts (ruins)"⁹⁸ thereby reinforcing the depicted image framed by the quote, *Thou Hast A Name That Thou Livest, And Art Dead*, through the Biblical association of foxes/jackal with desolation, unremarked upon at the time by the reviewers. Likewise the bittern was a bird that was recognised as being a biblical symbol of devastation, employed, as noted above, in the quote from Isaiah 14: 23 in the title of Harry Johnson's painting of Hierapolis exhibited the same year. It was an association that is repeated in Isaiah 34: 11: "But the cormorant and the bittern shall possess it; the owl also and the raven shall dwell in it: and he shall stretch out upon it the line of confusion, and the stones of emptiness"; as also in Zephaniah, 2:13-2:14: "And he will stretch out his

⁹⁶ "made up pictures", a comment referring to the composition of works such as those painted by Louis Robert, by Charles-Louis Clérisseau 1721-1820 in works entitled: *A classical capriccio with figures by a great arch, Capriccio with Classical Ruins* etc., as likewise by Louis-François Cassas (1756-1827), "Vue du Theatre de Cacanien en Caramancie" 1808, etc., a practice taken by the French, as also the British, from the Italian 17th and 18th c. *capriccio* as noted above. The same is indicated in The Athenaeum review of No. 65, the second of Harry Johnson's two paintings (Nos. 2 and 65) exhibited at the British Institution in 1862, "Mr H. Johnson's "Caryatid portico of the Erechtheum, Athens" reproduces Mr. D. Robert's style with new variety of colour. He sends also "The Temple of Minerva, Aegina", a moonlight amongst ruins, effective, **but not elaborately faithful**", Athenaeum 1862, 231 (my emphasis) and not in fact of the Temple of Minerva as entitled, but of the Temple of Aphaea in Aegina.

⁹⁷ Literary 1859, 213.

⁹⁸ Herodes Magnus-Herod, King of Judea from 37 B.C. is also described as a fox/jackal in Luke, 13:32.

hand against the north, and destroy Assyria; and will make Nineveh a desolation, and dry like a wilderness. And flocks shall lie down in the midst of her, all the beasts of the nations: both the cormorant and the bittern shall lodge in the upper lintels of it; their voice shall sing in the windows; desolation shall be in the thresholds: for he shall uncover the cedar work". In Lycia William Müller painted in watercolour in addition to the head of a boar shot by Xanthus⁹⁹ and the head of a Turkish sheep¹⁰⁰, a range of birds¹⁰¹ including: a white crane that had been shot at Xanthus¹⁰², as well as a woodpecker¹⁰³, two kingfishers¹⁰⁴, a sandpiper¹⁰⁵ a pelican¹⁰⁶, possibly a fox and a bittern were also painted; while it seems probable that Harry Johnson saw the Eurasian or great bittern (*Botaurus stellaris*) (Tr. *Bayağı balaban*) and heard its boom, in the marshes around the ruins of Patara in 1843-1844. In this reading, the clusters of palm trees depicted in both of these paintings of scenes of desolation exhibited in 1859 can be understood as reminding not only of the palm trees of Patara, but of idols and idolatry as in Jeremiah 10:5, as also reminding of the biblical context represented.

It may be that this Biblical association grew in the mind of the young Harry John Johnson through reading the second volume of, *Travels in the three great empires of Austria, Russia, and Turkey*, by the Anglican pilgrim, the Reverend Charles Boileau Elliott, which was published in London in 1838. Perhaps, he had it with him at Patara and Xanthus, but, more probably he read and dwelt upon it on his return, illustrating the text in his mind, that resulted not in simple landscape paintings, but in powerful reflections of the Christian apocalyptic tradition and on human hubris. In the reverend's *Travels* one finds the following the passage describing Patara and the oracle at Patara within the context of the Christian Day of Judgement, God being described as "the divine Iconoclast":

"A single column rising from the centre of a cave points out the probable site of the famous oracle of Apollo, who was said to pass his winters here and his summers at Delphi. But the oracle is no more! The deceivers and the deceived now blend their dust around the uncertain seat of the idol they adored, awaiting the solemn call which shall summon them to the

⁹⁹ Solly 1875, 343, 1846, sale No. 394.

¹⁰⁰ Solly 1875, 343, 1846 sale No. 396.

¹⁰¹ Nathaniel Solly relates, "Every bird that was shot in the neighbourhood by the officers of the Expedition was first brought to Müller, who, if he thought it curious or picturesque, immediately sketched it. Thus he brought home many subjects of this kind". Solly 1875, 260.

¹⁰² Solly 1875, 260; Solly 342, 1846 sale No. 342. From John Henderson to the British Museum, BM/P&D, No. 1878,1228.107, described as, "White Crane shot at Xanthus; a dead crane (or Great White Egret?) lying on a bank Watercolour", at: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=221475001&objectId=741021&partId=1.

¹⁰³ Solly 1875, 270; Solly 1875, 343, 1846 sale No. 386, Dated "Lycia, 1843". It was lent by Mrs. Thomas Wood to the Burlington Fine Art Club exhibition in 1880, No. 19, Exhib. 1880, 35.

