

# Guide to the Principal Pictures in the Academy of Fine Arts at Venice

A Critical Edition, with Other Texts  
on Carpaccio and Venetian Painting

**John Ruskin**

edited by Paul Tucker



**Edizioni**  
Ca' Foscari







Guide to the Principal Pictures in the Academy of Fine Arts at Venice

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The present edition, like its earlier version, is the outcome of research begun in 2012 for a paper on Ruskin and Carpaccio's St Ursula paintings given at a conference on the series organized by the *Gallerie dell'Accademia and Centro Tedesco di Studi Veneziani*, Venice, the *Istituto Svizzero di Roma* and the *Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, Max-Planck-Institut*. I am deeply grateful to Matteo Ceriana, former Director of the *Gallerie dell'Accademia*, and his successor Giulio Manieri Elia for inviting me to take part and to Matteo Ceriana in particular for further requesting me to prepare the first version of this edition.

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Paul Tucker



**Guide to the Principal Pictures in the Academy of Fine Arts at Venice**

John Ruskin

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Per mia madre, Ada Borghero,  
nata il 30 marzo 1921  
a casa della nonna, a S. Giacomo, sull'isola della Giudecca,  
morta a Crowhurst, Inghilterra, il 26 aprile 2011,  
che finché ne era capace conservò viva la memoria  
di quell'erbetta dall'odore aspro  
che cresceva un tempo fra le vecchie pietre logorate  
della Fondamenta della Croce

**Introduction**  
**Editions of the *Guide***  
Paul Tucker



Charles H. Moore, *John Ruskin*. c. 1876-80



# Introduction

Paul Tucker

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## An “Explosive Torpedo”

On 22 March 1877 John Ruskin wrote from Venice to his cousin Joan Severn:

I’ve just done up the nicest little explosive torpedo I’ve ever concocted, to my own mind; and am in good hope of pitching it into the Academy of Venice, and the general Artistic Mind, for an Easter Egg. – I’m licking my lips over it considerable.<sup>1</sup>

The device in question<sup>2</sup> was the first part of the *Guide to the Principal Pictures in the Academy of Fine Arts at Venice*, republished here in the original language, together with its sequel, for the first time in over a hundred years.<sup>3</sup> That it should have been out of print for so long is perhaps not surprising, given the speed with which its usefulness as a guide was eclipsed by repeated rehangings and renumbering of the pictures in the *Accademia*. Yet there are other, less practical reasons for its continued neglect, despite renewed interest in the figure and work of Ruskin. And those reasons have to do with the idiosyncrasy and complexity of his late writing, which hampered its reception from the start.

One would dearly like to know more of nineteenth-century travellers’ reactions to works such as the *Guide* and *St Mark’s Rest* (1877-84), written and published expressly

for their benefit. Few perhaps were as respectfully yet wryly bemused as Henry James, who in his essay *Venice* (1882) could not but straightaway invoke “Mr. Ruskin” (the essay’s very first words) as the chief means

to enjoyment of the city. It was probably, however, the author of *The Stones of Venice* James mainly had in mind, as the compliment is directly qualified by the remark that Ruskin had

lately produced several aids to depression in the shape of certain little humorous - ill-humorous - pamphlets (the series of *St. Mark’s Rest*) which embody his latest reflections on the subject of our city and describe the latest atrocities perpetrated there.<sup>4</sup>

Neither here nor elsewhere in his essay does James mention the *Guide*, but it was no doubt comprehended in his again carefully qualified estimation of Ruskin’s

“queer late-coming prose”. This was certainly “all to be read”, even if occasionally it seemed to be “addressed to children of a tender age”:

It is pitched in the nursery-key, and might be supposed to emanate from an angry governess. It is, however, all suggestive, and much of it is delightfully just. There is an inconceivable want of form in it, though the author has spent his life in laying down the principles of form and scolding people for departing from them; but it throbs and flashes with the love of his subject - a love disconcerted and abjured, but which has still much of the force of inspiration.<sup>5</sup>

Others were perhaps less circumspect. While Lady Eastlake (1809-1893), for instance, herself in Venice at the time Ruskin was there writing the *Guide*, admitted to Austen Henry Layard (1817-1894) that despite her personal hatred of its author she found *The Stones of Venice* “very useful”, she subsequently remarked of *St Mark’s Rest* that she had the first number but had never heard

of its continuation, observing testily of her junior by ten years, “Who attends to the cross, crazy old man now?”<sup>6</sup>

More than a century on, and with regard to the *Guide* in particular, the puzzlement and impatience seem scarcely to have abated. In a review of Robert Hewison’s most recent investigation of the topic of Ruskin and Venice, Robert Harbison writes of his gratitude to the author

for sending me back to Ruskin’s late writings about Venice, the *Guide to the Principal Pictures in the Academy* and *St Mark’s Rest*. It is impossible to remember for very long how weird these two little books are. Their orders make powerful subjective sense, but they are so deeply illogical, oddly proportioned and neglectful of their putative subjects that they make the most radical modernist works look hidebound and predictable by comparison.<sup>7</sup>

Yet Hewison dedicates only one paragraph of his large book to the *Guide*, highlighting the text’s immediacy and “personal” character, while touching on points of content and plan: “He presents a simple schematic version of his view of Venetian art history, and makes another of his

emblematic choice of dates”.<sup>8</sup> In sum Hewison considers the *Guide* “delightful” yet a “distraction” from the major task of revising *The Stones of Venice*, the principal reason, as we shall see, for Ruskin’s return to the city in the autumn of 1876.

In his comprehensive two-volume biography, Tim Hilton is both more brief and more dismissive, writing as he does from the conviction that Ruskin was “insane between 21 December 1876 and 3 January 1877”:

This unsatisfactory pamphlet reflects various annoyances given to Ruskin as he returned to a mental normality in January of that year. After his mystical experiences, it seems that paintings in Venice pleased him less often, and he was irritated both by the arrangements of the Accademia’s galleries and by supposed expectations of visitors to whom he proposed to act as *cicerone*. Reading the pamphlet, we find him bullying them, hurrying them from one room to the next.<sup>9</sup>

In the most exhaustive account of Ruskin’s long Venetian stay of 1876-77, by Van Akin Burd,<sup>10</sup> in which the experiences that Hilton reads as evidence of insanity are recounted in relation to Ruskin’s love for the dead Rose La Touche and his interest in spiritualism and “quest for the unseen”, the *Guide* is not mentioned at all.

The most detailed and attentive account of the book is without doubt Jeanne Clegg’s. Yet, though insightful and not obviously conditioned by the view, shared with Hilton, that Ruskin “had gone through a period of madness in Venice at the end of 1876”,<sup>11</sup> this is still severely critical:

Marching his reader from room to room, Ruskin pushes him past certain pictures, orders him to linger before others. The visit is hurried, highly selective and allows no freedom of choice.

The *Guide*, she complains, “is not representative of his interest in Venetian painting as a whole”: Titian, Tintoretto and Veronese are given short shrift, despite his not having explicitly “renounced admiration” for them. Clegg finds his abrupt treatment of these painters inconsistent with earlier, uninhibited efforts to illustrate their work and his explanation of why he now spoke less of them invalidated by the fact that the problems alluded to applied no less to the “more humble labourers”<sup>12</sup> he had come to favour. Ruskin brands certain paintings mere “artist’s pictures”, she notes, though elsewhere “[w]orkmanship in detail is consistently praised”. He “says nothing of the artists” representative of his “preferred period”, the era of Carpaccio and Gentile Bellini, “and little of their paintings”. Though Carpaccio’s art is held up as a standard by which the visitor’s capacity for judgment is to be tested, “Ruskin postpones discussing” it. He evokes the painter’s “expression of most deep and holy tragedy” in the

St Ursula series, but of that series describes only one picture, in which its protagonist does not even appear.<sup>13</sup> In varying degrees, the above accounts, like Burd’s failure to provide one, show how assumptions of mental instability and distraction, private obsession or blatant inconsistency, as well, perhaps, as assumptions concerning its practical function, have got in the way of reading the *Guide* and especially of reading it in conjunction with other late texts as testimony of a laboriously sustained tendency, in Ruskin’s life and work in this period, “to stronger unity and higher end”.<sup>14</sup> The fragmentation of individual texts, their publication piecemeal, in parts, letters and numbers, was a condition of that tendency’s articulation, allowing simultaneous development of multiple works, as well as their intersection through the sharing or transfer of material. Though part of a comically mock-pathetic self-portrait, it was no exaggeration to claim, as Ruskin did in a letter to his cousin written in November 1876, that his table was heaped not only

with unanswered letters but with manuscripts “of four or five different books at six or seven different parts of each”.<sup>15</sup> In truly “radical Modernist” fashion the *Guide*, *St Mark’s Rest*, *Fors Clavigera* – his monthly letter to the *Workmen and Labourers of Great Britain* – and other contemporary writings are all to be read as constituting one text. For, far from being a “distraction” from the task of recasting *The Stones of Venice*, the *Guide* was an integral part of the larger programme of textual revision and moral reform of which that task was itself an aspect, a programme worked out in a symbiotic plurality of texts. Indeed, the *Guide* might rather be said to have been written ‘against’ distraction, if that term were understood as referring for example to Ruskin’s own former errors and partialities of judgment, or to the expectations of visitors to the gallery (in many instances shaped by past statements of his), or again, and not least, to that “general Artistic Mind” invoked in the letter to his cousin quoted at the start of this Introduction. Seen in this light the *Guide*’s strangenesses – the “inconceivable want of form” regretted by James, the paradoxes of treatment

and evaluation pinpointed by Jeanne Clegg, the oddities of proportion and focus remarked by Harbison – are neither delightfully eccentric, regrettably untidy nor a little mad, but urgent, offensive and strategic – in a word (Ruskin’s own), “explosive”.

This may seem the more evident once the *Guide*’s intertextual links, above all with *St Mark’s Rest*, are clarified and the story of how these books came to be written is rehearsed in detail. This will be the task attempted in the following sections. It may be helpful first, though, to pause and consider the formal letter of thanks Ruskin wrote on 3 March 1877 in response to official communication of his election as an honorary member of the *Accademia di Belle Arti*, received two days earlier.<sup>16</sup> Hitherto unpublished,<sup>17</sup> this letter offers a vivid and richly textured but unitary picture of the moral and intellectual temper – and above all the specific sense of Venetian art and history – from which *St Mark’s Rest* and the *Guide* were then already in the process of emerging, and will provide an eloquent backdrop to the following narrative:

Venice, 3rd March. 1877

Sir,

I could not, unless in a letter long enough to contain the story of my life, fully or rightly express to the Members of the Academy of Venice the deep feeling with which I return them thanks for the honour of which your esteemed visit on the First of this month, and the letter you then placed in my hands, for the first time informed me.

For indeed, all I have learned of what is best in art, and noblest in conduct, has been taught me by the pictures, and the history of Venice; and since to know what is best in the art of man, and noblest in his deed, is to learn also what is truest in his Religion, I may conclusively say that whatever now in anywise fits me for my office of Instructor in the University of my own country, has been taught me by Venetian Masters, and confirmed in me by the written records of that vital Faith, in the hearts of her Nobles and her People, which gave no less than miraculous Victory to the Dukes of Venice, and no less than miraculous skill to her craftsmen. And, having laboured, (if I may say so much for myself) with desire always to learn and teach the truth concerning the Arts, now for many years and in many places, since first I sat at the feet of Venetian instructors, I return in my final years to Venice as to my final home, in which this welcome from her chief Artists becomes



to me a sign of the sweetest grace that could be done me by her Motherly care, receiving me, as a queen always, but kindly as your so often painted Madonna, beneath her protecting mantle, and within the sacred law of her Painters' Mariegola.<sup>18</sup>

Permit me also in this letter to express to the Members of the Academy of Venice in their several Persons, my most earnest and respectful thanks, for the extreme kindness and courtesy shown me at all times; - for the permissions granted always to the students who work with me to fulfil my wishes, - but especially, in this last winter, for the facilities afforded to them and to myself, (facilities made perfect by the courteous attention of the Cav. Prof. Ispettore Botti,)<sup>19</sup> in the study of the divine works of Carpaccio: this privilege being of quite singular value to me, because the extreme refinement of that painters [*sic*] execution renders it impossible to study his works completely under any but the most advantageous conditions.

To yourself also, Sir, I have to speak my most sincere regret for the mischance that the letter in which your kindness communicated to me the resolution of the Council in the year 1873, should not have reached my hands, without doubt in consequence of my change of residence at that time from London to the North of England.

And finally may I pray you to express to the Members of the Council, better than I can in writing, the gratitude and delight with which you cannot but have seen that I accepted the honour done me in this Associateship: no less than my earnest resolve to be, in all such ways as the Members of the Academy may point out to me, and as my ability permits.

Their faithful and respectful Servant  
John Ruskin.

Al Stimatiss<sup>mo</sup> Cav<sup>e</sup>  
Il Segretario  
G. B. Cecchini  
&c &c &c

### ***The Stones of Venice* and “Carpaccio’s Chapel”**

Ruskin had arrived in Venice on 7 September 1876 with two main purposes in mind. The first, as indicated earlier, was to work on the new edition of *The Stones of Venice* which his old friend, the antiquarian and historian Rawdon Brown,<sup>20</sup> encouraged by Queen Victoria’s youngest son, Prince Leopold, had urged him to undertake.<sup>21</sup> Ruskin had himself long included the book in plans to publish radically revised editions of his early writings. In 1871 a new series of his Collected Works had been

inaugurated with this aim and *The Stones of Venice*, much abridged, was to have appeared there in 1873-74. In the event, however, Ruskin had reprinted the text in full, promising that “some portions” would “ultimately be published in such abstract as [would] make at once the first purpose of the book apparent, and its final statements conclusive”.<sup>22</sup> A year later, in *Fors Clavigera*, Ruskin had committed himself to extending the series of “school books” he was then producing for the recently

formed St George's Company<sup>23</sup> so as to comprehend *The Stones of Venice* and his other writings on art. "I cut these books to pieces", he had declared, "because [...] all the religious notions are narrow, and many false".<sup>24</sup>

Stunned by the death - "under a condition of subtle hysteria, passing into true insanity"<sup>25</sup> - of Rose La Touche, the Irish girl he had long hoped, in vain, to marry,<sup>26</sup> and chronically exhausted from overwork, in October 1875 Ruskin had requested leave of absence from his duties as Slade Professor of Fine Art at Oxford, to apply from the end of that term. By early August he had decided to come to Venice to work on the new edition: he would make fresh "drawings giving some notion of my old memories of the place, in Turner's time, and get them expressed in line engraving, as best may be - then I shall omit pretty nearly all the architectural analysis of the first volume, and expand and complete the third".<sup>27</sup>

His second aim in coming to Venice had been to discover "everything that could be known of the circumstances which had led to the building, and determined style" of the chapel of the *Scuola di San Giorgio degli*

*Schiavoni*<sup>28</sup> - "Carpaccio's chapel", as he now began to call it,<sup>29</sup> from the artist, Vittore Carpaccio (c. 1460/65-1525/26), who had decorated it with depictions of the lives of St George, St Jerome and St Tryphonius.

Carpaccio was a relatively recent enthusiasm of Ruskin's, caught from his friend, the Pre-Raphaelite painter Edward Jones (subsequently, Burne-Jones). Not that Ruskin was previously unaware of Carpaccio's work. In the first volume of *Modern Painters* he had singled him out, together with Gentile Bellini, as having left the "only existing faithful statements of the architecture of Old Venice" - in the paintings in the *Accademia* representing miracles of a relic of the True Cross<sup>30</sup> - and in general for supremely "careful", "delicately finished" and "dignified" work.<sup>31</sup> His reappraisal of the painter dated from 1869, when he had spent six months in Verona studying the Scala monuments. During the first of three short visits to Venice he noted in his diary, "Saw Carpaccio at the Academy".<sup>32</sup> Burne-Jones had studied the painter's work in Venice seven years earlier and had evidently commended it to him.<sup>33</sup> The next day Ruskin wrote to his friend,

My dearest Ned, - There's nothing here like Carpaccio! There's a little bit of humble-pie for you! Well, the fact was, I had never once looked at him, having classed him in glance and thought with Gentile Bellini, and other men of the more or less incipient and hard schools, - and Tintoret went better with clouds and hills. I don't give up my Tintoret, but his dissolution of expression into drapery and shadow is too licentious for me now. But this Carpaccio is a new world to me [...].<sup>34</sup>

Burne-Jones must have been particularly struck by the paintings in the *Scuola di S. Giorgio*. For Ruskin now assured him that, having called in on the *Accademia*, he was on his way to "your St. George of the Schiavoni".<sup>35</sup>

There is no further mention of the *Scuola* in Ruskin's diary or letters of 1869, but it was a major focus of study when he returned to Venice the following year, having in the meantime been appointed Slade Professor at Oxford. He now made drawings of three of what he would later call "Carpaccio's canonized birds and beasts":<sup>36</sup> the viper

in the foreground of *St George and the Dragon*, the red parrot in *St George Baptizes the Sultan and his Daughter* and the lizard bearing the painter's signature in *The Funeral of St Jerome*.<sup>37</sup> These were placed in the collection of drawings, watercolours, prints and photographs which he was compiling at Oxford in connection with the object lessons forming the core of his distinctive mode of art instruction, which was programmatically critical *and* practical. The images were arranged (and rearranged) in multiple series, grouped functionally and

thematically so as to aid the teaching of a plurality of subjects: elementary drawing, history, the historical and theoretical 'divisions' of art into schools and 'elements' or principles, botany, zoology, etc. A primary aim was to promote a view of art as a pacific and exalted form of natural science. The Carpaccio drawings were examples

of serene observation of animal life, both "noxious" and "virtuous". At the same time they were held up in lectures as models of delicacy and economy of drawing and of perfect balance between clarity of colour, rounding of form and purity of line.<sup>38</sup>

## A "New Clue"

As is reflected in Ruskin's letter of thanks to the *Accademia*, given above, both projects underwent modification and - inevitably - intertwined in the months following his arrival in Venice.

In the course of the autumn his idea of the new edition of *Stones of Venice* altered continually. On his very first day in the city he reported to his cousin, "I have been correcting my *Stones*, for printer; and find it mostly all

right". He was astonished, however, at "the advance of my mind since I wrote it !!!", comparing the old text to the baby talk he sometimes used in letters to Joan, though "without any fun in it".<sup>39</sup> A day later, in a letter to Thomas Carlyle, he outlined his plan for "recasting the *Stones of Venice*" into a book worthy of the writer he called his "Master":

I shall throw off at least half of the present text, and add what I now better know of the real sources of Venetian energy, and what I - worse - know of the causes of Venetian ruin - with some notes on modern Italy which I eagerly hope you will be satisfied with.<sup>40</sup>

After a month's work his intention to expand the old third volume had itself been recast and he was writing to his American friend, Charles Eliot Norton (1827-1908), of a "new fourth vol of *stones of Venice*".<sup>41</sup> Then in early November he complained to Sir Robert Collins<sup>42</sup> of the old work's weak grasp of Venetian history and "sectarian prejudice". This called for some "lopping away, and the addition of a few cardinal matters, and such summary as now in my wider thoughts will be more or less clear".<sup>43</sup>

Yet the task of revision had acquired new significance for Ruskin. In another letter to Carlyle he wrote, not long afterwards, of the "new claims" made on him by his old work. Though he had come to Venice "only to put myself into some temper of fancy, in recasting the *Stones of Venice*", he had "got a new clue, utterly unseen"

by him when he had written it, which he foresaw would rightly give him "many hours of added toil". He now conceived of the projected fourth volume of *Stones* as a separate but related work, "a short history of Venice for the schools of St George", of which he had already sent the opening part to be set up in type.<sup>44</sup> By late January the "short history" had acquired a title, *St Mark's Rest*, and, together with the revised edition of *Stones*, a distinct prospective audience. In December, George Allen (1832-1907), Ruskin's former pupil, long-standing assistant and now his publisher, had announced a new three-volume edition of *Stones* in the *Collected Works* series. On 21 January Ruskin gave instructions that this and *St Mark's Rest* were to be printed in the small format (crown octavo) used for *Mornings in Florence*,

the guidebook he had begun to issue in parts in 1875. He also proposed and laid out complete titles for each work, making explicit reference to “travellers” in each case. The new edition of *Stones* was to comprise the “Introductory chapters and local index | Revised and Completed | For the use of travellers | While staying in VENICE & VERONA”. *St Mark’s Rest*, on the other hand, was to be subtitled “The history of Venice | Written for the Guidance of English Travellers | While they visit her ruins”.<sup>45</sup> Corrected proofs of the revised *Stones* were sent to Allen only a few days later, but throughout February it was *St Mark’s Rest* that absorbed Ruskin’s attention, and on 17 March his publisher was directed to “continue the numbers of the great series [of the Collected Works]”, leaving *The Stones of Venice* till it was ready.<sup>46</sup>

The title of Ruskin’s new history of Venice alludes to the city’s founding legend, encapsulated in the ‘motto’ inscribed on the open book on which the winged lion symbolizing its patron saint and the Republic rests a paw: *Pax tibi Marce evangelista meus* (Peace be unto you, Mark my evangelist). In Venetian tradition these words, spoken by an angel to the saint while his ship lay moored off the islands or mudbanks from which Venice would later rise, foretold the transportation there from Alexandria of Mark’s martyred remains. Ruskin’s choice indicates the nature of the “new clue” he was now

following.<sup>47</sup> The title signalled rejection of the complacent anti-Catholicism of the old *Stones*. It obliquely heralded the self-criticism that opened the chapter in the new history dedicated to the church of St Mark’s, significantly entitled *The Requiem* (1879). Ruskin there writes that on rereading the account of the basilica given in *Stones*, he was “struck, almost into silence, by wonder at my own pert little Protestant mind, which never thought for a moment of asking what the Church had been built for!”<sup>48</sup> The young Ruskin had stated that the saint’s body had certainly been brought to Venice and placed in the first church of St Mark’s (what he calls the “Ducal Chapel”), but also that it had “without doubt” perished in the fire that destroyed that church. He goes on to dismiss the supposed recovery of the saint’s body, at the time of the extant church’s consecration, as what appeared “one of the best arranged and most successful impostures ever attempted by the clergy of the Romish Church”, bent, he surmised, on securing the revenues consequent on possession of the relics and on fomenting a “peculiar solemnity [...] in the minds of the Venetian people”.<sup>49</sup> In *The Requiem*, by contrast, it is the *habitus* shared by those minds that concerns Ruskin, the lived rather than demonstrable truth of the tradition, and more especially the expression and outcome of that lived truth:

Whether God ever gave the Venetians what they thought He had given, does not matter to us; He gave them at least joy and peace in their imagined treasure, more than we have in our real ones.

And He gave them the good heart to build this chapel over the cherished grave, and to write on the walls of it, St. Mark’s gospel, for all eyes, and, so far as their power went, for all time.<sup>50</sup>

*St Mark’s Rest* was to be “a Catholic history of Venice”.<sup>51</sup> Throwing off Protestant scruple, it would open itself to the shared trust in tradition distinctive of the Catholic mind and participate in the common language of legend, image and emblem which that trust sustained. Not that Ruskin had exchanged one form of “sectarian prejudice”

for another. Towards the end of his stay in Venice he would pre-empt misunderstanding on this score, telling readers of *Fors Clavigera* not to fear he was going to become a Roman Catholic, or indeed that he already was one “in disguise”:





**Figure 1**  
Lorenzo Veneziano,  
*Virgin of Mercy with Kneeling  
Brethren*. Leaf detached from  
a *mariegola* of the *Scuola  
di S. Maria de Valverde*.  
c. 1359-60

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I can no more become a *Roman-Catholic*, than again an Evangelical Protestant. I am a “Catholic” of those Catholics, to whom the catholic Epistle of St James is addressed – “the Twelve Tribes which are scattered abroad” – the literally or spiritually wandering Israel of all the Earth.<sup>52</sup>

*St Mark's Rest* – and to a certain extent, as will be seen, the *Guide* also – is perhaps best understood as a practical exercise in “historical theology”, in Ruskin’s comprehensive, icono-mythographic sense of the term.<sup>53</sup> It would not provide lists of “dates and Doges to be learned off by rote”.<sup>54</sup> It would trace the rise and fall of Venice not as political power but as concrete collective manifestation of that “vital faith” of which Ruskin wrote – not rhetorically – in his letter to the Venetian academicians. In its concern to find out and save from “ruin” evidence

of that manifestation, *St Mark's Rest* would literally guide the traveller to the monuments and institutions that had successively embodied that faith: its statues and pictures, its churches and halls, its relics and stories of martyrdom and miracle, its symbolism and confraternities, with their ancient corporate *mariegole* [fig. 1], which Ruskin, with the assistance of Rawdon Brown and his circle of librarians and archivists, began to seek out, in the *Museo Correr* and in the city’s Archives, early in the New Year.<sup>55</sup>

### St Ursula and her Pilgrimage

By Christmas 1876 Ruskin had become convinced of the existence of a “power which can, and does, speak through the tradition, to those who can read its letters”.<sup>56</sup> This had largely been thanks to a series of events, again reflected in his letter to the *Accademia*, which had substantially modified his planned study of Carpaccio.

Before leaving England Ruskin had arranged a Venetian rendezvous “in Carpaccio’s chapel” with Charles Herbert Moore.<sup>57</sup> Yet when Moore arrived in Venice, on 16 September, it was not to the *Scuola di San Giorgio*

but rather to the *Accademia* [fig. 2] that he was taken the next morning. Ruskin had already begun a drawing of Carpaccio’s *Dream of St Ursula* here [fig. 3], but the gallery rooms were “lighted like coal-cellars” and the weather dark.<sup>58</sup> Above all, the picture was hung “out of sight, seven feet above the ground”<sup>59</sup> in what he called the “great” or “principal room”, Room XVI.<sup>60</sup> He was in “a great state of effervescence”, he wrote to his cousin on the day of Moore’s arrival:

for they’re – what do you think – going to take my dear little princess down for me, and give her to me all to myself where I can look at her all day long.

Evidently still unaware of his status as an honorary associate of the *Accademia*,<sup>61</sup> he attributed this favoured treatment to his chance acquaintance with the “inspector” or Conservator of the collection, Guglielmo Botti, whom he had met at Assisi in 1874.<sup>62</sup> In addition, “the Historical Society of Venice” had made him a member

the previous month: “so I can get anything done I want, almost”.<sup>63</sup> The painting was thus made available to him “in a locked room and perfect light”,<sup>64</sup> and it was here that for the next six months he would contemplate and draw from what was “now called in Venice ‘il quadro del signor R’”.<sup>65</sup> It is important to explain what this





**Figure 2** Fratelli Alinari, *The Accademia di Belle Arti, Venice*. 1915-20





**Figure 3**  
John Ruskin,  
after Vittore Carpaccio,  
*The Dream of St Ursula*.  
1876-77

painting had come to mean to him in the course of the 1870s, if the central role it now played in channelling his thinking and writing, including the *Guide*, is to be understood.

*The Dream of St Ursula*, one of the series painted for the *Scuola di S. Orsola* but exhibited in the *Accademia* since 1828,<sup>66</sup> was among the works by Carpaccio that Ruskin, prompted by Burne-Jones, had examined in Venice in 1869: later, in a letter of *Fors Clavigera*, he recalled having then spent a morning “carefully looking” at the picture on a visit to the city from Verona. In that same letter he offered a detailed description of the *Dream*, adducing it in illustration of the first of three “separate states” of human existence: “life positive, under blessing, – life negative, under curse, – and death, neutral between these”.<sup>67</sup>

The image had already assumed vivid personal significance for him. He must soon have noted the parallels between his thwarted love for Rose La Touche and the saint’s legend. In 1866, when Rose was eighteen, Ruskin had asked her to marry him, but she had requested he wait three years. The nine she was yet to live were marked sporadically by hope, recurrently by estrangement, illness and hopelessness, as they were forced apart, by the active opposition of her parents, but more especially by Rose’s frantic response to her own and Ruskin’s love, crushed between his (to her) deplorable ‘paganism’ and terror of disobedience to her father. And Ruskin – indeed Rose herself – might well have read in Anna Jameson’s *Sacred and Legendary Art*<sup>68</sup> how Ursula, a Christian princess of Brittany, had been demanded in marriage by the pagan prince of England and had accepted him on three conditions; firstly, that he give her, as her companions, ten virgins of noble birth, each herself attended by a thousand virgins; secondly, that he grant her three years “to honour [her] virginity, and, with [her] companions, to visit the holy shrines where repose the bodies of the saints”; and thirdly, that he and

his court be baptized, “for other than a perfect Christian [she could not] wed”.<sup>69</sup>

It has been pointed out that that description of the painting in *Fors* bears the same date (5 July 1872) as that on which, once more in Venice and drawing in “Carpaccio’s chapel”, Ruskin received a telegram from friends in England to whom Rose had turned in despair, urging him to come home to meet her.<sup>70</sup> Ruskin’s grim, hurt response (“I will come home, but I cannot instantly, and when I come it will not be to talk”)<sup>71</sup> reflects the stress and pain of the foregoing years and sheds a poignant light on his own representation of Carpaccio’s martyr saint as a paragon of “happy industry” and self-command, seen elsewhere in the series, he notes, quietly discussing the question of her marriage with her “moody and sorrowful” father. This representation was less perhaps “an image of his hopes for the moment”,<sup>72</sup> as Jeanne Clegg has suggested, than one of what Rose and her religion might have been, an epitome of quiet diligence and delight, and above all of “sacred imagination of things that are not”, exercised in serenity.<sup>73</sup> Certainly, as Clegg has also remarked, “[b]y the time Ruskin came back to Venice, four years later, Rose was dead. His reading of these pictures alters accordingly”.<sup>74</sup>

Yet there were other factors at play, which we must briefly consider. They come into view if we compare two of the art-historical schemata advanced by Ruskin in these years, in both of which Carpaccio plays a role. The first was presented during the lecture “Verona and its Rivers”, delivered in the spring of 1870, to explain the structure of a complementary exhibition. The works shown were divided into series, corresponding to three periods: the Lombardic, the Gothic and the early “Revival”. These are moral, not merely stylistic categories, respectively naming phases of “Christianization” and of “vital” and “poetical Christianity”. A later, fourth period, not represented in the exhibition, was that in which “even this poetical Christianity expires. The arts become devoted

to the pursuit of pleasure: and in that they perish, except where they are saved by a healthy naturalism, or domesticity”.<sup>75</sup> Consonantly with the description of the *Dream* written the following year, Carpaccio<sup>76</sup> is here representative of the third period, called “The Age of the Masters”. Neither classical nor Christian, this is

that it mattered not in the least to John, and that he doesn't expect it to matter to you, whether people are martyred or not, so long as one can make a pretty grey of their gowns, and a nice white of their sleeves, and infinite decoration of forest leaves behind, and a divine picture at last, of all. Everything in the world was done and made only that it might be rightly painted – that is the true master's creed.<sup>78</sup>

The second art-historical schema is found in the lectures on line engraving given at Oxford in 1872 and revised for publication between 1873 and 1876 under the title *Ariadne Florentina*. It reflects the revival of a more committed engagement with “Christian art”, consolidated by the study of “Giotto” and Cimabue in Assisi in 1874 and by the trauma of Rose's death the following year. Here the periods are essentially two, falling either side of the (in Ruskin's diagnosis) fatal transition or “change of conscientious and didactic art, into that which proposes to itself no duty beyond technical skill, and no object but the pleasure of the beholder”.<sup>79</sup> This “deadly catastrophe”, dated to the years between 1480 and 1520, had first been analysed in *The Relation between Michael Angelo and Tintoret*, in 1871. Unlike later artists such as Titian, Reynolds, Velasquez and Turner, formerly extolled, these had “something to say – generally much, – either about the future life of man, or about his gods”.<sup>80</sup> Carpaccio finds a marginal place among these “seers or prophets”, being excluded from a core group of twenty-one as having, like Correggio and Tintoretto, “too special gifts” requiring separate study.<sup>81</sup> Yet in a lecture course devoted to Reynolds' *Discourses* and held in November 1875, a few months after Rose's death and not long before Ruskin took up his leave of absence from the University, Carpaccio's elaborate mode of “realization” – and it is the

concerned primarily with “pictorial perfectness and deliciousness”. In the lecture, Carpaccio's “faultless” work is contrasted with the insubstantial facility of a modern artist, Gainsborough, and by implication likened to that of Giovanni Bellini, whose *St Peter Martyr*<sup>77</sup> typifies “the main characteristic of the school”:

*Dream* which is instanced – is justified not only in terms of delighted and delightful finish but (*contra* Reynolds) as compatible with a “grand style” frankly spiritual in object: “To make you see the spiritual creatures completely, as the painter himself saw them”.<sup>82</sup>

The uncertain status of Carpaccio's sacred imaginings – whether poetically playful, detached and vicarious or earnest, personal and visionary – was intensified by the profound sense of mortality, loss and love which now enveloped him, as well as by his own uncertainty as to the validity of such opposition. It thus came to dominate Ruskin's fascination with, and his thinking about and around, the painter, in particular the *Dream*, during his Venetian stay of 1876-77.

This emerges with clarity in Letter 71 of *Fors Clavigera*, written less than a month after his arrival in the city.<sup>83</sup> Its biblical peroration is the fulfilment, promised the month before, of a long-held intention, to set out for his readers “the opinions, on all subjects personally interesting” to them, of select representatives of the five cities whose history he desired them to know: for Athens Plato's, for Rome Virgil's, for Florence Dante's, for Venice Carpaccio's – “whose opinions” must be gathered “from his paintings”, painting being “the way Venetians write” – and for London Shakespeare's.<sup>84</sup> Letter 71 concludes thus:



For this is the first lesson which Carpaccio wrote in his Venetian words for the creatures of this restless world, – that Death is better than *their* life; and that not bride-groom rejoices over bride as they rejoice who marry not, nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God, in Heaven.<sup>85</sup>

Startling, given the vehemence of Ruskin's hopeless suit of Rose and his bitter resentment of her hysterical piety, this "lesson" comes in the heels of certain adjustments of his earlier reading of *The Dream of St Ursula*. The picture is now interpreted as representing not a "pretty" girlish dream of a "doll angel",<sup>86</sup> but a solemn "vision" of the "Angel of Death," seen by Ursula's soul, when her mortal eyes were closed".<sup>87</sup>

Yet the starkly categorical "opinion" ascribed to Carpaccio is in apparent contrast with Ruskin's admission, earlier in the same letter, of the evanescence of the painter's religious beliefs. He there indeed recognizes the possibility that Carpaccio "had just as much faith in angels as Shakespeare in fairies – and no more"; and he allows that Carpaccio painted the story of the

historically dubious Ursula "to amuse his public" and even himself. However, he stresses the committed and instructive character of such amusement and above all the painter's capacity to conceive of the saint's fabled existence as in any case desirable: "if he did not actually believe that the princess and angel ever were, at least he heartily wished there had been such persons, and could be". And such capacity, Ruskin asserts, is "the first step to real faith".<sup>88</sup> Frank scepticism as to Ursula's historical existence need not diminish the efficacy of her example if sincerely imagined and transmitted. In a later *Fors*, dated 20 November, Ruskin holds up Ursula's life as a model of "right amusement", to be achieved through education of the kind he is now "trying with all speed to provide" for his readers. "But to be amused like St. Ursula," he warns,

you must feel like her, and become interested in the distinct nature of Bad and Good. Above all, you must learn to know faithful and good men from miscreants. Then you will be amused by knowing the histories of the good ones – and very greatly entertained by visiting their tombs, and seeing their statues.<sup>89</sup>

## "Picture Reading"

For Ruskin Carpaccio had become a pictorial and spiritual medium for the construal and transmission of Ursula's legendary example; and he saw himself as leader of a group of latter-day mediators of her myth and message. Letter 71 of *Fors Clavigera* also included a version of that myth, "The Story of St Ursula", compiled for him by an Oxford graduate and disciple, James Reddie Anderson.<sup>90</sup> This was the outcome of research carried out in Venice, possibly from before Ruskin's arrival<sup>91</sup> and seemingly with the help of another of his "scholars".<sup>92</sup> Not without

its points of interest for the study of Carpaccio's series today,<sup>93</sup> the "Story" no doubt stimulated visual investigation of the *Dream*, itself favoured by the privilege of seclusion, which Ruskin however did not enjoy alone.

By 1 January 1877<sup>94</sup> he had four watercolours from the painting in hand: that of the whole picture, reduced to about one tenth of its size [fig. 3];<sup>95</sup> one of the "head full size with the pillow and shield above";<sup>96</sup> one of the plant in the left-hand opening of the window facing the spectator, again full size;<sup>97</sup> and one of the *aspersorium*





**Figure 4**  
John Ruskin, after Vittore Carpaccio,  
*St Ursula's Dog* (from *The Dream of St Ursula*). 1877

and candlestick placed before the image on the left-hand wall of the saint's room.<sup>98</sup> In the New Year he would also make a watercolour of Ursula's dog, completing it on 18 March [fig. 4].<sup>99</sup> Since 8 October Moore had been working alongside Ruskin on his own full-size study, in oil, of the saint's head [fig. 5].<sup>100</sup> And a month later, John Wharleton Bunney, an artist long associated with Ruskin and resident in Venice, had expressed the wish to make "some memorandums from the picture before it was hung up".<sup>101</sup> These would comprise his own copy of the whole picture, almost twice the size of Ruskin's;<sup>102</sup> a full-size study in oil of the right-hand opening of the window facing the spectator;<sup>103</sup> a watercolour of the table and book-case;<sup>104</sup>

a separate study of the hour-glass on the table;<sup>105</sup> his own copy of the *aspersorium* before the image on the left-hand wall;<sup>106</sup> another of the chair between the image and the bed;<sup>107</sup> and one of the small "shield" on the cornice of the bed-head.<sup>108</sup> At the time he expressed an interest in making his "memorandums", Bunney suggested to Ruskin<sup>109</sup> that this "shield" represented the "arrow-head" which, in some versions of St Ursula's legend, including Anderson's, was the instrument of her martyrdom.<sup>110</sup> Ruskin promptly informed readers of *Fors Clavigera* of this discovery of one "the most beautiful of all the symbols in the painting of the Dream", whose "sweet enigma" he had twice painted but failed to read:

At the head of the Princess's bed is embroidered her shield [...] but on a dark blue-green space in the cornice above it is another very little and bright shield, it seemed, - but with no bearing. I painted it, thinking it was meant merely for a minute repetition of the escutcheon below, and that the painter had not taken the trouble to blazon the bearings again. (I might have known Carpaccio



**Figure 5** Charles H. Moore, after Vittore Carpaccio, *Study of the Head of the Sleeping Saint Ursula, after Carpaccio, in the Academy of Venice* (from *The Dream of St Ursula*). 1876-78



never would even *omit* without meaning.) And I never noticed that it was not in a line above the escutcheon, but exactly above the princess's head. It gleams with bright silver edges out of the dark-blue ground - the point of the mortal Arrow!<sup>111</sup>

Anderson's work on the legend, complemented by prolonged, shared scrutiny of the painting, led to a spate of such "picture reading",<sup>112</sup> in which only Moore seems not to have taken part. Probably not long after starting on his study of the window, Bunney further suggested that "the deep crimson rods of the flower-pot are the four nails and lance point of her Lord". In a letter to Anderson of 3 January Ruskin reported this and yet another interpretative contribution of Bunney's, namely, that "the singularly open book in her book case is the Book of her Life, the black clasp - arrow-head again - marking the place where, in sacred pause, 'Quel giorno non più leggemmo avanti'".<sup>113</sup>

In a new and more intense phase of antiquarian botanizing, practised since the 1840s,<sup>114</sup> the principal focus of Ruskin's own contributions to the "picture reading" were the plants in St Ursula's bed-room window. Initially (1869-72), and in part because of the inadequate viewing conditions, he had been unable to put a name to these. His close work on the picture this autumn showed him that the plant in the right-hand opening was a dianthus, while he interpreted that in the left, first as olive, then as verbena (or, as he calls it, vervain).<sup>115</sup> In a note to *Fors Clavigera* Letter 74 he credits the latter interpretation to Antonio Caldara, a local artist employed by him since the early 1870s to copy the illustrations in a fifteenth-century Venetian herbal in the *Biblioteca Marciana*.<sup>116</sup> Caldara "knew it for the 'Erba Luisa' at the first glance, went to the Botanical Gardens here, and painted it from the life".<sup>117</sup> This was on or before 10 December: on that date Ruskin transcribed into his diary the entry for *Luisa* in Boerio's *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano* (1829), which supplied him with the plant's botanical name, *Verbena triphylla*. He then wrote to his cousin Joan, requesting

she arrange for his gardener David Downes to procure him a "spriggywig withered [...] to see in spring".<sup>118</sup> On her own initiative Joan approached Daniel Oliver, keeper of the herbarium at Kew Gardens and a friend of Ruskin's.<sup>119</sup> A dried sprig of *Verbena triphylla* duly reached him in Venice on the morning of Christmas Eve.

In the same post came a letter from Joan herself, enclosed in which he found one to her from "Lacerta", the name by which Maria La Touche, Rose's mother, was known among her friends, and containing reference to "St C[rumpet]", Rose's pet name for himself. He thereupon "gave way", as he recorded in his diary three days later, and thought he would "forgive poor L. not so much because Rosie wanted it, as because [he] pitied or couldn't refuse - poor L's baby talk with Joan - and her use of Rosie's old name St C". Thinking back, he perceived another reason for forgiveness. Though, as he confessed, he did not "quite know how much", he had he thought "received it as a direct command from St Ursula, with her leaf: a command given by *her*, with the mythic power of her nature-origin used to make me understand that Rosie had asked her".<sup>120</sup>

As the same diary entry and a letter to his cousin written that day reveal, Ruskin had been hoping and praying for a "sign" from Rose since 21 December, the anniversary of a momentous event of the previous year, when he had taken part in seances organized by his friends the Cowper-Temples and, though not seeing anything himself, had been told by a medium that beside him there stood the ghost of a young woman recently dead, whom he believed to have been Rose.<sup>121</sup>

His sense that the delivery in the same post of the verbena and the letter from Mrs La Touche was the longed-for sign from Rose grew as other coincidences

succeeded one another over the Christmas period. The first was the receipt, later on Christmas Eve, of a pot of dianthus, a present from Lady Castletown, an Irish acquaintance then staying in Venice,<sup>122</sup> apparently accompanied by a note explaining that it came “from St Ursula out of her bedroom window, with her love”.<sup>123</sup> And St Ursula’s plants would assume a crucial role in the narrative of spiritual and moral trial and grace which he gradually construed out of the coincidences, as he came to recognize in them “a week of continued teaching of the meaning of my work and life”.<sup>124</sup>

This is not the place to retell Ruskin’s “Christmas Story”, but rather to insist that to characterize it *tout court* as an interval of insanity<sup>125</sup> – or indeed to isolate it as an “episode” of whatever kind – is to misrepresent and misread it.<sup>126</sup> For all his indulgence in (or experimental exploration of?) the Venetian “language of vision”,<sup>127</sup> it is not evident Ruskin ever at this time lost hold in his mind of a sense of the mundane untruth of such language.<sup>128</sup> He knew that the pot of dianthus found in his hotel room on Christmas Eve had in fact come from Lady Castletown and the dried sprig of verbena from Kew; just as he knew that in reporting tête-à-têtes with Carpaccio’s St Ursula the object of his fantasy was a painting. Indeed, it was crucial, both from a metaphysical and from an art-critical point of view that he should do so. Nor does his intricately circumstantial narrative tell of such “far away ecstasy in dismal places” as by his own account characterized the episodes of true loss of mental control suffered at intervals from the spring of 1878.<sup>129</sup> To lose sight of this is to risk losing sight of what Ruskin was in fact about, which was to school “the meaning of [his] work and life”, retrospectively and prospectively, by exacting and exalting reference to a transcendently cohesive “system of symbols”<sup>130</sup> about whose veracity however he would remain ambivalent.

Certainly, his interpretations were partly founded in error. For what neither Caldara nor Ruskin seem

to have realized is that *Verbena triphylla* or *Erba luisa* was introduced into Europe from South America well after Carpaccio’s time.<sup>131</sup> Yet that does not necessarily detract from the moral significance of the complex of meanings licensed by such a mistake. The point of the “Christmas Story” lies less in the events it recounts than in the ‘secondary’ plot of “teaching” derived therefrom through a laborious and in itself eminently rational process of organization and interpretation, and the consequent achievement of renewed moral stance and mental view – a “great reformation of my mind and work”, Ruskin called it.<sup>132</sup>

The direct outcome was indeed an extraordinary sense of clarity and purpose, regarding above all the meaning, unity and practical direction of his writing and other activities. On 31 December Ruskin wrote in his diary, “Up in good time; all my work being made ‘plain before my face’ for the next year, and the manner of it, so that it will be kept, God helping, rightly Sabbatical and in peace”.<sup>133</sup> And on the second day of the new year he noted, “St George’s active work begins”.<sup>134</sup> Admittedly, this sense of clarity was short-lived: by 20 January he was in a “terrific fit of depression [...] after extreme excitement and overwork”.<sup>135</sup> Still, the effects were lasting. In the following months *Fors* contained two important statements concerning the overall sense of his life and work. One explained the more distinctly Christian tone of the letters of the previous two years in the light of revolutions in his view and teaching of art (which in his understanding of it was after all “the teaching of all things”).<sup>136</sup> The other illustrated the essential though unpremeditated unity of all his writings, “built one on the other”.<sup>137</sup>

Lastly, and most importantly in the present context, the “Christmas Story” is just that, a story or “parable”<sup>138</sup> – a partly playful, fatefully removed emulation of some “regular Venetian story of old days”,<sup>139</sup> which reflexively incorporates the history and purpose of its

shaping. The “most valuable” part of the “lesson”, Ruskin told his cousin, was what it taught him about “former legend”, relieving him “from nearly all embarrassment in historical reading”, and about “the way in which men

of holy lives are led to believe in direct vision of spiritual creatures”. “I do not say such vision does not take place,” he added parenthetically.<sup>140</sup>

## A “New History and Guide in Venice”

The first unequivocal reference to the *Guide* to have survived is in Ruskin’s letter to Joan Severn of 24 February 1877, in which he reports he has “five chapters of my new history written” and will have “a guide to the Venetian Academy out by Easter”.<sup>141</sup> This does not rule out the possibility that earlier references to current work by means of expressions such as “Venetian guide”,<sup>142</sup> “a new history and guide in Venice”<sup>143</sup> and “Venetian history and pictures”,<sup>144</sup> are also to the *Guide* to the *Accademia*. The inference is not straightforward, however. For one thing, the new “short history” of Venice was itself conceived as a form of guide – Ruskin’s “pilgrim’s guide to Venice”, Jeanne Clegg aptly terms it<sup>145</sup> – in open contest with Murray’s *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy*. This is clear from its opening sentences, probably already written by mid-November.<sup>146</sup> Secondly, the “Venetian Index” to *Stones of Venice* had also been intended as a form of guide for travellers.<sup>147</sup> And, though by 21 January Ruskin had decided to reprint only the “Local Index”, there is evidence that subsequently he began revising the “Venetian” too, which in the end did find a place in the Travellers’ Edition of *The Stones of Venice* (1879-81). That evidence moreover specifically regards the *Accademia* and indicates that at some point Ruskin contemplated devoting (part of) a chapter of *St Mark’s Rest* to its pictures. A note bearing the date “1877” and appended, in the revised version of the “Venetian Index” published in the Travellers’ Edition, to the original entry on the *Accademia delle Belle Arti* explains that this latter was left unrevised, “the sixth chapter of *St. Mark’s Rest*

now containing a careful notice of as many pictures as travellers are likely to have time to look at”.<sup>148</sup> This note must have been written after 24 February, when, as we saw, five chapters of *St Mark’s Rest* were already completed, and evidently before composition of ch. 6 as published in October.<sup>149</sup>

As a complement to *St Mark’s Rest*, the *Guide* to the *Accademia* was to be paired with one to “Carpaccio’s chapel”. In the Preface to *St Mark’s Rest*, issued together with Part 1 on 25 April (the saint’s feast-day),<sup>150</sup> Ruskin announces the publication of two “separate little guides, one of the Academy, the other to S. Giorgio de’ Schiavoni”, to be ready, he hopes, “with the opening numbers of this book”.<sup>151</sup> In the event, the second of these “little guides” appeared between 1877 and 1879, in the form of two “Supplements” to *St Mark’s Rest*.<sup>152</sup> The first Part of the *Guide* to the *Accademia*, on the other hand, was available well in advance of 25 April. Nearly three weeks before that date Ruskin took the first printed copies to the gallery porter,<sup>153</sup> who along with the entrance tickets sold visitors the official catalogues of paintings and of drawings in the collection – and also, since the autumn, Ruskin’s own *Relation between Michael Angelo and Tintoret*.<sup>154</sup> He now made arrangements with the porter for the sale of the new booklet: “he sells for 1½ lire Italian paper about 14 pence”, he informed Allen, “giving me 1 ¼ lire – pretty fair elevenpence English”.<sup>155</sup>

Were Ruskin to have come to know *unofficially* of his election as Associate of the *Accademia* by December,<sup>156</sup> this would certainly have been an important factor in

the decision to devote (part of) a chapter of *St Mark's Rest* and subsequently a separate publication to its pictures, of which he had given only summary notice in the "Venetian Index". The official notification of 1 March must have been an added spur to production, and, as we saw, the first part was sent to the printers only three weeks later.<sup>157</sup> Nevertheless, whatever sense Ruskin may have had that he was repaying the *Accademia* for the

honour shown him<sup>158</sup> did not soften the *Guide's* polemical thrust. Indeed, as is perhaps discernible in his letter of thanks, his nomination may have stimulated him to attempt the conversion, not only of the English Traveller into Ursuline pilgrim, but of the *Accademia* itself into a brotherhood governed by "the sacred law", under the Madonna, of a "Painters' Mariegola".

