



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

Part II

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,¹ 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,^{a2} there are in all eleven important pictures, eight from the legend of St. Ursula,³ and three of distinct subjects.⁴ Glance first at the series of St. Ursula subjects, in this order:⁵ –

I. – 539.⁶ Maurus the king of Britany receives the English ambassadors; and has talk with his daughter touching their embassy.

II. – 533.⁷ St. Ursula's Dream.

III. – 537.⁸ King Maurus dismisses the English ambassadors with favourable answer from his daughter. (This is the most beautiful piece of *painting* in the rooms.)

IV. – 549.⁹ The King of England receives the Princess's favourable answer.

V. – 542.¹⁰ The Prince of England sets sail for Britany; – there receives his bride, and embarks with her on pilgrimage.

VI. – 546.¹¹ 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

^a 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";¹² joins their pilgrimage. (The most beautiful of all the series, next to the Dream.)

VII. – 554.¹³ 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.¹⁴ In the second part of the picture is the funeral procession of St. Ursula.

VIII. – [560].¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ 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, 544,¹⁷ 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.¹⁸ 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.¹⁹

Here is a Religion of Humanity, and nothing else, – to purpose!²⁰ 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),²¹ 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,²² – literally, such a sea justifies that uncourteous saying of earlier Venice of her Doge's bride, – "Mare sub pede pono".^{b|23}

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;²⁴ 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.²⁵ 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,²⁶ and in the palace of the most Christian King, St. Ursula's father.²⁷

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,^{c28} I mean, myself, henceforward to call 'Giocondine'.²⁹

Now the dates on these pictures of Carpaccio's run from 1480 to 1485,³⁰ 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,³¹ – 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.^d

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.³² 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.³³

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

^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];³⁴ and, if round-headed, often composed of two semi-circles side by side, with a circle between:^{e35} 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”,³⁶ 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:³⁷ 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,³⁸ – 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,³⁹ – 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;⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹

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,⁴² built this graver and simpler pile;⁴³ 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],⁴⁴ painted as he saw it fifty years ago, with bright golden sails grouped in front of it where now is the ghastly iron bridge.^{f45}

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,^g 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;⁴⁶ (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;⁴⁷ 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,⁴⁸ – 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”.⁴⁹

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,^h⁵⁰ 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.⁵¹

Above the inscription, two angels hold the symbol of the Scuola; carved, as you see, conspicuously also on the outer sculptures in various places;⁵² 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 goldenⁱ) “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”.^j⁵³

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.⁵⁴

Such the first symbol of Venetian Brotherhoods,^k⁵⁵ – 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.⁵⁶

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),⁵⁷ which gives the apse with attached chapels; and the grand double cloister reaching back nearly to the Giudecca [fig. 35];⁵⁸ a water-wheel – as I suppose – outside, on the (now filled up and paved) canal,⁵⁹ 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;⁶⁰ 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

h 1348, in our present calendar.

i “Ex Cruce constat aurea, seu flava; ejus speciei, quam artis hujusmodi Auctores “ancoratam” 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.

