

Introduction
Editions of the *Guide*
Paul Tucker



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

Introduction

Paul Tucker

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.¹

The device in question² 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.³ 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 rehanging 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.⁴

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.⁵

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?”⁶

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.⁷

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”.⁸ 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.⁹

In the most exhaustive account of Ruskin’s long Venetian stay of 1876-77, by Van Akin Burd,¹⁰ 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”,¹¹ 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”¹² 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.¹³ 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”.¹⁴ 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”.¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ Hitherto unpublished,¹⁷ 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' Mariiegola.¹⁸

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,)¹⁹ 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^{mo} Cav^e
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,²⁰ encouraged by Queen Victoria’s youngest son, Prince Leopold, had urged him to undertake.²¹ 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”.²² 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 Company²³ 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".²⁴

Stunned by the death – "under a condition of subtle hysteria, passing into true insanity"²⁵ – of Rose La Touche, the Irish girl he had long hoped, in vain, to marry,²⁶ 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".²⁷

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*²⁸ – "Carpaccio's chapel", as he now began to call it,²⁹ 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 Cross³⁰ – and in general for supremely "careful", "delicately finished" and "dignified" work.³¹ 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".³² Burne-Jones had studied the painter's work in Venice seven years earlier and had evidently commended it to him.³³ 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 [...].³⁴

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".³⁵

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":³⁶ 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*.³⁷ 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.³⁸

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".³⁹ 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.⁴⁰

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".⁴¹ Then in early November he complained to Sir Robert Collins⁴² 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".⁴³

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.⁴⁴ 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”.⁴⁵ 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.⁴⁶

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.⁴⁷ 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!”⁴⁸ 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”.⁴⁹ 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.⁵⁰

St Mark’s Rest was to be “a Catholic history of Venice”.⁵¹ 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

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.⁵²

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.⁵³ It would not provide lists of “dates and Doges to be learned off by rote”.⁵⁴ 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.⁵⁵

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”.⁵⁶ 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.⁵⁷ 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.⁵⁸ Above all, the picture was hung “out of sight, seven feet above the ground”⁵⁹ in what he called the “great” or “principal room”, Room XVI.⁶⁰ 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*,⁶¹ 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 1874.⁶² In addition, “the Historical Society of Venice” had made him a member

the previous month: “so I can get anything done I want, almost”.⁶³ The painting was thus made available to him “in a locked room and perfect light”,⁶⁴ 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’”.⁶⁵ 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 1828,⁶⁶ 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”⁶⁷

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*⁶⁸ 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”.⁶⁹

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.⁷⁰ Ruskin’s grim, hurt response (“I will come home, but I cannot instantly, and when I come it will not be to talk”)⁷¹ 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”,⁷² 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.⁷³ 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”.⁷⁴

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”.⁷⁵ Consonantly with the description of the *Dream* written the following year, Carpaccio⁷⁶ is here representative of the third period, called “The Age of the Masters”. Neither classical nor Christian, this is

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*⁷⁷ typifies “the main characteristic of the school”:

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.⁷⁸

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”.⁷⁹ 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”.⁸⁰ 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.⁸¹ 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

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”.⁸²

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.⁸³ 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.⁸⁴ 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.⁸⁵

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",⁸⁶ but a solemn "vision" of the "Angel of Death," seen by Ursula's soul, when her mortal eyes were closed".⁸⁷

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".⁸⁸ 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.⁸⁹

"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.⁹⁰ This was the outcome of research carried out in Venice, possibly from before Ruskin's arrival⁹¹ and seemingly with the help of another of his "scholars".⁹² Not without

its points of interest for the study of Carpaccio's series today,⁹³ 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 1877⁹⁴ he had four watercolours from the painting in hand: that of the whole picture, reduced to about one tenth of its size [fig. 3];⁹⁵ one of the "head full size with the pillow and shield above";⁹⁶ one of the plant in the left-hand opening of the window facing the spectator, again full size;⁹⁷ 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.⁹⁸ In the New Year he would also make a watercolour of Ursula's dog, completing it on 18 March [fig. 4].⁹⁹ Since 8 October Moore had been working alongside Ruskin on his own full-size study, in oil, of the saint's head [fig. 5].¹⁰⁰ And a month later, John Wharlton 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".¹⁰¹ These would comprise his own copy of the whole picture, almost twice the size of Ruskin's;¹⁰² a full-size study in oil of the right-hand opening of the window facing the spectator;¹⁰³ a watercolour of the table and book-case;¹⁰⁴

a separate study of the hour-glass on the table;¹⁰⁵ his own copy of the *aspersorium* before the image on the left-hand wall;¹⁰⁶ another of the chair between the image and the bed;¹⁰⁷ and one of the small "shield" on the cornice of the bed-head.¹⁰⁸ At the time he expressed an interest in making his "memorandums", Bunney suggested to Ruskin¹⁰⁹ 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.¹¹⁰ 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!¹¹¹