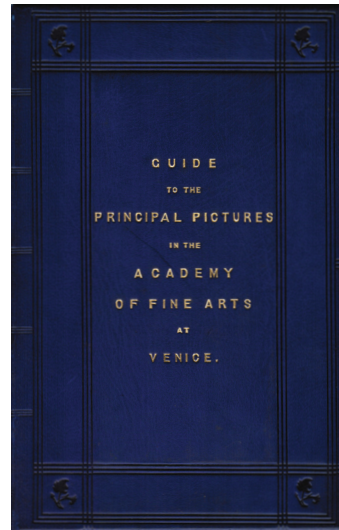
### "In the First Place"

The visit to the *Accademia* conducted in this first Part of the *Guide* is organized in two stages. The first, occupying around seven pages in the edition of 1877 [figs 6-7],<sup>159</sup> is confined to Rooms I and II in the arrangement of the time.<sup>160</sup> The second, of just over twelve pages,<sup>161</sup> attempts a "more complete review", though in partial disregard of the official sequence of rooms. The initial survey forms a close parallel in intent and structure to the "walk" across Venice proposed in the fourth chapter of *St Mark's Rest*, published in October 1877 as the opening number of "Part II", but already written and set up in type by the time the first part of the *Guide* came out.<sup>162</sup> In illustration of the claim that initiates the *Preface*, and of which the book as a whole is the justification,<sup>163</sup> this walk is a peripatetic "lesson" in the history of the city as written in her art, specifically in her sculpture. Moving from St Mark's straight down the *Merceria* to the *Ponte dei Bareteri*, on to *Campo San Salvador* and finally, by gondola from the *Riva del Carbon*, to the *Canale di Cannaregio*, Ruskin halts to examine five carvings, or groups of carvings, mostly reliefs, ranging in date from the Byzantine to the early modern periods and presented as typifying, and permitting easy recall of, "cardinal divisions" in the city's "art progress" [figs 8-10]. This, Ruskin stresses, exhibits the growth of a living organism and requires to be traced not in merely external classification, into

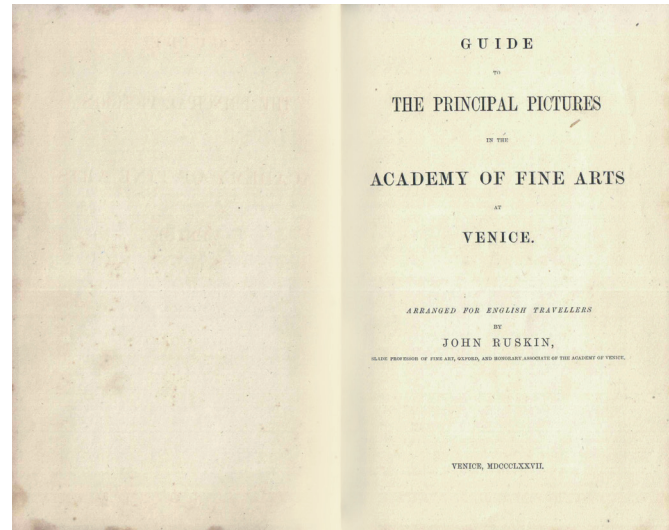
"grouped system", of its products, so much as through a morally penetrative "power of reading" apt to discern in them and in the phases they epitomize the corresponding "state of the nation's heart". Indeed, the walk is explicitly proposed as a test of such power in the traveller.<sup>164</sup>

Analogously, in the *Guide*, the visitor is first shown the "complete course" of Venetian painting in a brief itinerary taking in only six pictures. This starts systematically enough with the earliest dated panel in the collection at that time<sup>165</sup> and ends with a pair of canvases by Tintoretto.<sup>166</sup> Like the sculptural walk it serves to illustrate a division into epochs:<sup>167</sup> as there each carving, so here each painting selected for consideration both represents the "general type"<sup>168</sup> of a given stage of development and also affords a lesson in "elementary principle".<sup>169</sup> Again as in the walk, the lessons afforded essentially regard the opposition between Symbolism and Naturalism and the dangers inherent in its resolution, to which Venetian art was naturally inclined.

This is obliquely announced in a sort of prelude: the visitor is required (in this Part's first impression) to go back out of the door just entered in at and look at the sculpture placed above it, or (in later impressions) to examine the sculpture before entering.<sup>170</sup> This liminal pause has more than one purpose. Being dated, the sculptures serve to fix the time in which Venetian



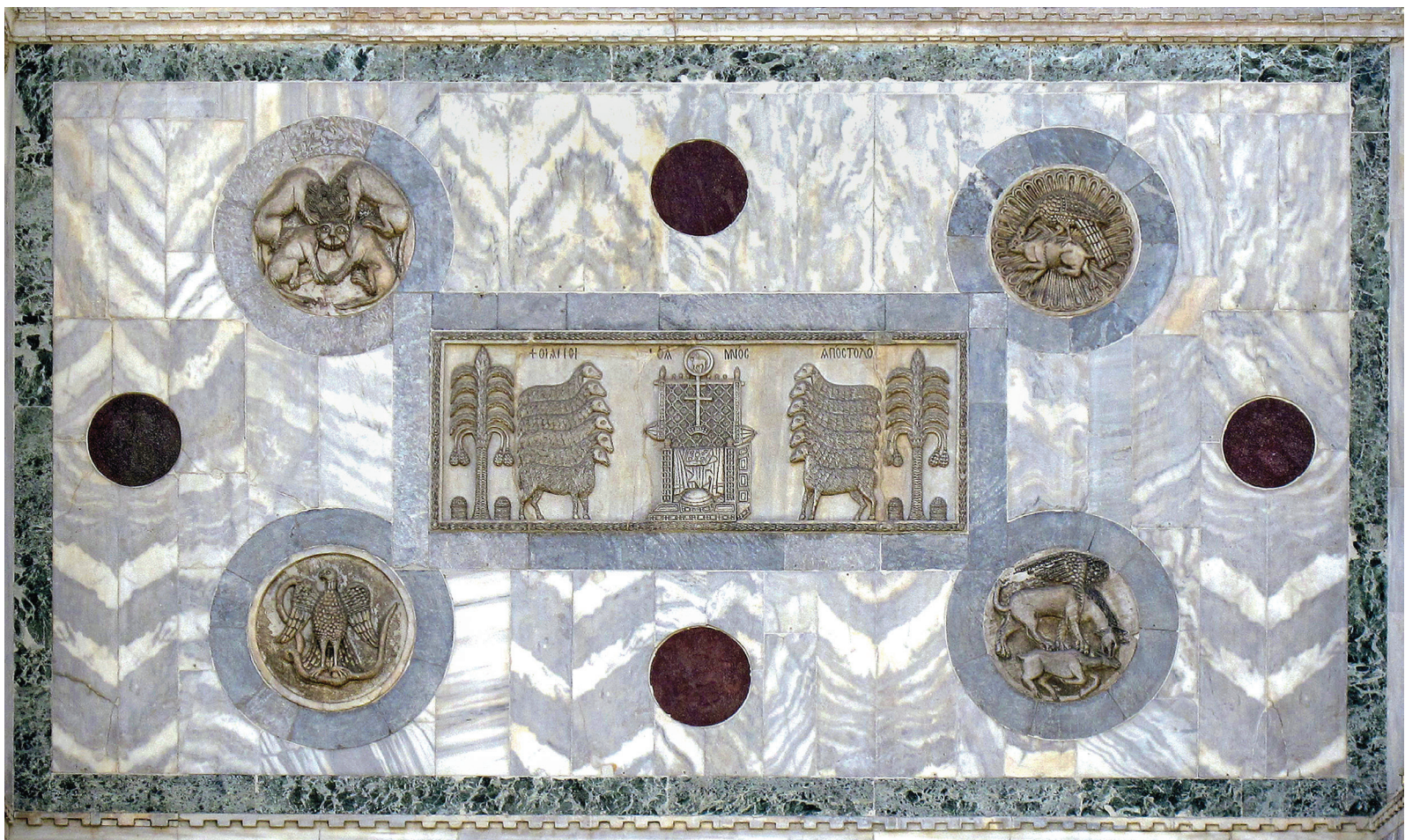
**Figures 6-7**  
John Ruskin,  
*Guide to the Principal  
Pictures in the Academy  
of Fine Arts at Venice.*  
[Part I]. 1877



native (as opposed to Byzantine) art first emerged, and incidentally to show that sculpture, in Venice as elsewhere, was “the foundation and school of painting”.<sup>171</sup> But above all it presents Naturalism as, from the outset, an integral component of Venetian sacred imagining: of the “ungainly” infant Christ sprawling on the knee of the Virgin in the central relief Ruskin remarks, “That is Venetian naturalism; showing their henceforward steady desire to represent things as they really (according to the workman’s notions) might have existed”.<sup>172</sup> The sculpture thus prefigures the luminous amalgam of symbolism and naturalism presented in the painting of the first and second epochs of Venetian painting,<sup>173</sup> exemplified by altarpieces by Bartolomeo Vivarini and Giovanni Bellini - the latter “merely the perfecting” of the former in its almost total lack of idealism and religious enthusiasm and in its reliance on the portraiture of “holy men and women”.<sup>174</sup>

The Bellini (the *S. Giobbe* altarpiece)<sup>175</sup> had long been a favourite of Ruskin’s. It formed part of a personal ‘canon’ of pictures from this collection established in 1845<sup>176</sup> and reiterated in the “Venetian Index” to *The Stones of Venice*. Three other works in that ‘canon’, by two artists formerly celebrated by Ruskin as the acme of painterly power and perfection, are now cited as representative of the third epoch of Venetian painting: Titian’s *Assumption*, then still enjoying pride of place in the prestigious Room II [fig. 11], and Tintoretto’s *Adam and Eve* and *Cain and Abel*, hung either side of it. Ruskin had long felt ambivalent towards the Titian: he had written critically of it in the “Venetian Index”, as he reminds the reader of the *Guide*, which quotes his earlier remarks.<sup>177</sup> His diary and Alvise Piero Zorzi’s memoir “Ruskin in Venice” show how he had repeatedly returned to the *Accademia* in the winter of 1876-77 to test his growing sense of the painting’s “vulgarity”.<sup>178</sup> Now, together with the two paintings by Tintoretto (about which he had never





**Figure 8** *Hetoimasia*. North façade, St Mark's, Venice. 7th or 8th century





**Figure 9** Relief sculpture of St George. West façade, St Mark's, Venice. 13th century

expressed any reservation), the *Assumption* is presented as exemplifying religious imagery in which Symbolism is overridden by Naturalism. In *St Mark's Rest* the carver of the fifteenth-century panel by the *Ponte dei Bareteri* was stated to be uncertain of the existence of the saint in question, though yet partially believing that the incident represented had taken place “in that manner” and (in an echo of Carpaccio's supposed attitude towards the legendary St Ursula) thinking it would be “nice” at any rate if people believed it did, while wishing above all to produce “a pretty bas-relief”.<sup>179</sup> Titian and Tintoretto, by contrast, have moved beyond the carver's modest uncertainty, having lost all sense of their representations of religious story as symbolic of divine presence. Titian “does not, in his heart, believe the *Assumption* ever took place at all” and has depicted, not the presence among holy men and women of the Madonna, but her departure, “a long time ago”.<sup>180</sup>

“Unsurpassable” as paintings, these works exhibit, intermingled, “the wrong and the truth, the error and the glory” of the avowedly great third epoch of Venetian painting: “supremely powerful art corrupted by the taint of death”.<sup>181</sup> The second and “more complete” circuit of the rooms throws out various hints as to how this tragic demise was determined not only by an impoverished sense of the symbolic but also by decline in that workmanship which was the fifteenth-century artist's guiding light and primary concern, as already predicated of the “Age of the Masters” in “Verona and its Rivers”.<sup>182</sup> In the *Guide* the equivalent fifteenth-century epoch is given the name “Carpaccian”, though initially, as pointed out above, epitomized by a Bellini. Now, after a significant stop before Mantegna's *St George*, to gain a sense of the “inherited strength” in “precision of drawing” by which the later “Italian masters obtained their power”,<sup>183</sup> the first climax of the visit is reached when the visitor is brought before a painting by Carpaccio himself.<sup>184</sup> This, “the best picture in the Academy”, is





**Figure 10** Relief sculpture of *St George and the Dragon*, formerly set into the wall of a house overlooking the *Ponte dei Bareteri*, Venice. c. 1500





**Figure 11** Giuseppe Borsato, *The Commemoration of Canova at the Accademia di Belle Arti, Venice*. 1822

presented as a standard, in its “exactly just balance of all virtue”, by which the visitor may take the measure of him/herself, “outside and in, – your religion, your taste, your knowledge of art, your knowledge of men and things”.<sup>185</sup> The picture is an epitome of technical and moral dedication, restraint and harmony: “detail perfect, yet inconspicuous; composition intricate and severe, but concealed under apparent simplicity; and painter’s faculty of the supremest, used nevertheless with entire subjection of it to intellectual purpose”.<sup>186</sup> It contrasts with the unmeaning subtlety of an “artist’s picture” such as that by Veronese from which Ruskin salvages a single fragment of “healthy naturalism”.<sup>187</sup> The category of “artist’s picture” foreshadows Ruskin’s disparagement, in the “Epilogue” added in 1881 to the Traveller’s Edition of *The Stones of Venice*, of what he terms “upholsterer’s composition, (colour and shade without significance, and addressed to the eye only,)” and thereby of his own youthful approach to the study and appreciation of art.<sup>188</sup> The importance of Veronese in that early phase and also

in the decided (but now rejected) shift, in the late 1850s, away from a medievalizing and moralistic to a more aesthetic and liberal attitude towards painting especially,<sup>189</sup> is one of the reasons why in the *Guide* Ruskin singles out Veronese among late Renaissance painters “to make an example of”, as Jeanne Clegg notes,<sup>190</sup> another being the blow to his reputation dealt by the publication of his examination by the Inquisition, given by Ruskin in his Appendix.<sup>191</sup>

The visit terminates securely in the fifteenth century, amid Room XVI’s “scenes in ancient Venice” by Carpaccio and Gentile Bellini, also belonging to Ruskin’s old ‘canon’ of paintings.<sup>192</sup> This section of the *Guide* may well incorporate text originally intended for *St Mark’s Rest*.<sup>193</sup> Congruently, these paintings, and above all Gentile Bellini’s *Procession and Miracle of a Relic of the True Cross in St Mark’s Square*, are no longer valued primarily as antiquarian “evidence”,<sup>194</sup> but as a “vision of living Venice”, manifesting a lost civic and architectural “harmony of work and life”.<sup>195</sup>

## Harlequinade

It is not clear whether Ruskin initially intended that the *Guide* should run into more than one Part. Certainly, he soon saw the need, not only of a second one but also of an Appendix, to accommodate the recently published English translation of Paolo Veronese’s examination by the Inquisition, discovered only ten years earlier.<sup>196</sup> he makes explicit reference to these in the part issued at the end of March.<sup>197</sup> Moreover, he more or less explicitly states that the “second Guide” is to constitute “an entirely separate account” of the paintings by Carpaccio in Room XVI, “begun already for one of them only, the Dream of St Ursula, 533”.<sup>198</sup> In addition to the difficulty and importance of communicating the profound significance that these paintings (including the St Ursula series)

had assumed for him, a factor in the decision to defer discussion to a second Part devoted to Carpaccio must also have been the increasing range of Ruskin’s study of the painter in the early months of the year, in which he was ‘assisted’ by an expanding group of artists.

At the end of January Ruskin commissioned Bunney to copy the saint’s banner from *The Reception of St Ursula and the Pilgrims by the Pope in Rome*.<sup>199</sup> By early February, at work on this painting alongside Bunney was an unidentified “student” from the *Accademia*, who had earlier been admitted to Ruskin’s “locked room” to study the *Dream of St Ursula*.<sup>200</sup> On 18 March the *Dream* was finally returned to its place in the gallery and another painting from the series, *The Pilgrims’ Martyrdom and*





**Figure 12**  
John Ruskin, after Vittore Carpaccio,  
*St Ursula on her Bier*. 1877





**Figure 13**  
Charles Fairfax Murray,  
after Vittore Carpaccio,  
*St Ursula and Two Maids  
of Honour the Moment  
before Martyrdom*. 1877





**Figure 14** Charles Fairfax Murray, after Vittore Carpaccio, *St George Baptizes the Sultan and his Daughter*. 1877





**Figure 15** Charles H. Moore, after Vittore Carpaccio, *Much Reduced Study of the Dragon in Carpaccio's Picture of St. George and the Dragon, Venice*. 1876

*Funeral of St Ursula*, was made available to Ruskin.<sup>201</sup> He started, but did not complete, a drawing from the right-hand portion of the composition, with the funeral of St Ursula [fig. 12],<sup>202</sup> whereas two studies of the central portion [fig. 13]<sup>203</sup> would be among the large group of copies made for Ruskin between mid-March and late May by Charles Fairfax Murray, expressly summoned to Venice on 26 February.<sup>204</sup> On a previous visit, in the latter part of 1876, Murray had copied the detail of St Ursula's conversation with her father in *The Arrival of the Ambassadors*.<sup>205</sup> Over the two months following his return to the city he would make a total of fifteen studies in watercolour from paintings by Carpaccio for Ruskin. In addition to the pair from *The Pilgrims' Martyrdom* just mentioned, these included two from the picture of Ursula's reception by the Pope<sup>206</sup> and five of the images decorating Simeon's cope in *The Presentation in the Temple*.<sup>207</sup> He was also asked to make copies of the paintings in *S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni*, where on 25 February Ruskin had at last enjoyed a "long study in bright light".<sup>208</sup> Murray's diary records the making at this time of one drawing from the St George [fig. 14], two from the St Jerome and one from the St Tryphonius series,<sup>209</sup> as well as a copy of *The Calling of St Matthew*.<sup>210</sup> Moore too must have been at work at last in "Carpaccio's chapel" by around the end of February; for on 11 March, two days before leaving Venice for Florence, he showed Bunney a copy he had made of the dragon from the painting of its combat with St George [fig. 15].<sup>211</sup> And after being introduced to Ruskin by Botti on 13 March, a new associate and pupil, the Venetian Angelo Alessandri,<sup>212</sup> was sent on his first assignment to copy "a house at the back covered with frescoes" in the scene from the St Jerome series in which the saint leads the lion into his monastery.<sup>213</sup>

Meantime, Ruskin began drawing from a painting by Carpaccio in the *Museo Correr*, where the previous month he had 'found' the *Visitation* and the *Two Venetian Ladies*. He had indicated the former as a possible subject

to Murray,<sup>214</sup> but this suggestion does not appear to have been taken up. It was the second painting which especially attracted Ruskin, and on 17 March he asked Rawdon Brown to enquire at the Museum if the "two ladies teaching their parrots and dogs" could be taken down for him to copy, it being in his view "one of the most important pieces of Venetian art in Europe [...] which I can't in the least see in its present corner".<sup>215</sup> Ruskin's fine copy of a portion of the painting [fig. 16], on which he worked for the best part of a month, is here restored to him, having long been ascribed to Alessandri.<sup>216</sup>

Finally, on 23 April, Ruskin came on a group of eight small panels depicting Old Testament subjects in the church of *S. Alvise*, said to be "school-pieces" by Crowe and Cavalcaselle,<sup>217</sup> but which he became convinced were by Carpaccio himself as a young boy.<sup>218</sup> Murray, whom he grudgingly consulted on such matters, was taken to see the pictures, but evidently had other views.<sup>219</sup> For a copy of the panel showing *The Meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba* (as retold in the *Golden Legend*) Ruskin would later turn to another artist, Kate Goodwin, a friend and former pupil of Bunney's.<sup>220</sup>

Ruskin may have begun work on the "second Guide" before sending off the first Part to the printers on 23 March. A letter to Rawdon Brown of the previous day lists five demands for information, regarding not only the correct translation of *plebanus* and date of Tintoretto's death, evidently for use in the first Part,<sup>221</sup> but also the character of the *Scuola Grande della Carità*, the suppressed confraternity whose buildings the *Accademia* now occupied, and the meaning of its emblem. Duly enlightened by Brown, Ruskin would incorporate something of the pre-history of the modern institution into Part II.<sup>222</sup> The manuscript of a portion of this was being copied out by Bunney's daughter a week later.<sup>223</sup> And Ruskin's diary records that on 9 April he worked "on the legends of Carita successfully" and that the following day he was engaged in "Desperate hard work on my





**Figure 16**  
John Ruskin,  
detail after Vittore Carpaccio,  
*Two Venetian Ladies* (detail).  
1877

*Guide*".<sup>224</sup> On 11 April Bunney and Murray assembled to hear him read some of the new text.<sup>225</sup>

The manuscript of Part II was probably finished and sent off to the printers well before Ruskin's departure from Venice for Milan on 23 May. For on the last day of that month he seems to have sent a number of proofs to Bunney, who on 1 May had offered to act as agent for the sale of his books in Venice.<sup>226</sup>

Part II takes the visitor directly to Room XVI (1877), as promised, and straightaway selects and enumerates its "eleven important pictures" by Carpaccio: "eight from the legend of St. Ursula, and three of distinct subjects". Only the St Ursula group (including the ninth in the series, which Ruskin announces is to be ignored) is explicitly identified.<sup>227</sup> The other three Carpaccios – *The Miracle of a Relic of the True Cross*, referred to in the first part,<sup>228</sup> *The Ten Thousand Martyrs of Mount Ararat*; and the painting a photograph of which he had shown in his Veronese exhibition of 1870, *The Meeting of Anne and Joachim at the Golden Gate*<sup>229</sup> – are neither named nor alluded to again.

There follows a general discussion of Carpaccio's – or rather, fifteenth-century – landscape, in terms reiterating the old dichotomy of ancient vs modern painting, but without any of the young Ruskin's warm appreciation of the landscape of the early religious school, and of the Venetian in particular.<sup>230</sup> The topic shifts to Carpaccio's representation of architecture, whose beauty and value he had recognized from the 1840s, thus occasioning an outline of the "general course of transition in the architecture of Venice". He distinguishes "three epochs of good building", which complement, and in part coincide with, the four periods in the general history of the city set out in *St Mark's Rest*<sup>231</sup> and the three epochs of Venetian painting recognized in the first Part of the *Guide*.<sup>232</sup> This historical excursus provokes an interruption of the visit, in order to view the *Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista*, a prime example of the third

architectural epoch, exactly correspondent in its dates, 1480-1520, to that of Carpaccian painting (and of the general "deadly catastrophe" in Italian art), and here termed "Giocondine", after Fra Giocondo of Verona. Return to the *Accademia* then permits a second stop before its door, now 'read' as part of the very fabric of the city's history and as an epitome of its civic and religious institutions, and, not least, as a lesson in "the symbolism running through every sign and colour in Venetian art at this time".<sup>233</sup>

Once back in Room XVI, the visitor's attention is drawn to *The Return of the Ambassadors*. This is interpreted historically and utopically as an ideal conflation of fifteenth-century Venice and "England". After four and a half pages on this painting (in the end the only one of the series actually examined), Ruskin declares that further numbers of the *Guide* are needed if he is to "take up St. Ursula's pilgrimage" in a properly thoughtful and focused manner. He thus concludes this Part with a more orderly, though still selective, "circuit" of the rooms, "noting the pieces worth study, if you have proper time".<sup>234</sup>

However, a note, evidently added late in the process of composition, informs the reader that the promised resumption of "St Ursula's pilgrimage" is "now" underway "in a separate Guide to the works of Carpaccio in Venice".<sup>235</sup> This is clearly a reference to what in December of that year would be published, under the title of "The Shrine of the Slaves", as the "First Supplement" to *St Mark's Rest*. So much is clear from the "Supplement"'s subtitle: *Being a Guide to the Principal Pictures by Victor Carpaccio in Venice*. Indeed, the wording of the note finds explicit echo in the text of the "First Supplement", towards the end of which the visitor is supposed to have learned enough about the "power" of certain "minor pictures" – including the *Solomon and Sheba* in *S. Alvise* and the *Two Venetian Ladies* in the *Museo Correr* – to "return to the Academy and take up the St. Ursula series".<sup>236</sup>

This direction in the “First Supplement” is followed by a disclaimer concerning Ruskin’s inability to reduce his notes on the series “to any available form at present”, for reasons to do with the intricate involvement of the question of the legend’s influence on Venetian life with what he is “trying to do in ‘St Mark’s Rest’”.<sup>237</sup> He goes on, however, to offer general observations on the series as such. Frank notice of its “unequal interest”, “shortcomings and morbid faults” and inconsistencies in the representation of the protagonist<sup>238</sup> prepare the way for an account of *The Reception of St Ursula and the Pilgrims by the Pope in Rome* [fig. 17] which not only stresses the ecumenical challenge it poses to the Protestant visitor, but presents it as the conclusion and climax of the preceding discussion of Carpaccio’s earlier works, intended to aid understanding of the “degree in which his own personal character, or prejudices, or imperfections, mingle in the method of his scholarship, and colour or divert the current of his inspiration”.<sup>239</sup>

Ideally, this account also concludes the *Guide*. The

no more means to tell you as a fact that St. Ursula led this long procession from the sea and knelt thus before the Pope, than Mantegna’s St. Sebastian means that the saint ever stood quietly and happily, stuck full of arrows. It is as much a mythic symbol as the circles and crosses of the Carita.<sup>245</sup>

Carpaccio’s significance for Ruskin ultimately resides in this very ambiguity. As is carefully demonstrated in the “First Supplement”, the painter is at once seer and the “wonderfullest of Venetian Harlequins”,<sup>246</sup> not only in blithe chromatic variegation, but in the propensity to play and jest betrayed in his sacred imaginings (which thus dangerously foreshadow Veronese).<sup>247</sup> A token and figure of this ambiguity is found in the monkey depicted in *The Return of the Ambassadors*, and in alternative readings of it, in the published text of *St Mark’s Rest* and in an unused manuscript fragment, as on the one hand “canonized beast”<sup>248</sup> and on the other satirical “grotesque”, “coloured symbol” of Darwinian truth and

confluent pilgrim and papal processions, “all in one music of moving peace”, are symbolic of the universal harmony of the Feudal System in its spiritual aspect.<sup>240</sup> It thus complements the processional image of temporal and civic order which closed the first part of the *Guide*,<sup>241</sup> as also the “untumultuous” crowds and “beautiful mosaic of men” that surround and ‘set off’ the “King of ideal England” in *The Return of the Ambassadors*.<sup>242</sup> In addition, the “Pope picture”<sup>243</sup> offers Ruskin a final text for careful reiteration of the significance of religious legend and tradition in the spiritual economy of the life of man, as “fables, which, partly meant as such, are overruled into expressions of truth - but how much truth, it is only by our own virtuous life that we can know”.<sup>244</sup> Carpaccio’s depiction is presented as exemplary of this frankly imperfect, indirect and austere existential relation to the objects of spiritual faith and vision. In a warning heard several times in the course of the “First Supplement”, and earlier in *Fors* and in the *Guide* too, the visitor is asked to remember that the picture

Darwinian debasement.<sup>249</sup> Yet Carpaccio’s “wayward patchwork”<sup>250</sup> is actually a pledge of his capacity to construe the inevitable intermingling of fable and truth in the transmission of belief through tradition. And by not overriding it Carpaccio’s rendering of mythic symbol through “delighted realization” provokes that sense of “perceived impossibility”<sup>251</sup> which enables while it threatens to dissolve the alliance of spiritual with aesthetic power.

The passage ends enigmatically, with the image of “the angel Michael alighting - himself seen in vision, instead of his statue - on the Angel’s tower, sheathing his sword”.<sup>252</sup> The allusion is to the legend according



to which the archangel was so seen by Pope Gregory the Great, a sign that the plague then afflicting Rome was at an end. This image is not of course part of the depiction, which for chronological reasons does not even show the commemorative statue of the archangel later placed on the former mausoleum. Ruskin thereby

evokes yet another of the fables of tradition, but also the reality of that divine presence mediated by pictures and statues, the possibility of whose actual vision lies behind and beyond the legend - a possibility which, as we saw, Ruskin did not deny, though it might not be given to him.

## Notes

- 1 J. Ruskin to J. Severn, 22 March 1877, RL L 41 (part in *Works* 38: 221). The manuscript was sent off to the printers in England the next day (Ruskin 1956-59, 3: 944).
- 2 The first effective self-propelled underwater explosive known as a 'torpedo' had been developed by the British engineer Robert Whitehead, then manager of the *Stabilimento Tecnico Fiumano*, in Fiume, on the Dalmatian coast, in 1866 (the term previously designated non-mobile devices similar to mines and booby-traps). In 1873 the *Stabilimento* had been declared bankrupt and in 1875 had been turned by Whitehead, now its owner, into the world's first torpedo factory. The Whitehead torpedo was not so much egg- as cigar-shaped.
- 3 With the exception, that is, of Ruskin 2014, the Italian translation of an earlier version of the present edition. See "Editions of the *Guide*".
- 4 James 1909, 2; cf. the passage later in the same essay in which James qualifies Ruskin's "pamphlet" on the *Scuola di S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni* (the "First Supplement" to *St Mark's Rest*) as "a real aid to enjoyment" (36). And on the role played by both Ruskin and James in the rise of late nineteenth-century "Carpacciomania" see Mamoli Zorzi 2023.
- 5 James 1909, 2.
- 6 Sheldon 2009, 442, 516; see also Coslovi 2004-05, 32. The "old man" was actually ten years her junior. Interestingly, on 11 March 1877 (Sheldon 2009, 439-40) she informed Layard that word had reached her, through William Boxall, the former Director of the National Gallery, "of some discovery Ruskin has made of the greatest perfection in Venetian art in the Carpaccio's in *S. Giorgio dei Schavoni* [sic] - with a description of which he intends to exalt the minds & purify the lives of the Sheffield workmen! I will go & see them as soon as the wind is less cold. I have no doubt that Carpaccio will always charm me - tho' I may not be so capable of moral reform as the Sh: workman - still I hope I may find something to quarrel with Ruskin about even in him."
- 7 Harbison 2010.
- 8 Hewison 2009, 331. The reference to the choice of dates regards particularly that taken "for external sign" of the end of Venetian art properly so called, 1594, the year of Tintoretto's death; see "[Part I]", 78.
- 9 Hilton 2000, 347, 350-1. Hilton's characterization of Ruskin's Christmas experiences (for which see below) as "mystical" is curious, perhaps derogatory, given his preceding assertion that the "answers to his prayers [...] came from the volitions of Ruskin's extraordinary mind" (347). By contrast, the lesson Ruskin gathered from his experiences was that human volitions and projections, what he calls "instinctive desires, and figurative perceptions" (*Works* 29: 54), are at the very basis of religious experience.
- 10 Burd 1990.
- 11 Clegg 1981b, 158.
- 12 *Works* 11: 235.
- 13 Clegg 1981b, 167-71.
- 14 Diary, 10 January 1877 (Ruskin 1956-59, 3: 930). As a further, extreme and more recent example of the way in which these late works have eluded their readers, see Howse 2013: "The first half of *St Mark's Rest* is full

of striking insights put in Ruskin's engagingly playful prose. Yet hints grow of the psychological thriller the book turns into. He must write briefly, he says, because little time is left. 'My notes have got confused, and many lost; and now I have no time to mend the thread of them.'

15 J. Ruskin to J. Severn, 13 November 1876, RL L 41. Apart from the revised *SV*, other books-in-progress were *FC*, *LF*, *MF* and *RH*.

16 Zorzi 1906, 367. Ruskin had in fact been nominated four years previously, but had been unaware of this until quite recently. At their first meeting on 7 December 1876 Ruskin told Alvise Piero Zorzi (1846-1910) that "'the Academy of Fine Arts elected me one of its honorary members a good while ago'" (Zorzi 1906, 262). Zorzi was a Venetian nobleman who had trained as an artist at the *Accademia* and who had first become aware of Ruskin in 1873, when Mrs Margaret West, a painter then herself frequenting the *Accademia*, advised him to learn English in order to read the critic's books. She also encouraged him to send Ruskin drawings and material he had gathered for an illustrated work on the history of "Artistic Venice". Zorzi received no reply from Ruskin on that occasion, but finally met him in Venice through Raffaele Carloforti (1853-1901), a young artist from Assisi whom Ruskin had befriended there in 1874 and whose art training in Venice he had funded (Clegg 1981b, 183; Tucker 2011, 55n). Zorzi was then completing a fierce critique of the restoration of St Mark's, the cost of whose publication Ruskin now offered to meet. Ruskin also suggested he write Zorzi a letter of support, "addressed to every art centre in Europe", to be published as a Preface to his book (*Works* 24: 405-11; see also Quill 2015, 189-91; Quill 2018, 232-5). When it appeared, Zorzi 1877 bore a dedication to Ruskin. See Clegg 1981b, 183-7; Hewison 2009, 348-73.

17 AABAVe, busta 151ter "1877. Lettere di ringraziamento e diplomi".

18 *Mariogola*, a term whose etymology has been explained as deriving either from the fusion of the Venetian for 'mother' and 'rule' (*mare* and *riegola*) or from the Latin *matricula*, diminutive of *matrix* and meaning 'register' (Humphrey 2015, 30), was the name given at Venice to a confraternity's book of statutes or rules of association (see n. 55).

19 See nn. 62 and 200.

20 Rawdon Lubbock Brown (1806-83) had been resident in Venice since 1833. When Ruskin first met him in 1849 (Clegg 1981b, 77; Lutyens 2001, 89) he had long been engaged in research in the city's archives. *SV* drew on his pioneering work on the Venetian historian Marin Sanudo the Younger, as well as on edited transcripts by Brown of contemporary copies of the despatches of the Venetian Ambassador to the court of Henry VIII, which Ruskin - and his wife Effie (Lutyens 1967, 28; Griffiths, Law 2005, 93) - were instrumental in having published. From 1862 Brown was employed by the Master of the Rolls, then head of the Public Record Office, to transcribe and edit Venetian state papers concerning Britain (Griffiths, Law 2005, 73-97, 138). He was a point of reference for "almost every English visitant of Venice" (*Works*, 10: 353), renowned for his kindness, but also for his dour eccentricity and (in Austen Henry Layard's phrase) "retrograde leanings" (Ross 1912,

- 162). During this visit to Venice Ruskin affectionately (and teasingly) took to addressing letters and notes to Brown – as he had previously done to Carlyle and would later those to the bookseller F.S. Ellis – as “Papa”, signing them as his son or “Figlio”.
- 21** J. Ruskin to Prince Leopold, 10 May 1876 (*Works*, 37: 198-9). Prince Leopold, later Duke of Albany (1853-1884), studied at Christ Church, Oxford, from 1872 to 1876. He attended the lectures Ruskin gave there as Slade Professor of Fine Art and became his friend and supporter. He was a Trustee of Ruskin’s Drawing School and Art Collection, made over to the University by deed of gift in 1875. The Prince was a Freemason, as was Sir Robert Collins, the “comptroller” of his household, with whom he may also have shared an interest in spiritualism. Collins, himself a friend of Ruskin’s, is said to have been “partly responsible for the recrudescence, in 1875-76, of [his] attraction to such matters” (Hilton 2000, 229; compare Ruskin’s letter to Collins of 12 November 1876 [TS, BodL MSS Eng. lett. c. 41, 156]).
- 22** *Works* 9: 15.
- 23** The official aim of the Company (or Society, afterwards Guild of St George) was “To determine, and institute in practice, the wholesome laws of laborious (especially agricultural) life and economy, and to instruct first the agricultural, and, as opportunity may serve, other labourers or craftsmen, in such science, art, and literature as are conducive to good husbandry and craftsmanship” (*Works*, 30: 5).
- 24** *Works*, 28: 444n.
- 25** J. Ruskin to R. Brown, 26 August 1875 (BL Add. 36304 ff. 90-1).
- 26** Burd 1979, 1990.
- 27** J. Ruskin to C.E. Norton, 2 August [1876] (Bradley, Ousby 1987, 384).
- 28** *Works* 24: 336.
- 29** J. Ruskin to C.E. Norton, 2 August [1876] (Bradley, Ousby 1987, 384).
- 30** Cat. 564 (MM 1955, 139): Giovanni Mansueti, *A Miracle of a Relic of the True Cross in Campo S. Lio*, canvas; cat. 566 (MM 1955, 94): Vittore Carpaccio, *A Miracle of a Relic of the True Cross*, canvas; cat. 567 (MM 1955, 62): Gentile Bellini, *A Procession and Miracle of a Relic of the True Cross in St Mark’s Square*, panel, signed and dated “MCCCCLXXXVI”. See “[Part II]”, 84-90.
- 31** *Works* 3: 209; cf. Bellieni 2022, 103.
- 32** Diary, 12 May 1869, RL MS 16 (3).
- 33** In 1862 Burne-Jones had travelled to Italy with Ruskin, who however did not come with him as far as Venice. Evidence of the painter’s study of Carpaccio is found in three watercolour sketches in FitzM (PDP, 1084.9a-c), showing single figures from *The Reception of St Ursula and the Pilgrims by the Pope in Rome* and *The Arrival of St Ursula and the Pilgrims at Cologne* and St George from *St George and the Dragon*. Burne-Jones’ painting of *The Annunciation* (1863; Andrew Lloyd Webber Collection) includes elements that evidently derive from Carpaccio’s *Dream of St Ursula* (Burne-Jones 1999, 95-6; Del Puppo 2016, 213-14).
- 34** *Works*, 4: 356.
- 35** *Works*, 4: 356.
- 36** *Works*, 24: 229.
- 37** AM WA.RS.ED.161; WA.RS.ED.171bis.a.
- 38** *Works*, 27: 383; 22: 53-4.
- 39** J. Ruskin to J. Severn, 7-8 September 1876, RL L 41, quoted in *Works* 24: xxxv.
- 40** J. Ruskin to T. Carlyle, 9 September 1876 (Cate 1982, 232).
- 41** J. Ruskin to C.E. Norton, 5 October 1876 (Bradley, Ousby 1987, 387).
- 42** See n. 21.
- 43** J. Ruskin to R. Collins, 12 November 1877 (Hewison 2009, 330).
- 44** J. Ruskin to T. Carlyle, 15 November 1876 (Cate 1982, 234).
- 45** J. Ruskin to G. Allen, 21 January 1877, TS, BodL MSS Eng. lett. c. 41, 201-2. The subtitle was afterwards altered to “Written for the help of the few travellers who | still care for her monuments”.
- 46** J. Ruskin to G. Allen, [17 March 1877], TS, BodL MSS Eng. lett. c. 41, 240; see also Dearden 2011.
- 47** It also illustrates the intertextual relations of the writings in hand that winter. The angelic prediction had come into his head on 31 December in connection with the projected second volume of his new drawing manual, *LF*. This was to be devoted to colour and entitled *The Laws of Rivo Alto*, from the chromatic primacy of Venetian painting. Ruskin noted in his diary the traditional motto’s possible “use and bearing on the peace given by Venetian colour to piety” (Diary 31 December 1876 [*Works* 24: xlii-iiin]).
- 48** *Works*, 24: 277.
- 49** *Works*, 10: 74.
- 50** *Works*, 24: 278.
- 51** J. Ruskin to S. Beever, 23 January 1877 (*Works*, 37: 217).
- 52** *Works*, 29: 92. The Biblical references are to James 1.1 and Micah 6.8. Compare *Works* 24: 278.
- 53** J. Ruskin to J.R. Anderson, 3 January 1877 (*Works*, 28: 760n).
- 54** *Works*, 24: 268.
- 55** Ruskin was actively interested in *mariegole* (see n. 18) by 8 January, the probable date of a letter to Rawdon Brown in which he asks to borrow “that book of Mr. Cheney’s” on the subject – presumably Cheney 1867-68 (for Cheney see the “Appendix”, n. 1) – and alludes to “copies of *Mariegole*” made by or through Brown’s versatile servant Antonio Valmarana (“Toni”) (*Works* 27: xxvii). To his evident surprise and delight, Cheney’s book supplied information on the *Scuola Grande di S. Maria della Misericordia* (or *della Valverde*), named after the Virgin of Mercy, whose title was significantly echoed in Venetian toponyms associated with the period of “teaching” he had experienced at Christmas (see below). What followed, however, was less a “search for [...] occult meanings” (Burd 1990, 237n) than a burst of historico-theological investigation. On 11 January he went to the *Museo Correr* (then still in Teodoro Correr’s house near S. *Giovanni Decollato*), where around 150 *mariegole* had only a month or so before been extracted from individual collections and physically united so as to form a special group (Vanin, Eleuteri 2007, iii). He there saw two detached leaves of a *mariegola* of the *Scuola della Misericordia* (Humphrey 2015, cat. 12, Pls XIIa, XIIb), probably that begun in 1359 and in the Archivio di Stato, which lacks several folios [Humphrey 2012, 165; Humphrey 2015, 209-10]. Ruskin described the two leaves in a letter to his cousin the following day: “The one, of the Scourging of Christ – (you remember Luini’s at Milan?) – the other – the most glorious type of the Venetian



Madonna receiving suppliants I have ever found here, – standing on the stem, and in, the branches of the Green Tree of Val Verde” (J. Ruskin to J. Severn, 12 January 1877 [Burd 1990, 238-40, where wrongly dated 13 January]). In the Archives the next day Ruskin saw three *mariegole* of the *Scuola della Misericordia*: one dated c. 1343, now lacking its first folio (Humphrey 2015, cat. 9); one “hacked all to pieces”, probably that begun in 1359 (Humphrey 2015, 209), and that begun in 1392 and described by Cheney. This last was later broken up; a substantial part of it is now in the Boston Public Library (ms f. Med. 203) (J. Ruskin to R. Brown, 12 January 1877 [Burd 1990, 237n, 238n]). On 15 and 17 January (Diary, TS, BodL MSS Eng. misc. c. 229, 72-3) he was back at the *Correr*, reading a *mariegola* of the *Scuola di S. Teodoro* (presumably the one cited in *FC* Letter 74, dated 1-2 February [Works 29: 64-5] and identical with that still at the *Museo* and described in Cheney 1867-68, 12-13; Vanin, Eleuteri 2007, cat. 21 and Humphrey 2015, cat. 4). He was also drawing from a “Greek Madonna”, probably the *Virgin of Mercy* decorating one of the two detached leaves that had so struck him on 11 January (Humphrey 2012, 165; Humphrey 2015, 210). This has been identified with a folio now in a private collection in Milan [fig. 1], having formerly belonged to the painter Giorgio Morandi (Humphrey 2015, 206). As Ruskin’s description and epithet in part indicate, it combines imagery of the *Virgin of Mercy* with the *Tree of Jesse* and the *Greek Orthodox Marian (Panagia Platytera)* iconography. This folio, together with its pendant, representing the *Flagellation of Christ* and now in the Cleveland Museum of Art (J.H. Wade Fund 1950.374), have both been attributed to Lorenzo Veneziano, who, as Lyle Humphrey notes, is listed as a member in the *mariegole* of the *Scuola della Misericordia* begun circa 1359 and circa 1343 and “may have been the originator of the *Virgin of Mercy/Jesse Tree* iconography”, which “later became an emblem of the *Scuola della Valverde*” (Humphrey 2012, 165; see also Humphrey 2015, 206-15). It is worth noting, in view of the way some of the drawings made during this stay have been seen in the light (or shadow) of Ruskin’s mental condition (see Wildman 2009, 329 and compare Ruskin’s own account), that the lovely drawing of the carved *Madonna della Misericordia* in the gable surmounting the *Calle del Paradiso* (South London Gallery, Southwark, reproduced in Hewison 2009, 329) was made, from the adjacent bridge, on 13 and 15 January, i.e. between visits to the Archives and the *Museo Correr*. Lastly, Ruskin himself acquired a group of *mariegole* (Dearden 2012, cats 1671, 2225, 2226). That of the *Scuola del Santissimo Sacramento di San Geminiano* had been in the possession of Cheney himself and is described in Cheney 1867-68, 24. It passed from Ruskin to Charles Eliot Norton and finally to Isabella Stewart Gardner (Gardner 1922, 30-2; Eze 2016, 205-7). The *Scuole del Santissimo Sacramento* were “[o]ne of the most important categories of *scuola piccola*” (as distinguished from the six so-called ‘*Scuole Grandi*’), which “first arose in the early sixteenth century, founded in response to a movement to increase devotion to the Holy Sacrament”. These were “strictly parish-based” (Glixon 2011, 6). For the probable significance for Ruskin of possessing the *mariegola* of a *Scuola* associated with the destroyed church of *S. Geminiano*, which prior to the Napoleonic era closed the west end of *Piazza S. Marco*, see “[Part I]”, n. 97. The other *mariegole* owned by Ruskin were of an

unidentified Venetian Society (untraced) and of the Confraternity of boatmen at Mestre, or *Scuola dei barcajoli di Mestre e di Marghera* (BL Add. MS 42125).

56 J. Ruskin to Dr and Mrs J. Simon, 25 December 1876, TS, BodL MSS Eng. lett. c. 41, 175.

57 J. Ruskin to C.E. Norton, 2 August [1876] (Bradley, Ousby 1987, 384). Moore (1840-1930) was an American painter and art teacher who had been working under the influence of Ruskin’s writings for almost twenty years. A member of the American Pre-Raphaelite movement, in 1860 he had been among the founders of the Association for the Advancement of Truth in Art. From around this time he had gradually abandoned the production of Hudson River-style landscapes in oils for watercolour and closely focused studies of natural objects. In 1871, at the invitation of Charles Eliot Norton, Ruskin’s friend and correspondent, he had taken up the position of “Instructor in Freehand Drawing and Watercolor” at Harvard’s Lawrence Scientific School. Following Norton’s appointment in 1874 as Lecturer on the History of the Fine Arts as Connected with Literature (his title changed to Professor of Fine Arts the following year), Moore was transferred to the College, where he taught the course “Fine Arts 1: Principles of Design in Painting, Sculpture and Architecture”. In a manner directly emulating Ruskin’s teaching at Oxford this practical course complemented Norton’s “Fine Arts 2”, a historical survey of the arts of the ancient and medieval worlds. Moore’s teaching methods were also based on those of Ruskin: he made use of *ED* from the start of his career, but “Fine Arts 1” also shows his awareness of recent developments in Ruskin’s teaching of drawing, with its increasing emphasis on the study of outline (Levi, Tucker 1997; 1999; 2011; 2020). Moore and Norton were furthermore engaged in the construction of a didactic collection of images along the lines of Ruskin’s at Oxford. It was partly with a view to gathering and creating materials for this collection that Moore had been given official leave to travel in Europe in 1876, where he had arrived with an introduction to Ruskin from Norton. Moore would teach drawing and principles of design at Harvard until 1898, and art history until his retirement in 1909. He painted two portraits of Ruskin, both from photographs. That reproduced here as frontispiece was based on a photograph by Charles Dodgson of 1875 (Dearden 1999, cats 123, 124), painted c. 1876-80 (FM 1965.447). See Ferber, Gerdtz 1985, 193-203; Stebbins et al 2007, 45-53, 98-9; Renn 2013, 137-55.

58 On 16 September he records “seeing Carpaccio in sunshine” the previous day, as though it were an event of special note (Ruskin 1956-59, 3: 907).

59 *Works*, 30: 507.

60 This was one of the two so-called *Sale nuove*, constructed between 1821 and 1824-25 (MM 1955, XVIII; Modesti 2005, 59). See the plan of the *Accademia* [fig. 20].

61 Cf. Clegg 1981b, 182; Hewison 2009, 332.

62 Botti had been restoring the frescoes in the upper church for Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle and Ruskin had been attempting to supervise work by the Austrian copyist Eduard Kaiser for the Arundel Society (Tucker 1998; 2011).

**63** J. Ruskin to J. Severn, 16 September 1876, RL L 41, quoted in *Works*, 24: xxxvi-vii. Ruskin refers to the *Deputazione veneta di storia patria*, to which he and Brown had been elected that year (Clegg 1981b, 182).

**64** J. Ruskin to C.E. Norton, 5 October 1876 (Bradley, Ousby 1987, 387). Collingwood (1911, 252) identifies the room as the “sculpture gallery”, probably on the basis of Ruskin’s statement in a lecture of 1883 that “in this quiet room where I was allowed to paint, there were a series of casts from the Ægina marbles” (*Works*, 33: 315). Ruskin thus seems to have been given the use of the *Sala delle statue*, one of the first-floor rooms created within the disused church building when it had been assigned to the *Accademia* by the Napoleonic government. The *Sala* was apparently illuminated by a sky-light, visible in Turner’s watercolour [fig. 2], and as perhaps later modified in the Alinari photograph [fig. 3].

**65** i.e. “Mr Ruskin’s picture”: J. Ruskin to Miss Rigby (presumably Harriette Rigbye of Thwaite Cottage, Monk Coniston), quoted in Hunt 1982, 364.

**66** The *Dream* itself, however, was not displayed there until around 1852 (MM 1955, 99, 103).

**67** *Works*, 27: 342. See “From *Fors Clavigera* Letter 20 (August 1872) ‘Benediction’” (“Supplementary Texts”).

**68** Ruskin’s copy of the fifth edition (1866) (Dearden 2012, cat. 1401) is at RL.

**69** Jameson 1866, 505.

**70** See J. Ruskin to J. Severn, 26 December 1876 (Burd 1990, 209), according to which Ruskin was drawing “St Jerome’s [actually St Augustine’s] chair” in Carpaccio’s *Death of St Jerome*. The drawing is now RL 1996P0889. See also Clegg 1981b, 150; Hewison 2009, 311.

**71** Burd 1990, 210. In answer to a request to know his wishes, he wrote: “I wish that I could recover lost years, – and raise the dead. But not much more. I do not wish Rose to die. What can in any wise be done for her peace – or – if she still be capable of it – happiness – I am ready to do – for my part, if she will make up her mind, and tell me when she has, face to face. (I will hear her no otherwise)” (J. Ruskin to G. MacDonald, 8 July 1872; parts quoted in Burd 1990, 210n and Hewison 2009, 310).

**72** Clegg 1981b, 150.

**73** *Works*, 27: 346.

**74** Clegg 1981b, 150; see also Del Puppo 2016, 214-15.

**75** *Works*, 19: 435.

**76** Ruskin showed a photograph of a painting in the *Accademia* (cat. 90 [MM 1955, 105]), *The Meeting of Anne and Joachim at the Golden Gate* (*Works*, 19: 458).

**77** Presented by Lady Eastlake to the National Gallery (NG 812) in 1870.

**78** *Works*, 19: 445.

**79** *Works*, 22: 325. See “[Part I]”, 78; “[Part II]”, 112.

**80** *Works*, 22: 331.

**81** *Works*, 22: 331-2. Another exception is Cima da Conegliano: “who has no special gift, but a balanced group of many”.

**82** *Works*, 22: 367. Compare the lectures on the relation of natural science and art given in 1872 and published as *EN*. Ruskin there asserted the dependence, through acquired discipline of realization, of the representation of visionary upon that of actual appearances: the

former will “take place to” any one trained to represent the latter, if endowed with “any human faculty” of his own (*Works*, 22: 221). And compare also and above all the statement made in *LA* (*Works*, 20: 46): “the highest thing that art can do is to set before you the true image of the presence of a noble human being” (Ruskin’s italics).

**83** See “From *Fors Clavigera* Letter 71 (November 1876) ‘The Feudal Ranks’” (“Supplementary Texts”).

**84** *Works*, 27: 314 (see also *Works*, 28: 143; 31: 6; 33, 423-4).

**85** *Works*, 28: 746.

**86** *Works*, 27: 344.

**87** *Works*, 28: 744-5.

**88** *Works*, 28: 735.

**89** *Works*, 29: 23.

**90** See the “Supplementary Texts”. Anderson (1850-1907) was born in Glasgow, the son of the President of the Faculty of Physicians. He matriculated at Glasgow University in 1865. As a student he earned the admiration of the philosopher Edward Caird (1835-1908) and was among the organizers of an unsuccessful attempt to have Ruskin elected Rector in 1868. The following year he entered Balliol College, Oxford, though the death of his father prevented him from matriculating until April 1870. Poor health undermined his academic career and he took a pass degree in 1874. That same year, having meanwhile attended Ruskin’s lectures and made his personal acquaintance, he was entrusted, in the Professor’s absence, with the job of organizing the troop of undergraduates who, responding to the suggestion that “one’s chief exercise ought to be in useful work, not in cricket or rowing merely” (*Works*, 37: 735), volunteered for Ruskin’s road-making and green-tending project at North Hinksey, a practical experiment in “putting earth in order that was orderless” of the kind to which the Guild of St George would be dedicated, and potentially the basis, Ruskin wrote to Anderson from Rome, for “an English society for labour above the tombs of the earliest Christians” (J. Ruskin to J.R. Anderson, Corpus Domini [1874], ML). After graduation Anderson settled in Edinburgh, to study for the Scottish Bar. Yet this plan was also thwarted by ill health. After spending the autumn of 1876 in Venice with Ruskin, he settled in Keswick, marrying a cousin in 1882. Apart from the “Story of St. Ursula”, Anderson was the author of an essay on the “myth” of St George as illustrated by Carpaccio in *S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni*, published in 1879 as the “Second Supplement” (“The Place of Dragons”) to *SMR* (*Works*, 24: 370-400). This dealt only with *St George and the Dragon* and should have been followed by essays on the other paintings by Carpaccio in the *Scuola*, so as to form, in his and Ruskin’s joint intention, “a separate book on Carpaccio” (J. Ruskin to J.R. Anderson, 14 March 1877, ML). The plan did not come to fruition, however. Of any further material Anderson may have produced towards the book, only his notes on the final painting in the St Jerome series were published by Ruskin (*Works*, 24: 353-6). A volume of poems (Anderson 1871) and a posthumous collection of lectures given to the Keswick Literary and Scientific Society (Anderson 1908) were printed for private circulation. Anderson was also the author of a moving epitaph for Ruskin: “He taught us | To hold | In loving Reverence | Poor men and their work, | Great men and their work, | God and His work”. Another of the Hinksey diggers,

H.D. Rawnley, would recall Anderson's love of the "early masters", his "unerring eye for drawing and painting" and his ability to retain distinct memory of the tone and colour of individual pictures (MacEwen 1908, xii). These qualities no doubt aided him in his activity as a collector. AM holds a substantial number of Italian, German and Hispano-Flemish paintings from his collection, including works by Giotto, Giovanni di Paolo and Venetian painters such as Mansueti (attrib.) and Basaiti, presented at different times by his widow and daughters. See also Eagles 2011, 106-7, 111.