¹⁰⁴ Solly 1875, 342; 1846 sale Nos. 350, idem 385, one signed and dated "Dec. 13, Lycia, 1843, W. M." which was lent by Edward Hamilton, Esq., M. D. to the Burlington Fine Art Club exhibition in 1880, No. 10, Exhib. 1880, 35.

¹⁰⁵ "Beautiful study of greys and browns, and very vigorously drawn. Dated, "Shot by Lieut. Temple, R.N., Xanthus, Dec. 14th, 1843" Solly 1875, 270; lent by Mrs. Thomas Wood to the Burlington Fine Art Club exhibition in 1880, No. 19, Exhib. 1880, 35.

¹⁰⁶ Solly 1875, 270.

*bar of the divine Iconoclast*¹⁰⁷.

Following which one reads not only reference to the lost city of Xanthus and the scythe of time and desolation, but also to the fate of Nineveh, and to the matter of the destination of the spirit of the human deceased:

*“In the interior, not far from Patara, some place the site of Xanthus, the largest city of Lycia, and the brave opposer of Persian and Roman conquests: but it has shared the fate of Nineveh; its very position is unknown; it has bowed to a power stronger than that of Rome or Persia; and she who resisted the sword of the mighty has fallen under the scythe of time. There is something very affecting in moving, as the traveller does in Asia Minor among the wrecks of ages, and the sepulchres of successive generations. However heedlessly he may in general walk over the sod which covers the dead, yet occasionally the most thoughtless must reflect that soon his own tabernacle of clay will be similarly trampled under foot; and then – Whither shall have flown the immortal tenent?”*¹⁰⁸. In 1843-1844 Harry John Johnson had sat and drawn in both the ruins of Patara, site of the dissembling oracle, and in the city of Xanthus, the city recorded as being lost like Nineveh by Rev. C. B. Elliot in 1838 (it was “discovered” for Europeans by Charles Fellows in the same year) and perhaps, with the news reports and London editorials from the ongoing “Indian Mutiny” in 1857-1858 while these two composite composition were drawn up, worked upon, painted, and which were exhibited in 1859, these two pictures were painted in part to serve as reminders of the transitory nature of human power.



Fig. 21. An etching by W. Finden of Clarkson Stanfield’s watercolour based upon Mr Maude’s pen and wash drawing made on the spot, entitled, “Sardis One of the Seven Churches”. Drawn by C. Stanfield, A.R.A, from a sketch made on the spot. Rev.3.1¹⁰⁹ © Victoria and Albert Museum, London. etched to illustrate Volume II of ‘Landscape Illustrations of The Bible’, published by John Murray, London, 1836.

Fig. 22. A steel engraving by W. G. Watkins of Thomas Allom’s 1826 drawing entitled, *View of the Acropolis at Sardis*.¹¹⁰, published between pages 66-67 in, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor Illustrated, in a series of drawings from nature, by T. Allom. With an historical account of Constantinople and descriptions of the plates, by R. Walsh*, Fisher and Son, London 1839.

The appearance of the antique ruins of Sardis were known to the educated in Britain in the first half of the 19th century, both from texts, such as Charles Bucke’s, *Ruins of Ancient Cities: With General and Particular Accounts of Their Rise, Fall and Present Condition*, II, Thomas Tegg, London,

¹⁰⁷ Elliot 1838, II, 195.

¹⁰⁸ Elliot 1838, II, 195-196.

¹⁰⁹ <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O723056/landscape-illustrations-of-the-bible-print-finden-william/>

¹¹⁰ https://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/39999348_acropolis-of-sardis-turkey-1840.

1840, where pages 317-327, Chapter No. XXVI on Sardis relate travellers' descriptions of the city; and from numerous engravings published in volumes relating to theology and travel, particularly illustrations in works relating to the Seven Churches of the Apocalypse, including those views of Sardis drawn by Thomas Allom in 1827 (Fig. 22), those by Charles MacFarland in the same year (Fig. 23), which was used as an illustration for several illustrated Bibles¹¹¹, and the engraving made from Clarkson Stanfield's watercolour of the remains of the temple (Fig. 21)¹¹², which was itself based upon a careful drawing by Mr Maude of 1830-35¹¹³, enlivened by the flashes of lightning, the fallen rider and the bolting white horse, perhaps thereby also reminding of depictions of the conversion of Saul to the Apostle Paul, Acts 9:3-4.

Due to the climate there were no clusters of palm trees growing at Sardis in Phrygia by the Temple of Artemis in the 19th century or today, and there was, and there is today, no extensive marshland around the two identifying Ionic columns of the Temple of Artemis at Sardis-Sart, yet these are depicted in this painting of 1858. The remains of a third column of the Temple of Artemis from c. 300 B.C. was visible above ground in the early 19th century and is recorded in Clarkson Stanfield's watercolour (Fig. 19) from Mr. Maude's accurate wash and pen drawing, the remains of the other columns of the temple in the 19th century were lying below the ground unexcavated. However, the remains of an adjacent column is recorded standing tall but slimmer than the intact pair belonging to the temple in Harry Johnson's work exhibited in 1859, and this is a different monolithic column from the drum of a third Ionic temple column recorded in Clarkson Stanfield's water-colour, but this third thinner column is missing from Harry Johnson's 1871 painting entitled *Sardis* (Fig. 25). The columns of the temple of Artemis are certainly thicker¹¹⁴ than those that are depicted by Harry

¹¹¹ Eg. *The Pictorial Bible, Being the Old and New Testaments: The New Testament of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, Volume III, Charles Knight, London, 1837, 504, and, *The Pictorial Sunday Book: Designed for the Use of Families, Bible Classes, and Sunday School Teachers: Derived Principally from the Manners and Customs of the Jews; the Rites, Traditions, and Antiquities, of Eastern Nations, Explanatory of Many Portions of the Old and New Testaments*, Ed. R. Sears, Pub. R. Sears, New York, 1846, 445.

