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# The Works of John Ruskin

VOLUME 10: THE STONES OF VENICE II

JOHN RUSKIN  
EDITED BY EDWARD TYAS COOK  
AND ALEXANDER WEDDERBURN



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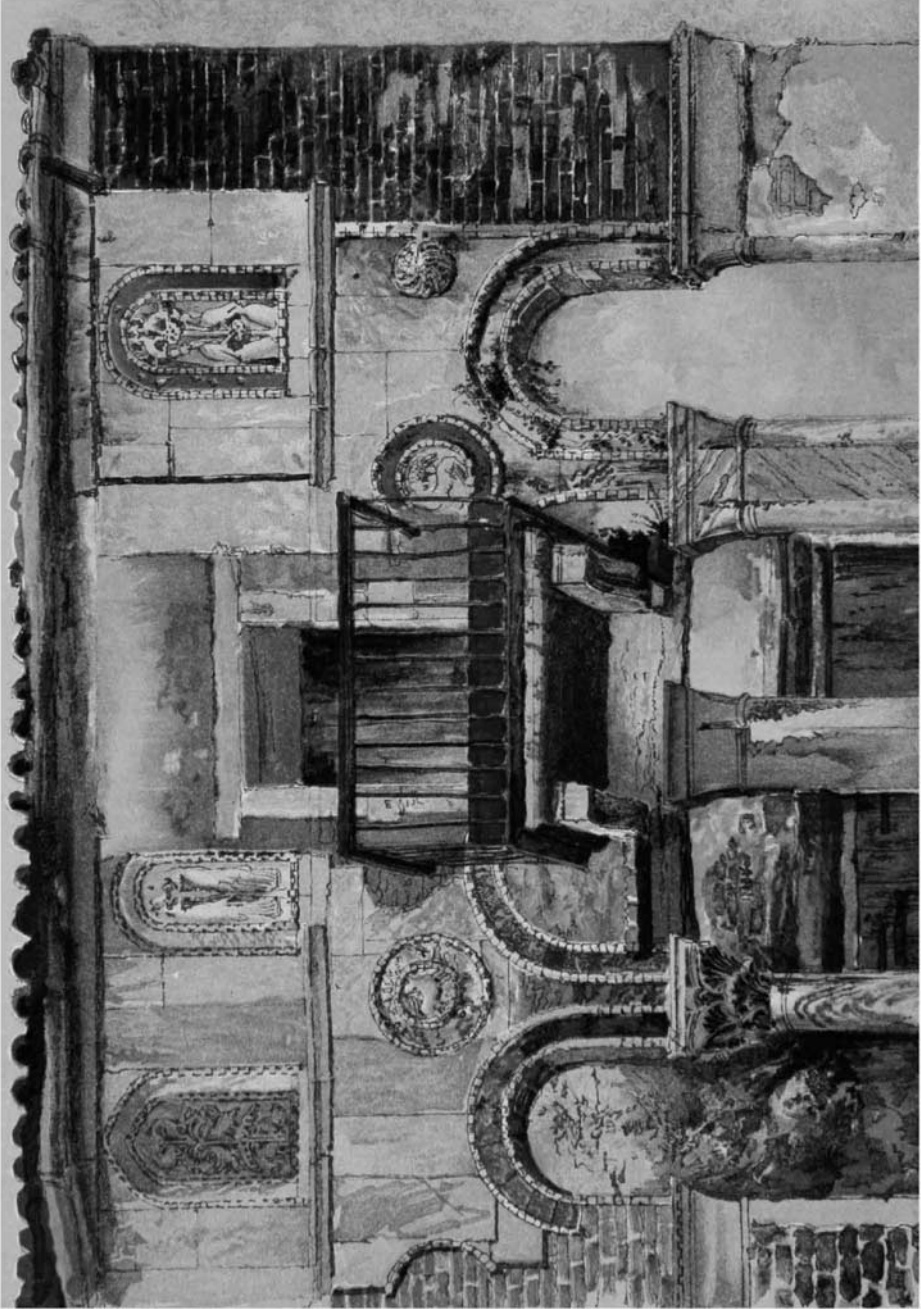
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McLagan & Cumming, Edin<sup>g</sup>

Fondaco de' Turchi: Venice.