**91** Ruskin's letter to Anderson's cousin Sara of 28 August 1876 shows that "Jamie" was already in Venice by that date (TS, BodL MSS Eng. lett. c. 41, 124). He was still there on 8 October (Ruskin 1956-59, 3: 910).

**92** In Letter 71 Ruskin tells readers of *FC* that he has been "happy enough to get two of my faithful scholars to work upon" Carpaccio's prophetic "book", and that "they have deciphered it nearly all" (*Works*, 28: 732). The second "scholar", Robert Caird (1851-1915), also a Scotsman, was to become a prominent engineer. Caird may have known Anderson from his student days at Glasgow University, having perhaps met him through his relative Edward (see n. 90). After finishing his studies and before entering the family's shipbuilding firm in 1888, Robert spent several years abroad, first in Italy and later in America, where he worked for the Pullman Car Company. Caird is cited by Anderson as an associate in his researches on Carpaccio in his notes on the final painting in the St Jerome series in the *Scuola di S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni*, later published by Ruskin in *SMR* (24: 354). The first of a sequence of letters to Caird from Ruskin, undated but written before the publication of *FC* Letter 71 (1 November), refers to "notes on Padua" apparently made for him by both Anderson and Caird, who may recently have travelled together in the Veneto. It is possible Caird and Ruskin met between September and October in Venice (which Caird is said to have visited in *Works*, 24: xli). In the same letter Ruskin assures Caird that he "will see the good results of [his] work in Fors", and hopes he and Anderson will like the November Letter. After leaving the Veneto Caird settled in Florence and was asked by Ruskin to check published parts of *MF* for errors: "I got advice of such a lot of blunders from some obliging person [probably Charles Fairfax Murray] that I couldn't believe him; but have been nervous ever since" (TS, BodL MSS Eng. lett. c. 41, 146). Over the following months Caird would supply Ruskin with extensive notes on the Spanish Chapel frescoes in *S. Maria Novella* and on the sculptural reliefs at the base of Giotto's Campanile, though not without being fiercely reprimanded for crediting and evidently repeating opinions as to repainting expressed by certain "rascally modern daubers" (TS, BodL MSS Eng. lett. c. 41, 203). Some of this material was used by Ruskin himself in footnotes to "The Shepherd's Tower" (1877), where he acknowledged Caird's help and announced his intention to issue his notes on the fresco of *The Visible Church* (or *Church Militant*) in the Spanish Chapel as "a supplement to these essays" (*Works*, 23: 412). The "Supplement" was set up in type but not published until it was incorporated into the Library Edition of *MF* (*Works*, 23: 36-453). See *Shipbuilding* 1915, 517; Mavor 1923, 1: 185-6 (I thank Stuart Eagles for pointing me to these two sources).

**93** See "Part II", nn. 5, 74; "Supplementary Texts", nn. 17-25.

**94** J. Ruskin to J. Severn, 1 January 1877 (Burd 1990, 219-20).

**95** AM WA.RS.WAL.09.

**96** The drawing was given by Ruskin to Somerville College, Oxford; it is reproduced in Hewison 2009, 334. *Works*, 38: 238 (cat. 346) lists a study of St Ursula's hand also at Somerville, but this would seem to be a mistaken reference to the study of her head, stemming perhaps from a slip ("hand" for "head") in Ruskin's letter to Charles Eliot Norton of 16 January and 7 February 1877 (*Works*, 37: 216; Bradley, Ousby 1987, 388) or else from a mistaken transcription of the letter.

**97** Reproduced in Burd 1990, 170. The drawing was given to Daniel Oliver (see below) and remains in the Oliver family.

**98** The drawing is referred to in J. Ruskin to J. Severn, 1 January 1877 (Burd 1990, 219-20) and perhaps also in J. Ruskin to C.F. Murray, 13 May 1877, MML ("I forgot last night to put my little candlestick into your good charge, to be put under a bushel"; see also Ruskin's diary for 13 January 1877, TS, BodL MSS Eng. misc. c. 229, f. 94. Its present location is unknown.

**99** Ruskin 1956-59, 3: 943. The drawing is RL 1996P0890. The dog copied by Ruskin was in part eliminated in restoration undertaken by Ottorino Nonfarmale in the 1980s (Dearden 2005). Ruskin started, or intended to start, a drawing of Ursula's slippers on 29 September 1876 (J. Ruskin to S. Beever [*Works*, 37: 209-10]). The drawing is recorded in White 1895, 127n (see also *Works*, 30: 195n; *Works*, 38: 238), but its present location is unknown.

**100** FM 1926.33.36. Moore was re-touching this at the end of January the following year (JWB 29 January 1877) and may have continued to work on it subsequently (it is dated 1877-78 by FM).

**101** JWB 8 November 1876. They had first met in 1855 when Bunney (1828-82), a stationer and (seemingly) self-taught painter, who had already exhibited work at the Royal Academy and elsewhere, had begun attending the art classes given by Ruskin, D.G. Rossetti and others at the Working Men's College in London. Bunney studied at the College intermittently until 1861. From around the time of his registration or the following year Bunney worked as a stationer, possibly as a clerk, at Smith, Elder & Co (Ruskin's publisher), leaving the firm towards the end of 1857 or early in 1858 to devote himself to art. In 1859 and in 1860, at Ruskin's expense, he studied in Switzerland and in Venice. Back in London he continued to paint and exhibit, while acting as an assistant teacher at the Working Men's College. He also taught privately, giving lessons to, among others, Rose La Touche. After his marriage in July 1863 Bunney moved to Florence. Though now permanently in Italy he received few commissions from Ruskin until 1868-69, when he spent a year in Verona, making around forty drawings for him. In June 1870, at Ruskin's suggestion, Bunney moved to Venice, where he lived for the rest of his life, a familiar and well-respected member of the artistic community (he was nominated an honorary member of the *Accademia* in June 1872). He exhibited work both in Venice and in London and his views and architectural studies, made mainly in Venice, but also elsewhere in North Italy, attracted a widening circle of British and American patrons (Prince Leopold and Christina Anne Jessica, Lady Sykes, née Cavendish-Bentinck, being among the former). After receiving two major commissions from Ruskin in 1870 - watercolours



of the *Palazzo Manzoni (or Contarini Polignac) on the Grand Canal* (see Quill 2015, 184; Quill 2018, 227) and the *North-West Portico of St Mark's* (CGSG 00269/00276) – there was another lull in their working relationship until this Venetian stay of 1876-77. Ruskin now acquired (by purchase or gift) the six (or seven) studies from *The Dream of St Ursula* cited immediately below in the text. He also commissioned Bunney to make two copies from other paintings by Carpaccio (see nn. 199, 216), as well as a “big picture”, in oil, of the west front of St Mark's (see “[Part I]”, n. 99). Cf. Wedderburn 1882; Morley 1984, catalogue, 32-7; Bunney 2005; 2007; 2008; 2009; 2009-10; 2011 and personal communications.

**102** Collection of S.E. Bunney (cf. Burd 1990, 153, 200n).

**103** CGSG 00264. This was begun by 8 December. Ruskin agreed to purchase it for £40 on behalf of St George's Museum in Sheffield the following February and it was sent to him in November 1877 (Bunney 2007, 30n, 31n).

**104** CGSG 00708 (J.W. Bunney, after Carpaccio, *Corner of St Ursula's Room, Including her Book Case*) [fig. 40]. On 1 January 1877 Ruskin sent Bunney “a cheque from St George for 25 pounds for a lovely drawing he has made of St Ursula's library (full size) for the Sheffield Museum” (as reported in J. Ruskin to J. Severn, 1 January 1877, RL L 41). S.E. Bunney (2007, 31n) notes that in a letter to Bunney also dated 1 January 1877 Ruskin enclosed a cheque for £25 from his own account for a drawing of “her inkstand and writing table”. The payment, however, would seem to have been a single one, and ultimately at least out of “St George's Fund”: the Cash Statement for this given in *FC Letter 81* (*Works*, 29: 211) records that in the period 1 January to 30 June 1877 Bunney received £90 for drawings; and this would correspond to the £40 he received for the window detail (see the previous note) and the £25 for the “library” from the *Dream of St Ursula*, plus the £25 which on 17 April 1877 Bunney asked to draw on “the account of St George' for his ‘Chair, Banners &c’” (Bunney 2007, 32n), i.e. in payment for his copies of the chair also from the *Dream* and the banners from *The Reception of St Ursula and the Pilgrims by the Pope in Rome* (see n. 199), as well perhaps as a detail from the *Two Venetian Ladies* in the Museo Correr (see n. 216). Of CGSG 00708 S.E. Bunney states (2007, 31n), “It is unclear whether that copy, which has been patched, was originally just one drawing of both the table and bookcase, or whether Bunney initially did separate studies of the writing table and bookcase [...] and later pasted them together, reworking some parts again at Ruskin's request”; but cf. Morley 1984, catalogue, 42, which asserts Bunney's difficulty with the tablecloth, whose exemplary quality as “representation, not imitation” he was alerted to by Ruskin, and consequent pasting on to the original drawing of a second, smaller piece of paper with a “more satisfactory version” of the table and the objects laid out on it. Though purchased for the Museum, CGSG 00708 did not enter the collection until 1926, as part of the bequest made by Albert Fleming in 1923.

**105** Bunney presented this to Ruskin (Bunney 2007, 31n). Its present location is not known.

**106** The drawing was given to Ruskin on Christmas Eve (see the “Supplementary Texts”, 146). Its present location is not known.

**107** This was finished in March 1877 and was formerly in the collection of F.J. Sharp. Its present location is not known (Burd 1990, 220n, 221n;

Bunney 2007, 31n). CGSG also contains unfinished watercolour studies of the head of St Ursula (B908) and of her sleeve (B179), formerly in the Bunney family's collection, possibly the drawings referred to in JWB 25, 27 and 30 January and 10, 12, 13 and 15 February 1877 (head) and 18 March 1877 (sleeve) (see also Burd 1990, 175, 201n; Bunney 2007, 32). On 15 February Bunney discussed with Ruskin the possibility of copying the head of the saint in oil, but seems not to have gone on to do so. My thanks to Sarah Bunney for information concerning these drawings.

**108** See n. 111.

**109** JWB 8 November 1876.

**110** See the “Supplementary Texts”, 141 and n. 17. Carpaccio's painting (cat. 580 [MM 1955, 102]) represents the moment immediately preceding and resulting in Ursula's martyrdom by means of an arrow. **111** *Works*, 28: 760-1. Bunney is said to have made a copy of the “arrow-head” (White 1895, 127n), but the drawing seems not to have survived. CGSG 00379 is a pencil drawing by William White of the *Crest, upon the head of the bedstead; the fatal arrow* (*Works*, 30: 95). This “arrow-head” (as a decorative device it also occurs on the base of the painting hanging behind Ursula and her father in cat. 572 [MM 1955, 95]) may originally have been repeated to the left of the shield on the strip of canvas known to have been lost from the painting's left-hand side (MM 1955, 103). The interpretation of the decorative detail as an arrow found its way, probably via Angelo Alessandri, into Angelo Conti's guide to the collection (*Accademia* 1895, 169).

**112** J. Ruskin to J.R. Anderson, 3 January 1877, in *Works*, 28: 760n.

**113** *Works*, 28: 760n. The original letter (ML) includes sketches both of the “rods” and the book. The Italian (mis)quotation is from Dante, *Inferno* 5.138 (“quel giorno più non vi leggemmo avante”, i.e. “that day we read no further”), where it forms part of the story of the adulterous lovers Paolo Malatesta and Francesca da Rimini.

**114** See Ruskin 2003, LXXVIII-LXXIX.

**115** See *FC Letters* 20, 71 and 74 in the “Supplementary Texts”.

**116** The *Liber de simplicibus*, now known to have been compiled by Niccolò Roccanobella, illustrated by Andrea Amadio (cod. Marc. Lat. VI. 59 [=2548]). Ruskin had first seen the herbal in 1869: on 9 August he wrote to Norton of its “exquisite drawings by a Venetian of 1415, which show that *no trace* of change is visible in wild species, during 400 years” (Bradley, Ousby 1987, 147-8). When he was back in Venice the following year it was brought out for Ruskin's party, including his cousin Joan, who in her diary for 2 June (MLM) recorded that Ruskin had had one plant carefully copied for the students at Oxford. This was probably the copy of the *Alchemilla* illustration included in Ruskin's *Catalogue of Examples* of that year (cat. 41; AM WA.RS.ED.257). The copyist is not named in the *Catalogue*, but the drawing is uniform in style with other copies from this codex by Caldara, both at Oxford (*Works*, 21: 231) and at Whitelands College (now University of Roehampton), which holds two folio volumes containing such drawings, given by Ruskin. Clegg (1981b, 213) reports the existence in the *Marciana* (MS. Marc. It. X, 468 [=12167]) of a letter from Ruskin dated 19 November 1871 and thanking the librarian, Monsignor Giuseppe Valentinelli, for granting Caldara permission to copy the herbal. Notes in Ruskin's diary for 1872

(RL MS 16, f. 89v) suggest Caldara's work was underway by July of that year. The painter may have been recommended to Ruskin by Rawdon Brown, who received detailed instructions about his work in 1873 and 1874 (*Works*, 28: 583-4). These incidentally confirm Ruskin's purpose as "the ascertaining if any difference in the plant itself has taken place in four centuries" and specify that Caldara is to complement the copies with studies of the same plants done from nature, but in the style of the early Venetian illustrations. A letter to Brown of 17 March 1877 (BL Add. 36304, ff. 126-7) shows that Caldara did other work for Ruskin too: a drawing referred to here may have been from an unspecified "missal" mentioned in connection with Caldara (and Brown's servant Toni) in a letter to Joan Severn written on Christmas Eve 1876 (Burd 1990, 202-3).

**117** *Works*, 29: 31. Caldara's having drawn a sample of *Erba luigia* from the Botanical Gardens in Venice on 22 December 1876 is documented in a volume of manuscript notes (*Descrizioni delle tavole comprese nell'Erbario Rinio*) accompanying his copies of Amadio's illustrations at Whitelands College, but the drawing itself was not found (May 2012).

**118** J. Ruskin to J. Severn [n.d.], RL L 41.

**119** For Oliver's long association with Ruskin, see Burd 1990, 203n. It is there wrongly stated, however, that the botanical name is written on the vase in both the original painting and in Ruskin's copy (for which see n. 97). This was an error made by Joan in her letter to Oliver of 19 December and corrected by Ruskin in an undated note to his cousin (RL T 30 and L 41 respectively).

**120** Ruskin 1956-9, 3: 921.

**121** See Burd 1990, 123-31.

**122** Lady Castletown, also an acquaintance of Rawdon Brown's, was accompanied by her daughter Cecilia, who was married to Lewis Strange Wingfield (1842-1891), actor, writer, painter and theatrical designer. It can be no coincidence that Wingfield's costumes and sets for the celebrated production of *Romeo and Juliet* by the actress Mary Anderson (whom Ruskin knew), staged at the Lyceum Theatre in 1884, were borrowed from the St Ursula series, including the saint's bedroom, made over to Juliet. It may equally be no coincidence that it was during the run of the play, as noted by the *Pall Mall Gazette*, that Ruskin showed his drawing of the head of St Ursula in a lecture at Oxford (Wingfield 1887-88; *Works*, 33: 507; Newey, Richards 2010, 14, 191).

**123** As Joan Severn would be told the next day (J. Ruskin to J. Severn, Christmas Day (Burd 1990, 205-6); and as he reported in Letter 74 of *Fors*, also written on Christmas Day ("Supplementary Texts"). As is evident from what appears to have been her archly worded dedication (in both letters placed by Ruskin within quotation marks), Lady Castletown was aware of Ruskin's work on Carpaccio and in particular of his fascination with the *Dream* and of its meaning for him (see Burd 1990, 164, 206-7, where it is pointed out that the Castletown residence in Ireland was near the home of the La Touches).

**124** J. Ruskin to J. Severn, 30 December [1876] (Burd 1990, 214).

**125** See above, 15. For the Christmas Story itself see Clegg 1981b, 154-7; Hewison 2009, 337-40; but especially Burd 1990, 161-279.

**126** Compare McKeown 2011, 260.

**127** Clegg 1981b, 159.

**128** This is perhaps what Hewison (2009, 341) intends in remarking "the extent to which he was in control of events, as he experienced them, and then recorded them".

**129** The expression comes from his last surviving letter to James Reddie Anderson, written at Sandgate on his sixty-ninth birthday (J. Ruskin to J.R. Anderson, 8 February [1888], ML).

**130** As recognized by Hilton himself (2000, 350), whose phrase this is: "During a period of some ten days, Ruskin roamed around Venice and found inspiration wherever he went. Meaning was everywhere, as though the past, present and future worlds were joined together by a system of symbols [...] Ruskin mostly felt exalted, sometimes contrite; but in either mood he knew that he was learning mysteries that would help him to be a better man and would further the work of St George's Company".

**131** In the eighteenth, or perhaps the seventeenth, century. My thanks to David Ingram for information regarding *Verbena triphylla*. Since Ludwig, Molmenti 1906 (137), the plant in the painting has been interpreted as myrtle, apparently for reasons of iconographical aptness rather than close visual resemblance (the depicted plant actually resembles *Verbena triphylla* more than it does myrtle). In the letter accompanying the sprig of verbena Oliver had alluded to some question of dates relating to the name *Erba Luisa* and had also told Ruskin that another name for Verbena was *Erba della principessa*, 'Princess's herb' - see J. Ruskin to J. Severn, 29 December [1876] (Burd 1990, 269). This must have pleased Ruskin greatly. However, Gera 1834-50, 10: 680 gives the botanical name of *Erba della principessa* as *Tanacetum vulgare* or *crispum*.

**132** J. Ruskin to J. Severn, 10 January [1877] (Burd 1990, 235).

**133** Ruskin 1956-59, 3: 925. The expression "plain before my face" is from Isaac Watts' version of Psalms 5.8.

**134** Diary 2 January 1877, TS, BodL MSS Eng. misc. c. 229, 66v.

**135** Diary 20 January 1877 (Ruskin 1956-59, 3: 932).

**136** *Works*, 29: 86.

**137** *Works*, 29: 137.

**138** J. Ruskin to J. Severn, 3 January 1877 (Burd 1990, 275).

**139** J. Ruskin to J. Severn, 3 January 1877 (Burd 1990, 278).

**140** J. Ruskin to J. Severn, 4 January 1877 (Burd 1990, 231). Compare FC Letter 75 (March 1877; dated 1 February) (*Works*, 29: 54).

**141** J. Ruskin to J. Severn, 24 February 1877, RJ L 41. Compare his letter to J.R. Anderson of the next day: "five chapters are mostly in print already" (J. Ruskin to J.R. Anderson, 25 February 1877, ML; TS, BodL MSS Eng. lett. c. 41, 224).

**142** Diary 24 November 1876 (RL MS 21); cf. Ruskin 1956-59, 3: 916 ("*Venetian Guide*").

**143** J. Ruskin to C.E. Norton, 16 January and 7 February 1877 (Bradley, Ousby 1987, 388-9).

**144** J. Ruskin to J. Severn, 13 February 1877, RL L 41 (TS, BodL MSS Eng. lett. c. 41, 217). Cf. *Works*, 24: xxxvi.

**145** Clegg 1981b, 174.

**146** *Works*, 24: 207: "Go first into the Piazzetta, and stand anywhere in the shade, where you can well see its two granite pillars. Your Murray tells you that they are 'famous,' and that the one is surmounted by the

bronze lion of St. Mark, the other by the statue of St. Theodore, the Protector of the Republic". See also J. Ruskin to J. Severn, 22 September 1876, RL L 41 (TS, BodL MSS Eng. lett. c. 41, 137): "this evening have been so disgusted with reading the new edition of Murray's guide [Murray 1877] that I feel as if I must forswear the whole London world, and come and live in an old boat or a chalet - or anywhere where I shouldn't see hateful English". Ruskin had written and sent to the printer's a "little piece" of the new book by 15 November (J. Ruskin to T. Carlyle, 15 November 1876 [Cate 1982, 234]). From his letter to G. Allen of 21 January, this "little piece" appears to have been the "opening".

**147** *Works*, 11: 355. On this point see also Sdegno 2018, 18-20.

**148** *Works*, 11: 361.

**149** Two possible remnants of the first version of ch. 6, which may well have included text later used in the *Guide*, are the fragments published in *Works* as "Notes on Later Venetian Sculpture", which like the *Guide* begin in front of the *Accademia's* door, and "Carpaccio's Ape", whose discussion of *The Return of the Ambassadors* was, according to a note by Ruskin himself, "intended to introduce Paul Veronese", i.e. an account of *The Feast in the House of Levi*. See *Works*, 24: 436-9, 445-6, and the "Supplementary Texts".

**150** And also the date of publication of Zorzi 1877.

**151** *Works*, 24: 195.

**152** "The Shrine of the Slaves", by Ruskin, issued in December 1877, and "The Place of Dragons" by James Reddie Anderson, not published until April 1879.

**153** On 7 April: see the entry in Ruskin's diary opposite that for 4 April (TS BodL MSS Eng. misc. c. 229, 67v) and his letter to G. Allen of 7 April (TS BodL MSS Eng. lett. c. 41, 255).

**154** On 27 September Ruskin had asked Allen to send him a hundred copies, "to set up a little bookstall here" (J. Ruskin to G. Allen, 27 September 1876, TS, BodL MSS Eng. lett. c. 41, 138).

**155** J. Ruskin to G. Allen, 7 April 1877 (TS, BodL MSS Eng. lett. c. 41, 255).

**156** See n. 16.

**157** Diary 23 March 1877 (Ruskin 1956-59, 3: 944).

**158** When the first Part appeared, he gave instructions to Allen for two dozen copies to be "bound, in my official Purple - lettered in gold - for the members of the Venetian Academy" [figs 6-7] (J. Ruskin to G. Allen, 7 April 1877, TS, BodL MSS Eng. lett. c. 41, 255; for the "Ruskin" or "Purple" calf binding, by W.J. Mansell, introduced by Ruskin with the first volume of the *Collected Works* series in 1871, see Dearden 2002, 399).

**159** Here 71-80.

**160** As recorded in *Accademia* 1875 and Murray 1877. See the plan [fig. 20].

**161** Here 80-90.

**162** *Works*, 24: 241-53. Revises of chs 4, 5 and 6 appear to have been sent to the printers on 24 February (see the record of "parcels sent to Aylesbury", i.e. to the printers Hazell, Watson, and Viney, in Ruskin's diary for 1877 [RL MS 21, facing 79; TS, BodL MSS Eng. misc. c. 229, 85v]).

**163** *Works*, 24: 203: "Great nations write their autobiographies in three manuscripts: - the book of their deeds, the book of their words, and the book of their art."

**164** *Works*, 24: 241-51. The selected works, the first two of which are stated to be "the earliest pieces of real Venetian work I know of", are: 1) the seventh- or eighth-century *Hetoimasia* relief on the north façade of St Mark's showing the 'empty' or 'prepared' throne of the Second Coming flanked by twelve lambs, six either side, symbolizing the Apostles [fig. 8]; 2) the thirteenth-century relief representing the seated St George on the principal (west) façade of the basilica [fig. 9]; 3) the relief of *St George and the Dragon* (c. 1500), formerly set into the wall of a house overlooking the Ponte dei Bareteri and since 1884 in the South Kensington (subsequently Victoria and Albert) Museum (53 to B-1884) [fig. 10]; 4) the mid-seventeenth-century sculptures representing four angels and St Theodore (by the Ticinese Bernardo Falconi or Falcone, otherwise known as Bernardino da Lugano) atop the façade of S. Salvador, formerly the *Scuola Grande di San Teodoro*; and 5) the masks decorating the *Ponte delle Guglie* over the *Canale di Cannaregio* (built 1580, restored 1777).

**165** Cat. 21 (MM 1955, 21): Stefano "Plebanus" of S. Agnese, *The Coronation of the Virgin* (1381); see "[Part I]", 74. A copy in watercolour, formerly ascribed to Angelo Alessandri, but attributed by the present editor to Charles Fairfax Murray in 2012, is RL 1996P0007.

**166** Cats 41, 43 (MM 1962, 397, 398): Jacopo Tintoretto, *Cain and Abel; Adam and Eve*; see "[Part I]", 78.

**167** See "[Part I]", 78.

**168** *Works*, 24: 280.

**169** *Works*, 24: 246.

**170** See "Editions of the *Guide*".

**171** *Works*, 30: 55.

**172** See "[Part I]", 71.

**173** Levi 2007, 69-70 reads this sculptural prelude as indicative of Ruskin's ambivalence towards museums and art galleries as such; see also Sdegno 2019, 92-3.

**174** See "[Part I]", 77.

**175** Cat. 38 (MM 1955, 68): Giovanni Bellini, *The Virgin and Child Enthroned with St Francis, St John the Baptist, Job, St Dominic, St Sebastian and St Louis*; see "[Part I]", 77.

**176** It was duly rehearsed in Ruskin's father's diary during the family's Venetian stay of 1846, when his parents were shown their son's many discoveries, alone, the previous year: "Academy. Titians assumption Tintoretto's Miracle of St Mark Adam & Eve - Death of Abel. J. Bellinis Madonna - many beautiful Bonifazios - P. Veroneses grand Supper with Pharisee - Dwarf Dog & Titians first & last pictures Geo Richmonds favourite Basaiti Christs agony" (RL MS 33A, quoted in Clegg 1981b, 64).

**177** See "[Part I]", 77.

**178** Less than a week after his arrival in Venice, Ruskin had written in his diary of a visit to the dimly lit *Accademia* during which a "photographer, reflecting light on it with a mirror, let me at least see Titian's *Madonna of the Assumption*, whom finally and irrevocably I discern to be vulgar. Grandly so, but distinctly so" (Diary 13 September 1876, [Ruskin 1956-59, 3: 907]). A visit on Christmas Eve did not alter



his opinion: "Didn't care for it, but recognized it still for a power" (Ruskin 1956-59, 3: 922). On 12 February 1877 Zorzi went with him to the *Accademia* "specially to examine Titian's great work. 'This Benedetta Assunta,' said I to Ruskin, 'does not please you. You think she looks like a washerwoman; but forgive me if I say you are wrong'" (Zorzi 1906, 265).

**179** *Works*, 24: 248.

**180** "[Part I]", 78.

**181** "[Part I]", 80.

**182** See above.

**183** "[Part I]", 82.

**184** Cat. 44 (MM 1955, 104): *The Presentation in the Temple*.

**185** "[Part I]", 82.

**186** "[Part I]", 83.

**187** Cat. 260 (MM 1962, 144): Paolo Veronese, *The Annunciation*; see "[Part I]", 82.

**188** *Works*, 11: 237. Ruskin there adduces extracts from his Italian notebooks of 1845 (*Works*, 11: 237-9; Ruskin 2003, 3-4). A passage, not from the notebooks themselves, but part of the "picture work" they document and of immediate relevance here, as referring to a painting in the *Accademia*, is included in the first of the "Supplementary Texts".

**189** See *Works*, 29: 89-90; 31 above and "[Part I]", n. 73.

**190** Clegg 1981b, 168.

**191** Here 125-32.

**192** He had probably seen and studied them already in 1845 or 1846, given his reference to them not only in VIndex (*Works*, 11: 361), quoted here, but among the copious additions to the chapter "General Application of the Foregoing Principles" in the third edition of *MP I*, published in September 1846, after Ruskin's return from Italy (see n. 176 above and "[Part I]", 88 and n. 85).

**193** See n. 149.

**194** *Works*, 3: 209-10.

**195** "[Part I]", 88.

**196** See the "Appendix".

**197** See "[Part I]", 84.

**198** See "[Part I]", 88 and Ruskin's note (b), where he refers to the numbers of *Fors* (on sale at the *Accademia*) in which he had discussed the *Dream*. The intention to produce a separate 'Carpaccian' guide is reiterated in a letter to Rawdon Brown of 31 March 1877 (BL Add. 36304, ff. 134-5; dated, not by Ruskin, 8 April 1880, but endorsed by Brown on the back, "Rec.d Saturday 31st March 1877"), evidently accompanying a copy of the first Part, received that day from the printers: "The Guide is to be continued in a more elaborate II<sup>nd</sup> part, but it will be called, guide to the pictures of Carpaccio, that people mayn't be forced to buy two, if they don't like".

**199** Cat. 577 (MM 1955, 99); see "From 'The Shrine of the Slaves', 'First Supplement' (ch. 10.), *St Mark's Rest* (December 1877)" in the "Supplementary Texts". The commission was made on 30 January (Bunney 2007, 32). In his Christmas Eve visit to the *Accademia* Ruskin had considered how St Ursula's "fluttery and difficult" red cross gonfalon might be drawn for *LF*. See JWBj (Morley 1984, catalogue, 43): "this banner is that of St George white with red cross. So Mr. Ruskin wants

it for the Society [i.e. St George's Company] and also as it is a fine bit of painting and gradation he thinks of having it chromolithographed as a drawing copy in the schools of St. George. It will make an interesting drawing if I take in the white banner and one of the Red ones of the twelve - which are with the Pope." Bunney's large oil painting (CGSG 00744), never chromolithographed, shows the St George's banner and two of the red, with the hills beyond.

**200** JWBj shows that this "student lad" was working regularly for Ruskin at the *Accademia* in the second half of January and at the beginning of February, and that he copied the angel in the *Dream* before working on the "umbrella" (or portable canopy) over the figure of the Pope in the picture of St Ursula's reception at Rome (entries for 25 January, 2 February and personal communication from S.E. Bunney). The student is unlikely to have been Angelo Alessandri (see below), whom JWBj indicates Ruskin met on 13 March and whose studies at the *Accademia* had long concluded. Raffaele Carloforti (see n. 16) may still have been studying there, but is normally referred to by Ruskin by his first name. The unnamed student was probably a certain "Giovanni" mentioned in JWBj (entries from June to August) as receiving money from Ruskin for work done under Bunney's supervision, including a drawing that had taken 98 hours to produce, apparently from a mosaic in St Mark's (personal communication from S.E. Bunney). If the "student lad" was indeed "Giovanni" his close association with Guglielmo Botti, apparent both in JWBj (on 6 May Bunney and Murray accompanied "Botti with the young student" to Palazzo Giovanelli to see Giorgione's *Tempest*) and in Ruskin's diary ("my poor stupid student at the Academy has got fever; and poor Botti himself, I suspect more ill than he thinks" [Ruskin 1956-59, 3: 945]) suggests he may have been the Venetian painter Giovanni Spoldi (c. 1858-1904), then around eighteen or nineteen and a student at the *Accademia*. Spoldi had been Botti's assistant since 1873-74 (Sarti 2004, 26, 35) and would become an eminent if controversial restorer in Venice in the following decades (Rinaldi 2002; Sarti 2004).

**201** In September 1876 Ruskin had offered to pay for the restoration of this greatly (it was feared irreparably) damaged painting: "It has been terribly injured," he wrote to his cousin, "and wants securing to the canvas, and the Academy, like our own [i.e. the NG?], can't get money from the Government - So I've offered to bear all the expense of its repairing, on condition it is brought down where people can see it; and I think they'll do it! - at all events they're grateful for the offer" (J. Ruskin to J. Severn, 19 September 1876, RL L 41 [*Works*, 24: xxxvii]). On 4 October the offer had indeed been reported by the secretary of the *Accademia*, G.B. Cecchini, in an official communication to the *Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*, though without mention of the condition specified (AABAVE, Atti diversi, Carte Botti, b. 175). *The Pilgrims' Martyrdom* was included in a list of paintings in need of restoration submitted to the *Ministero* in January 1877. However, when Botti came to work on it four years later Ruskin's offer does not seem to have been taken into account (see Manieri Elia 2015, 36), Botti's own conditions of payment having in the meantime been revised. The first part of the restoration, which consisted in relining and in securing the pigment to the canvas, was carried out by May 1881. The subsequent, more delicate

and, as it transpired, controversial phase, which entailed the removal of carbonized resin and oil from its surface, tinting with the prescribed “neutral” hues those parts lacking the original pigment and generally ‘revivifying’ the colour, was then carried out in stages, the initial results being inspected by the committee responsible for overseeing the restoration of pictures in the collection. Though approved by this internal committee in 1882, Botti’s work soon afterwards came in for harsh criticism from a newly constituted group of ministerial consultants, one opposed to the purely conservative principles and methods of restoration upheld, within the *Ministero*, by Giovanni Battista Cavalacaselle, with whom Botti was closely associated. Shortly after Ruskin left Venice, Botti attempted to get the central authorities to respond to his repeated efforts to persuade them of the validity of the methods he had devised, especially for revivifying the colours of old pictures, by claiming they had greatly interested the Englishman, who had written to inform the National Gallery of them (MM 1955, 104; Sarti 2004, 115-45, 279-80).

**202** AM WA.RS.RUD.106bis. He “broke down [...] over the canopy and Bishop’s robes, quite inimitable pieces of decorative work” (*Works*, 13: 526). The drawing was placed in the Oxford Rudimentary Series (No. 106; *Works*, 21: 200n).

**203** Two studies, one unfinished, of the same group, with the saint kneeling to receive her martyrdom. Both drawings were placed in St George’s Museum at Sheffield (CGSG 00162/00360).

**204** J. Ruskin to C.F. Murray 26 February 1877 (MLM MA 2150). In November 1866 Murray (1849-1919; painter, connoisseur, collector and dealer) had become Edward Burne-Jones’ first studio assistant, having been introduced to the painter by Ruskin, to whom he appears to have written for advice. In the immediately following period he also assisted Dante Gabriel Rossetti and G.F. Watts. In the 1870s Murray illuminated miniatures and drew cartoons for stained glass for William Morris and his firm, as well as painting numerous decorative panels for the furniture makers Collinson and Lock. He had worked as a copyist for Ruskin from 1873, first in Rome, then in Tuscany, where he settled after his marriage to Angelica Colivicchi in 1875. Ruskin respected but was essentially wary of Murray’s art-historical interests and knowledge, the cause of some tension between the two. Already active in the Italian art-market, while at Venice Murray purchased two paintings for Ruskin: a *Virgin and Child* by Bartolomeo Vivarini (now FM 1904.18), acquired from Guglielmo Botti (see 17, 22 and 44 above and nn. 62, 200 and 201) and later sold by Ruskin to Frederic Leighton; and, from the residual Manfrin collection, a *Virgin Adoring the Christ Child* ascribed to Filippo Lippi and attributed by Murray himself to Verrocchio (now NGS 2338 as “Unknown”; attr. to Ghirlandaio in *Verrocchio* 2019 (cat. 5.4). See Elliott 2000; Tucker 1998, 2002, 2004, 2008, 2017.

**205** CGSG 00768, purchased by Ruskin on 7 December for St George’s Museum, Sheffield (*Works*, 27: 27), to which it was sent on 13 January 1877 (Ruskin 1956-59, 3: 930). See “From Collected Notes on Some of the Pictures in the St George’s Museum Sheffield (1876-77)” and n. 12 (“Supplementary Texts”).

**206** CGSG 00359 (the central portion with *The Pope’s Benediction*) [fig. 43] and 00367 (a detail showing the *Distant Procession of Bishops*)

[fig. 44]. The latter drawing has been ascribed, incorrectly, to Angelo Alessandri (Morley 1984, 5).

**207** In May 1880 Murray would offer Ruskin four additional studies of paintings by Carpaccio. In an undated letter in which he lists the drawings and the prices he paid for them, Ruskin summarily entitled them “Reception”, “Little violinisti”, “Goodbye” and “Lookers on”. The first probably corresponds to CGSG 01879 (*St Ursula Receiving the Prince*, from *The Meeting of St Ursula and the Prince and the Start of the Pilgrimage*). The second might be either CGSG 00369 (*Angel Musicians*, from *The Presentation of Christ in the Temple*) or CGSG 00368, a watercolour of *The Master of Ceremonies* and accompanying “little fiddler” from *The Return of the Ambassadors* in the St Ursula Series [fig. 37]. “Goodbye” may have shown another detail from *The Meeting of St Ursula and the Prince*, in which Ursula’s betrothed is seen bidding farewell to his father. This drawing and “Lookers on” seem not to have survived (unless the latter corresponds to *The Master of Ceremonies*). Lastly, shortly after purchasing the four studies just referred to, Ruskin requested Murray to copy the Sultan and his daughter from *The Triumph of St George* (J. Ruskin to C.F. Murray, 4 July 1880, MLM) and this commission would seem to have resulted in CGSG 00291.

**208** Ruskin 1956-59, 3: 939.

**209** CGSG 00726 (from *St George Baptizes the Sultan and his Daughter*) [fig. 14]; CGSG 00357 (*The Flying Monks from St Jerome Leads the Lion into the Monastery*); CGSG 00366 (from *The Funeral of St Jerome*) and CGSG 00771 (from *The Miracle of St Tryphonius*).

**210** Later accounted a failure by Bunney (JWBJ 30 December 1877), this was made between 5 and 9 May and paid for by Ruskin (CFMD), but is untraced. It is certainly not RL 1996P0752, formerly at Brantwood and ascribed to Murray in a note on the back, possibly in the hand of the collector F.J. Sharp, but unlike his work and probably rather the copy commissioned by Ruskin from Angelo Alessandri (see n. 212) on 13 July 1881 (Clegg 1981a, 352).

**211** JWBJ 11 March 1877. Bunney thought it “too small to give the power of the beast but parts of it very well rendered & finished though on the whole it was too weak in colour & strength of tone”. The drawing is FM 1926.33.32.

**212** Alessandri (1854-1931) had studied at the *Accademia* from 1866 to 1871, and from 1884 until his retirement in 1924 he would teach figure drawing there. After their meeting in March 1877 Ruskin would undertake to instruct Alessandri in landscape drawing, and on leaving Venice in May would take him to Stresa and Domodossola for that purpose. Subsequently, however, Alessandri would work for Ruskin, in association with the Guild of St George and its museum in Sheffield, almost exclusively as a copyist of fifteenth- and sixteenth century Italian paintings, in particular those of Tintoretto. They would meet again in 1882, when Alessandri was summoned, together with Giacomo Boni, to Pisa, to assist Ruskin in study of the *Duomo* and other Romanesque buildings in the city. Their last meeting was in Venice in 1888, a year before Ruskin’s working life was finally terminated by mental illness. Alessandri nonetheless retained a connection with the Guild and a strong interest in Carpaccio, the artist Ruskin first asked him to copy. His study of the saint’s head from *The Dream of*

*St Ursula* (CGSG 00110) was not a Ruskin commission, but dates from a period in which Alessandri actively promoted a wish he had heard repeatedly expressed by Ruskin, that the nine paintings forming the *St Ursula* series, hung on different walls and at different levels in Room XVI (1877) – and not in different rooms, as is often stated – be reunited (see “Part II”, n. 2). It was Alessandri who suggested Ruskin’s idea to Angelo Conti, whose attempts to gather all the paintings in the *Sala delle statue* (where Ruskin had drawn the *Dream*) were halted by Adolfo Venturi in 1894, but then carried through by Giulio Cantalamessa the following year, when he created an octagonal space within the *Sala* especially for their display (Conti 1911, 130; MM 1955, xxiv; Manieri Elia 2015, 37-9; Bellieni 2022, 106). The octagonal form had also been an idea of Alessandri’s, who drew up a plan of the proposed room (G. Cantalamessa to the Minister of Public Instruction 4 March 1895, ACS, AA.BB.AA., II Vers., I serie, B. 311, fasc. 5313-2). It seems, moreover, that it was Alessandri’s researches, in the later 1890s, into the series’ original arrangement in the *Scuola di S. Orsola* that eventually led to the dismantling of the octagonal room and a later display aiming to evoke the chapel of the *Scuola* (Venturi 1899, 24 [Ruskin 1901, 246n]).

**213** JWB 15 March 1877. The assignment would seem to have resulted in a *Frescoed Building* CGSG 00262 (oil), dated 1878 by Alessandri himself in an autograph list of copies made for Ruskin and the Guild of St George, transcribed by Jeanne Clegg; cf. Morley 1984, catalogue, 5 (1879). See Clegg 2010, 103, and *Works*, 24: 350 for Ruskin’s comments on this detail in the original painting.

**214** JWB 15 and 19 March 1877. The *Visitation* is now displayed in the *Ca d’Oro*.

**215** J. Ruskin to R. Brown, 17 March 1877 (BL Add. 36304 ff. 126-7; TS, BodL MSS Eng. lett. c. 41, 239).

**216** RM 1989.753. A drawing of a detail from the painting, ascribed to Ruskin, was on display at the Ruskin Museum, Coniston in 1906 (Ruskin Museum 1906, cat. 21; *Works*, 38: 238). A reduced copy of the whole painting, ascribed to Alessandri, now lost, was also exhibited (cat. 10). Subsequently the two drawings seem to have become confused. In a letter to the painter Albert Goodwin of 24 March Ruskin described this painting by Carpaccio as “the best piece of painter’s work perfectly done I’ve yet seen in my life. Venetian tone and harmony, with Hunt’s finish” (TS BodL, MSS Eng. lett. c. 41, 244). On 19 February, directly on discovering it, Ruskin had commissioned a copy from Bunney. This was sent to him in November 1877 but its current location is not known (Bunney 2007, 32). On 10 March Ruskin informed C.E. Norton (Bradley, Ousby 1987, 390) of his plan to keep a certain wood engraver, identified in a MS note on the letter by Norton as the American Henry Marsh (1826-1912), who specialized in entomological illustration, “in England and wholly in my service, if he’s the least humanly manageable”. On 19 April Ruskin and Murray visited the Correr collection with Marsh “to look at Carpaccio” (CFMD 19 April 1877).

**217** Crowe, *Cavalcaselle* 1871, 1: 213.

**218** See *Works*, 24: 358-9.

**219** Ruskin visited the church with Murray on 26 April (CFMD). Nearly fifteen years later Murray was said by William Stillman to be of the opinion that the paintings had “no trace of the workmanship

of Carpaccio beyond the evident imitation of some of his peculiarities of drawing by a follower whose inherent feebleness Ruskin mistakes for the youth of the master” (Cole, Stillman 1892, 261). They are now attributed to the school of Lazzaro Bastiani.

**220** Kate Malleson Goodwin (1829-1912) was the cousin of Ruskin’s friend and correspondent Rev. F.A. Malleson (see the “Supplementary Texts”, n. 70) and wife of the painter Harry Goodwin (1842-1925), whose better known painter brother Albert Ruskin supported (see n. 216). Her sister-in-law Elizabeth (née Whitehead) was one of the founders of the Working Women’s College in London, which opened in 1864 and where Kate herself taught (Malleson 2012, 22). It was around this time she received some lessons from Bunney. In 1877 Kate and her husband made the first of two visits in Venice, arriving there on 18 April, when Ruskin was still in the city. JWB 30 December 1877 shows that after his departure and during their second visits to Venice (17 November 1877-April 1878) Ruskin would write suggesting Kate make copies of a number of paintings, including *The Meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*. Her watercolour reached Ruskin at Brantwood not long before his first mental collapse at the end of February 1878 (it features in diary entries immediately preceding the collapse). It was later placed by him, under her name, as the last of sixty drawings (as a “summary” of their “meaning”) which he gave to Whitelands College and which he catalogued in 1883 (*Works*, 30: 355). It is likely that the watercolour currently at Whitelands is a copy of Kate Goodwin’s, which may have been returned to Ruskin, as was her copy of the painting of *St Ursula and Four Female Saints* then ascribed to Caterina Vigri (*Works*, 30: 356n), for which see “Part II”, 114 and n. 124. For the copy of *The Meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba* by Kate Goodwin is probably to be identified with RL 1996P0003, ascribed to Alessandri, though his autograph list of copies made for Ruskin and the Guild of St George, consulted in Jeanne Clegg’s transcription, does not include this subject. RL 1996P0003 was purchased in 1965 from Lanehead, Coniston, formerly the home of Ruskin’s assistant William Gershom Collingwood, by whom it was probably exhibited in the Ruskin Museum (Ruskin Museum 1906, cat. 16, though without any indication of the artist responsible). That this drawing had once been Ruskin’s is suggested by the inscription in his hand (with its echo of Isaiah 42:1): “This is my own chosen one”. FM 1936.109.113 is a copy of the painting by the Irish-born American artist Robert David Gauley (1875-1943), which on its verso bears the puzzling inscription, “The original of this design is by Victor Carpaccio. | It is said to be a work of his childhood. This | copy is from one by John Ruskin, presented | by him to Charles H. Moore. | Robert David Gauley. | September 1891”. Moore, however, had left Venice over a month before Ruskin found the original painting in S. Alvise.

**221** See “[Part I]”, 74, 78.

**222** See “Part II”, 102.

**223** JWB 29 March 1877 (173). Margaret Elizabeth (“Maggie”) (1864-1914) was the eldest of Bunney’s four children, the youngest of whom was born in Venice in 1876 (a fifth had died in infancy in 1869). She had copied out ch. 5 of *SMR* the previous month (JWB 19 February 1877).

**224** Ruskin 1956-59, 3: 946.



- 225** CFMD 11 April 1877; CFMD 11 April 1877. See also “Part II”, n. 18. Bunney had been asked to tea on 9 April for this same purpose, but the reading had had to be put off owing to a visit from Zorzi.
- 226** JWBJ 1 May 1877 (see also “Editions of the *Guide*”, Table 1). An account book kept by Bunney and recording the sale of Ruskin’s publications in 1877 (collection of S.E. Bunney) documents the arrival on 31 May of 12 copies sent by Ruskin from Domodossola. In a letter to Bunney of 27 June 1877 (tipped in to JWBJ) Allen states that he had not as yet received any copies from the printer, and that Ruskin had ordered 50 proofs to be sent to Bunney.
- 227** See “Part II”, 99-100. The ninth painting is cat. 579 (MM 1955, 101): *The Arrival of St Ursula and the Pilgrims at Cologne*.
- 228** See “[Part I]”, 84.
- 229** Cats 566, 89, 90 (MM 1955, 94, 105, 106).
- 230** *Works*, 3: 174 ff.
- 231** *Works*, 24: 254-5 (ch. 5, written and revised in this period).
- 232** “[Part I]”, 78.
- 233** “Part II”, 105.
- 234** “Part II”, 110.
- 235** “Part II”, n. (m). The second part of the note was emended in the second impression: see “Editions of the *Guide*”, Table 2: 43n.
- 236** *Works*, 24: 366.
- 237** *Works*, 24: 366.
- 238** *Works*, 24: 366-7.
- 239** *Works*, 24: 356.
- 240** See “From Fors Clavigera Letter 71 (November 1876) ‘The Feudal Ranks’” and “From ‘The Shrine of the Slaves’, ‘First Supplement’” (ch. 10), *St Mark’s Rest*”, both included in the “Supplementary Texts”.
- 241** “[Part I]”, 88.
- 242** “Part II”, 107.
- 243** J. Ruskin to C.F. Murray, 8-9 March 1877 (MLM MA 2150).
- 244** *Works*, 24: 368.
- 245** *Works*, 24: 368.
- 246** *Works*, 24: 340.
- 247** See the “Appendix”, 127 and nn. 9-10.
- 248** *Works*, 24: 229.
- 249** Compare “Part II”, 107 and “Carpaccio’s Ape” in the “Supplementary Texts”.
- 250** *Works*, 24: 339.
- 251** *Works*, 24: 368.
- 252** *Works*, 24: 369. Compare Ruskin’s references in contemporary letters of *FC* (*Works*, 29: 34, 62, 125-6) to St Michael as “the angel of war against the dragon of sin” and to the “lifted sword” given him in the statue on the south-west corner of the Doge’s Palace as instrument for the purging – not the punishment, Ruskin stresses – of sin, represented in “Presumptuous” form in the group of Adam and Eve immediately below it (see Quill 2015, 125; Quill 2018, 149). The act of sheathing his sword is also imputed to St George, in the Byzantine relief inspected on the sculptural walk in *SMR* (*Works*, 24: 244). Analogously, in *AF* (*Works*, 22: 438; see also Clegg, Tucker 1993, 84) a fifteenth-century Florentine engraving of Joshua is said to represent him as “the ideal of a soldier, and for the greatest glory of war [...] but quitting his hold of the sword”.

## Editions of the *Guide*

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The manuscript of the *Guide* is not known to have survived. There have been five editions prior to this one, four in English and one in Italian (not counting Ruskin 2014). Bibliographical details for the first two (Ruskin 1877; Ruskin 1882/3), the only editions overseen by Ruskin, are set out below, together with brief descriptions of the later three. The present edition reproduces the text of the first, which was issued in two Parts. For the first Part, it reproduces the text of the second of three impressions issued by Ruskin (Ruskin 1877 I<sup>b</sup>) and for the second Part the second of two impressions (Ruskin 1877 II<sup>b</sup>).

### Ruskin 1877

In two Parts ([I]/II) with continuous pagination [fig. 17].