¹¹² Employed engraved by W. Finden, to illustrate for example, Thomas Hartwell Horne's, *The Biblical Keepsake: or, Landscape illustrations of the most remarkable places mentioned in the Holy Scriptures, with descriptions by T. H. Horne*, John Murray, London, Vol. II., 1835, 166. Clarkson Stanfield's view of the two standing temple columns engraved by W. Finden was then copied, and published as an engraving in the *Magasin Pittoresque*, by Brugnot in Paris in 1845 and another work based in part upon this, likewise entitled 'Sardis', but with the frightened horse and fallen rider removed, the lightning remaining, was published as a steel engraving, Stahlstich von B.I. um 1840 http://images-00.delcampe-static.net/img_large/auction/000/381/186/812_001.jpg Also at the Bibliograph. Institut in Hildburghausen, ca. 1845, Offenb. Johannis III Cap. IV, "Du hast den Namen dass du lebest und bist todt", <http://www.philographikon.com/imagesasiaminor/turkey236792.gif>; http://phila bild.de/nordphila/bilder/mittel_900/0306525.jpg.

¹¹³ For a more accurate earlier representation of these Ionic columns at Sardis, see the drawing by Mr. Maude of 1830-1835, V&A London, SD.639, at: <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O146557/sardis-watercolour-maude-mr/>; and the modified water-colour version produced by Clarkson Stanfield in 1834-5 V&A SD. 1000, at: Sardis. One of the Seven Churches | Stanfield, Clarkson RA | V&A ... collections.vam.ac.uk/item/.../sardis-one-of-the-seven-watercolour-stanfield-clarkson-; entitled, "*Sardis. One of the Seven Churches*" after the picture by C. Stanfield.

¹¹⁴ As was also recorded by the architect Major Rohde Hawkins in his drawing of these two columns in 1844, B.M.

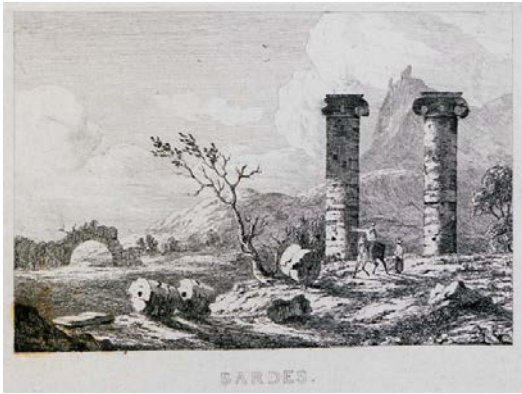


Fig. 23. An etching of Sardis by T. Knox¹¹⁵ after Charles MacFarland's drawing of 1827 published in C. MacFarland's *The Seven Apocalyptic Churches*, S. Bentley, London, 1832 © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Fig. 24. A later poor quality water-colour copy after Harry Johnson's 'Sardis' of 1859 based upon the engraving rather than from the painting, given that it depicts an approximation of daylight rather than dusk, auctioned 30th August, 2016, Rowley's Fine Art, Newmarket, U.K. Lot 934, where it was incorrectly "Attributed to Louis Frangers (sic.) Cassis (sic.) (1756-1827) French, *The Ruins of Sardis*"¹¹⁶. Louis-François Cassas had painted *capriccio*, one includes the ruins of the Theatre at Myra, Lycia, but without employing the biblical-apocalyptic frame employed by Harry Johnson

Johnson, and nor was there the extensive vista that is depicted extending behind these columns that is recorded in Harry Johnson's paintings entitled *Sardis...* of 1859, of 1861 and that of 1871.

The parts of this composition by Harry Johnson that can be related to the ruins of the ancient city of Sardis are the two standing columns with Ionic capitals of the temple, the fallen column drum, and beyond, the broken wall with the arched doorway. These are elements that appear to have been copied from the etching of Charles MacFarland's drawing of Sardis of 1827 (Fig. 23), but which have been reworked with the angle slightly changed, with the columns drawn slenderer, as well as closer together, and the wall beyond represented as a thicker more solid structure than a wall, while the overhanging hills recorded in the etching have entirely vanished, together with the type of ground adjacent to these columns, with the 'identifying' elements of ancient Sardis taken from the etching of Sardis and set down by Harry Johnson within the context of part of the landscape of the marshy estuary of the Xanthus river. This composition, like that entitled *Hierapolis, Asia Minor*, depicts the extensive marshes with clusters of palm trees, the sunset over the estuary with distant mountains that was known to Harry Johnson from Patara and the Xanthus-Esen estuary.