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AND

ALEXANDER WEDDERBURN



LONDON

GEORGE ALLEN, 156, CHARING CROSS ROAD

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THE  
STONES OF VENICE

VOLUME II  
THE SEA-STORIES

BY  
JOHN RUSKIN

*WITH ILLUSTRATIONS DRAWN BY THE AUTHOR*

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## ADVERTISEMENT

[1853]

It was originally intended that this Work should consist of two volumes only; the subject has extended to three. The second volume, however, concludes the account of the ancient architecture of Venice. The third embraces the Early, the Roman, and the Grotesque Renaissance; and an Index, which, as it gives, in alphabetical order, a brief account of all the buildings in Venice, or references to the places where they are mentioned in the text, will be found a convenient guide for the traveller. In order to make it more serviceable, I have introduced some notices of the pictures which I think most interesting in the various churches, and in the Scuola di San Rocco.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Ed. 1 added the words: "The third, and last, volume is already in the press."]

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*Note.*—The numbered Plates (I. to XX.) appeared in previous editions; the lettered Plates (A to J), the *frontispiece*, and the *facsimile* are additional illustrations.

Of the additional illustrations, the following have appeared before:—the frontispiece in *Studies in Both Arts* (1895, Plate IV.), and in the *Studio*, March 1900; Plate B, in Mr. W. G. Collingwood's *Life and Work of John Ruskin*, 1893, facing p. 167 of vol. ii.; Plate C, on a small scale by half-tone process, in the *Popular Handbook to the Ruskin Museum*, 1900; and Plate H in *Verona and its Rivers* (1894, Plate IX.).

The frontispiece was No. 10 in the Ruskin Exhibition at the Royal Society of Painters in Water Colours, 1901 (also exhibited at the Coniston Exhibition, 1900); the drawing of Plate A was No. 206; that of Plate E, No. 394; that of Plate G, No. 308; that of Plate H, No. 127 (also Coniston); that of Plate I, No. 229 (also Coniston); and that of Plate J was No. 178. Two of the original drawings for the engraved plates were also shown in the same exhibition: that for Plate 19 (pencil and white, 10×7) was No. 68; and that for Plate 16 (pencil and tint, 4½×3½), No. 378 (also exhibited at Coniston, 1900). The drawing of Plate D was No. 69 in the “Drawings by Mr. Ruskin placed on Exhibition by Professor Norton of Harvard College at the American Art Gallery, Madison Square, New York,” 1879. The painting from which Plate C is taken was No. 41 in the Exhibition of Pictures and Drawings of Venice at the Fine Art Society in 1882.

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## INTRODUCTION TO VOL. X

DENMARK HILL, 1st May 1851, morning.—All London is astir, and some part of all the world. I am sitting in my quiet room, hearing the birds sing, and about to enter on the true beginning of the second part of my Venetian work. May God help me to finish it—to His glory, and man's good. J. RUSKIN.

This entry from Ruskin's diary shows the spirit in which he set himself to complete *The Stones of Venice*. But for the moment he made little way with it; he found, moreover, that there were still gaps in his local notes, and that another visit to Venice would be necessary. The first volume was published in March 1851; the second not till the end of July 1853, and the third at the beginning of October in the same year. The main part of the work for the two later volumes was done at Venice in the winter of 1851–1852, and in this Introduction, therefore, it will be convenient to take them together. In the Introduction to the next volume, particulars will be found of the folio work, *Examples of Venetian Architecture*, which was prepared in further illustration of *The Stones*, and is now printed at the end of the book.

The earlier part of 1851 had been, as we have described,<sup>1</sup> a busy time with him. He had sent the first volume of *The Stones of Venice* to press; he had written and published his *Notes on the Construction of Sheepfolds*; he had embarked on his advocacy of the Pre-Raphaelites, and had written a pamphlet on their behalf. The last sheets of this were off his hands by the end of July, and he was left with another winter of hard work before him at Venice. He felt not unnaturally the need of a holiday, and early in August he started with his wife for Switzerland. At Paris they were joined by friends, the Rev. Daniel Moore<sup>2</sup> and Mrs. Moore, who accompanied them for a fortnight, and at Geneva they picked up Charles Newton.<sup>3</sup> Nor should we forget among his travelling companions two "Liber Studiorum" plates touched by Turner. "You cannot conceive," he writes to his father from Les

<sup>1</sup> Vol. IX. pp. xlvi., xlvii.