[Part I] = Ruskin 1877 I. Octavo, [1]-24. Title-page, as shown above [fig. 7]. Issued around the beginning of April 1877 (see the “Introduction”, 32). Ruskin 1877 I is found in three impressions:

- Ruskin 1877 I<sup>a</sup>, apparently the first proof, without paper wrappers, containing various misprints (corrected in Ruskin 1877 I<sup>b</sup>) and a reference to a painting by Veronese removed from the later impressions (see Table 1: 6, 14, 17, 18). In a copy of Ruskin 1877 I<sup>a</sup> once with John Wharltton Bunney (now RL EN-717 4.2) the misprints have been corrected in a hand possibly not Ruskin’s. Ruskin 1877 I<sup>a</sup> is the impression which on 7 April 1877 Ruskin instructed G. Allen to have bound in his “official purple” for presentation

- to members of the *Accademia* [fig. 6]. Presumably, therefore, it is also the impression made available by him for purchase in the Gallery that same date (see the Introduction, nn. 153 and 158).
- Ruskin 1877 I<sup>b</sup>, issued in mottled-grey paper wrappers with the title-page (enclosed in a plain ruled frame) reproduced on the front: with misprints corrected and reference to a painting by Veronese (17) removed, with consequent alteration of the text and redistribution of the type, 22-24 (see Table 1).
  - Ruskin 1877 I<sup>c</sup>, issued in mottled-grey paper wrappers with the title-page (enclosed in a plain ruled frame) reproduced on the front: containing further alterations in the text (see Table 1). A copy of Ruskin 1877 I<sup>b</sup> once with John Wharltton Bunney (now RL EN-7174.3), inscribed (in Bunney's hand) "Pattern" on the front of the paper wrapper, has handwritten annotations by Ruskin indicating some of the changes now made (see Table 1: 1 [the Note, but not the opening sentence], 4, 13, 20n). These annotations must have been made after 1 May, the date on which Bunney offered to act as agent for the sale of Ruskin's publications in Venice (JWBJ), as indicated in Ruskin 1877 I<sup>c</sup>, 20n [see Table 1]).

Part II = Ruskin 1877 II. Octavo, [25]-50; Appendix, 51-7. Title-page, as shown above [fig. 7], with the addition, above the place and date of publication, of "Part II.". Issued between May and June 1877 (see the "Introduction", 46 and n. 226). Ruskin 1877 II is found in two impressions:

- Ruskin 1877 II<sup>a</sup>, "[FIRST PROOF." [sic] printed on the title-page, upper right; containing various misprints, two of which are corrected (in Ruskin's hand) in a copy once with John Wharltton Bunney (now RL EN-7174.4) (Table 2: 51, 56). Another copy, formerly in the collection of J.S. Dearden, has annotations by Ruskin that seem to indicate the intention to revise the text, or else reuse, perhaps even orally deliver, it (see Table 3).
- Ruskin 1877 II<sup>b</sup>, in mottled-grey paper wrappers with the title-page (enclosed in a plain ruled frame) reproduced on the front: the type redistributed, 25-42 and 56-7; with the two above-mentioned corrections made in the printed text together with numerous other amendments and additions (see Table 2).

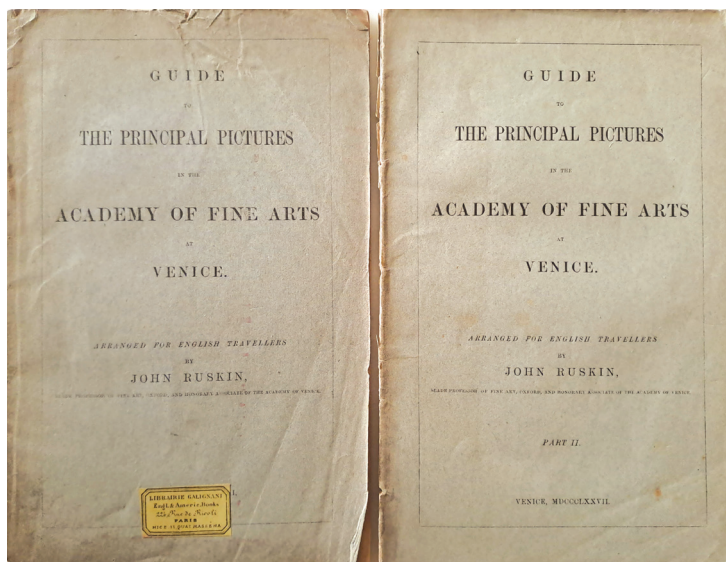
### Ruskin 1882/3

In two parts (I/II) with continuous pagination. Except for some slight changes in punctuation, this is the edition of the *Guide* included in undated American editions of *Hortus Inclusus* and other writings published in the latter part of the century by Lovell, Coryell & Co, New York and by Dana Estes & Co., Boston.

[Part I] = Ruskin 1882/3 I. Octavo, [1]-24. Title-page as shown above [fig. 7], with the addition of "Third Thousand" below the author's name and titles and substitution of the place and date of publication by "George Allen, | Sunnyside, Orpington, Kent. | 1882". The edition contains minimal alterations in the text, including the introduction of several misprints (see Table 1). Issued in June 1882 (*Works*, 24: 143).

Part II = Ruskin 1882/3 II. Octavo, [25]-50; Appendix, 51-7. Issued in July 1883, in paper wrappers (*Works*, 24: 143). Title-page, as shown above [fig. 7], with the addition of "Second Edition" below the author's name and the substitution of the place and date of publication by "George Allen, | Sunnyside, Orpington, Kent"; dated "1883" on the wrapper (*Works*, 24: 143; not seen by me). There were no substantial alterations here, but two further corrections (Table 3: 34n, 52) and a number of slight changes to text and punctuation, some evidently made in error (see Table 2).





**Figure 17**  
John Ruskin, *Guide to the Principal Pictures in the Academy of Fine Arts at Venice*. Individual Parts: [Part I], first ed., third impression; Part II, first ed., second impression. 1877

### Ruskin 1891

“Complete Edition. Revised and Corrected”; edited by Alexander Wedderburn so as to accommodate intervenient changes in the numbering and hanging of the pictures in the *Accademia*. This entailed substantial alterations in the text, including the omission, or relegation to footnotes, of passages no longer pertinent, the rewriting of ‘bridge passages’ and the revision of reference numbers. A few additional footnotes were provided by the editor, as well as a “List of Pictures referred to in the Guide” and an Index.

### Ruskin 1901

In a volume presenting edited Italian translations of the *Guide* and *SMR* by Maria Pezzè Pascolato, with extracts from *FC* and *RMAT*. The editor follows the text of Ruskin 1891, introducing further revision, necessitated by additional changes in the arrangement of the pictures.

### Ruskin 1906

*Works*, 24: 141-86. This edition claims to restore the text of the first but in fact combines Ruskin 1877 I<sup>b</sup> and I<sup>c</sup> and Ruskin 1882/3 II. It also incorporates the reference numbers then (1905) in use at the *Accademia* and otherwise updates the text by annotation.

**Table 1** Textual variants in Ruskin 1877 I and Ruskin 1882/3 I

Page	Ruskin 1877 I <sup>a</sup>	Ruskin 1877 I <sup>b</sup>	Ruskin 1877 I <sup>c</sup>	Ruskin 1882/3 I
1 [= 71 here] head			[Note.-- <i>This guide, if bought at the Porter's table, may conveniently be begun at the top of page 5.</i> ]	
1 [= 71]	In the first place, if the weather is fine, go outside the gate you have just come in at, and look above it. Over this door are three		Over the entrance gate of the Academy are three	
1 [= 71]	a simple gable; the piece of sculpture		a simple gable; the bracket-cornice beneath bearing date, 1345; the piece of sculpture	
1 [= 71]	in an ungainly manner: – she herself			in an ungainly manner: she herself
4 [= 72]	1378 and 1379		1378 and 1384	
5 [= 72]	for them, – if I were			for them, – if I were
6 [= 77]	Alone with an entire	Alone worth an entire		
9 [= 78]	or the quarter			or one quarter
11 [= 78]	but of the wrong, and the truth, the error, and the glory of			but of the wrong and the truth, the error and the glory of
12 [= 80]	Nicolò			Nicolo
13 [= 80]	just on your left as you go in		just on your right as you go in	
13 [= 80]	No. 273. To which			No. 273; to which
13 [= 80]	wonderful work, in minute drawing			wonderful work in minute drawing
14 [= 82]	Cima ad Conegliano	Cima da Conegliano		
15 [= 82]	artist's picture, and even, only to be			artist's picture, and even only to be
17 [= 83]	in Venice; (Paul Veronese's, behind you, in 519 [Cat. 37 (MM 1962, 135)], is next best; and it is one of the most singular points	in Venice; (but always look carefully at Paul Veronese's, for it is one of the most singular points		
18 [= 84]	fairy angels within, and a heavenly castle wall	fairy angels within a heavenly castle wall		
20 [= 88]	Dream of St. Orsola			Dream of St. Ursula

Page	Ruskin 1877 I <sup>a</sup>	Ruskin 1877 I <sup>b</sup>	Ruskin 1877 I <sup>c</sup>	Ruskin 1882/3 I
20n [= 88, n. (b)]	now purchaseable of my agent in Venice.		now purchaseable of my agent in Venice, (Mr. Bunney, Fondamenta San Biagio 2143,) from whom all my recent publications on Venice may be also procured.	now purchaseable of my agent in Venice, (Mr. Bunney, Fondamenta San Biagio 2143,) from whom all my recent publications on Venice may be also procured.
22 [= 88]	and his son the Lord of Peace			and his Son the Lord of Peace
24 [= 90]	We will look at no more painting, to-day.			We will look at no more painting to-day.

**Table 2** Textual variants in Ruskin 1877 II<sup>a</sup>, 1877 II<sup>b</sup> and 1882/3 II

Page	Ruskin 1877 II <sup>a</sup>	Ruskin 1877 II <sup>b</sup>	Ruskin 1882/3 II
26 [= 99]	the English ambassadors; and has talk		the English ambassadors: and has talk
26/7 [= 100]	But I think the palm-boughs under St. Ursula's left foot cover his head. In this series	But I suppose it is he who holds St. Ursula's standard. The architecture and landscape are unsurpassably fine; the rest much imperfect; but containing nobleness only to be learned by long dwelling on it. In this series	
30 [= 101]	by steady progress, from the Creation	by steady progress of taste, from the Creation	
30n	Otherwise continue at page 38.	If you have already seen the school of St. John, or do not like the interruption, continue at page 39.	
33 [= 100]	to spoil their Grand Canal with at its noblest bend	to spoil their Grand Canal with, at its noblest bend	
33 [101, n.(d)]	Alexander III. in 1177; – here on the little		Alexander III. in 1177; here on the little
34n [= 100, n. (f)]	hordes at the table d'hôtes, whose ears have been rent by railroad whistles till they don't know a howl from a song, – instead of ferrying.		hordes at the tables d'hôte, whose ears have been rent by railroad whistles till they don't know a howl from a song –instead of ferrying.
35 [= 101]	Gothic thought and work, untouched, and indubitable		Gothic thought and work untouched, and indubitable
43n [= 110, n. (m)]	these two parts now published, after some farther revision, will form my completed Guide to the Academy.	these two parts, now published, contain all I have to say about the Academy.	
44 [= 110]	in the world: but the entire picture is a failure; all the	in the world: but, considered as a whole, the picture is a failure; all the	



Page	Ruskin 1877 II <sup>a</sup>	Ruskin 1877 II <sup>b</sup>	Ruskin 1882/3 II
44 [= 110]	and the Le Brun worth, if it were put	and the Le Brun, worth, if it were put	
45 [= 112]	the pictures here: and the Cima		the pictures here; and the Cima
47 [= 114]	in this gallery, 366, is really too stupid	in this gallery (366), is really too stupid	
47 [= 114]	a fine, but much overrated, Tintoret	a fine, but much-overrated, Tintoret	
47n [= 112]	in the 18th Century	in the Eighteenth Century	
48 [= 114]	of her “Modern Painters.”		of her ‘Modern Painters.’
48 [= 114]	of interest; but of which I have		of interest; but which [ <i>sic</i> ] I have
48 [= 114]	delicious painting, and the	delicious painting; and the	
49 [= 114]	94 is fine; the five		94 is fine; and the five
51 [= 125]	collection of documents relating to Venetian painters already	collection of ‘documents relating to Venetian painters’ already	
51 [= 125]	Paul Caliare	Paul Caliarì	
52 [= 126]	that Jesus took with his disciples		that Jesus took with His disciples
52n [= 126, n. (b)]	“Cena ultima che”	“Cena <i>ultima</i> che”	
53n [= 126, n. (b)]	who forbade the feast of Matthew	who <i>forbade</i> the feast of Matthew	
53n [= 126, n. (b)]	at whose feet Jesus now sate. Another manner of sinner this, who stands here weeping, who	at whose feet Jesus now sat. Another manner of sinner this, who stands uncalled, at the feast, weeping; who	
53n [= 126, n. (b)]	and John xii. 2.) where	and John xii. 2, where	
53n [= 126, n. (b)]	with her hair. Here the objection	with her hair; – so also, more palpably in John xi. 2). Here the objection	
54n [= 126, n. (b)]	Magdalen, – which	Magdalen; – which	
54n [= 127, n. (c)]	‘several others’; some score	‘several others’ – some score	
54n [= 127, n. (d)]	no less than the taste of Holbein	no less than the taste – of Holbein	
56n [= 130, nn. (l) and (m)]	‡ And. § The gist of the business, at last.	‡ and § The gist of the business, at last.	
57 [= 130]	His mother, S. John, and S. Peter	His mother, St. John, and St. Peter	
57 [= 130]	the Sacred Tribunal.	the Sacred Tribunal.”	
			This sentence, however severe in terms, was merely a matter of form. The examiners were satisfied there was no malice prepense in their fanciful Paul; and troubled neither him nor themselves farther. He did not so much as efface the inculpated dog; and the only correction or amendment he made, so far as I can see, was the addition of the inscription, which marked the picture for the feast of Levi.

**Table 3** Annotations by Ruskin in a copy of Ruskin 1877 II<sup>a</sup> formerly in the collection of J.S. Dearden

Page	Ruskin 1877 II <sup>a</sup>	Annotations by Ruskin
32 [=102] in left margin, line aligned with paragraph break	notion of Giocondine work. Then back, with straight speed	A — 2
34 [=102] in left margin, line aligned with paragraph break	the ghastly iron bridge.* Most probably	— B next to number 3
37 [=105] in right margin, line aligned with paragraph break	three hundred of the brethren. Above the inscription	A —
38 [=105] in left margin, upper line aligned with paragraph break	intelligible in meaning. How far the great Scuola	— B. show Carpaccio candle — and now to 4
39 [=105-6] right margin, line placed just above upper limit of text	hour of rest when you now return into the Car-	A —
43 [=110] right margin, line aligned with paragraph break	soon, with him, if you will But I find this Guide	end — B here





**Guide to the Principal Pictures  
in the Academy of Fine Arts at Venice**

John Ruskin



**Figure 18**  
Doorway of the *Accademia di Belle Arti* with reliefs of the Virgin and Child, St Leonard and St Christopher. 14th century

## [Part I]

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In the first place, if the weather is fine, go outside the gate you have just come in at [fig. 18], and look above it.<sup>1</sup> Over this door are three of the most precious pieces of sculpture in Venice; her native work, dated; and belonging to the school of severe Gothic which indicates the beginning of her Christian life in understanding of its real claims upon her.<sup>2</sup>

St. Leonard on the left, St. Christopher on the right, under Gothic cusped niches. The Madonna in the centre [fig. 19], under a simple gable;<sup>3</sup> the piece of sculpture itself engaged in a rectangular panel, which is the persistent sign of the Greek schools; descending from the Metopes of the Parthenon.<sup>4</sup>

You see the infant sprawls on her knee in an ungainly manner: – she herself sits with quiet maiden dignity,<sup>5</sup> but in no manner of sentimental adoration.<sup>6</sup>

That is Venetian naturalism; showing their henceforward steady desire to represent things as they really (according to the workman's notions) might have existed. It begins first in this century separating itself from the Byzantine formalism, – the movement being the same which was led by Giotto in Florence fifty years earlier. These sculptures are the result of his influence, from Padua, and other such Gothic power, rousing Venice to do and think for herself, instead of letting her Greek subjects do all for her. This is one of her first performances, independently of them. She has not yet the least notion of making anybody stand rightly on their feet; you see how St. Leonard and St. Christopher point their toes.<sup>7</sup> Clearly, until we know how to do better than this, in perspective and such matters,





Figure 19 Relief of *The Virgin and Child* over the doorway of the Accademia di Belle Arti. 14th century

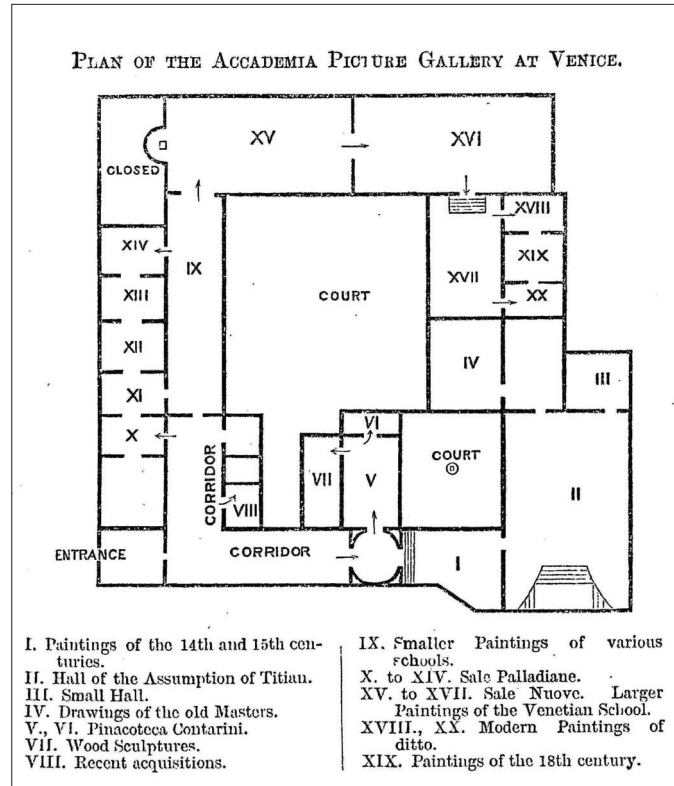


Figure 20 Plan of the Gallerie dell'Accademia. 1877

our painting cannot come to much.<sup>8</sup> Accordingly, all the Venetian painting of any importance you are now to see in the Academy is subsequent to these sculptures.<sup>9</sup> But these are, fortunately, dated - 1378 and 1379.<sup>10</sup> Twenty years more will bring us out of the fourteenth century. And therefore, broadly, all the painter's art of Venice begins in the fifteenth; and we may as well at once take note that it ends with the sixteenth.<sup>11</sup> There are only these two hundred years of painting in Venice. Now,

without much pause in the corridor, though the old well in the cortile has its notabilities if one had time,<sup>12</sup> - up the spiral stairs, and when you have entered the gallery and got your admission tickets - (quite a proper arrangement that you should pay for them,<sup>13</sup> - if I were a Venetian prefect, you should pay a good deal more for leave to come to Venice at all, that I might be sure you cared to come,) - walk straight forward till you descend the steps into the first room in the arrangement of the



**Figure 21**  
Stefano "Plebanus"  
of S. Agnese, *The Coronation  
of the Virgin*. 1381





**Figure 22** Bartolomeo Vivarini, polyptych with the Virgin and Child; St Andrew; St John the Baptist; St Dominic; St Peter. 1464

Academy Catalogue [fig. 20].<sup>14</sup> On your right, at the bottom of the steps, you see a large picture (16) in a series of compartments, of which the central one, the Crowning of the Virgin, was painted by a Venetian vicar (vicar of St. Agnes.) in 1380 [fig. 21].<sup>15</sup> A happy, faithful, cheerful vicar he must have been; and any vicar, rector, or bishop who could do such a thing now, would be a blessing to his parish, and delight to his diocese. Symmetrical, orderly, gay, and in the heart of it nobly grave, this work of the old Plebanus<sup>16</sup> has much in it of the future methods of

Venetian composition. The two angels peeping over the arms of the throne may remind you to look at its cusped arches, for we are here in central Gothic time; thirty years after the sea-façade of the Ducal Palace had been built.

Now, on the opposite side of the room, over the door leading into the next room, you see (1) in the Academy Catalogue [fig. 22], “The work of Bartholomew Vivarini of Murano, 1464”,<sup>17</sup> showing you what advance had been made in eighty years. The figures still hard in outline, – thin, (except the Madonna’s throat, which always,



**Figure 23**  
Giovanni Bellini,  
*S. Giobbe* altarpiece.  
c. 1478





**Figure 24**  
Titian, *The Assumption*. 1516-18

in Venice, is strong as a pillar,<sup>18</sup> and much marked in sinew and bone, (studied from life, mind you, not by dissection);<sup>19</sup> exquisitely delicate and careful in pure colour; - in character, portraits of holy men and women, such as then were. There is no idealism here whatever. Monks and nuns had indeed faces and mien like these saints, when they desired to have the saints painted for them.

A noble picture; not of any supreme genius, but completely containing the essence of Venetian art.

Next, going under it, through the door, you find yourself in the principal room of the Academy,<sup>20</sup> which please cross quietly to the window opposite, on the left of which hangs a large picture<sup>21</sup> [fig. 23] which you will have great difficulty in seeing at all, hung as it is against the light; and which, in any of its finer qualities, you absolutely cannot see; but may yet perceive what they are, latent in that darkness, which is all the honour that the kings, nobles, and artists of Europe care to bestow on one of the greatest pictures ever painted by Christendom in her central art-power.<sup>22</sup> Alone worth an entire modern exhibition-building, hired fiddlers, and all; here you have it jammed on a back wall, utterly unserviceable to human kind, the little angels of it fiddling unseen, unheard by anybody's heart.<sup>23</sup> It is the best John Bellini in the Academy of Venice; the third best in Venice, and probably in the world.<sup>24</sup> Repainted, the right-hand angel, and somewhat elsewhere;<sup>25</sup> but on the whole perfect; unspeakably good, and right in all ways. Not inspired with any high religious passion; a good man's work, not an enthusiast's. It is, in principle, merely the perfecting of Vivarini's; the saints, mere portraits of existing men and women; the Madonna, idealized only in that squareness of face and throat, not in anywise the prettier for it, otherwise a quite commonplace Venetian woman. Such, and far lovelier, you may see living to-day, if you can see - and may make manifest, if you can paint.

And now, you may look to the far end of the room,

where Titian's 'Assumption' [fig. 24] has the chairs put before it;<sup>26</sup> everybody being expected to sit down, and for once, without asking what o'clock it is at the railroad station, reposefully admire.

Of which, hear first what I wrote, very rightly, a quarter of a century ago.

"The traveller is generally too much struck by Titian's great picture of 'The Assumption' to be able to pay proper attention to the other works in this gallery.<sup>27</sup> Let him, however, ask himself candidly how much of his admiration is dependent merely on the picture's being larger than any other in the room, and having bright masses of red and blue in it; let him be assured that the picture is in reality not one whit the better either for being large or gaudy in colour, and he will then be better disposed to give the pains necessary to discover the merit of the more profound works of Bellini and Tintoret."<sup>28</sup>

I wrote this, I have said, *very* rightly, not *quite* rightly. For if a picture is good, it *is* better for being large, because it is more difficult to paint large than small; and if colour is good, it *may* be better for being bright.

Nay, the fault of this picture, as I read it now, is in not being bright enough. A large piece of scarlet, two large pieces of crimson, and some very beautiful blue, occupy about a fifth part of it; but the rest is mostly fox colour or dark brown: majority of the apostles under total eclipse of brown. St. John, there being nobody else handsome to look at, is therefore seen to advantage; also St. Peter and his beard; but the rest of the lower canvas is filled with little more than flourishings of arms and flingings of cloaks, in shadow and light.

However, as a piece of oil painting, and what artists call 'composition', with entire grasp and knowledge of the action of the human body, the perspectives of the human face, and the relations of shade to colour in expressing form, the picture is deservedly held unsurpassable. Enjoy of it what you can; but of its place in the history of Venetian art observe these three following points:-

I. The throned Madonnas of Vivarini and Bellini were to Venice what the statue of Athena in the Brazen House was to Athens.<sup>29</sup> Not at all supposed to *be* Athena, or to *be* Madonnas; but symbols, by help of which they conceived the presence with them of a real Goddess. But this picture of Titian's does not profess to symbolize any Virgin here with us, but only to show how the Virgin was taken away from us a long time ago. And professing to represent this, he does not in the least believe his own representation, nor expect anybody else to believe it. He does not, in his heart, believe the Assumption ever took place at all. He is merely putting together a stage decoration of clouds, little boys, with wings stuck into them, and pantomime actors, in studied positions, to amuse his Venice and himself.

II. Though desirous of nothing but amusement, he is not, at heart, half so much amused by his work as John Bellini, or the quarter so much amused as the innocent old vicar.<sup>30</sup> On the contrary, a strange gloom has been cast over him, he knows not why; but he likes all his colours dark, and puts great spaces of brown, and crimson passing into black, where the older painters would have made all lively. Painters call this 'chiaroscuro'. So also they may call a thunder-cloud in the sky of spring: but it means more than light and shade.

III. You see that in all the three earlier pictures everybody is quiet. Here, everybody is in a bustle. If you like to look at my pamphlet on the relation of Tintoret to Michael Angelo, you will see how this comes to pass, and what it means.<sup>31</sup> And that is all I care for your noticing in the Assumption, just now.

Next, look on right and left of it at the two dark pictures over the doors (63, 25) [fig. 25].<sup>32</sup>

Darkness visible,<sup>33</sup> with flashes of lightning through it. The thunder-cloud upon us, rent with fire.

Those are Tintorets; finest possible Tintorets; best possible examples of what, in absolute power of painting, is supremest work, so far as I know, in all the world.

Nothing comes near Tintoret for colossal painter's power, as such.<sup>34</sup> But you need not think to get any good of these pictures: it would take you twenty years' work to understand the fineness of them as painting; and for the rest, there is little good in them to be got. Adam and Eve no more sat in that warm-weather picnic manner, helping each other politely to apples, on the occasion of their fall, than the Madonna went up all bending about in her red and blue cloak on the occasion of her Assumption. But of the wrong, and the truth, the error, and the glory of these pictures, I have no time to speak now; nor you to hear. All that you have to notice is that painting has now become a dark instead of bright art,<sup>35</sup> and in many ways a frightful and unpleasant art, or else I will add once for all, referring you for proof of it to the general examples of Venetian work at this late epoch, supplied as a luxury to foreign courts, a lascivious art.<sup>a|36</sup>

Nevertheless up to the time when Tintoret painted the Crucifixion in the Scuola di San Rocco,<sup>37</sup> Venice had not in heart abjured her religion. The time when the last chord of its faith gives way cannot be discerned, to day and hour; but in that day and hour of which, for external sign, we may best take the death of Tintoret in 1594, the Arts of Venice are at an end.

I have therefore now shown you the complete course of their power, from 1380 at the Academy gates, to 1594 – say, broadly, two centuries, (her previous art being only architectural, mosaic, or decorative sculpture).

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a One copy of Titian's work bearing such commercial value, and showing what was briefly the Gospel preached by Missionary Venice to foreign nations in the sixteenth century, you will find presently in the narrow corridor, No. 347 [Room IX (1877)], cat. 340 (MM 1962, 181): Giovanni Contarini (attr.), *Venus*, canvas]: on which you will usually also find some modern copyist employed, for missionary purposes; but never on a Vivarini. And in thus becoming dark, terrific, and sensual, Venetian art led the way to the mere naturalism and various baseness of following European art with the rubbish of which that corridor (Sala ix., Numbers 276 to 353,) is mostly filled.





**Figure 25** Jacopo Tintoretto, *Adam and Eve*. 1550-53





Figure 26 Andrea Mantegna, *St George*. c. 1460

We will now go through the rooms, noticing what is best worth notice, in each of the epochs defined; essentially, you observe, three. The first we may call the Vivarini epoch, bright, innocent, more or less elementary, entirely religious art, - reaching from 1400 to 1480; the second, (which for reasons presently to be shown, we will call the Carpaccian epoch,) sometimes classic and mythic as well as religious, 1480-1520; the third, supremely powerful art corrupted by taint of death, 1520-1600, which we will call the Tintoret epoch.

Of course the lives of the painters run in and out across these limits; yet if you fasten these firmly in your mind, - 80, 40, 80, - you will find you have an immense advantage and easy grip of the whole history of Venetian art.<sup>38</sup>

In the first epoch, however, I do not mean to detain you; but the room you first entered,<sup>39</sup> into which I will now ask you to return, is full of pictures which you will find interesting if you have time to decipher them, and care for Christianity and its expressions. One only I will ask you to look at, after Titian's *Assumption*, the little *Ascension* by Nicolò Semitecolo, low down, on the right of the vicar's picture in Number 16.<sup>40</sup> For that *Ascension* is painted in real belief that the *Ascension* *did* take place; and its sincerity ought to be pleasant to you, after Titian's pretence.

Now, returning up the steps, and taking the corridor to your right, opposite the porter's table, enter the little room through the first door on your right,<sup>41</sup> and therein, just on your left<sup>42</sup> as you go in, is Mantegna's *St. George*, No. 273 [fig. 26].<sup>43</sup> To which, give ten minutes quietly, and examine it with a magnifying glass of considerable power. For in that you have a perfect type of the Italian methods of execution corresponding to the finish of the Dutch painters in the north; but far more intellectual and skilful. You cannot see more wonderful work, in minute drawing with the point of the brush;<sup>44</sup> the virtue of it being that not only every touch is microscopically minute, but that, in this minuteness, every touch is



**Figure 27**  
Vittore Carpaccio,  
*The Presentation of Christ  
in the Temple*. 1510



considered, and every touch right. It is to be regarded, however, only as a piece of workmanship. It is wholly without sentiment, though the distant landscape becomes affecting through its detailed truth, – the winding road under the rocks, and the towered city, being as full of little pretty things to be searched out as a natural scene would be.

And I have brought you first, in our now more complete review, to this picture, because it shows more clearly than any other through what tremendous work the Italian masters obtained their power.

Without the inherited strength won by this precision of drawing in the earlier masters, neither Titian nor Tintoret could have existed.

Return into the corridor, and walk along it to the end<sup>45</sup> without wasting time; – there is a Bonifazio, No. 326,<sup>46</sup> worth a painter's while to stop at, but in general mere Dutch rubbish.<sup>47</sup> Walk straight on, and go in at the last door on the left,<sup>48</sup> within which you will find

456, Cima da Conegliano.<sup>49</sup> An entirely sincere and noble picture of the central epoch. Not supreme in any artistic quality, but good and praiseworthy in all; and, as a conception of its subject, the most beautiful you will find in Venice. Grudge no time upon *it*; but look at nothing else here; return into the corridor, and proceed by it into the great room.<sup>50</sup>

Opposite you is Titian's great 'Presentation of the Virgin',<sup>51</sup> interesting to artists, and an unusually large specimen of Titian's rough work. To me, simply the most stupid and uninteresting picture ever painted by him; – if you can find anything to enjoy in it, you are very welcome: I have nothing more to say of it, except that the colour of the landscape is as false as a piece of common blue tapestry, and that the 'celebrated' old woman with her basket of eggs is as dismally ugly and vulgar a filling of spare corner as was ever daubed on a side-scene in a hurry at Drury Lane.<sup>52</sup>

On the other side of the room, 543,<sup>53</sup> is another wide waste of canvas; miserable example of the work subsequent to Paul Veronese; doubly and trebly mischievous in caricaturing and defiling all that in the master himself is noble: to look long at such a thing is enough to make the truest lovers of Venetian art ashamed of Venice, and of themselves. It ought to be taken down and burned.

Turn your back to it, in the centre of the room; and make up your mind for a long stand; for opposite you, so standing, is a Veronese indeed, of the most instructive and noble kind (489);<sup>54</sup> and beneath it, the best picture in the Academy of Venice, Carpaccio's 'Presentation' (488).<sup>55</sup>

Of the Veronese, I will say nothing but that the main instructiveness of it is in the exhibition of his acquired and inevitable faults (the infection of his *æra*), with his own quietest and best virtues. It is an artist's picture, and even, only to be rightly felt by very good artists; the aerial perspectives in it being extremely subtle, and rare, to equal degree, in the painter's work. To the general spectator, I will only observe that he has free leave to consider the figure of the Virgin execrable; but that I hope, if he has a good opera-glass, he will find something to please him in the little rose-bush in the glass vase on the balustrade. I would myself give all the bushes – not to say all the trees – and all the seas, of Claude and Poussin, in one bunch and one deluge – for this little rose-bush and its bottle.

488. 'The Presentation in the Temple'. Signed 'Victor Carpaccio, 1510'. From the Church of St. Job [fig. 27].

You have no similar leave, however, good general spectator, to find fault with anything *here*! You may measure yourself, outside and in, – your religion, your taste, your knowledge of art, your knowledge of men and things, – by the quantity of admiration which honestly, after due time given, you can feel for this picture.

You are not required to think the Madonna pretty, or to receive the same religious delight from the conception of the scene, which you would rightly receive from Angelico, Filippo Lippi, or Perugino. This is essentially Venetian, - prosaic, matter of fact, - retaining its supreme common-sense through all enthusiasm.

Nor are you required to think this a first-rate work in Venetian colour. This is the best picture in the Academy precisely because it is *not* the best piece of colour there; - because the great master has subdued his own main passion, and restrained his colour-faculty, though the best in Venice, that you might *not* say the moment you came before the picture, as you do of the Paris Bordone (492),<sup>56</sup> 'What a piece of colour!'

To Paris, the Duke, the Senate, and the Miracle are all merely vehicles for flashes of scarlet and gold on marble and silk; but Carpaccio, in this picture of the Presentation, does not want you to think of *his* colour, but of *your* Christ.

To whom the Madonna also is subjected; - to whom all is subjected: you will not find such another Infant Christ in Venice; (but always look carefully at Paul Veronese's, for it is one of the most singular points in the character of this usually decorative and inexpressive painter, that his Infant Christs are always beautiful).<sup>57</sup>

For the rest, I am not going to praise Carpaccio's work. Give time to it; and if you don't delight in it - the essential faculty of enjoying good art is wanting in you, and I can't give it you by ten minutes' talk; but if you begin really to feel the picture, observe that its supreme merit is in the exactly just balance of all virtue; - detail perfect, yet inconspicuous; composition intricate and severe, but concealed under apparent simplicity; and painter's faculty of the supremest, used nevertheless with entire subjection of it to intellectual purpose. Titian, compared to Carpaccio,<sup>58</sup> paints as a circus-rider rides, - there is nothing to be thought of in him but his riding. But Carpaccio paints as a good knight rides; his riding is the least of him; and to himself - unconscious in its ease.<sup>59</sup>



**Figure 28** Charles Fairfax Murray, after Vittore Carpaccio, *The Fall of the Rebel Army* (from Simeon's cope in *The Presentation of Christ in the Temple*). 1877

When you have seen all you can of the picture as a whole, go near, and make out the little pictures on the edge of St. Simeon's robe; four quite lovely ones; the lowest admitting, to make the whole perfect, delightful grotesque of fairy angels within a heavenly castle wall, thrusting down a troop of supine devils to the deep [fig. 28]. The other three, more beautiful in their mystery of shade; but I have not made them out yet. There is one solemn piece of charge to a spirit folding its arms in obedience; and I think the others must be myths of creation, but can't tell yet,<sup>60</sup> and must now go on quickly to note merely the pictures you should look at, reserving talk of them for a second number of this Guide.

483, 500, 524,<sup>61</sup> containing all you need study in Bonifazio. In 500,<sup>62</sup> he is natural, and does his best; in 483,<sup>63</sup> he pretends to religion, which he has not; in 524,<sup>64</sup> to art, which he has not. The last is a monstrous example of the apathy with which the later Italian artists, led by Raphael, used this horrible subject to exhibit their ingenuity in anatomical posture, and excite the feeble interest of vulgar spectators.<sup>65</sup>

503.<sup>66</sup> Quiet Tintoret; very noble in senators, poor in Madonna.

519.<sup>67</sup> Quiet Paul Veronese; very noble in St. Jerome's robe and Lion, and in little St. John's back. Not particularly so in anybody's front, but a first-rate picture in the picture-way.

507.<sup>68</sup> Dashing Tintoret: fearfully repainted, but grand yet in the lighter figures of background.

496-502.<sup>69</sup> Dashing Paul Veronese - splendid in art; in conception of Evangelists - all that Venice wanted of them,

at that day. You must always, however, judge her as you would a sailor, - what would be ridiculous or bombastic in others has often some honesty in it with *her*. Think of these Evangelists as a kind of figure-heads of ships.<sup>70</sup>

Enter now the great room with the Veronese at the end of it,<sup>71</sup> for which the painter (quite rightly) was summoned before the Inquisition of State: you will find his examination, translated by a friend to whom I owe much in my old Venetian days, in the Appendix to my second Guide;<sup>72</sup> but you must not stop now at this picture, if you are in a hurry, for you can see the like of it, and better, in Paris;<sup>73</sup> but you can see nothing in all the world, out of Venice, like certain other pictures in this room.

Glancing round it, you see it may be generally described as full of pictures of street architecture, with various more or less interesting transactions going on in the streets. Large Canalettos, in fact; only with the figures a little more interesting than Canaletto's figures; and the buildings, on the whole, red and white or brown and white, instead of, as with Canaletto, black and white. And on consideration, and observation, you will perceive, if you *have* any perception of colour, that Venetian buildings, and most others, being really red and white or brown and white,<sup>74</sup> not black and white, this is really the right manner of painting them, and these are true and sufficient representations of streets, of landscapes, and of interiors of houses, with the people, as I said, either in St. Mark's Place, 555,<sup>75</sup> or at Grand Cairo, 540,<sup>76</sup> or before the Castle of St. Angelo at Rome, 546 [fig. 29],<sup>77</sup> or by the old Rialto here, 564,<sup>78</sup> being themselves also more or less interesting, if you will observe them, first in their dresses, which are very curious and pretty, and afterwards in many other particulars, of which for the present I must leave you to make out what you can; for of the pictures by Carpaccio in this room I must write an entirely separate account, (begun already for one





**Figure 29** Vittore Carpaccio, *The Reception of St Ursula and the Pilgrims by the Pope in Rome*. c. 1494-95









**Figure 30**  
Gentile Bellini,  
*Procession and  
Miracle of a Relic  
of the True Cross  
in St Mark's Square.*  
1496



of them only, the Dream of St. Orsola,<sup>79</sup> 533,)<sup>b</sup><sup>80</sup> and of the Gentile Bellini you can only know the value after good study of St. Mark's itself.<sup>81</sup> Observe, however, at least in this, and in 548<sup>82</sup> and 564, the perfectly true representation of what the Architecture of Venice was in her glorious time; trim, dainty, - red and white like the blossom of a carnation, - touched with gold like a peacock's plumes, and frescoed, even to its chimneypots, with fairest arabesque, - its inhabitants, and it together, one harmony of work and life, - all of a piece, you see them, in the wonderful palace-perspective on the left in 548, with everybody looking out of their windows. And in this picture of St. Mark's, painted by John Bellini's good brother [fig. 30], true as he could, hue for hue, and ray for ray, you see that all the tossing of its *now* white marble foliage against the sky, which in my old book on Venice I compared to the tossed spray of sea waves,<sup>83</sup> (believing then, as I do still, that the Venetians in their living and breathing days of art were always influenced in their choice of guiding lines of sculpture by their sense of the action of wind or sea,)<sup>84</sup> were not, at all events, meant to be like sea foam white in anger, but like light spray in morning sunshine. They were all overlaid with gold.<sup>85</sup>

Not yet in vicious luxury. Those porches of St. Mark's, so please you, English friends, were not thus gilt for the wedding of Miss Kilmansegg,<sup>86</sup> nor are those pictures on the vaults, advertisements, like yours in your railway stations; - all the arts of England bent on recommending you cheap bathing machines and painless pills.<sup>87</sup> Here are purer baths and medicines told of; here have been more ingenious engineers. From the Sinai desert, from the Sion rock, from the defiles of Lebanon, met here the ghosts of ancient builders to oversee the work, - of dead nations, to inspire it: Bezaleel and the maids of Israel who gave him their jewels;<sup>88</sup> Hiram and his forgers

in the vale of Siddim<sup>89</sup> - his woodmen of the Syrian forests;<sup>90</sup> - David the lord of war, and his son the Lord of Peace,<sup>91</sup> and the multitudes that kept holyday when the cloud filled the house they had built for the Lord of All;<sup>92</sup> - these, in their myriads stood by, to watch, to guide; - it might have been, had Venice willed, to bless.

Literally so, mind you. The wreathen work of the lily capitals and their archivolts,<sup>93</sup> the glass that keeps unfaded their colour - the design of that colour itself, and the stories that are told in the glow of it,<sup>94</sup> - all these were brought by the Jew or the Tyrian, bringing also the treasures of Persia and Egypt; and with these, labouring beside them as one brought up with them, stood the Athena of Corinth, and the Sophia of Byzantium.<sup>95</sup>

Not in vicious luxury these, yet - though in Tyrian splendour glows St. Mark's; - nor those quiet and trim little houses on the right, joining the Campanile.<sup>96</sup> You are standing, (the work is so completely done that you may soon fancy yourself so,) in old St. Mark's Place, at the far end of it, before it was enlarged; you may find the stone marking the whole length of it in the pavement, just opposite the easternmost door of the Café Florian.<sup>97</sup> And there were none of those pompous loggie then, where you walk up and down before the café,<sup>98</sup> but these trim, dainty, happily inhabited houses, mostly in white marble and gold, with disks of porphyry; - and look at the procession coming towards you underneath them [fig. 31] - what a bed of moving flowers it is!<sup>99</sup> Not Birnam wood coming,<sup>100</sup> gloomy and terrible, but a very bloom and garland of good and knightly manhood - its Doge walking in the midst of it - simple, valiant, actual, beneficent, magnificent king. Do you see better sights than this in St. Mark's Place now, in your days of progress?

Now, just to get some little notion how the figures are 'put in' by these scrupulous old formalists, take the

<sup>b</sup> Of which, with her legend, if you care to hear more, you will find more in the three numbers of 'Fors Clavigera' now purchaseable of my agent in Venice.



**Figure 31** Charles H. Moore and John Ruskin, after Gentile Bellini, *Reduced Study of a Distant Effect of a Portion of the "Procession and Miraculous Cure in the Piazza di San Marco"* in the Academy, Venice. 1876-77

pains to look closely at the first you come upon, of the procession on the extreme left, - the three musicians, namely, with the harp, violin, and lute. Look at them as portraits only: you will not find more interesting ones in

all the rooms. And then you will do well to consider the picture as a reality for a little while, and so leave the Academy with a vision of living Venice in your heart. We will look at no more painting, to-day.



## Notes

- 1 In Ruskin 1877 I<sup>c</sup> the visitor is spared this opening provocation; see “Editions of the *Guide*”, Table 1 and the “Introduction”, 33.
- 2 The door in question, between the fifteenth-century church building and the neo-classical façade, was the entrance to the *Accademia* proper, i.e. the art school, but also the usual point of access to the gallery at this time (compare *Accademia* 1875 and Murray 1877). In SV III (1853) Ruskin had included the moulding of the door itself among the “Gothic Archivolts” given in Pl. IX, while in VIndex he had drawn attention to the sculptures’ “rude cutting”, remarkable “at so late a date, 1377” (*Works*, 11: 361; Quill 2015, 100; Quill 2018, 114). This seems to echo Selvatico, Lazari [1852], 239 (“tutte rozze opere del 1377”), a guide Ruskin knew and used (see below nn. 5 and 93), or else the official catalogue of the *Accademia*, the successive editions of which replicated this judgment. Only the relief to the left of the door (representing St Leonard with two cowed members of the *Scuola Grande della Carità* kneeling at his feet) is dated 1377, in the underlying inscription recalling the founding of the Confraternity on this saint’s feast-day in 1260 (Tassini 1876b, 115). The inscription underlying the relief to the right (*St Christopher Bearing the Christ Child*) is less well preserved: Tassini (1876, 12: 115) transcribes the date “MCC...XXXIII”, while Modesti 2005 (25) gives 1384 (compare n. 10). The central panel with the *Virgin and Child* is dated 1345; for its inscription see “Part II”, 103.
- 3 See “Editions of the *Guide*”, Table 1 for text inserted here in Ruskin 1877 I<sup>c</sup>.
- 4 The marble reliefs set in the frieze decorating the temple to Athena on the Acropolis in Athens, fifteen of which were among the sculptures removed by Lord Elgin and sold to the British government in 1816, when they were placed on display in the British Museum. In SV Ruskin had endorsed the popular characterization of Greek as lintel architecture, citing the Parthenon as its most refined type (*Works*, 10: 252).
- 5 Ruskin’s phrase may be corrective of one in Cicognara 1823-24, 3: 351 noting the figure’s “matron dignity” (*compostezza matronale*), quoted in Selvatico 1847 (104) (see nn. 2, 93 here).
- 6 For further criticism of the central relief, see n. 93.
- 7 Compare the description in *SMR* (*Works*, 24: 247) of the feet of the Byzantine relief of St George on the west front of St Mark’s, “pointed down all their length”.
- 8 Selvatico 1847 (104) had stressed the poverty of the central panel, which in his view, had it not been dated, might have been taken for work of the twelfth century and showed that in Venice sculpture never attained the perfection of the Tuscan school.
- 9 Compare NLVS, probably part of a planned chapter on the *Accademia* in *SMR* (see the “Introduction”, n. 149): “First, look carefully at the sculptures over the entrance; quite among the most important monuments in Venice [...] they are among the earliest pieces of real Venetian sculpture extant. Venetian, native, observe; not Greek imported. And they are as good as, at this time, Venice could do. Very rude and comic, you think. They are so. But Venice in the mid-fourteenth century had no better sculpture in her than that, and (because the art

of sculpture always precedes that of painting) she had no painting in her at all! While already, in France and England, the great thirteenth-century schools of sculpture were on *the decline*, and while Niccola and Giovanni Pisano were dead, in Florence; while Giotto’s day of work was over, Orcagna’s in its full prime. And this is all we have to boast of in poor Venice” (*Works*, 24: 436).

10 Corrected to “1378 and 1384” in Ruskin 1877 I<sup>c</sup> (see “Editions of the *Guide*”, Table 1).

11 i.e. with the death in 1594 of Tintoretto, seen since *RMAT* (1871) as marking the close both of “the sixteenth century, and the great arts of the world” (*Works*, 22: 82); see the “Introduction”, 26, 36; nn. 19 and 38 here; “Part II”, n. 96 and Tucker 2020a. In *SMR* Ruskin conceded that the intellectual history of Venice came to an end with the seventeenth century, adding however, “we shall not ourselves follow it even so far” (*Works*, 24: 251). Ruskin’s refusal to do so was a cause of friction with Rawdon Brown. Around the time he was writing the *Guide* Ruskin suggested his friend might write a history of Venice to complement his own, which would stop at 1520 and “be unfair [...] to those high-heeled people” of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (J. Ruskin to R. Brown, 14 February 1877, BL Add. 36304 ff. 107-8; TS, BodL MSS Eng. lett. c. 41, 218).

12 For the well-head, see “Part II”, 105.

13 The requirement of an entrance fee is taken for granted in “A Museum or Picture Gallery” (1880) (*Works*, 34: 250). By contrast, there was no entrance fee to St George’s Museum at Walkley (*Works*, 28: 449).

14 *Accademia* 1875, 5. Built in 1384 over the “gate” described above, Room I (1877) had been the *Sala dell’Albergo* – meeting-room, archive and treasury – of the *Scuola Grande della Carità*. As the *Sala delle antiche pitture* it now contained “23 specimens of the early Venetian school, of great interest in the history of art” (Murray 1877, 385), of which, as pointed out in the “Introduction” (33), the *Coronation of the Virgin* next noticed was the earliest bearing a date.

15 Cat. 21 (MM 1955, 21): Stefano “Plebanus” of *S. Agnese*, *The Coronation of the Virgin*, panel, signed and dated “MCCCLXXXI”. In the early 1830s the panel had been adapted to complete a polyptych by Paolo Veneziano then ascribed to Niccolò Semitecolo (cat. 21 [MM 1955, 12]; see above, 78), the central panel of which, also representing the *Coronation*, had been detached and sent to the Brera Gallery in Milan in 1808. It would be reunited with the polyptych in 1950. A sketch in watercolour of the *Coronation*, once in the possession of Ruskin (RL 1996P0007) has been ascribed to his Venetian pupil Angelo Alessandri (see the “Introduction”, n. 212), but was attributed by the present editor to Charles Fairfax Murray in 2012.

16 The incumbent of a *pieve* or parish church. Though Ruskin had consulted Rawdon Brown as to its correct translation (see the “Introduction”, 44), the term remained untranslated here and in *SMR* (*Works*, 24: 236).

**17** Cat. 615 (MM 1955, 179): Bartolomeo Vivarini, *The Virgin and Child; St Andrew; St John the Baptist; St Dominic; St Peter*, five panels, signed and dated “MCCCCLXIII”.

**18** Compare *MPV* (*Works*, 7: 282) on Venetian “respect for the whole human body” and on the robust type of human beauty taught Venetian painters by “the sweeping glory of the sea”.

**19** An overriding concern with anatomical structure, at the expense of “mental interest” and facial expression, was a major aspect of the “deadly change” in art which set in at the Renaissance (see the “Introduction”, 26, 36; 78 and n. 11 here; “Part II”, n. 96 and Tucker 2020a). In Part I of *LF*, published later in 1877, Ruskin warns the student, “Do not think, by learning the nature or structure of a thing, that you can learn to draw it. Anatomy is necessary in the education of surgeons; botany in that of apothecaries; and geology in that of miners. But none of the three will enable you to draw a man, a flower, or a mountain. You can learn to do that only by looking at them; not by cutting them to pieces” (*Works*, 15: 360). Compare the “Introduction”, 27. In noting Vivarini’s attention to the underlying structure of sinew and bone, Ruskin may have been mindful of one of his Christmas lessons (see the “Introduction”, 31). In work on his copy of the head of the saint in Carpaccio’s *Dream of St Ursula* (see the “Introduction”, 27), an attitude of “true humility and desire to do right” had led him to see, for the first time, an “exquisite curve crossing the brown line of the brows”. He had been mortified to discover, given his repeated, violent affirmation that “the study of anatomy is destructive to art” (*Works*, 22: 121), that the curve now revealed to him was that of the skull (J. Ruskin to J. Severn, 10 January [1877] [Burd 1990, 235]). Melius 2015 (93) seems not to discern the nature of and reason for Ruskin’s mortification.

**20** Room II (1877), the state room of the *Accademia*, formerly the main hall of the *Scuola Grande della Carità*. The painting by Giuseppe Borsato, reproduced here [fig. 11], shows the room on the occasion of the Commemoration of Canova in 1822, with the pictures already arranged as Ruskin describes them: Titian’s *Assumption* dominant on the end wall, Tintoretto’s *Cain and Abel* and *Adam and Eve* either side of it, and Bellini’s *S. Giobbe* altarpiece immediately to the left of the near window. Confusingly, Ruskin also refers to Room XVI (1877) as the “principal” or “great” room (see the “Introduction”, 22 and “Part II”, 99).

**21** Cat. 38 (MM 1955, 68): Giovanni Bellini, *The Virgin and Child Enthroned with St Francis, St John the Baptist, Job, St Dominic, St Sebastian and St Louis* (*S. Giobbe* altarpiece), panel, signed.