It was perhaps however, this reuse of an image of Sardis that the reviewer for *The Dublin University Magazine* hinted at in his review in March 1859, while not recognising the poetry of the work and thinking it was a work painted direct from nature, rather than a fictive one constructed by the painter in the studio, a *capriccio*, and, in consequence the reviewer ascribes dishonesty and insincerity to this work, as though this painting was an attempt to accurately portray a view in the post

London, BM/P&D, No. 2011,5012.121, inscribed, *Sardis No 24*; http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3423237&partId=1&people=47206&peoA=47206-2-9&page=1

¹¹⁵ <http://eng.travelogues.gr/item.php?view=54429>.

¹¹⁶ <https://www.the-saleroom.com/en-gb/auction-catalogues/rowleys-fine-art-auctioneers-and-valuers/catalogue-id-srrow10014/lot-a6121449-87ae-498d-b4d2-a65d00d4c042>.

1848 Pre-Raphaelite manner, rather than it being a caprice constructed around a Biblical text. He writes: “*The first, No. 1, “Sardis” by H. Johnson, shows that ruined city standing in a gloomy light of declining day, but it is so murky and opaque in colour, so untrue in light and shade - in short, so utterly wanting in reality of effect, that for all the appearance of being painted from nature, it might as well have had its original in a cheerless old woodcut from the “Penny Magazine” executed in the infancy of the Xylographic art*”¹¹⁷ However, Harry Johnson’s aim in his finished paintings was to depict in these work somewhat more than simply the accurate transcription of an observable scene, as was noted in a later review in *The Art Journal* of 1864, “*He knows through intuition, or has acquired through observation, the treatment conducive to grand dramatic effect. Through pictorial contrast and balanced symmetry he attains the ends he seeks—magnitude, grandeur and scenic display*”¹¹⁸. This romantic idealism was noted in the *Saturday Review*, criticism concerning the exhibition at the Institute of Painters in Watercolor in 1870, “*like painters in general who cherish an ideal, (the painter) goes to nature with a foregone conclusion. The same criticism might over the space of many years been directed at Mr Leitch, Mr Harry Johnson, Mr Rowbotham and others who have done their best to make this Gallery a small piece in Arcadia - a sequestered corner in the garden of Eden*”¹¹⁹. A converse opinion concerning Johnson’s manner of painting was given in a vituperative review of William James Müller’s work published in the *Cornhill Magazine* in 1880, “*He (Müller) is, after all, best described as an “ideal sketcher”*¹²⁰ *he set the ideal of sketching as opposed to that of thorough painting from Nature, before his pupils, and corrupted with this doctrine two clever artists who are still living, Mr. Harry Johnson and Mr. George Fripp*”¹²¹.

Harry Johnson strove to provide the viewer with a work of intellectual and poetic expression rather than the exact imitation of the superficial appearance of things, as was at the time recognised by some. For example by the reviewer for Bentley’s *Miscellany*, who remarked upon the poetic feeling

¹¹⁷ Dublin 1859a, 320.

¹¹⁸ *Art* 1864, 89, concerning the works exhibited at the British Institution.

¹¹⁹ *Saturday Review* 1870, 838.

¹²⁰ In the biography of Müller in the catalogue printed for the 1880 exhibition by The Burlington Fine Arts Club, 35, Müller is described as, the “*prince of sketchers*”, and that, “*even his most important pictures retain the freshness and vigour of a rapid but masterly memorandum from nature. His sketches were, as he said, meant by him as notes to paint from in oil*”, Exhib. 1880, 35.

¹²¹ *Cornhill* 1880, 412. Given that R. N. James writes that Müller “*must at the same time have learned to draw, for when only nine years of age he made many of the drawings for the plates in his father’s work on the Crinoidea, and it is probable that the great correctness which his father required in such work led to the remarkable certainty with which Müller drew later, from nature, not only inanimate but living forms*” (James II, 1897, 208, from Solly 1875, 4), the statement that Müller expressed *the ideal of sketching* rather than *thorough painting from Nature*, seems somewhat suspect, although Greenacre and Stoddard can find no evidence for William’s hand in these plates, Greenacre-Stoddard 1991, 50, it does seem probable that close attention to the subject was a consequence of his father’s interest in natural history and it is noteworthy that in his obituary published in *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 1845, Vol. 178, 648, it troubles to state that he, “*at a very early age gave indication for a strong passion for art. There are still in existence drawings executed by him at the age of four years*”. For the 1821 illustrations by the Curator of the Bristol Institution d. 1830, possibly aided by his 9 year old son, see: John S. Müller, A natural history of the Crinoidea, or lily-shaped animals: with at: <https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=DOhAAAAAcAAJ>.

expressed by this work, and who, in the same paragraph, also mentioned David Roberts unfinished works, oil sketches, which were also exhibited in the British Institution in 1859:

*“But perhaps the most striking landscape in the exhibition is the ‘Sardis’ of Mr Harry Johnson. The whole story of the ruined city is told in the desolate calm which the sunset of an Eastern sky throws round the broken columns of Sardis, the ancient capital of Lydia: the treatment of the subject rises to the height of the artist’s poetic feeling. Why has Mr. David Roberts been content to send sketches only to the British Institution? The interior of St. Mark’s and The Remains of the Roman Forum, such as we see them here, tantalise the spectator instead of rewarding him as Mr Roberts knows how to reward”*¹²². The reviewer was perhaps intentionally, making a telling comparison between the works of these two painters, and between the practice of capriccio and veduta¹²³, between these depictions of sunset and ruins, as also in terms of their composition, as there are clear resemblances between Johnson’s two works, *Sardis...* exhibited in February 1859 and *Hierapolis...*, exhibited in May and David Roberts *“The Remains of the Roman Forum, Sunset”*, No. 173¹²⁴, also exhibited in the Summer Exhibition of May 1859. Yet both of Harry Johnson’s works were composed from the imagination, works of caprice, that by David Roberts a *veduta*, a view¹²⁵ painted from a sketch made in the Forum in Rome in 1853, with the finished oil painting on panel of this view commissioned by Mr. Herbert of Clapham Common, London, for £220¹²⁶; as also in terms of the ruins represented, *Hierapolis...*, a construction of the imagination, and *Sardis...*, a construction of the imagination, only in part derived from prints of the Ionic Temple, while David Roberts enlarged from his sketch made of the ruins of the Roman Temple of Saturn, in Rome, with these ruins situated in a similar relative position within the compositions of these three paintings. A comparison also in terms of the respective

¹²² Bentley 1859, 332-333.

¹²³ The grouping of the three painters David Roberts (1796-1854), Richard Parks Bonington (1802-28) and William Muller together, in the middle of the 19th century, as by Redgrave 1866, 464, as sharing much in character, in the handling of broad masses of light and shade, in landscape, as also in working abroad, seems to also to underly this comparison drawn by the reviewer between the work exhibited in 1859 by Harry Johnson, Müller’s student, and David Roberts.

¹²⁴ Graves 1906, 460. Sold in 1888 for £320, Redford 1904, 108. *The Dublin University Magazine: A Literary and Political Journal*, Vol. 53, March 1859, 319, *“How the Roman Forum can have stood such centuries of weather, such storms of change, such mutations of repaired destruction, and yet be pure Naples yellow and white, passes our knowledge and, indeed belief. Does Mr. Roberts mean us to take his word for this? Can it be possible for him to assert that he sees no more colour in a column which has stood so many centuries than we see in a piece of scene painting? By his version, the modern Roman must yellow-wash their public edifices and ruins at least once a month. If he sees more colour why does he not paint it: the beauty of colour, as he really must know, consists in its intense variety. There are people, whose words we should take on other matters, who boldly assert that Mr. Roberts’ drawing of architecture and disposition of masses are no more true than his colours; in short, that these much admired pictures by the well known R.A. are mere fictions, wrought out from rough sketches, and painted in the studio. Such a scandalous tale as this is false, of course”*, Dublin 1859a, 319.

¹²⁵ However, in the review published in *The Dublin University Magazine* in August 1859, one reads in respect to David Roberts painting of the Roman Forum, *“One truly feels a sort of terror in speaking of an artist who could venture to paint the Roman Forum, as at the British Institution this year, inside out, putting away a temple here altogether, and there inserting a ruin that has no existence”*, Dublin 1859, 250.

¹²⁶ Ballantine 1866, 198, and his pen sketch for this picture is on the same page.

colour employed, as earlier remarked upon in *The Athenaeum* review of the works exhibited at the British Institution in 1862, “*Mr. H. Johnson’s “Caryatid portico of the Erechtheum, Athens” reproduces Mr. D. Robert’s style with new variety of colour*”¹²⁷, and in the finish of these works, not least, as noted in the Royal Academy’s 1859 Guide, in terms of the darkness of the shadows of *Hierapolis...*, as likewise of *Sardis...*, in comparison with the lesser intensity of the shadows depicted in David Roberts paintings.

Another of Harry Johnson’s works entitled ‘*Ruins of Sardis, Asia Minor*’ painted in water-colours was exhibited in 1867 at the British Institution on Pall Mall, No. 10, for £20¹²⁸, and the reviewer for *The Illustrated London News* wrote, “...*Interest of subject is sufficient to make us forget, if need be, a little conventionality in, and secure attention to, Mr. H. Johnson’s “Ruins of Sardis, Asia Minor” (303);*”¹²⁹, while the reviewer for *The Art Journal* wrote: “*Harry Johnson paints poetry by rote. He has a patent or ready receipt for skies impressive and shadows portentous. ‘Sardis’ is as an elegy written among ruins. Yet that the artist owes as much to imagination as to his sober eyesight may be judged by his view of ‘Edinburgh’*¹³⁰. *The atmosphere might have been painted in Italy, Greece, Asia Minor or Egypt; certainly not in Scotland*”¹³¹. The reviewer was not just remarking upon the often overcast and somewhat inclement Scottish weather. He was also indicating to the reader that the works painted by Harry Johnson were reasoned compositions, what a caprice or a *capriccio* is, rather than being a simple *veduta*-view, a photo-like sketch or painting, or made through a camera lucida, a coloured photograph-like representation of a view taken of a named place. Harry Johnson also exhibited a watercolour of this same subject and title, probably the same as that exhibited at the British Institution, at the Third General Exhibition of Water-colours at the Dudley Gallery, London, in the same year, where the reviewer wrote, “*Harry Johnson repeats once more an impressive melodrama, ‘Ruins of Sardis.’ Such works are as if designed to illustrate the fulfillment of prophecy*”¹³², which of course was the case, as the full title of the work in oils of 1859 had indicated.