<sup>2</sup> Then Incumbent of Camden Church, Denmark Hill; afterwards Vicar of Trinity Church, Paddington; author of a large number of devotional works.

<sup>3</sup> See Vol. VIII. p. 239.



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Rousses (August 11), "the delight I have out of the two with me; they never let me pass a dull moment." It seems to have been a merry party, and Ruskin enjoyed himself thoroughly.<sup>1</sup> His pleasure was increased by falling in at Champagnole with some other friends, Mr. and Mrs. Pritchard,<sup>2</sup> who attached themselves to the party for some days. Mr. Moore, he writes to his father (Geneva, August 12), was "delighted with everything, and is a most agreeable companion therefore. Newton is here too, and they are delighted with each other." At Chamouni Ruskin took them to his favourite points—to the wood of the Pélerin, for instance, where they had a picnic, Newton declaring that they were now "in search, not of the picturesque, but of the picnicturesque." There was only one drawback: Ruskin acted as courier and kept all the accounts. "I assure you," he wrote, "it is not a little puzzling to a person who rarely adds a sum twice with the same result." But his personally conducted party were appreciative and in high spirits. They were in raptures with the Pass of the Great St. Bernard, though they teased him by abusing Chamouni in comparison. At the Hospice they "had a pleasant evening—Effie made the monks play and *sing* not Gregorian chants merely, but very merry and unclerical tunes. I was afraid we should have more banishments to the Simplon."<sup>3</sup>

Another happy day was spent at Aosta:—

"We soon forgot Cretinism and everything else in the fields outside the walls. Newton was up at four o'clock to see the sunrise, and led the way in the afternoon among the vines and chestnuts, which shade the sloping banks of pasture on the northern side of the valley—terrace above terrace of trellised vine, and mossy rocks burning in the full sunshine, alternating with deep groves of chestnut; and on three sides the snowy mountains which I had never before seen properly—Mont Combin especially, a great culminating point of the chain between Mont Velan and the Matterhorn. Nor was this all, for in the town itself we found one of the most interesting Lombard

<sup>1</sup> The itinerary of Ruskin's sojourn abroad, 1851–1852, was as follows:—Boulogne (Aug. 4), Paris (Aug. 5), Sens (Aug. 7), Dijon (Aug. 8), Champagnole (Aug. 9), Les Rousses (Aug. 10), Geneva (Aug. 11), Chamouni (Aug. 13), Montanvert (Aug. 14), Chamouni (Aug. 15), St. Martin's (Aug. 17), Geneva (Aug. 19), Vevay (Aug. 20), Martigny (Aug. 21), Great St. Bernard (Aug. 22), Aosta (Aug. 23), Ivrea (Aug. 25), Vercelli (Aug. 26), Milan (Aug. 27), Brescia (Aug. 29), Verona (Aug. 30), Venice (Sept. 1), Verona (Jan. 26, to a ball at Marshal Radetsky's), Venice (Jan. 28), Verona (Feb. 23, again to a ball at the Marshal's), Venice (Feb. 24), Verona (June 1), Venice (June 4), Verona (June 29), Bergamo (June 30), Como (July 1), Bellinzona (July 2), Airolo (July 3), Fluelen (July 4), Lucerne (July 6), Strassburg (July 8), Paris (July 10).

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Pritchard was a sister of his Christ Church friend and tutor, Osborne Gordon.

<sup>3</sup> The Hospice of the Simplon is conducted by three or four brothers of the community of the Great St. Bernard.

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cloisters I ever explored, with endlessly varied capitals and inscriptions in contracted eleventh-century Latin, at which Newton went like a hound at a fox scent."