**22** See Sdegno 2019 (95) on “invisibility” here as “the halo surrounding neglected and valuable works”.

**23** Compare Ruskin’s remark on Fra Angelico’s *Last Judgment*, seen in Florence in 1845: “the picture ought to be in a room by itself & considered, as a day’s work, alone” (Ruskin 2003, p. 99) and his letter in the *Artist and Amateur’s Magazine* the previous year (*Works*, 3: 645-55), where, with specific reference to the paintings of Turner, he writes, “It is a strange thing that the public never seems to suspect that there may be a poetry in painting, to meet which, some preparation of sympathy, some harmony of circumstance, is required; and that it is just as impossible to see half-a-dozen great pictures as to read half-a-dozen great poems at the same time, if their tendencies or their tones

of feeling be contrary or discordant”. In the later 1840s and 1850s such remarks would be developed in a series of public statements on the proper mode of displaying paintings in galleries, which repeatedly stressed the principle that every picture “should be perfectly seen”, hence hung ‘on the line’ (*Works*, 12: 402-3). In a letter to his father of 1 January 1852 (*Works*, 13: xxviii-xxix), in which he sketches his ideal of a picture gallery, Ruskin suggests this principle might also warrant the physical isolation of one painting from another: “Each picture with its light properly disposed for it alone - in its little recess or chamber”.

**24** In *VIndex* Ruskin had declared “the most finished and delicate example” of Bellini’s work in Venice to be his triptych of the *Virgin and Child Enthroned and Saints* in the church of the *Frari* (*Works*, 11: 379). Elsewhere in *VIndex*, however, “the best John Bellini in Venice” was held the *St Jerome, St Christopher and St Louis* in *S. Giovanni Crisostomo*, ranked moreover “one of the most precious pictures in Italy, and among the most perfect in the world” (*Works*, 11: 387). Second only to this was another *Virgin and Child Enthroned and Saints*, in *S. Zaccaria* (*Works*, 11: 436). In 1871, the *Frari* and *S. Zaccaria* altarpieces were again declared centrally representative of the art of Bellini (*Works*, 22: 83). Yet around this time a new contender was a *Virgin and Child with Four Saints* now attributed to Marco Bello (MLM). Ruskin placed a photograph of this painting in his teaching collection in Oxford, describing it in the *Catalogue of Examples* (1870) as “the most accurate type I can find of the best that has yet been done by man in art; - the best, that is to say, counting by the sum of qualities in perfect balance; and ranking errorless workmanship as the first of virtues [...] This picture has no fault, as far as I can judge. It is deeply, rationally, unaffectedly devotional, with the temper of religion which is eternal in high humanity. It has all the great and grave qualities of art, and all the delicate and childish ones. Few pictures are more sublime, and none more precise” (*Works*, 21: 3-14). In lecturing on the *Discourses* of Reynolds in 1875, Ruskin reverted to the view that the “best pure oil picture in the world without use of gold” was Bellini’s *Frari* triptych (*Works*, 22: 501).

**25** The panel had been restored by C. Corniani in 1833 (Goffen, Nepi Scirè 2000, 129). Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871 (1: 163) states, “A part of the blue mantle of the Virgin and the left leg of St Sebastian are retouched and injured”.

**26** Painted for the high altar of the *Frari*, the *Assumption* had been removed to the *Accademia* in 1816. Between 1883 and 1886 a new room was created, behind Room II (1877), especially for its display (MM 1962, xxiii). The painting was returned to its original location in 1923. In his copy of Ruskin 1877 I<sup>b</sup>, now in the Print Room, AM (Ruskin I C. 32), Ruskin’s editor E.T. Cook noted, “There are now 2 chairs in front of the Bellini. 2 agst 10”.

**27** For this same reason it had been decided in 1824 to screen the painting off by means of a silk curtain. The arrangement had clearly been abandoned by 1877 (MM 1955, xix; Modesti 2005, 25) [fig. 2].

**28** *Works*, 11: 361.

**29** Ruskin refers to the bronze statue in the sanctuary of *Athena Chalkioikos* (‘of the brazen house’) on the Acropolis of Sparta, not Athens (Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 3.17). For further comparison

to Athena of the *Virgin* over the entrance to the *Accademia*, see “Part II”, 103. These references to Athena acquire piquancy not only from Ruskin’s stress on the sculptures’ *native* (non-Greek) character, but also from the presence at that time atop the neo-classical façade of an ‘official’ statue of Minerva as patroness of the Arts, imposed by Vienna (Modesti 2005, 25) [fig. 2].

**30** See the “Introduction”, 13 and compare “Editions of the *Guide*”, Table 1 for subsequent correction of the text here.

**31** The pamphlet was on sale at the *Accademia* (see the “Introduction”, 32). Adding the altarpieces by Bellini in the *Frari* and in *S. Zaccaria* (see n. 24), Ruskin there states that the “two first attributes of the best art” are “[f]aultless workmanship, and perfect serenity; a continuous, not momentary, action, or entire inaction. You are to be interested in the living creatures; not in what is happening to them” (*Works*, 22: 84-5).

**32** Cats 41, 43 (MM 1962: 398, 397): Jacopo Tintoretto, *Cain and Abel; Adam and Eve*, canvas. In *MP I* Ruskin had classed these paintings “among the most noble works of this or any other master, whether for preciousness of colour or energy of thought” (*Works*, 3: 173n; see also *Works*, 11: 375). He had further cited them (*Works* 3: 509, 583) in illustration of the principle that license may be admirable if used with imaginative intent. For instance, in *Adam and Eve* the angel seen driving the pair from Paradise, though “wrapt in an orb of light [...] casts a SHADOW before him”. VIndex had described *Cain and Abel* as “[o]ne of the most wonderful works in the whole gallery”, and its companion as “hardly inferior” (*Works*, 11: 361). See the “Introduction”, 34.

**33** John Milton, *Paradise Lost I*, vv. 59-69.

**34** Ruskin had discovered the “gigantic power” of Tintoretto in Venice in 1845 (*Works*, 29: 87). He had written to his father at the time, “As for *painting*, I think I didn’t know what it meant until today – the fellow outlines you your figure with ten strokes, and colours it with as many more” (Shapiro 1972, 212).

**35** Compare *CA* (1865), with its critique of the “peculiar gloom” characteristic of “modern rapid work” in etching, traced by Ruskin to the “foul and vicious” conditions of modern metropolitan life (*Works*, 19: 114). These remarks on Titian also foreshadow *BA* (1888), one of Ruskin’s last publications, which reflects on the aesthetic and moral consequences, “for the people of our great cities”, of unlimited “wonderful displays of etchings and engravings and photographs”. The effects of “all this literally ‘black art’” is explored in terms both of line, to whose power it blinds, and colour, whose interest it occludes (*Works*, 14: 357-64).

**36** Room IX (1877) contained smaller paintings of the Italian, French, German and Flemish schools, largely (but not exclusively) of the seventeenth century. Compare the reference to “Dutch rubbish” below (80). Ruskin’s disgust may have prevented him from noticing the earlier Venetian pictures displayed here, and in particular cat. 91 (MM 1955, 107): *The Apparition of the Ten Thousand Martyrs of Mount Ararat in the Church of S. Antonio di Castello*, canvas, already at this date attributed to Carpaccio.

**37** For Ruskin’s celebrated early account of the painting see *MP II* (*Works*, 4: 270).

**38** Ruskin’s lectures and writings of the 1870s contain many such mnemonic games with chronology. For example, the following passage from *RMAT* (*Works*, 22: 82) aimed to help commit to memory that of the fateful “change” of art at the Renaissance (see the “Introduction”, 26, 36; nn. 11, 19 here; “Part II”, n. 96 and Tucker 2020a): “Recollect, first, the great year 1480. Twice four’s eight – you can’t mistake it. In that year Michael Angelo was five years old; Titian, three years old; Raphael, within three years of being born. So see how easily it comes. Michael Angelo five years old – and you divide six between Titian and Raphael, – three on each side of your standard year, 1480. Then add to 1480, forty years – an easy number to recollect, surely; and you get the exact year of Raphael’s death, 1520. In that forty years all the new effort and deadly catastrophe took place. 1480 to 1520. Now, you have only to fasten to those forty years, the life of Bellini, who represents the best art before them, and of Tintoret, who represents the best art after them.” In *AF* the mnemonics took visual form through the use of diagrams, designed to show how the lives of a select group of artists “run in and out across” the divisions 1300, 1400 and 1500 (*Works*, 22: 331-4). On 13 February 1877 Ruskin instructed his assistant and publisher George Allen to “order a certain number of the Second Ariadne with the artist’s [sic] diagrams to be bound in red, like the Walks [i.e. Mornings] in Florence, to be sold separately” in Venice by “a man who keeps a stall at the academy door” (TS, BodL MSS Eng. lett. c. 41, 216) (see the “Introduction”, 32 and Tucker 2020a).

**39** Room I (1877).

**40** Cat. 21 (MM 1955, 12): Paolo Veneziano (formerly N. Semitecolo), Polyptych with *The Coronation of the Virgin* and *Episodes from the Life of Christ*, panel. For the central panel, see n. 15.

**41** Room VIII (1877), containing paintings from the Manfrin collection, acquired in 1856. Among these was the view of *Rio dei Mendicanti and the Scuola Grande di S. Marco* by “Canaletto” (now Bernardo Bellotto; cat. 494 [MM 1970, 7]), the picture “against” which Ruskin drew his own view of the *Scuola Grande di S. Marco* in the autumn of 1876 (*Works*, II: frontispiece; present location unknown; see Wildman 2009, 333-4).

**42** Corrected to “right” in Ruskin 1877 I<sup>c</sup> (see “Editions of the *Guide*”, Table 1).

**43** Cat. 588 (MM 1955, 148): Andrea Mantegna, *St George*, panel.

**44** The technical specification relates to a recent novelty in Ruskin’s method of teaching drawing, introduced after taking up the Slade Professorship at Oxford in 1870. In his initial series of lectures, he had told prospective practical students, “from the very beginning (though carrying on at the same time an incidental practice with crayon and lead pencil), you shall try to draw a line of absolute correctness with the point, not of pen or crayon, but of the brush, as Apelles did, and as all coloured lines are drawn on Greek vases” (*Works*, 20: 132); see Levi, Tucker 1999, 105.

**45** i.e. into, and to the end of, Room IX (1877).

**46** Cat. 269 (MM 1962, 112): Workshop of Bonifacio de’ Pitati, *The Virgin and Child with St John the Baptist, St Jerome, St Joseph, St Barbara and St Catherine*, panel.



**47** In the corridor were hung pictures ascribed to the Dutch painters Melchior de Hondecoeter (*Hen and Chicks*, cat. 344 [MM 1970, 364]; *The Victorious Cock*, cat. 345 [MM 1970, 365]) and Cornelis Engelbrechtsz (*Crucifixion*, cat. 189 [MM 1955, 207: copy after Hans Memling]), as well as others then ascribed to Anton Van Dyck (*Portrait of a Boy*, cat. 173 [MM 1970, 358: style of Van Dyck]; *Sleeping Boy*, cat. 174 [MM 1970, 359: style of Van Dyck]). Compare Ruskin's note on the contents of the corridor, 76.

**48** Room XIV (1877).

**49** Cat. 611 (MM 1955, 115): Cima da Conegliano, *The Incredulity of St Thomas*, with *St Magnus*, panel.

**50** Room XV (1877).

**51** Cat. 626 (MM 1962, 451): Titian, *The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, canvas, painted for the *Sala dell'Albergo*, to which it was returned in 1895.

**52** The Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, in Covent Garden, London. During his Christmas Eve visit to the *Accademia* Ruskin had decided that the painting was "entirely unworthy of" Titian "and wrong for such subject, and foolish", though he "had never yet felt the conditions of power in some of the heads" (Ruskin 1956-59, 3: 922). Since the 1840s Ruskin had held that the Titian suffered from comparison with Tintoretto's *Presentation in S. Maria dell'Orto*. In *VIndex* (*Works*, 11: 396-7) he had advised the reader to compare especially their respective representations of the "little Madonna": "I prefer Tintoret's infinitely; and note how much finer is the feeling with which Tintoret has relieved the glory round her head against the pure sky, than that which influenced Titian in encumbering his distance with architecture". For further comparison, taken from his architectural notebook of 1846 (RM), see *Works*, 11: 396n. The phrase "common blue tapestry" may allude to the increasing use of vivid synthetic dyes in the production of textiles, especially following the discovery and development of aniline pigments in the later 1850s. My thanks to Rachel Dickinson for this suggestion.

**53** Apparently an error for '513', i.e. cat. 1017 (MM 1962, 159): Workshop of Paolo Veronese, *The Feast in the House of Levi*, canvas, from the convent of S. Giacomo, Giudecca (now on loan to the municipality of Verona and displayed there in Palazzo Barbieri). *Accademia* 1875 and Murray 1877 both list under the number 513 and among the pictures in Room XV (1877) a painting by the "heirs of Paolo" from the convent of S. Jacopo (i.e. S. Giacomo), Giudecca, of the same dimensions and representing an analogous subject, *Christ at Supper in the House of the Pharisee*.

**54** Cat. 260 (MM 1962, 144): Paolo Veronese, *The Annunciation*, canvas.

**55** Cat. 44 (MM 1955, 104): Vittore Carpaccio, *The Presentation in the Temple*, panel, signed and dated "M.D. X.". This had entered the *Accademia* in 1815 (Bellin, *Catra* 2020, 202).

**56** Cat. 320 (MM 1962, 117): Paris Bordone, *The Fisherman Returns St Mark's Ring to the Doge*, then also in Room XV (1877).

**57** In Ruskin 1877 I<sup>a</sup> (see "Editions of the *Guide*", Table 1) Ruskin instances as "next best" among Infant Christs that in cat. 37 (MM 1962, 135), noticed below (82). It is not clear why he should have cancelled the reference, unless the figure he intended was not in fact the Infant Christ but the rather more prominent infant St John the Baptist, to whom he

later draws attention. During his visit to Dresden in 1859 Ruskin had been particularly struck by the infant Christ in Veronese's *Adoration of the Magi* in the Gallery there (*Works*, 7: li).

**58** The comparison was a pertinent and pressing one. Carpaccio represented a new inflection of the "balanced" perfection previously attributed to Titian, e.g. in *TP* (*Works*, 16: 298): "in that restrained harmony of his strength there are indeed depths of each balanced power more wonderful than all those separate manifestations in inferior painters [...] there is a softness more exquisite than Correggio's, a purity loftier than Leonardo's, a force mightier than Rembrandt's, a sanctity more solemn even than Raphael's".

**59** Compare *GWP* (1853-60): "the more I see of living artists, and learn of departed ones, the more I am convinced that the highest strength of genius is generally marked by strange unconsciousness of its own modes of operation, and often by no small scorn of the best results of its exertion" (*Works*, 24: 21).

**60** Six studies of these "little Pictures" were made for Ruskin by Charles Fairfax Murray (see the "Introduction", 44). Taking them in the order in which Carpaccio placed the subjects (starting from the highest) and in which Murray copied them, in CGSG the drawings bear the following titles: *The Separation of Light from Darkness and Land from Water* (00355); *The Making of the Sun, Moon and Stars* (00362); *The Making of the Trees* (00356); *Ordaining the Day of Rest* (Ruskin's "solemn piece of charge to a spirit folding its arms in obedience"), of which Murray seems to have made two drawings (00363, 00370), and *The Fall of the Rebel Army* (00764) [fig. 28]. In 1880 Ruskin also acquired from Murray a copy of the detail with the three angels playing musical instruments, a subject perhaps suggested to Murray by Ruskin's remarks above on the similar trio in Bellini's *S. Giobbe* altarpiece (see above, 75). In 1894 the Trustees of the Guild Copying Fund commissioned a copy of the entire altarpiece from Angelo Alessandri (CGSG 00260; Morley 1984, catalogue, 22).

**61** All in Room XV (1877).

**62** Cat. 291 (MM 1962, 60): Bonifacio de' Pitati, *The Rich Man and Lazarus*, canvas.

**63** Cat. 325 (MM 1962, 116: Bonifacio and Jacopo Pisbolica [?]): Bonifacio de' Pitati (attr.), *The Virgin in Glory and Five Saints*, canvas, currently (March 2013) in the church of S. *Giobbe*, Venice.

**64** Cat. 319 (MM 1962, 62): Bonifacio de' Pitati, *The Massacre of the Innocents*, canvas.

**65** See *MP II* for a comparison of Tintoretto's *Massacre of the Innocents* in the *Scuola di S. Rocco* - "the only true, real, heartfelt representation of the being and actuality of the subject in existence" - with its treatment by other artists, and for criticism in particular of "Raphael's", in a cartoon (attributed to Giulio Romano by Crowe and Cavalcaselle) belonging to the Foundling Hospital in London and at the time Ruskin was writing on loan to the National Gallery (*Works*, 4: 204, 272-4).

**66** Cat. 243 (MM 1962, 402): Jacopo Tintoretto, *The Virgin and Child and Four Senators*, canvas.

**67** Cat. 37 (MM 1962, 135): Paolo Veronese, *The Virgin and Child with St Joseph, St John the Baptist, St Jerome, St Justina and St Francis*, canvas.

**68** Cat. 221 (MM 1962, 415): Jacopo Tintoretto, *The Virgin and Child in Glory, with St Cecilia, St Marina, St Theodore, St Cosmas and St Damian*, canvas, then displayed in Room XV (1877). Extensive repainting was removed when the painting was restored by Mauro Pelliccioli in 1959 (MM 1962, 241).

**69** Cats 256, 261 (MM 1962, 141d): Paolo Veronese, *The Four Evangelists: Matthew and Luke; Mark and John*, four canvases, originally forming part (together with cats 759, 661 and 833 [MM 1962, 141a-c]) of the ceiling decoration in the church of S. Nicolò della Lattuga and then displayed in Room XV (1877). In 1929 the *Four Evangelists* (together with cat. 759 [MM 1962, 141a], *The Adoration of the Magi*) were inserted into the ceiling of the *Cappella del Rosario* in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice.

**70** Compare MP V (*Works*, 7: 279-89) on the importance of Venice's "wave training" for her art and religion, and on the difficulty, "for persons, accustomed to receive, without questioning, the modern English idea of religion", of understanding "the temper of the Venetian Catholics". Compare the "Introduction", 20 and 88 here.

**71** Room XVI (1877). The reference is to cat. 203 (MM 1962, 137): Paolo Veronese, *The Feast in the House of Levi*, canvas, inscribed with the date "A. D. MDLXXIII - DIE. XX. APR."

**72** See 125-30.

**73** Ruskin probably refers to two large paintings by Veronese formerly both in the Louvre, *The Marriage at Cana* and *Christ at Supper in the House of Simon the Pharisee* (now at Versailles). In a series of visits to that collection in the summer of 1844, crucial for his appreciation of the earlier Italian schools of painting, Ruskin had carefully considered these works, contrasting "their manly, fearless, fresco-like attainment of vast effect, in spite of details" with "Landseer's, or any other of our best manipulators' paltry dwelling upon them" (*Works*, 12: 451). In another visit to the museum five years later *The Marriage at Cana* was again the focus of his critical attention, this time as a lesson in the "entire superiority of Painting to Literature as a test, expression, and record of human intellect" (*Works*, 12: 456-7).

**74** Compare SV III (*Works*, 11: 29): "The whole front of a Gothic palace in Venice may, therefore, be simply described as a field of subdued russet, quartered with broad sculptured masses of white and gold; these latter being relieved by smaller inlaid fragments of blue, purple, and deep green" (Ruskin's emphases, added in the Travellers' Edition of 1879-81). In his Preface to Zorzi 1877 (see the "Introduction", n. 16) Ruskin deplored the anonymous "sandy or muddy brown stone" used in the recent controversial restoration of St Mark's, citing once more the work of these painters: "nor can I understand how the Venetian people can bear to look at such colour, while the pictures of Carpaccio and Gentile Bellini show the beautiful warm red which, as you so rightly observe, was everywhere used on house fronts in those days of perfect art, giving the name of 'Venetian' red to that colour, all over Europe" (*Works*, 24: 408). Compare also "From 'Collected Notes on Some of the Pictures in the St George's Museum Sheffield'" ("Supplementary Texts").

**75** Cat. 567 (MM 1955, 62): Gentile Bellini, *A Procession and Miracle of a Relic of the True Cross in St Mark's Square*, panel, signed and dated "MCCCCLXXXVI", painted for the *Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista*

as part of a series illustrating miracles worked through a relic preserved there.

**76** Cat. 571 (MM 1955, 145): Giovanni Mansueti, *Episodes from the Life of St Mark*, canvas.

**77** Cat. 577 (MM 1955, 99): Vittore Carpaccio, *The Reception of St Ursula and the Pilgrims by the Pope in Rome*, canvas, signed, one of the series illustrating the life of St Ursula painted for the *Scuola di S. Orsola*. See the "Introduction", 47 and "From 'The Shrine of the Slaves', First Supplement (ch. 10.), *St Mark's Rest* (December 1877)" ("Supplementary Texts").

**78** Cat. 566 (MM 1955, 94): Vittore Carpaccio, *A Miracle of a Relic of the True Cross*, canvas, another of the paintings illustrating miracles worked through the relic preserved in the *Scuola Grande di S. Giovanni Evangelista*.

**79** Corrected to "Ursula" in Ruskin 1882-83 I (see "Editions of the Guide", Table 1). The painting is cat. 578 (MM 1955, 100): Vittore Carpaccio, *The Dream of St Ursula*, canvas, also from the series painted for the *Scuola di S. Orsola* (see the "Introduction", 25-32) and the "account" is that given in FC Letters 20 and 71 (see the "Supplementary Texts" and the next note here).

**80** For the emendation of his note in Ruskin 1877 I<sup>c</sup>, see "Editions of the Guide", Table 1. The three numbers of FC purchasable in Venice must have been Letters 20, 71 and 75 (not Letters 71, 72, and 73 as stated in Ruskin 1891, 21n and in *Works*, 24: 163n). The inference is licensed in part by the foregoing text, but also by Ruskin's instructions, in a letter to G. Allen of 1 April 1877 (TS, BodL MSS Eng. lett. c. 41, 252-3), to have "a hundred of each of the Fors's referred to in my new Venice Guide, bound as you have done the Ariadne [AF; see n. 38], but lettered outside in gold, one Fors Clavigera No - The Legend of St Ursula [= Letter 71]. The second Fors Clavigera No [blank], the Legend of St Theodore [= Letter 75], and the Third, Fors Clavigera, No [blank], Notes on the Dream of St Ursula [= Letter 20]". The inference is confirmed, in part, by Bunney's account book for the sale of Ruskin's books in Venice in 1877 (collection of S.E. Bunney), which lists Letters 20, 71 and 71 [sic] among the titles available. For Bunney see the "Introduction", n. 101. A letter published in the *Boston Daily Evening Traveller* for 14 September 1880, describing a visit to his studio in search of the publications referred to in Ruskin's footnote, is quoted in Bunney 2009-10, 113.

**81** Around two months later, in early May 1877, as the campaign of protest against the restoration of St Mark's led by Alvise Piero Zorzi gathered momentum (see the "Introduction", n. 16), Ruskin announced in FC that he was sending four photographs of the west front to St George's Museum in Sheffield, together with one of the relevant portion of Gentile Bellini's painting for comparison (Letter 78 [June 1877; dated 9 May], *Works*, 29: 130-1).

**82** Cat. 564 (MM 1955, 139): Giovanni Mansueti, *A Miracle of a Relic of the True Cross in Campo S. Lio*, canvas, another of the series originally painted for the *Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista*. JWB] 21 February 1877 records Bunney's having pointed out the picture to Ruskin, "he never having looked at it before" (compare "Part II", 99).

**83** At the climax of the famous description of the front of St Mark's in SV II (*Works*, 10: 83): "until at last, as if in ecstasy, the crests of

the arches break into a marble foam, and toss themselves far into the blue sky in flashes and wreaths of sculptured spray, as if the breakers on the Lido shore had been frost-bound before they fell, and the sea-nymphs had inlaid them with coral and amethyst". If "tossing" is not a misprint for "tossings", Ruskin seems to have been misled by recall (or perhaps, in an earlier version, actual citation) of the passage, with its topicalization of the "crests", into combining a singular subject with a verb in the plural ("all the tossing [...] were [...] meant").

**84** See 84 and n. 70 here.

**85** In a notebook of 1846 (RM), Ruskin had written of this painting, "the Pinnacles are entirely gilded, while the statues below have only hems of garments. All the flourished work round the arches & the little statues therein gilded, & all the open work gilded". In the third edition (1846) of *MP I (Works, 3: 209-10)* he duly stressed the value of the work of Gentile Bellini and Carpaccio as "architectural evidence [...] all the gilded parts being gilt in the picture, so that there can be no mistake or confusion of them with yellow colour on light, and all the frescoes or mosaics given with the most absolute precision and fidelity". Though far from perfect in point of architectural drawing - it was held deficient in light and shade, "thoughtful observance of temporary effect" and aerial perspective - Gentile Bellini's *Procession* was accounted "the best Church of St Mark's that has ever been painted, so far as I know". Moreover, it posed a valid artistic problem, yet to be solved, regarding "the reconciliation of true aerial perspective and chiaroscuro with the splendour and dignity obtained by the real gilding and elaborate detail".

**86** Ruskin refers to *Miss Kilmansegg and her Precious Leg*, a satirical poem by Thomas Hood (1799-1845). The reference was perhaps suggested by the ironical subtitle (*A Golden Legend*) of a recent illustrated edition (Hood 1870). Ruskin gave an unidentified edition of the poem to Whitelands in 1886 (Dearden 2012, 164). The heroine is a rich heiress who has a leg amputated after a riding accident and insists the proxy be made of gold. Resulting notoriety leads to a fabulously ostentatious marriage with an adventurer posing as a foreign count. On discovering the truth about him, she destroys her will, thinking to cheat her deceiver of her most valuable asset, only to be clubbed to death with it. Ruskin had referred to the poem three years earlier in *FC (Works, 28: 183)* and would do so again in the catalogue to the "little autobiography of drawings" exhibited at the Fine Art Society in 1878 (*Works, 13: 520*).

**87** See *FC Letter 78 (Works, 29: 131-2)* for transcripts of the notices and advertisements pasted on the paling set around the south porch of St Mark's in March 1877: "Such are the modern sacred inscriptions and divine instructions presented to the Venetian people by their church of St. Mark. What its ancient inscriptions and perennial advertisements were, you shall read in *St. Mark's Rest*, if you will, with other matters appertaining to ancient times".

**88** Bezalel, the divinely appointed artificer of the tent-shrine or Tabernacle that accompanied the Israelites in their Exodus through and beyond the "Sinai desert" (Exodus 35-6).

**89** Hiram, "filled with wisdom, and understanding, and cunning to work all works in brass", was summoned by Solomon to work on the Temple in Jerusalem (the "Sion rock") (1 Kings 7.14-51). The "Vale of Siddim" is first mentioned in Genesis 14.3, where it is significantly (given

the present context) equated with "the salt sea". The name is thought to refer to the fertile plains located in the area now corresponding to the southern extremity of the Dead Sea and traditionally identified as the cradle of Phoenician civilization.

**90** Hiram, King of Tyre, supplied Solomon with cedar and fir wood (from the "defiles of Lebanon") and also carpenters and masons for the construction of the Temple in Jerusalem. Hiram's woodmen were the Sidonians, whose skill as hewers of timber Solomon emphasized when he "sent to Hiram" (1 Kings 5).

**91** Solomon, but perhaps also Christ, the "son of David" (Matthew 21.9) and messianic "Prince of Peace" (Isaiah 9.6-7) (but see "Editions of the *Guide*", Table 1).

**92** The text combines references to Psalms 42.4 ("for I had gone with the multitude, I went with them to the house of God, with the voice of joy and praise, with a multitude that kept holy day") and 1 Kings 8.10 ("when the priests were come out of the holy place, the cloud filled the house of the Lord"). The second passage recounts the ceremony ordered by Solomon, on completion of the Temple, to mark the placing of the Ark of the Covenant in the Holy of Holies.

**93** The "lily capitals" surmount the free-standing lower-storey pillars of the north- and south-west porticoes of St Mark's (*Works, 10: Pl. IX; Quill 2015, 59; Quill 2018, 74*). The name alludes to the flower carved on the capitals' four faces. In *SV*, Ruskin rated these capitals "without exception the most subtle pieces of composition in broad contour which I have ever met with in architecture" (*Works, 10: 164*), while in *EAV* they were accounted "the most interesting pieces of Byzantine work" in the city (*Works, 11: 331-2, Pls. 6, 7*). The expression "wreathen work" refers to the "braided or chequered" (*Works, 10: 160*) ornamentation characterizing a family of Byzantine capitals of which these are signal examples. In *SV* Ruskin twice cites with approval the conjecture advanced in Selvatico 1847 that the "reticulated veil" within which the lily-flowers are carved was "intended for an imitation of the capitals of the temple of Solomon, which Hiram [the Tyrian craftsman just mentioned in the text] made, with 'nets of checker work, and wreaths of chain work for the chapters that were on the top of the pillars [...] and the chapters that were upon the top of the pillars were of lily work in the porch.' (1 Kings 7.17,19.)" (*Works, 11: 386-7; see also Works, 10: 164-5*).

**94** The reference is presumably to the glass *tesserae* in the mosaics of St Mark's.

**95** *Athena Chalinitis* (glossed by Ruskin as "Restrainer" or "Bridler"), who in her temple at Corinth appeared to Bellerophon and gave him the golden bridle that enabled him to capture the winged horse Pegasus. Ruskin had discussed her in connection with Greek myths of storm in *QA*. His invocation of the goddess of wisdom here, along with her Christian manifestation as Sophia - Hagia Sophia in Constantinople and St Mark's being the two supreme examples, in the East and in the West, of the Byzantine central-plan form - is clarified by reflections in *Proserpina* and in a related fragment, written for inclusion in *SMR*, on the moral symbolism of the acanthus plant and its transfiguration in the Corinthian capital (*Works, 24: 279-80, 280n*). Ruskin there reads the legendary origins of the Corinthian order - in the chance sight of an acanthus growing through an abandoned votive basket - in



terms of the “relation of weeds to corn, or of the adverse powers of nature to the beneficent ones”, associating the basket motif with the bread offerings carried by the *Kanephoroi* (“basket-bearers”) of the Panathenaic processions, and the entire form – re-elaborated in the Byzantine “basket-work capital” and supremely in the “lily capitals” (see n. 93) – with Athena’s wise restraint of the “fountain of life”. The mention of Corinth also perhaps recalls St Paul’s mission there, when he took up his old profession of tentmaker (Acts 18.3), and thus connects with the theme of the desert Tabernacle, alluded to in the previous paragraph. Ruskin is perhaps elaborating on Samuel Rogers’ lines on this “spot of earth” in “St. Mark’s Place in Italy”: “Assembling in St. Mark’s | All Nations met as on enchanted ground” (Rogers 1823, 84). The passage in the *Guide* is paralleled by one in *MF* treating of that other centre of late Ruskinian topography, the “spot of ground” between the *campanile* of Giotto and the Baptistery in Florence: “For there the traditions of faith and hope, of both the Gentile and Jewish races, met for their beautiful labour” (*Works*, 23: 413).

**96** They included the *Ospizio Orseolo*, which hosted pilgrims on their way to the Holy Land. The buildings were demolished in 1582, when work began on the construction of the *Procuratie Nuove* (see n. 98).

**97** By “enlarged” Ruskin evidently does not, as he should, mean “widened”, in the building of the *Procuratie Nuove* (see the next note). For, as his placing of the spectator “at the far end of” the square and the expression “the whole length of it” indicate, he has confused this later development with the extension of the *piazza* in the twelfth century, following the demolition and rebuilding, further back, of S. *Geminiano*. This is the ‘enlargement’ (“fu ampliata la piazza”) recorded in the inscription on the “stone” referred to.

**98** The *Procuratie Nuove*, constructed between the late sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries, by Vincenzo Scamozzi, followed by Baldassare Longhena. The *Procuratie Vecchie* on the opposite side of the square are also later in date than Gentile’s painting.

**99** JWBj 17 January 1877 records Ruskin’s appreciative comments that day on the procession in Gentile Bellini’s painting: “he had never looked carefully at it before except as an architectural picture, but was amazed at its wonderful groupings of colour especially in those of the Doge and Nobles coming from the Palace” (Bunney 2007, 33). A watercolour sketch by Charles Moore of this very portion, made during his stay in Venice in the winter of 1876-77, is in FM (1926.33.23) [fig. 31]. A description of the drawing in JWBj 11 March 1877 (Bunney found it “wanting in clearness & strength”) indicates that the sketches in the margins are by Ruskin: “in it Mr Ruskin had made a rough sketch of colour to shew him how it should be done – but it was not good because he had not kept the proper relation between the parts and the drawing of the doge was very bad, ungraceful & out of proportion”. Bunney expressed his desire “to paint the church nearly as large as that in its present state”, and this led to the commission, on behalf of St George’s Company, of his large oil painting of the west front (CGSG 00780). A little under half the size of the Bellini, this was begun that spring and completed in 1881, just over a year before the artist’s death on 23 September 1882 (Bunney 2007, 2008).

**100** In Shakespeare’s *Macbeth* one of the apparitions summoned by the witches for the future king assures him safety “until | Great Birnam Wood to high Dunsinane hill | Shall come against him” (IV.i.92-3). Later, the army led by Malcolm and Macduff and their English allies approaches Macbeth’s castle at Dunsinane bearing boughs cut from trees in Birnam Wood, thus negatively fulfilling the prophecy.



**Figure 32**  
Pietro Lombardo, marble screen,  
courtyard of the *Scuola Grande*  
*di S. Giovanni Evangelista*.  
Venice. 1481

## Part II

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If you have looked with care at the three musicians, or any other of the principal figures, in the great town or landscape views in this principal room,<sup>1</sup> you will be ready now with better patience to trace the order of their subjects, and such character or story as their treatment may develop. I can only help you, however, with Carpaccio's, for I have not been able to examine, or much think of, Mansueti's, recognizing nevertheless much that is delightful in them.

By Carpaccio, then, in this room,<sup>a2</sup> there are in all eleven important pictures, eight from the legend of St. Ursula,<sup>3</sup> and three of distinct subjects.<sup>4</sup> Glance first at the series of St. Ursula subjects, in this order:<sup>5</sup> -

I. - 539.<sup>6</sup> Maurus the king of Britany receives the English ambassadors; and has talk with his daughter touching their embassy.

II. - 533.<sup>7</sup> St. Ursula's Dream.

III. - 537.<sup>8</sup> King Maurus dismisses the English ambassadors with favourable answer from his daughter. (This is the most beautiful piece of *painting* in the rooms.)

IV. - 549.<sup>9</sup> The King of England receives the Princess's favourable answer.

V. - 542.<sup>10</sup> The Prince of England sets sail for Britany; - there receives his bride, and embarks with her on pilgrimage.

VI. - 546.<sup>11</sup> The Prince of England and his bride, voyaging on pilgrimage with the eleven thousand maidens, arrive at Rome, and are received by the Pope, who, "with certain

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<sup>a</sup> Or at least in the Academy: the arrangement may perhaps be altered before this Guide can be published; at all events we must not count on it.



Cardinals”,<sup>12</sup> joins their pilgrimage. (The most beautiful of all the series, next to the Dream.)

VII. - 554.<sup>13</sup> The Prince, with his bride, and the Pope with his Cardinals, and the eleven thousand maids, arrive in the land of the Huns, and receive martyrdom there.<sup>14</sup> In the second part of the picture is the funeral procession of St. Ursula.

VIII. - [560.]<sup>15</sup> St. Ursula, with her maidens, and the pilgrim Pope, and certain Cardinals, in glory of Paradise. I have always forgotten to look for the poor bridegroom in this picture, and on looking, am by no means sure of him. But I suppose it is he who holds St. Ursula's standard.<sup>16</sup> The architecture and landscape are unsurpassably fine; the rest much imperfect; but containing nobleness only to be learned by long dwelling on it.

In this series, I have omitted one picture, 544,<sup>17</sup> which is of scarcely any interest - except in its curious faults and unworthiness. At all events, do not at present look at it, or think of it; but let us examine all the rest without hurry.

In the first place, then, we find this curious fact, intensely characteristic of the fifteenth as opposed to the nineteenth century - that the figures are true and natural, but the landscape false and unnatural, being by such fallacy made entirely subordinate to the figures. I have never approved of, and only a little understand, this state of things.<sup>18</sup> The painter is never interested in the ground, but only in the creatures that tread on it. A castle tower is left a mere brown bit of canvas, and all his colouring kept for the trumpeters on the top of it. The fields are obscurely green; the sky imperfectly blue; and the mountains could not possibly stand on the very small foundations they are furnished with.<sup>19</sup>

Here is a Religion of Humanity, and nothing else, - to purpose!<sup>20</sup> Nothing in the universe thought worth a

look, unless it is in service or foil to some two-legged creature showing itself off to the best advantage. If a flower is in a girl's hair, it shall be painted properly; but in the fields, shall be only a spot: if a striped pattern is on a boy's jacket, we paint all the ins and outs of it, and drop not a stitch; but the striped patterns of vineyard or furrow in field, the enamelled mossy mantles of the rocks, the barred heraldry of the shield of the sky, - perhaps insects and birds may take pleasure in them, not we. To his own native lagunes and sea, the painter is yet less sensitive. His absurd rocks, and dotty black hedges round bitumen-coloured fields (542),<sup>21</sup> are yet painted with some grotesque humour, some modest and unworldly beauty; and sustain or engird their castellated quaintnesses in a manner pleasing to the pre-Raphaelite mind. But the sea - waveless as a deal board - and in that tranquillity, for the most part reflecting nothing at its edge,<sup>22</sup> - literally, such a sea justifies that uncourteous saying of earlier Venice of her Doge's bride, - "Mare sub pede pono".<sup>b|23</sup>

Of all these deficiencies, characteristic not of this master only, but of his age, you will find various analysis in the third volume of 'Modern Painters', in the chapter on mediæval landscape;<sup>24</sup> with begun examination of the causes which led gradually to more accurate observance of natural phenomena, until, by Turner, the method of Carpaccio's mind is precisely reversed, and the Nature in the background becomes principal; the figures in the foreground, its foil.<sup>25</sup> I have a good deal more, however, to say on this subject now, - so much more, indeed, that in this little Guide there is no proper room for any of it, except the simple conclusion that both the painters are wrong in whatever they either definitely misrepresent, or enfeeble by inharmonious deficiency.

**b** On the scroll in the hand of the throned Venice on the Piazzetta [s]ide of the Ducal Palace, the entire inscription is, "Fortis, justa, trono furias, mare sub pede, pono".  
"Strong, and just, I put the furies beneath my throne, and the sea beneath my foot".

In the next place, I want you to notice Carpaccio's fancy in what he does represent very beautifully, – the architecture, real and ideal, of his day.

His fancy, I say; or phantasy; the notion he has of what architecture should be; of which, without doubt, you see his clearest expression in the Paradise,<sup>26</sup> and in the palace of the most Christian King, St. Ursula's father.<sup>27</sup>

And here I must ask you to remember, or learn if you do not know, the general course of transition in the architecture of Venice; – namely, that there are three epochs of good building in Venice; the first lasting to 1300, Byzantine, in the style of St. Mark's; the second, 1300 to 1480, Gothic, in the style of the Ducal Palace; and the third, 1480 to 1520, in a manner which architects have yet given no entirely accepted name to, but which, from the name of its greatest designer, Brother Giocondo, of Verona,<sup>c28</sup> I mean, myself, henceforward to call 'Giocondine'.<sup>29</sup>

Now the dates on these pictures of Carpaccio's run from 1480 to 1485,<sup>30</sup> so that you see he was painting in the youthful gush, as it were, and fullest impetus of Giocondine architecture, which all Venice, and chiefly Carpaccio, in the joy of art, thought was really at last the architecture divinely designed, and arrived at by steady progress of taste, from the Creation to 1480, and then the ne plus ultra, and real Babel-style without bewilderment – its top truly reaching to heaven,<sup>31</sup> – style which was never thenceforth to be bettered by human thought or skill. Of which Giocondine manner, I really think you had better at once see a substantially existent piece. It will not take long, – say an hour, with lunch; and the good door-keeper will let you come in again without paying.<sup>d</sup>

So (always supposing the day fine,) go down to your boat, and order yourself to be taken to the church of the

Frari. Landing just beyond it, your gondoliers will show you the way, up the calle beside it, to the desolate little courtyard of the School of St. John the Evangelist.<sup>32</sup> It might be one of the most beautiful scenes among the cities of Italy, if only the good Catholics of Venice would employ so much of their yearly alms in the honour of St. John the Evangelist as to maintain any old gondolier, past rowing, in this courtyard by way of a Patmos, on condition that he should suffer no wildly neglected children to throw stones at the sculptures, nor grown-up creatures to defile them; but with occasional ablution by sprinkling from garden water-engine, suffer the weeds of Venice to inhabit among the marbles where they listed.<sup>33</sup>

How beautiful the place might be, I need not tell you. Beautiful it is, even in its squalid misery; but too probably, some modern designer of railroad stations will do it up with new gilding and scrapings of its grey stone. The gods forbid; – understand, at all events, that if this happens to it, you are no more to think of it as an example of Giocondine art. But, as long as it is let alone there, in the shafts and capitals you will see on the whole the most characteristic example in Venice of the architecture that Carpaccio, Cima, and John Bellini loved.

As a rule, observe, square-piered, not round-pillared; – the square piers either sculptured all up with floral tracery, or, if plain, decorated, half-way up, by a round panel of dark-coloured marble or else a bas-relief, usually a classic profile; the capitals, of light leafage, playing or springing into joyful spirals at the angles; the mouldings and cornices on the whole very flat or square cut, – no solid round mouldings anywhere, but all precise, rectangular, and shallow. The windows and doors either square-headed or round, – never pointed; but, if square-headed, having often a Greek gable or

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**c** Called "the second Founder of Venice", for his engineering work on the Brenta. His architecture is chiefly at Verona; the style being adopted and enriched at Venice by the Lombardi.

**d** If you have already seen the School of St. John, or do not like the interruption, continue at page 39 [105].

pediment above, as here on the outer wall [fig. 32];<sup>34</sup> and, if round-headed, often composed of two semi-circles side by side, with a circle between:<sup>e35</sup> the wall decoration being either of round inlaid marbles, among floral sculpture, or of fresco. Little to be conceived from words; but if you will look well inside and outside of the cortile of the Evangelist, you will come away with a very definite primary notion of Giocondine work.

Then back, with straight speed to the Academy; and before landing there, since you can see the little square in front of it, from your boat, read on.

The little square has its name written up at the corner, you see, - "Field of Charity",<sup>36</sup> or rather of *the* Charity, meaning the Madonna of Charity, and church dedicated to her. Of which you see the mere walls, variously defaced, remaining yet in their original form, - traces of the great circular window in the front yet left, also of the pointed windows at the sides - filled up, many a year ago, and the square holes below cut for modern convenience:<sup>37</sup> there being no space in the length and breadth of Italy to build new square-holed houses on, the Church of Charity must be used for makeshift.

Have you charity of imagination enough to cover this little field with fresh grass,<sup>38</sup> - to tear down the iron bridge [fig. 33] which some accursed Englishman, I suppose, greedy for filthy job, persuaded the poor Venetians to spoil their Grand Canal with, at its noblest bend,<sup>39</sup> - and to fill the pointed lateral windows with light tracery of quatrefoiled stone? So stood, so bloomed, the church and its field, in early fourteenth century - dismal time! the

church in its fresh beauty then, built towards the close of the thirteenth century, on the site of a much more ancient one, first built of wood; and, in 1119, of stone;<sup>40</sup> but still very small, its attached monastery receiving Alexander III. in 1177; - here on the little flowery field landed the Pontiff Exile, whose foot was to tread so soon on the Lion and the Adder.<sup>41</sup>

And, some hundred years later, putting away, one finds not why, her little Byzantine church, more gravely meditative Venice, visited much by Dominican and Franciscan friars, and more or less in cowed temper herself,<sup>42</sup> built this graver and simpler pile;<sup>43</sup> which, if any of my readers care for either Turner or me, they should look at with some moments' pause; for I have given Turner's lovely sketch of it to Oxford [fig. 34],<sup>44</sup> painted as he saw it fifty years ago, with bright golden sails grouped in front of it where now is the ghastly iron bridge.<sup>f45</sup>

Most probably, (I cannot yet find any direct document of it,) the real occasion of the building of the church whose walls yet stand, was the founding of the Confraternita di S. Maria della Carita, on St. Leonard's Day, 6th November, 1260,<sup>g</sup> which brotherhood, in 1310, fought side by side with the school of the Painters in St. Luke's field, against one body of the conspirators for Bajamonte, and drove them back, achieving the right thenceforward of planting their purple standard there, in St. Luke's field, with their stemma,<sup>46</sup> (all this bears on Carpaccio's pictures presently, so have patience yet a minute or two), and so increasing in number and influence, bought in 1344, from the Monks of the Church

**e** In returning to your boat, just walk round to the back of the church of the Frari, and look at the windows of the Scuola di San Rocco, which will fix the form in your mind. It is an entirely bad one; but took the fancy of men, for a time, and of strong ones, too. But don't stop long just now to look at this later building; keep the St. John's cortile for your type of Giocondine work, pure.

**f** 'Very convenient for the people', say you, modern man of business. Yes; very convenient to them also to pay two centesimi every time they cross, - six for three persons, into the pockets of that English engineer; instead of five for three persons, to one of their own boatmen, who now take to begging, drinking, and bellowing for the wretched hordes at the table d'hôtes [sic], whose ears have been rent by railroad whistles till they don't know a howl from a song, - instead of ferrying.

**g** Archivio Veneto. (Venezia, 1876.) [= Tassini 1876b] Tom. XII., Parte i., p. 112.





**Figure 33**  
Unidentified  
photographer,  
*Alfred Henry Neville's*  
*Iron Truss Bridge*  
*over the Grand Canal*  
*in front of the Accademia*  
*di Belle Arti, Venice. 1896*

of Charity, the ground on which you are presently going to see pictures; and built on it their cloister, dedicated also to St. Mary of Charity;<sup>47</sup> and over the gate of it, by which you are going to enter, put St. Mary of Charity, as they best could get her carved, next year, 1345: and so you have her there, with cowed members of the confraternity kneeling to her; happy angels fluttering about her; the dark blue of her eyes not yet utterly faded from them. Blue-eyed as Athena she, – the Greek tradition yet prevailing to that extent,<sup>48</sup> – a perfect type, the whole piece, of purest central fourteenth-century Gothic thought and work, untouched, and indubitable of date, being inscribed below its bracket cornice,

MCCCXLV. Ì LO TEMPO DE MIS.

MARCHO ZULIAN FO FATO STO LAVORIER.

To wit – “1345, in the time” (of the Guardianship) “of Messer Mark Julian, was made this laboured thing”.<sup>49</sup>

And all seemed to bid fair for Venice and her sacred schools; Heaven surely pleased with these her endeavours, and laboured things.

Yes, with these, and such other, I doubt not. But other things, it seems, had been done in Venice, with which Heaven was *not* pleased; assuming always that there is a Heaven, for otherwise – what followed was of course only process of Darwinian development. But this *was* what followed. That Madonna, with her happy angels





**Figure 34** J.M.W. Turner, *Venice. The Accademia*. 1840

and humble worshippers, was carved as you see her over the Scuola cloister door, - in 1345. And "on the 25th of January, 1347,<sup>h50</sup> on the day, to wit, of the conversion of St. Paul, about the hour of vespers, there came a great earthquake in Venice, and as it were in all the world; and fell many tops of bell-towers, and houses, and chimneys, and the church of St. Basil: and there was so great fear that all the people thought to die. And the earth ceased not to tremble for about forty days; and when it remained quiet, there came a great mortality, and the people died of various evil. And the people were in so great fear, that father would not go to visit son, nor son father. And this death lasted about six months; and it was said commonly that there died two parts out of three, of all the people of Venice."

These words you may read, (in Venetian dialect,) after you have entered the gate beneath the Madonna; they are engraved under the Gothic arch on your right hand; with other like words, telling the various horror of that Plague; and how the guardian of the Scuola died by it, and about ten of his officers with him, and three hundred of the brethren.<sup>51</sup>

Above the inscription, two angels hold the symbol of the Scuola; carved, as you see, conspicuously also on the outer sculptures in various places;<sup>52</sup> and again on the well in the midst of the cloister. The first sign this, therefore, of all chosen by the greater schools of Venice, of which, as aforesaid, "The first was that of St. Mary of Charity, which school has its wax candles red, in sign that Charity should be glowing; and has for its bearing a yellow" (meaning golden<sup>l</sup>) "cross, traversing two little

circles also yellow; with red and green quartering the parts which the cross describes, - those who instituted such sign desiring to show thereby the union that Charity should have with Faith and Hope".<sup>j53</sup>

The golden 'anchored' cross stands for Faith, the golden outer circle for Charity, the golden inner for Hope - all on field quartered gules and vert, the colours of Charity and Hope.<sup>54</sup>

Such the first symbol of Venetian Brotherhoods,<sup>k55</sup> - in reading which, I delay you, that you may be better prepared to understand the symbolism running through every sign and colour in Venetian art at this time, down even to its tinting of wax candles; art which was indeed all the more symbolic for being rude, and complicated much with the use of signals and heraldries at sea, too distant for any art in them to be visible, but serviceably intelligible in meaning.<sup>56</sup>

How far the great Scuola and cloisters of the Carita, for monks and confraternity together, reached from the gate under which you are pausing, you may see in Durer's woodcut of the year 1500, (Correr Museum),<sup>57</sup> which gives the apse with attached chapels; and the grand double cloister reaching back nearly to the Giudecca [fig. 35];<sup>58</sup> a water-wheel - as I suppose - outside, on the (now filled up and paved) canal,<sup>59</sup> moved by the tide, for molinary work in the kitchens. Of all which nothing now remains but these pillars and beams, between you and the gallery staircase;<sup>60</sup> and the well, with two brothers on each side holding their Stemma, a fine free-hand piece of rough living work. You will not, I think, find that you have ill spent your hour of rest when you now return into

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**h** 1348, in our present calendar.

**i** "Ex Cruce constat aurea, seu flava; ejus speciei, quam artis hujusmodi Auctores "ancoratum" vocant [(The emblem) consists of a golden, or rather yellow Cross, of the form that writers on this art call 'anchored']."

**j** In tabulam Græcam insigni sodalitis S. M. Caritatis, Venetiarum, ab amplissimo Cardinali Bessarione dono datum, Dissertatio [= Schioppalaba 1767]. - (St. Mark's Library, 33331, page 146.)

**k** At least according to the authority above quoted; as far as I have consulted the original documents myself, I find the school of St. Theodore primal.