Harry Johnson painted at least another two versions of this subject, both in oils, one dated 1861¹³³ and another dated 1871, the latter is today incorrectly titled, *Sardis, Turkey at dusk* (Fig. 25), where the topography depicted likewise carries no resemblance to that around the physical ruins of ancient Sardis - the line of hills on the horizon are different from that exhibited in 1859, and from that provided by the physical topography of the site of Sardis, but, once again, there are the ruins at sunset, a crescent moon in the sky in the upper left, the two localising Ionic columns, and a marshy

¹²⁷ *Athenaeum* 1862, 231.

¹²⁸ Graves 1908, 302.

¹²⁹ *ILN* 1867, 170.

¹³⁰ The oil painting, “*Edinburgh*”, No. 153, at £140, Graves 1908, 302.

¹³¹ *Art* 1867, 86. It seems probably that a water-colour sketch for this painting was Lot 1663 in the Tennants Sale, Leyburn, U.K. of November 23, 2007, description: Harry John Johnson R. I. (1826-1884) “*Edinburgh*” Signed and dated “1865”, also inscribed on an exhibition label verso, pencil and watercolour, 35cm by 54.5 cm, Provenance: With Thomas Agnew & Sons Ltd, 43 Old Bond Street, Piccadilly, London W1X 4BA, stock no. 42923. Another watercolour entitled *Edinburgh From Comely Bank*, was exhibited at the R. A. 1866, No.441, 16.00 by 31.00 in.

¹³² *Art* 1867, 87.

¹³³ “*The ruins of Sardis*” 53 x 99 cm oil on canvas, signed, sold at Phillips, Marylebone, London, 27th of May 1988.

area to the lower left. Harry Johnson painted a further composition of this type, another caprice in oils, also at dusk, amongst the ruins, consisting of a reworking of some of the columns and entablature from the Temple of Aphaea in Aegina, which he had drawn in 1861¹³⁴, where a lone small figure looks out over the darkening landscape, a crescent moon upper left, an evocative reflection on the consequences of worldly pride and of the passage of time, although not set within a marshy landscape (Fig. 24), a work which is today entitled, “*Sunset amongst Ruins*”¹³⁵, although if it was localised together with a telling quotation, like that entitled, “*The Temple of Minerva on Aegina, Greece. The Column’d aisles with whispers of the past, etc.*” exhibited at the British Institution in 1862, No. 62, or was given a biblical toponym and a biblical apocalyptic quote for its title, as was the case for both *Hierapolis...*, and *Sardis...*, is today unknown.



Fig. 25. Harry Johnson’s 1871 version of the work in oils, 53.34 cm × 99.06 cm, today entitled, *Sardis, Turkey at dusk*¹³⁶, or, *The Ruins Of Sardis*¹³⁷.

Fig. 26. Harry Johnson, oil on canvas, 10.43 x 15.94 in., today entitled, *Sunset Amongst Ruins*¹³⁸.

The romantic sentiment addressed by these works concerning ruins had earlier found its reflection in poetry¹³⁹, such as Lord Byron’s *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage: A Romaunt*, published in 1812, Canto IV, XXV:

“*But my soul wanders; I demand it back
To meditate amongst decay, and stand
A ruin amidst ruins; there to track
Fallen states and buried greatness, o’er a land*

¹³⁴ An oil on canvas 21 1/2 x 40 in. 54.6 x 111.6 cm by the artist entitled, *Temple of Aphaea in Aegina, Greece*, was sold at Christie’s December 1, 2016, Lot. 84.

¹³⁵ Sold at auction with this title, 11-16-2005, Sotheby’s, London, Lot. 45; *Sunset Among Ruins - Harry John Johnson - WikiGallery.org*, the ... www.wikigallery.org/wiki/painting.../Harry-John-Johnson/Sunset-Among-Ruins.

¹³⁶ Auctioned May 27th 1988, Phillips Marylebone, Lot. 207; <http://www.artnet.com/artists/harry-john-johnson/sardis-turkey-at-dusk-K0eUbYLMZ8oMQWQn4xf0OQ2>.

¹³⁷ Today without image, recorded as by Harry John Johnson dated 1871, rather than Harry Johnson at this date, but, of the same size, at, <https://www.artory.com/artists/harry-john-johnson-1826/the-ruins-of-sardis-3E8H772K/>

¹³⁸ <http://www.wikigallery.org/paintings/371001-371500/371359/painting1.jpg>.

¹³⁹ Quotes from Lord Byron’s *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage*, and, *The Siege of Corinth*, were employed in the titles to some of Johnson’s paintings, op. cit. fn. 89.