Anderson's work on the legend, complemented by prolonged, shared scrutiny of the painting, led to a spate of such "picture reading",¹¹² 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'".¹¹³

In a new and more intense phase of antiquarian botanizing, practised since the 1840s,¹¹⁴ 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 verbenas (or, as he calls it, vervain).¹¹⁵ 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*.¹¹⁶ Caldara "knew it for the 'Erba Luisa' at the first glance, went to the Botanical Gardens here, and painted it from the life".¹¹⁷ 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".¹¹⁸ On her own initiative Joan approached Daniel Oliver, keeper of the herbarium at Kew Gardens and a friend of Ruskin's.¹¹⁹ 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".¹²⁰

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.¹²¹

His sense that the delivery in the same post of the verbenas 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,¹²² apparently accompanied by a note explaining that it came “from St Ursula out of her bedroom window, with her love”.¹²³ 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”.¹²⁴

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 insanity¹²⁵ – or indeed to isolate it as an “episode” of whatever kind – is to misrepresent and misread it.¹²⁶ For all his indulgence in (or experimental exploration of?) the Venetian “language of vision”,¹²⁷ it is not evident Ruskin ever at this time lost hold in his mind of a sense of the mundane untruth of such language.¹²⁸ 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 1878.¹²⁹ 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”¹³⁰ 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.¹³¹ 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.¹³²

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”.¹³³ And on the second day of the new year he noted, “St George’s active work begins”.¹³⁴ Admittedly, this sense of clarity was short-lived: by 20 January he was in a “terrific fit of depression [...] after extreme excitement and overwork”.¹³⁵ 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”).¹³⁶ The other illustrated the essential though unpremeditated unity of all his writings, “built one on the other”.¹³⁷

Lastly, and most importantly in the present context, the “Christmas Story” is just that, a story or “parable”¹³⁸ – a partly playful, fatefully removed emulation of some “regular Venetian story of old days”,¹³⁹ 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.¹⁴⁰

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”.¹⁴¹ This does not rule out the possibility that earlier references to current work by means of expressions such as “Venetian guide”,¹⁴² “a new history and guide in Venice”¹⁴³ and “Venetian history and pictures”,¹⁴⁴ 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 it¹⁴⁵ – 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.¹⁴⁶ Secondly, the “Venetian Index” to *Stones of Venice* had also been intended as a form of guide for travellers.¹⁴⁷ 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”.¹⁴⁸ 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.¹⁴⁹

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),¹⁵⁰ 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”.¹⁵¹ 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*.¹⁵² 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,¹⁵³ 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*.¹⁵⁴ 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”.¹⁵⁵

Were Ruskin to have come to know *unofficially* of his election as Associate of the *Accademia* by December,¹⁵⁶ 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.¹⁵⁷ Nevertheless, whatever sense Ruskin may have had that he was repaying the *Accademia* for the

honour shown him¹⁵⁸ 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' Mariiegola".

"In the First Place"

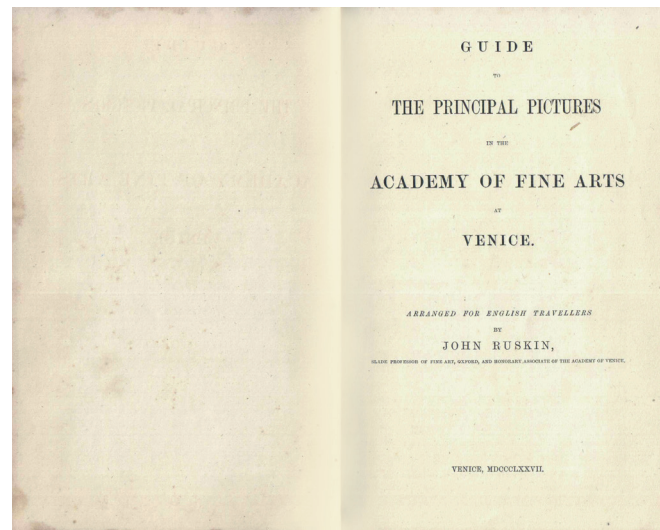
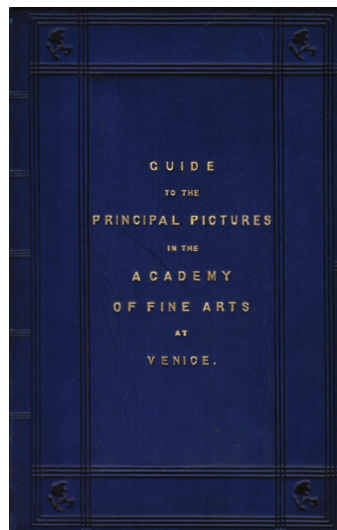
The visit to the *Accademia* conducted in this first Part of the *Guide* is organized in two stages. The first, occupying around seven pages in the edition of 1877 [figs 6-7],¹⁵⁹ is confined to Rooms I and II in the arrangement of the time.¹⁶⁰ The second, of just over twelve pages,¹⁶¹ attempts a "more 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.¹⁶² In illustration of the claim that initiates the *Preface*, and of which the book as a whole is the justification,¹⁶³ 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.¹⁶⁴