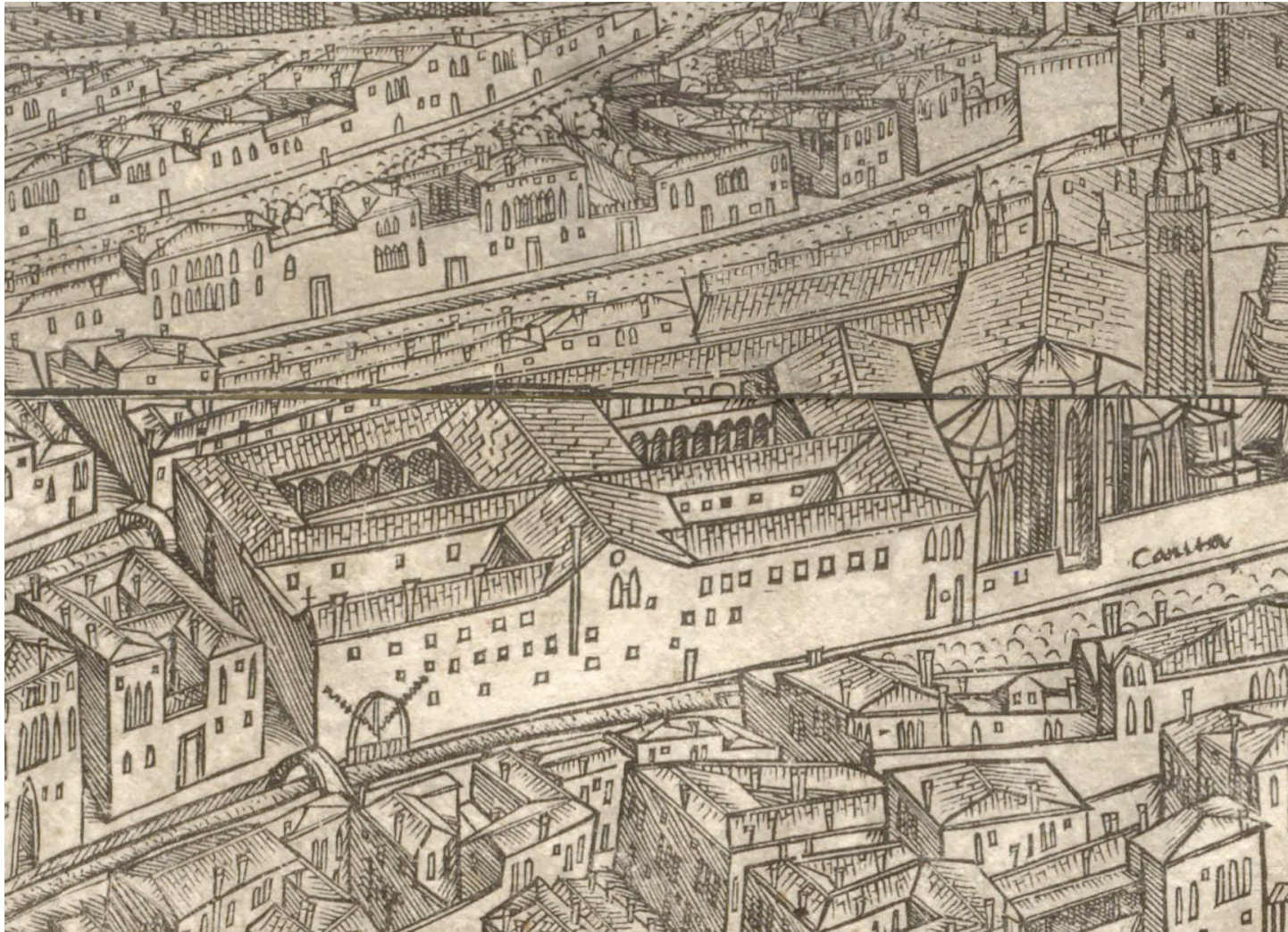


Figure 35 Jacopo de' Barbari, *View of Venice* (detail showing *S. Maria della Carità*). 1500

the Carpaccio room,<sup>51</sup> where we will look first, please, at No. IV. (549) [fig. 36],<sup>52</sup> in which many general points are better shown than in the rest.

Here is the great King of ideal England, under an octagonal temple of audience; all the scene being meant to show the conditions of a state in perfect power and prosperity.

A state, therefore, that is at once old and young; that has had a history for centuries past, and will have one for centuries to come.

Ideal, founded mainly on the Venice of his own day; mingled a little with thoughts of great Rome, and of great antagonist Genoa: but, in all spirit and hope, the Venice of 1480-1500 is here living before you. And now, therefore, you can see at once what she meant by a 'Campo', allowing for the conventional manner of representing grass, which of course at first you will laugh at; but which is by no means deserving of your contempt. Any hack draughtsman of Dalziel's<sup>53</sup> can sketch for you, or any member of the Water-colour or Dudley Societies<sup>54</sup> dab for you, in ten minutes, a field of hay that you would fancy you could mow, and make cocks of. But this green ground of Carpaccio's, with implanted flowers and tufts of grass, is traditional from the first Greek-Christian mosaics, and is an entirely systematic ornamental ground, and to be understood as such, primarily, and as grass only symbolically. Careless indeed, more than is usual with him - much spoiled and repainted also;<sup>55</sup> but quite clear enough in expression for us of the orderliness and freshness of a Venetian campo in the great times; garden and city you see mingled inseparably, the wild strawberry growing at the steps of the king's court of justice, and their marble sharp and bright out of the turf. Clean everything, and pure; - no cigars in anybody's poisoned mouth, - no voiding of perpetual excrement of saliva on the precious marble or living flowers.<sup>56</sup> Perfect

peace and befittingness of behaviour in all men and creatures. Your very monkey in repose, perfect in his mediæval dress; the Darwinian theory in all its sacredness, breadth, divinity, and sagacity, - but reposeful, not venturing to thrust itself into political council.<sup>57</sup> Crowds on the bridges and quays, but untumultuous, close set as beds of flowers, richly decorative in their mass, and a beautiful mosaic of men, and of black, red, blue, and golden bonnets.<sup>58</sup> Ruins, indeed, among the prosperity; but glorious ones; - not shells of abandoned speculation, but remnants of mighty state long ago, now restored to nature's peace; the arches of the first bridge the city had built, broken down by storm, yet what was left of them spared for memory's sake. (So stood for a little while, a few years ago, the broken Ponte-a-Mare at Pisa;<sup>59</sup> so at Rome, for ages, stood the Ponte Rotto, till the engineers and modern mob got at it, making what was in my youth the most lovely and holy scene in Rome, *now* a place where a swineherd could not stand without holding his nose, and which no woman can stop at.)<sup>70</sup>

But here, the old arches are covered with sweet weeds, like native rock, and (for once!)<sup>71</sup> reflected a little in the pure water under the meadowy hills. Much besides of noteworthy, if you are yourself worthy of noting it, you may find in this lovely distance. But the picture, it may be complained, seems for the most part - distance, architecture, and scattered crowd; while of foreground objects, we have principally cloaks, and very curiously thin legs.<sup>1</sup> Well, yes, - the distance is indeed the prettiest part of this picture; and since, in modern art and drama, we have been accustomed, for anatomical and other reasons, to depend on nothing else but legs, I admit the supply of legs to be here scanty, and even of brachial, pectoral, and other admirable muscles. If you choose to look at the *faces* instead, you will find something in them;<sup>72</sup> nevertheless, Carpaccio has been, on the whole,

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1 Not in the least unnaturally thin, however, in the forms of persons of sedentary life.









**Figure 36**  
Vittore Carpaccio,  
*The Return of the Ambassadors*.  
c. 1499



playing with himself, and with us, in his treatment of this subject.<sup>73</sup> For Carpaccio is, in the most vital and conclusive sense, a man of genius, who will not at all supply you, nor can in the least supply himself, with sublimity and pathos to order; but is sublime, or delightful, or sometimes dull, or frequently grotesque, as Heaven wills it; or – profane persons will say, – as the humour takes him. And his humour here has been dominant. For since much depends on the answer brought back from St. Ursula, besides the young Prince’s happiness, one should have thought, the return of the embassy might have been represented in a loftier manner. But only two of the ambassadors are here; the king is occupied in hearing a cause which will take long, – (see how gravely his minister is reading over the documents in question;) – meantime the young prince, impatient, going down the steps of the throne, makes his own private inquiries, proudly: “Your embassy has, I trust, been received, gentlemen, with a just understanding of our diplomatic relations?” “Your Royal Highness”, the lowly and gravely bowing principal ambassador replies, “must yourself be the only fitting judge of that matter, on fully hearing our report”. Meantime, the chargé d’affaires holds St. Ursula’s answer – behind his back.<sup>74</sup>

A piece of play, very nearly, the whole picture; a painter living in the midst of a prosperous city, happy in his own power, entirely believing in God, and in the saints, and in eternal life; and, at intervals, bending his whole soul to the expression of most deep and holy tragedy, – such a man needs must have his times of play; which Carpaccio takes, in his work. Another man, instead of painting this piece with its monkey, and its little fiddler [fig. 37],<sup>75</sup> and its jesting courtiers, would have played some ape-tricks of his own, – spent an hour or two among literal fiddlers, and living courtiers. Carpaccio is not heard of among

such – amuses himself still with pencil in hand, and us also, pleasantly, for a little while. You shall be serious enough, soon, with him, if you will.

But I find this Guide must run into greater division, for I can’t get the end of it properly done yet for some days; during the winter the gallery was too cold for me to think quietly in, and so I am obliged, as Fate always lately obliges me, to do this work from pen to print – at speed; so that, quitting Carpaccio for the nonce, I will tell you a little more about the general contents of the rooms; and so afterwards take up St. Ursula’s pilgrimage, undisturbed.<sup>m</sup><sup>76</sup> Now, therefore, I will simply follow the order of the room circuit, noting the pieces worth study, if you have proper time.<sup>77</sup>

From before this picture which has so long held us, go down the steps on the right of it, into the lower room.<sup>78</sup>

Turning round immediately, you have good sight of two Paul Veroneses, one on each side of the steps.<sup>79</sup> The upper group of the picture on your left (603), Madonna borne by angels at her knees, and encompassed by a circlet of them, is the loveliest piece of Veronese in these galleries, nor can you see a better in the world: but, considered as a whole, the picture is a failure; all the sub-celestial part of it being wholly dull. Nevertheless, for essential study of Veronese’s faculty, you cannot find anything better in Venice than that upper group; and the opposite picture, though confused, is worth attentive pause from all painters.

597.<sup>80</sup> Le Brun. Sent from Paris, you see, in exchange for the Cena of Paul Veronese.<sup>81</sup>

The Cena of Paul Veronese being worth – at moderate estimate of its eternal and intrinsic art-value – I should say, roughly, about ten good millions of sterling ducats, or twenty ironclads,<sup>82</sup> and the Le Brun, worth, if it were put

**m** This I am now doing in a separate Guide to the works of Carpaccio in Venice: these two parts, now published, contain all I have to say about the Academy.



**Figure 37**  
Charles Fairfax Murray, after Vittore Carpaccio, "The Master of Ceremonies" (from *The Return of the Ambassadors*). c. 1880



to proper use, precisely what its canvas may now be worth to make a packing-case of; – but, as hung here, in negative value, and effectual mischief, in disgracing the rooms, and keeping fine pictures invisibly out of the way, – a piece of vital poverty and calamity much more than equivalent to the presence of a dirty, torn rag, which the public would at once *know* to be worthless, in its place instead.

569, 570.<sup>83</sup> Standard average portrait-pieces, fairly representative of Tintoret's quiet work, and of Venetian magistrates, – Camerlenghi di Comune. Compare 587; very beautiful.<sup>84</sup>

581, 582, 583.<sup>85</sup> Spoils of the Church of the Carita, whose ruins you have seen. Venice being of all cities the only one which has sacked *herself*, not in revolution, but mere blundering beggary; suppressing every church that had blessed her, and every society that had comforted. But at all events you *see* the pictures here; and the Cima is a fine one; but what time you give to this painter should be spent chiefly with his John the Baptist at the Madonna dell'Orto.<sup>86</sup>

586.<sup>87</sup> Once a Bonifazio of very high order; sorrowfully repainted with loss of half its life. But a picture, still, deserving honour.

From this room you find access either to the modern pictures,<sup>88</sup> or by the door on the left hand of the Cima to the collection of drawings.<sup>89</sup> The well-known series by Raphael and Lionardo are of the very highest historical value and artistic interest;<sup>90</sup> but it is curious to find, in Venice, scarcely a scratch or blot remaining

of elementary study by any great Venetian master. Her painters drew little in black and white, and must have thrown such sketches, when they made them, away for mere waste paper. For all discussion of their methods of learning to draw with colour from the first, I must refer my readers to my Art lectures.<sup>91</sup>

The Lionardo drawings here are the finest I know; none in the Ambrosian Library equal them in execution.

The staircase leading out of this room descends into the Hall of Titian's Assumption,<sup>92</sup> where I have said nothing yet of his last picture (33),<sup>93</sup> nor of that called in the Guide-books an example of his first style (35).<sup>94</sup>

It has always been with me an intended piece of work to trace the real method of Titian's study, and the changes of his mind.<sup>95</sup> But I shall never do it now;<sup>n96</sup> and am hitherto entirely unacquainted with his early work. If this be indeed his, and a juvenile piece, it indicates a breadth of manner, and conventionally artistic way of looking at nature, entirely peculiar to him, or to his æra. The picture which he left unfinished<sup>97</sup> might most fittingly be called the Shadow of Death. It is full of the profoundest metaphysical interest to me; but cannot be analysed here.

In general, Titian is ill-represented in his own Venice. The best example of him, by far, is the portrait group of the Pesaro family in the Frari.<sup>98</sup> The St. Mark in the Sacristy of the Salute was, in my early days, entirely glorious; but has been daubed over into ruin.<sup>99</sup> The roof of the Sacristy in the Salute;<sup>100</sup> with the fresco of St. Christopher,<sup>o101</sup> and the portrait of the Doge Grimani before Faith, in the Ducal Palace,<sup>102</sup> are all the remnants of him that are worth study here, since the destruction of the Peter Martyr.<sup>p103</sup> The

n For reasons which any acute reader may enough discover in my lecture on Michael Angelo and Tintoret [RMAT].

o An admirable account of this fresco is given by Mr. Edward Cheney, in 'Original Documents relating to Venetian Painters and their Pictures in the Eighteenth Century [sic] [Cheney 1872-76],' pp. 60, 61 [53-61].

p Of the portrait of the Doge Andrea Gritti, in my own possession at Oxford, I leave others to speak, when I can speak of it no more. But it must be named here as the only fragment left of another great picture destroyed by fire, which Tintoret had so loved and studied that he replaced it from memory.



**Figure 38**  
Charles H. Moore, after Workshop  
of Jacopo Tintoretto, *Reduced Study*  
of Tintoret's "Madonna of the Faithful"  
in the Academy of Venice. 1876

St. John the Baptist in this gallery (366),<sup>104</sup> is really too stupid to be endured, and the black and white scabble of landscape in it is like a bad copy of Ruysdael.

45.<sup>105</sup> The miracle of St. Mark; a fine, but much-over-rated, Tintoret.<sup>106</sup> If any painter of real power wishes to study this master, let him be content with the Paradise of the Ducal Palace,<sup>107</sup> and the School of St. Roch,<sup>108</sup> where no harmful repainting has yet taken place. The once mighty pictures in the Madonna dell' Orto are destroyed by restoration;<sup>109</sup> and those which are scattered about the other churches are scarcely worth pursuit, while the series of St. Roch remains in its purity.

In the next room to this, (Sala III.,)<sup>110</sup> the pictures on the ceiling, brought from the room of the State Inquisitors, are more essential, because more easy, Tintoret-work, than the St. Mark, and very delightful to me; I only wish the Inquisitors were alive to enjoy them again themselves, and inquire into a few things happening in Venice, and especially into the religious principles of her "Modern Painters".

We have made the round of the rooms, all but the Pinacoteca Contarini, Sala V. and VI., and the long gallery, Sala X.-XIV.,<sup>111</sup> both containing many smaller pictures of interest;<sup>112</sup> but of which I have no time, nor much care, to speak - except in complaint that detestable daubs by Callot, Dujardin, and various ignoti, should be allowed to disgrace the sixth sala,<sup>113</sup> and occupy some of the best of the very little good light there is in the Academy; thrusting the lovely little Tintoret, 179 [fig. 38],<sup>114</sup> - purest work of his heart and fairest of his faculty, - high beyond sight of all its delicious painting; and the excellent quiet portrait, 168,<sup>115</sup> into an unregarded corner. I am always puzzled by the smaller pictures of John Bellini; many

of them here, of whose authorship there can be little doubt, being yet of very feeble merit. 94<sup>116</sup> is fine; the five symbolical pictures, 234-238,<sup>117</sup> in the inner room, Sala VI., are interesting to myself; but may probably be little so to others. The first is, (I believe,) Domestic Love; the world in her hand becoming the colour of Heaven; the second, Fortitude quitting the effeminate Dionysus; the third, (much the poorest and least intelligible,) Truth, or Prudence; the fourth, Lust; and the fifth, Fortune as Opportunity, in distinction from the greater and sacred Fortune appointed of Heaven.<sup>118</sup>

And now, if you are yet unfatigued,<sup>a</sup> you had better go back into the great room,<sup>119</sup> and give thorough examination to the wonderful painting, as such, in the great Veronese,<sup>120</sup> considering what all its shows and dexterities at last came to, and reading, before it, his examination concerning it, given in Appendix,<sup>121</sup> which shows you that Venice herself felt what they were likely to come to, though in vain; and then, for contrast with its reckless power, and for final image to be remembered of sweet Italian art in its earnestness, return into the long gallery,<sup>122</sup> (through the two great rooms, turning your back on the Veronese, then out by the door opposite Titian's huge picture;<sup>123</sup> then out of the corridor by the first door on the right, and walk down the gallery,) to its little Sala X., where, high on your left, 360,<sup>124</sup> is the Beata Catherine Vigri's St. Ursula; Catherine Vigri herself, it may be, kneeling to her. Truly a very much blessed Catherine, and, I should say, far more than half-way to a saint, knowing, however, of her, and her work, only this picture. Of which I will only say in closing, as I said of the Vicar's picture<sup>125</sup> in beginning, that it would be well if any of us could do such things nowadays; - and more especially, if our vicars and young ladies could.

<sup>a</sup> If you *are*, end with 179 [cat. 270 (MM 1962, 433)], and remember it well.



## Notes

**1** Room XVI (1877).

**2** What was not to be counted on (in Ruskin's note) was the room's current arrangement, which failed to present Carpaccio's St Ursula paintings, or indeed the *Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista* "street architecture" group, as a series. As he had the latter at the end of "[Part I]", so now Ruskin, after renaming Room XVI "the Carpaccio room" (see 107 above) effectively (verbally) rehangs and reunites the former (see the "Introduction", n. 212). The official decision to reunite the series physically would be taken on 3 November 1886 (ASSPSAE e PMVe, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Carte Vecchie, Vb, trascrizione di documenti dell'Archivio Acc. BB.AA. di Venezia; AABAVE, Collegio accademico, b. 11).

**3** The series painted by Carpaccio from 1490 to around 1500 for the *Oratorio of the Scuola di S. Orsola*, adjoining the church of SS. *Giovanni e Paolo*, comprises a total of nine subjects: see immediately below in the text and the "Introduction" (46) for Ruskin's deliberate omission of one of these (*The Arrival at Cologne* [cat. 579, MM 1955, 101]).

**4** Cat. 89 (MM 1955, 106): *The Apparition of the Ten Thousand Martyrs of Mount Ararat*, canvas; cat. 90 (MM 1955, 105): *The Meeting of Anne and Joachim at the Golden Gate*, panel; cat. 566 (MM 1955, 94): *A Miracle of a Relic of the True Cross*, canvas (see the "Introduction", 46).

**5** In ordering the subjects Ruskin follows the version of the saint's legend compiled for him by James Reddie Anderson (see the "Introduction", 27 and n. 90 and the "Supplementary Texts", 138). The order now generally accepted as correct is one derived from the *Golden Legend*, which, since the 1890s, has been held to be the version of the saint's story known to Carpaccio: 1) *The Arrival of the Ambassadors* (cat. 572 [MM 1955, 95]); 2) *The Leavetaking of the Ambassadors* (cat. 573 [MM 1955, 96]); 3) *The Return of the Ambassadors* (cat. 574 [MM 1955, 97]); 4) *The Meeting of St Ursula and the Prince and the Start of the Pilgrimage* (cat. 575 [MM 1955, 98]); 5) *The Reception of St Ursula and the Pilgrims by the Pope in Rome* (cat. 577 [MM 1955, 99]); 6) *The Dream of St Ursula* (cat. 578 [MM 1955, 100]); 7) *The Arrival of St Ursula and the Pilgrims at Cologne* (cat. 579 [MM 1955, 101]); 8) *The Pilgrims' Martyrdom and the Funeral of St Ursula* (cat. 580 [MM 1955, 102]); 9) *The Apotheosis of St Ursula and her Companions* (cat. 576 [MM 1955, 103]).

**6** Cat. 572 (MM 1955, 95): *The Arrival of the Ambassadors*, canvas, signed. Ruskin placed two photographs of this subject by Carlo Naya - one of the whole scene, the other of the central portion - in his teaching collection at Oxford (Rudimentary Series, Nos 106, 107). That of the whole scene was later transferred to the St George's Museum at Sheffield (CGSG 01976). Of the photograph of the central portion (AM WA.RS.RUD.107), Ruskin wrote in his catalogue of the Series (1878): "The five principal figures on the right cannot be surpassed in Italian work for realistic portraiture. The face of the king seems to me a very curious ideal for the father, of St. Ursula, but probably Carpaccio knew more of physiognomy than I do. The embroidered tapestry behind the figures is in the real painting quite one of the most wonderful pieces of showering jewellery that I have ever seen produced by art. It will be

noticed that the light of it, a little concentrated above the king's crown, makes him more principal". He further pointed out the 'gathering' function, within the composition, of the "square tablet above the nearer figure" (in reality a long drape); and pointed out "the little weeds which are used for symmetrical floral decoration at the bottom of the picture", recommending them to students engaged in drawing arabesques from the *Villa Madama* (*Works*, 21: 200-1).

**7** Cat. 578 (MM 1955, 100): *The Dream of St Ursula*, canvas, signed and dated "MCCCCLXXXV"; see the "Introduction", 25-32, and the "Supplementary Texts", 135, 145.

**8** Cat. 573 (MM 1955, 96): *The Leavetaking of the Ambassadors*, canvas, signed.

**9** Cat. 574 (MM 1955, 97): *The Return of the Ambassadors*, canvas, signed.

**10** Cat. 575 (MM 1955, 98): *The Meeting of St Ursula and the Prince and the Start of the Pilgrimage*, canvas, signed and dated "MCCCCLXXXV".

**11** Cat. 577 (MM 1955, 99): *The Reception of St Ursula and the Pilgrims by the Pope in Rome*, canvas, signed [figs 29, 43-44]; see the "Introduction", 47, and the "Supplementary Texts", 149-52.

**12** Ruskin quotes, not quite correctly, from Anderson's "Story of St. Ursula"; see the "Supplementary Texts", 138.

**13** Cat. 580 (MM 1955, 102): *The Pilgrims' Martyrdom and the Funeral of St Ursula*, canvas, signed and dated "MCCCCLXXX/XIII"; see the "Introduction", 39 and the "Supplementary Texts", 152.

**14** For reasons probably to do with the source he then had to hand, Ruskin's summary title incorporates the ancient tradition of Ursula's martyrdom by the Huns. By contrast, Anderson's "Story" ("Supplementary Texts") places her martyrdom, at the hand of the *Soldano di Babilonia*, in *Schiavonia*. Yet no version of the story ever told of her death "in the land of the Huns". Most placed it at Cologne, the city with which her cult was most closely associated, said either to be under siege by the Huns or close by their encampment.

**15** Cat. 576 (MM 1955, 103): *The Apotheosis of St Ursula and her Companions*, canvas, signed and dated "MCCCCLXXXI".

**16** As noted in Ruskin 1891, 26n, and by E.T. Cook in his copy of Ruskin 1877 I<sup>b</sup> (27), now in the Print Room, AM (Ruskin I C. 32), the standard bearers in this picture are both female. Ruskin may refer to the head, apparently of a young man, immediately above that of the left-hand standard-bearer.

**17** Cat. 579 (MM 1955, 101): *The Arrival of St Ursula and the Pilgrims at Cologne*, canvas, signed and dated "MCCCC.LXXXX M. | SEPTEMBRIS".

**18** Compare the discussion of the landscape of the early "religious schools" in *MP I* (*Works*, 3: 180-1), where the subordination of background to holy figures in the paintings of Giovanni Bellini (and particularly in the altarpiece in *S. Giovanni Crisostomo*) is a condition of their truth. For his part, Bunney, to whom Ruskin read a portion of Part II while in progress (see the "Introduction", 46), faulted him with not allowing "sufficient print to the landscape of Carpaccio": "We had

some talk about it and he said that he would look over it again" (JWBJ 11 April 1877).

**19** Ruskin echoes the biblical ascription of foundations to mountains and hills (in Deuteronomy 32.22 and Psalms 18.7). The paintings referred to are apparently *The Reception of St Ursula and the Pilgrims by the Pope in Rome* [figs 29, 43-44], with its view of *Castel S. Angelo* and the trumpeters on its battlements, and to the landscape in the background of the scene with the meeting between St Ursula and the Prince (see immediately below in the text).

**20** Ruskin here appropriates the language of late Comtean Positivism, which propounded the worship of the order and unity of human development – the “Great Being” of Humanity – through history. Immediately before leaving England for Venice he had engaged in public argument, in *FC*, with a leading British Positivist, his friend Frederic Harrison, author of a recently published article eulogizing human progress (*Works*, 28: 618-25, 662-4). Ruskin had returned to the subject in Letter 69, with reference to the history of art. Commenting on a group of four “Lesson Photographs”, of which the “most perfect” was avowedly of Titian’s *Madonna of the Cherries* (Vienna), he specified that “most perfect” did not necessarily mean “best”: the Titian was “wrought in what Mr. Harrison calls the Religion of Humanity”, but he confused “benevolence with religion” (*Works*, 28: 702). At the beginning of March 1877 Ruskin had again made use of the expression, and again in connection with Titian’s acknowledged, but for him problematic, status as “a standard of perfection”, to characterize his own general philosophy of art and life in the years between 1858 and 1874, which he now regarded as founded on a fallacy: “that Religious artists were weaker than Irreligious” (*Works*, 29: 88, 91). On the Lesson Photographs in relation to the *Guide* see further Tucker 2020a.

**21** Cat. 575 (MM 1955, 98): *The Meeting of St Ursula and the Prince and the Start of the Pilgrimage*.

**22** Thus infringing one of the phenomenal laws illustrated in *MP I*, i.e. that the reflective power of water is in inverse ratio to the angle of vision (*Works*, 3: 499-500).

**23** The sculpture is set in the tracery of the loggia (see Quill 2015, 124; Quill 2018, 149).

**24** *Works*, 5: 248-93.

**25** In *NTGMH* Ruskin had written that with “modern painters [...] it is indisputable that the figures are merely put in to make the pictures gay, and rarely claim any greater interest than may attach to the trade of the city, or labour of the field” (*Works*, 13: 151). There follows however a puzzled analysis of the weakness of Turner’s later figure-drawing, as contrasted with the distinctively “strong human sympathy” manifested in his landscape (*Works*, 13: 152), where, as stated in *ED*, his primary intent was to express the “charm of inhabitation” and “total history and character” of a scene (*Works*, 15: 437). Incidentally, Ruskin would compare the function of his Preface to James Reddie Anderson’s “The Place of Dragons”, with its account of Carpaccio’s *St George and the Dragon*, to “just what the landscape is to the figures, in the pictures themselves” (J. Ruskin to J.R. Anderson, 26 February 1877, ML).

**26** Cat. 576 (MM 1955, 103): *The Apotheosis of St Ursula and her Companions*.

**27** Cats 572, 573 (MM 1955, 95, 96): *The Arrival of the Ambassadors; The Leavetaking of the Ambassadors*. Ruskin quotes from Anderson’s “Story of St. Ursula” (see the “Supplementary Texts”, 138).

**28** Vasari 1568, II, 247 (“secondo edificatore di Vinezia”). However, Fra Giocondo’s suggestions for the Brenta were not put into practice by the Venetian government. The “Lombardi” are the sculptor and architect Pietro Lombardo and his sons Tullio and Antonio; see the next note.

**29** Ruskin apparently became aware of Fra Giocondo, the Veronese engineer, architect and scholar, during his long stay in Verona in the summer of 1869. He was doubtless interested in the friar’s consolidation of the *Ponte della Pietra*, recalled in Vasari 1568 (2: 247). And he particularly admired the *Loggia del Consiglio*, traditionally but erroneously ascribed to Fra Giocondo: he placed a photograph of a part of its façade and a watercolour of another portion by John Bunney (1869) in his Oxford teaching collection, afterwards transferring the watercolour to the St George’s Museum at Sheffield (CGSG 00057). The allusion to terminological uncertainty among modern architects appears disingenuous and perhaps veils the desire to avoid the (for Ruskin) negatively loaded term ‘Renaissance’. He had used this to designate the third period of Venetian architecture in *SV*; and in a letter to Rawdon Brown written on 8 May 1877, during the composition of Part II of the *Guide*, he declared the *Loggia del Consiglio* itself “the most perfect Renaissance building in Italy” (*Works*, 37: 222; cf. 22: 476). In the same letter Ruskin explained the reasons for his choice of the term “Giocondine”. These involved current disaffection with the *Scuola Grande di S. Marco* – begun by Pietro Lombardo and his sons Tullio and Antonio (but Ruskin had his own views on the authorship of the design) – which in *SV* he had instanced as one of “the two most refined buildings” in the “early Renaissance” style (the other being *S. Maria dei Miracoli*) (*Works*, 11: 20-1; Quill 2015, 155; Quill 2018, 188). Brown evidently expected, or even urged, Ruskin to continue to use “Lombardic”, which he had expressly distinguished from “Lombard” in specific reference to buildings “in the style of Pietro and Tullio Lombardo” (*Works*, 3: 75n). Ruskin justified the new term not only by his belief that Fra Giocondo was the “complete founder” of this style, “overcharged” by the Lombardi “with fat babies and succulent ivy leaves”, but also by reason of the semantic ambiguity of “Lombardic”. “Giocondine” duly classifies the architectural style of certain Venetian palaces in notes made before leaving Venice on 20 May, presumably with a view to their use in *SMR* (*Works*, 24: 440-1). The term is not employed in that book itself.

**30** The dates inscribed on the paintings range from 1490 to 1495.

**31** Genesis 11.4.

**32** Another of the *Scuole Grandi*, founded in 1261. In *Vindex* (*Works*, 11: 388; Quill 2015, 148; Quill 2018, 179) Ruskin had described it as a “fine example of the Byzantine Renaissance, mixed with remnants of good late Gothic”, and its “little exterior cortile” as “sweet in feeling”. Though he omits to mention it, part of the reason for this visit must have been that the series of paintings by Gentile Bellini, Carpaccio and Mansueti depicting miracles worked through a relic of the True Cross, noticed in “[Part I]”, had been commissioned by, and displayed in, this *Scuola*, where the relic was preserved. In what follows Ruskin seems

unaware of the *Scuola's* recent history, which, given his belief in the interconnectedness of civic pride and fellowship, religious devotion and “happy industry” (*Works*, 27: 346), might greatly have interested him. Fifty years after its suppression in 1806, the premises were acquired by the *Pia Società per l'Acquisto della Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista*, a group of eighty-three Venetian citizens led by Gaspare Biondetti Crovato, who for more than twenty years had been campaigning to establish a “mechanical arts” workers’ association here. In 1857 the *Pia Società* became the *Corporazione* (later *Società*) *delle arti edificatorie di mutuo soccorso* and in 1929 was re-formed as the still existing *Confraternita Scuola Grande di S. Giovanni Evangelista*.

**33** For *SLA* Ruskin had etched the weeds among the Gothic tracery of the cathedral at Saint-Lô, asserting in the text, “there is not a cluster of weeds growing in any cranny of ruin which has not a beauty in all respects *nearly* equal, and, in some, immeasurably superior, to that of the most elaborate sculpture of its stones” (*Works*, 8: 81-2). And one of the drawings he had been engaged on in the first months of this stay in Venice was of the capitals between the second and third porches on the west front of St Mark’s, with the plant he called *Erba della madonna* “mingling its fresh life with the marble acanthus leaves” (*Works*, 28: 724, 726; Wildman 2009, 334). In *SMR* (*Works*, 24: 343) he would draw attention to the “arabesque on the steps” of the raised throne in Carpaccio’s *Miracle of St Tryphonius in S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni*, “with the living plants taking part in the ornament, like voices chanting here and there a note, as some pretty tune follows its melodious way, on constant instruments. Nature and art at play with each other – graceful and gay alike.”

**34** The marble screen by Pietro Lombardo, surmounted by the eagle of St John the Evangelist, which separates inner and outer courtyards. A drawing of the screen, with a plan of the outer courtyard, by Giacomo Boni (1883), was later placed by Ruskin in his teaching collection at Oxford (AM WA.RS.RUD.108bis).

**35** Examples of the form cited in Ruskin’s note may be seen in cat. 574 (MM 1955, 97), Carpaccio’s *Return of the Ambassadors*.

**36** *Campo della Carità*.

**37** Compare *Vindex*: “Once an interesting Gothic church of the fourteenth century, lately defaced, and applied to some of the usual important purposes of the modern Italians” (*Works*, 11: 365). Following its assignation by the Napoleonic government in 1807 to the *Accademia*, the entire complex – church, convent and *scuola* – had been adapted to the “convenience” of the institution by the architect Giannantonio Selva (Modesti 2005, 21). The Gothic windows overlooking the Grand Canal, however, had, as Ruskin rightly states, been filled up “many a year ago”, as may be seen from Canaletto’s *The Stonemason’s Yard* in the National Gallery (NG 127). They were reconstructed immediately after the First World War (Modesti 2005, 42).

**38** An evocation of ancient Venice in *SMR* (*Works*, 24: 239-40) includes reference to the then still “soft ‘campi,’ of which, in St. Margaret’s field, I have but this autumn seen the last worn vestige trodden away” and to the *Campo della Carità* itself: on 26 February Ruskin had seen “beside the Academy, over-hanging momentary shade of boughs hewn away, ‘to make the street “bello”,’ said the axe-bearer. ‘What,’ I asked, ‘will it be

prettier in summer without its trees?’ ‘Non x’e bello il verde [‘there’s no beauty in greenery’],’ he answered. True oracle; though he knew not what he said; voice of the modern Church of Venice ranking herself under the black standard of the pit.”

**39** The iron truss bridge designed and built by Alfred Henry Neville, an English engineer active in Europe since the 1830s. In 1838 Neville had patented an early form of the Warren truss and had built railway bridges using this technology in France and Belgium. He received the commission for the long-planned and much discussed *Accademia* bridge in 1852; and the bridge was in place two years later (Tassini 1863, 1: 129). Not long afterwards Neville constructed a similar bridge at the other end of the Grand Canal, to serve the railway station. In the early 1930s both bridges were replaced by arched structures, the station bridge being built in stone, that at the Academy, as a temporary measure, in wood. The wooden bridge proved popular, however, and was maintained until the 1980s, when it was substituted by a replica reinforced by an inner structure in iron. The toll to which Ruskin refers in his note (three *centesimi*, not two) was part of Neville’s contract, which specified it should apply for thirty years (Lupo 2002; Barizza 2003). In *Works*, 24: 172n it is stated that the toll was abolished “shortly after he wrote”. For a study of Ruskin’s views on bridges and bridge-building, see Tucker 2020b.

**40** Compare *Works*, 24: 263 and see Tassini 1863 (1: 128), which gives the church of the *Carità* as among the most ancient in Venice and as originally a wooden structure, and which states that permission to build a church and convent in stone was requested of Pope Callixtus II by Marco Zulian around 1120 (compare Tassini 1876a (359), which however does not mention the original church in wood).

**41** Pope Alexander III consecrated the church of *S. Maria della Carità* on 5 April 1177 (Tassini 1863, 128; 1876a, 359). An inscription formerly over its main door recorded the story of how Alexander III – in disguise and in flight from the persecutions of the Emperor Barbarossa – had been taken in by the Canons (Tassini 1863 1: 129; 1876a, 362). The final part of Ruskin’s sentence evokes the words (from Psalms 91.13) said to have been spoken by the Pope in the porch of St Mark’s on placing his foot upon the neck of the repentant Barbarossa. In *SV* (*Works*, 9: 28), Ruskin had cited this episode in illustration of the “unendurable elevation of the pontifical power”, momentarily but atypically acceded to by Venice, quoting Samuel Rogers’ account in his poem *Italy*: “In that temple-porch | (The brass is gone, the porphyry remains,) | Did Barbarossa fling his mantle off | And, kneeling, on his neck receive the foot | Of the proud Pontiff – thus at last consoled | For flight, disguise, and many an aguish shake | On his stone pillow” (Rogers 1823, 75). In the greater openness to Catholic institutions and traditions manifested this winter, Ruskin had been moved to pray “in the place where the Emperor Barbarossa flung his cloak off – to receive the – not *proud*, but confirmed foot of the strength of Venice on his neck”, as he wrote to his cousin Joan Severn, again quoting, but now correcting, Rogers (J. Ruskin to J. Severn, 2 January 1877, RF L 41). Ruskin’s revised estimate of the Emperor put him at odds with Carlyle (see J. Ruskin to T. Carlyle, 9 September 1876 [Cate 1982, 232]).



- 42 Ruskin echoes the anonymous account of the origins of the Venetian confraternities quoted in Corner 1749 and Schioppalalba 1767 (see n. 53 below).
- 43 The immediately following text suggests Ruskin assumed that the history of the confraternity and that of the church and monastery were one and the same. He thus antedates the surviving church buildings by nearly two hundred years. As is explained in Tassini 1863 (1: 128) and Tassini 1876a (359-60), which Ruskin consulted (see Ruskin's note [g], immediately below), these were rebuilt in the mid-fifteenth century, when the Augustinian Canons of *S. Maria di Frigionaia* (Lucca), to whom the monastery had passed around 1420, but who had since abandoned the *Carità* for the disused convent of *S. Salvatore*, returned to *Dorsoduro*.
- 44 J.M.W. Turner, *The Accademia, Venice*, watercolour (AM WA1861.9), usually dated 1840 and given by Ruskin to the University Galleries in 1861.
- 45 For the correction in Ruskin 1882-83 II of "table d'hôtes" in Ruskin's note (f), see "Editions of the *Guide*", Table 2.
- 46 Tassini 1876b, 112. For a reference to the conspiracy of Bajamonte Tiepolo, see *SV* (*Works*, 10: 298).
- 47 As recorded in the inscription below the figure of St Leonard to the left of the entrance and as related in Tassini 1876b (112), the confraternity was indeed founded on St Leonard's day, 1260. But Tassini further relates that it was first established in the church of *S. Leonardo*, after which it transferred to the oratory of *S. Giacomo* on the Giudecca. In 1344 it again transferred to the parish of *SS. Gervasio e Protasio* near the *Carità*, from which it purchased the land on which it built its premises. The entrance and the cloister immediately within it were shared by Canons and confraternity.
- 48 In *QA* Ruskin had interpreted the epithet *glaukōpis*, traditionally applied to Athena, with reference to Greek colour perception, "all founded primarily on the degree of connection between colour and light", and as meaning "with eyes full of light" rather than "owl-eyed", as was often thought: "and so 'Glaukōpis' chiefly means grey-eyed: grey standing for a pale and luminous blue; but it only means owl-eyed in thought of the roundness and expansion, not from the colour" (*Works*, 19: 379-81). There are still traces of gilding in the background and on the frame, but the blue seen by Ruskin has all but faded away.
- 49 The inscription is recorded in Tassini 1876b (115). According to Boerio 1829, which Ruskin had cause to consult during this stay (see the "Introduction", 30), the noun *lavorier* (more commonly, *laorier*) means a piece of work done, in the process of being done or to be done ("Opere fatta o che si fa o da farsi"). For ideological reasons, Ruskin's translation highlights the etymological relation to "labour".
- 50 The calendar *more veneto*, its year beginning on 1 March, was in use in the Republic until its fall in 1797.
- 51 The inscription, pointed out in *Accademia* 1875 (3), is placed in the lunette over the doorway which until the eighteenth century would have been the principal entrance into the *Scuola*. It is transcribed in Tassini 1876b (116-17). Ruskin faithfully translates most of the inscription, omitting details of the "various horror" of the plague (the Black Death of 1348).
- 52 In *VIndex* (*Works*, 11: 361) Ruskin had noted the "bent gables" over the two standing figures either side of the outer door, and "the little crosses within circles which fill their cusps".
- 53 Ruskin translates from the anonymous account of the origin of Venetian confraternities quoted in Corner 1749 (289-91) and Schioppalalba 1767 (146n): the term "anchored" translates *ancoratam* in the latter (see Ruskin's note [i]). The form referred to is a kind of cross moline, its arms split and curved back. Ruskin seems to have been directed to Schioppalalba's book by Rawdon Brown, of whom he had enquired the meaning of *ancoratam* in the letter of 8 May 1877 (*Works*, 28: 222) cited earlier, and to whom (as mentioned in the "Introduction", 44) he had previously addressed a series of questions relating to the *Carità*. These show he now misread the confraternity's emblem: "The Carita wheel[:] is it possible all Venetian antiquarianism is puzzled over its Academy door! [...] The Carita Institution. What? Any documents at Archives?" (J. Ruskin to R. Brown, 22 March 1877, BL Add. MS 36304 ff. 128-9). The indication "as aforesaid" appears to be a slip, as there is no previous mention in this text of the *Carità* having been or having been stated to have been the earliest of the *Scuole Grandi* (which indeed it was: see Glixon 2011, 3) and in *FC* Letter 75, written in February and published in March, it is the *Scuola di San Teodoro* which is thus described (*Works*, 29: 64n).
- 54 Schioppalalba 1767, 146n.
- 55 Compare *Works*, 29: 64n and 24: 230-1.
- 56 Compare *MP* III (*Works*, 5: 257) on the need, in medieval heraldic design, to reduce natural form to a relatively simple "disciplined and orderly pattern", such as to ensure the intelligibility of devices seen from a distance.
- 57 This composite woodcut, engraved on six blocks and measuring over two and a half metres in length, shows a perspective plan of the city of Venice. Traditionally ascribed to Albrecht Dürer, its attribution to Jacopo de' Barbari by Ernst Harzen in 1855 had been reported in Lazari 1859 (57) and was given as "generally supposed" in Murray 1877 (391). A note in Ruskin's diary of 23 March 1877 (Ruskin 1956-59, 3: 944) recording the purchase the day before of "Dürer's *Venice* [...] a great prize", would seem to be a reference to impressions of the de' Barbari map (not documented however in Dearden 2012).
- 58 i.e. to the *Canale della Giudecca*. The *Carità* complex reached as far as the *Calle della Carità*, with property extending beyond this to the convent of the *Gesuiti* (Modesti 2005, 21). By "the apse with its attached chapels" Ruskin seems to refer to what is in fact a form of triple apse. There were no other chapels attached to the apse, which gave directly on to the *Rio S. Agnese* (see the next note). There had been two lateral chapels immediately adjacent to the apse: one, behind the campanile, was destroyed when this collapsed in 1744; another was demolished between 1807 and 1812 (Modesti 2005, 36, 38). Only the cloister just inside the gate was shared by "monks and confraternity together".
- 59 The *Rio S. Agnese* skirting the east flank of the complex was filled in the mid-1860s, thus creating the *Rio Terà S. Agnese* (later *Rio Terà Antonio Foscarini*) between the Grand Canal and the *Zattere*.
- 60 The pillars of the portico on the inner side of the entrance gate support a beam inscribed with the date 1443, itself supporting the

*Sala dell'Albergo* of the *Scuola*, rebuilt at that time. The three central pillars date from towards the end of the eighteenth century and were introduced for reasons of stability (Modesti 2005, 43). Ruskin of course disregards the remnants of the later monastery buildings by Palladio (1561-63), which included the celebrated spiral staircase or *scala ovata* up which he conducts the traveller.

**61** Room XVI (1877).

**62** Cat. 574 (MM 1955, 97): *The Return of the Ambassadors*.

**63** The prominent firm of engravers founded by the brothers George and Edward Dalziel in 1839 and closely associated with the Pre-Raphaelites.

**64** The so-called Old Water Colour Society was founded (as the Society of Painters in Water Colours) in 1804. Ruskin had attended its exhibitions as a young man and had been made an honorary member in 1873, occasionally showing his own drawings there after this date. The Dudley Gallery Art Society was founded in 1861 and exhibited at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly. Ruskin was a council member in the 1880s.

**65** The entire St Ursula series had undergone restoration at least three times: in 1623; in 1752, by Giuseppe Cortesio; and following their arrival in the *Accademia* in 1812, by Gaetano Astolfini and Giuseppe Lorenzi (MM 1955, 99).

**66** Cigars and saliva were a current obsession, strangely laced with misogyny: see *SMR (Works, 24: 273)* for sarcastic surmise that modern “cloven-booted” ladies would scarcely wish to emulate Domenico Selvo - who when acclaimed Doge by the people had entered St Mark's barefoot - and make their way “like Greek maids, in that mixed mess of dust and spittle with which modern progressive Venice anoints her marble pavement. Pleasanter to look at, I can assure you, this multitude delighting in their God and their Duke, than these, who have no Paradise to trust to with better gifts for them than a gazette, cigar, and pack of cards; and no better governor than their own wills”.

**67** Cf. “Carpaccio's Ape” (“Supplementary Texts”, 148), and see the “Introduction”, 47.

**68** Compare the remarks on Gentile Bellini's *Procession* (“[Part I]”, 88) and see the “Introduction”, 47.

**69** The medieval bridge, built into fortifications defending the city from the sea - Its memory particularly dear to Ruskin by association with early Italian tours and with the poetry of Shelley and painting of Turner - had collapsed in floods in 1869. Ruskin would have seen it in the state here described when he visited Pisa in 1870 (Clegg, Tucker 1993, 62-71). By the time of his next visit, in 1872, the iron bridge that replaced the *Ponte a mare* may already have been under construction. See further Tucker 2020b.

**70** Ruskin's editors provide the following note (*Works, 24: 177n*): “The Ponte Rotto, on the site of the ancient *Pons Æmilius* (which fell down, in the thirteenth century) was restored in 1554 and again in 1575. In 1598 the part on the left bank of the river was carried away; two arches were thus lost, and the bridge remained, till recently, in its ruined condition. It was ‘highly picturesque, and has been painted by every artist in Rome’, and from it was ‘the exquisite view of the Isola Tiberina’ (see Hare's *Walks in Rome*, 13th ed., vol. i. p. 153). At the time when Ruskin wrote, embankment works were in progress; at a later date (1885-86)

the old bridge (with the exception of a single arch) was destroyed, and a suspension bridge was built.” See further Tucker 2020b.

**71** See above, 100.

**72** See “[Part I]”, n. 19.

**73** See the “Introduction”, 13.

**74** There seems little basis for Ruskin's identification of the various figures in this scene. Indeed, it has been claimed (Thürlemann 2002) that its subject is not in fact the return of the ambassadors to their own country, but rather a second visit to the court of Ursula's father: the setting is plainly consonant with that of the first two scenes but contrasts with the appearance of the foreign land from which Ursula's betrothed departs in cat. 542 (MM 1955, 98). It may be noted in passing that, though not present in the *Golden Legend*, a return visit of the ambassadors to the court of Ursula's father is recounted in the version of the legend published in Zambrini 1855 (190), though not in Anderson's “Story”. Interestingly, in his copy of Ruskin 1877 I<sup>b</sup>, now in the Print Room, AM (Ruskin I C. 32), E.T. Cook noted that the supposed King of England looks “just like King Maurus”. Ruskin himself pointed out the inconsistency of representation of the protagonist of the series (see the “Supplementary Texts”, 149 and n. 6 here), which by implication makes the identification of this scene still more problematical.

**75** At the extreme left. Figure 37 shows the copy by Charles Fairfax Murray (CGSG 00368) of the little fiddler and the “Master of Ceremonies” seated beside him, possibly acquired by Ruskin in 1880 (see the “Introduction”, n. 207).

**76** See the “Introduction”, 46.

**77** In Vindex Ruskin had singled out another painting in this room, cat. 69 (MM 1955, 46): Marco Basaiti, *The Agony in the Garden*, panel, signed and dated “1516”, as “a lovely example of the religious school” (*Works, 11: 361*).

**78** Room XVII (1877).

**79** Cat. 265, 264 (MM 1955, 149, 150): Paolo Veronese (and workshop), *The Assumption*, canvas; *The Coronation of the Virgin*, canvas.

**80** Cat. 377 (MM 1970, 368): Charles Lebrun, *Christ in the Pharisee's House*, canvas, from the Carmelite church in rue St Jacques, Paris (see the next note).

**81** Paolo Veronese, *The Wedding at Cana*, canvas, Musée du Louvre, Paris, painted for the refectory of the Benedictine monastery of *S. Giorgio Maggiore* and taken to Paris by the French in 1797. It was not among the works returned to Italy after the fall of Napoleon. Ruskin's reference to Veronese's “Cena” (‘Supper’) indicates that he consulted *Accademia* 1875 (46), which has the note, “Mandato da Parigi in cambio della Cena di Paolo, ch'era nel ref. di s. Giorgio Magg. in Isola [‘Sent from Paris in exchange for Paolo's Supper, which was in the refectory of S. Giorgio Maggiore’]”. This may also have been the source for Murray 1877 (391), which states that the Le Brun was given in exchange for the *Last Supper* “now in the Louvre”. See also the “Appendix”, n. 7.

**82** “Ironclads” were recently introduced iron- or steel-plated steam warships. One of the first major sea-battles involving ironclads had been fought between Austrian and Italian forces in the Adriatic near the island of Lissa in 1866.

**83** 570 is an error for 575 (in *Accademia* 1875 no. 570 is a painting of *St Andrew, St John the Evangelist and St Anthony Abbot* by Bonifacio de' Pitati). The paintings referred to are cats 240, 244 (MM 1962, 435, 436): Workshop of Jacopo Tintoretto, *Venetian Magistrates* (two double portraits), canvas, from the *Palazzo dei Camerlenghi*, Venice, now in the *Museo Correr*, Venice.

**84** Cat. 242 (MM 1962, 447): Workshop of Jacopo Tintoretto, *Portrait of the Procurator Carlo Morosini*, canvas, now in the *Fondazione Giorgio Cini*, Venice.

**85** Cat. 36 (MM 1955, 114) (= 582): Cima da Conegliano, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Six Saints*, panel, from the church of *S. Maria della Carità*; cats 606, 608 (MM 1955, 136): Jacopo Parisati, *Angel Gabriel; Virgin Mary*, panels, from *S. Maria della Salute*, Montebelluna (Abano Terme), not from, not from *S. Maria della Carità*, as stated in *Accademia* 1875 (45), where they are ascribed to Giovanni and Antonio Vivarini.

**86** *St John the Baptist with St Peter, St Paul, St Mark and St Jerome*, from *S. Maria dell'Orto*, Venice. In *MP I* and *III (Works, 3: 175; Works, 5: 174)* Ruskin had drawn attention to the plants painted in the foreground and he had placed a photograph by Carlo Naya of the painting, as an "example of perfect delineation by the school of colour", in his teaching collection at Oxford (*Works, 21: 16*). Also included in the collection was the photograph (AM WA.RS.ED.001) of another representation of *St John the Baptist* by Cima, from a painting in the *Accademia* not mentioned in the *Guide* (cat. 603 [MM 1955, 116]: *The Virgin and Child with St John the Baptist and St Paul*).