At Milan Newton left them, and they set their faces towards Venice and the *Stones* :—

"(MILAN, *August 28.*)—I am sitting with Effie in the outside balcony of the Hotel Royal. Newton is kicking my chair, so that I cannot write so well as usual, the soft air of the afternoon is just breathing past, and no more, and a subdued sunshine resting on the red roofs high above us, and on some streaks of white cloud which cross the arches of a campanile far down the narrow street. Effie is in a state of intense delight at being again in Italy, and poor Newton in much sorrow at having to go away by diligence to-morrow, and I am very sorry for him, for it would be very distressful to myself—I don't think I ever enjoyed Italy so much. We have had a complete day at St. Ambrogio and the Cathedral, and are just going out for a drive on the Corso. I could not write a long letter to-day, having been showing Newton all I could and making some notes myself. I would give, I don't know how much, to have Newton with me in Italy; he helps me so infinitely in dates, and in tracing styles; he has gained a marvellous power of rapid judgment of all sculpturesque art, and we never differ about what we are to like in sculpture; sometimes, however, a little in painting, but very little even in this, and his *eye* is quite as quick as mine; he found out a Tintoret to-day merely by the glance, which I had missed. I am quite well, and preparing to set to my work with zest."

All the while that Ruskin was approaching his Venetian work, he felt it to be only an interlude and an interruption. "I hope to come back here with you," he writes to his parents from Geneva (August 19), "when my Venetian work is off my hands, and I can give myself up again to the snowy mountains which I love better than ever." But arrived at Venice, he soon felt its charm renewed. "It is more beautiful," he writes, "than ever, and I am most thankful to be able to finish or retouch my descriptions on the spot" (September 2). Wherever beauty was to be found Ruskin had the heart to worship it, and whatever his hands found to do he did with all his might. This, as he says in an interesting piece of self-revelation, contained in a letter to his father (Verona, June 2, 1852), was his genius :—

"Miss Edgeworth may abuse the word 'genius,' but there is such a thing, and it consists mainly in a man's doing things because he cannot help it,—intellectual things, I mean. I don't think myself a great

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genius, but I believe I have genius; something different from mere cleverness, for I am *not* clever in the sense that millions of people are—lawyers, physicians, and others. But there is the strong instinct in me which I cannot analyse to draw and describe the things I love—not for reputation, nor for the good of others, nor for my own advantage, but a sort of instinct like that for eating or drinking. I should like to draw all St. Mark's, and all this Verona stone by stone, to eat it all up into my mind, touch by touch. More and more lovely I find it every time, and am every year dissatisfied with what I did the last."

It was thus in full zest that Ruskin settled down to finish his book. He and his wife made many friends at Venice, and they were surrounded with attentions and civilities. Rawdon Brown received them in his house for a week while they were looking for suitable apartments, and of all their Venetian friends he was the most valued and helpful. He had already been settled in Venice for nearly twenty years, and his knowledge of persons, places, and books was all at Ruskin's disposal. Ruskin owed so much to this help that some notice of Rawdon Brown, fuller than has already been given (Vol. IX. p. 420 *n.*), may here be added:—

"He was," says Professor Charles Eliot Norton, "one of the kindest of men; an English gentleman in the full meaning of the term; Oxford bred, of the old-fashioned conservative type, hating modern innovations, loving the poetry and picturesqueness of the past; solitary in his mode of life, but of a social disposition, and with a pleasant vein of humour, a wide range of culture, and quick sympathies that made him a delightful host. He had come to Venice as a young man, and he spent the last fifty years of his life there, never, I believe, revisiting England during all that time. 'I never wake in the morning but I thank God,' he said, 'that He has let me spend my days in Venice; and sometimes of an evening, when I go to the Piazzetta, I am afraid to shut my eyes, lest when I open them I should find it had all been a dream.' . . . His home for many years was the upper part of the so-called Casa della Vite, 'the house of the Vine,' once the Casa Gussoni, on the reach of the Grand Canal, just above the Ca' d'Oro. The Gussoni were great people in the sixteenth century, and when this palace was built its front wall was painted by Tintoret, with two grand figures suggested by Michelangelo's 'Dawn and Twilight.' Faint traces of them remained twenty years ago. . . . In his apartment, furnished with English comfort, Mr. Brown had surrounded himself with a store of Venetian treasures, gradually accumulated during his long residence in the city at a time when the old houses were breaking up and their possessions were scattered. His means had enabled him to gratify his tastes as a scholar and an antiquary. His working-room was filled with