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 time¹⁶⁵ and ends with a pair of canvases by Tintoretto.¹⁶⁶ Like the sculptural walk it serves to illustrate a division into epochs:¹⁶⁷ as there each carving, so here each painting selected for consideration both represents the "general type"¹⁶⁸ of a given stage of development and also affords a lesson in "elementary principle".¹⁶⁹ 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.¹⁷⁰ 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”.¹⁷¹ 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”.¹⁷² The sculpture thus prefigures the luminous amalgam of symbolism and naturalism presented in the painting of the first and second epochs of Venetian painting,¹⁷³ 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”.¹⁷⁴

The Bellini (the *S. Giobbe* altarpiece)¹⁷⁵ had long been a favourite of Ruskin’s. It formed part of a personal ‘canon’ of pictures from this collection established in 1845¹⁷⁶ 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.¹⁷⁷ 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”.¹⁷⁸ Now, together with the two paintings by Tintoretto (about which he had never

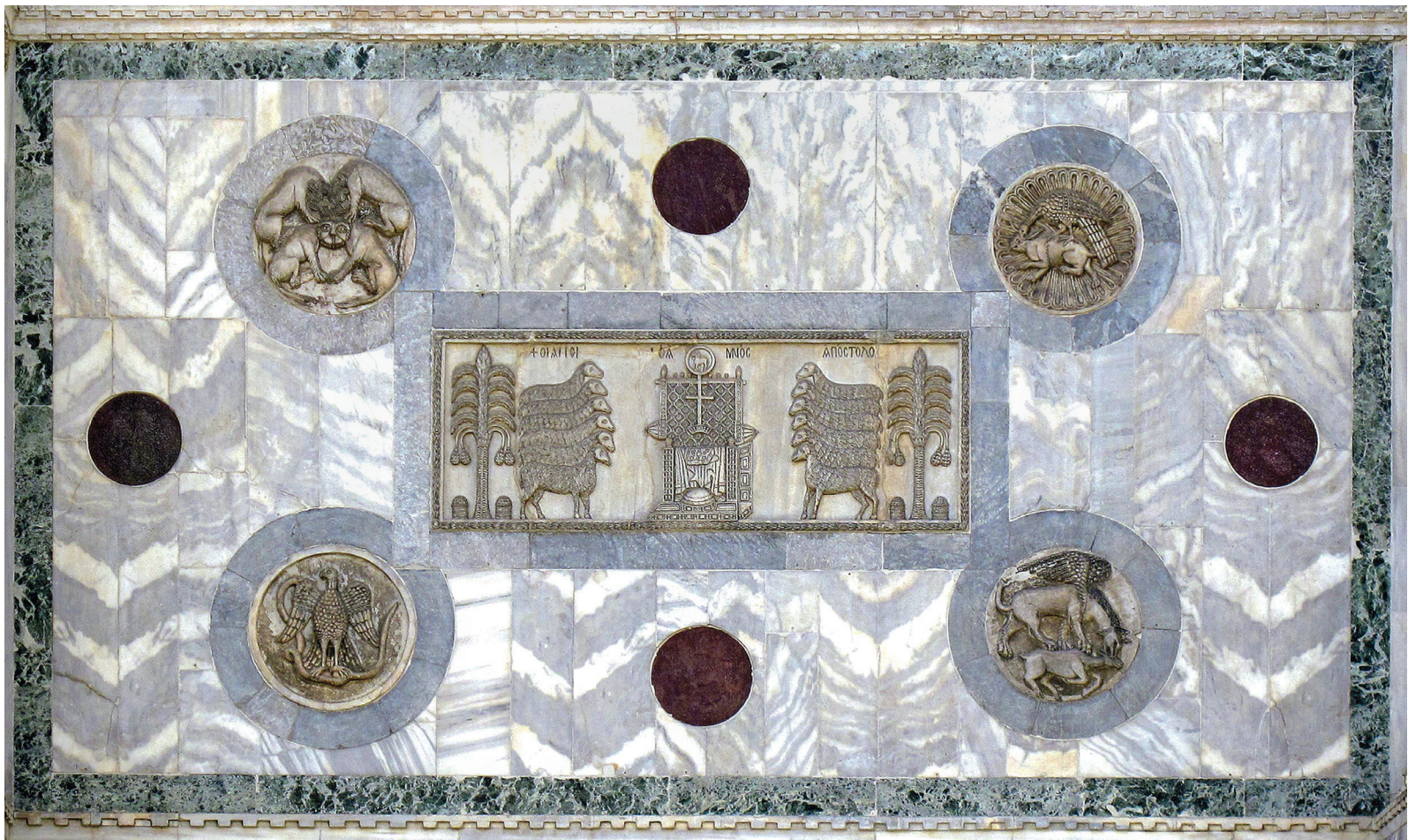


Figure 8 *Hetoimasia*. North façade, St Mark's, Venice. 7th or 8th century



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".¹⁷⁹ 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".¹⁸⁰

"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".¹⁸¹ 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".¹⁸² 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",¹⁸³ the first climax of the visit is reached when the visitor is brought before a painting by Carpaccio himself.¹⁸⁴ 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”.¹⁸⁵ 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”.¹⁸⁶ 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”.¹⁸⁷ 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.¹⁸⁸ 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,¹⁸⁹ 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;¹⁹⁰ another being the blow to his reputation dealt by the publication of his examination by the Inquisition, given by Ruskin in his Appendix.¹⁹¹

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.¹⁹² This section of the *Guide* may well incorporate text originally intended for *St Mark’s Rest*.¹⁹³ 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”,¹⁹⁴ but as a “vision of living Venice”, manifesting a lost civic and architectural “harmony of work and life”.¹⁹⁵

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.¹⁹⁶ he makes explicit reference to these in the part issued at the end of March.¹⁹⁷ 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”.¹⁹⁸ 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*.¹⁹⁹ 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*.²⁰⁰ 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.²⁰¹ He started, but did not complete, a drawing from the right-hand portion of the composition, with the funeral of St Ursula [fig. 12],²⁰² whereas two studies of the central portion [fig. 13]²⁰³ 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.²⁰⁴ 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*.²⁰⁵ 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 Pope²⁰⁶ and five of the images decorating Simeon's cope in *The Presentation in the Temple*.²⁰⁷ 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".²⁰⁸ 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,²⁰⁹ as well as a copy of *The Calling of St Matthew*.²¹⁰ 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].²¹¹ And after being introduced to Ruskin by Botti on 13 March, a new associate and pupil, the Venetian Angelo Alessandri,²¹² 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.²¹³