**87** Cat. 280 (MM 1955, 65): Bonifacio de' Pitati (and workshop), *St Sebastian and St Bernard*, canvas. Ruskin had placed a photograph of this picture in his Standard Series at Oxford (No. 21). In the catalogue of the Series (*Works, 21: 21-2*) he wrote: "I oppose this directly to the Parnassus [by Raphael; photograph by unidentified photographer (WA.RS.STD.020)], that you may feel the peculiar character of the Venetian as contrasted with the Raphaelian schools. Bonifazio is indeed only third-rate Venetian, but he is thoroughly and truly Venetian; and you will recognize in him at once the quiet and reserved strength, the full and fearless realization, the prosaic view of things by a seaman's common sense, and the noble obedience to law, which are the specialities of Venetian work. The chiaroscuro of this picture is very grand, yet wholly simple; and brought about by the quiet resolution that flesh shall be flesh-colour, linen shall be white, trees green, and clouds grey. The subjection to law is so absolute and serene, that it is at first unfelt; but the picture is balanced as accurately as a ship must be. One figure dark against the sky on the left; the other light against the sky on the right; one with a vertical wall behind it, the other by a vertical trunk of tree; one divided by a horizontal line in the leaf of a book, the other by a horizontal line in folds of drapery; the light figure having its head dark on the sky; the dark figure, its head light on the sky; the face of the one seen as light within a ring of dark, the other as dark within a ring of light. The symmetry is absolute in all fine Venetian work; it is always quartered as accurately as a knight's shield."

**88** In Rooms XVIII and XX (1877). The modern pictures were no longer displayed in the rooms of the *Accademia* after the reorganization of the gallery by Giulio Cantalamessa in 1895. They were later transferred to

the municipal *Galleria Internazionale d'Arte Moderna*, which would be housed in Ca' Pesaro (MM 1955, xxvi).

**89** Then kept in Room IV (1877), also the room used for council meetings. The drawings are now held in the *Gabinetto dei Disegni e Stampe*.

**90** Cf. the note in Ruskin's diary on his visit to the *Accademia* on Christmas Eve 1876: "Looked, after modern Italian, at Raphael and Leonardo drawings; thought them all miserable and conventional stuff, almost as false as the new, in heart" (Ruskin 1956-59, 3: 922).

**91** See *LA (Works, 20: 156-7)*, where however the Venetian method of reaching form through colour is deemed not suitable for Ruskin's Oxford students, because requiring "the most intense application"; so that "practically, it will be necessary for you, as soon as you have gained the power of outlining accurately, and of laying flat colour, to learn to express solid form as shown by light and shade only". Its more positive emphasis on colour as a means of drawing connects the *Guide* with remarks in *ED* on the "only distinctive" principle in Ruskin's teaching system: "The endeavour to separate, in the course of instruction, the observation of light and shade from that of local colour, has always been, and must always be, destructive of the student's power of accurate sight" (*Works, 15: 15*). Compare his insistence, in *BA*, that "schools of outline ought to be associated with the elementary practice of those entering on the study of colour" (*Works, 15: 361*). Compare also his advice to Angelo Alessandri (see the "Introduction", n. 212) in a letter of 24 April 1881: "I think I may say with reference to all your future study - landscape or figure - always think of the colour first, and when you've got it, stop. You won't get it but with a sufficient degree of finish and division of parts. As you get experience, you will be able to finish farther and farther without losing the colour - but always, the moment you've got all you can of it, stop". However, he adds, "Your study in drawing is to be with pencil or pen - as you see all the great men studied theirs" (Clegg 1981a, 347).

**92** This staircase is not shown in the plan in Murray 1877, but must roughly have corresponded to the steps in use at this point in March 2013, thus leading into or through the room or space behind Room II (1877), later (1886) joined with a small adjacent room (III) to form the hall in which the *Assumption* was displayed until its return to the *Frari* (see "[Part II]", n. 26).

**93** Cat. 400 (MM 1962, 453): Titian, *Pietà*, canvas.

**94** Cat. 95 (MM 1962, 342): Venetian School (early 16th century), *The Visitation*, canvas. Formerly held to be an early work by Titian (an ascription accepted by Bernard Berenson in mid-career and more recently defended in Joannides 2001, 40-4), in Murray 1877 (386) it is given to the painter at the age of fourteen: "We have thus here, almost juxtaposed, the works of the great chief of the Venetian school at an interval of more than 80 years; a circumstance unique in the history of painting." Despite the disclaimer immediately below in the text, Ruskin was at least familiar with this supposed example of Titian's early work, as is shown by his mention of Titian's "first and last picture together" in the diary of his 1841 visit to Venice (Diary 13 May 1841 [Ruskin 1956-59, 1: 187]), and as may also be seen in the passage in his father's 1846 diary cited in the "Introduction", n. 176.



**95** See letters to Rawdon Brown of 1864 and 1865 referring to the usefulness to him, when he gets to his Titian work again, of the “details respecting the life & work of Venetian painters” contained in Brown’s letters and in the documents relating to Titian among those collected and published by Giovanni Battista Lorenzi at Ruskin’s expense (Kaufman 1925-26, 120, 313; Clegg 1981b, 121, 137; Griffiths, Law 2005, 131-2; Hewison 2009, 286).

**96** In *RMAT*, Titian, Raphael and Michelangelo together “bring about the deadly change, playing into each other’s hands – Michael Angelo being the chief captain in evil; Titian, in natural force” (22: 83); see the “Introduction”, 26, 36; “[Part I]”, nn. 19, 38.

**97** See n. 93.

**98** Titian, *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Members of the Pesaro Family*, canvas, *S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari*, Venice. The engraving by Lefebvre had been commended in *MP V (Works, 7: 225-6)* as a lesson in “everything that is teachable of composition” and had been placed in the collection at Oxford (AM WA.RS.REF.106) as a token of the painter’s “sturdiness, his homely dignity, incapable of any morbid tremor, falsehood, or self-consciousness; his entirely human, yet majestic ideal; his utter, easy, unreprouvable masterhood of his business (everything being done so rightly that you can hardly feel that it is done strongly); and his rich breadth of masses, obtained by multitudinous divisions perfectly composed” (*Works, 21: 36-7*).

**99** Titian, *St Mark Enthroned with Saints*, Sacristy of *S. Maria della Salute*, Venice. Ruskin had made a similar comment on the painting in *VIndex (Works, 11: 429)*, except that there he explicitly blamed “the Academy” for the destruction of the painting.

**100** The paintings were transferred to the Sacristy of *S. Maria della Salute* from *S. Spirito*, for which they had been painted, and represent the stories of *Abraham and Isaac*, *Cain and Abel* and *David and Goliath*, and busts of the four Evangelists and of four Fathers of the Church.

**101** For Cheney, to whom Ruskin refers in his note, see the “Appendix”, n. 1. The substitution, in the title cited, of “Eighteenth” for “Sixteenth” (an error which remained uncorrected until Ruskin 1906 [*Works, 24: 144*]) perhaps betrays Ruskin’s disapproval of Cheney’s interest in eighteenth-century Venice (he was a pioneering collector of the Tiepolo [*ODNB*]), which was shared, to Ruskin’s annoyance, by Rawdon Brown); see “[Part I]”, n. 11.

**102** Titian, *St Christopher*, fresco; *Doge Grimani Kneeling before Faith*, canvas, Doge’s Palace, Venice. Ruskin had always found fault with the latter. In *VIndex* the traveller was instructed to observe it with care, “as one of the most striking examples of Titian’s want of feeling and coarseness of conception”, though as “a work of mere art” it was admitted to be “of great value” (*Works, 11: 373*).

**103** Titian’s *St Peter Martyr*, formerly in *SS. Giovanni e Paolo*, Venice, had been destroyed in a fire in 1867. Ruskin had been critical of the painting since his inspection of it in 1845 (Ruskin 2003, 240; cf. *Works, 4: 244*). Nevertheless, in *MP V* he had accounted it, together with the *Assumption* and the *Presentation* in the *Accademia*, among Titian’s highest achievements. Perhaps this was partly in order to prove the theory that “For one profane picture by great Venetians, you will find ten of sacred subjects; and those, also, including their grandest,

most laboured, and most beloved works” (*Works, 7: 289*). The portrait referred to in Ruskin’s note (p), once in his collection, is now in the National Gallery, London (NG 5751) and attributed to Vincenzo Catena. The fire also there mentioned was that which in 1574 destroyed Titian’s votive picture of Gritti in the Doge’s Palace (1531). It was replaced with a painting by Tintoretto, now in the *Sala del Collegio*. Tintoretto may have used Ruskin’s portrait as a source for the Doge’s likeness.

**104** Cat. 314 (MM 1962, 452): Titian, *St John the Baptist in the Desert*, canvas, then displayed in Room X (1877). See *MP II (Works, 4: 189)*, where the picture is branded an “academy study [...] which is called *St. John*” and Titian accounted an exception among early painters, who generally adhered to the principle of introducing portraiture into their sacred pictures. Titian was one of those “who looked not at their models with intellectual or loving penetration, but took the outside of them, or perhaps took the evil and left the good”.

**105** Cat. 42 (MM 1962, 394): Jacopo Tintoretto, *St Mark Frees a Slave Condemned to Execution*, canvas, then displayed in Room II (1877).

**106** In *VIndex (Works, 11: 361; Sdegno 2018, 58)* Ruskin had stated that *Cain and Abel* and *Adam and Eve* were “more characteristic examples of the master, and in many respects better pictures, than the much vaunted ‘Miracle of St. Mark’”. He expresses greater appreciation in *SV I*. Discussing here (*Works, 9: 347-8*), the virtues of wall decoration by means of horizontal bands of differently coloured stone, he adduces metaphysical or “imaginative reasons” in favour of such decoration, such as the fact that the banding is expressive of the growth or age of the wall, symbolic of opposition between light and darkness and evocative of horizontal space in opposition to the “enclosing power” of the wall itself. In addition, he instances mere “ocular charm of interlineal opposition of colour”. This is “a charm so great, that all the best colourists, without a single exception, depend upon it for the most piquant of their pictorial effects, some vigorous mass of alternate stripes or bars of colour being made central in all their richest arrangements. The whole system of Tintoretto’s great picture of the Miracle of St. Mark is poised on the bars of blue, which cross the white turban of the executioner”. *RM 1989.748* (Ruskin 2014, 187) is a watercolour study by Ruskin of part of this painting (*RM 1989.748*), which for stylistic reasons seems likely to date from his 1845 stay (cf. *Sdegno 2018, 36*, which dates it to 1849-50).

**107** Jacopo Tintoretto, *Paradise*, canvas, *Sala del Maggior Consiglio*, Doge’s Palace, Venice.

**108** The canvases with subjects from the Old and New Testaments in the lower and upper halls of the *Scuola di S. Rocco*, one of the scenes of Ruskin’s ‘discovery’ of the painter in 1845.

**109** Compare *VIndex (Works, 11: 395)*: “It contains four most important Tintoretts: ‘The Last Judgment’, ‘The Worship of the Golden Calf’, ‘The Presentation of the Virgin’, and ‘Martyrdom of St. Agnes’. The first two are among his largest and mightiest works, but grievously injured by damp and neglect; and unless the traveller is accustomed to decipher the thoughts in a picture patiently, he need not hope to derive any pleasure from them. But no pictures will better reward a resolute study.”

**110** The paintings in question (cat. 775 [MM 1962, 331]: *The Prodigal Son; Faith; Fortitude; Justice and Charity*), then inserted into the ceiling

of Room III (1877), have been returned to their original location in the Doge's Palace.

**111** The collection of Girolamo Contarini, presented in 1838, is no longer hung together.

**112** The only note on pictures in the *Accademia* to have survived from Ruskin's first important period of study there, in 1845, is on a painting by Boccaccino from the Contarini collection, displayed here in 1877. See the "Supplementary Texts", 135.

**113** *Accademia* (1875) lists six works attributed to Dujardin in Room V, not VI (1877): cats. 113, 119, 123, 124, 128 and 129 [MM 1970, 419-24], i.e. Cornelis de Wael (attr.), *Market; Country Fair; Alms-Begging at the Convent; Seascape; Fête in a Park* and *Troops Resting during a March*. *Accademia* (1875) lists two works by Callot in Room V and twelve in Room VI. Only three of these figure in MM 1970, under Callot's name (but as copies), i.e. cat. 114 (MM 1970, 354): *The Tower of Nesle and the Louvre*, canvas; cat. 136 (MM 1970, 353): *The Slave Market*, canvas, currently (March 2013) in storage; cat. 139 (MM 1970, 352): *The Fair at Impruneta*, canvas, currently (March 2013) in storage.

**114** Cat. 270 (MM 1962, 433): Workshop of Jacopo Tintoretto, *Virgin of Mercy*, canvas, then displayed in Room V (1877) and currently hung in the *Duomo*, Torcello.

**115** Cat. 237 (MM 1962, 413): Jacopo Tintoretto, *Battista Morosini*, canvas.

**116** Cat. 596 (MM 1955, 71): Giovanni Bellini, *Virgin and Child* (known as the *Madonna degli Alberetti*, from the trees either side of the figures), panel, signed and dated "1487", then displayed in Room V (1877). In his Standard Series at Oxford Ruskin paired a photograph of the picture with one of Raphael's *Madonna della Seggiola* (*Works*, 21: 25). As explained in his lecture on "Colour", delivered in March 1870, the intended comparison (in "conception") illustrated the transition from the era Ruskin then regarded as that of pictorial perfection – the "Age of the Masters", represented by Giovanni Bellini – to that of his "mightier" successors, "exponents, in the first place, of the change in all men's minds from civil and religious to merely domestic passion". For "the love of their gods and their country had contracted itself now into that of their domestic circle, which was little more than the halo of themselves. You will see the reflection of this change in painting at once by comparing the two Madonnas [...] Bellini's Madonna cares for all creatures through her child, Raphael's for her child only" (*Works*, 20: 172-3).

**117** Cat. 595 (MM 1955, 72): Giovanni Bellini, *Allegories*, four panels, one signed; Andrea Previtali, *Allegory*, panel (see the next note).

**118** The subjects of these enigmatic panels have been the topic of much, inconclusive debate, largely conditioned, as Bumbalova 2005 points out, by assumptions regarding common authorship and function (compare MM 1955, 71-73; Tempestini 1992, 194-5; Goffen, Nepi Scirè 2000, 134-5; Lucco, Villa 2008, 272-3). *Accademia* 1875 and Murray 1877 ascribe them all to Bellini, generically describe them as allegories and record the possibility of their having originally been inserted in a piece of furniture. Since Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871 (1:167), claims have been made regarding the precise type and very identity of the piece of furniture in question – and following the attribution of one of the

panels to Andrea Previtali (Longhi 1946) some have suggested that they belonged to two distinct pieces, an assumption that has influenced not only the manner in which the panels have been interpreted but also their display. Ruskin's interest is exclusively in their "symbolic" meaning. His conjectures seem iconographically well-founded and find echoes throughout the literature. In two cases they reflect the complexity of a concept central to his late work, that of *Fors* (as in the title of *FC*), understood in three distinct ways: as Force or "power of doing good work", as Fortitude or "power of bearing necessary pain, or trial of patience, whether by time, or temptation", and as Fortune or "the necessary fate of a man: the ordinance of his life which cannot be changed" (*Works*, 27: 28). The reference to "Domestic Love" points to an identification of the female figure holding a sphere balanced on her knees with the "Venus Urania of the Greeks", who, "in her relation to men, has power only over lawful and domestic love" (*Works*, 20: 336; cf. Eastlake 1888, 20, which titles her "*Venus Mistress of the World*"). This is confirmed by a letter from Ruskin to Kate Greenaway of 9 March 1887, which incidentally suggests that it was not Gustav Ludwig in 1906 (cf. Bumbolova 2005, 253) who was the first to assume the panels formed a unitary series of allegories. The letter accompanied a copy of "the Globe picture" and described this as "one of a series done by John Bellini of the Gods and Goddesses of good and evil to man. She is the sacred Venus. Venus always rises out of the sea, but this one out of laughing sea of unknown depth. She holds the world in her arms, changed into heaven". As this was material for a drawing lesson, he adds, "Now the next thing you have to be clear of in perspective is that – the Heavenly Venus is out of it! You couldn't see her, and the high horizon at once. But as she sees all round the world, there are no laws of perspective for her" (*Works*, 37: 584). The copy in question may have been the one made for Ruskin by Charles Fairfax Murray in May 1877 (CFMD, "Memorandum of work done": "Bellini allegory in the Academy, woman with globe in boat", 1-28 May), whose current location however is not known. A copy, also by Murray, of the figure which Ruskin plausibly calls "Truth, or Prudence" was presented to FM by Katherine Bullard in 1917 (1917.1). RF 0001, once in Ruskin's possession, is a strikingly similar watercolour of the same subject, ascribed to Angelo Alessandri, but probably a replica of the FM drawing.

**119** Room XVI (1877).

**120** Cat. 203 (MM 1962, 137): Paolo Veronese, *The Feast in the House of Levi*, canvas.

**121** See the "Appendix".

**122** Room IX (1877).

**123** Cat. 626 (MM 1962, 451): Titian, *The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, canvas; see "[Part I]", 82.

**124** Cat. 54 (MM 1955, 84): Giovanni Bellini (workshop), *St Ursula with Four Female Saints and a Nun*, panel, formerly ascribed to the Bolognese saint Caterina Vigri, canonized in 1712 (Ruskin follows *Accademia* 1875, 27 in styling her "Beata"). The inscription with the saint's name and the date 1456 on the scroll at St Ursula's feet has proved not to be genuine. The painting was attributed to Giovanni Bellini in his youth by Roberto Longhi. At the very end of 1877 (JWBJ 30 December 1877) Ruskin, now back in England, commissioned a copy

of this painting from Kate Goodwin (see the “Introduction”, n. 220). Bunney saw the work while still in progress and thought it poor, though he considered it might “at first sight [...] be pleasing to Mr R not having the original to compare with it” (JWB 2 February 1878). As Bunney predicted, Ruskin was delighted, but he was in an excited state of mind. A letter to his cousin written the next morning hints at “wonderful things” involving “Rosie [Rose La Touche] and Santa Vigri of Venice” (compare *Works*, 29: 374); and a few days later Ruskin suffered his first major mental collapse. Kate Goodwin’s copy was lent to Whitelands College in 1883. In his catalogue of the collection of pictures given or

loaned to the College, Ruskin commented (*Works*, 30: 356): “Copied admirably in colour but faultfully in the faces, by Mrs. Henry Goodwin. But an admirable example of Venetian colour and composition of the best time. Only a Loan. But I hope some one will be able to copy it for the Institution, putting the faces to rights.” Ruskin’s editors note that the drawing was returned to Ruskin and a copy made by the French master at Whitelands. Neither drawing has been located.

**125** Cat. 21 (MM 1955, 21): Stefano “Plebanus” of *S. Agnese, The Coronation of the Virgin*. See the “Introduction”, 33 and n. 165; “[Part I]”, 74, 78, and n. 15.





## Appendix

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The little collection of 'documents relating to Venetian painters' already referred to (p. 47 [110]) as made with excellent judgment by Mr. Edward Cheney, is, I regret to say, 'communicated' only to the author's friends, of whom I, being now one of long standing, emboldened also by repeated instances of help received from him, venture to trespass on the modest book so far as to reprint part of the translation which it gives of the questioning of Paul Veronese.<sup>1</sup>

"It is well known", says Mr. Cheney in his prefatory remarks, "to the students of Venetian history, that the Roman Inquisition was allowed little influence, and still less power, in the states of the Signory;<sup>2</sup> and its sittings were always attended by lay members, selected from the Senate, to regulate and report its proceedings.

The sittings of the Holy Office were held in the chapel of St. Theodore, fronting the door leading from St. Mark's Church to the Fondamenta di Canonica."

On Saturday, the 8th July,<sup>3</sup> 1573, Master Paul Caliari, of Verona, a painter, residing in the parish of St. Samuel, was brought before the Sacred Tribunal; and being asked his name and surname, answered as above; and being asked of his profession, answered<sup>4</sup> -

"A. I invent and draw figures.

Q. Do you know the reason why you have been summoned?

A. No, my lord.

Q. Can you imagine it?

A. I can imagine it.

Q. Tell us what you imagine.

A. For the reason which the Reverend Prior of SS. Giovanni and Paolo, whose name I know not, told me that he had been here, and that your illustrious lordships had given him orders that I should substitute the figure of the Magdalen for that of a dog; and I replied that I would willingly have done this, or anything else for my own credit and the advantage of the picture, but that I did not think the figure of the Magdalen would be fitting (!!)<sup>a</sup> or would look well, for many reasons, which I will always assign whenever the opportunity is given me.

Q. What picture is that which you have named?

A. It is the picture representing the last<sup>b</sup> supper that Jesus took with his disciples in the house of Simon [fig. 39].<sup>5</sup>

Q. Where is this picture?

A. In the refectory of the Friars of SS. Giovanni and Paolo.

Q. Is it painted on the wall, on panel, or on cloth?

A. On cloth.

Q. How many feet is it in height?

A. It is about seventeen feet.

Q. How wide?

A. About thirty-nine feet.

Q. In this supper of our Lord have you painted any attendants?<sup>6</sup>

A. Yes, my lord.

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**a** I must interpolate two notes of admiration. After all one has heard of the terrors of the Inquisition, it seems, nevertheless, some people ventured to differ with it in opinion, on occasion. And the Inquisition was entirely right, too. See next note.

**b** “Cena *ultima* che”, etc.: the last, that is to say, of the two which Veronese supposed Christ to have taken with this host; but he had not carefully enough examined the apparently parallel passages. They are confusing enough, and perhaps the reader will be glad to refer to them in their proper order.

I. There is, first, the feast given to Christ by St. Matthew, after he was called; the circumstances of it told by himself; only saying ‘the house’ instead of ‘my house’ (Matt. ix. 9-13). This is the feast at which the objection is taken by the Pharisees – “Why eateth your Master with publicans and sinners?” the event being again related by St. Luke (v. 29), giving Matthew the name of Levi. No other circumstance of interest takes place on this occasion.

II. “One of the Pharisees desired Him that He would eat with him: and He went into the Pharisee’s house, and sat down to meat” (Luke viii [sic = vii]. 36).

To *this* feast came the Magdalen, and “stood at His feet, behind Him, weeping”. And you know the rest. The same lesson given to the Pharisees who *forbade* the feast of Matthew, here given – in how much more pathetic force – to the Pharisee at whose feast Jesus now sat. Another manner of sinner this, who stands uncalled, at the feast, weeping; who in a little while will stand weeping – not for herself. The name of the Pharisee host is given in Christ’s grave address to him – “Simon, I have somewhat to say unto thee” [Luke 7.40].

III. The *supper* at Bethany, in the house of Simon “the Leper”, where Lazarus sat at table, where Martha served, and where her sister Mary poured the ointment on Christ’s head, “for my burial”, (Mark xiv. 3; Matt. xxvi. 7; and John xii. 2, where in the following third verse doubtless some copyist, confusing her with the Magdalen, added the clause of her wiping His feet with her hair; – so also, more palpably, in John xi. 2). Here the objection is made by Judas, and the lesson given – “The poor ye have always with you”.

We cannot seriously suppose Simon the Leper to be the same person as Simon the Pharisee; still less Simon the Pharisee to be the same as Matthew the publican; but in Veronese’s mind their three feasts had got confused, and he thinks of them as *two* only, and calls this which he represents here the last of the two, though there is nothing whatever to identify it as first, last, or middle. There is no Magdalen, no Mary, no Lazarus, no hospitable Levi, no supercilious Simon. Nothing but a confused meeting of very mixed company; half of them straggling about the table without sitting down; and the conspicuous brown dog, for whom the Inquisitors would have had him substitute the Magdalen; – which if he had done, the picture would have been right in all other particulars, the scarlet-robed figure opposite Christ then becoming Simon the Pharisee; but he cannot be Matthew the apostle, for Veronese distinctly names the twelve apostles after “the master of the house”; and the text written on the balustrade on the left is therefore either spurious altogether, or added by Veronese to get rid of the necessity of putting in a Magdalen to satisfy his examiners, or please the Prior of St. John and Paul.



Q. Say how many attendants, and what each is doing.

A. First, the master of the house, Simon; besides, I have placed below him a server, who I have supposed to have come for his own amusement to see the arrangement of the table. There are besides several others,<sup>c</sup> which, as there are many figures in the picture, I do not recollect.<sup>7</sup>

Q. What is the meaning of those men dressed in the German fashion,<sup>d</sup> each with a halbert in his hand?<sup>8</sup>

A. It is now necessary that I should say a few words.<sup>e</sup>

*The Court.* Say on.

A. We painters take the same license that is permitted to poets, and jesters(!).<sup>9</sup> I have placed those two halberdiers – the one eating, the other drinking<sup>f</sup> – by the staircase, to be supposed ready to perform any duty that may be required of them; it appearing to me quite fitting that the master of such a house, who was rich and great (as I have been told), should have such attendants.

Q. That fellow dressed like a buffoon, with the parrot on his wrist, – for what purpose is *he* introduced into the canvas?<sup>10</sup>

A. For ornament, as is usually done.<sup>g</sup>

Q. At the table of the Lord whom have you placed?

A. The twelve apostles.

Q. What is St. Peter doing, who is the first?<sup>h</sup>

A. He is cutting up a lamb,<sup>11</sup> to send to the other end of the table.

Q. What is he doing who is next to him?

A. He is holding a plate to receive what St. Peter will give him.

Q. Tell us what he is doing who is next to this last?

A. He is using a fork as a toothpick.<sup>i</sup><sup>12</sup>

Q. Who do you really think were present at that supper?

A. I believe Christ and His apostles were present; but in the foreground of the picture I have placed figures for ornament, of my own invention.

Q. Were you commissioned by any person to paint Germans, and buffoons, and such-like things in this picture?

A. No, my lord; my commission was to ornament the picture as I judged best, which, being large, requires many figures, as it appears to me.

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**c** Yes, there certainly are ‘several others’ – some score of idlers about, I should say. But this longer answer of the painter’s was probably little attended to, and ill reported by the secretary.

**d** My lords have suspicions of leaning towards the principles – no less than the taste – of Holbein; and of meaning some mischief.

**e** He instantly feels the drift of this last question, and that it must not be passed lightly. Asks leave to speak – (usually no license but of direct answer being given).

**f** On the right. *One* has got all the eating and drinking to himself, however, as far as I can see.

**g** Alas, *everything* is for ornament – if you would own it, Master Paul!

**h** Very curious that no question is asked as to what Christ Himself is doing. One would have greatly desired Veronese’s answer.

**i** Scarcely seen, between the two pillars. I must needs admit that Raphael would have invented some more dignifiedly apostolic action.









Figure 39 Paolo Veronese, *The Feast in the House of Levi*. 1573



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Q. Are the ornaments that the painter is in the habit of introducing in his frescoes and pictures suited and fitting to the subject and to the principal persons represented, or does he really paint such as strike his own fancy, without exercising his judgment or his discretion?<sup>l</sup>

A. I design my pictures with all due consideration as to what is fitting, and to the best of my judgment.

Q. Does it appear to you fitting that at our Lord's last supper<sup>k13</sup> you should paint buffoons, drunkards, Germans,<sup>l</sup> dwarfs, and similar indecencies?

A. No, my lord.

Q. Why, then, have you painted them?

A. I have done it because I supposed that these were not in the place where the supper was served.

Q. Are you not aware that in Germany,<sup>m</sup> and in other places infected with heresy, they are in the habit of painting pictures full of scurrility for the purpose of ridiculing and degrading the Holy Church, and thus teaching false doctrines to the ignorant and foolish?

A. Yes, my lord, it is bad; but I return to what I said before: I thought myself obliged to do as others - my predecessors - had done before me.

Q. And have your predecessors, then, done such things?

A. Michael-Angelo, in the Papal Chapel in Rome, has painted our Lord Jesus Christ, His mother, St. John, and St. Peter, and all the Court of Heaven, from the Virgin Mary downwards, all naked, and in various attitudes, with little reverence.

Q. Do you not know that in a painting like the Last Judgment, where drapery is not supposed, dresses are not required, and that disembodied spirits only are represented: but there are neither buffoons, nor dogs, nor armour, nor any other absurdity? And does it not appear to you that neither by this nor any other example you have done right in painting the picture in this manner, and that it can be proved right and decent?

A. Illustrious Lord, I do not defend it; but I thought I was doing right. I had not considered all these things, never intending to commit any impropriety; the more so as figures of buffoons are not supposed to be in the same place where our Lord is.

Which examination ended, my lords decreed that the above-named Master Paul should be bound to correct and amend the picture which had been under question, within three months, at his own expense, under penalties to be imposed by the Sacred Tribunal."<sup>14</sup>

This sentence, however severe in terms, was merely a matter of form. The examiners were satisfied there was no malice prepense in their fanciful Paul; and troubled neither him nor themselves farther. He did not so much as efface the inculpated dog;<sup>15</sup> and the only correction or amendment he made, so far as I can see, was the addition of the inscription, which marked the picture for the feast of Levi.<sup>16</sup>

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**j** Admirably put, my lord.

**k** Not meaning the Cena, of course; but what Veronese also meant.

**l** and **m** The gist of the business, at last.

## Notes

1 The connoisseur, collector and amateur watercolourist, Edward Cheney (1803-1884) had been a close friend of Rawdon Brown's since his own period of residence in Venice in the 1840s. Ruskin had met him in England in the summer of 1850 and had benefited from his assistance while in Venice working on *SV* (Clegg 1981b, 94). At this time, as an unofficial consultant to the trustees of the National Gallery, Cheney sometimes advised against purchases recommended by Ruskin (*ODNB*). The following translation of Veronese's examination is extracted from Cheney 1872-76, 78-107. In his short Introduction (3-5), Cheney reports that the idea for the volume had been suggested to him by Brown when he was the latter's guest in 1873. The transcript of Veronese's examination had been found in the Venetian Archives by Brown's friend Armand Baschet, who was the first to publish it, in a French translation (Baschet 1867; Griffiths, Law 2005, 60-1, 81). It was this translation, as Brown had pointed out to Janet Ross in a letter of 22 November 1867 (Ross 1912, 177), that had been "going the round of the papers in France, England and Italy", where it was translated back into Italian. Cheney was the first to publish the original text, in Venetian dialect framed in official Latin, together with his own English translation. Further remarks on Veronese's examination by the Inquisition are in "Carpaccio's Ape" ("Supplementary texts", 148).

2 Ruskin quotes from the final portion of Cheney's Introduction, omitting the clause "and its proceedings were closely watched, even in matters admitted to be within its jurisdiction" (Cheney 1872-76, 86).

3 The date of the examination, correctly given by Cheney, was 18 July 1573 (Cheney 1872-76, 86, 98 [see the next note]; compare the transcript of the original document in Massimi 2011 (179-81).

4 Ruskin here gives a full translation of the introductory passage in Latin, summarized in Cheney 1872-76 (98), thus: "Examination of Paolo Veronese before the Inquisition at Venice, on the 18th of July, 1573. Asked his name and profession. A. I invent [...]".

5 Cat. 203 (MM 1962, 137): Paolo Veronese, *The Feast in the House of Levi*, canvas, inscribed with the date "A. D. MDLXXIII - DIE. XX. APR.". The picture had been commissioned to replace Titian's *Last Supper*, painted for the Refectory of the Dominican convent of SS. *Giovanni e Paolo* but destroyed in a fire in 1571. Cheney (1872-76, 99n) treats Veronese's answer as a curious "mistake", from his point of view perhaps not surprising in a painter "of pageants and processions" (78): "The picture represents the banquet at the house of Levi, and not the Last Supper. The inscription, with a reference to the Gospel of St. Luke recording the event, is painted on the picture itself [see below]". Only a little less ingenuously, but rather more analytically, Ruskin takes Veronese at his word and reproaches him for slapdash conflation of three distinct feasts or suppers in which Christ took part, as recounted in the Gospels: with Matthew or Levi, as indicated by the inscription (which Ruskin suspects [see below]); with Simon the Pharisee and with Simon the Leper at Bethany. Ruskin understands Veronese to have intended "last" as meaning the later of the two suppers Christ took in the house of Simon, and to have supposed, in Ruskin's view untenably,

that Simon the Leper and Simon the Pharisee were one and the same. Yet this interpretation ignores the nub of the question, the claim that the painting represents the *Last Supper* - understandably enough perhaps, given the painter's unaccountable assumption that this took place in the house of (whichever) Simon, and given too the fact that this scriptural blunder is, seemingly, passed over in silence by the court itself. Yet it appears that the whole interrogation, on either side, may well have been a politically motivated exercise in equivocation. It has been argued in detail in Massimi 2011 that the painting was commissioned by conventual reformists within SS. *Giovanni e Paolo* as a representation of quite another supper, taken by Christ in the house of an unnamed Pharisee (Luke 11.37: "And as he spake, a certain Pharisee besought him to dine with him: and he went in, and sat down to meat"; cf. Ruskin's own description of the painting in "Carpaccio's Ape" as of "Christ at meat in the Pharisee's house"). The subject was appropriate to the painting's intended location in a refectory, but more importantly it afforded the pretext for a pictorial explication of Christ's indictment of the Pharisees and lawyers, as uttered on that occasion (and echoed, with greater ferocity and rhetorical force in Matthew 23). In an interpretative and documentary *tour-de-force* that Ruskin would surely have applauded, not least because of his own interest in the different modes of Reform and their reflection in art (explored in *AF*), Massimi 2011 argues that the composition was meticulously planned so as to constitute a sort of manifesto of resistance, on the part of the obdurately conventual SS. *Giovanni e Paolo*, towards the imposition, in the aftermath of the Council of Trent, of a mode of reform disciplined by the dictates of regular observance. It achieved this by staging an iconographical novelty: a pictorial visualization of the contrast between good and bad ministry, which, rather than narrating a particular episode in the life of Christ, called on a centuries-old theological tradition, founded in the Old Testament, especially the Pentateuch, and in Patristic literature, to convene and coordinate a set of semantically opposed types, including all of the components touched on in the examination (the "inculpated dog" that was to have been transformed into the Magdalen, the dwarf buffoon, the man with the bleeding nose, the "halbardiers", St Peter, and the "server" or steward) as well as other figures not mentioned there. The problem posed the upper grades of the Dominican hierarchy and Rome by the convent of SS. *Giovanni e Paolo* was long-standing and largely a political one: their recalcitrant demands were actively supported by the Republic. Massimi 2011 suggests that the comparatively unthorough and indeed uninquisitorial character of the examination (giving rise to Cheney's perplexity as to its show of "prudery" and Ruskin's interpolated "notes of admiration") is explained by the heterogeneous composition of the tribunal, which (as Cheney pointed out) included lay members (the *Savii all'eresia*) nominated by the highest organs of the Venetian state and also the Patriarch of Venice, at this time Giovanni Trevisan, generally resentful of outside interference in the management of domestic ecclesiastical affairs. Certainly, the very specific questions regarding the meaning of certain figures in the painting (wholly evaded

by Veronese) suggest awareness of its true significance and that the claim it represented the *Last Supper* was merely a front. The same inference may be made from the fact that artist and patrons were not ultimately held either to this or to the patently contradictory claim that the painting represented Christ at meat in the house of Simon. The final solution, not specified in the examination, seems to have been a form of compromise. As Ruskin points out, amendment by means of the inscription “which marked the picture for the feast of Levi” excluded all substantial correction to the painting, allowing this – if Massimi 2011 is correct – carefully constructed pictorial homily to remain intact though veiled by nominal reclassification.

**6** In the original “Ministri”, whose telling ambiguity of meaning (‘administrators’ or organizers of the event, ‘attendants’ or ‘ministers’ in the clerical sense) is noted in Massimi 2011 (160).

**7** Ruskin here omits a passage (Cheney 1872-76, 101-2) in which the painter is asked how many other *Last Suppers* he has painted and where. He instances one “in the Refectory of the reverend Fathers of S. George, here in Venice”, i.e. *The Wedding at Cana* now in the Louvre (see “Part II”, n. 81), and is promptly reminded that the question put to him regarded “the Suppers of our Lord” (in the original the noun for ‘supper’, *Cena*, is in the singular: “si domanda della Cena del Signore” [Massimi 2011, 179-80]). He is also required to explain the meaning of “the man going away with a bleeding nose”, the figure on the stairs on the left, holding a white cloth in his right hand. To this he replies, “I intended it for a servant who from some accident is bleeding at the nose.” Cheney (1872-76, 102n) incorrectly states that the “action of this figure has been changed”, probably because he expected to find a figure in the painting with blood actually issuing from his nose and thus missed the red stains on the white cloth in the man’s hand and on his collar. Ruskin may have noted these details: he later states that the only “correction or amendment” made to the painting was the “addition of the inscription” (see below). See Massimi 2011 (101-2) for an interpretation of this figure as a type of the ‘defilement’ of ministerial office.

**8** Massimi 2011 (94-6) interprets these as mercenaries, the anti-type of the good shepherd, supreme figure of the good minister.

**9** In the original “i poeti et i matti” (‘poets and madmen’; cf. Baschet 1867, 381: “les poètes et les fous”). Cheney evidently interpreted “matti” to mean “buffoons” or “fools” in the Shakespearian sense. Compare “Carpaccio’s Ape” (“Supplementary texts”, 148); and see *Grande dizionario* 1961-2002, 9: 957. Massimi 2011 (161-4) argues that Veronese’s statement is a banal and deliberately evasive citation of the *dictum Horatii*, a topos on poetic license derived from the *Ars Poetica* and current since the early Middle Ages (Chastel 1977).

**10** Massimi 2011 (86-8) holds that this figure is a type of the bad minister, by reference to sixteenth-century Italian translations from the Hebrew of a passage in Leviticus 21 proscribing those manifesting various deformities from priestly office: where the Vulgate translated *lippus* (‘having watery or inflamed eyes’), these preferred *nano* or ‘dwarf’ (as in the King James version).

**11** Massimi 2011 (97-8) argues that Peter is represented in the act of detaching the thigh of a roasted lamb, and that this act testifies to his pre-eminence as a figure of the good minister, given that Exodus 29 and Leviticus 7 specify that the right shoulder and breast of a sacrificed animal were parts reserved for the priest, injunctions later interpreted symbolically in terms of priestly faith, good works and excellence of example.

**12** The figure is by no means “next to” (“appresso a”) Peter, but at some distance from him, glimpsed between the columns to the left of the central portion of the table at which Peter, Jesus and John are seated. To draw attention to this literally marginal presence may have been a way of avoiding further discussion of the much more prominent figure in opulent red robes placed almost immediately next to Peter, identified by Veronese as Christ’s host, Simon. Massimi 2011 (169-70) argues that he typifies the figure of the Pharisee, long associated by conventuals with the pedantic rigours of regular observance.

**13** Cheney 1872-76 (105n) comments, “It is strange that the inquisitor should have fallen into the same mistake, and have confounded the banquet of Levi with the Last Supper!”

**14** The closing paragraph is Ruskin’s translation of the Latin conclusion to the document, not given by Cheney.

**15** Interpreted in Massimi 2011 (89-90) as a type of the bad minister by reference to Isaiah 56.10-11: “His watchmen are blind: they are all ignorant, they are all dumb dogs, they cannot bark; sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber. Yea, they are greedy dogs which can never have enough, and they are shepherds that cannot understand: they all look to their own way, every one for his gain, from his quarter.”

**16** “FECIT. D. COVI. MAGNU LEVI - LUCAE CAP. V”. Cf. Cheney 1872-76, 107: “The injunctions of the Holy Office were only partially obeyed; the ‘bleeding nose’ was retrenched, but the dog remains with the dwarf, the parrot and ‘the Germans’, nor can I discover that Paolo materially altered his style of composition in consequence of these remonstrances, nor that he was more inclined for the future to check the exuberance of his fancy even when treating the most sacred subjects”. The conclusion was added in Ruskin 1877 IIb (see “Editions of the Guide”, Table 2).



## **Supplementary Texts**



## Supplementary Texts

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### From “Notes on Pictures in Milan, Padua and Venice” (1845)<sup>1</sup>

Boccacino Cremonese.<sup>2</sup> An interesting luminous picture[:] Madonna & Christ[,] St John B.[] St Peter, St Catherine, & I believe St Lucia. The countenance lifted, very deep in tearful feeling. The Madonna also fine in intense meditative regardfulness. The colours are somewhat crude, but delicate, the distance cold, but sweetly touched in[;] the distance is seen *twice over*, so as to give the diminution of figures as they go away[;] the flight into Egypt, and on the right, the three Magi or Kings rather riding down a green meadow. Far on the extreme left on a rocky hill are seen the Shepherds lifting their hands to their forehead to shade themselves from the light of the white angels in the blue clear sky. Note this anachronism to get the feeling perfect. The herbage trees & figleaves most exquisitely painted, warm & precious in thin & brown greens and perfectly graceful.

### From *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 20 (August 1872) “Benediction”<sup>3</sup>

[Carpaccio’s *Dream of St Ursula* is instanced in illustration of the “nature of blessedness”.]

14. In the year 1869, just before leaving Venice, I had been carefully looking at a picture by Victor Carpaccio, representing the dream of a young princess.<sup>4</sup> Carpaccio has taken much



pains to explain to us, as far as he can, the kind of life she leads, by completely painting her little bedroom in the light of dawn,<sup>5</sup> so that you can see everything in it. It is lighted by two doubly-arched windows, the arches being painted crimson round their edges, and the capitals of the shafts that bear them, gilded. They are filled at the top with small round panes of glass; but beneath, are open to the blue morning sky, with a low lattice across them: and in the one at the back of the room are set two beautiful white Greek vases with a plant in each; one having rich dark and pointed green leaves, the other crimson flowers, but not of any species known to me, each at the end of a branch like a spray of heath.<sup>6</sup>

These flower-pots stand on a shelf which runs all round the room, and beneath the window, at about the height of the elbow, and serves to put things on anywhere: beneath it, down to the floor, the walls are covered with green cloth; but above, are bare and white. The second window is nearly opposite the bed, and in front of it is the princess's reading-table [fig. 40], some two feet and a half square, covered by a red cloth with a white border and dainty fringe; and beside it her seat, not at all like a reading-chair in Oxford, but a very small three-legged stool like a music-stool, covered with crimson cloth. On the table are a book set up at a slope fittest for reading, and an hour-glass. Under the shelf, near the table, so as to be easily reached by the outstretched arm, is a press full of books. The door of this has been left open, and the books, I am grieved to say, are rather in disorder, having been pulled about before the princess went to bed, and one left standing on its side.

Opposite this window, on the white wall, is a small shrine or picture (I can't see which, for it is in sharp retiring perspective) with a lamp before it, and a silver vessel hung from the lamp, looking like one for holding incense.<sup>7</sup>

15. The bed is a broad four-poster, the posts being beautifully wrought golden or gilded rods, variously wreathed and branched, carrying a canopy of warm

red. The princess's shield is at the head of it, and the feet are raised entirely above the floor of the room, on a dais which projects at the lower end so as to form a seat, on which the child has laid her crown. Her little blue slippers lie at the side of the bed, - her white dog beside them. The coverlid is scarlet, the white sheet folded half-way back over it; the young girl lies straight, bending neither at waist nor knee, the sheet rising and falling over her in a narrow unbroken wave, like the shape of the coverlid of the last sleep, when the turf scarcely rises. She is some seventeen or eighteen years old,<sup>8</sup> her head is turned towards us on the pillow, the cheek resting on her hand, as if she were thinking, yet utterly calm in sleep, and almost colourless. Her hair is tied with a narrow riband, and divided into two wreaths, which encircle her head like a double crown. The white nightgown hides the arm raised on the pillow, down to the wrist.

16. At the door of the room an angel enters (the little dog, though lying awake, vigilant, takes no notice).<sup>9</sup> He is a very small angel, his head just rises a little above the shelf round the room, and would only reach as high as the princess's chin, if she were standing up. He has soft grey wings, lustreless; and his dress, of subdued blue, has violet sleeves, open above the elbow, and showing white sleeves below. He comes in without haste, his body, like a mortal one, casting shadow from the light through the door behind,<sup>10</sup> his face perfectly quiet; a palm-branch in his right hand - a scroll in his left.<sup>11</sup>

So dreams the princess, with blessed eyes, that need no earthly dawn. It is very pretty of Carpaccio to make her dream out the angel's dress so particularly, and notice the slashed sleeves; and to dream so little an angel - very nearly a doll angel, - bringing her the branch of palm, and message. But the lovely characteristic of all is the evident delight of her continual life. Royal power over herself, and happiness in her flowers, her books, her sleeping, and waking, her prayers, her dreams, her earth, her heaven [...]



**Figure 40**  
John Wharltton Bunney, after Vittore  
Carpaccio, *Corner of St Ursula's Room,*  
*including her Book Case (from The Dream*  
*of St Ursula).* 1876-77

[For the contrary of blessedness – “life negative, under curse” – Ruskin opposes the memory of the two American girls with whom he had shared a railway carriage on his return from Venice to Verona. Though “specimens of the utmost which the money and invention of the nineteenth century could produce in maidenhood” they were creatures of “tortured indolence”, oblivious to the beauty and poetic associations of the landscape through which they were passing. Unlike Ursula, they were “neither princesses, nor seers, nor dreamers”. Above all, they knew nothing of “happy industry“, nor of “sacred imagination of things that are not”.]

“How do I know the princess is industrious?”

Partly by the trim state of her room, – by the hour-glass on the table, – by the evident use of all the books she has (well bound, every one of them, in stoutest leather or velvet, and with no dog’s-ears), but more distinctly from another picture of her, not asleep.<sup>12</sup> In that one, a prince of England has sent to ask her in

marriage: and her father, little liking to part with her, sends for her to his room to ask her what she would do. He sits, moody and sorrowful; she, standing before him in a plain housewifely dress, talks quietly, going on with her needlework all the time.<sup>13</sup>

A work-woman, friends, she, no less than a princess; and princess most in being so [...]

### From *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 71 (November 1876) “The Feudal Ranks”<sup>14</sup>

[Ruskin doubts his readers *could*, like Carpaccio, wish a Princess such as Ursula had really existed, as they so little understand what a Princess, or indeed what the Feudal System is. He duly explains this last to them, moving from its basis in the landed household up through each dual (temporal/spiritual) rank to the “King of Kings, and Ruler of Empires” at its summit, noting however that because His Essence is not to be found or stayed by modern methods, the Feudal System is “verily at an end”.]

12. In the meantime, however, you can now clearly understand the significance, in that system, of the word Princess, meaning a King’s daughter, bred in such ways and knowledges as may fit her for dominion over nations. And thus you can enjoy, if otherwise in a humour for its enjoyment, the story of the Princess Ursula, here following, – though for the present you may be somewhat at a loss to discern the practical bearings of it; which, however, if you will note that the chief work of the Princess is to convert the savage minds of the “English”, or people of Over-sea, from the worship of their god “Malcometto”, to

the “rule of St. John the Baptist”, – you may guess to be in some close connection with the proposed “practice” of St. George’s Company;<sup>15</sup> not less, indeed, than the functions of Carpaccio’s other two chiefly worshipped saints.<sup>16</sup>

13. The legends of St. Ursula, which were followed by him, have been collated here at Venice, and reduced to this pleasant harmony, in true help to me, by my good scholar James Reddie Anderson.<sup>17</sup> For whose spirit thus active with us, no less than for the spirit, at rest, of the monk who preserved the story for us, I am myself well inclined to say another Pater and Ave.<sup>18</sup>



### THE STORY OF ST. URSULA<sup>a</sup>

There was once a just and most Christian King of Britain, called Maurus.<sup>19</sup> To him and to his wife Daria was born a little girl, the fairest creature that this earth ever saw. She came into the world wrapped in a hairy mantle, and all men wondered greatly what this might mean. Then the King gathered together his wise men to inquire of them. But they could not make known the thing to him, for only God in Heaven knew how the rough robe signified that she should follow holiness and purity all her days, and the wisdom of St. John the Baptist. And because of the mantle, they called her “Ursula”, “Little Bear”.

Now Ursula grew day by day in grace and loveliness, and in such wisdom that all men marvelled. Yet should they not have marvelled, since with God all things are possible. And when she was fifteen years old she was a light of all wisdom, and a glass of all beauty, and a fountain of scripture and of sweet ways. Lovelier woman there was not alive. Her speech was so full of all delight that it seemed as though an angel of Paradise had taken human flesh. And in all the kingdom no weighty thing was done without counsel of Ursula.

So her fame was carried through the earth, and a king of England, a heathen of over-seas, hearing, was taken with the love of her. And he set all his heart on having her for wife to his son Æther, and for daughter in his home. So he sent a mighty and honourable embassy, of earls and marquesses, with goodly company of knights, and ladies, and philosophers; bidding them, with all courtesy and discretion, pray King Maurus to give Ursula in marriage to Æther. “But”, he said, “if Maurus will not hear your gentle words, open to him all my heart, and tell him that I will ravage his land with fire, and slay his people, and make himself die a cruel death, and will, after, lead Ursula away with me. Give him

but three days to answer, for I am wasted with desire to finish the matter, and hold Ursula in my ward.”

But when the ambassadors came to King Maurus, he would not have his daughter wed a heathen; so, since prayers and gifts did not move him, they spoke out all the threats. Now the land of Britain was little, and its soldiers few, while the heathen was a mighty King and a conqueror; so Maurus, and his Queen, and his councillors, and all the people, were in sore distress.

But on the evening of the second day, Ursula went into her chamber, and shut close the doors; and before the image of the Father, who is very pitiful, prayed all night with tears, telling how she had vowed in her heart to live a holy maiden all her days, having Christ alone for spouse. But, if His will were that she should wed the son of the heathen King, she prayed that wisdom might be given her, to turn the hearts of all that people who knew not faith nor holiness; and power to comfort her father and mother, and all the people of her fatherland.

And when the clear light of dawn was in the air, she fell asleep. And the Angel of the Lord appeared to her in a dream, saying, “Ursula, your prayer is heard. At the sunrising you shall go boldly before the ambassadors of the King of Over-sea, for the God of Heaven shall give you wisdom, and teach your tongue what it should speak.”<sup>20</sup> When it was day, Ursula rose to bless and glorify the name of God. She put on for covering and for beauty an enwrought mantle like the starry sky, and was crowned with a coronet of gems. Then, straightway passing to her father’s chamber, she told him what grace had been done to her that night, and all that now was in her heart to answer to the ambassadors of Over-sea. So, though long he would not, she persuaded her father.

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<sup>a</sup> This Life of St. Ursula has been gathered from some of the stories concerning her which were current through Italy in the time of Carpaccio. The northern form of the legend, localized at Cologne, is neither so lovely nor so ancient.

Then Maurus, and his lords and councillors, and the ambassadors of the heathen King, were gathered in the Hall of Council. And when Ursula entered the place where these lords were, one said to the other, "Who is this that comes from Paradise?" For she moved in all noble gentleness, with eyes inclined to earth, learned, and frank, and fair, delightful above all women upon earth. Behind her came a hundred maidens, clothed in white silk, fair and lovely. They shone brightly as the stars, but Ursula shone as the moon and the evening star.

Now this was the answer Ursula made, which the King caused to be written, and sealed with the royal seal, and gave to the ambassadors of the King of Over-sea.

"I will take", she said, "for spouse, Æther, the son of my lord the King of Over-sea. But I ask of my lord three graces, and with heart and soul<sup>b</sup><sup>21</sup> pray of him to grant them.

"The first grace I ask is this, that he, and the Queen, and their son, my spouse, be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.

"The second grace is that three years may be given me, before the bridal, in which to go to and fro upon the sea, that I may visit the bodies of the Saints in Rome, and the blessed places of the Holy Land.

"And for the last grace, I ask that he choose ten fair maidens of his kingdom, and with each of these a thousand more, all of gentle blood, who shall come to me here, in Britain, and go with me in gladness upon the sea, following this my holy pilgrimage."