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manuscripts, books, documents, and adorned with paintings and engravings and a hundred pieces of minor art and curiosity.”<sup>1</sup>

This description of Rawdon Brown is enough to show how congenial a spirit Ruskin must have found in him, but Ruskin was further attracted to him—as to another Venetian friend and antiquary, Edward Cheney<sup>2</sup>—by a certain unlikeness also. “They [Rawdon Brown and Cheney] are both as good-natured as can be,” he writes to his father (October 11, 1851), “but of a different species from me—men of the world, caring for very little about anything but Men.”

But if Rawdon Brown’s interest was in men, it was in the famous of old times as well as in the present, and Brown had his romance among the stones of Venice as interesting and curious as any of Ruskin’s own. He had first gone to Venice, as already related (Vol. IX. p. 420 *n.*), to find the burial-place of Mowbray, Shakespeare’s “Banished Norfolk.” The Venetian antiquaries could give him no help, and he got access to the State archives. Mowbray had been honourably interred, he found, within the precincts of St. Mark’s, and in 1533, one hundred and thirty-four years after his death, his bones were removed to his native land. But where was the precise place of burial, and where the monument that marked his grave? The search was for a long while unsuccessful, but it was the cause of Brown’s subsequent interest in the general history of Venice. At last he chanced upon a book written by a Frenchman at Venice in 1682. It contained a plate of arms, representing a sculptured marble on the outer wall of the Ducal Palace on the sea-façade. The author interpreted the heraldic devices as symbols of the majesty and sovereignty of Venice. Brown at once recognised them as of English origin, and it flashed across him that this might have been the monumental slab for which he had so long been searching. He showed the plate to various masons in vain, but at last one of them recognised it. “I have a good right,” he said, “to know it. I almost lost my life for it.” When the French

<sup>1</sup> Professor C. E. Norton’s article on “Rawdon Brown and the Gravestone of ‘Banished Norfolk,’” in *The Atlantic Monthly*, June 1889, vol. 63, p. 741. The house described by Professor Norton is that in which Rawdon Brown died. The English ambassador, Sir Henry Wotton, once lived in it. It is now called the Casa Grimani, and is occupied by “The Venice Art Company”; it is attributed to Sanmichele. Brown had previously inhabited two other houses: (1) the Casa Pacchiarotti, a house which no longer exists, having been absorbed in the new buildings of the Hotel d’Italie: this he shared for a time with Edward Cheney; (2) the Casa Businello, where he was living when Ruskin was at Venice in 1851–1852: see below, p. 453. The Casa Dario also at one time belonged to Rawdon Brown (see in the next volume, Appendix 4), but he did not reside in it.

<sup>2</sup> We shall meet Cheney again; see, especially, the appendix to Ruskin’s *Guide to the Academy at Venice*.

were hacking away at the Doge's Palace, after Napoleon's entry, the old mason had been ordered to chip the carving off the stone in order to fit it into the pavement. He, too, regarded the sculpture as symbolic of the glory of Venice, and did not like the job of erasing it; so he turned the stone face downwards, worked on the under side, and fitted it so into its appointed place. Then the mason had a serious fall, which was like to kill him, but when he was picked up alive they placed a cross on the stone upon which he fell. The cross and the Mowbray stone were both identified, and Brown laid plots forthwith for securing the latter. The mason was ordered to prepare a new stone of the exact size. They waited for a dark evening, substituted the new stone, and removed the old one to Brown's gondola. He examined it eagerly, and it was found to bear the very date of Mowbray's death. After some further adventures, Brown had the slab shipped to England (in 1839), and it is at Corby Castle that this stone of Venice may now be seen. Not long after, Brown made confession to the authorities. They took it in good part, and set up a cast of the slab, which he had ordered, in that hall in the Ducal Palace from which one enters the stairway above which is Titian's fresco of St. Christopher. Beneath it was placed in after years a glowing inscription in honour of Rawdon Brown, the illustrious investigator of the history and monuments of Venice.<sup>1</sup>