*Which was the mightiest in its old command
And is the lovliest, and must ever be
The master mould of nature's heavenly hand,
Wherein were cast the heroic, and the free
The beautiful, the brave-the lords of earth and seas".*

The reviewer for *The Art Journal* of the exhibition at the Institute for Painters in Watercolours in 1869 remarked that Harry Johnson was “*a master of effect*”, painting landscapes “*poetic and impressive*”¹⁴⁰; while the reviewer for the *Illustrated London News* wrote of the works exhibited at the Institute of Painters in Watercolours in 1870, “*Mr. Harry Johnson steadily advances in the sense of picturesque composition and landscape sentiment, as well as in beauty in richness in colouring*”¹⁴¹, and Harry Johnson had practiced the art of ‘*picturesque composition*’ and ‘*landscape sentiment*’, of poetic and impressive effect in both oils and water-colours for decades, beginning under the guidance of his master William James Müller (Figs 2-3), but, in addition, in these two compositions he brought the words of the Biblical texts of the titles he employed to life, rather than simply making an illustration of a temporal place, as “*Such works are as if designed to illustrate the fulfillment of prophecy*”¹⁴².

The relationship between these two paintings of Harry Johnson’s exhibited in 1859 in terms of their titles and the subjects depicted is close, the ruins of an ancient city at dusk and related biblical quotes referring to the ruins, to marshes, desolation and the Apocalypse and to the casting down of human pride and arrogance. Further, given the different proportions of the two canvases, there is the close relationship between the proportions employed for the various parts in both of these paintings, one seems almost to be the reverse of the other, to mirror the other, as Isaiah was read as prefiguring the Revelation of St. John the Divine, although it is today unknown if they were originally designed as a pair of oil paintings.



Fig. 27. “*Hierapolis...*” as Fig. 14 above



Fig. 28. “*Sardis...*” as Fig. 20 above

Both compositions exhibited in 1859, ‘*Hierapolis...*’ and ‘*Sardis...*’, in part echoed the landscape around Patara, the ruins of antiquity set within the marshes, with the sky reflected from the surface of the marsh water under the setting sun and the distant clusters of palm trees, images that had imprinted themselves deeply in the impressionable mind of the teenage Harry Johnson amongst the ruins of Lycia with William James Müller in 1843 and 1844. It is noteworthy that the use of a strong

¹⁴⁰ Art 1869, 176.

¹⁴¹ ILN 1870, 459.

¹⁴² Art 1867, 87.

vertical element breaking the line of the horizon and dividing the picture horizontally into approximately two thirds and one third, together with the extensive marshy landscape were recorded in a watercolour painted from Xanthus looking towards Patara on the November 7th 1843 (Figs. 27, 28) and reworked in oils in a work exhibited in 1846 (Fig. 1) and in another version of this same view also painted in 1845¹⁴³.



Fig. 29. Water-colour of November 7th, 1843, by Harry John Johnson signed with initials HJJ, entitled 'Xanthus'. Museum No. SD.527 © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.¹⁴⁴ This water-colour drawing was employed in the making of the oil painting exhibited in 1846, Fig. 1 above and another version of the same view, both of 1845.



Fig. 30. Detail of Fig. 27. Looking from Xanthus-Kinik to Patara and the sea, showing the extensive marshes of the Xanthus-Esen valley landscape, an area today covered in a lake of greenhouses.

The critic for *The Art Journal* wrote in 1867 that the water-colour painting, 'Sardis' is as an elegy written among ruins¹⁴⁵ and it is the case that the paintings entitled 'Sardis, Thou Hast A Name That Thou Livest, And Art Dead', like, 'Hierapolis, Asia Minor, I will make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water', exhibited in 1859¹⁴⁶ are elegies written among ruins, both are Christian Apoca-

¹⁴³ Op. cit. fn. 14.

¹⁴⁴ <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O145926/xanthus-watercolour-johnson-harry-john/>

¹⁴⁵ Art 1867, 86.

¹⁴⁶ It is today unclear, but perhaps it was the shock of the newspaper reports of the events in India of 1857 that brought about the painting of these subjects, Hierapolis and Sardis and of the repetition of these Christian sub-

lyptic caprice, capriccio set within approximations of the marshy landscape around Patara, a landscape where “*The silence of the place is broken only by the rise of a bittern, alarmed by a fox worrying a bird*”, an extensive marshy estuarine landscape with its most particular luminous reflected light, and which, from his use of it and its ruins from antiquity, together with its framing distant mountains at dusk and clusters of palm trees, was understood by Harry Johnson to be the physical type of a certain biblical-prophetic landscape, “*a possession for the bittern, and pools of water*”. These were the depictions of a wide marshy landscape bordered in the distance by mountains and a luminous sky-scape, with the occasional boom of the bittern and the attentive fox, a landscape recorded and well known to the artist from his youth, and the image of this marshy open landscape with ancient ruins and palm trees under a setting sun, was recorded, fashioned, refashioned, combined and reworked, with these images of the Xanthus valley and Patara with its swamps and palm trees, that had been observed and recorded in 1843-1844 in Lycia, Asia Minor, which were returned to, images which remained with the artist Harry John Johnson throughout his life,¹⁴⁷ and which were reflected upon within a biblical context, and of the admonishments of time to civilisations and structures once thought to be expressions of human might and majesty, exhibited pictorial warnings of the consequences of hubris and of worldly satisfaction for the Victorian public to reflect upon.