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,²¹⁴ 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".²¹⁵ 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.²¹⁶

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,²¹⁷ but which he became convinced were by Carpaccio himself as a young boy.²¹⁸ Murray, whom he grudgingly consulted on such matters, was taken to see the pictures, but evidently had other views.²¹⁹ 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.²²⁰

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,²²¹ 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.²²² The manuscript of a portion of this was being copied out by Bunney's daughter a week later.²²³ 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".²²⁴ On 11 April Bunney and Murray assembled to hear him read some of the new text.²²⁵

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.²²⁶

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.²²⁷ The other three Carpaccios – *The Miracle of a Relic of the True Cross*, referred to in the first part;²²⁸ *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*²²⁹ – 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.²³⁰ 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*²³¹ and the three epochs of Venetian painting recognized in the first Part of the *Guide*.²³² 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".²³³

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".²³⁴

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".²³⁵ 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".²³⁶

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’”.²³⁷ 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 protagonist²³⁸ 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”.²³⁹

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.²⁴⁵

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”,²⁴⁶ not only in blithe chromatic variegation, but in the propensity to play and jest betrayed in his sacred imaginings (which thus dangerously foreshadow Veronese).²⁴⁷ 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”²⁴⁸ 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.²⁴⁰ It thus complements the processional image of temporal and civic order which closed the first part of the *Guide*,²⁴¹ 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*.²⁴² In addition, the “Pope picture”²⁴³ 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”.²⁴⁴ 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.²⁴⁹ Yet Carpaccio’s “wayward patchwork”²⁵⁰ 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”²⁵¹ 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”.²⁵² 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 *Mariegola*, 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 those 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 barcaioli 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. Rawnsley, 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 JWBj 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 JWBj 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 II]", 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 II]", 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 II]", 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 "photographist, 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 IInd 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 Cavalcaselle, 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 JWBj 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 JWBj 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. JWBj (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 II]”, 74, 78.

222 See “Part II”, 102.

223 JWBj 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 (JWBj 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”.