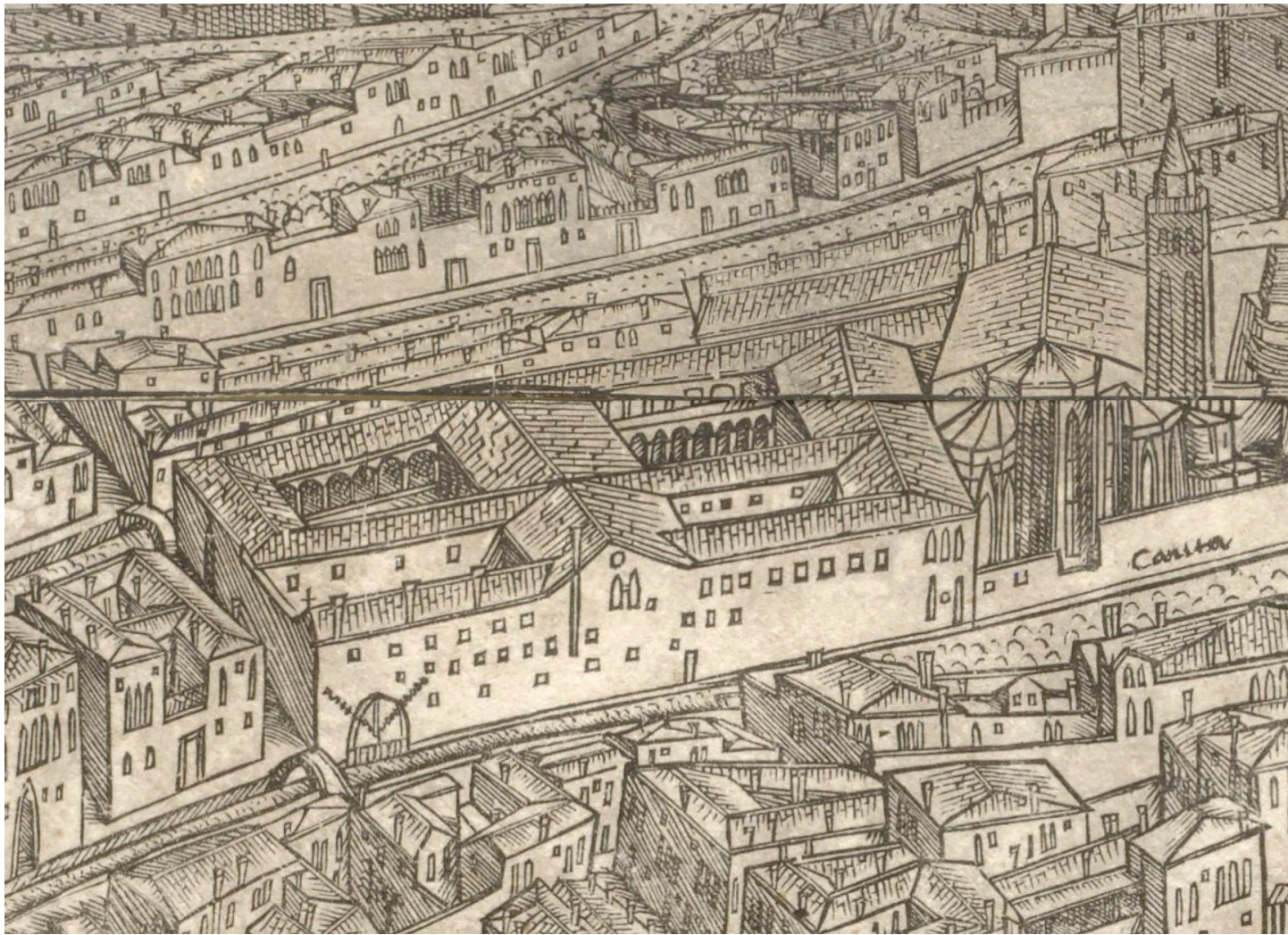


Figure 35 Jacopo de' Barbari, *View of Venice* (detail showing S. Maria della Carità). 1500

the Carpaccio room,⁶¹ where we will look first, please, at No. IV. (549) [fig. 36],⁶² 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's⁶³ can sketch for you, or any member of the Water-colour or Dudley Societies⁶⁴ 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;⁶⁵ 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.⁶⁶ 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.⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸ 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;⁶⁹ 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.)⁷⁰

But here, the old arches are covered with sweet weeds, like native rock, and (for once!)⁷¹ 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.¹ 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;⁷² nevertheless, Carpaccio has been, on the whole,

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.⁷³ 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.⁷⁴

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],⁷⁵ 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.^m⁷⁶ Now, therefore, I will simply follow the order of the room circuit, noting the pieces worth study, if you have proper time.⁷⁷

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

Turning round immediately, you have good sight of two Paul Veroneses, one on each side of the steps.⁷⁹ 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.

597.⁸⁰ Le Brun. Sent from Paris, you see, in exchange for the Cena of Paul Veronese.⁸¹

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,⁸² 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, 570.⁸³ Standard average portrait-pieces, fairly representative of Tintoret's quiet work, and of Venetian magistrates, – Camerlenghi di Comune. Compare 587; very beautiful.⁸⁴

581, 582, 583.⁸⁵ 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.⁸⁶

586.⁸⁷ 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,⁸⁸ or by the door on the left hand of the Cima to the collection of drawings.⁸⁹ The well-known series by Raphael and Lionardo are of the very highest historical value and artistic interest;⁹⁰ 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.⁹¹

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,⁹² where I have said nothing yet of his last picture (33),⁹³ nor of that called in the Guide-books an example of his first style (35).⁹⁴

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.⁹⁵ But I shall never do it now;ⁿ⁹⁶ 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 unfinished⁹⁷ 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.⁹⁸ The St. Mark in the Sacristy of the Salute was, in my early days, entirely glorious; but has been daubed over into ruin.⁹⁹ The roof of the Sacristy in the Salute;¹⁰⁰ with the fresco of St. Christopher,^{o101} and the portrait of the Doge Grimani before Faith, in the Ducal Palace,¹⁰² are all the remnants of him that are worth study here, since the destruction of the Peter Martyr.^{p103} 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),¹⁰⁴ is really too stupid to be endured, and the black and white scrabble of landscape in it is like a bad copy of Ruysdael.

45.¹⁰⁵ The miracle of St. Mark; a fine, but much-over-rated, Tintoret.¹⁰⁶ If any painter of real power wishes to study this master, let him be content with the Paradise of the Ducal Palace,¹⁰⁷ and the School of St. Roch,¹⁰⁸ where no harmful repainting has yet taken place. The once mighty pictures in the Madonna dell' Orto are destroyed by restoration;¹⁰⁹ 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.,)¹¹⁰ 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.,¹¹¹ both containing many smaller pictures of interest;¹¹² 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,¹¹³ 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],¹¹⁴ – purest work of his heart and fairest of his faculty, – high beyond sight of all its delicious painting; and the excellent quiet portrait, 168,¹¹⁵ 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. 94¹¹⁶ is fine; the five symbolical pictures, 234-238,¹¹⁷ 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.¹¹⁸

And now, if you are yet unfatigued,^a you had better go back into the great room,¹¹⁹ and give thorough examination to the wonderful painting, as such, in the great Veronese,¹²⁰ considering what all its shows and dexterities at last came to, and reading, before it, his examination concerning it, given in Appendix,¹²¹ 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,¹²² (through the two great rooms, turning your back on the Veronese, then out by the door opposite Titian's huge picture;¹²³ 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, 360,¹²⁴ 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 picture¹²⁵ 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.

^a 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 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^b (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 Frigonaia* (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 Q4 Ruskin had interpreted the epithet *glaukopis*, 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 'Glaukopis' 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 *Gesuali* (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 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. Plesanter 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^b, 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 Raphaelesque 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 specialties 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 Tintoret’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 Tintorets: ‘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” (JWBJ 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.