Brown himself never found heart to revisit England; Ruskin had difficulty in finding heart to revisit Venice. "I don't think," he wrote to his old friend in 1862, "I can come to Venice, even to see *you*. I should be too sad in thinking—not of ten—but of twenty—no, sixteen years ago—when I was working there from six in the morning till ten at night, in all the joy of youth."<sup>2</sup> In such work, at the time with which we are now concerned (1851–1852), Brown's help was of the greatest assistance, and is gratefully acknowledged on many a page of *The Stones of Venice*.<sup>3</sup> But the first good offices which Brown rendered were in the matter of lodgings. These were found in the house of the Baroness Wetzler, in the Campo Sta. Maria Zobenigo<sup>4</sup> :—

"We have got (Ruskin writes) the Baroness Wetzler's apartments, after a great fight for a room which we insisted on having—a room for me

<sup>1</sup> In the library of the British Museum there is a lithographed flysheet giving the plate of arms and an explanation, by Rawdon Brown. It is dated "Casa Ferro, Venice, 20 March 1841." For the Casa Ferro, see below, p. 9 *n*.

<sup>2</sup> The full text of this letter will be found in a later volume of this edition.

<sup>3</sup> See Vol. IX. pp. 420, 459 *n*.; in this volume, pp. 284 *n*., 353 *n*., 453; and in the next volume, ch. iii. § 10 *n*., Epilogue, § 3, Appendices 4 and 9, and Venetian Index, *s*. "Contarini" and "Othello."

<sup>4</sup> Now the Palazzo Swift, an annex of the Grand Hotel.

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to write in ; we have this and a kind of hall dining-room, a beautiful drawing-room, double bed-room and dressing-room, three servants' rooms and kitchen, on the Grand Canal, with south aspect, nearly opposite the Salute ; and on first floor, for about 17 pounds a month . . ." <sup>1</sup>

"Turner's 'Grand Canal' engraved from Munro's picture . . . will give you a perfect idea of the place where we are, our house being just *out* of the picture on the left-hand side of it, and looking across the Grand Canal to the Salute steps. . . . The evening yesterday after dinner with red moon resting behind Salute was inexpressibly delightful."

"I am now settled more quietly, (he writes again,) than I have ever been since I was at college, and it certainly will be nobody's fault but my own if I do not write well ; besides that, I have St. Mark's Library open to me, and Mr. Cheney's, who has just at this moment sent his servant through a tremendous thunderstorm with two books which help me in something I was looking for. I have a lovely view from my windows, and *temptation* to exercise every day, and excellent food, so I think you may make yourself easy about me. . . . For the first time in my life, I feel to be living really in my own house. For I never *lived* at any place that I loved before and have been either *enduring* the locality or putting up with somewhat rough habitation." (Letters to his father, September 7, 11, 18, 24).

The "temptation to exercise" seems to have been well used. Temptation there was also to social distractions, and to these Ruskin sometimes yielded, though perhaps with less readiness. Venice under the Austrian domination was a centre of much fashionable and military society, and Ruskin's letters home during this winter tell of many and brilliant gaieties. He and his wife went everywhere and saw everybody who was anybody. Many notabilities of the day figure in Ruskin's accounts of their tea-parties or other re-unions. Thus we meet not only the Austrian

<sup>1</sup> Ruskin had "George" with him as factotum ; his wife had a maid. George was employed among other things in taking Daguerreotypes and as copyist. He also maintained his reputation as a humourist (*cf.* Vol. IV. p. xxiv. *n.*). With some difficulty they had a grate with a coal fire fitted up in their apartments : "There were still tongs, poker and shovel wanting to an establishment, which Mr. Brown raked up out of his stores and sent us, and we had a nice scene at the first lighting of the fire ; for our gondolier servant, Beppo, had never seen one, and did not believe that coals would burn ; and Bastian (Mr. Brown's servant), who came with the fire-irons, thought it necessary to instruct George that the poker 'was to break the coals with,' on which George immediately asked him in a humble manner the use of the tongs ; which Bastian having also explained with great gravity, George proceeded to inquire that of the shovel ; but there Bastian found him out, and appeared for a moment disposed to let him feel the weight of all the three. It was quite a little bit of Molière" (November 25, 1851).