Figure Sources

Fig. 1. <http://www.artnet.com/WebServices/images/ll00108lld1zGGFgVeECfDrCWvaHBOctCx/harry-john-johnson-the-lion-tomb-at-xanthus,-lycia.jpg>

Fig. 2. <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O147315/lycean-tombs-in-the-xanthus-watercolour-muller-william-james/>

Fig. 3. <https://www.mutualart.com/Artwork/Lycian-tombs/9017838C3CCCD279>

Fig. 4. <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O145929/the-xanthus-valley-lycia-watercolour-johnson-harry-john/>

Fig. 5. <http://artuk.org/discover/artworks/an-encampment-in-the-desert-205662/search/actor:muller-w>

jects with their apocalyptic associations exhibited from 1859 onwards by Harry Johnson.

¹⁴⁷ Unfortunately his obituary published in *The British Architect* in 1885 relates, “*On the last day of the old year the death took place of Mr. Harry Johnson, an artist, at St. John’s Wood. Mr Johnson studied landscape painting as a pupil of david cox, and subsequently made a prolonged tour in the far east (sic.), with Müller, under whose guidance he matured his style*”, BA 1885, 29. This tour was of course to the Near East, to Lycia, rather than to “the Far East” and Harry Johnson was not a pupil of David Cox, they went together from the end of June to the end of July 1844 to draw the North Welsh landscape while Harry Johnson was still a pupil of William James Müller, Solly 1875b, 125-126, David Cox writes, “*My young friend Johnson is a very ageeable travelling companion*”, Solly 1875b, 126. As has been noted, “*During a tour of Wales with Harry John Johnson, a pupil of Muller, in 1844, Cox visited the Vale of Clwyd...*” Wilcox-Newall 1992, 78; while Johnson is described as “*a fellow-worker with Cox in Wales*”, Hardie 1968, 60; and that, “*He was also a close friend of David Cox*”. Not a pupil of Cox, Wood et al. 2008, 282. It was rather the case that David Cox, like Harry John Johnson, was a pupil of William Müller, who taught the much older David Cox elements of painting in oils. The misleading statement that Johnson was a pupil of David Cox has been repeated, as by: Wallis-Chamberlain 1892, 189, “*and studied under William Miiller and David Cox*”; as also in the Victoria and Albert Museum’s, Lambourne – Hamilton, 1980, 206, “*pupil of S. Lines and W. J. Muller, with whom he toured in the Levant, and of David Cox in Wales*”.

illiam-james-18121845/page/9

Fig. 6. <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O147324/marsh-in-the-xanthus-valley-watercolour-muller-william-james/>

Fig. 7. <http://www.artnet.com/artists/harry-john-johnson/water-tomb-telmessus-lycia-gpvlR5kkXhwrfv3ID8yQYQ2>

Fig. 8. http://wheatoncollege.edu/gallery/files/2010/10/cr_pamp_screen.pdf

Fig. 9. <http://artsalesindex.artinfo.com/auctions/Harry-John-Johnson-4121773/The-Mosque-at-Mukri,-Turkmenistan-1844>

Fig. 10. <http://www.artnet.com/artists/harry-john-johnson/riverside-mosque-hCpyMeKnKXAgp4cW6BHXqA2>

Fig. 11. <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2002/the-british-sale-paintings-watercolours-102155/lot.128.html>

Fig. 12. Author's photo

Fig. 13 detail of Fig. 11.

Fig. 14 File:Hierapolis HJ Johnson.jpg

Fig. 15. <http://eng.travelogues.gr/item.php?view=38929>

Fig. 16. <http://www.antiqueprints.com/proddetail.php?prod=h8058>

Fig. https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dosya:Ruins_of_Laodicea_engraving_by_William_Miller_after_T_Allo_m.jpg 17.

Fig. 18 <https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/laborde1838/0132/image>

Fig. 19. <https://www.magnoliabox.com/products/exhibition-of-the-british-institution-opened-february-7-1859-sardis-thou-hast-a-name-that-thou-lc090411-0596-1>

Fig. 20. <http://www.antique-prints.de> <https://www.antique-prints.de/index.php?search=Sardis> <https://www.antique-prints.de/index.php?cat=KAT43&lang=ENG&product=P009235>

Fig. 21. <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O723056/landscape-illustrations-of-the-bible-print-finden-william/>

Fig. 22. https://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/39999348_acropolis-of-sardis-turkey-1840

Fig. 23. <http://eng.travelogues.gr/item.php?view=54429>

Fig. 24. <https://www.the-saleroom.com/en-gb/auction-catalogues/rowleys-fine-art-auctioneers-and-valuers/catalogue-id-srrow10014/lot-a6121449-87ae-498d-b4d2-a65d00d4c042>

Fig. 25. <http://www.artnet.com/artists/harry-john-johnson/sardis-turkey-at-dusk-K0eUbYLMZ8oMQWQn4xf0OQ2>

Fig. 26. <http://www.artnet.com/artists/harry-john-johnson/sunset-among-ruins-ISonXksVR5o6UMpQ99t8eg2>

Fig. 27. as Fig. 14 above

Fig. 28. as Fig. 20 above

Fig. 29. <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O145926/xanthus-watercolour-johnson-harry-john/>

Fig. 30. Detail of Fig. 27.

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