Then spake one of the nobles of the land to Maurus, saying, "My lord the King, this your daughter is the Dove of Peace come from Paradise, the same that in the days of the Flood brought to the Ark of Noah the olive-branch of good news." And at the answer, were the ambassadors so full of joy that they well-nigh could not speak, and with praise and triumph they went their way, and told their master all the sweet answer of Ursula.

Then my lord the King said, "Praised and blessed be the name of our God Malcometto, who has given my soul for comfort that which it desired. Truly there is not a franker lady under the wheel of the sun; and by the body of my mother I swear there is nothing she can ask that I will not freely give. First of the maidens she desires shall be my daughter Florence." Then all his lords rose, man by man, and gladly named, each, his child.

So the will of Ursula was done; and that King, and all his folk, were baptized into the Holy Faith. And Æther, with the English maidens, in number above ten thousand, came to the land of Britain.

Then Ursula chose her own four sisters, Habila, and Julia, and Victoria, and Aurea, and a thousand daughters of her people, with certain holy bishops, and great lords, and grave councillors, and an abbot of the order of St. Benedict, men full of all wisdom, and friends of God.

So all that company set sail in eleven ships, and passing this way and that upon the sea, rejoiced in it, and in this their maiden pilgrimage. And those who dwelt by the shores of the sea came forth in multitudes to gaze upon them as they passed, and to each man it appeared a delightful vision. For the ships sailed in fair order, side by side, with sound of sweet psalms and murmur of the waters. And the maidens were clad, some in scarlet and some in pure samite, some in rich silk of Damascus, some in cloth of gold and some in the purple robe that is woven in Judea. Some wore crowns, others garlands of flowers. Upon the shoulder of each was the visible cross, in the hands of each a pilgrim's staff, by their sides were pilgrims' scrips, and each ship's company sailed under the gonfalon of the Holy Cross. Ursula in the midst was like a ray of sunlight, and the Angel of the Lord was ever with them for guide.

So in the holy time of Lent they came to Rome. And when my Lord the Pope came forth, under the Castle of St. Angelo,<sup>22</sup> with great state, to greet them, seeing their

**b** Molto incarnalmente.

blessed assembly, he put off the mantle of Peter, and with many bishops, priests, and brothers, and certain cardinals, set himself to go with them on their blessed pilgrimage.<sup>23</sup>

At length they came to the land of Slavonia, whose ruler was friend and liegeman to the Soldan of Babylon.<sup>24</sup> Then the Lord of the Saracens sent straightway to the Soldan, telling what a mighty company had come to his land, and how they were Christian folk. And the Soldan gathered all his men of war, and with great rage the host of the heathen made against the company of Ursula.

And when they were nigh, the Soldan cried and said, "What folk are ye?" And Ursula spake in answer, "We are Christian folk: our feet are turned to the blessed tomb of our Lord Jesus Christ, for the saving of our souls, and that we may win grace to pass into eternal life, in the blessed Paradise." And the Soldan answered, "Either deny your God, or I will slay you all with the sword. So shall ye die a dolorous death, and see your land no more." And Ursula answered, "Even so we desire to be sure witnesses for the name of God, declaring and preaching the glory of His name; because He has made heaven and earth and the sea by His Word; and afterward all living things; and afterward has willed, Himself, to die, for our salvation and glory. And who follows Him shall go to rejoice in *His* Fatherland and in *His* Kingdom."

Then she turned to her people: "My sisters and my brothers, in this place God has given us great grace. Embrace and make it sure, for our death in this place will be life perpetual, and joy, and sweetness never-ending. And there, above, we shall be with the Majesty and the angels of Paradise." Then she called her spouse to comfort and teach him. And he answered her with these words, "To me it appears three thousand years that death is a-coming, so much have I already tasted of the sweetness of Paradise."

Then the Soldan gave commandment that they should all be slain with the sword. And so was it done.

Yet when he saw Ursula standing, in the midst of all that slaughter, like the fairest stalk of corn in harvest, and

how she was exceeding lovely, beyond the tongues of this earth to tell, he would have saved her alive, and taken her for wife. But when she would not, and rebuked him, he was moved with anger. Now there was a bow in his hand, and he set an arrow on the string, and drew it with all his strength, and it pierced the heart of the glorious maiden. So she went to God.

And one maiden only, whose name was Corbula, through fear hid herself in the ship. But God, who had chosen all that company, gave her heart, and with the dawn of the next day she came forth willingly, and received the martyr's crown.

Thus all were slain, and all are gone to Paradise, and sing the glad and sweet songs of Paradise.

Whosoever reads this holy history, let him not think it a great thing to say an Our Father, and a Hail Mary, for the soul of him who has written it.

14. Thus far the old myth. You shall hear now in what manner such a myth is re-written by a great man, born in the days of a nation's strength.

Carpaccio begins his story with what the myth calls a dream. But he wishes to tell you that it was no dream, - but a vision; - that a real angel came, and was seen by Ursula's soul, when her mortal eyes were closed.

"The Angel of the Lord", says the legend. What! - thinks Carpaccio; - to this little maid of fifteen, the angel that came to Moses and Joshua? Not so, but her own guardian angel.

Guardian, and to tell her that God will guide her heart to-morrow, and put His own answer on her lips, concerning her marriage. Shall not such angel be crowned with light, and strew her chamber with lilies?

There is no glory round his head; there is no gold on his robes; they are of subdued purple and grey. His wings are colourless - his face calm, but sorrowful, - wholly in shade. In his right hand he bears the martyr's palm; in his



left, the fillet borne by the Greek angels of victory, and, together with it, gathers up, knotted in his hand, the folds of shroud<sup>c</sup> with which the Etrurians veil the tomb.

He comes to her, “in the clear light of morning”; the Angel of Death.

You see it is written in the legend that she had shut close the doors of her chamber.<sup>25</sup>

They have opened as the angel enters, – not one only, but all in the room, – all in the house. He enters by one at the foot of her bed; but beyond it is another – open into the passage; out of that another into some luminous hall or street. All the window-shutters are wide open; they are made dark that you may notice them, – nay, all the press doors are open! No treasure bars shall hold, where *this* angel enters.

Carpaccio has been intent to mark that he comes in the light of dawn. The blue-green sky glows between the dark leaves of the olive and dianthus in the open window.<sup>26</sup> But its light is low compared to that which enters *behind* the angel, falling full on Ursula’s face, in divine rest.

In the last picture but one, of this story,<sup>27</sup> he has painted her lying in the rest which the angel came to bring; and in the last,<sup>28</sup> is her rising in the eternal Morning.

For this is the first lesson which Carpaccio wrote in his Venetian words for the creatures of this restless world, – that Death is better than *their* life; and that not bride-groom rejoices over bride<sup>29</sup> as they rejoice who marry not, nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God, in Heaven.<sup>30</sup>

### From *Collected Notes on Some of the Pictures in the St George’s Museum Sheffield (1876-77)*<sup>31</sup>

[Ruskin compares Charles Fairfax Murray’s copy of a detail from Carpaccio’s *The Arrival of the Ambassadors* (cat. 572 [MM1955, 95]), in which St Ursula is seen in conversation with her father, with another, also by Murray, of Filippo Lippi’s *Virgin and Child* in the Uffizi (CGSG 00768; CGSG 00292). The Lippi was another of the four “Lesson Photographs” issued to readers of *FC* (see “Part II”, n. 20). These two watercolours were the first pictures sent by Ruskin (in January 1877) to St George’s Museum in Sheffield (J. Ruskin, *Diary*, 13 January 1877, TS, BodL MSS Eng. Misc. c. 229, 72; *Works*, 30: 160; Tucker 2020a). These illustrative notes would seem to have been written at that time. For Ruskin the Lippi, of the Purist school, “represents the highest reach of pure or ideal religious art, next to Angelico”, the Carpaccio, of the Naturalist, “the highest reach of religious art, accepting”, as was habitual in Venice, “the weakness of human nature, believing in it, abiding by it, and becoming greater therefrom”. Carpaccio’s “natural charm of conception” and “simplicity of execution” meant that Murray’s copy could give “nearly as much pleasure” as the original, in its absence.]

<sup>c</sup> I could not see this symbol at the height at which the picture hung from the ground, when I described it in 1872 [see above, 131-4]. The folds of the drapery in the *hand* are all but invisible, even when the picture is seen close; and so neutral in their grey-green colour that they pass imperceptibly into violet, as the faint green of evening sky fades into its purple. But the folds are continued under the wrist in the alternate waves which the reader may see on the Etruscan tomb in the first room of the British Museum, with a sculpturesque severity which I could not then understand, and could only account for by supposing that Carpaccio had meant the Princess to “dream out the angel’s dress so particularly”! I mistook the fillet of victory also for a scroll; and could not make out the flowers in the window. They are pinks, the favourite ones in Italian windows to this day, and having a particular relation to St. Ursula in the way they rend their calyx; and I believe also in their peculiar relation to the grasses (of which more in *Proserpina*). St. Ursula is not meant, herself, to recognize the angel. He enters under the door over which she has put her little statue of Venus; and through that door the room is filled with light, so that it will not seem to her strange that his own form, as he enters, should be in shade; and she cannot see his dark wings. On the tassel of her pillow (Etrurian also) is written “Infantia”; and above her head, the carving of the bed ends in a spiral flame, typical of the finally ascending Spirit. She lies on her bier, in the last picture but one [cat. 580 (MM 1955, 102)], exactly as here on her bed; only the coverlid is there changed from scarlet to pale violet. See notes on the meaning of these colours in third *Deucalion* [*Works*, 26: 184, 187].

2. Note first on the Carpaccio [fig. 41] the princess's hands are unfinished in form (being terrifically difficult).<sup>32</sup> The delicacy of their colour in flat shadow, against white in shadow, is one of the special achievements of the art of Venice, as opposed to the black vulgarities of Roman chiaroscuro.

Her hair, twisted into a cable, with pearls, is a specially Venetian manner of head-dress, retained by true Venetian women to this day, without knowing the origin of it, which I do not doubt was the successful defence of Aquileia (the true mother city of Venice), in the third century, against the Emperor Maximin. Rope was wanting for the war machines, and there was not hemp enough; the women cut off their long hair, and made ropes of that. They dedicated (when the city was saved) an altar to Bald Venus;<sup>33</sup> and I have no doubt that not only this head-dress, but the cable-mouldings, which I used to think merely an imitation of the shipping tackle,<sup>34</sup> was influenced in its *close-wrung* form, as opposed to the graceful opened Lombardic spiral, by this tradition.

The black square behind the head<sup>35</sup> is the mythic symbol that while she puts the marriage ring on her finger,<sup>36</sup> the wedding is to death. Such another black space is put behind the head of the angel in her dream.

But the Venetian colourists always use black in larger spaces than the Florentines, being more sad and more earthly in their temper.<sup>37</sup> In order to show you this difference in these two pictures completely, it would have been needful that the shade of Lippi's landscape, exquisitely finished in the original, should have been rightly rendered in the copy; but it is here that the copy chiefly fails, for this landscape distance would have taken as much time and trouble to paint as the figures. Mr. Murray has been obliged to paint it hastily, and has not been successful in the haste.

The soft grey-green colour of it, and the more or less green tone through the whole, still more definite in the original, as opposed to the rich red and gold of the

Venetian, lead to many interesting points of inquiry, of which here are a few touched upon in my *Laws of Fésole*.<sup>38</sup>

3. The colour schools of Italy are in the main three, all dependent essentially, first on locality, and secondly on the national habits of life. These three schools are the Sienese, Florentine, and Venetian.

The first is developed in a red sandstone and clay country, with exquisite and almost miraculous springs of pure water.

The second in a white marble and green serpentine country, with clear-flowing mountain streams, but a muddy main river.

The third in a red marble and white dolomite country, with a great plain extending below it to the sea, traversed by muddy rivers.

4. The result on their art is, first, that red is despised by the Sienese as a sand-and-clay colour, good in pots, not pictures; but that green is rejoiced in by them as the supreme blessing of the earth in spring. They cannot have enough of it, and seriously injure their painting by excess of it.

The second result, for the Florentine, is the founding of his architecture on the opposition of white to green marble, with red inlaid as a glowing luxury. These, with the blue of the sky between his olive leaves, found his Etruscan school of colour, which was suddenly kindled by Giotto into glow, as of St. Francis's chariot of fire, and carried by Angelico into the colours of Paradise. But it is always liable to be subdued, when not in its full enthusiasm, towards tones of white and green, partially degraded by the earthly school of Siena.

The third result, for the Venetian, is his founding his architecture on the opposition of red and white marble,<sup>39</sup> taking up red as a precious, yet constant, colour of domestic power and life, with an exquisitely deep blue, founded on the colour of his distant mountains and plains, and of the Eastern sea; but on the whole rejecting green, as the colour of shallow, vulgar, or angry sea, and, in his own home, the colour of the street pavement, not worth painting. The only



**Figure 41**  
Charles Fairfax Murray, after Vittore Carpaccio,  
*St Ursula Talking to her Father*  
("The King's Consent", from *The Arrival*  
of the Ambassadors). 1876



thing that Carpaccio and Gentile Bellini never paint with any enjoyment is the water of their own canals.

5. As the schools developed themselves the Siense gradually expired, having no proper painter's natural food. The Florentine and Venetian taught each other what they each needed; Venice learned from Florence some love of the spring, and Florence from Venice the glory of purple and scarlet. But to the end each remained in their several power - one the painter of the crimson of flesh and blood, the other of the power and spirit of eternal spring. Their perfect power, after each had taught the other, is seen only in Titian and Angelico; but their peculiar national character is better recognized by two exquisite pictures of more simple men - Carpaccio's "Dream of St. Ursula", a harmony of crimson and white, with subdued gold and green; and Botticelli's "Spring", a harmony of green and white, with subdued gold and crimson. [...]

7. [In comparison with Lippi's "infinitely tender precision"] Carpaccio attains a still less obtrusive and more exquisite delicacy by thinking less of the precision of form than of its mystery; and Mr. Murray's sympathy with his manner has made the drawing of the heads of both king and princess very exemplary and wonderful. The treatment of the king's hair, and the subdued light in his grieved eyes, are entirely beautiful: decoration and jewel painting, this, of highest order, while the princess's crown vanishes almost away, the painter trusting to the wreath of her tresses.

I have just noticed, as I quit the picture, the conspicuousness of the ring by which the dark tablet is fastened. I have no doubt Carpaccio meant thus to connect this tablet with the marriage ring in the princess's hand. The circular panes of glass in the window prevent the eye from being fastened on it too closely.

### From *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 74 (February 1877) "Father-Law"<sup>40</sup>

Venice, *Christmas Day*, 1876.<sup>d</sup>

1. Last night, St. Ursula sent me her dianthus "out of her bedroom window, with her love",<sup>41</sup> and, as I was standing beside it, this morning, - (ten minutes ago only, - it has just struck eight), watching the sun rise out of a low line of cloud, just midway between the domes of St. George and the Madonna of Safety [fig. 42],<sup>42</sup> there came into my mind the cause of our difficulties about the Eastern question:<sup>43</sup> with considerable amazement to myself that I had not thought of it before; but, on the contrary, in what I had intended to say, been misled, hitherto, into quite vain collection of the little I knew

about either Turkey or Russia; and entirely lost sight (though actually at this time chiefly employed with it!) of what Little Bear has thus sent me the flower out of the dawn in her window, to put me in mind of, - the religious meanings of the matter.

I must explain her sign to you more clearly before I can tell you these.<sup>44</sup>

2. She sent me the living dianthus (with a little personal message besides, of great importance to *me*, but of none to the matter in hand),<sup>45</sup> by the hands of an Irish friend now staying here: but she had sent me

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<sup>d</sup> I believe the following entry to be of considerable importance to our future work; and I leave it, uncorrected, as it was written at the time for that reason.

also, in the morning, from England, a dried sprig of the other flower in her window, the sacred vervain,<sup>e</sup> by the hands of the friend who is helping me in all I want for *Proserpina*, - Mr. Oliver.<sup>46</sup>

Now the vervain is the ancient flower sacred to domestic purity; and one of the chief pieces of teaching which showed me the real nature of classic life, came to me ten years ago, in learning by heart one of Horace's house-songs, in which he especially associates this herb with the *cheerful* service - yet sacrificial service - of the household Gods.

"The whole house laughs in silver; - maid and boy in happy confusion run hither and thither; the altar, wreathed with chaste vervain, asks for its sprinkling with the blood of the lamb."<sup>47</sup>

Again, the Dianthus, of which I told you more was to be learned,<sup>48</sup> means, translating that Greek name, "Flower of God", or especially of the Greek Father of the Gods;<sup>49</sup> and it is of all wild flowers in Greece the brightest and richest in its divine beauty. (In *Proserpina*, note classification.<sup>f</sup>)

3. Now, see the use of myths, when they are living.

You have the Domestic flower, and the Wild flower.

You have the Christian sacrifice of the Passover, and the Household; and the universal worship of Allah, the

Father of all, - our Father which art in Heaven, - made of specialty to you by the light of the crimson wild flower on the mountains; and all this by specialty of sign sent to you in Venice, by the Saint whose mission it was to convert the savage people of "England over-sea".<sup>50</sup>

4. I am here interrupted by a gift, from another friend, of a little painting of the "pitcher" (Venetian water-carrier's) of holy water; with the sprinkling thing in it, - I don't know its name,<sup>51</sup> - but it reminds me of the "Tu asperges" in Lethe, in the *Purgatorio*,<sup>52</sup> and of other matters useful to me: but mainly observe from it, in its bearing on our work, that the blood of Sprinkling, common to the household of the Greek, Roman, and the Jew, - and water of Sprinkling, common to all nations on earth, in the Baptism to which Christ submitted, - the one speaketh better things than that of Abel,<sup>53</sup> and the other than that unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea,<sup>54</sup> in so far as they give *joy* together with their purity; so that the Lamb of the Passover itself, and the Pitcher of Water borne by him who showed the place of it,<sup>55</sup> alike are turned, the one, by the last Miracle,<sup>56</sup> into sacramental wine which immortally in the sacred Spirit makes glad the Heart of Man,<sup>57</sup> and the other, by the first Miracle,<sup>58</sup> into the Marriage wine, which here, and immortally in the sacred, because purified Body, makes glad the Life of Man.

<sup>e</sup> I had carelessly and very stupidly taken the vervain for a decorative modification of olive [see above, 138]. It is painted with entire veracity, so that my good friend Signor Caldara (who is painting Venetian flowers for us, knew it for the "Erba Luisa" at the first glance), went to the Botanical Gardens here, and painted it from the life. I will send his painting, with my own drawing of the plant from the Carpaccio picture, to the Sheffield museum. They can there be photographed for any readers of *Fors* who care to see such likeness of them [see the "Introduction", 30-1].

<sup>f</sup> All left as written, in confusion: I will make it clear presently.



**Figure 42** Charles H. Moore, *The Salute, Venice*. View from a balcony of the Grand Hotel (*Palazzo Manolesso Ferro*). 1876



### “Carpaccio’s Ape” (1877)<sup>59</sup>

This then is Venice in her Tyrian time, parallel in the history of Israel to the reign of Solomon in alliance with Hiram, and the Egyptians with the ships of Tarshish, bringing home ivory, and apes, and peacocks.<sup>60</sup>

I always used to wonder, in reading that history as a boy, what he wanted the apes for.

Look now to the Carpaccio.<sup>61</sup> It has the most wonderful piece of chiaroscuro in it, in architecture against sky, that I ever saw in painting – the circular temple on the right.<sup>62</sup> On the steps of it you will find an ape sitting, dressed; sitting all by himself, masterless, in full dress. Carpaccio, be assured, never puts in a piece of notable grotesque without meaning it to be noted. Almost while he was painting it, Albert Dürer was engraving the monkey at the feet of his most finished Madonna.<sup>63</sup> You will find no monkeys at the feet of the Greek Athena or the Byzantine Mary. This is the first sign of the penetration into the mind of Venice, of the Northern spirit of the Jesting Grotesque; true Greek or Tyrian grotesque she had before, mystic and terrible – the Gorgon, the Fury, the Harpy, the Siren, but not the Ape.

Here sits on the temple steps the first figure occurrent of your Christmas pantomimes, your beloved Harlequin,<sup>64</sup> know you him not for a Venetian mosaic? A piece of the Divine History of Ravenna, with the Power of Miracle in its hand, become a Jest.

Now look to the end of the room.<sup>65</sup> You see, painted by Veronese, Christ at meat in the Pharisee’s house,<sup>66</sup> but with difficulty, for in front is many a piece of pantomime going on, chiefly a dwarf-fool running with a dish, and getting hit over the head by a servant. True pantomime, you observe, – farther advanced in style.

And Venice saw her danger and knew it, and considered of it; and that Inquisition of State of hers, which you have been accustomed to hear of as the Devil in many persons, interfering with freedom of conscience, forsooth, and freedom of trade, forsooth (yes, and actually burning people to death, whom it thought mischievous persons, instead of, as is proper, pitching innocent ones over seventy-foot-high bridges, and burning them in a heap at the bottom to make dividends out of them)<sup>67</sup> – this Diabolical Inquisition of State called the new Paul, the Apostle of Pantomime, into its court, and inquired of him what new gospel this might be. The examination of the painter by the Inquisition has been, by will of Fors, preserved for us.<sup>68</sup>

Harlequin – mosaic of Ravenna become a Jest. Columbine<sup>69</sup> – Virgin Diana the Huntress, succinct of dress, become Diana of the Ephesians,<sup>70</sup> succinct of dress, she also, for other hunting. Against the Greek Madonna, with robes, gracefully lengthened, here is another Madonna predicate by Venice to European worship, with robe gracefully shortened.

As by Correggio the worship of the Magdalen in deserts, studious of divine literature<sup>71</sup> – a popular evangelical sermon, delicately painted on snuffbox lids.<sup>72</sup>

Then, and in England, Darwinian science and practice of Development – concluding in the investigation of the manners practised among apes as those of supreme Courtesy. These are the final issue of Solomon’s quest; this, the meaning of Carpaccio’s coloured symbol, and presently you shall see to what it brought Venice, and her beauty.

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**g** The history of Venice in this direction may be closed by the reader who cares to pursue it with Casanova’s account of the love-gift sent him by the Nun of Murano.

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### From “The Shrine of the Slaves”, “First Supplement” (ch. 10.), *St Mark’s Rest* (December 1877)<sup>73</sup>

[After discussing Carpaccio’s paintings in *S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni*, the chapter goes on to comment on his *Debate of St Stephen* and *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple* in the *Pinacoteca di Brera*, Milan, and his *Two Venetian Ladies* in the *Museo Correr*, Venice.]<sup>74</sup>

203. And now, if you have begun to feel the power of these minor pictures, you can return to the Academy and take up the St. Ursula series, on which, however, I find it hopeless to reduce my notes to any available form at present:<sup>75</sup> – the question of the influence of this legend on Venetian life being involved with inquiries belonging properly to what I am trying to do in *St. Mark’s Rest*. This only you have to observe generally, that being meant to occupy larger spaces, the St. Ursula pictures are very unequal in interest, and many portions seem to me tired work, while others are maintained by Mr. Murray<sup>76</sup> to be only by the hands of scholars. This, however, I can myself assert, that I never yet began to copy or examine any portion of them without continually increasing admiration; while yet there are certain shortcomings and morbid faults throughout, unaccountable, and rendering the greater part of the work powerless for good to the general public. Taken as a connected series, the varying personality of the saint destroys its interest totally. The girl talking to her father in 572<sup>77</sup> is not the girl who dreams in 578; and the gentle little dreamer is still less like the severe, stiffly dressed, and not in any supreme degree well favoured, bride, in 575; while the middle-aged woman, without any claim to beauty at all, who occupies the principal place in the final Gloria, cannot by any effort of imagination be connected with the figure of the young girl kneeling for the Pope’s blessing in 577 [fig. 43].

204. But indeed had the story been as consistently told as the accessories are perfectly painted, there would have been no occasion for me now to be lecturing on the beauties of Carpaccio. The public would long since have

discovered them, and adopted him for a favourite. That, precisely in the particulars which would win popular attention, the men whom it would be most profitable for the public to study should so often fail, becomes to me, as I grow older, one of those deepest mysteries of life, which I only can hope to have explained to me when my task of interpretation is ended.

But, for the sake of Christian charity, I would ask every generous Protestant to pause for a while before the meeting under the Castle of St. Angelo (577).

“Nobody knows anything about those old things”, said an English paterfamilias to some inquiring member of his family, in the hearing of my assistant, then at work on this picture.<sup>78</sup> Which saying is indeed supremely true of us nationally. But without requiring us to know anything, this picture puts before us some certainties respecting mediæval Catholicism, which we shall do well to remember.

In the first place, you will find that all these bishops and cardinals are evidently portraits.<sup>79</sup> Their faces are too varied – too quiet – too complete – to have been invented by even the mightiest invention. Carpaccio was simply taking the features of the priesthood of his time, throwing aside, doubtless, here and there, matter of offence; – the too settled gloom of one, the evident subtlety of another, the sensuality of a third; but finding beneath all that, what was indeed the constitutional power and pith of their minds, – in the deep of them, rightly thoughtful, tender, and humble.

There is one curious little piece of satire on the fault of the Church in making cardinals of too young persons. The third, in the row of four behind St. Ursula, is a mere



**Figure 43** Charles Fairfax Murray, after Vittore Carpaccio, *The Pope's Benediction*. 1877





Figure 44 Charles Fairfax Murray, after Vittore Carpaccio, *Distant Procession of Bishops*. 1877

boy, very beautiful, but utterly careless of what is going on, and evidently no more fit to be a cardinal than a young calf would be. The stiffness of his white dress, standing up under his chin as if he had only put it on that day, draws special attention to him.

The one opposite to him also, without this piece of white dress, seems to be a mere man of the world. But the others have all grave and refined faces. That of the Pope himself is quite exquisite in its purity, simple-heartedness, and joyful wonder at the sight of the child kneeling at his feet, in whom he recognizes one whom he is himself to learn of, and follow.

205. The more I looked at this picture, the more I became wonderstruck at the way the faith of the Christian Church has been delivered to us through a series of fables, which, partly meant as such, are over-ruled into expressions of truth – but how much truth, it is only by our own virtuous life that we can know. Only remember always in criticizing such a picture, that it no more means to tell you as a fact<sup>h</sup> that St. Ursula led this long procession from the sea and knelt thus before the Pope, than Mantegna's St. Sebastian means that the saint ever stood quietly and happily, stuck full of arrows.<sup>80</sup> It is as much a mythic symbol as the circles and crosses of the Carita;<sup>81</sup> but only Carpaccio carries out his symbol into delighted realization, so that it begins to be absurd to

us in the perceived impossibility. But it only signifies the essential truth of joy in the Holy Ghost filling the whole body of the Christian Church with visible inspiration, sometimes in old men, sometimes in children; yet never breaking the laws of established authority and subordination – the greater saint blessed by the lesser, when the lesser is in the higher place of authority, and all the common and natural glories and delights of the world made holy by its influence: field, and earth, and mountain, and sea, and bright maiden's grace, and old men's quietness, – all in one music of moving peace – the very procession of them in their multitude like a chanted hymn [fig. 44] – the purple standards drooping in the light air that yet can lift St. George's gonfalon;<sup>82</sup> and the angel Michael alighting – himself seen in vision instead of his statue – on the Angel's tower, sheathing his sword.<sup>83</sup>

206. What I have to say respecting the picture that closes the series, the martyrdom and funeral,<sup>84</sup> is partly saddening, partly depreciatory, and shall be reserved for another place.<sup>85</sup> The picture itself has been more injured and repainted than any other<sup>86</sup> (the face of the recumbent figure entirely so); and though it is full of marvellous passages, I hope that the general traveller will seal his memory of Carpaccio in the picture last described.

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<sup>h</sup> If it *had* been a fact, of course he would have liked it all the better, as in the picture of St. Stephen [*Pinacoteca di Brera*, Milan, see *Works*, 24: 360-1]; but though only an idea, it must be realized to the full.

<sup>i</sup> It is especially to be noted with Carpaccio, and perhaps more in this than any other of the series, that he represents the beauty of religion always in animating the present world, and never gives the charm to the clear far-away sky which is so constant in Florentine sacred pictures.



## Notes

- 1 Ruskin 2003, 239-40.
- 2 Cat. 600 (MM 1962, 188): Boccaccio Boccaccino, *The Mystic Marriage of St Catherine, with St John the Baptist, St Peter and St Rose; The Annunciation to the Shepherds; The Flight into Egypt; The Journey of the Magi*, panel, signed.
- 3 *Works*, 27: 342-7.
- 4 Cat. 578 (MM 1955, 100): *The Dream of St Ursula*, canvas. See the "Introduction", 25-32 and 135-8 here.
- 5 See n. 20.
- 6 See the "Introduction", 30 and 145 here.
- 7 Not silver, but brass or copper apparently. As Ruskin would later recognize (see 146 here) the vessel is a holy water stoup or *aspersorium*, containing an *aspergillum* or implement for the sprinkling of the water. For untraced drawings by Ruskin and Bunney of these details, see the "Introduction", 27-8 and nn. 95-108.
- 8 About the age of Rose La Touche (born on 3 January 1848) when Ruskin proposed to her on 2 February 1866 (Burd 1979, 96; see the "Introduction", 25). Ursula's age in the *Dream* is lowered to fifteen in FC Letter 71 (138), in accordance with the version of the legend recounted there (139).
- 9 Compare FC Letter 74 (*Works*, 29: 36): "Her own dog, at the foot of her bed, is indeed unconscious of the angel with the palm, but is taking care of his mistress's earthly crown."
- 10 Compare the remark on Tintoretto's treatment of the angel in his picture of *Adam and Eve*, "[Part I]", n. 32.
- 11 Compare FC Letter 71 (138). What Ruskin here took for a scroll and later for the Greek "fillet of victory" seems simply the loose end of the angel's belt.
- 12 Cat. 572 (MM 1955, 95): *The Arrival of the Ambassadors*. Ruskin focuses on the portion in which Ursula is seen attempting to persuade her father of her decision to accept the offer of marriage brought her by the foreign ambassadors. For Ruskin's notes on a copy of this detail by Charles Fairfax Murray [fig. 41] see "From 'Collected Notes on Some of the Pictures in the St George's Museum Sheffield'" here and Tucker 2020a.
- 13 Cf. FC Letter 70 (*Works*, 28: 726): "meantime I have to correct a mistake in *Fors* [...] namely, that the Princess, whom I judged to be industrious because she went on working while she talked to her father about her marriage, cannot, on this ground, be praised beyond Princesses in general; for, indeed, the little mischief, instead of working, as I thought, - while her father is leaning his head on his hand in the greatest distress at the thought of parting with her, - is trying on her marriage ring!" Compare the extract from *Collected Notes* here.
- 14 The letter is dated "Venice, 4th October, 1876" (*Works*, 28: 732-7). See the "Introduction", 25.
- 15 See the "Introduction", 17-8 and n. 23.
- 16 i.e. St George and St Jerome.
- 17 For James Reddie Anderson, see the "Introduction", n. 90. For his "Story of St Ursula" Anderson drew principally on a vernacular version

of her legend contained in two codices in the *Biblioteca Nazionale* in Florence (*Fondo Magliabechiano*), published in Zambrini 1855. This version he combined with elements from a twelfth-century revision of the *Passio sanctorum undecim millium virginum*, which incorporated the visionary "Revelations" of Elizabeth of Schönau and Hermann Joseph (first published by Johann Hubert Kessel in 1863), and from Jacopo da Varazze's *Golden Legend* (among them the detail that Ursula was shot by an arrow, not present in Zambrini 1855).

18 See the end of the "Story" (see 138 here).

19 Though his main source, as stated in n. 17 here, is the vernacular version of the legend published in Zambrini 1855, Anderson has here for evident reasons preferred to follow a tradition deriving from the early German and British sources (and also followed by Jacopo da Varazze), making Ursula the daughter of the king of "Britain" (his translation of *Britannia*, which could, and in the sources did in fact signify either Britain or Brittany; cf. Ruskin's "Britany"), and her suitor the son of the king of England. According to the version in Zambrini 1855, by contrast, Ursula is the daughter of the King of Hungary and her suitor the son of a "re di pagania d'oltremare" ('a king of heathendom beyond the sea').

20 Anderson is following Zambrini 1855, 185, except that there Ursula falls asleep on the floor in front of the crucifix before which she has been praying all night. By contrast, at this point in the story, in both the *Passio sanctorum undecim millium virginum* and its twelfth-century reworking, Ursula has a vision in which her martyr's destiny is foretold her, whereas neither specifies that an angel appeared to her and both describe the vision as nocturnal rather than as occurring at dawn. The *Golden Legend*, on the other hand, does recount the appearance to Ursula of an angel, with prediction of her martyrdom, but places this episode at Cologne, during Ursula's journey to Rome. The expression "the clear light of dawn" (cf. Zambrini 1855, 185: "e quando fu presso all'alba" ['and when it was near to dawn']) is probably a deliberate echo of Ruskin's 1870 description of the *Dream of St Ursula* (136 above).

21 See Zambrini 1855, 187. As the editor explains (187n) *incarnalmente* means 'tenderly' or 'lovingly'.

22 Anderson adds this detail evidently mindful of Carpaccio's inclusion of the *Castel S. Angelo* in his picture of the *The Reception of St Ursula and the Pilgrims by the Pope in Rome* (cat. 577 [MM 1955, 99]).

23 Anderson again closely follows Zambrini 1855 (203): "e messer lo papa, vegliando questa santa congregazione, rifiutò il papato, e misesi ad andare con lei in questo santo pellegrinaggio: e molti vescovi e preti e cherici e alquanti cardinali".

24 See "Part II", n. 14.

25 Compare Zambrini 1855, 184: "tutta quella notte istette nella sua camera serrata" ['all that night stayed shut up in her chamber'].

26 Cf. Ruskin's note (c) and FC Letter 74 above for his reinterpretation of the left-hand plant.

27 Cat. 577 (MM 1955, 99).

28 Cat. 576 (MM 1955, 103): *The Apotheosis of St Ursula and her Companions*.



- 29** Isaiah 62.5: “For as a young man marrieth a virgin, so shall thy sons marry thee: and as the bridegroom rejoiceth over the bride, so shall thy God rejoice over thee.”
- 30** Matthew 22.30: “At the resurrection people will neither marry nor be given in marriage; they will be like the angels in heaven.”
- 31** Compiled by the first curator of the museum, Henry Swan, and issued as an undated pamphlet, some time between 1880 and 1883 (*Works*, 30: 159-60; subsequently in *Works*, 24: 451-4).
- 32** In December 1876 Ruskin asked Murray to “define the princess’s hands a little more” when he returned to Venice. However, towards the end of February, he wrote, “I did not touch your drawing from the King, finding it very pleasant and good as it was. I have presented it to Sheffield; and want more such, – probably as many as you care to do.” (J. Ruskin to C.F. Murray, 7 December 1876 and 26 February 1877, MLM, MA 2150).
- 33** Compare Ruskin’s notes on “The First Epoch of Venetian History”, for possible use in *SMR* (*Works*, 24: 428); and see Gibbon’s *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ch. 7. On 11 December 1876 Ruskin asked the philosopher Edward Caird to look for passages “in Gibbon or anybody else, about Christianity in Lombardy at time of first flight of Venetians from Attila” (TS, BodL MSS Eng. Lett. c. 41, 166).
- 34** See SV I (*Works*, 9: 259).
- 35** Probably a mirror.
- 36** Compare n. 13 above.
- 37** Compare *MP* II (*Works*, 4: 365-6).
- 38** As Ruskin’s editors note (*Works*, 24, 452n), he refers here to “the intended second volume of that book, which was to deal with colour”.
- 39** Compare “[Part I]”, 84.
- 40** *Works*, 29: 30-53.
- 41** See the “Introduction”, 30.
- 42** From the balcony of his room at the Grand Hotel (the *Palazzo Manolesso Ferro*) on the Grand Canal, opposite *S. Maria della Salute* – from which Charles Moore drew the view [fig. 42]. JWB records that this was made shortly Christmas, on 9 January 1877: “I called at 3½ on Mr Ruskin. Mr Moore was with him doing a chiaroscuro drawing of a part of the Salute seen through the balustrade of the window. We had a little conversation about it. [marginal note:] Mr R said isn’t that coming nice – I looked but did not say anything at once but looked well and asked will you darken the balustrade? Well no I think not said M. Why? Because I think it needs it to put the church in its place. Ah there’s too much mist today to see properly – | I thought Bunney you would have gushed at it. | I said I like to look well first. | We were about to discuss it when Mr R said now no discussion between you two now, let us go away.”
- 43** The diplomatic and political issues successively arising from the decline of the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Ruskin had allowed his name to be put forward as one of the conveners of the National Conference on the Question, held in London on 8 December (see Burd 1990, 207-8). And at the very time Ruskin was writing the Constantinople Conference between the six Great Powers was in progress.
- 44** At the end of the Letter (*Works*, 29: 46) Ruskin summarizes his new insights into the Eastern Question in four “myths”: “I. St. George of England and Venice does not bear his sword for his own interests; nor in vain. II. St. George of Christendom becomes the Captain of her Knights in putting off his armour. III. When armour is put off, pebbles serve. IV. Read the psalm ‘In Exitu’.”
- 45** Regarding the debt owed him by a relation and its forgiveness (see *Works*, 29: 101).
- 46** See the “Introduction”, 30 and nn. 119, 131.
- 47** Horace, *Odes* 4.11.6-10: “ridet argento domus; ara castis | vincta verbenis avet immolato | spargier agno”. The plural *verbenae*, however, generically denoted the twigs and leaves of plants used in religious ceremonies. In addition to olive, myrtle and laurel, these would have included *verbena officinalis*, but certainly not *verbena triphylla* (i.e. *erba luisa*). See the “Introduction”, 31.
- 48** See Ruskin’s note (a), 139.
- 49** Zeus.
- 50** See the “Story of St Ursula”, 139.
- 51** The friend was Bunney. His children brought Ruskin their father’s copy of the *aspersorium* and *aspergillum* in the *Dream* (see the “Introduction”, 28 and n. 106).
- 52** Dante Alighieri, *Purgatorio*, Canto 31.97-9: (in Cary’s translation) “The blessed shore approaching, then was heard | So sweetly ‘Tu asperges me’, that I | May not remember, still less tell the sound.” Dante has been carried into the river Lethe by Matelda, having fallen to the ground at the sight of Beatrice, who has reproached him for having betrayed her love and example after her death. “Asperges me” is the Latin translation of Psalm 51.7 (“Purge me with hyssop”), whose text formed the antiphon accompanying the sprinkling with holy water of the congregation in Roman Catholic ritual.
- 53** Hebrews 12.24 (compare Genesis 4.10).
- 54** 1 Corinthians 10.2.
- 55** Mark 14.13; Luke 22.10.
- 56** At the Last Supper.
- 57** Psalms 104.15.
- 58** At the marriage in Cana.
- 59** *Works*, 24: 445-6. The manuscript of this fragment (PUL C0199 [No. 1377]) is accompanied by a separate slip on which Ruskin has written, “The Grottesque and Harlequin – Ape”. See the “Introduction” 47, and n. 148.
- 60** The passage seems to refer to Gentile Bellini’s *Procession and Miracle of a Relic of the Holy Cross in St Mark’s Square* (cat. 567 [MM 1955, 62]). Compare “[Part I]”, 84. The biblical reference is to 1 Kings 10.22: “For the king had at sea a navy of Tharshish with the navy of Hiram: once in three years came the navy of Tharshish, bringing gold, and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks.”
- 61** Cat. 574 (MM 1955, 97): *The Return of the Ambassadors*, from the St Ursula series [figs 36-37].
- 62** Compare “Part II”, 107, where it is (apparently correctly) described as “octagonal”.
- 63** His engraving of *The Virgin and Child with a Monkey*. Cf. *Works*, 22: 225.
- 64** The stock comic character with the distinctive diamond-patterned costume from the *Commedia dell’Arte* tradition who, together with his

lover Columbine and her master Pantaloon, featured in the British theatrical genre of the Harlequinade, a “knockabout sequence of song, dance and acrobatics” that had formed the dominant part of the Regency pantomime but which in the course of the Victorian period would shrink to accommodate the formerly short but now expanding opening narrative sequence (Newey, Richards 2010, 140-1 and also the remainder of ch. 6 for Ruskin’s passion for the pantomime).

**65** Room XVI (1877).

**66** Cat. 203 (MM 1962, 137): Paolo Veronese, *The Feast in the House of Levi*, canvas. See “[Part I]”, 84; “Part II”, 114; and the “Appendix” [fig. 39].

**67** See *Works*, 24: 446n: “If this was written in 1877, Ruskin may have been thinking of the accident to the Pacific Express on December 29, 1876, when a hundred passengers were killed by the fall of a bridge over a creek. The Tay Bridge disaster was later (December 28, 1879)”.

**68** It is given by Ruskin in the “Appendix”. Regarding the Inquisition, compare Ruskin’s note (a), 126.

**69** In the Harlequinade Columbine (see n. 64) typically wore a short-skirted costume.

**70** The Artemis worshipped at Ephesus, where her statue showed her covered with what have been interpreted as breasts or eggs. The reference may have been prompted by the notion of Veronese as “the new Paul”, given the account in the New Testament (Acts 19.23-41) of the anger caused among the Ephesian silversmiths, who made shrines for her image, by Paul’s preaching against “the great goddess Diana” and her temple. A few years later Ruskin would suggest to Rev. F. Malleon, a propos of his book on St Paul, “a more clear statement of the Ephesian goddess. The article in Smith’s Dictionary on her is only about twenty lines long, and it’s exhaustive. She was not the Greek Artemis at all, but an Eastern Myth of Genesis - the very opposite of Diana - Chastity - an infinite Suckler, and mummy mother of everything that could suck - practically at last and chiefly of the Diabolic Suction of the Usurer” (*Works*, 37: 353).

**71** The so-called *Reading Magdalen* formerly in the Gallery at Dresden. The traditional ascription to Correggio would be rejected by Giovanni Morelli in 1880.

**72** Early in his stay in Venice Ruskin had told Charles Eliot Norton how in the afternoons, after a morning’s work on *The Dream of St Ursula* in the *Accademia*, he would “[l]ie on sofa and read any vicious book I can find to amuse me - to prevent St Ursula having it all her own way”. Currently he was “greatly amused with the *Life of Casa*” (Bradley, Ousby 1987, 387). He did not spell out the author’s name in writing to his cousin Joan either. Addressing her as “di ma” - “dear mother” in the baby-talk he often used in their correspondence - he teasingly summarised “a funny book I’ve got about Venice. Mr C.N. (not of the Brit. Mus [i.e. Ruskin’s friend the archaeologist Charles Newton]) - gets acquainted with a pretty nun at Murano - and the nun has a latch key and a gondola, and meets him every now and then before St John & Paul, just where I [?am] painting - and they have such larks; - and di ma, at last she sends him two pics of herself - one in her nuns dress, - and the other as the Magdalen of Correggio - with no dress at all” (J. Ruskin to J. Severn, 6 November 1876, RL L 41). The pictures were contained, one below another, in the golden snuff-box alluded to in Ruskin’s note (see Casanova 1880, 3: 45).

**73** *Works*, 24: 366-9.

**74** For which see the “Introduction”, 44, nn. 215-6 [fig. 16].

**75** Compare the “Introduction”, 46.

**76** Charles Fairfax Murray (see the “Introduction”, n. 204).

**77** The catalogue numbers are those inserted by Ruskin’s editors (*Works*, 24: 366-7) and correspond to those now in use.

**78** Either Murray or Bunney (see the “Introduction”, 39).

**79** Suggestions for their identification are made in Ludwig, Molmenti 1906, 142-6.

**80** The reference is most probably to the painting of the saint in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

**81** See “Part II”, 105.

**82** For Bunney’s copy of the gonfalon, see the “Introduction”, 39 and n. 104.

**83** See the “Introduction”, 47.

**84** Cat. 554 (MM 1955, 102): *The Pilgrims’ Martyrdom and the Funeral of St Ursula*.

**85** Ruskin’s intention was not fulfilled.

**86** See the “Introduction”, n. 201.





## References

# Abbreviations

AABAVe	Archivio dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia	MF	<i>Mornings in Florence</i> (1875-1877) ( <i>Works</i> , 23: 283-457)
ACS	Archivio Centrale di Stato, Rome	ML	The Mitchell Library, Glasgow City Council
AF	<i>Ariadne Florentina</i> (1873-1876) ( <i>Works</i> , 22: 291-490)	MLM	The Morgan Library & Museum, New York
AM	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford	MM	Moschini Marconi (see the Bibliography)
ASSPSAE e PMVe	Archivio della Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio Storico, Artistico ed Etnografico del Polo Museale di Venezia	MP	<i>Modern Painters</i> (1843-1860) ( <i>Works</i> , 3-7)
BA	"The Black Arts: A Reverie in the Strand" (1888) ( <i>Works</i> , 14: 357-64)	NG	National Gallery, London
BL	The British Library, London	NGS	National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh
BodL	The Bodleian Library, Oxford	NLVS	"Notes on Later Venetian Sculpture" ( <i>Works</i> , 24: 436-9)
CA	<i>The Cestus of Aglaia</i> (1865, 1866) ( <i>Works</i> , 19: 45-159)	NTGMH	<i>Notes on the Turner Gallery at Marlborough House</i> (1856) ( <i>Works</i> , 13: 93-181)
CFMD	Charles Fairfax Murray, Diaries, <i>Fondation Custodia</i> , Paris	ODNB	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> ( <a href="https://www.oxforddnb.com">https://www.oxforddnb.com</a> )
CGSG	The Collection of the Guild of St George, Sheffield	PUL	Princeton University Library
EAV	<i>Examples of the Architecture of Venice</i> (1851) ( <i>Works</i> , 11: 310-51)	QA	<i>The Queen of the Air</i> (1869) ( <i>Works</i> , 19: 282-423)
ED	<i>The Elements of Drawing</i> (1857) ( <i>Works</i> , 15: 4-228)	RH	<i>Rock Honeycomb</i> ( <i>Works</i> , 31: 101-320)
EN	<i>The Eagle's Nest</i> ( <i>Works</i> , 22: 113-287)	RL	The Ruskin, Lancaster University
FC	<i>Fors Clavigera</i> (1871-1884) ( <i>Works</i> , 27, 28, 29)	RM	The Ruskin Museum, Coniston
FM	The Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts	RMAT	<i>The Relation between Michael Angelo and Tintoret</i> (1871) ( <i>Works</i> , 22: 75-108)
FitzM	The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge	SMR	<i>St Mark's Rest</i> (1877-1884) ( <i>Works</i> , 24: 193-400)
GWP	<i>Giotto and his Works in Padua</i> (1853-1860) ( <i>Works</i> , 24: 3-123)	SV	<i>The Stones of Venice</i> (1851-1853) ( <i>Works</i> , 9, 10, 11)
JWBj	John Wharltun Bunney, Journals (courtesy of The Guild of St George and S.E. Bunney)	SLA	<i>The Seven Lamps of Architecture</i> (1849) ( <i>Works</i> , 8)
LA	<i>Lectures on Art</i> ( <i>Works</i> , 20: 4-179)	TP	<i>The Two Paths</i> (1859) ( <i>Works</i> , 16: 243-424)
LF	<i>The Laws of Fésòle</i> (1877-1878) ( <i>Works</i> , 15: 336-501)	VIndex	Venetian Index, <i>The Stones of Venice III</i> (1853) ( <i>Works</i> , 11: 353-436)
		Works	Ruskin 1903-12 (see the Bibliography); cited by volume and page number, e.g. <i>Works</i> , 24: 35

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Photo © President and Fellows of Harvard College

## Introduction

**Figure 1** Lorenzo Veneziano, *Virgin of Mercy* [Panagia Platytera] with *Kneeling Brethren* (leaf detached from a *mariegola* of the *Scuola di S. Maria de Valverde, Mare de Misericordia*). c. 1359-60. Tempera and gold on parchment, 29.5 × 21.0 cm. Private Collection, Milan

Photo © Wikimedia Creative Commons

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Photo © Archivi Alinari

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Photo © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

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Photo © The Ruskin, Lancaster University



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Photo © President and Fellows of Harvard College

**Figure 6** John Ruskin, *Guide to the Principal Pictures in the Academy of Fine Arts at Venice* [Part I]. 1877. Front cover of bound presentation copy, intended for distribution among the professors at the *Accademia di Belle Arti, Venice*. Private Collection

Photo © Paul Tucker

**Figure 7** John Ruskin, *Guide to the Principal Pictures in the Academy of Fine Arts at Venice* [Part I]. 1877. Title-page of bound presentation copy, intended for distribution among the professors at the *Accademia di Belle Arti, Venice*. Private Collection

Photo © Paul Tucker

**Figure 8** *Hetoimasia*, north façade, St Mark's, Venice (7th or 8th century)

Photo © Sarah Quill

**Figure 9** Relief sculpture of *St George*. West façade, St Mark's, Venice (13th century)

Photo © Sarah Quill

**Figure 10** Relief sculpture of *St George and the Dragon*. c. 1500. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (53 to B-1884). Formerly set into the wall of a house overlooking the *Ponte dei Bareteri, Venice*

Photo © Sarah Quill

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Photo © Wikimedia Creative Commons

**Figure 12** John Ruskin, after Vittore Carpaccio, *St Ursula on her Bier* (from *The Pilgrims' Martyrdom and Funeral of St Ursula, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice*). 1877. Watercolour and bodycolour over graphite, 27.7 × 23.6 cm. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (WA.RS.RUD.106bis)

Photo © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

**Figure 13** Charles Fairfax Murray, after Vittore Carpaccio, *St Ursula and Two Maids of Honour the Moment before Martyrdom* (from *The Pilgrims' Martyrdom and Funeral of St Ursula, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice*). 1877. Watercolour and bodycolour, 25.8 × 22.8 cm. Collection of the Guild of St George, Sheffield (00162)

Photo © Collection of the Guild of St George, Sheffield Museums

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Photo © Collection of the Guild of St George, Sheffield Museums

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Photo © G.AVE Archivio fotografico, courtesy of the Italian Ministry of Culture

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Photo © President and Fellows of Harvard College

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Photo © G.A.V.E Archivio fotografico, courtesy of the Italian Ministry of Culture

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Photo © President and Fellows of Harvard College

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Photo © Collection of the Guild of St George, Sheffield Museums

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Photo © Collection of the Guild of St George, Sheffield Museums

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“In the first place, if the weather is fine, go outside the gate you have just come in at, and look above it”. From its opening words any of the “English travellers” for whom it was expressly written in 1877 might have surmised that this *Guide* to Venice’s main picture gallery would not conform to type. Ruskin himself thought of it as an “explosive torpedo” aiming to subvert received notions not just of the modern guidebook as a genre but of the culture of travel it served, of the purpose of museums, of his own reputation as an interpreter of Venetian art and history and, more broadly still, of the very nature of art and its history. The *Guide*’s idiosyncrasies have often been dismissed as signs of personal irritation and obsession, even of mental instability. This new and fully critical edition re-examines the circumstances of its composition and its special relation to Ruskin’s mature appraisal of the painting of Carpaccio as a signal example, even in its ambiguities, of the “sacred imagination of things that are not”. It also explores the *Guide*’s intertextual links with Ruskin’s other writings of the period (a selection of which are included as “Supplementary Texts”), with the aim of showing it to have been integral to the drive to moral, social and aesthetic reform generally informing his still neglected late work.



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